

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

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JANUARY - FEBRUARY 1989

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Freedom for Individuals!

ABN **CORRESPONDENCE**

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TO GOVERNMENTS AND NATIONS OF THE FREE WORLD

Freedom Charter of the Subjugated Nations in the USSR

Having met in the city of Vilnius on January 28-29, 1989, we, the representatives of the national liberation movements of Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine, announce the formation of a joint committee, uniting our efforts for the establishment of national independent and free states.

History has shown that the existence of a multinational empire is an anachronism, creating insufferable conditions for all the nations living in the empire. We feel that pluralism is as fundamental a principle in international relations as it is in the sphere of human rights.

While consolidating the right of every nation to individual development, we represent national movements which have been fighting for decades for independence. While we do not impose our conceptions as to state organization and sovereignty, we feel that neither common existence within the framework of the empire, nor a federative or confederative state organization are acceptable to the nations which we represent.

We need political and moral support for our movement from all governments and social organizations. We hope that our understanding of the contemporary world will prevail, in accordance with which only the free and independent existence of nations which are striving towards this will ensure the stable and peaceful development of the world community.

We call upon our fellow countrymen who are living beyond the borders of the empire to establish a similar committee and to closely cooperate with us towards the realization of our common goal. We ask Paruir Airikyan to be our representative abroad and to assist in the formation of this committee.

We are convinced that our nations will achieve freedom and we hope that we will attain this in the near future and without violent means.

Vilnius, January 28, 1989.

SIGNATORIES:

1. Union for the National Self Determination of Armenia — Mekhak Gabrilian;
2. Struggle for the Survival of Armenia — Vaan Ishchanian;
3. Society of St. Illia the Righteous — Merab Kostava;
4. Society of Illia Chavchavadze — Taniel Hviniashvili;
5. National Union of Lithuanian Youth — Sakris Bushkavicius, Paulus Vaitekunas;
6. National Independence Party of Estonia — Lahle Parek, Ants Zyndas;
7. Lithuanian Freedom League — Algimantas Valtrusis, Antanas Terleckas;
8. Pre-Founding Fraction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union — Bohdan Hrycaj, Ivan Makar;
9. Latvian National Independence Movement — Anta Rudzite;
10. Informal Latvian National Front — Ints Zalitis;
11. Byelorussian club "Pahonya" and the newspaper *Byelorussian Tribune* — Serzhuk Makhay;
12. National Democratic Party of Georgia — Georgiy Achelya;
13. Lithuanian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners — Petras Tidzikas.

CAROLLING UKRAINIAN-STYLE

Renewing the national tradition of Christmas carolling, a group of young people from Kyiv's "Hromada" society joined up with religious faithful who were worshipping Christ in the Volodymyr Cathedral on Christmas Eve (January 6).

As usual, the dress of the carollers and the sweet-sounding singing attracted increasingly more people to the group. An improvised national choir of some 500 people was soon formed. In the middle of the crowd the carol singers raised an eight-pointed blue and yellow (colours of the Ukrainian national flag) star with a steel tryzub (Ukrainian national symbol). People from all around asked them to carry on singing and gave the collector pyrohy (pies), sweets and money.

This festive occasion of spiritual unity, which lasted for a long time, did not appeal to the guardians of the order of stagnation. So-called "people in civilian dress" began to move in closer to the group of carollers and demanded in a rough manner that they take down the tryzub. At this point the people showed extraordinary solidarity: they surrounded the singers in a tight circle and did not let the aggressive agents through. "Leave them alone", the people shouted, "this is our culture! And the tryzub is the symbol of St. Volodymyr". But the agents and uniformed militia did not stop. Then the group of carollers, together with the 500-strong spontaneous choir, walked from the Volodymyr Cathedral to the Khreshchatyk. The singing sounded wonderful, symbolic: "Grant freedom, return good fortune to our glorious Ukraine...".

On the corner of Leontovych street the procession of people was halted by a cordon of militia. The chief of Kyiv's Lenin district militia, Kondratiuk, began to threaten a young participant of this festive occasion, Yaroslava Danylenko, that if the people did not stop singing in the street he would punish her for the organisation of this unsanctioned demonstration. The people answered the militia chief Kondratiuk with resolute and justified shouts of "Hooligans! Clear the road!".

Several militiamen set themselves upon the carollers and a certain major, who would not give his name, broke the tryzub. To avoid a clash with the hooligans in epaulettes, the carollers, together with the faithful, returned to the Volodymyr Cathedral. Yaroslava Danylenko and Vadym Dyvnych thanked the people for the protection they had given them from the attackers and for their wholehearted support for national traditions.

Everywhere shouts of "Down with Shcherbytskyi! Enough stagnation! Their time is over!" could be heard and the festive singing continued in even greater harmony. Then the carollers with their blue and yellow star, which had survived the attack, went off to extend Christmas greetings to notable Ukrainian cultural activists. Elderly women and children, young girls and grey-haired men — the whole street — escorted them to the bus. The carol singers promised to return on January 13 (Ukrainian New Year's Eve).

And the officials who are without a conscience and without kith and kin, learned a lesson from history: the people did not follow them, but those who worship God, who practice the customs of their fathers.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LEVKO LUKYANENKO

An autobiography of the long-term political prisoner of Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps, Ukrainian lawyer Levko Lukyanenko, recently reached the West. The autobiography, written by Lukyanenko in May of last year, according to his own words is not complete, since it is not about past history, but about the present. In addition, circumstances force him to keep quiet about several early facts, names, and moments from the lives of political prisoners.

Levko Lukyanenko was born on August 24, 1928, and has spent over 25 years in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps. He was first arrested and sentenced to death in May 1961 for membership in the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, which aimed for Ukraine's secession from the USSR by peaceful struggle. His death sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. In January 1976 he was released after serving 15 years in Vladimir prison and in strict regime concentration camps, but was denied the right to practice his profession as a lawyer. He was re-arrested on December 12, 1977 and sentenced to 10 years' strict regime camps and 5 years' exile for participation in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, writing *samvydav* articles and human rights activities in general. He was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). Lukyanenko is currently serving his term in exile in the Tomsk region of Siberia and is suffering from gastritis, zero acidity, ischaemia of the heart, illnesses of the kidney and liver, and stomach ulcer. He is due to be released in December 1992. Meanwhile, his case has been taken up by Amnesty International.

Following is the full text of Levko Lukyanenko's autobiography, which we are publishing without the author's knowledge.



I was born on August 24, 1928, to Hryhoriy and Natalia Lukyanenko in the village of Khrypivka, Horodniansky district, Chernihiv province. I was the oldest of four children: three sons (I, Victor, Oleksander) and one daughter (Zinayida).

My father had elementary education and was exceptionally diligent. As a result of being gifted in all kinds of trade, he was able to do literally everything which needed to be done in rural life: he could build a house, thatch a roof, make frames, a loom, barrels, boots, sleighs, a cart etc., not to mention all the labour in the fields, garden and orchard. He was not afraid of water, forests, heights, night and evil spirits, but he did fear the authorities and preferred to avoid them, rather than enter into discussions with them. He liked speed and recollecting about the cossack times. He had great respect for knowledge and frequently, instead of an extra bottle of spirits, he would buy a book.

My mother was completely different from my father: she could work while at the same time discuss serious problems and she often considered conversation more important than any kind of work. Being naturally clever, she had a wonderful memory, a logical thought, she was high-principled and did not defend just anybody, but truth (it is not surprising that everyone in the village called her a "lawyer"). In comparison to my father, my mother was an educated person — she had attended gymnasium, she loved literature and although she had not read much, whatever she had read she remembered for the rest of her life. She tried to turn our, her children's, attention away from poetry and literature by saying: "You will not earn your bread with poems. Learn

arithmetics.” She loved to sing and knew many songs. I first heard our national anthem “Ukraine has not died yet...” as a child from my mother. My mother sang the following Russian songs:

“A cart is driving along a dusty road
The gendarmes are sitting on both sides of it,
Cast off the chains, give me freedom...
I will teach you to love freedom...”

From another song she often repeated the same two lines:

“The bullet fears a courageous man,
The bayonet does not touch a courageous man.”

At a pre-school age I already knew a couple of dozen songs and loved to sing.

Forty days before the war, several people from our village were drafted into the army (from the Komsomol personnel). This increased rumours about the impending war. The people waited for the war with trepidation and great hopes — the villagers expected the Germans to free the people from the Bolsheviks, and perhaps even Ukraine from the Russians. So, when the war broke out the Germans were greeted with bread and salt. The Germans did, in fact, give the people more breathing space. At first the people ate their fill and revived, they became more cheerful, remembered that they had relatives and began to visit them.

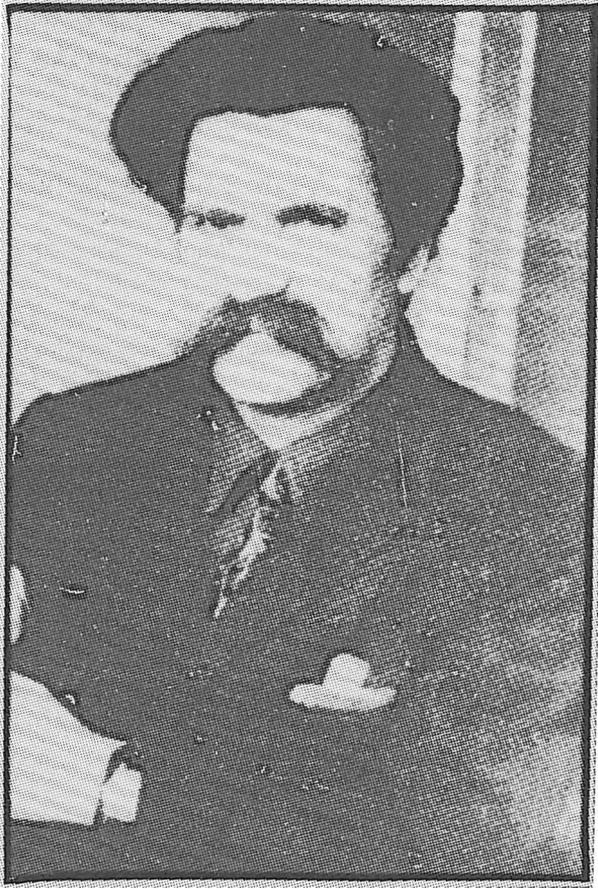
In 1942 my father returned from captivity, my mother having brought him back from the Homelsk concentration camp. The life of our family continued to improve.

Autumn, 1943. Our family is lying in a ditch in the garden because the front is approaching. The Red Army is approaching from the neighbouring village. Our father stood in the garden and watched the grey mass approaching along the road... “Hunger and suffering again... God’s punishment”, he said shedding a few large tears and slowly, as if going into exile, he went from the garden into the house. The gate to our yard was opened without permission by the new owners of our father’s home, his actual home, and that of the whole of our country. Our father did not even dare to say a word.

Soon, our father and many other men from our village were mobilized into the Red Army, taken to the Homelsk province and there, having been handed one rifle between three men, were driven in their civilian clothes, untrained and unprepared, to be fired at by the Germans. Each day, ten, twenty and one day even twenty-three notices of deaths at the front reached our village. They were all being destroyed so quickly in the swamps, so that no one would be able to praise life under the Germans, and also to stop soldiers in Western Ukraine from joining the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. However, my father was lucky. He managed to return home after the war alive.

At the end of 1944, I was mobilized into the Red Army along with other youths born in 1927. For several years I repeatedly said that my year of birth was 1928, and later I wrote 1927.

In October 1945, I was transferred to serve in Austria. For the whole of 1948 I studied at the annual school of automechanics in the town of Medling, near Vienna. Since I was well acquainted with technics, I spent the whole year reading classical literary works. I started to write a novel, but very quickly saw that I was producing something that could not be published. A problem arose whether I should adapt or not write at all. I solved the problem decisively: better not to write at all than write untruths against my conscience.



Levko Lukyanenko

Austria impressed me with its level of civilization and the ability to cultivate a wonderful bread harvest, berries, fruit and vegetables on bad soil, but I felt a foreigner there. My nostalgia for Ukraine intensified in 1949. I succeeded in returning to the Soviet Union, unfortunately, however, not to Ukraine, but to the Nakhichevan ASSR, first of all to Dzulfa, and later to Nakhichevan. In Dzulfa I managed to obtain a Brockhaus encyclopedia and Yefron. I read several articles, among others, about Pushkin, which presented the subject completely different from that in Soviet literature at the time. What did this mean? There could not be two truths. From then on, I began to suspect the veracity of Soviet authors. This suspicion increased my critical attitude towards absolutely everything, and in addition, finally confirmed a thought I had long since begun

to turn into a principle. Namely, not to read Soviet literature about Soviet reality. One should read about the past, but the present day should be studied with one's own observations. The author is a human being. Why should I believe the eyes of another person more than my own eyes? I cannot see the past with my own eyes, so I have no other choice than to base my evidence on that of other people (the authors of books). However, I am a witness concerning the present. This principle saved me a lot of time and decreased the amount of literary stupefaction, which is incessantly poured into the heads of Soviet readers confusing their brains in mass amounts.

The second book which I obtained in Dzulfa was *Vom Kriege (About War)* by Clauswitz. This book opened up a realm of practical psychology for me based on examples of differentiation of abilities. The conclusion was: the scale and direction of abilities depend on the psychic capabilities of a human being, thus having an innate character.

Before the winter of 1949, I was transferred from Dzulfa to Nakhichevan, where I served as a commander of the motorcycle formation of the administrative company of the 75th infantry division. In Nakhichevan I read a two-volume history of diplomacy, from which I became convinced that there are no greater interests than national ones.

In 1950, after a vacation during which I saw the terrible poverty throughout Ukraine, including my native Khrypivka, I decided on the following imperatives: we

must fight for the independence of Ukraine. This is my lifelong ambition to which I will dedicate my whole life. Then, I would be able to do as much as possible if I were to take on a high position (depending on the scope of my abilities). And finally, I would not be able to attain such an aim without higher education and membership in the communist party.

Between 1951 and 1953 I joined the Komsomol and later the communist party, I finished seventh grade without assistance, translated all my school lessons from Ukrainian into Russian, I received my secondary school education at evening classes in the secondary school in the officers' building of the Nakhichevan garrison and entered the faculty of law at the Lomonosov Moscow State University.

During my studies alongside the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which we were forced to study and summarize, I read Galwitz, Montesquieu, Spenser. In 1956 I changed the strategic concept of my struggle.

First of all it was hard for me to wear the mask of an active communist. Furthermore, I became more involved in the idea of an independent Ukraine and even more severely I felt a stranger in official society (there was no unofficial society at this time). I found a solution to my moral burden: I ceased all public activity and went over to a position of criticising Soviet reality.

Secondly, the way to a high-ranking position is tied to the necessity of exploiting oneself, namely to such an individual zeal, to act in a way that I considered wrong. While contemplating on Bohdan Khmelnyckyj (Ukrainian Hetman) and the evaluation of his deeds given by Taras Shevchenko (Ukrainian poet), I realised that I could not agree with Khmelnyckyj. Namely, that I am now harming the people, but with the aid of this wrong I will rise to a high-ranking position and then I will be able to render the people great good.

A person does not know when he is going to die. And what if he dies in the process of creating evil? No matter what a person thought about, there does exist an objective criterion of evaluating his role in history — his actual actions. When these actions are harmful, then that person is a traitor to the interests of his people. Shevchenko did not appraise Khmelnyckyj for his intentions, but for his deeds. And inasmuch as his alliance with Alexander Mykhailovich turned into three centuries of slavery for Ukrainians, then Shevchenko is completely justified in his appraisal of Khmelnyckyj.

An arithmetical deliberation: the amount of evil I will cause will equal the amount of good, and having reached a positive balance I will demonstrate the righteousness of the way. This is an absolutely wrong mode of thinking. One cannot cause evil, neither more nor less, to the object of one's love — in fact, no evil at all. One should act in such a way so as not to regret one's actions. May every coming day be assigned for adding to a deed, and not for changing or altering this deed.

Thirdly, the way to a high-ranking position is long and it is not built on emptiness, but in a microsphere, the influence of which cannot in any way be removed from the records. Thus, at the end of such a way, I myself could radically change and no longer be capable of resorting to decisive actions on behalf of the independence of my nation.

That is also why I ceased public activity and from 1957 I began to orientate myself on underground activity. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU a large amount of formerly banned literature began to appear in the reading rooms of Moscow libraries. On becoming acquainted with this literature one's horizons widened and faith in university education as the only correct system was undermined. As the end of my university

courses approached, I arranged for the Lviv provincial party to send a letter of appeal to the state commission on the division of young professionals. This appeal asked that I be directed to the disposal of the regional party.

The Lviv provincial party directed me to the town of Radykhiv, where I received a position as a member of the propaganda staff of the regional party. This work involved constant travel to villages in the region. I enjoyed travelling and would question people about their conditions of life and work in those times, as well as in the times before collectivization and during the German, Polish and Austrian occupation. I inquired about the national liberation movement, which had recently quietened down, and about the mood of the population. This mood exceeded all of my expectations: all the people, except for an insignificant group of yes-men and lackeys, regarded the insurgents and revolutionaries as knights of the national liberation movement. They spoke incessantly and in any conditions whatsoever about their heroic deeds, the suffering of the peasants, and about the brutality and barbarity of the “Muscovites”. In Radykhiv itself, the last armed conflict had taken place in 1954 and the graves of the occupants were still fresh. I was shown places where farms had once stood, which had been completely destroyed by the invaders. I was told about the execution by gunfire of the whole village on the orders of the secretary of the regional communist party, Pavlovskij, and about the annihilation of entire villages.

Russian newspapers would shed tears over Oradea and Lidice, Kortylis and Klius, which had been destroyed by the Nazis during the war. However, nobody could even breathe a word about the number of Ukrainian settlements that they (the Russians) themselves had destroyed even after the war, since this was “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”, which could result in ten years of imprisonment in far-off Siberian concentration camps.

The recent past was filled with blood, and the present — with tears. The people were being sent by force to the kolkhozes (collective farms). The kolkhozes were assigned with a rigidly set amount of cows for every 100 hectares of land, there was nothing to feed them with and then before spring, the cows were harnessed across their stomachs so that they would not fall, but would die standing up (to be more exact, they were hung on their harnesses). The women wept over the bare ribs of the cows, over their own fate, and the men would grit their teeth and wait impatiently for the time when the Americans would finally crush Red Russia.

Meanwhile, the meagre handful of lackeys, depending on the victorious military force, were going crazy in the following way, for example: There is a long queue of people waiting to be admitted by the head of the kolkhoz. He heats up the door handle in his office with a blowtorch until it turns blue, the heat spreads to the handle on the outer side of the door, and then he calls “Come in”. A woman grasps the door handle, burns her palm, cries out in pain and surprise, and the head of the kolkhoz bursts out in joyful laughter, which can be heard across the whole of the kolkhoz offices. “Who’s next?” — he cries out to the people in the corridor. “What, nobody? Well, that’s fine! You should be working in the kolkhoz field and not wheedling out a horse for your own garden!” (The scene of action — the village of Skvaryava, Hlynyany region, Lviv province. The main hero — the head of the kolkhoz, Laska).

This is what I thought: if you, as a person, see this reality and do not understand its injustice, then you are a fool. If you see this reality and understand all of its injustice, and no ardent desire arises in you to stop it, then you are a coward. To see, to under-

stand and not act against such gross injustice means that you are not a human being, but a worthless worm. So, what indeed are you — a worm or a human being?

My mother and father are of Cossack heritage. My ancestors were human beings, and not worms. Am I, then, to be a worthless branch on my family tree?

Within half a year, I, together with Stepan Virun and Vasyl Lutskiw, agreed to create an underground party called “The Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Union”. In order to spread the Union geographically, I moved to the Hlynyany region in the middle of 1959. I drafted a programme. I transferred myself from the regional communist party to the legal profession and found much in common with the lawyer Ivan Kandyba and the Lviv engineer and land surveyor Oleksander Liubowych. In order to further spread the geographical territory of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Union, Kandyba moved to practice law in the town of Peremyshlyany.

On November 7, 1960, Ivan Kandyba, Stepan Virun, Vasyl Lutskiw, Mykola Vaschuk and myself convened our inaugural meeting in Lviv. (Due to the length of the drafted programme, we decided to abolish it). I was commissioned to draw up a more moderate project for the next meeting, which was planned for January 22, 1961.

I drafted a project for the new programme which was called “Notes”. On January 20 and 21, Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiw, Liubowych and myself were arrested in connection with the Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Union, and soon afterwards this was followed by the arrests of Ivan Kipysh and Yosyp Borovnytskyj.

In May 1961, the Lviv provincial court sentenced me to death by execution, Kandyba was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, Virun to 12 years, Lutskiw, Liubowych, Kipysh and Borovnytskyj each to 10 years of imprisonment.

The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR changed my death sentence to 15 years of imprisonment, while Kipysh’s and Borovnytskyj’s sentences were reduced to 7 years of imprisonment. Inasmuch as we had not destroyed the first draft of the programme, all charges were based on this. The austerity of this draft lay in its criticism of the existing state of affairs which dealt with the rights of workers, employees, peasants, and also in the fact that it raised the issue of Ukrainian national rights.

At the same time, this programme signalled the beginning of a new era in the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people. In other words, in place of the former armed struggle, peaceful means were being proclaimed as the basic method of achieving this aim, namely, the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. The programme stated: “The methods to be used in achieving our aim are peaceful and constitutional”. Agitation and propaganda — these are the means of activity of the Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Union. The transition to agitation did not emerge from a hatred of weapons, but from a clear realization of the impossibility of using them. We know from history that after the defeat of our people in the liberation war (1917-1921) or in the widespread mass movement, a long period of disillusionment followed, as well as disbelief in a whole generation. Each great new war is started by a new generation. Thus, the glorious generation of the *banderivtsi* (followers of Stepan Bandera) accomplished its historical mission and nothing more should be expected of them. The task of activists during the intervening stages, when the previous mass movement had suffered defeat and expired, and a new mass movement is still far-off, lies in the struggle against apathy, lack of faith in one’s national abilities, against disillusionment and the interpretation of defeat as a judgment of fatal fate. The task also lies in preparing the people for a new mass movement, the aim of which is national freedom.

Such a task does not require a machine gun or a bayonet, but word inspired by faith in the victory of good over evil, freedom over slavery, enslaved colonial nations over imperialism.

On October 20, 1961, I was transported to the village of Sosnovka in the Mordovian ASSR to the 7th concentration camp. The camp regulations were hung on the barrack walls, and they immediately struck my attention by their unlawfulness: there was no mention on them by whom they had been approved or sanctioned. Thus, this document specifying the legal status of prisoners was not a legal document.

There were approximately 1,800 prisoners in the concentration camp. More than one third were Ukrainian, mostly insurgents. They served as a living source of information on the national liberation movement in the post-war decade. I felt very lucky to find myself among them.

The prisoners (Ukrainians and those from the Baltic States) told me about the struggle, and I strove to raise their theoretical level and lift them from the level of soldiers to the level of commanders. After almost three years of such efforts, the early stages of their effectiveness, as well as the rightness of Clausewitz, were to be seen. After discussing the problem with Trokhym Shynkaruk, I began to single out people for purely specific positions within the structure.

After many years, I realized that the life of society, in particular the life of a human being, is too dynamic and changeable a phenomenon to create a viable and unalterable structure which is estimated for several decades ahead. The fact of the matter is not only that the members of this structure — ordinary people — live (each one of them) in their own microsphere and test its influence on themselves, but also the fact that a person cannot live in the past alone. A person lives in the present as if on a river-bed. The present is forever placing new tasks on a person, engulfing him in its present current, drawing him further and further away from the past and from the task he (the person) had taken upon himself.

Exceptional people are not influenced by a wide social sphere and play a part themselves in influencing the microsphere. However, the structure cannot be calculated upon exceptional individuals alone. (Therefore, even the decision of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1943 on the formation of a reserve network in eastern Ukraine was almost practically of no help at all, just as my own measures).

The very same flow of life also renders the policy of the economy of forces as futile. A person (once again I am thinking of non-exceptional individuals) is a false figure-head. Today, he is a courageous, self-disciplined soldier (insurgent), who bravely attacks the enemy and, in the event of a hopeless situation, does not hesitate to put a bullet to his head. Five years pass, and his courage fades, and in ten years a person can become completely indifferent to a high ideal. Thus, people, whom the leadership wanted to save for the future, ceased being the same people they once were, and revealed themselves as worthless. They had withered without bearing fruit. If they had died in battle, their blood would have sprinkled over the earth, which would have inevitably borne new fighters for freedom. Struggle is important, but even more important is the factor of the struggle: as long as a nation struggles, its blood pulses and it continues to live. And if not today, then tomorrow, it will certainly achieve independence.

In 1966, a new generation of Ukrainian political prisoners arrived in the Mordovian camps. Until this time, all streams of political prisoners concentrated on under-

ground methods of activity. The generation of 1966 brought with it an orientation on legal activity. They had no contacts abroad and were afraid to make any. The new generation brought contacts with the democratic West and did not conceal this fact at all. Before 1966, only a few prisoners defended and justified the idea of publicising their “anti-Soviet” platform, while the new generation publicly and courageously demonstrated their right.

From the moment the new generation arrived in the concentration camp, a struggle between the prisoners and camp administration began. There was no such struggle previously. The political prisoners began to collect facts of gross violations of laws and prisoners’ rights, and strove to inform the international democratic community about these violations, while the administration strove to stop this information from leaking out. This gradually resulted in a reinforcement of the regime.

The highly educated and intelligent new generation created an exceedingly unfavourable atmosphere for the camp administration. The spirit of the prisoners revived and even those more advanced in years raised their heads. In the summer of 1967, in order to suppress this revival, the Committee of State Security imprisoned the most active of the new generation (Mykhailo Horyn, Valentyn Moroz and Mykhailo Masiutka), as well as several of the older prisoners (Svyatoslav Karavanskyj, Mykhailo Lutsyk and myself).

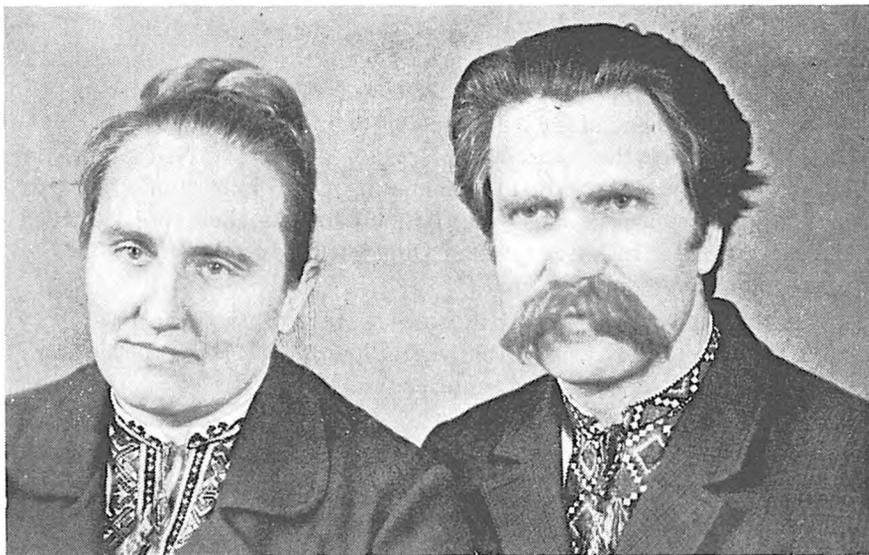
In September 1970, we were transported from the Vladimir prison to the village of Barashevo, in the Mordovian ASSR to the 3rd camp. On December 10, we went on hunger strike protesting the violation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and for the first time we organized ourselves and demanded the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to grant political prisoners a separate legal status. At the same time, we began to demand that Ukrainian prisoners be allowed to serve out the rest of their sentences on the territory of Ukraine. The administration of the Mordovian concentration camps appeared incapable of cutting-off the outward channels of information. Therefore, in July 1971, the KGB transported 500 of the most active political prisoners to the Kuchino, Central and Polovynky settlements. The struggle continued.

In 1973, I was fortunate enough to become acquainted with the Russian Yegor Davydov, a true democrat, and the first Russian to recognize Ukraine’s right to secession from Russia. In 1974, the regional people’s court in Chusovsk, Perm province, sentenced me — a Ukrainian, Symas Kudirka — a Lithuanian, David Chornohlaz — a Jew, to imprisonment for organizing a strike in the 36th zone in protest of the beating-up of the Ukrainian political prisoner, Stepan Sapeliak, by an officer of the administration.

While I was in the Vladimir prison, I got to know two wonderful Russians: Volodymyr Bukovskyj and Volodymyr Balakonov. I met Mykola Budulian-Sharygin for the second time, who kept up his good humour even when his blood pressure rose to 220, making his face turn completely blue. I also met Anatolij Zdorovyj, Oleksa Serhiyenko and the Jew Yakiw Suslynkyj. Life among such people is interesting and full of meaning under any conditions.

We drafted quite a detailed legal project for a separate everyday contingent of regulating conditions for keeping political prisoners. 72 people signed this project. We sent it off on October 3, 1974 — the Day of the Soviet political prisoner — to the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the Supreme Soviet, as a proposal for discussion.

Repressions continued in the Vladimir prison and I was sent to the Rybansk psychiatric hospital for tests. During the registration of new arrivals, I asked why I, as a men-



Nadia and Levko Lukyanenko

tally sane person, had been brought to their hospital and what they intended to do with me. I was told: "We will cure you of your views." Within a month I was discharged after having been diagnosed with "hypochondriachal syndrome". Just before my release, I was transferred from Vladimir to Chernihiv, and finally released on January 21, 1976.

Conditions in Chernihiv left much to be desired: there were no products, industrial goods were of bad quality and expensive, the people had no rights and kept quiet, only two Ukrainian schools were left, and the others had been turned into Russian-language schools, television programmes and movies made at Ukrainian film studios were all in Russian. In fact, we were being suppressed from all sides.

We had to oppose such an unhealthy atmosphere in order to prevent a person from turning into some sort of homunculus. At first, I acted alone, then together with a few people, we formed the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which provided more possibilities of realizing the potential abilities of its members. The following ten people became members of the Group (in alphabetical order): Oleksander Berdnyk, Petro Hryhorenko, Ivan Kandyba, myself, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Rudenko, Nina Strokata, Oleksa Tykhyj.

Rudenko and Tykhyj were arrested on February 5, 1977, Matusevych and Marynovych in April of that year. I was arrested on December 12, 1977. On December 10, I finished writing an appeal to the Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, attended by delegates from 35 states, on the discrimination of Ukrainians with regard to the right of emigration. I passed this appeal onto my wife, who managed to get it to Kyiv.

During my inquest, I was already well aware of the term and conditions of imprisonment awaiting me. I started a hunger strike in protest of my unjust arrest and refused to testify. I also renounced my Soviet citizenship and for the first time, I began to accept the thought of death as probably not the worst turn of fate. In the ten years (from 1950 to 1960), I would have been able to write something of interest, but in this

case... these were ten years of intellectual degradation, after which, even if I were left with the minimal strength to put pen to paper, I would in any case not have been able to remember enough to write complete analytical works. Must one suffer for ten years just to come out at the end of them a completely worthless invalid? The only thought which kept me alive was that I was in command of my own life. Neither the state, nor anyone else, would be able to stop me from taking my own life should I so wish. I am the supreme judge in this case, and I would be able to do this whenever I decided. Therefore, there is no point in rushing anywhere. Only when I lose my patience, I will go. But in the meantime I must suffer.

The Chernihiv provincial court in the town of Horodna (where my brother Viktor lived, and it is almost 2 kms. from my native Khrypivka to Horodna) declared me as an extremely dangerous recidivist and sentenced me to 10 years of imprisonment in a harsh regime colony and 5 years' exile.

On October 20, 1978, I was taken to the very same village of Sosnovka in the Moldavian ASSR, where I first began my life as a political prisoner 17 years ago. Except that at that time this was a large zone, and now there was only a small prison across the road from it.

I was met by Oleksa Tykhyj, Ivan Hel and other, some known and unknown to me, striped "zebras", or, as Vitaliy Kalynychenko wittily said, "knights in tiger skins". We managed to send out information from prison to the free world and thus, disclose the unlawfulness of Soviet citizens and the despotic nature of the Brezhnev regime.

Since the camp administration was unable to cut off our information channels, in February 1980 we were all transferred to the specially built small prison in Kuchino, about 200 metres from the severe regime zone.

Before long, agents began to spread rumours that no one would come out from the zone alive unless he recanted all of his activities. Gradually the harsh conditions intensified and an authorized KGB agent even told us, "How can we release you before you have been disarmed? You will continue to fight us. No, we cannot release such people alive."

Eventually we became reconciled with the thought that an honourable death in the Kuchino camp would be our last service for Ukraine. In 1981, Andriy Turyk was transferred to the Perm prison hospital almost in good health, but within a month, he joined his forefathers. (Thus he paid for being a signatory of the "Document of 19").

(By this "Document of 19", Levko Lukyanenko probably means the joint petition of Ukrainian political prisoners to the United Nations presented in the summer of 1979. The signatories of this document appealed for the inclusion of the Ukrainian issue on the daily agenda of the UN General Assembly sessions and to do everything possible to speed-up Ukraine's liberation from any kind of imperialism and occupation. Besides Andriy Turyk and Levko Lukyanenko, the joint petition was signed by such known former political prisoners as: Serhiy Babych, Ivan Hel, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Vasyl Ovsienko, Zoryan Popadiuk, Petro Ruban, Yuriy Shukhevych, and others — ed's. note).

In 1982, Mykhailo Kurka, from the generation of the *banderivtsi*, died. On May 5, Oleksa Tykyj died. 1983 was a particularly harsh year. Between my own oscillation between life and death and the loss of my great friend (Tykhyj), I also lost my father in October of that year, and ten days later, my brother Viktor.

On September 5, 1984, the Day of Remembrance of the victims of the Red Terror, my other close friend, Yuriy Lytvyn, committed suicide. That same year, Valeriy Marchenko died, having paid for his life by disseminating the secret document on the intensified Russification of Ukrainian schools.

In 1985, on the eve of the commemoration of the Day of Red Terror, Vasyl Stus passed away.

After Stus' death, there was a slight appeasement. However, in 1986, the KGB was still resorting to old methods of dealing with their ideological opponents and hitting below the belt. On December 8, 1987, I was transferred from the special regime camp to the severe regime camp. Within 24 hours, I was no longer wearing striped, but black clothes, and I was directed to the Perm prison.

Before I was sent into exile, the following was stated in the accompanying document written in Kuchino: "Five years exile. Severe regime." In accordance with these instructions from Kuchino, I was put in solitary confinement at all deportation prisons, and made to freeze or tortured with hunger. When the time came for me to be sent to my place of exile in the village of Berezovka, the Parabelsk regional militia put me under administrative supervision. I arrived in Berezovka on January 30, 1988. I was put in a hostel, where I had no peace day or night.

My wife arrived on February 27. For two days we lived in the red corner of the hostel, and then we found a temporary room. In May, I rented an old and inadequate apartment, which I renovated with the help of local acquaintances and thus, I arranged for us to have a "corner of our own", which was made up of a small room and a kitchen. I complained about the supervision, and it was abolished.

My dear friends from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group chose me as the head of the Group. From the very beginning, I regarded the activities of the Group as beneficial to the cause of the democratization of Soviet society and the defence of Ukrainian national rights. Now, when the possibility arose of renewing the activities of the Group, I was more than willing to make it more active in all possible ways.

That is probably why on April 23, 1988, it was suggested that I write a statement asking for an exit visa from the Soviet Union. I think, that due to the fact that I had spent 25 years in imprisonment, there is no need for me to leave the Soviet Union. Moreover, if I am not forced to leave for health reasons, then I will stay. Of course, Berezovka is not Ukraine, but although it is far from Ukraine, it still seems to me that here I can feel the pulse of life in Ukraine better, as well as the general course of restructuring, than from somewhere in New York. It is true that New York is incomparably a more advantageous place for me to fulfill my potential in the theoretical field than Berezovka. However, I believe that at present Ukraine does not need yet another theoretical dissertation on the right to an independent place beneath the sun. On the other hand, Ukraine does need practical action in returning its national nature to its ethnographic territories.

After finishing the first course in the faculty of law at Moscow State University in 1954, I got married. Anticipating the possibility of being arrested, I did not take a woman from Moscow, marriage with whom would have been almost exclusively built on love. Love alone is not enough for a lasting marriage. For this one needs the same tastes and ideas about many matters and issues. One must have the same ideas on moral values. Moreover, my actual political aim — the reason for my possible arrest and my wife's resulting compulsory solitude — should not be hostile to her.

I could expect to find the latter in Ukrainian women who were studying with me at Moscow State University, but not necessarily the former two conditions. I met such a woman in my native village during my vacations. She was Nadia Nykonivna Buhayevska, a student of the Kyiv Agricultural Academy who, like me, spent her vacations in Khrypivka. I was not mistaken in my choice. I did not give her a happy family life (sometimes I even thought that it would have been better if I had not married her at all), inasmuch as I only brought her immense suffering. Out of love, as well as from her own human decency, she made my fate part of her own. From then on, albeit from afar, she has firmly stuck by me. Without her, just as without my mother's constant letters, the barbed wire would have torn at my soul more painfully and would have dried up the source of my love of mankind considerably more.

A biography of a member of the national liberation movement is of social interest, no doubt with regard to two aspects. On the one hand, the way in which the ideology of national liberation developed and took shape as one's own personal conviction, and on the other hand, how one's practical activity developed.

At first, I compared the age-group of the revolutionaries of the 1870s with the age of Soviet political prisoners of the 1970s. It seems that one hundred years ago the revolutionaries were considerably younger.

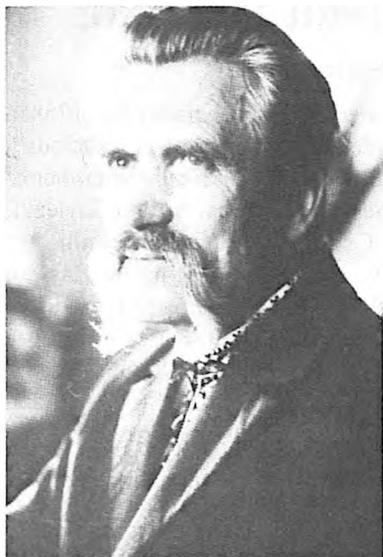
Secondly, according to observations made by communist atheist propagandists, people (usually women) who went to church for the first time in Ukraine in the 1970s were around 40 years old. Thus, we have a fact of late development in an examination of the official ideology. The reason for this?

The reason lies in the totality of communist propaganda. From a pre-school age to the time they reach retirement the people are brought up with the aid of newspapers, radio, cinema, political activities, meetings, etc. The system of deception is built in such a way, so as to keep each person under its influence and leave room for no possibility of slipping out from under this influence.

Therefore, even if the thought arises early on in a youth about the absolute necessity of national liberation, he is constantly tossed about in a web of official ideology until, finally, he is able to accumulate enough lies and theoretically unfounded facts of official ideology, in other words, as a consequence, the theoretical accuracy of the theory of national liberation.

One should not underestimate the fact that Marx's theory about the superiority of great states (this is an antithesis of the theory on separate nations) has been introduced into the course of sciences, which jointly argue for a great state ideology starting from the highest philosophical and theoretical concept of the world through historical materialism down to the lowest level of political explanation of practical decisions. Therefore, the Marxist theory on the superiority of great states aims to satisfy the needs of people in a wide diapason of their theoretically and intellectually recognizable abilities. Although the basic theory is no more than fiction, the actual theory has been worked out in detail and in depth.

I have not stopped to ponder over the long and difficult path of the definition of the numerous postulates of official ideology. In conditions of restructuring and democratization, when many such postulates have already been defined or questioned by the active community, such a discourse would entail boredom. I only mentioned the emotional moments which have engraved my memory. In moments of theoretical doubts



*Most recent photograph
of Levko Lukyanenko*

they attracted my attention and beside all sorts of theoretical insidiousness, they forced me to give way to good sense — the best judge in matters of social truth and justice.

The practical activity of an activist of the intermediate stages in the development of an enslaved nation (when one mass movement has already ended its activities, and a new one has not yet come into full being) — is enlightenment, agitation and propaganda.

The organizational part of the preparation of such activity takes place in conspiracy, but inasmuch as the aim — the spreading of ideas — is, according to its nature, public, then the initiators already disseminate their subversive ideas at the organizational stage. In a year or two, they attract the attention of agents, as a result of which the initiators themselves end up behind bars.

It is possible to sharpen the bayonet in one's own house, keeping this secret from the authorities for at least a hundred years. Yet, disseminating ideas and keeping this secret from the authorities for long is not possible. According to my calculations, based on a great number of cases, the average duration from the beginning of practical activity to the time of one's arrest is approximately three years.

These three years are followed by a long period of imprisonment, where a person once again resorts to theorizing. Experience in organizational activity, which can be gained in imprisonment, is restricted by at least the limits of the social structure of the contingent of prisoners. The drive to compensate the restrictions with the aid of abstract projections onto a wide social sphere somewhat helps, but of course it cannot completely compensate for the imperfection of the social structure.

This short autobiography could not be complete, since it is not something of the past, but the present. KGB agents are now stressing that they are officers and doing only what they are told. Yesterday they did one thing, today another, and tomorrow, so to speak, everything could change... Yet, they will continue to do what they did before: arrest, suppress, destroy. They are dreaming of the return of a so-called "normal" Brezhnev-like order. They are preparing for this return by intercepting (not only) telephone conversations, letters, articles and by accumulating them in our dossiers.

What we are hoping is that the old order will never return. And it will not. Yet the zigzag, by which the agents' dossiers will become the basis for charges, cannot be excluded. I can deal with my own affairs as I wish, but I do not have the right to make trouble for others. Therefore, I had to keep quiet about several earlier facts in my autobiography and not mention some names, as well as some incidents in our lives as prisoners.

By doing so, I am failing to satisfy my Ukrainian friends and Russian colleagues (on whose request I have written this autobiography). However, I hope that they will understand the reasons for this certain incompleteness.

May 1988, Berezovka, Siberia

Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko

EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL MEETING

December 8-9, 1988, London, Great Britain

The European Freedom Council held its annual meeting on December 8-9, 1988 in London, Great Britain, under the theme "A New Challenge for the European Nations".

The first part of the meeting was chaired by the Hon. John Wilkinson, member of the British Parliament and EFC President, and then by the Hon. Stefan Terlezki, former member of the British Parliament and EFC Chairman for Great Britain.

Mr. Wilkinson opened the meeting with a most inspiring address on "An Eastern European Policy for Western Europe". The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett, member of the EFC Honorary Presidium, in his speech, "Can the Soviet Russian Empire Survive?", confirmed the general conviction of the participants that the Soviet Russian empire already is in the process of disintegration. ABN President Slava Stetsko added proof of this, by quoting a detailed list of recent events in the Soviet Union and the satellite states in her speech, "The Disintegration of the USSR from within in Light of Recent Events". Mme. Genevieve Aubry, member of the Swiss Parliament, President of the World Anti-Communist League and EFC Executive Board member spoke on: "Is Switzerland Ready for a New Challenge with the European Nations?" and demanded a security policy that is clear and convincing. Mr. Jose Felix Gonzales Noriega from "Allianza Popular", the opposition party in Spain, deplored the drastic reduction of American military presence in Spain in his speech entitled "Spain's Relationship with Europe and the USA". Mr. Bertil Haggman, LL.B., Chairman of the Institute for a Political-Psychological Freedom Campaign and EFC Executive Board member, in his speech "Aiding the Forces of Freedom in the Soviet Empire — A Scandinavian Contribution", stated that Europe, in order to claim its place between the superpowers America and Russia, has to include the subjugated nations in Eastern Europe. Prof. Leo Magnino (Italy), Director of La Cultura nel Mondo and EFC Executive Board member spoke on "Europe and the Psychological Warfare of the USSR".

The meeting was attended by representatives of free European countries, as well as those of the subjugated nations, such as Ukrainians, Georgians, Poles, Croats, Rumanians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Slovaks, Byelorussians. The participants could put questions to the speakers, as well as express their own views in the discussions. A press conference was held on Thursday afternoon. Hon. Stefan Terlezki closed this successful meeting of the European Freedom Council with an address on "The New Soviet Russian Policy from a British Perspective". After the meeting, the Rt. Hon. Sir and Lady Frederic Bennett gave a reception for the members of the EFC.

On December 10, 1988, an Inaugural Rally of the European Freedom Campaign, organised by Sir Frederic Bennett and the Special Committee of the European Freedom Campaign was held in Central Hall, Westminster. Approximately 1,000 guests filled the vast hall. A medley of national anthems and the European Freedom hymn were played by the Central Band of the Royal British Legion. The national flags of the subjugated nations were carried in by representatives of these countries in their national costumes. Outstanding British politicians, the Rt. Hon. Lord Chalfont, PC, MC, the Rt. Hon. Julian Amery, M.P. and the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett delivered addresses. Speakers on behalf of the subjugated nations were: Mr. Heiki Ahonen (Estonia), Mr. Yosyp Terelya (Ukraine), Mr. Turkowski (Polish Independence Movement and Polish Solidarity), and others. The meeting was closed by Sir Frederic Bennett.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

Since the last EFC conference in Munich in June 1987, there has been a development towards change in the Soviet Russian empire. During the autumn of 1988, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been in the forefront in demanding independence from Moscow. A similar development is noticeable in Byelorussia, Georgia and Ukraine. Unrest is continuing in Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Ukraine the forces that demand national independence and cultural and religious freedom are growing. During 1988 Ukrainians all over the world outside Soviet Russia celebrated the millennium of christianization of Ukraine and unmasked the Kremlin attempts to portray it as the millennium of Christianity in Russia. In Poland and Hungary strikes and economic problems have been endemic. Hostility between Serbs and Albanians and other nationalities in Yugoslavia is a danger to the peace and prosperity in the Balkans and the persecution of Hungarians by the Bucharest regime in Rumania add to the picture of a slowly disintegrating communism.

While welcoming any change towards decentralization in the Soviet Russian system, the EFC warns that there is no change in the Soviet desire for world domination. Mr. Gorbachev, in spite of his assurances of a wish for peaceful coexistence and cooperation, is still seeking to decouple Western Europe from the United States and to dissolve the Western alliance. The Brezhnev Doctrine has not been repudiated and military aid to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola and other Soviet client states is continuing. While extended opportunities of contacts with the subjugated peoples as a result of glasnost and perestroika should be used to further freedom behind the Iron Curtain, it is important to be cautious.

The main reason for Mr. Gorbachev's reforms is to modernise the failing Soviet economy with Western loans and technology. Western loans to the USSR and the so-



The EFC Meeting in session.

called satellite countries ought to be linked to political demands concerning the release of political prisoners, extended cultural and religious freedom and freedom of information. The EFC opposes a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 if the USSR has not put a stop to religious persecution and released all political prisoners. The actual number of political prisoners is to be determined through human rights organisations in the West.

It is imperative that Western military and economic support for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, Afghanistan and other countries continues. The planned treaty to be signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola regulating the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the process towards Namibian independence must not result in the abandonment of UNITA. Likewise, it must not result in a Marxist-Leninist SWAPO government in Windhoek, which will become a client of Soviet Russia and the satellite regimes.

The EFC supports the process of denuclearization in the world started by the INF Treaty. However, the best insurance against nuclear war is the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) and it is important that research in SDI is continued by the incoming Bush administration. It is also important at the same time to reduce the armed forces in Europe. The Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional arms makes it necessary to reduce these forces before a disarmament process can begin.

The EFC supports the continuing publicity of Stalinist crimes against the subjugated peoples. The genocide against the Ukrainian people during the 1920s and 1930s which caused the loss of at least 7 million lives, the mass graves at Minsk (Byelorussia) where at least 100,000 victims were executed by the NKVD in 1937-38, the mass deportations to Siberia from the Baltic countries after WWII, the murder of Polish officers at Katyn are only a small fraction of the black deeds of the Soviet Russian regime since the Bolshevik coup in 1917. As long as the full story of these crimes is not told, there is no real glasnost.

The EFC reaffirms its support of freedom and independence for the subjugated nations in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960, 1970, 1971, 1974) must be the guiding principle in Western foreign policy regarding the subjugated nations.

In spite of assurances by the Kremlin leadership, Soviet "active measures" in the form of, for example, disinformation and forgeries are continuing and often without control spread by Western media. The EFC believes that as long as this kind of political warfare against Western nations and liberation movements of the subjugated nations continues, it casts doubt on the process of glasnost and perestroika. It is necessary that the USSR and the satellite regimes discontinue these practices.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR *ABN CORRESPONDENCE*

Due to increased printing and postage costs, the editorial board has been forced to increase the annual subscription rate for *ABN Correspondence*. As of January 1989, the new annual subscription price will be US\$27.00, or US\$5.00 per issue, and the equivalent amount in all other countries. We are counting on your understanding and support.

EASTERN EUROPEAN POLICY FOR WESTERN EUROPE

The visit of General Secretary and President Gorbachev to the United Nations has been widely reported and his speech has covered the front pages of all our national newspapers. To my mind, the main challenge for the European nations is indeed a new one. In the post-war period we have been preoccupied by the balance of power in Europe, and understandably so. The period after the Second World War saw the incorporation of the satellite states of Eastern Europe into the Soviet Russian empire. The incorporation was buttressed and fortified by a steady accretion of Soviet military power. The development of the Soviet nuclear capability further fortified that incorporation.

The first forty years of NATO which will be marked in 1989 have seen a collective security system built up on the part of the West which has kept in check the expansionary tendencies of the Soviet Union. Without the deterrence provided by our alliance and more particularly by our nuclear forces, I have no doubt myself that the westward expansion of the Soviet Union would have continued. But the Soviets have come to realize that sustaining the arms race at its present level is beyond their capabilities and they have come to see that they cannot obtain nuclear superiority over the West either. The most manifest example of this realization on their part, was the agreement signed in Washington between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan to eliminate a whole range of nuclear weapons, namely the SS20s on the part of the Soviet Union and the ground launched cruise missiles and the Pershing II rockets on the part of NATO.

That process of arms control which was initiated in Reykjavik was concluded in Washington as far as medium range nuclear weapons are concerned. It is hoped that new talks could now be initiated which will lead toward reductions in strategic weapons of 50% on either side and also towards reductions in chemical weapons, of which the Soviets have an overwhelming capability, and crucially and essentially, a diminution of the gross imbalance of conventional forces in Europe in which the Soviet Union enjoys an advantage of 3 to 1 in manpower and 2.5 to 1 in deployed armour and aircraft on the central front.

In my judgment, the military dimension has dominated the East-West relationship in Europe over the last 40 years. However, there are clear signs that the strong will and the cohesion of the Western alliance of the free democracies of the Atlantic community have led the Soviets to realize that the pursuit of military superiority cannot of itself bring material gains in Europe.

The challenge for the coming generation is going to be a multifaceted one. The challenge will encompass a political and psychological dimension to a greater and greater extent. This psychological and political dimension of the Soviet challenge is something of which the EFC has been well aware for many a year and it is something which we have addressed in our various meetings throughout Europe. Bertil Haggman of the EFC has indeed advocated the creation of a psychological warfare directorate within NATO and the late Yaroslav Stetsko who contributed so vastly to the work of

the EFC always emphasized the psychological and political dimension of the struggle of the free democracies against the totalitarian Soviet Russian empire.

How are the western democracies going to react to this political and psychological challenge? First of all, I would hope, with the same cohesion and unity which led to success in the military dimension. There is a very great danger that individual nations within our community of free peoples in Western Europe may pursue an individual line. The Soviet Union has always been adept at the process of dividing and thereby ruling. It has sought to divide the councils of Western Europe with the councils and views of North America. It has sought to drive a wedge between the front line countries in NATO such as Norway, Denmark and West Germany and those somewhat to the rear, like France and the United Kingdom. It has played upon particular sensitivities, be they environmental or "green" issues. It has played on the desire for peace among the young and the peace movements have received active encouragement from the Soviets.

The Soviets have not been reluctant to criticize governments, like my own, which have resolutely tackled the terrorist problem. The Soviets have been sympathetic to the aspirations of the IRA and have undoubtedly had a part with their friends the Libyans and the Syrians and the South Yemenis in the promotion and support of international terrorism. The tradition of subversion, of trying to create tensions within the alliance, of trying to exploit grievances, the tradition of playing on the disaffection of the young, all these things are well comprehended by the Soviets and have been actively pursued.

Under the much more dynamic, forceful and imaginative leadership of Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviets have a proven record of the active use of political measures. Now these political measures are on a far grander scale and pursued on the international stage and we must in advance learn to articulate our responses and to concert a common approach.

The first thing in that common approach is that we must not allow the initiative to pass to the Soviet Union. The fact that Mr. Gorbachev was able to go to the United Nations and deliver an address which captured the headlines and caused a great deal of comment and speculation shows that we really must meet this challenge, otherwise, at every stage hereafter, we will be reacting to each initiative on the part of the Soviets and not forcing them onto the political defensive.

How can we seize the initiative from them? We must seek to understand the areas in which they are most vulnerable. If we look at these areas of vulnerability, they are of course the areas with which we in the EFC could well identify. Above all, there is the fact that the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon economic grouping are bodies which are beholden to and act at the behest of the Soviets; that exist to do the Soviets' bidding and are in no sense representative bodies of free and sovereign nations. The very opposite is true of our collective security alliance and of our international institutions.

The European Economic Community is in counter distinction to Comecon. It was abody brought into being specifically to try to eliminate the causes of tension that led to World War II and in particular, the age old antagonism between France and Germany. By eliminating customs barriers, by maximizing trade, by insuring economic growth on the basis of partnership. It was felt that as a consequence the old rivalries would disappear and that ancient enemies in Europe could move forward together towards a common prosperity.



The Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. addressing the EFC Meeting.

The Council of Europe, too, which has no counterpart within the Soviet bloc, an association of 22 free democracies of Western Europe which even the Finns are seeking to join despite the Finnish-Soviet pact, is an association brought about in 1949 to heal the wounds of WWII. Its headquarters in Strasbourg itself symbolizes Franco-German reconciliation. The Council's purpose is to preserve and uphold the principles of democracy, of the rule of law, of human rights. By its conventions, its pronouncements, by the participation of its Council of Ministers from the member governments and its assembly of elected parliamentarians of national parliaments, the Council has the capacity to demonstrate that the nations of Western Europe are actively working together to strengthen those principles which they jointly espouse. It is these principles themselves which have inspired the NATO treaty organization itself, an association of free, independent sovereign states. Were it not so, how could General de Gaulle have asked the Americans to withdraw troops from France as he did, were it not so, how could France itself withdraw from the integrated military structure? Were it not so, how could it be that Spain, the most recent country to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, have been allowed the freedom not to be a member of the integrated military structure and not take part in the operations commands in the way that the other NATO countries do? This is very different from the Warsaw Pact where the line is laid down quite severely, clearly and strictly by the Soviets, where no one could possibly envisage one country opting out of the joint military structure or saying that the Soviet forces should not be stationed on its soil. If the East Germans were to say that, one can imagine what the consequences would be.

We have therefore a firm basis on which to launch a political offensive. We have every reason to be proud of our own democratic institutions and our international institutions here in Western Europe as well. We are in a good position to concentrate on the vulnerabilities of the Soviet Union.

What are these vulnerabilities? Above all, the denial of the right to nationhood on the part of the proud peoples who in every sense fulfill the criteria for nationhood. Had they not fulfilled the criteria for nationhood how come that the Soviets have been so adamant that Byelorussia and Ukraine, so-called sovereign nations, be represented in the United Nations?

Furthermore, the Soviets claim in their constitution that individual nations have the right to secede and the Estonians in particular are challenging this very matter at the present time. Moreover, the so-called autonomy of the individual republics is something of which the Soviets often boast, but when it is practically tested as it has been tested most severely by the Estonians, and to some degree the Lithuanians, Latvians, Armenians and Georgians in recent days, we see how reluctant the Soviets are to relinquish power over the constituent republics of what is in essence, an empire held in place by force and by terror. It is no trifling matter in this regard to consider the situation in the Caucasian republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan in particular. There, national consciousness is heightened by religious tensions and by a system of government that manifests clearly that it does not represent the interests of the people. In the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave Christian Armenians feel that their identity is being swamped and that they are unable to see their own Armenian interests safeguarded in a republic ruled by Azerbaijanis at the behest of the Soviets. Notwithstanding the bloodshed that has occurred, notwithstanding the riots and the public agitation, the Soviets have had to respond in the way that they have always responded, by a liberal infusion of overwhelming military force. The Red Army has been put in to ensure that the situation does not get out of hand. As we look at Armenia and pray for the poor people who suffered in the earthquake which has stricken the country, I do believe that the Soviets will have to institute changes. It is also my personal belief that the earthquake itself will have political ramifications as well. Unless the Soviets are able to provide the assistance, the aid, comfort and relief to the people on the scale they deserve, the sense of alienation and disaffection can only grow.

Looking to the Baltic republics, the Popular Fronts whereby nationalistically minded communists are working together with genuine nationalists to seek greater autonomy and perhaps, ultimately, to test the ability of the Soviet Union to prevent secession in the Baltic republics are very significant. The strong feelings of the Estonians will, I am sure, spread increasingly to the Latvians and Lithuanians. In Ukraine and Byelorussia too, the ferment is growing.

As objective number one in our political program of action, we must support the aspirations of these nations by every means possible. We must explain to people that national rights are subjugated in the Soviet Union and subordinate to the interests of the Soviet Russian empire. The said fact must be explained to people until they understand.

We in the West quite rightly take pride in freedom of religion. We have a Pope who is Polish, a Pope who understands what the communist system is as no other Pope has understood before. We in the West should campaign particularly actively for freedom of religion within the Soviet bloc, for freedom for the Ukrainian Catholic Church to be legitimized, freedom for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to be legitimized, freedom

for Baptists and other denominations to practice their own religion in their own way, freedom for the Lutheran Churches in the Baltic states, in Estonia and Latvia in particular, freedom for the Catholic Church which is much persecuted in Lithuania and so on.

The freedom which we enjoy to practice our religious beliefs and to pursue the tenets of our faith in the West is something which we take too readily for granted. David Atkinson, a great friend and colleague of mine has been most active in his work with Keston College in seeking to pursue greater freedom of religious expression behind the Iron Curtain. This is the second dimension of our program.

The third dimension is freedom of association and freedom of trade unions to operate as free independent bodies, representative of their membership, totally separated from the organs of state power and separated from the management of the concerns in which they work. Here the most classic example is of course the Polish one and I do not think that we should be lulled into any sense of false security. We should not allow ourselves to be beguiled by talk of compromise and understanding between the communist authorities under Jaruzelski and his new prime minister and the Solidarity movement. They are, in essence, quite distinct in their aspirations and totally different in their motivation. The Polish government and the communist authorities in Warsaw only want to see the party influence be maintained throughout the working class of Poland. They hate seeing ordinary working people contemptuous of the communist system which has brought such poverty to the people of Poland. Therefore, when trade unionists seek to represent workers' interests, quite separate from the Communist Party and point out to all the people of Poland and to the world that the communist system is an economically and morally bankrupt system, then this is something that the communists like Jaruzelski and the other Polish puppet masters hate.

So as I have said before, we should not be lulled into any sense of false security, we should not accept compromises. We must understand that the Roman Catholic Church has to pursue policies which appear perhaps to us in the West equivocal but nonetheless the Catholic Church has demonstrated itself to be brave, courageous and valid in the support of the interests of free trade unions in Poland and both institutions — Solidarity and the Polish Catholic Church — deserve our full support. So that is the third item, the support of the freedom of association as a fundamental right behind the Iron Curtain as it is here.

These are the three leading political objectives. But what about the economic objectives with a political dimension? Here I must confess to some anxieties. I have always felt that General Secretary Gorbachev offers to the world great hopes, but the assumption by him of tremendous power, the re-organization of party structures according to his whims and dictates, the placing in positions of authority by him of his cronies and supporters, all these things mean, that the Communist Party is a more modernized and effective party and could be a stronger instrument for pursuing fundamentally unchanged Soviet objectives.

There is no sign that the Soviets have abandoned their objective of spreading socialism but they realize that this is hard to achieve militarily and in the short term, will not be achieved militarily. Hence the suggestion by Gorbachev that he is going to reduce the Soviet armed forces by half a million men; the suggestion that he is going to eliminate 10,000 tanks in the Soviet order of battle; hence the suggestion by him that he is going to reduce the number of combat aircraft available to the Soviet armed forces by 800;

hence the suggestion by him that he is going to withdraw most divisions from the Sino-Soviet front; hence the suggestion by him that he's going to reorganize the Soviet divisions in Eastern Europe into a more defensive and less offensive posture. All these things are logical consequences of the strength of the West which I have described earlier. Nonetheless, if the West lowers its guard and allows too liberal an exchange of technology with the Soviet Union, if the West is too liberal in the promotion of financial credits to the Soviet Union, if Mr. Gorbachev is able to make Soviet enterprises work commercially, if he is able to introduce incentives into the Soviet economic system and make Soviet citizens work with greater motivation, if all these things come about, then the Soviet economy could become immeasurably stronger and the military potential of the Soviets thereby could be greatly enhanced. We all recall that up to now it has been the West's technical and scientific superiority which has kept the Soviets at bay, it has not been our strength in numbers, it has been the sophistication of our weaponry and the quality of the deterrent. Therefore, as I have sought to describe, there is a very real economic dimension to the political challenge.

We in Western Europe must coordinate our policies. It is no good the West Germans' for example, being a free conduit of military sensitive technology to the Soviet Union. It is not good for Western countries to be totally uncritical in the provision of financial credits in the scramble to obtain first access into what they believe to be lucrative Soviet markets. The Cocom system has to still be maintained and we have to insist on strict *quid pro quos* before we allow too generous an exchange of technologies with the Soviet Union.

In Western Europe we really must concert our policies now in order to bring about a unified approach to the Soviet challenge. First of all, we have to decide that we in the West have to go on to the offensive. Second, we have to decide that we in the West have got to take the initiative in areas in which the Soviet Union is vulnerable, over the question of human rights, the question of religion, the question of nationality. We have got to make quite sure that our economic self interest is not prejudicial to our own physical security. Above all, we have to be conscious that our friends within the Soviet Russian empire who long for nothing more dearly than to be free, are not betrayed by us. It could be, I think, all too easy for the West to come to a cozy accomodation with the Soviet Union. After all, Mr. Gorbachev and Raisa appear to be so much more personable, they have so much more charm, they are so much more confident on the world stage, they are so much more appreciative of public relations, the use of the media and of the psychological impact that they convey. It would be and is very beguiling for us just to say the Soviet Union is improving, the leadership is more enlightened, there is modest progress, there is a degree of liberalization of the economy, perhaps the political repression of dissidents is not so severe, perhaps the people are a little bit more free to practice their religion, perhaps the Polish government has not been too harsh on Solidarity, maybe we can persuade the Rumanians not to destroy so many villages, perhaps we can persuade the Bulgarians not to be quite so severe on the Turks, maybe the East German regime under Mr. Honnecker can come to an understanding with the Lutheran Church, perhaps the Czechs won't be quite so nasty to Charter 77 and so forth, and so on, accept little crumbs of comfort in return for an overall easing of tension, but no genuine offer of hope and liberty on the part of the nations and peoples in the Soviet Russian empire.



EFC Executive Board and honored guests at the Freedom Rally.

The example that we should hold before our eyes is the example of Afghanistan. At Christmas 1979, when the Western democracies were cozily tucking into the turkey and plum pudding, the Soviets rolled their tanks into Afghanistan. There they have remained until this day. Indeed, the withdrawal which the Soviets promised in Geneva has been temporarily halted because they fear the Mujahideen will sweep Najibullah and the Soviet puppets aside as soon as the Soviet Army leaves in February. The Soviets have been desperate to cobble together an agreement which would at least allow the communists a toehold on Kabul in a coalition government. This is why the Soviets came to talks at Taif in Saudi Arabia with the representatives of 7 Mujahideen groups, something which they have never done before.

The lesson is that if the freedom loving peoples of the West respond to aggression with courage and determination, with persistence and tenacity, even the Soviet army can be turned back. I think we should be hopeful this Christmas tide 1988. I hope that we will allow ourselves time collectively to concentrate our minds on how we respond to that Soviet political challenge. I think it should be a joint concerted European and North American political response. We have a new president coming into office in the United States in January, one who understands the world stage, who has served two terms in Congress, two terms as vice-president, held an ambassadorship in Peking, a man who really comprehends the international order. President Reagan leaves office with his head held high after two outstanding terms. In England of course, we have a prime minister who has been outstanding, and candidly speaking, secondary only to Churchill in this century.

So let us be optimistic. Let us remember what the Mujahideen have done in Afghanistan and hold them to ourselves as an example of what we jointly can do for the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Russian empire who genuinely deserve to be free.

IS SWITZERLAND READY FOR A NEW CHALLENGE WITH THE EUROPEAN NATIONS?

Introduction

Europe's — and hence also Switzerland's — international environment has entered a period of change. The change itself is obvious to every observer: a Soviet Union that has embarked on a reform course as ambitious as it is daring; a new dialogue between the superpowers; a multiplication of arms control initiatives; a Soviet strategic withdrawal from some of the empire's outposts in the Third World. Where that change will ultimately lead to, however, remains difficult to foresee. There are new perspectives — also in Western Europe itself that readies itself for the integrated market of 1992; yet their eventual meaning, their implications, and their stability remain more shaky than public opinion in many Western countries would like to have it. There is a general feeling that a departure to new shores is feasible, even under way; the question whether we will reach those new shores — and how we will like them — still remains considerably more open. We live in a period of transition, the ultimate outcome of which is almost by definition, yet uncertain.

For Swiss security policy this constitutes both a challenge and a chance. The very ambivalence and fluidity of the changing international environment further increases, in my mind, the need for convincing political leadership. There are new opportunities in front of us; we shall seize them. There are, however, also dangers to be recognized, both old and new. We have to be aware of them and render them transparent to our population. Switzerland is determined to pursue a security policy which is not built on illusions, but carried by visions and solidly based on sober assessment of the current situation.

Let me, therefore, share with you, first, my own personal analysis of the international situation today before I shall, in a second part of this presentation, try to deduce from that international situation some conclusions with respect to Swiss security policy in the period ahead.

Change and Continuity in the International Environment

The most significant aspect of change which we witness today is unquestionably Mikhail Gorbachev's gargantuan attempt to steer the USSR on a new and more promising course. Shackled by a petrified bureaucracy and showing the inertia of a supertanker, the Soviet Union is, though, even under the best of circumstances, no easy candidate for reform. Yet this very fact which let attempts at reform in the past falter, seems to have instilled in the new Soviet leader the conviction that drastic measures are not only imperative, but indeed highly urgent, should the USSR not gradually see its position as a superpower be undermined. When elected General Secretary in March 1985, Gorbachev recognized that the USSR was facing a multifaceted, indeed, a systemic crisis that encompassed military, economic, political, and social dimensions. Time had ceased to be the Soviet Union's best ally and turned into its worst foe. The traditional Soviet answer of the past — to both problems and opportunities — i. e. to increase military might that would then be used as political leverage could no longer be

the simple answer to this new reality. It might — given the fact that the West was about to enter a technological revolution the USSR could not reasonably hope to match — be no available answer at all. Gorbachev's slogan of "new political thinking", though slippery in its meaning, indicates at least clearly that the new General Secretary recognized that the realities he was facing requested above all political initiatives; and on political initiatives he certainly embarked.

I believe that Gorbachev's strategy evolved only gradually and is best summarized by three Russian words: perestroika, peredyska and glasnost. What do they mean?

Paramount among Gorbachev's worries must have been the sober recognition that the Soviet economy was not only inefficient, but indeed stagnating. Economic growth had grinded in the early 1980s to a halt — and may even have made place to an actual shrinking of the Soviet GNP. Therefore, the revitalization of that economy had to be the centerpiece of his reform attempt. To simply replace people in top positions, Gorbachev's first attempt to stir new life into the Soviet economy, soon proved no answer to the systemic causes of the Soviet Union's economic perplexities. Structural change, genuine reform, would be needed too. Yet structural change would increase opposition, since it would threaten privileges, and it would require time — precisely that most precious commodity of all, of which the USSR was desperately short.

Perestroika had, thus, to be accompanied by a second set of policies — a new foreign and arms control approach which would buy the USSR time. As Lenin in the 1920s, Gorbachev had to play in the 1980s for a breathing spell from outside pressure — for a "peredyska". Western resolve had to be undermined, Western weapons programmes threatening the USSR had to be eliminated (INF) or at least significantly delayed (SDI), a transformation of Western technological breakthroughs into leverage against the USSR be prevented, Western capital, technology, and knowhow to be again infused into the Soviet economy. That new set of Soviet foreign and arms control policies that emerged under Gorbachev is, thus in my mind, not designed to necessarily search for an agreement, certainly not an agreement at any price; its main objective may well be to buy the USSR time to solve its domestic problems. Gorbachev appears interested in creating a complex set of negotiating processes that create a more benign perception of the USSR in the West — and hence provide the USSR with the breathing spell — as well as ultimately new opportunities which it needs so desperately. Whether the USSR is, however, truly willing to reduce its international ambitions and its key military options threatening the West, still remains to be seen. The operational character of Soviet foreign and arms control policies should, in any event, instill some caution in answering that question.

Gorbachev has finally recognized that the dialogue with the West would have to be matched by a limited dialogue with the Soviet citizen, should his reform have any chance at all. His pressure from above would have to be matched by pressure from below, should the petrified bureaucracy of the Soviet state be forced to yield. His policy of glasnost mirrors his gradual conviction that economic reforms will not succeed if they do not have a social base. You cannot cross an abyss in two hops, Gorbachev is said to have remarked. Consequently, social change would have to accompany economic reform. Yet this concept of glasnost cannot be read as a pledge to gradually move towards a pluralistic democracy of the Western style for this very reason. Glasnost is still operational in its character, narrowly confined to what serves the system in power. Again, this should caution us against an overly optimistic outlook.

Most important perhaps, we should answer two fundamental questions before we embrace the change in the Soviet Union as clearly positive:

First, is Gorbachev genuinely making headway or heading for disaster? There are good reasons to believe that he is creating more problems than he solves. Can the USSR be truly reformed without changing the Soviet system itself? Gorbachev appears to believe this is feasible; I harbour considerable doubts. How will the Soviet population react when Lenin's words "to everybody according to his needs" is replaced by the new slogan "to everybody according to his deeds"? The further the reforms go, the tougher — and particularly broader — resistance should become. Yet who would dare, after Poland, to change price structures in Eastern Europe? How many Armenias and Estonias can glasnost afford? These are questions, to which Gorbachev has not formulated an answer to as of yet.

Secondly, and what if he succeeds? Will a Soviet Union with an efficient economy and a somewhat modified system become a constructive pillar of the international system — or merely a more formidable antagonist? The question certainly merits some thought.

The yardstick of Soviet intentions should clearly be arms control and human rights. Yet, if we look at the record of the arms control negotiating process so far, prudence appears to impose itself. There has been the INF agreement, no doubt. It is a positive step forward in the sense that this agreement has entered new and important ground with its verification clauses. Above all, it fulfills the prerequisite every solid treaty should respect: the side that has armed itself more should also be the side that disarms more.

These further agreements are, though, not yet around the corner. The Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks have been stagnating during the last year. Positions moved not closer to each other, but, on the contrary, rather hardened. The negotiations on a global ban of chemical weapons made some limited progress, but are still far from any breakthrough, while the use of chemical weapons in the Third World has become more widespread and horrible. There is much talk about a reorientation of military doctrines towards purely defensive ones. Yet the International Institute of Strategic Studies had to soberly observe in its latest edition of "The Military Balance": "There have been as yet no (Warsaw Pact) force structuring, equipment or training developments in the Atlantic to the Urals area to support Soviet claims of 'new thinking' involving 'reasonable sufficiency' and defensive defence concepts. (...) Soviet conventional forces, particularly in the forward area, not only exceed the reasonable needs of defence, but are themselves configured and deployed in a fashion which favours high-speed, short-warning, offensive (or counter-offensive) operations". The Institute's figures indicate that the Warsaw Pact continues to produce every year more battle tanks than the U.K., France, Belgium and Denmark have together in their total inventories. There is, in short, a profound gap between words and deeds, between public perceptions and harsh realities in this area. Nor is it by any means clear that this will soon change. However, we should not forget, that to agree on negotiating mandates is considerably easier than to agree on substance. If the West, to cite just one example, talks of a "military superiority" of the Warsaw Pact and the latter of "existing asymmetries" in Europe, the two are by no means talking of the same thing. The hard road in arms control still lies ahead. However, meanwhile, the arms race continues unabated, both on the nuclear and on the conventional level. The USSR is clearly at present interested in fos-

tering a dialogue with the West and is pushing very hard its idea of Europe as a “common house”. One should, though, be thinking twice before one decided to move into such a common house as long as some of its inhabitants are armed to the teeth and as long as such a house still includes psychiatric wards for the politically opposed. At the very least, one should be sure that all inhabitants agree to that indispensable prerequisite for cohabitation: peace and liberty.

Implications for Swiss Security Policy

My own country, Switzerland, derives two lessons from the change it can observe in its strategic environment:

First, there is no reason to weaken our military vigilance and preparedness. As long as in our immediate neighbourhood the deployment of hundreds of thousands of troops, tens of thousands of tanks and artillery pieces and thousands of modern combat aircraft capable of waging war at short notice continues, any decrease in our defence capability would be irresponsible indeed. To state this clearly, it is simply good common sense. Common sense will also guide the Swiss electorate next year, when an initiative to abolish our army will be voted upon, as some of you may know. This initiative will be massively defeated. There cannot be the slightest doubt about this. The Swiss is a sober person, not inclined by nature to speculate on illusions and fancy dreams. We have witnessed twice already in this century, that an army capable of dissuading any aggressor from invasion is for a small country like ours, an indispensable necessity.

Secondly, we have to search for ways and means to further dynamize the outward reaching component of our security policy. We cannot and will not simply passively watch international developments as from an isolated island. Switzerland is no island and has never been one. We will try to do our outmost to encourage the change we observe to move in the right direction. What does this mean? I believe it has to mean, above all, three things:

First, we have to see to it that change will be broad and not one-dimensional. As important as arms control undoubtedly is, it cannot be but one side of the coin. Genuine relaxation of tensions in the East-West relationship cannot be measured simply by the number of ongoing arms control negotiations. Its true yardstick will be whether we see invasion capabilities abandoned and whether we shall see the idea of liberty, human rights and contacts spread. In short, whether we shall see progress in both freedom and security. For this very reason, my country has stubbornly refused the CSCE process becoming simply another arms control forum. We have insisted — and continue to insist — that Vienna has also to bring sizeable progress in human rights and contacts, in the political dialogue, in the attempt to attack together ecological problems. Only broad progress on all these fronts can be genuine progress at all.

Secondly, Switzerland is determined to do everything which lies realistically in its power to contribute to a relaxation of international tensions. Let me cite just a few examples of what this means:

- We will continue to offer our territory for international negotiations and our good offices to the international community at large.
- The Federal Council has decided to significantly increase Switzerland's contribution to peacekeeping operations — both inside and outside the framework of the

United Nations. We have increased our financial contribution to several UN peacekeeping operations. We have put considerable amounts of material at the UN's disposal. Switzerland has made available to the West Sahara, Gulf and Afghanistan missions of the UN aircraft and their crew. We have agreed to arrange for the evacuation of all the sick and wounded of the various UN contingents around the world by air ambulance to their home countries. As of January 1, 1990, my country will also be ready to put military observers at the disposal of the UN Secretary General. In the very near future, Switzerland might also dispatch a field hospital to support the Namibia mission of the UN. To reduce the crisis potential in the Third World must also mean to increase the security of Europe and to favour a relaxation of international tensions.

- In another area, that of training experts for security policy and arms control, Switzerland has created during the last few years for its own needs a training programme that is unique in its kind around the world. If the negotiating process acquires an ever greater importance, we need to be prepared for that challenge. This training programme will be opened, as from next year onward, to civil servants from our immediate neighbours as well as from the other European neutrals. To build expertise in this crucial area, appears to me to be of utmost importance, if we want to defend our interests with any chance of success in what promises to be a long and difficult road.

- In a related programme, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and the Federal Military Department have given security policy research, contracted out to the academic world, a new impetus. To meet the challenges we face, we will need profound knowledge, innovative thinking, and all the expertise we can muster.

Finally, all these initiatives of which we have been speaking will however have to meet the test of not only being effective, but also of being convincing. Large sections of Western public opinion have become mesmerized by the more dynamic Soviet foreign and arms control policies and the alleged imminence of new arms control breakthroughs. We cannot afford to ignore this fact, nor can we or should we passively react to developments. We have, quite on the contrary, to steer a security policy that is as clear as it is convincing. We should not be afraid of the challenge, but rather see it as a chance to explain to our populations the basic tenets of our security policy. We have to formulate answers to the questions posed by the change in our international environment. These answers cannot be based on illusions; they have to be realistic, oriented towards genuine and not only superficial progress. We have to master the art of staying at the same time both vigilant and to carry our own vision of a better world in which freedom and liberty have a fair chance. Switzerland is determined to do precisely this.

WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANIZED IN 988?

by

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky

Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

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CAN THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE SURVIVE?

The question which I chose as the topic of my address has become largely irrelevant and has been answered by recent events which have been reported in the media every day of the week. The only question we have to ask ourselves at this point is how long can the Russian empire survive. Whether it will or not has already been decided by millions of people outside this country, irrespective of what their governments may feel.

I will recall one of the few times when I confronted a Russian minister at an international forum on the day after the Soviet Russian invasion to crush the human face of socialism in Czecho-Slovakia. I was in Vienna at the time at a conference and due to speak officially to the Russians there. A speech had been written for me by the Foreign Office, but in fact I never delivered it, I delivered a rather different one, and never received any reproof from my government. When the Russian representative spoke, I pointed my hand directly at him and said: "You must be feeling very satisfied today because you have got away with it again. You have invaded another small country and reinforced the oppression. You now have one more country really firmly inside your empire. I am going to spoil your pleasure in the sense that you do not need to be a historian to know that the deserts of the world cover under their sands the ruins of civilizations and empires that thought they would last forever, and today they are merely forgotten except in archeological terms. If you care to go elsewhere in the world and go to the jungles, you will suddenly favour going on the offensive in the campaign for freedom." Unfortunately, that never came to anything because most of us were told that my saying that there was a campaign on the part of the Russians to try to destabilize us was a hostile way to act and likely to provoke the renewal of the cold war. And this came from our own official sources.

I believe that had the initiatives of President Reagan proposed at that time in Westminster Hall gone ahead as he had planned, we would no longer be on the road to freedom as in fact is the case today. It is time for us to go on the offensive and seek to further the disintegration of the Soviet Russian empire. I am today in the work I am doing in the European Freedom Campaign, limiting myself to Russia's European empire because however hard they work, there is a limit to what a few people or a few organizations can accomplish. For my part, although I am perfectly content that others should go ahead in trying to disintegrate the whole empire, as far as I am concerned we are going to have enough to do to destabilize the European part of the empire at the present time. And it is happening. It is happening all the while as you will see when you read your press. If I had said five years ago to most of you that the time is going to come when a parliament in Estonia will actually openly defy the Soviet Union, I promise you that almost everyone of you would have said that it was unthinkable. If I had forecasted to you half of what is going on in Europe today, as something likely to happen, you would have said that I was living in a dream world.

I first became convinced that one should embody one's efforts in a lifetime's work at the end of the war when I was an intelligence officer in Central Europe, and I saw for myself, and then it became an obsession with me, the total brutality of the Soviet takeover from the Nazis. I have written a chapter in a book of my own experiences, which is being published next year. I have called it "The Wasted War" because as far as I was

concerned all the effort expended in the pursuit of the Atlantic Charter for the future freedom of the world was not a success. All that we succeeded in doing after untold millions of deaths and suffering was replacing one tyranny by a larger, nastier one. Looking back we all did our part in that war, and the young, I am sure, today would have done the same. But to me it has always been almost a feeling of horror. We must face the fact that all those sacrifices achieved, was the exchange of one tyranny for another.

If you will remember Churchill's words to the troops as they were landing in Normandy. He said: "My forces are coming. Hold up your heads, chaps, keep your faith in us. Do not hesitate, do not be uncertain, deliverance is sure, have faith in us." All over Europe, there followed only the betrayal of Europe. The fact that we could not do anything else, is probably correct, because a democracy could only achieve so much. However, the fact that we were unable to fulfill those pledges, not through lack of will, and the fact that you cannot in any moment in history fulfill a promise or a pledge, does not mean that you are excused. You have to go on keeping your faith until you are in a position to start to fulfill the pledges that you made so long ago to so many people who believed you and who died since the Soviets took over their European empire. Now it looks as if the moment has come when we in the West can, in fact, do more, not as an act of provocative policy, but merely to fulfill a pledge we made and which we have not honoured. If the opportunity now occurs to any of us to help honour it, I think we are bound to do so. Now how can we redeem those long overdue pledges?

First of all, we must realize that this cannot be done by military rebellions and the use of force. Since I took over the chairmanship of the European Freedom Campaign I have heard the argument that it is pretty irresponsible in urging people in the subjugated countries into rebellion in view of the way they were let down at the time of Hungary in 1956 and Czecho-Slovakia in 1968. It is fairer to raise the peoples' hopes and give them support, then encourage the Russians to have a blood bath which you won't be able to resist. That is an intellectual argument which has been put to me. I do not accept this because I have had some experience over the last year in meeting hundreds of people, particularly young people, from behind the Iron Curtain. If you are without friends, without supporters, you are driven then to the use of violence because there is nothing else left to you. This is my answer and now some very distinguished members of our society, who doubted my work and disagreed with me, have come down to the belief that the greatest attribute of encouraging Soviet repression would be if we let these unhappy people think they're on their own. Young people today who want their freedom are not afraid to die for it if that is the only way they can get that freedom. We ought to work together to find a way in which they can get their freedom without dying. That seems to be our obligation. I believe that the biggest single element of any human being is to feel that he has the practical sympathy and support at every level of friends and does not feel he has to rely entirely on himself.

There are so many things one can do, not just to say we support our allies, but we have at our disposal economic, diplomatic, social, political, propaganda and counter propaganda weapons with which we cannot just show support for these people, but actually make them think that they are validly getting our support. Even my own individual efforts have received really touching gratitude from very many people from behind the Iron Curtain, who really kept up the conclusion that if they were only to get their freedom it would have to be without any support from the rich and increasingly richer West. There has been a tendency by those behind the Iron Curtain who state that



The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett addressing the EFC Meeting.

they can expect much more from the West — they have formed their common market, they are all richer than everybody else, even getting richer than the Americans, they are not going to risk all that in order to help us, and the wails about you are now a selfish rich man's club are made all too often by people who speak with complete sincerity behind the Iron Curtain, as to how they regard ourselves.

We have to show them how much some of us have been trying to ensure that they are not forgotten. At this point, I will stress that they are not forgotten. We will continue to persuade our governments to say the same sort of things we have been saying today, which will have more effect in those countries if they think that they do not only have the well-wishers and the conscience of the West, but also the support of Western governments. That is why at the beginning I mentioned my disappointment that President Reagan's initiative, which he announced at Westminster Hall, when he said that the time had come to go on the offensive and start the process of counter-destabilization and the fact that it never got anywhere. What I meant by that was that we could do so much on our own as individuals or as institutions, but in the end we have to do even more to get governments to say what we are saying.

A classical example of this are the remarks Margaret Thatcher made when she was in Warsaw, which were not in her official brief, about Solidarity and the resistance movement in Poland not just being a trade union but a whole thirst for independence. Saying that in somebody else's country and getting cheered for it is a typical example of what I really have in mind. There are other obvious things that one can do, but as I have tried to say, there are some things one can accomplish in supplying the means for using propaganda, etc. For instance, there are opposition forces in Poland that want a printing press of their own and one of the things I was trying to do was to make sure that they got one. You can call that propoganda, I suppose, but that was a practical thing. You do not only send leaflets, but also provide them with the means to support their own aims through the communications media.

AIDING THE FORCES OF FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET EMPIRE — A SCANDINAVIAN CONTRIBUTION

The wind of change is blowing in the Soviet empire. In Asia, Africa and Central America it is becoming more and more obvious that the empire has overstretched its resources and is seeking accomodation to be able to use the scarce means available in a sagging economy at home.

In Europe the re-assessment of policy in some cases means letting so-called popular fronts emerge to control the growing forces of freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples in the East European satellites and in the USSR. But let us not forget that Mr. Gorbachev is doing his re-assessment within a Leninist framework. Marxist-Leninists see conflict, change and development as natural laws. Perestroika and glasnost are only the latest variant of "peaceful coexistence". But that does not mean weakening the military forces of the Warsaw Pact or reducing the efforts of undermining Western societies. In the Leninist view, negotiations are a continuation of the struggle. It is a regrouping of forces, not a meeting of minds. The point for Gorbachev is that he has to "defeat" a stronger enemy. He is always keeping that in mind just as Lenin did over 70 years ago. If we compare the future GNPs of EEC, USA, Japan and the USSR we would find the following economical strengths in 2010, 22 years from now:

USA	US \$ 8 trillion
EEC	US \$ 8 trillion
Japan	US \$ 4 trillion
USSR	US \$ 3 trillion

Thus, in the economic field, it is 20 trillion against 3 trillion.

In this situation Moscow has to face the economic stagnation of the empire, shortage of hard currency, the necessity to borrow money in the West, a worsening health standard of the population and severe problems of pollution. An example of the latter: the nickel and cobalt industries on the Kola peninsula close to Norway, Finland and Sweden are pouring out 200,000 tons of waste annually. In the northern parts of these countries, but mainly in northern Finland, the woods are dying. From Estonia and Latvia and the from the Leningrad area, industrial waste is affecting the Bay of Finland and southern Finland with the capital of Helsinki. The environmental threat from Russia is growing and is beginning to have severe effects on the daily lives of peoples living close to the empire.

If we look at what economic reforms could mean in the USSR for a short while: economic disruption as a result of price reforms starting massive subsidies to industries. A convertible ruble could open Soviet economy to competition that could have ruinous effects. A restructuring of the Soviet economy could lead to large scale labor unrest. Decentralization, economic and political reforms within the empire could be leading to national unrest in the Baltic countries, in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia and other republics. Some East European regimes are resisting reform (East Germany and Czecho-Slovakia) and some are under severe pressure to institute

reforms (Poland and Hungary). These differences may result in political instability among the satellite countries.

What should our attitude be towards the new challenges in the Soviet empire? When I say our, I mean of course both the representatives of the subjugated peoples in the West and the West European institutions: governments, industry, intellectuals and organisations of various kinds. To me, the communist grip is not loosening on Eastern Europe and in the non-Russian nations. Gorbachev's policy is to stop the ongoing crisis, economic and political. It is not a free act of liberalisation. Gorbachev is out to save the empire and if possible to strengthen it. We know of course that in the end it will not be possible for the leaders in the Kremlin to hold the empire together, that it is only a matter of time until it dissolves.

The Soviet empire is today the "sick man of Europe", a term once used to describe the falling Ottoman empire. It is time for the West European governments to prepare for the ongoing destabilization and the dissolution of the empire. They must avoid the pitfalls, that is avoid the risk of strengthening the empire with loans and subsidies but at the same time find a reasonable way of supporting the process towards more freedom and independence in the "prisonhouse of nations".

There are, in my view, only three nations that can really shake the Russian empire due to their geopolitical importance and large populations: Ukraine, Soviet Islam and Poland. Ukraine, with its industries and its strong agriculture is necessary as part of the empire. Without it the stability of the empire would be threatened. The populous Soviet Islam is a threat not so much because of its industrial capacity, but because of its fast growing population. Poland is no longer entirely controlled by Moscow. It is jointly administered by Moscow, the Vatican, Western foreign ministries and Western banks. What every Pole wants is liberty and independence and ways have to be found to aid opposition groups there to ease away the control Moscow still has there. Geopolitically it is important that Poland and Ukraine are bordering each other. It makes the risk for Moscow even greater. The nightmare for Gorbachev is strikes and civil disobedience spilling over from Poland to Ukraine. Then the regime would be in real trouble.

Let me return later on to a few practical ways of aiding the non-Russian nationalities but also a few question marks, because the situation is and will be so complicated that it is difficult to know what is exactly right. First, a few words of warning: Soviet Russia is now actively preparing for the day of West European integration in 1992, the Inner Market.

Moscow is courting small nations in Western Europe like Denmark and Luxembourg to manipulate and if possible, hurt integration and the organisational strength of NATO. The Kremlin is calling for a "Common European House". Stress is laid on the experience of cooperation in historic times. Take West Germany for instance. Soviet propaganda is stressing that the tsars of Russia that were of German origin were great Russian patriots. Tikhachevski, murdered by Stalin, is now used as an example of a leading Russian who studied in Germany. Germans, it is said, helped bring science to Russia. Peter the Great invited German craftsmen to Russia. Russia and Germany were allies against Napoleon. So it goes on to the full extent of the inventory of the propagandamakers and the planners in Russia know that the West Germans are receptive to this siren song. No country in Western Europe has reacted so positively to Gorbachev, to glasnost and perestroika as West Germany. Chancellor Kohl was also the

first West European leader to go to the Kremlin bearing gifts in the form of credits from West German banks.

The window of opportunity for Western Europe is opening. Contacts and influence, outside diplomatic channels and within the diplomatic framework is a growing possibility. French professor and sovietologist Alain Besancon has suggested that sovietological training of diplomats is upgraded in these important times. "We should consider giving a special status to diplomats operating in the Soviet bloc: two careers, one for normal diplomats operating in the normal world and one for special diplomats trained in totalitarian studies. They would be tough, cursing and crude as their Soviet partners generally are".

One of the main efforts of the communist regime to rob the nationalities of the empire of their cultural identity has been to try to exterminate the cultural heritage. An important part of that has been the outright killing of artists, composers and mainly authors. This summer, "Book Review", a Soviet review, claimed that 1,000 authors were executed and another 1,000 perished in labour camps during the Stalin era. There is no way of telling if this is an accurate figure. The real figures are probably higher. According to the same source, 500 Ukrainian writers were persecuted in the 1920s and 1930s. Of these, 150 were put to death. But these figures are only a part of the death toll, extracted from official sources. The Byelorussian literature was beginning to bloom in the 1920s and the 1930s. Suddenly it did not exist anymore because the writers had faced firing squads or had disappeared in labour camps. This is another challenge for the West European countries, of all those brave expatriates from the subjugated nations and all who support freedom in the USSR and Eastern Europe, to lift up the memories of those killed and keep reminding of their fate. The West European author associations have a responsibility to help reveal the crimes against the national literature of the non-Russian nationalities: the Estonian, the Latvian, the Lithuanian, the Byelorussian, the Ukrainian, the Armenian, the Georgian and all those other nationalities that have lost their cultural elite due to the conscious effort of the communist regime to eradicate the basis, the soul of these nations. We must do more to help writers, artists, patriots, Christians, who languish in the labour camps and not let the regime fool us. Recently in a television link between Copenhagen and Moscow, the USSR Minister of Justice claimed there were only 12 political prisoners in the Soviet Union. We are not going to be fooled by such clumsy attempts at fraud.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania want outside support for the attempts to take their own destiny into the hands of the peoples. Here the Scandinavian countries, geographically so close, have a special responsibility. In the cultural area, the exchanges have already started to increase. In the journalistic field there is a growing interest in a widened exchange. It is important to report on the growing pollution by Soviet industries of southern Finland, the Bay of Finland and the Bay of Riga. Responsible are the heavy industries in the Leningrad area and in Estonia and Latvia.

There is growing pressure to create sister cities. What should be the reaction to this? It will open the gates for Soviet propaganda but if we are aware of the dangers of the propaganda maybe these contacts can be used in a meaningful way to support greater freedom in the Baltic countries. The Swedish city of Norrköping has signed a treaty with the Latvian capital of Riga. The university city of Uppsala is planning a treaty with the Estonian city of Tartu and there is discussion in the southern Swedish metropolis of Malmö to sign a treaty with Tallinn. Estonia wants Scandinavian aid to enter

the Olympic movement as a full and independent member. Estonian authorities are seeking permanent representation by Swedish television, radio and daily newspapers in Tallinn to report on the events there. The Estonian Archeological Society is seeking the aid of Swedish publishing houses to tell about the fate of the Estonian people under Stalin. A book manuscript telling the gripping story of the fate of a small Estonian boy in exile in Siberia, a diary of a persecuted child, is said to exist. Members of the small remaining Swedish minority in Estonia have asked for Swedish financial aid to restore memories of the Swedish heritage: monuments, churches, estates, etc. Estonian priests want to create contacts with the Lutheran sister church in Sweden. A small airline is planning direct flights from southern Sweden to Riga and Tallinn. Financial aid from Sweden is sought to develop tourist contacts. Wishes have been expressed that the Swedish foreign minister travel to Estonia in support for the movement of greater freedom from Moscow.

What should the reaction be to these initiatives as they grow and similar movements like those in the Baltic countries will emerge in Byelorussia, Ukraine and other nations of the union? It is important to create a policy in Western Europe for the attitude towards closer relations. On the one hand we want to encourage a freer exchange but at the same time: can we be sure that the contacts are not still controlled by the communist parties and are used to further communist propaganda? There is even talk about creating Special Economic Zones in the Baltic countries for joint ventures in the economic area. But before the Kremlin would have to admit that the USSR is an underdeveloped country and needs, just like the Third World, West European aid in the form of establishment of industries in these zones. And, yet, the Baltic countries are among the highest developed in Soviet Russia.

The West European countries must under all circumstances make political demands in exchange for aid, actions must be coordinated and it is necessary to be on the alert. The USSR and the East European countries need joint ventures using capital and know-how from Western sources. Some sources claim that there will be 300-350 joint ventures by 1995. Another possibility is the association with the EEC of a limited number of East European countries. If say Hungary and East Germany wants an agreement with EEC would not the political status of these countries have to be modified? Can they remain in the COMECON and in the Warsaw Pact under those circumstances? Would it not be important that the EEC in return demand greater freedom of travel, of political expression and religious freedom?

Another problem is the growing demand from Soviet authorities, controlled by the KGB and GRU for:

- Courses and education of managers in Western Europe. Scandinavian Airlines Systems has already agreed to train civilian Polish pilots. A Danish management firm is training Soviet industrial managers.

- To increase visits by trade union representatives from the Soviet bloc.
- Demand for contacts with free lance consultants in the economic and financial areas.

- Work experience of Soviet students and graduates at Western European university research centers.

All these contacts and attempts at contacts would have to be tightly controlled. In exchange, also, West European nations should demand political concessions to expand contacts.

The growing unrest of the nationalities and the example of Solidarity in Poland could mean a growing number strikes: in Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in the Baltic countries, in Georgia, Hungary etc. Don't the West European and American trade unionists have to do their share by supporting the right to strike of their colleagues behind the Iron Curtain? I am not suggesting that nothing is done by the trade unions in the West today, on the contrary, but more will have to be done.

As the right to information is growing must it not be right to demand that the USSR altogether stops interfering with the broadcasting of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America and others. Soon it is time for the smaller European countries, especially those close to Eastern Europe, like Sweden, Denmark and Austria for example, to broaden the broadcasts to the East and widen the number of languages in which the broadcasts are sent.

What Gorbachev needs most to save the empire is to borrow from the West. In 1987 the debt of USSR, East Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Rumania and Bulgaria was around US \$ 106 billion. We are led to believe that the super debtors in this world are in South America, but by comparison the debt of Mexico is US \$ 80 million and that of Brazil US \$ 88 billion. The USSR is now on a borrowing spree in the West to make up for hundreds of billions of dollars or pound sterling of missed investment during the 1960s and the 1970s. It does not take much of an imagination to understand the effects on Western financial institutions if the communist regimes mentioned refused to repay their debts. A catastrophe at the present level of debt, a supercatastrophe if we let the debt grow furthermore, say perhaps let it double. It is no exaggeration to say that the hand of Moscow is behind the refusals of South American nations to repay their debts. In 1985, when Gorbachev visited the United States he saw a study by the Hoover Institution that suggested that the Soviet economy was collapsing. His answer was that instead of predicting Soviet collapse the West ought to consider its own economic vulnerability. That vulnerability is increasing with every new loan to communist regimes in the East. And after Gorbachev's statement, on the instigation of Fidel Castro, South American countries started refusing to repay loans. Of course, we must not see Moscow's hand behind every move of this kind, but the fact is that the threat to stop repaying loans is a very real one.

In one important field there has been no change in the policy of the Gorbachev regime: "active measures" like forgeries and disinformation. There has however been a shift from Western Europe to the Third World and Latin America specifically. Behind this is the fact that West European audiences are likely to detect even the most sophisticated forgeries, according to Moscow.

One of the most famous Soviet subjects for disinformation has been the false claim that the AIDS virus originated from Fort Detrick, Maryland in the United States. The purpose was to use the virus against Third World peoples. After last year's summit obviously orders were given to stop the flow of such false accusations. But the lie continues to circulate. Newspapers in Africa and North Korean radio have recently spread it.

Another false story produced in Moscow is that babies are kidnapped in Latin America, taken to the United States and killed so that their organs can be used for transplants. The international Soviet front organisation, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers has claimed that the accusations are justified. A Moscow pub-

lishing house has published the charge that the CIA was behind the poisoning of the followers of Jim Jones in Guyana in 1978. The Soviet Literary Gazette has suggested that the FBI was behind the assassination of Martin Luther King. TASS is continuing to spread the lie that the United States is developing an "ethnic weapon" which only kills non-whites. One political demand from Western governments in exchange for loans should be that the Soviets stop the disinformation and lies circulated directed mainly at the United States but also at Western European countries.

The field that has not yet been affected by perestroika and glasnost is the military. There is so far no change in the allocation of Soviet resources to the military, in the force structure and in the military doctrine. There is no tangible impact on the Soviet military establishment. In the West there is no reason to forget Soviet lies and distortions in the detente of the 1960s and the 1970s. Perestroika and glasnost, if it follows the patterns of Soviet policy since WWII, may just be a conscious strategy for achieving long range objectives as well as short range tactical goals. The objectives of Soviet policy are the same: to achieve a position of global dominance, to separate Western Europe from the United States, to dissolve the Western alliance and get rid of the American military presence in Western Europe and elsewhere. Gorbachev needs "breathing space" during which he can reconstruct and modernise the Soviet economy, technology and society in general. Meanwhile, there is no doubt in the minds of the Soviet leadership that the final result of the historical process of history will be victory for Marxism-Leninism.

Some observers, like Zbigniew Brzezinski, claim that Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia are already in a pre-revolutionary stage. Economic failure and political unrest are becoming a dominant factor in these countries. Their ranks are being joined by Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia and others. Brzezinski even suggests parallels to the historic Spring of Nations of 1848. The systematic crisis in the nations mentioned could very well develop into a crisis of communism itself, if the starting reforms do not yield the positive results hoped for.

If the goals of the Soviet Union are kept in mind, the economic strength of Western Europe with its allies is a weapon that could be used to dismantle the Stalinist relics in the region. Then the road might well be open for dismantling the empire which truly is the final goal. After the dismantling the true process of building an integrated Europe can begin. When the sad results of Yalta are discarded and thrown overboard there could be an EEC comprising of all of Europe, from the North Cape to Sicily, from the Urals to the Atlantic. That is the great challenge for the European nations today. But the road ahead is rough and the regime in Moscow that is standing in the way of this development has not given up the use of the traditional methods of deceit and lies, of bullying and rattling of sabres.

For those interested in history there may today be a reason to remember what that great British historian Arnold Toynbee wrote in his monumental *A Study of History*. He recounted that as the Mediterranean civilization expanded a number of attempts were made to unite the ancient Greek city states into some sort of federation. All these attempts failed and this was the reason why ancient Greece collapsed first under the pressure of Macedonia and then of Rome. It seems that in the early stages of civilisation the political structure contains a large number of small units such as the Greek city states. As civilisation extends and develops there is no need to find political unity and

stop wasting energy in internal quarrels. Toynbee's basic principle therefore, is one of "challenge and response": the challenge of the expanding scale of the problems can be met only by the creative response of expanding political unification.

More than 500 years ago Western civilisation was able to go on because out of the mass of towns, city states and feudal domains nations were created. Today, the European nations of these days are not enough to meet the challenge of the threat of nuclear war, of computer technology and expansion into space. In an analogy of earlier civilisations, a political federation of the nations is needed. Europe is not the dead corpse that "the colossal superstates of the periphery" think it is. But we must do away with the Iron Curtain separating Western Europe from Eastern Europe. The federation must include our brother nations in the East. If rightly used, perestroika and glasnost may be the opportunity, if falsely interpreted and not used correctly as an opportunity, it may be the era of a new dawn for the Soviet Russian empire. That must never happen!

UKRAINIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC FRONT HOLDS INAUGURAL MEETING

The Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front (UCDF), formed last November, held its inaugural meeting on January 13 in Lviv, Western Ukraine. The Lviv branch of the Front is the most active. It has organised 10 patriotic concerts in private residences in Lviv and in villages. They were attended by several thousand people.

Before the inaugural meeting, four members of the militia raided the meeting room, which prevented a religious service, which was planned before the meeting. The meeting opened with prayers for the Ukrainian nation and for the task at hand. The meeting elected the Central Council which consists of the 13 UCDF members: Vasyl Sichko (chairman), Lidia Chekalska (secretary), Taras Kartyn, Stepan Yedynoroz, Mykola Torko, Ivan Shturmat, Volodymyr Kasian, Yaroslav Kormeliuk, Volodymyr Senkovskij, Zenoviy Konyk, Petro Sichko, Roman Chekalsky and Mykola Kindrachuk.

During the meeting, the delegates acknowledged the pressing need for a national upbringing of youth and resolved to renew the youth organisation "Plast", which was liquidated during the Stalinist terror in Ukraine. They also resolved to renew the "Prosvita Society", which played an important role in maintaining the high level of literacy and national identity of the Ukrainian people.

The delegates expressed gratitude to the branches which were the first to collect funds for the Front, enabling the UCDF to donate 1,000 *karbovantsi* to help Ukrainian political prisoners. They also acknowledged the efforts of UCDF members to collect financial assistance for Armenia and the necessity to allocate additional capital to the Ukrainian Catholic Church's fund to help the Armenian earthquake victims. The meeting condemned the persecution of Ukrainian Christians by the authorities and passed a motion in defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The delegates resolved to demand the erection of a monument to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyj.

The meeting resolved that January 22, the anniversary of the Ukrainian declaration of independence (1918), will be the principal national holiday and that the UCDF will urge the people to commemorate this anniversary.

The meeting condemned the campaign of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the KGB of halting the activities of the Front and the libellous articles concerning the UCDF and its activities in the Soviet Ukrainian press. The meeting adjourned the same evening with prayers for the Ukrainian nation.

Ukraine Could Be Soviets' Next Trouble Spot

The following article appeared in the January 22 issue of The Washington Post.

"For us to lose Ukraine would be the same as losing our head." — Lenin, 1918

LVIV, U.S.S.R. — For the Soviet empire, Ukraine is the fire next time. The republic may seem for now an obedient, dormant region of more than 50 million people, but it soon could pose a challenge to centralized Soviet power that would eclipse anything that has happened so far in the Baltic republics or the Transcaucasus.

Especially here in the western part of the republic — where the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church and cultural nationalism are strongest — a growing number of activists openly and angrily speak of themselves as a "colonized" people who intend, one day, to fight the "Soviet imperial idea." Resentment is slowly evolving into a movement.

"Right now we are not a strong movement; we don't have anything like the organization you see now in the Baltics," said Vyacheslav Chornovil, a nationalist and former political prisoner. "But a struggle is inevitable, and Moscow will invariably come down hard — much harder than they have in Estonia or Latvia."

Activists here, as well as Soviet and western sources interviewed in Moscow and Kyiv, agree that the Kremlin will never show Ukraine, a republic the size of France, even the limited tolerance it has extended to smaller, non-Slavic republics in the past year. It is a matter not only of history and politics, but of costs and benefits.

"Let's face it, the Soviet empire knows that in the end it can always survive without the Baltics or the Transcaucasus — it's only a few million people here and there, after all," said Stepan Khmara, a physician in Lviv.

"Moscow could even do without Eastern Europe, because it turns out that this is a very expensive military buffer zone. But Lenin knew it from the start: the empire cannot survive without Ukraine. There are too many people, too many resources here. It will inevitably be a fight. The question is: when?"

The Ukrainian challenge may not come soon, but the leadership in Moscow is still playing it safe and strict.

The Ukrainian party chief Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, is 70 years old and was one of the closest allies of the discredited Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. And yet President Mikhail Gorbachev has kept the man known here as "the enforcer" in place.

"Shcherbytsky is Gorbachev's iron man in Ukraine," said Bohdan Horyn, a leader of the unofficial human rights group here, the Helsinki Union. "He may not be Gorbachev's favorite in the Politburo, but I think he fears what would happen in Ukraine without Shcherbytsky and the mafia around him."

Knowledgeable sources in Moscow said that while Shcherbytsky will probably not last more than another two or three years, his replacement is likely to follow a similar course. "It's inconceivable that an Estonian-style party leader would get the job," one diplomat here said. "For one thing, Ukraine doesn't have anybody like that in the ranks."

The other night in Lviv, at a dim apartment decorated with a sparse Christmas tree, a group of Ukrainian nationalists, writers and human rights workers — most of

them former political prisoners — spent hours describing a place and an atmosphere never reflected in the official press.

They talked of a republic in a “perpetually worsening” economic crisis, of a Ukraine “that is still the epicenter of stagnation.” They spoke of a non-Russian culture “gutted” by decades of “imperial centralism” and “Russification.” And none of the dozen men and women at the table put much faith in the slogans of reform spoken every day in Moscow or in Gorbachev himself — “A friendly-looking emperor, but an emperor, nonetheless.”

And while they said they admired Ronald Reagan and his speeches during the Moscow Summit, they could not understand how an American President could seemingly overlook “Moscow’s domination of the periphery” and say that the Soviet Union is no longer an “evil empire.”

“The way we see it, Gorbachev’s reforms have nothing to do with internal democracy,” Chornovil said. “They are a last bid — a bluff, in a way — to improve the Soviet Union’s dynamics with other countries in order to get technology and aid from abroad and improve the economy.”

Ivan Makar, who recently served a three-month jail sentence for nationalist activities, agreed. “Gorbachev absolutely fears real democracy,” he said. “Look at the crackdown on demonstrations (that began last summer). Look at the undemocratic road these elections for the Supreme Soviet have taken. Look at how Gorbachev keeps an iron grip on Ukraine. Even the old Stalinist constitution had more democratic phrases in it than Gorbachev’s.”

The movement for political and cultural autonomy in Ukraine may not approach the scale of what happened last year in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, but it adds up to a great deal more than a group of people sitting around a table talking. Battles, in some places, have already begun:

Despite the lurking presence of a particularly strong KGB force in the republic, activists staged a number of mass rallies in Lviv and Kyiv that have drawn between 5,000 and 50,000 demonstrators protesting political repression, “Russification” and various ecological disasters. At a June 21 rally in Lviv, 50,000 gathered at the Friendship Soccer Stadium to call for the creation of an Estonian-style “Popular Front” that would press Moscow for greater economic, political and cultural autonomy.

Since Moscow decreed new restrictions on public demonstrations last July, the KGB and police have denied permission for such meetings and have used dogs and truncheons to break them up as “unsanctioned gatherings.” The repression of demonstrations has been especially harsh in Ukraine and in the neighboring republic of Byelorussia, where party officials have tried to break up the Popular Front and other democratic groupings.

The Ukrainian Writers’ Union, once a lap dog for Shcherbytsky and ideological orthodoxy, has become a force of opposition, supporting the nascent Popular Front and pushing for the establishment of Ukrainian as the republic’s official language.

A well-known dissident literary critic, Ivan Dzyuba, was able to publish an article in the central ideological journal of the Communist Party, *Kommunist*, that criticizes the dominance of the Russian language and culture in Ukraine. “We and our Byelorussian brothers are perhaps the only peoples of Europe deprived of higher education instruction in our native languages,” he wrote in an article published this month in the newspaper *Moscow News*.

At a Writers' Union session last month, a prominent poet, Ivan Drach, spoke out openly against Shcherbytsky, the first such defiance of the Kyiv leadership at an official meeting.

Although nationalists like Horyn and Chornovil have been working for Ukrainian rights for decades, many activist groups led by younger party members and independents alike have appeared in recent months.

The Lion Society, headed by a 25-year-old young Communist League official, Orest Sheyka, has battled local authorities for the preservation of long-neglected Ukrainian monuments and natural resources, such as the Dnister River. "The river is practically dead," Sheyka said in an interview.

Environmental groups, such as Green World and Noosfera, form a growing "Greens" movement modeled on those of Western Europe and the Baltic. At a demonstration in Kyiv in November, 8,000 people gathered to attack Shcherbytsky and call on the government to shut down nuclear reactors throughout the republic.

A performance group called Don't Worry has staged many evenings of political cabaret reminiscent of neighboring Poland, and several cultural clubs, such as the Culturological Club in Lviv, are pressing the language issue and are encouraging more schools and universities to emphasize Ukrainian history.

History, long and tragic, is everywhere here. Russian czars and general secretaries have dominated the region for three centuries. And nowhere in the Soviet Union does the legacy of Joseph Stalin's repression and Leonid Brezhnev's corruption persist more painfully than in Ukraine.

Only now are historians here allowed to publish reports about the "Great Collectivization" of the countryside in the early 1930s, during which millions of Ukrainian farmers were forcibly herded off their lands, sent to labor camps and starved to death during an artificially created famine.

Only now are journalists here beginning to write about how Stalin crushed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946, killing thousands of priests and believers and forcing millions to choose between atheism and the "officially sanctioned" and government-controlled Russian Orthodox Church.

But even now it is impossible here to write about the way Brezhnev and Shcherbytsky purged the intelligentsia in the 1970s and stacked every level of the Ukrainian party organization with compliant apparatchiks — a situation that lingers today.

"We look at a place like Estonia with astonishment," said Bohdan Horyn's brother, Mykhaylo. "We see there Communist Party officials who actually are working in the interests of the people, and then we look at the Ukrainian Party and we despair. The Party holds nothing for us. It never has."

There have been nationalist, dissident movements here since the early 1960s. More than 24 years ago, Ivan Dzyuba wrote an essay on Moscow's nationalities policy, "Internationalism or Russification?," in which he called for the sort of autonomy that is at the center of the present-day Estonian platform.

Those dissidents even received some limited support from Petro Shelest, the former Ukrainian Party chief, who wrote a book supporting the preservation of Ukrainian language and culture. But when Brezhnev purged Shelest in 1972, he replaced him with Shcherbytsky and an even harder line.

Shcherbytsky, for his part, continues to infuriate activists here. He has made no significant concessions on the language issue, insisting on giving his own speeches in

Russian. In one speech last month he railed against the use of glasnost, as Gorbachev's policy of openness is called, for "anti-Soviet ideas" and "national egotism."

Vitaliy Korotych, editor of the liberal Moscow weekly magazine *Ogonyok* and once a rather conservative figure in the Ukrainian Writers' Union, said, "What you are seeing, for the moment, is a standoff in Ukraine. The leadership is tough, and independent groups are growing. My big concern is that nationalism doesn't become provincialism."

Two events have set off the renewed activism here: Chernobyl and the political upheaval in the Baltics.

As Ukrainians have learned more about the nuclear accident outside Kyiv almost three years ago, they have come to distrust the authorities more than ever. Yuriy Shcherbak's remarkable two-part series on Chernobyl, published recently in the journal *Youth*, revealed, for many, a series of startling, often humiliating details about the disaster. "We even learned that while the leadership refused for days to tell us a word of what had happened, the children of all the Ukrainian Party leadership were immediately evacuated," said historian Ihor Khohin.

When Estonian intellectuals began to broaden their movement for autonomy from Moscow last year, eventually winning the support of the republic's Communist Party leadership, Ukrainians listened.

"We sent three people to Estonia to see the Popular Front Congress and it seemed like a miracle," said Petro Kagui, a member of the organizing group for a popular front in Lviv. "We knew we needed the same thing here."

But in spite of the mass demonstrations in the spring and summer supporting the creation of a Democratic Popular Front and the obvious groundswell for change in Ukraine, the authorities have tightened control to stamp out the spread of support for nationalism or participation in the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church.

At a number of factories, for example, directors have called in foremen and workers for meetings with the following sort of dialogue:

"Do you want a vacation this year?"

"Yes."

"Would you like a raise?"

"Yes."

"Do you need to take Christmas off?"

"Uh... no."

At the Progress shoe factory, activists here said, workers were "asked" to sign petitions disavowing participation in nationalist groups. "They know that if they don't go along, there will be trouble," Bohdan Horyn said.

The sense of psychic and political distance from the Baltics is immediately apparent. While in the Baltics, conversations, even with party leaders, are extraordinarily open and fearless, meetings here between nationalists and visiting foreigners are only comfortable on park benches and remote sidestreets. "The old days are still the new days in Ukraine," Chornovil said.

Victor Morozov, a popular singer and director of the Don't Worry cabaret group, said that while life is slowly changing even in Lviv and there is less fear about performing his political songs on stage, "the sense of how far to go is always within us."

Specter of the Empire Haunts the Soviet Union

*The following article appeared in the December 28, 1988
issue of The Wall Street Journal/Europe.*

The prominence and force of new national tensions have been among the most dramatic developments in the Soviet Union since Mikhail Gorbachev rose to power.

News of this unrest has come as quite a shock to many in the West, where the terms "Russia" and "the Soviet Union" are still frequently — and erroneously — used as synonyms. The Soviet Union is home to some 140 million or so non-Russians, but many observers evidently still find it difficult to face that it is both the world's largest multinational state and the last of the great empires. Just as for decades there was a tendency in the Western press to overlook the "nationalities' problem" in the Soviet Union, so now there is a trend toward dismissing it as a nuisance that impedes Mr. Gorbachev's plans for reform.

This kind of thinking misses a crucial point: that the preservation of an antiquated empire, on the one hand, and real liberalization and economic decentralization, on the other, do not go together. Either Moscow stops treating the non-Russian republics as mere provinces and acknowledges the need to offer its subject peoples a new deal, or modernization and democratization remain non-starters.

Force alone, as Lenin soon realized, was not enough to weld the fragmented czarist Russian empire, or "prison of nations" as he called it. Therefore, after military conquest, the non-Russians were offered concessions and inducements designed to win their trust and loyalty. They were promised autonomous, even "sovereign" statehood, within a Soviet federal structure, as well as equality and full cultural rights. In practice though, for most of the Soviet period, these promises were not fulfilled. Moscow undermined federation through the unitary ruling party and a centrally directed economy, and the Russians — who today constitute barely half of the 285 million Soviet inhabitants — remained the dominant nation.

Until recently discussion of the nationalities problem was suppressed, non-Russian activists imprisoned, and a policy of Russification — the extollment of the Russian language and things Russian — pursued. With the advent of glasnost, however, the non-Russians wasted no time in airing their grievances and beginning to call on Moscow to honor the original "national contract" on which the Soviet Union is supposedly founded.

At first non-Russians limited themselves to protesting against Russification and airing cultural demands. Then environmental issues began to figure, and by the second half of 1987 the Balts had started raising the question of the political and economic rights of their republics.

A breakthrough occurred this summer. At a party conference in Moscow, Baltic representatives made bold and radical proposals for economic, cultural and political autonomy. These in turn emboldened other non-Russian delegates to voice demands.

This time the non-Russians did not limit themselves to issues connected with language and national culture. They insisted on a restoration of the "national contract," in other words, that meaning be restored to the nominal sovereignty of the 14 non-Russian Soviet republics, and that the Soviet constitution be amended accordingly. So forceful was their joint push, that their demands were reflected in the party conference's resolutions.

In October, however, the Gorbachev leadership unexpectedly backtracked and precipitated a major constitutional crisis. It announced changes to the Soviet constitution that went against what had been promised at the party conference. Contrary to all the talk about the need to expand the rights of the republics, the proposed amendments threatened to reduce their prerogatives still further.

Courageous Estonians stood their ground, and Georgians, Armenians, Latvians and Lithuanians also made objections known. At last month's heated meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, or Soviet quasi-parliament, Mr. Gorbachev sought to defuse the situation by modifying some of the proposed amendments and setting up a commission to examine complaints of non-Russians. Next summer a special plenum will be held to discuss nationalities' problems.

Glasnost has confirmed that national problems and tensions are systemic to the Soviet Union. Apart from the tense situation in the Baltic republics and Armenia and Azerbaijan, trouble of one form or another is brewing from Moldavia in the extreme southwest of the Soviet Union, to Tajikistan in the eastern part of Soviet Central Asia.

In several republics, notably Ukraine, Moldavia and Byelorussia, a wide rift has developed between the nationally-minded intelligentsia and the local conservative, if not reactionary, party leaderships. In all three republics popular forces for national renewal face suppression. In Ukraine, several mass demonstrations of up to 20,000 people have taken place in recent weeks, and there's been a determined campaign to make Ukrainian the state language of the republic. In Georgia, the crowds of demonstrators last month demanding sovereignty for their republic were even larger.

There are signs, too, that beneath the relatively tranquil surface of life in the Soviet Central Asian republics discontent is growing. The republics are showing dissatisfaction with Moscow's recent tough policies toward this traditionally Moslem region. A prolonged and extensive crackdown on corruption, exploitative economic policies, the termination of affirmative-action policies favoring the indigenous inhabitants appear to have enraged the society's 50 million or so Moslems.

In recent months a number of liberal Russian scholars have acknowledged what the root of the trouble is. They have openly condemned the Russian elder-brother syndrome and have implicitly called for a review of the still essentially imperial relationship between Russians and non-Russians.

The Moscow historian Yuri Afanas'ev, for instance, told the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* on Sept. 1 that "the model of national relations that preceded perestroika must be discarded." What exists today, he explained, is "a strongly centralized state" along Stalinist lines. "We do not have autonomous republics," he emphasized, "but rather provinces subject to the center."

If perestroika is to succeed, the Gorbachev leadership will have to recognize that the days of the Soviet Russian empire are numbered and come up with a new, more equitable, model of national relations. So far, however, there is little sign of "new thinking" in this area. The frustration and radicalism of the non-Russians are growing. It is important that in the West the Soviet Union's crisis of empire is seen for what it really is. All those who like to take Mr. Gorbachev at face value ought to realize what is at stake.

But there should also be some understanding for the Estonians, Ukrainians, Georgians and other non-Russians who have had to put up with Moscow's rule for so long. If Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks are entitled to our sympathy, why are these indomitable nations to be regarded any differently?

MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF THE NATIONS OF THE USSR

Vilnius, January 29, 1989

According to the Moscow representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the meeting of representatives of the national-democratic movements of the nations of the USSR was held in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, on January 29.

The conference was attended by representatives of various independent groups from Ukraine, the Baltic republics, Georgia, Armenia and the Crimean Tartar Movement.

The participants of the conference, during which the problems of national development of the non-Russian republics and the democratization of the Soviet regime were discussed, signed an appeal to the Russian intelligentsia. The full text of the appeal follows below.

APPEAL TO THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

Gentlemen!

A dramatic moment has come in the history of the state which united our nations by force — a moment, when the unequal coexistence of nations has placed them before the danger of total extinction.

It is difficult for us to find another example of a ruling regime which had brought about the culture of many nations to a state of ruin in such a short period of history. Today the Soviet Union remains the only empire in the world, where great power centralism and means of assimilation are systematically enforced, where nations are deprived of every opportunity to resolve their political, cultural and national problems independently.

The Soviet state inherited the principle of suppressing oppressed nations from Tsarist Russia, which even Lenin described as a “prison of nations”, and has, for decades, realized the idea of the so-called merging of nations. In practice, this idea has served as a cover for brutal, forced Russification. In the most recent decades, the artificial settlement of the territories of the non-Russian Soviet republics by Russian families from the RSFSR and the reverse in the form of the organized recruitment of a labor force for the so-called socialist enterprises like the ill-famed BAM (Baikal-Amur Railway Line) and others, were used as an effective means of consolidating the imperial structure. An article in the independent Lithuanian newspaper *Rebirth* (No. 1) for January of this year can serve as a compromising example. According to this publication, a secret government decree which stipulates that the indigenous population is to form no more than 40% of the total population of the republican capitals and 60% of the population of the republic as a whole is in force. In the Russian Federation itself, the policy of the assimilation of the national minorities has brought the Evenky, Nanytsi, Chukshi, Mordva, Odmurty, Komi and many other peoples to the verge of extinction.

In the years of the implementation of this chauvinistic policy, the ruling regime destroyed tens of millions of innocent citizens in peacetime. Fear and force became the

principal means of preserving the empire. Not only the oppressed nations, but also the Russian nation itself, which is a tool of oppression, a tool of assimilation, in the hands of the regime, suffered great losses.

Attempts on the part of the imperial rulers of the USSR to retain the system of control over the nations for the ruling Russian nation will lead only to the worsening of relations between the nations and the rise of hostility and hate.

In connection with this, we, the representatives of the national-democratic movements of the nations which live on the territory of the Soviet Union, believe that the time has come when promises have to be fulfilled. The right of the nation to self-determination, which the ruling Communist Party has declared since the very beginning of its existence, must become reality. We are surprised that, with certain exceptions, the representatives of the democratic movement of Russia, and the Russian intelligentsia in general, have not found sufficient courage in themselves to express clear views on the national question, to condemn the dictatorship of spiritual oppression, presided over by the Soviet Russian government, as a crime against humanity. But the time has come; the system has rocked. A new structure should be built on new foundations. We propose to build it on the basis of democratic non-oppressive principles. We urge all true Russian patriots — together with those who are today living outside the borders of Russia — who feel the need to return there, actively, resolutely and with dedication, to set about the building of their democratic national state. In the realization of this aspiration you can always rely on our very positive attitude.

The final document of the Vienna conference of representatives of the 35 countries participating in the discussions concerning security and cooperation in Europe, as well as the U.S. and Canada, states that, on the basis of the principle of the right of the nation to manage its own affairs, and according to related articles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, the oppressed nations have the right, in conditions of full freedom, to determine, when and how they wish, their internal and external political status without outside interference, and also to determine, according to their beliefs, their political, economic, social and cultural development. We regard the situation whereby the international documents signed by the Soviet government are in actual fact ignored as intolerable. At the same time we consider these documents a guarantee of a just solution to the national problem. We express the hope that the Russian intelligentsia, the democratic movement of Russia, all Russian patriots, support the idea of national independence recognized by the whole international community.

Vilnius, January 29, 1989

The document was signed by the following: Oles Shevchenko, Mykola Horbal, Ivan Makar, Bohdan Hrycay — Ukrainian Helsinki Union; and representatives of the following independent groups: Lithuanian Helsinki Group; Lithuanian Freedom League; National Union of Lithuanian Youth; Lithuanian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; Club for the Defense of the Environment (Latvia); National Independence Movement of Latvia; National Independence Party of Estonia; Byelorussian Club “Pahonya”; the independent Byelorussian newspaper *Byelorussian Tribune*; Society of St. Illia the Righteous (Georgia); Georgian Helsinki Group; Society of Illia Chavchavadze (Georgia); the National Democratic Party of Georgia; the National Movement of Crimean Tartars; National Self Determination Union of Armenia and the Union for the Struggle for the Survival of Armenia.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Pre-Conference Meetings of the WACL Executive Board and APACL Executive Committee

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Executive Committee of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL), representing pro-freedom movements worldwide, were jointly convened by WACL Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, represented by Dr. Clement C. P. Chang, WACL/APACL ROC Chairman, Honorable Genevieve Aubry, WACL Council Chairman and Mr. Paul Pearson, APACL Council Chairman in Taipei, Republic of China during January 19-25, 1989 as part of the commemoration accompanying the annual observance of World Freedom Day.

The League Executives are mindful of the past history of Soviet Russian and Red Chinese duplicity concerning so-called liberalization programs. They remember well the blood of millions shed in the repressions that followed each liberalization such as "de-Stalinization" and "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom". The very nature of these dictatorships prevents the fundamental restructuring necessary for advancement of justice and human rights.

The League Executives challenge the Soviet leader Gorbachev to make good his much vaunted "perestroika" by granting independence and national self-determination to the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Empire such as Ukraine, the Baltic States, nations of the Caucasus and others. They also challenge the Chinese Communists to allow an internationally supervised plebiscite in Hong Kong and Macao to let the peoples of those territories decide on their future status. These alleged changes must be fulfilled before the free world can believe that they are not just mere propaganda gestures.

Recognizing the importance of the Middle-East region, the Executives, while condemning terrorism strongly, express their support for the UN Peace Plan proposal and constructive peace initiatives of all states and peoples in the region to co-exist peacefully.

The joint Executives support a comprehensive agreement to lower arms to the lowest possible level throughout Europe to redress the current grave imbalance in favor of the Warsaw Pact.

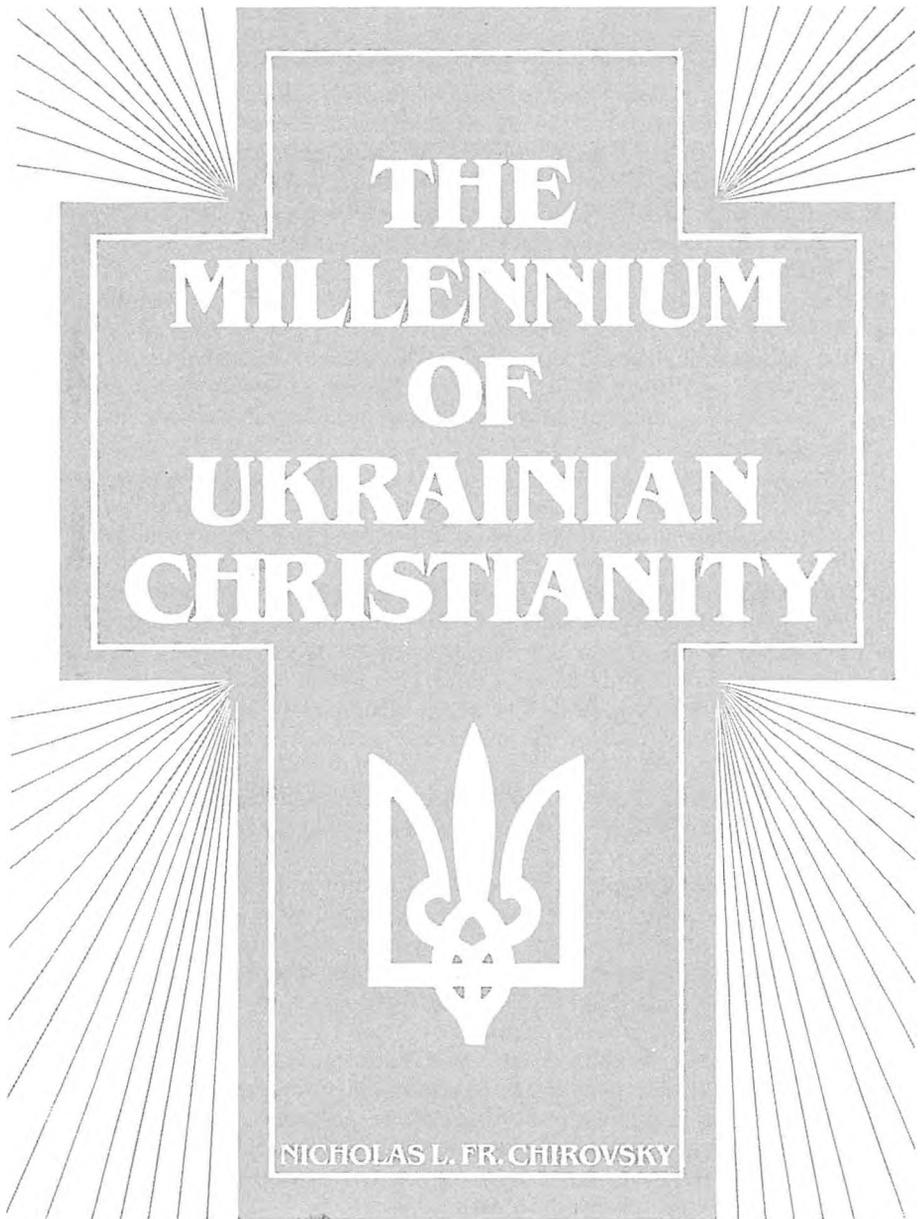
In Angola, the joint Executives believe that Cuban troops must be withdrawn in a much shorter time than the 27 months required by the current agreement. They further believe that it is time for a settlement by all parties including UNITA and FLNA. They also believe in Mozambique that all the nations of the free world must support the legitimate struggle of the RENAMO Freedom Fighters whom the communist propaganda portrays as bandits and terrorists.

The joint Executives alert all nations in the Pacific basin to be wary of Communist economic and cultural seduction and to be conscious of the escalation of Soviet military and technological resources. This is especially important in light of the rapid changes in Soviet tactics and policies and attempts to gain a foothold among the peoples of Oceania. Therefore, the sovereignty of the island nations of the Pacific basin and the legitimate needs of those nations should be respected.

Mindful of the immense pressures endured by democracies under siege, the joint Executives congratulated the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of the Philippines for the faith they have shown in the principles of democracy by their new direction toward full democracy.

The joint Executives extended their special thanks to the ROC host chapter for their outstanding hospitality and efficiency in planning and executing the arrangements for these most important meetings, and appealed to the Free World to support the endeavors of the Republic of China in actively joining international organizations.

NEW PUBLICATION



This monumental work was published in 1987 in honor of the millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. The book reflects the great impact of Christianity on Ukrainian spiritual and cultural life throughout the centuries. Published by the Philosophical Library, the book contains 617 pages and over 60 illustrations.

The book can be ordered from ABN Bureau, Zepelinstr. 67, 8000 München 80, West Germany, Price: \$ 59.95 plus postage and handling.

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“WHAT NEXT?”

New programmatical document by Levko Lukyanenko,
Head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

The Ukrainian Central Information Service has recently obtained a new programmatical document written by the Head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), Levko Lukyanenko. The document (52 typewritten pages) is entitled “What Next?”. It reached the West through unofficial *samydav* channels.

The author, Levko Lukyanenko, was born on 24.8.1927. He is a lawyer by profession. In 1961, he was sentenced to death in Lviv for his part in the organisation of the Ukrainian Peasants' and Workers' Union. The sentence was commuted to 10 years of strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile. In 1976, Lukyanenko became a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Not long after, on December 12, 1977, he was arrested and sentenced to a further 15 years for his human and national rights activities. Last year, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was re-established as a mass movement under a new name — Ukrainian Helsinki Union — and Levko Lukyanenko, then still in exile, agreed to become its head. In January of this year, Lukyanenko was released from exile and settled in the town of Sendiv, in the Chernihiv region of Ukraine.

According to *Informator* (Informant) No. 11, February 13, 1989, a weekly bulletin of the Lviv regional branch of the UHU, leading members of the Union acquainted themselves with “What Next?”, in which the author outlines his thoughts on the perspectives of perestroika and the tasks which lie before the Ukrainian national-democratic movement, at a meeting of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the UHU in Kyiv on February 2-4. The participants of the meeting agreed on the future strategy and tactics of the UHU. “What Next?” is not merely an important programmatical document of the national-liberation movement in Ukraine. It is also a significant theoretical contribution to the general discussion about Ukrainian political thought in the period of perestroika and glasnost.

It was written from December 1988 to January 1989, while Lukyanenko was in exile in the Tomsk region. “What Next?” is comprised of seven chapters. In the first, by far the longest and most detailed chapter (34 pages), Lukyanenko gives a “more or less systematic account of his understanding of the prerequisites, present conditions and perspectives of perestroika in general, and for (the Ukrainian) patriotic movement in particular”. At the end of this chapter the author reaches the following general conclusion:

In the Soviet Union, “the communist imperial order has reached a crisis point as a result of the logical development of its external policy of conquest, and the artificial, non-viable internal economic policy. Brezhnev merely added a few features to its most recent period. Presently, we are not seeing the bankruptcy of Brezhnev as a corrupt and amoral leader. We are seeing bankruptcy of the Marxist idea of the international dictatorship of the proletariat, the bankruptcy of the 600 year old Russian imperial idea, the bankruptcy of the economic competition between the authoritarian USSR and the democratic West. And because the opposition has involved almost half of mankind, its denouement will lead mankind into a new world, which will begin a new turn in history on a new spiritual basis”.

In the second chapter, “The short-term perspectives”, Lukyanenko emphasises that, in his analysis of the hopeless situation into which Moscow has led the Soviet Union, restructuring is a social upheaval, which has acquired its own dynamics, having torn itself away from under the influence of the centre. At the same time, Lukyanenko states that: “restructuring, with its economic decentralisation as one of the two most important prerequisites of recovery from the economic crisis, will continue; democratisation, as the sole possible means of overcoming the industrial passivity of the workers, will continue; and because the two previous processes are impossible without general democratisation, so it, too, will continue”.

The next three chapters, “Where are our forces?”, “We are among friends”, and “Will they jail us? They won’t jail us!”, consist of an analysis of the dislocation of social and political forces, which have fought one another over the last decades for the existence of Ukraine on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other. “Ukraine has shown the world”, writes the author, “and has herself realised that the spirit of the Kozaks has not yet died within her, and that she has the right to sing with pride, even today, ‘Ukraine has not yet died, neither has her glory nor freedom’, not only as a national anthem and the memory of our strong, freedom-loving forefathers, who did not renounce their faith even when they were impaled on sharp stakes, but as a testament to the living Kozak blood within the present-day national core”. In these chapters, Lukyanenko praises the merits of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, six of whom died in the Ural concentration camp in Kuchino. He calls for even greater activity towards the realisation of the national and human rights of Ukrainians. “We have the right to the social struggle with a right to victory. We have the right to participate in the play of social forces, and we have to build up the forces on our side, and not to wait until the opposing force will leave the arena of its own accord”.

In this struggle Lukyanenko is counting on the forces which will strive towards Ukrainian liberation:

- the historical tendency of development;
- the moral support of the democratic world, particularly the Ukrainian diaspora;
- the current policy of restructuring;
- the democratic movement in Russia;
- the national-liberation movements of the peoples of the USSR; and
- the democratic processes in the so-called social-democratic countries.

The spontaneous forces are the UHU and its branches outside Ukraine; the potential force is the people, which, with the consolidation of the democratic principles of social life, will give their increasing support to the liberation process.

The sixth chapter is entitled “Our Goal”. In this chapter, Lukyanenko describes Ukraine as “a country of sorrow and grief, a country, where the people love freedom most, and yet know it the least”. She is a country from whose people Russia has tried to “rip out the soul” and “hurl (them) into non-existence”. “They used to call us Little Russians”, writes the author, “They almost buried us in the ground together with our name, and began to call us ‘Soviet people’. But, no”, he goes on, “we are not yet in our coffin! And our goal is not to end up in a coffin”. Further on, Lukyanenko also stresses Ukraine’s need to secede from the Soviet Union, a right laid down in the USSR Constitution, and to lead a free and independent existence. The creation of an independent Ukrainian republic is the primary goal of the Ukrainian people.

MASS GRAVES AT BYKOVNIA

In May, 1988, the authorities erected a stone memorial in the forest of Bykovnia, a village outside of Kyiv, Ukraine's capital. The inscription reads in Ukrainian: "Eternal Memory" and underneath "Here are buried 6,329 Soviet soldiers, partisans, members of the underground and peaceful citizens killed by the Fascist occupying forces from 1941-1943". Beneath the monument is a mass grave and the inscription on the stone is a lie.

The grave site is not something which has just recently been discovered. It has already been studied by one commission in 1944 and another in 1971. The conclusion of both official investigatory commissions was that the Nazis were responsible for murdering those buried in the woods in Bykovnia.

Local villagers who were interviewed remember how in 1937 a green fence and a guardhouse were erected in the woods. Convoys of trucks would arrive from the capital at night, making regular deliveries nightly for four years prior to the Germans arriving. One villager, who was a teenager at that time, climbed up for a look and discovered that the area behind the green fence was a mass burial ground. When the Germans came they rounded up several people and led them into the forest. The grave was unearthed, the Germans took photographs and ordered the villagers to cover the grave up again. "The Germans even published the evidence in the press, as proof of Stalin's atrocities" said Mr. Lysenko, a man who has made the lie at Bykovnia his cause.

The official version is that there are exactly 6,329 persons buried in Bykovnia and that they were killed by Nazis.

Mykola Lysenko, a retired economist, believes that there are between 150,000 to 240,000 bodies in the mass grave. He arrived at this figure by pacing off the site and calculating the number of bodies that could be packed into each pit. Lysenko has also interviewed more than 100 local villagers, all of whom state that the killings took place prior to the arrival of the Germans. People recall when suspects were arrested in those days by the NKVD and asked what law they had broken they were answered cynically "You've been arrested under statute 23", referring to the tram line that still runs to Bykovnia from Kyiv.

Yet another commission has been appointed to investigate the matter. The Memorial Society, an independent group that has set out to honor the victims of Stalin, is campaigning to erect monuments at sites of such mass graves, including Bykovnia.

The last 70 years of Soviet Russian rule have been built up layer by layer by lies. There are still those alive who remember the truth. Despite the fact that it is now rather fashionable to heap the blame on Stalin and disregard the faults of the system itself, one cannot help but wonder whether yet another horror of Soviet Russian rule will go unnoticed and unpunished.

▶ "One should not speak quietly" is the final chapter of this document. It is summed up by its concluding paragraph:

"The nation is alive so long as its perception of its individuality and aspiration towards independence is alive within it. Thus, for the sake of preserving our nation, let us not obscure our authentic independent substance with ambiguous words. Let us be honest and bold".

ACTIVISTS NEED DOCUMENTS, SUPPORT

The Ukrainian Press Agency has interviewed the following leading member of the Ukrainian opposition party — The Ukrainian Christian Democratic Union (Ukrainska Demokratychna Spilka) — Leonid Milyavsky, who lives in Kyiv. The Democratic Union was established earlier last year at a congress in Moscow. A transcript of the interview follows:

Q.: When was the Ukrainian Democratic Union (UDU) formed?

A.: One cannot really say that the UDU has been officially formed. Following the formation in Moscow of the Democratic Union, small groups were established in July in Ukrainian cities such as Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Kharkiv and Rivne. The Kyiv group decided to separate from the (Russian) Democratic Union and establish its own independent group, which would work in a purely Ukrainian national-democratic direction. On 22-23 January there will be a congress where all these UDU groups will participate.

Q.: How does your programme differentiate from the Moscow DU programme?

A.: Ours is a programme purely geared to Ukraine, for example, sovereignty for Ukraine, including questions such as whether we want to remain a part of the USSR, as a federation, confederation or to separate completely as a separate republic. Also, the internal politics of Ukraine as a republic, as a democratic republic, recognition of the principles of pluralism in politics, culture and economics, full rights for national minorities. They believe that “the people” will decide all the above points by either a referendum or something else. I think the best option would be an independent Ukraine.

Q.: Where are the main UDU groups located in Ukraine?

A.: Mainly in Eastern Ukraine, except for Rivne.

Q.: Why did you create the UDU when there is the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) in Kyiv? Do you think that the UHU fails to satisfy your needs?

A.: Nothing of the sort. Firstly, we formed our group before the Helsinki Union. So there is no competition. Secondly, we are purely political — an opposition political organization. The UHU is not a political organization. It is a federation of human rights groups to which members of the Communist Party and members of the UDU may belong. They have a wider programme like the Estonian Popular Front or the Latvian one. It is really an unofficial Popular Front because an official one cannot, as yet, be recognised. We have a purely political programme which is ideologically motivated. The UHU does not address itself to the Marxist-Leninist question, nor to the question of socialism and capitalism. The UDU has a position on such things and considers that we should have one. The time has come to accept certain things and to reject others.

Q.: How many members do you have in Ukraine?

A.: Approximately 40 in Kyiv, and the same number in another 4-5 cities. The Moscow DU has approximately 500 in the whole USSR, including 300 in Moscow. The composition of the UDU includes workers, professional intellectuals, peasants — but no professional politicians. Its ethnic composition includes many ethnic groups, like the Moscow DU — Ukrainians, Jews and Armenians.

Q.: How can the Ukrainian emigration help?

A.: Mainly by supplying information about political life in the West — Ukrainian political history, the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Especially needed are documents on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian Press Agency interviewed Ivan Makar, released after being arrested on August 4, 1988 as the main organizer of the mass demonstrations in western Ukraine this summer that led to the formation of a popular front. Ivan Makar is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Q.: What compelled you to take an active part in the dissident movement in Ukraine?

A.: We have a situation in our country which is not even socialism nor democracy. We still have elements of serfdom, for example, look at the restrictions on travel from one place to another and the passport system. We cannot work where we like and we must have a job, just like it was under (Tsarist) serfdom.

Q.: Why were you singled out for detention during the summer demonstration and how did they treat you in prison?

A.: My speeches were quite harsh. I think it was mainly because of what I said about the rehabilitation of UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army).¹ There are no text books about the UPA and the archives remain closed. The authorities took this very seriously indeed, especially because I had agitated people to come for the next meeting on August 4th with placards demanding Volodymyr Shcherbytsky's removal. In prison I announced a hunger strike which lasted for 35 days. The authorities refused to put me in a separate cell according to my wishes. It's harder not to eat when everybody else around you takes food. Towards the end there was an incident when I had my arms twisted.

Q.: Please describe the situation, as you see it, in the USSR today. Is the national question Gorbachev's biggest problem and, if so, why?

A.: The national question has been intensified because the nationalist label is attached to anybody who is consciously aware of his culture. Secondly, we have never had real democracy and therefore nobody in power today has been elected. In order to keep their positions they attempt to be ultra loyal. I consider that Lenin was wrong on the nationalities question, however, having said that even his principles on the nationalities issue are not being adhered to. He said that the Russian nation was so autocratic. Certainly it is the most important question facing Gorbachev and it can only be resolved, that is the Union can only remain a Union, if the republics become sovereign and if it were truly a voluntary Union. Look at the way Estonia is going. Gorbachev has taken the wrong position on this. His stance is very imperialistic. Unless this position changes then the Union will fall apart. If the current policies do not change then I think we must demand secession and full independence.

Q.: What are the main problems in Ukraine today?

A.: There is an acute lack of technical facilities and glasnost, especially compared to other republics. The level of democracy and glasnost is very low. Our main newspapers, such as the party paper *Radyanska Ukraina* and other papers, particularly

¹ The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was an underground nationalist army that fought the Nazis and Soviets between 1942-1951.

in Lviv, are very reactionary to such an extent that they can easily smear anybody. The possibility of publishing statements in them are non-existent. Another problem are the constant reminders of state sponsored terrorism from the local mafia. A recent example was the beating up of Barladianu in Odessa.²

Q.: What role can Ukrainians play in these processes?

A.: More people must be made aware of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. We lack printing facilities and it would be a great help if we could be assisted in this respect. It is important to influence such governments as the USA, Canada and Britain.

Q.: What possibility do you see of the formation of a Democratic Front in Ukraine as in the Baltic?

A.: The Balts are more consolidated. There is at least some unity between the state and the people. We do not have this here and I cannot see this happening in the near future. I foresee more confrontation between the state and the democratic movement in Ukraine. The Balts have been part of the USSR for less time than Ukrainians. Evidence of this is that in western Ukraine this process is more advanced than in eastern Ukraine. If such a group is formed in Ukraine, it will be less progressive than the ones in the Baltic republics because, for example, the most progressive organization at the moment, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, is putting its declaration of principles similar to what the Democratic Front is airing in the Baltic republics. Our Democratic Front will have a more cautious programme vis-a-vis the government.

Q.: Recently there have been statements from official writers, such as Pavlychko and Scherbak, calling for the formation of a Democratic Front. Is this an indication of support for the idea among the Writers' Union?

A.: Their mistake is that they do not realise that without a political struggle nobody is going to share power. We must struggle for everything: national and democratic rights. The writers will find it difficult to extricate themselves from the position they find themselves in. For many years they have been forced to take a certain stance. They want to renew Ukrainian national culture and the language but cannot defeat the sense of fear in them.

² On 17th November, a Ukrainian Catholic activist, Vasyl Barladianu, was severely beaten up by unknown persons in Odessa. He was knocked unconscious and suffered internal injuries and possibly a fractured skull.

*The Central Committee of ABN
and
the editorial staff of
"ABN Correspondence"
extend their sincerest wishes
to all their friends, readers and their families
for a Happy Easter
and a joyful holiday season.*

UKRAINIAN YOUTH BEATEN FOR RAISING NATIONAL FLAG DURING MEETING IN KYIV

(UCIS) On Wednesday, February 22, Soviet authorities attacked a young man in Kyiv, who raised the Ukrainian national blue and yellow flag during a meeting in conjunction with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Ukraine.

Yevhen Chernyshiv, who is in his mid-20s, raised the flag, which has not been seen at a public gathering in the Ukrainian capital since the mid-1940s, in response to a party representative who claimed that Ukraine already has democracy.

"If we have democracy, what do you say to our national flag", Chernyshiv shouted while holding it above his head.

The authorities attacked him and attempted to wrest the flag from his hands. Chernyshiv was rescued by passers-by, who returned the flag to him and supported him while he once again raised it. The 3,000 demonstrators began chanting "Glory to Ukraine".

During the struggle, one of the organisers of the meeting was approached by a member of the militia, who quietly but hesitatingly told him to warn Chernyshiv not to repeat this action. The Ukrainian rights activist was further informed that the militia is under strict instructions from the highest party authorities not to allow the national colours to be displayed. However, because of the determination of the crowd, the authorities refrained from attacking Chernyshiv again, and he was permitted to hold the blue and yellow flag during the remainder of the meeting.

The February 22 meeting was the third demonstration in three days to occur in the Ukrainian capital in connection with Gorbachev's tour of Ukraine. The demonstrations were organised by the activists from the Hromada Society, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Ukrainian People's Democratic League, a member organisation of the Democratic Union. Each of the meetings was attended by several thousand people who demanded the establishment of a national front, protested against conditions in Ukraine and denounced widespread fraud related to the upcoming election of people's deputies in March.

Demonstrators held hand-lettered signs with slogans such as "Down with Shcherbytskyi", "Political Pluralism is the Foundation of Democracy", "Ukrainian must be the state language" and "All Ukrainian Party Leaders are Mafia".

Prior to similar demonstrations in Lviv, western Ukraine, seven Ukrainian activists were detained. They were Ivan Hel, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Pavlo Skochok, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Ivan Kandyba and Ivan Makar. Makar, who was arrested last year and held without trial for three months, received a 15-day jail sentence for collecting signatures for a petition in support of poet Rostyslav Bratun, who is a candidate for next month's elections.

Over the Christmas season when a group of students was joined by a crowd of over 500 people in Kyiv in carolling Christmas carols, a similar incident occurred. The carollers were carrying a traditional eight pointed blue and yellow star with a steel tryzub, Ukrainian national symbol. One militia member threw himself upon the carollers and broke the tryzub.

POPULAR FRONT HOLDS RALLY IN MINSK

On Sunday afternoon, February 19, the first demonstration of the Byelorussian Popular Front for Perestroika called "Renewal" took place at the sports stadium Dynamo in Minsk. Between 30-50,000 people took part in the rally, which was not only permitted by the Minsk city officials but also attended by them. The permission and participation of the authorities in the rally is a novel development in light of the repressive stance they have taken so far. Last year when an All Souls' Day commemoration was being planned for October 30, the Communist authorities banned it and sent in the riot police to violently break up those persons who had assembled despite the prohibition. The assembly was violently dispersed. When Byelorussian informal youth groups attempted to hold a second congress in Minsk, Party functionaries imposed such conditions that the congress had to be held in Vilnius, Lithuania.

The official USSR news agency TASS report on the rally was surprisingly neutral. It stated that the participants of the rally passed a resolution demanding the halting of the construction of nuclear power plants and other hazardous plants in the republic and two resolutions dealing with the nomination procedures for People's Deputies.

The chairman of the Minsk city council opened the rally and later, anyone who wished to speak could do so. The rally was impressive in terms of numbers of people, it was also the largest showing of Byelorussian national assertiveness seen in a long time. Among the placards and banners carried by the participants were the following slogans: "State Status for the Byelorussian Language", "Sovereignty for Byelorussia", and "For a Nuclear-Free Byelorussia". Others held up the "Pahonya" national emblem and countless national flags of independent Byelorussia.

The rally was organized by the Byelorussian Popular Front and the Confederation of Byelorussian Associations, an umbrella organization of political informal groups. One of the goals of the rally was to familiarize the public with the aims and proposals of the two organizations, which up to now were largely passed by word-of-mouth or in *samvydav* literature. Both organizations publish information bulletins and are attempting to participate in the elections for the newly created People's Deputies. The Popular Front put forward a list of 7 candidates but official bodies are doing all they can to stonewall the process, as is the case in other republics in the USSR, such as Ukraine.

Last December, 1988, the news bulletin of the Popular Front published excerpts from an official orientation paper entitled "On a Few Characteristics of the Current Social and Political Situation in the Republic", an 18-page document circulated in Party circles. The orientation paper is an open attack on the Popular Front and on Byelorussia's informal youth groups, claiming that they are being incited by "emissaries" from Latvia and Lithuania. The paper claims that the organization of a popular front is a "stark violation of legal norms and developing democratic processes in our country", accuses front and youth group activists of being extremists who use blackmail, threats, bribes, deception and slander against those who do not follow them.

Given such hostility on the part of the Party functionaries against the "Renewal" Popular Front and informal youth groups last December, it is indeed surprising that they actively participated in the rally on February 19. This, together with the TASS report on the rally, which gives the impression that it is perfectly normal for Party big whigs to join with the Popular Front certainly points to the conclusion that the authorities are climbing the bandwagon. The question remains, for what purpose?

FOR A UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

In the summer of 1988, certain Western radio stations broadcast a premature report about the creation of an Initiative Group for the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine. In actual fact, this group did not yet exist. Measures for the creation of the Initiative Committee for the Revival of the UAOC began only with the efforts of the Executive Committee of the UHU. This committee is presently in existence and has begun its work. In the appeal given below, we have used extracts from a draft written by the Orthodox priest, Fr. Romaniuk, who emigrated (to the West) last summer.

**To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkSSR,
To the International Christian community.**

APPEAL OF THE INITIATIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Important changes in the spiritual life of our country are taking place and, although the process is inconsistent and contradictory, today light has already been shed on many pressing problems that need to be resolved. One of these is the religious question in the UkSSR. For decades Ukrainian believers were branded as enemies of the people and nationalists. The ethnic population of the republic was deprived of the opportunity to pray, preach or study in theological schools in its own language. We are deprived of that which is most essential of all, that which the Holy Ghost gave to the Christian Church on the Day of the Pentecost when he descended on the Apostles (Acts 2, 3-8; 11). On this occasion, let us also mention the words of the Apostle Paul from a letter to the Corinthians: "I would rather speak five comprehensible words in church, so that I may teach others too, rather than ten thousand words in a foreign language!" (Cor. 14, 19).

The hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church unlawfully usurped control over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as long ago as 1685, not long after the so-called "re-unification" of Ukraine and Russia, and, until this day, does not recognise the existence of a particular Ukrainian national religion as such, together with its culture, language, ritualism, that is it continues with the chauvinistic treatment of the national question. Orthodox Ukraine can not reconcile herself with such anti-evangelical, anti-canonical practices. Like every other civilised nation, we have the inalienable right to our own independent autocephalous Church.

The tradition of Ukrainian Orthodoxy originates from the baptism of Kyivan Rus', from Grand Prince of Kyiv St. Volodymyr, whose missionary work was conducted with the assistance of both Byzantine and Roman centres of Christianity. The universal schism of the Churches occurred much later, in 1054, but the Christianity which we officially accepted from Byzantium had a clearly Orthodox character from the very beginning. In time, this tradition was consolidated by Kyivan Metropolitan Ilarion, who supported the idea of the Eastern Orthodoxy of Christianity in a number

of ways, and all the later Ukrainian religious leaders up to the time of the Kozaks, when the Ukrainian Orthodox Church experienced the greatest development. The religious and social activity of Metropolitans Yov Boretskyi, Petro Mohyla, Sylvester Kosiv, the great cultural, educational and missionary work of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and the Orthodox church brotherhoods throughout the whole of Ukraine.

After losing its independence in 1685, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was revived in October 1921 (the first All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Sobor). The main driving force behind the revival of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its autocephaly was Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi. In the nine years of the existence of the Church, over 5,000 parishes were created which were attended by 4,000 priests and presided over by a Metropolitan.

By its activity, the UAOC embodied the words of the gospel which were incorporated into the decree of the 1921 Church Sobor: "In the same way the Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve others, and to give His Soul for the salvation of many!" (Mt. 20, 28).

Nearly all the leading activists of the Church, like the members of the All-Union Council of Laymen and all the bishops, together with Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi, died a martyr's death in camps, prisons and exile. In this brutal manner the UAOC was destroyed in the 1930s, in the time of Stalinist repression. Ukrainian churches suffered mass destruction, and the remaining congregation was again incorporated into Russian Orthodoxy, which, although it suffered persecution, was granted the right to a miserable existence in the Stalinist system of national priorities. But the Russian Orthodox Church does not recognise the very fact of the existence of the UAOC and is incapable of satisfying the religious needs of Ukrainian believers. For this reason, we, Ukrainian Orthodox believers, have decided to create an Initiative Committee for the Revival of the UAOC in Ukraine. We will put the question of the revival of the UAOC before the legislative bodies of the UkSSR and the USSR, we will strive for the registration of the religious communities and, if necessary, collect signatures for the revival of the UAOC among the Ukrainian community. But we expect that the issue will not get to such a stage when mass measures will be necessary and our Church will revive unimpeded on the basis of the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of conscience, which will become real proof of the democratic restructuring of our society.

At the same time, we appeal to His Beatitude the Universal Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, Dimitrius, to the UAOC abroad, to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches of the world, to the international Christian circles, and to all people of good will for support. We aspire, like all civilised people, towards unity with God within our own framework, in our own language.

15 February 1989

Signatories:

Fr. Bohdan Mykhailenko, priest of the Holy Ascension Church of the Latvian SSR, Jelgava, Neon Paegles Street 11, apt. 15.

Taras Antoniuk, Kyiv, Chkalov Street 79, apt. 39.

Anatoliy Bytchenko, Kyiv 73, Kopelovska Street 2a, apt. 36.

Mykola Budnyk, Zhytomyr region, Volodar-Volyn district, village of Skolobiv.

Larysa Lokhvyytska, Kyiv, Yerevan Street 4, apt. 72.

DEMOCRATIC UNION CONFERENCE IN RIGA

The second all-union conference of the Democratic Union took place in Riga from January 26 to January 29, 1989. 135 delegates from 32 cities in the USSR participated in the conference, as well as 39 guests.

Eugenia Novodvorska opened the conference. Sergei Gregoryants, the publisher of the journal *Glasnost* examined the general political situation in the USSR. During his speech, a Siberian delegate proposed that Siberia be granted political autonomy. The conference participants examined their Declaration, program and the statutes as well as resolutions concerning tactics and the national problem.

The delegates and guests expressed the desire to further elaborate party documents conceptually. They also called the current electoral system in the USSR undemocratic.

In a separate appeal addressed to the member nations of the Vienna Helsinki Review Conference, the conference of the Democratic Union underscored the uselessness of holding a human rights conference in Moscow, as Moscow continues to violate human rights. A series of resolutions on the national question was also adopted.

According to the representative of the Moscow chapter of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, one resolution deals with the Armenian situation. The resolution marks that during the session of the Supreme Soviet on November 23-24, 1988, the central regime sharply interfered in the internal matters of the Armenian republic's government. This interference can only be characterized as a military takeover. The resolution further demands the release of the arrested members of the Nagorno Karabakh committee.

Another resolution deals with the Baltic republics. This resolution expressed the belief that the occupation of these republics continues. The resolution states that the Democratic Union continues to support the democratic movement of the Baltic nations against the occupying regime.

The third resolution is directly related to the Crimean Tartar question, and it emphasizes the legality and purpose of the restoration of Crimean autonomy.

Certain details about the conference have also become known in the West. The conference was to take place in the large hall of the fishing collective. However, when the delegates arrived on January 26, they were refused entry. They were forced to seek other accommodations. They attempted to meet in a hall in a hotel, but soon, the militia stormed into the hall and dispersed the conference participants. The conference finally took place in the private apartment of one of the Latvian participants in Riga. On January 29, after the conclusion of the proceedings, a meeting was held in the center of the city where the memory of deceased political prisoners was honored.

Some statistical information about the Democratic Union is available. According to information from Riga, the Union publishes 13 periodicals. To date, over 200 press releases have been issued. The Union has 500 full members and 200 candidates for membership. The party has its representatives in 37 cities of the USSR. Intellectuals comprise 43% of the membership, workers — 27%, students 16% and 14% are listed under "other". There is one member who represents farmers.

As to the political fractions within the union, those members who regard themselves as liberal-democrats comprise 26% of the general membership, christian democrats make up 10% and democrats make up 48%. 10% consider themselves democrats-communists. Social democrats make up 8%. One anarchist and one zionist have also joined the Democratic Union.

LITHUANIANS REGAIN THEIR NATIONAL HOLIDAY

For the first time since the Soviet Russian occupation of Lithuania in 1940, the nation's Independence Day — February 16, was to be celebrated legally and openly this year. Even the Communist Party in Lithuania has been trying to make political profit by making sounds of approval and even joining some of the planned festivities.

The dramatic change becomes even more apparent if one recalls that ever since 1940, Moscow and its Lithuanian appointees in Vilnius have been trying to erase February 16 from the memory of the Lithuanian people. Lithuania's National Holiday was treated with derision, silence and proscription. Any attempt to celebrate it was dealt with a stiff prison sentence or an extended sojourn in the Gulag camps. Only last year, the Communist authorities imposed a virtual state of siege in Vilnius to prevent any patriotic manifestations, but even the massive presence of militia and special riot squads was unable to prevent demonstrations in the nation's capital and other Lithuanian cities. On February 15, the authorities organized their own "spontaneous" meeting in Vilnius to protest U.S. President Reagan's call for celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of Lithuania's independence. The then Soviet President Andrei Gromyko made a special visit to Lithuania on February 3-6 to assure the Communist officialdom that Soviet power in Lithuania "was never as mighty as now" and to urge a resolute struggle against any concessions to "nationalism". In an unpublished appeal, which was distributed to Lithuanian "working people", the Communist authorities charged that any commemoration of February 16 was "a sacrilege" for Soviet people and urged them to prevent "the revival of nationalist superstitions".

A year later, Gromyko is gone, "Soviet power" has become an object of derision in Lithuania, and the term "superstitious" is reserved to the official Marxist-Leninist ideology. The year 1988 saw a powerful self-assertion of the Lithuanian political and cultural identity. The deepening crisis of the Soviet system having led to a reduction of institutionalized terror, the shackles of fear have largely disappeared in Lithuania. The result has been an open resurgence of patriotism, pluralism and democratic impulses. By creating new mass movements and expanding the previous underground organizations, by restoring pre-Soviet political and religious associations, and by constantly expanding an independent press network, the Lithuanians have demonstrated that Soviet Russian totalitarianism has failed in its nearly 50 year effort to transform them into homogenized, obedient, denationalized *Homines sovietici* — "Soviet men". Instead, they have made it clear not only to Moscow, but also to the sceptics in the West that Lithuania belongs to the European culture and to the European community of nations as much as Poland, Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia.

February 16, 1989, an important victory for democracy, is also a reminder that Lithuania, although freer, remains an occupied country, in most ways still controlled from Moscow. Lithuania's National Holiday represents a multiple challenge to the East and to the West. The Gorbachev regime can hardly claim admiration or credits from the rest of the world, or to expect that Moscow's claims of "democratic socialism" will be believed, if it maintains an imperial rule in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Western powers, faced with a qualitative change in the Baltic countries, must go beyond earlier declarations of the non-recognition of the Soviet annexation and to initiate an active policy promoting peaceful transformation in the Baltic countries and the restoration of their independence. To do less would represent a historic failure.

THE BALTIC STATES TODAY

Events of the past year make it clear that nearly fifty years of Soviet occupation have extinguished neither Baltic resistance nor Baltic hopes for restoration of independence. On the contrary, a new generation of Balts is at the forefront of demands for greater autonomy and eventual separation from the Soviet Empire.

It took just a little glasnost for thousands of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians to take to the streets this past year, openly protest against continued suppression of their individual and national rights.

In contrast to the sixties, when only a few brave Baltic nationalists dared to risk the long sentences in concentration camps resulting from engaging in "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", today's activists have broad support among the Baltic peoples. The urgency of their demands is explained by my friend and fellow activist Eve Pärnaste: "with the number of Estonians living here steadily declining, there is only very little time left for us to try to return Estonia to what it was".

There is a general feeling of alarm at the massive Russian immigration into the Baltic States, along with growing resentment of Moscow's control over every level of decision-making in these former parliamentary democracies. Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians understand that their countries are being colonized, their natural resources plundered, their histories re-written, their languages, cultures and religions actively eroded.

Today we have got so far, that the government of Soviet Estonia has declared the Estonian SSR as a sovereign Union Republic as of November 29, 1988. Unfortunately this declaration does not mean much. In a republic of 1.5 million inhabitants, where the strength of the military occupational forces is 125,000 men, one cannot, of course, speak of independent politics. The freedoms gained are in essence theoretical, the economic situation remains disastrous. At the same time we can witness the extraordinary high level of political activity of the Estonian people, which has so far been tolerated, although probably not approved, by the central authorities.

It is specifically economic reasons which have guided Gorbachev's timid attempts to liberalize the Soviet system. These attempts have prompted a massive reaction in the Baltic States, which proves that Estonians, as well as Latvians and Lithuanians stand for their right to self-determination, as before. It is economic reasons, which force Gorbachev to tolerate mass demonstrations in the Baltic States, because he desperately needs western technology and credits. At the same time one could state that no outside aid could rescue the Empire — it could only postpone its disintegration. The Soviet Union has fallen too deeply into an economic crisis for it to re-emerge from it as a victor. The present moment, while the most liberal of the leaders in Soviet history is in power, should be used to influence and direct the Soviet Union towards gradually restructuring itself — without risking a catastrophe for Europe and the whole world, which would inevitably occur if the Soviet Union disintegrated at a stroke.

The Baltic States will undoubtedly be the first to separate from the Soviet Union. The various factions of the Estonian opposition are demanding autonomy as a minimum and full independence as a maximum. Yet, at present, Estonia is in a situation

where the 125,000 men strong occupation forces are not only stationed in the country but have also voting rights in it — of present day practices throughout the world, the most blatant example of totalitarianism.

It seems to me that with modern military technology it is no longer important whether a military base is situated within a distance of 200 kilometers one way or another, therefore, there is no longer even strategic justification for military bases in Estonia. Assuming that the marshals in the Kremlin are too old fashioned to adjust to modern methods of technology, it is important to remember that the Treaty of 1939, under which Soviet military bases were allowed on Estonian territory, strictly stipulated the exact area for the bases and the strength of a maximum of 25,000 men, who were in no way to interfere in the internal affairs of Estonia. This treaty was the last legally concluded treaty between the Independent Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union — before aggression and annexation by the Soviet Union took place.

I see as the first requirement for the process of democratization and as its starting point the moment when Soviet forces in Estonia are reduced to the strength stipulated in the 1939 Treaty, and removed from Estonia's political and economic life. This would be the restoration of a legal state of affairs from which further development could follow. Without such reinstatement of legality there cannot be real talk of sovereignty.

I should like to conclude by saying that the Soviet Union, because it needs to create and maintain good relations, is most susceptible to western public opinion and official attitudes. At present it is possible for the West to insist on terms and conditions for providing assistance, and even without any promises of aid. The fate of the Baltic States fundamentally depends on such conditions. I should further like to say that the Baltic States issue is a question of present day world morality. Whether the post-World War II situation will repeat itself — when the West was in a position to dictate the terms, but where in fact it was the East who did it — this will depend on such morality.

Heiki Ahonen is an Estonian former political prisoner who was expelled from his homeland by the Soviet Russian authorities. He delivered the above address at the European Freedom Campaign opening ceremony held in London on December 10, 1988.

ILCHENKO PRONOUNCED SANE

by delegation of US psychiatrists

(UCIS) According to Moscow-based representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, a delegation of American psychiatrists examined Ukrainian human rights activist, Anatoliy Ilchenko, on March 7 and pronounced him sane.

On February 23, Ilchenko was transferred to a psychiatric hospital in Moscow, and from there to the Kashchenko psychiatric hospital in the same city.

A Soviet psychiatrist and a human rights activist from Moscow, psychiatrist Oleksandr Podrabynnyk, were also present during the examination.

The day after the examination, March 8, the newspaper *Argumenty i Fakty* published an interview with the senior Soviet psychiatrist. When asked about the consequences of the examination he replied: "Regardless of what the result will be, we will adhere to our own point of view".

POST NUCLEAR EUROPE AND THE WORRISOME PROSPECTS FOR OUR FUTURE

Nothing is more irritating than hearing at the end of a presentation the eternal question: "Isn't it a little too pessimistic?". I would like to emphasise that pessimism has no place at all in this analysis of the present situation and I do not even attempt to draw any conclusions, except when they are strongly supported by solid facts.

For the sake of clarity, I believe it would be useful to give you an outline of the plan of my exposé that will deal with the era of a post-nuclear Europe and our future prospects, which may not be very promising.

Before I launch myself into the all too famous INF Treaty on intermediate-range nuclear weapons, concluded between the two superpowers and signed in Washington, D.C. in December of 1987, let me just mention the theme in the context of the various crises we are experiencing today, namely:

- the crisis of deterrence;
- the crisis of the Atlantic Alliance;
- the economic crisis.

What are the consequences in the political domain and the repercussions on the military situation? Could this be called the irremediable failure of the strategy of the Atlantic Alliance, which is based on the "Triad" or, in other words, on a symbiosis of the nuclear and conventional forces?

Subsequently, I shall endeavour to measure the consequences of the disastrous inferiority of our conventional forces, before going into a comparative study of the situation as it presented itself in 1940 and that which we are able to foresee for the 1990s. The comparison consists essentially of the following points:

- the strategic errors;
- the dynamics of the operations; surprise and timing;
- the absence of a global policy
 - refugee problem
 - civil defence;
- psychological warfare and the fallacious hopes of disarmament, pacifism, indifference and lack of resolution.

In the third part of the exposé, I shall try to present alternatives, disguised as conclusions, based on redeployment and confidence-building measures, likely to ward off the mortal effects of a surprise attack which would only have negative results for the Western world.

In summary, the three propositions are:

1. Current crises and the INF Treaty.
2. A comparison between 1940 and 1990 or "Half a Century of Nuclear Valium".
3. The possible remedies.

The Crisis of Deterrence.

It is well known that social consensus is one, if not the most determining factor in the formulation of Western defence policies, and it is also known that this social dimension does not exist in the Eastern Bloc. What then is the real situation?

In general, the concept of nuclear deterrence is unfavourably received by the younger generations who have not experienced World War II, or even the Cold War.

Furthermore, we cannot disregard the capital role played by pacifist anti-nuclear demonstrations related to the balance of forces because, if we reject nuclear weapons, we must automatically question the principle of nuclear deterrence as such which has been the basis of European security for the last 40 years.

Churchill once said that "security is the robust child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation". Perhaps he did not foresee that terror could work both ways, that is against the adversary but also against those who have to be defended and the Chornobyl accident furnished a striking confirmation. This permanent discussion is the result of nuclear parity between the two superpowers. However, it is nourished, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, by statements claiming that the Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNW) are vulnerable and operationally useless and that their employment would lead mostly to the destruction of Europe itself.

We must admit nevertheless that the latter argument is not devoid of implications, since, in case of a conflict involving nuclear weapons, the Federal Republic of Germany would be the inevitable battlefield, for friends and foes alike, due to their limited range, which does not really open up enthusiastic perspectives for the German political leaders.

Finally, given that parity has become an irreversible fact in the strategic picture between the two great powers, the United States nuclear guarantee becomes constantly less and less certain, as we have learned from Mr. Kissinger's speeches as well as from the famous "Paper of the Four", published in "Foreign Affairs" some time ago, and the activities of the "Freeze" movement in the United States.

A last and most important point: Technological progress is such that nuclear weapons are no longer deterring wars, whereas we had anti-city arms of destruction before, and they consequently have turned into a battlefield tool, capable of destroying military targets without creating collateral damages, due to their extraordinary accuracy, thus reducing the circular error probability (CEP) to about a dozen meters at the most.

As a consequence, as Pierre Lellouche, the well-known French strategic expert of the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) stated: "The degree of acceptability is inversely proportional to the operational credibility", which has been amply demonstrated by events concerning the neutron bomb and the Euromissiles.

In this context and in view of the growing importance of conventional armaments, it is understandable that the Soviets have become the apostles of a "non-war" nuclear policy and have renounced to the first use of nuclear weapons.

The crisis of the Atlantic Alliance is nothing new under the sun. Since its creation in 1949, differing opinions have been ever present within the Alliance and especially so between the powerful partner across the Atlantic and the weak nations of divided Europeans. Europe is torn between allegiance to its United States ally and the vested interests of a convenient détente, reached by means of spasmodic European

nationalisms which are at the same time utopian and desperate, founded on resignation rather than ambition. However, it is an obvious fact that the famous “gap” or rift between the two shores of the Atlantic is far from narrowing; on the contrary, it progressively widens, the causes of which are in a few words:

- Competition in the economic field which the single European market of 1992 will certainly not soften;
- The European indifference, if not hostility, towards events in Central America;
- Clear statements by the Europeans as to their political and strategic interests, differing from the U.S. position, of which the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a typical example;
- The loss of credibility of the United States leadership and the erosion of the nuclear guarantee;
- The impression, whether justified or not, that the discussion of major world problems, even if they concern Europe directly, are being held above the heads of the Europeans, in spite of the elaborate consultation and information process within NATO.

The last point assumes particular significance and will be dealt with more closely in the context of the INF Treaty and the “Euromissiles” affair.

Let me just say a few words about the economic crisis. Very obviously it has a negative impact on defence budgets in times of austerity and is basically created by priorities given to social problems such as unemployment and social security. It would be almost unthinkable to envisage a considerable increase of the defence budgets in Western democracies that are tormented by the myths of disarmament — unilateral at that! — and arms control questions, the pressure of which could lead to a paralysis or permanent denigration of the balance of forces.

The magical theme of disarmament is in a certain measure the opium of Western democracies and the favorite refrains of the hardcore pacifists who — consciously or subconsciously — promote a dangerous and perfectly one-sided evolution.

Let us now look at the “affair of the Euromissiles” and the famous INF Treaty which were both the direct result of such behaviour. The premises are well-known: confronted with the deployment of the Soviet SS-20s, the Alliance was forced to modernise its equipment as an adequate response. This response was made in the form of the Cruise missiles and the Pershing IIs, the later being installed in the Federal Republic of Germany only, whereas the Cruise missiles were deployed in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Deploying the Euromissiles in several nations demonstrated a firm solidarity of the Alliance and the range of the Cruise missile as well as of the Pershing II (approximately 1,800 to 2,200 kilometres) restored deterrence at the European level as it finally enabled us to reach the vital centres in the Soviet Union, the only and true guarantee of a real deterrence.

At last the “coupling” of Europe and the United States had been re-established, which was even acknowledged by General Orgakov and Mr. Oustinov, Soviet Minister of Defence, who both admitted in a memorable interview to *The New York Times* that an attack of Euromissiles onto Soviet territory would result in a retaliation onto United States territory. Alas, this position crumbled completely when the INF Treaty was concluded between the USSR and the United States, introducing simultaneously the Zero Option, i. e. the total suppression of the SS-20s and Euromissiles.

As a consequence:

- Europe no longer has the capability that permits her to reach the Soviet Union whereas the Soviet Union, with its immense strategic arsenal, covers the totality of European territory.
- European politicians, who had used the convincing arguments just mentioned in order to push through a decision in their countries for installing the missiles, after the United States disengagement, lost face in their respective parliaments where they fought hard against the Leftist coalitions.
- It institutionalised a situation of conventional and nuclear superiority on the part of the USSR in the entire European theatre.
- The United States nuclear guarantee was further diminished.
- Any capability of a graduated response has been irremediably compromised, meaning that the overall nuclear posture of NATO is in the process of falling apart.
- There is an apparent need to switch to the Triple Zero Option (including tactical nuclear weapons with a range under 500 km), an option which had already been vigorously defended by Egon Bahr and of which the German Foreign Minister Genscher is allegedly much in favour, thus once again introducing the virus of division into the Atlantic Alliance.

In short, the graduated response consequently loses its operational credibility and everything depends on the state of the conventional forces level which is the subject of the second part of this presentation.

It is not my intention to list the discrepancies between NATO and the Warsaw Pact forces. The latter have the benefit of a superiority of about 3 to 1, at times 5 to 1, as in the case for the artillery, but the most important factor is that they have the initiative of mounting an offensive which enables them to choose the moment and the place, in addition to the overwhelming surprise attack component.

For the informed and objective observer, the political and strategic situation just before World War II presents strange similarities with what we experience today. I would say it is a double comparison:

- at the strategic level which recalls the fatal errors committed by the political and military leadership, errors that led to disaster in 1940 and to a world-wide conflict with the tragic result of 50 million victims;
- at the global defence level, of which the psychological component is one of the essential factors, seriously taken into consideration by a potential opponent who is used to activities aiming at internal destabilisation.

The Strategic Errors

Hegel wrote that the only lesson history teaches us is that we never learn the lessons we receive from history. This becomes very obvious whilst establishing a comparison between the strategy of the allies on the eve of World War II and that of the Atlantic Alliance, still valid today.

The battlefield, on which the fate of France and at the same time of its Belgian and British allies was sealed, was the small country of Belgium. At the time, Belgium took refuge in a policy of neutrality for ensuring its security, after a futile Franco-Belgian agreement and the Treaty of Locarno, the terms of which had become ineffective when

Hitler occupied the Rhineland in 1936. However, it had been agreed that the Franco-British guarantors of Belgian neutrality would massively come to the aid of Belgium for the defence of her territory, should a non-provoked attack by Nazi Germany take place.

Naturally, it was imperative to locate the main lines of resistance. Would they be far to the East and closer to the borders near the Albert Canal area? Or would they be much closer along the Escaut line? Or would a compromise be found for taking the general direction towards Antwerp/Namur and the Meuse?

This fundamental decision had already profoundly divided Belgian public opinion which was split between the supporters of an in-depth defence and the ardent defenders of the integral defence of the borders. Certainly, it is now a dispute of the past, but nevertheless it seems opportune to recall the great outlines and examine the arguments used, still applicable today in its entirety for defending the Atlantic Alliance's forward strategy, the purpose of which is to cover the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany as far as possible to the East.

Strangely enough it appears that, despite the lessons of the past, the choice of this strategy has not lent itself to major controversies. It is even more surprising that the unfavourable circumstances ever present now are more disadvantageous than in 1940. We shall have an opportunity to ascertain this further on.

Could it be possible that the utmost priority accorded to the nuclear element in the sixties brought about the indifference to a solution which, to say the least, is widely subject to criticism and most certainly opens the way to adventurous enterprises?

Or has the theory of the impossible war, leading astray some spirits, given precedence to a predominantly political solution that in practice is inapplicable from the military point of view? However, it is certain that matters have evolved profoundly and at the threshold of the 21st century, absolute nuclear priority is being questioned seriously. The INF Treaty is an excellent example since the permanent conventional forces imbalance is not of such a nature as to reassure us of the application of an illusory and outdated strategy which might lead us towards a worse disaster than in 1940.

I have already touched upon the deep controversy between those who believed in an in-depth defence and the supporters of a defence along the borders. In this respect, King Albert III wrote a letter to the Belgian Minister of Defence on December 31, 1932:

“If we adopted the policy of preparing the borders for our defence, the troops, which would meet certain defeat, are no longer able to take refuge, reconquer morally and recover physically and subsequently would succumb under the rapid and repeated blows of the elements of modern pursuit.”

Please bear in mind that these prophetic lines were written in December 1932, an incredible foresight of what would happen in 1940. The underlying causes can be summarised in three paragraphs:

- The rigidity of a defensive position which a priori eliminated any flexibility or initiative of manoeuvre.
- Technological progress in the aviation and motorisation sectors, forerunner of the “tank-stuka” tandem of the victorious armies of the Third Reich.

- The inevitable character of an initial defeat which gave a glimpse of the future catastrophe at Sedan, the rush towards the sea and the final collapse.

The warnings of 1932 are still valid for the 1990s and one could apply them to the NATO formations responsible for the defence of Central Europe. This thought was well expressed by the author of a book with the revealing title *Feu l'armée française* (The Defunct French Army):

“Distressingly stretched out over a continuous front, this army will be breached and thrown into disarray before having been able to inflict even the slightest damage onto enemy troops”.

DYNAMICS OF THE OPERATIONS

Strategic and Tactical Surprise

One of the essential elements leading to the disaster of 1940 was the realisation of the surprise factor at the strategic as well as tactical level. The choice of concentrating the main thrust along the Ardennes-Sedan axis took the French unawares, in spite of numerous warnings and ominous signs. Tactical surprise was achieved through the joint action of tanks and aircraft plus the airborne operations against the Eben-Emael fortress, the most formidable one at the time, which fell in a few hours.

In the Central European region, surprise could be fully achieved if the attack were delivered without any indication or warning time, using solely the forces in being, in other words, the 20 Soviet divisions stationed in East Germany, including 5 divisions from Czecho-Slovakia and 2 from Poland.

In that case, the Soviets would not have to draw on the divisions of the first and second echelons located in Byelorussia and Ukraine respectively; NATO would be taken by surprise and in the flagrant act of moving from its peacetime positions to the wartime deployment positions closer to the Iron Curtain, within the framework of the Forward Strategy.

The considerably reduced time limits would be of the order of 48 hours. In this short lap of time, during which the alert procedures would have to be carried out, units would have to be fully complemented, ammunitions loaded and the movement to battle positions, sometimes hundreds of kilometers away, would have to be initiated.

Which are the comparative elements between 1940 and today?

First of all, in both cases, as mentioned before, the adversary practices an offensive strategy and has the advantage of the initiative which gives him the option to choose the place and time of attack. Also, the armies march towards each other, in 1940 along a central position (the “Dyle Manoeuvre”) and in 1990 along the demarcation line itself, i. e. in much more adventurous conditions than fifty years ago.

Today as yesterday, the largest movements would theoretically be protected by the “covering forces”, light reconnaissance units and anti-tank helicopters, which would lead a procrastinating combat and explore the terrain before the greater part of the allied divisions reach the battle area.

Will these forces be capable of containing the thrust of the enemy for at least 48 hours? In my opinion this is extremely doubtful if the surprise factor is to be preserved, bearing in mind that the personnel establishment is far from being adequate and considering the lack of depth (some dozen kilometers) of the field of action of the delaying manoeuvre.

In comparison with 1940, one could say that the covering forces of today are largely inferior in number to the cavalry divisions of the “Prioux Corps” and that their field of action has been infinitely reduced. Another analogy with the situation of 1940: what impact would the enemy operations have on the West to East movement of the allied forces? What would be the fate of the troop columns advancing at a speed of about 25 to 30 km per hour, tied down to established itineraries and stretching out over hundreds of kilometers without the protection of an adequate anti-air defence?

We do not need much imagination for visualising what the traffic jams, the delays in advancing, the criss-crossing of columns not foreseen in the military staff plans, as in 1940, would imply, even supposing a smooth execution of the major peacetime plans. One risks to lose everything whilst trying to implement fully the pre-established plans!

It is not my intention to paint this already rather dark picture extremely black, but it would be unforgivable to deliberately ignore the counter effects of the refugee movements going against the currents of advancing military units, and whose control, if there should be any, would be particularly delicate and complex.

Let us now look at the fundamental difference between the situation in 1940 and that of today, after the general mobilisation had taken place, not without hazards but in any case without enemy interference, as the Wehrmacht was engaged in Poland.

This will be entirely different if, in 1990, we would have to recomplement our armed forces and draw on the maximum of our reserves, an indispensable element in the deterrence at the conventional forces level.

How long does it take to launch the advance warning orders, regroup the reserve units, restock a largely deficient equipment, proceed to moving towards the East, by rail or road, for taking up positions and organizing the terrain?

What would be the destructive impact, in 1990 as in 1940, of enemy aviation in the various phases of an operation of such complexity and in the presence of a fifth column, previously infiltrated for the purpose of neutralising vital installations? And the foot soldiers — they would really be such! — would they be able to hold out long enough until the arrival of reinforcements, spread out over several days, if not weeks, as this would be the case of the “US Rapid Reinforcement” from across the Atlantic?

Enough of these painful questions, which seem to be superbly ignored by a resolutely optimistic strategy.

There is yet another difference which I would like to point out. The total absence of prepared positions and organization of the terrain. Today’s insufficiency of “strong houses” or bunkers of all types is worrisome, no matter what the shortcomings were of the anti-tank line “Cointet” before World War II; at least it had the merit of existing.

At present, we can count on nothing. There are no anti-tank elements, no fortresses or fortified positions, no prepared destructions, buried transmissions, mine fields or any other obstacles. Everything has been left to improvisation at the last moment. The alerted troops will find themselves, in the end, in the midst of nature where everything still has to be done from scratch, beginning with digging an elementary fox hole or holes for the assault rifle to the job of organising the terrain, including mine fields, obstructions and obstacles. There simply could not be more favourable conditions for a breakthrough by an adversary who takes his offensive actions in great strides!

A last element: the nearly total absence of reserves, thus the possibility of relief. Already in 1940, the men, subject to fatigue after lengthy marches and counter-marches,

were severely handicapped in their capacity to face combat. What would it be like for our troops now, after three days of continuous combat in conditions of extreme tension and without any real possibility of being relieved or resting for a while?

It is therefore, in my view, extremely fallacious to count on a sustained resistance capability extending a period of 72 hours. In this context it should be remembered that, during the defeat of the “Dyle” manoeuvres in 1940, it was nevertheless possible to fall back onto the less ambitious hypothesis of the Escaut line which promptly happened. Under present circumstances, no alternative plan is envisaged to complement NATO’s Forward Strategy. The time spans are too short for allowing the allied forces to install themselves. Even assuming that the deployment may take place under the most favourable conditions, the positions will nevertheless be broken up subsequently. No operational replacement plan is available which would provide an in-depth defence, either at the Weser river or along the natural barrier of the Eggegebirge, a mountain chain running north-south in the heart of the Federal Republic of Germany, or, as a last resort, along the Rhine. A suicidal lack of foresight indeed.

It therefore follows that, due to the infinitely more precarious conditions than in 1940, the allied forces of Central Europe will be doomed to destruction as the Forward Strategy does not offer the necessary means or adapted tactics for replacing linear resistance with a surface defence. The very same strategy had already been condemned in 1935, as can be seen from a report by the Belgian General van Overstraeten writing to Minister Deveze, after the French manoeuvres in the Champagne region:

“The era of linear fronts is coming to an end. Woe to the spread-out army cordons, for, if the adversary should break through, its mechanical units, launched into the opening breaches, will overthrow the flanks and tumble lateral resistance from the rears and by virtue of the speediness of their operations, precipitate the rupture of local balance in an irremediable and total disaster”.¹

Remarkable foreknowledge of what would inexorably happen about four years later along the same lines of this prophetic description and which definitely will repeat itself in Central Europe if we cling blindly to the irresponsibility of maintaining the “pearl string” deployment along a front of 800 km in the Central European theatre.

As in 1940, the surprise at the tactical level will depend on two separate plans:

- Tactical encirclement
- International disintegration

In the case of an offensive by the Warsaw Pact Forces — or only the Soviet Forces — there is no doubt that the USSR would utilise to a maximum helicopter and airborne units for operation in the depth of NATO defence positions.

“Soviet parachute units, most likely dropped in the rear lines during the night, would have the mission of destroying nuclear missile sites, occupy military and civilian air fields, take by surprise attack the bridges and command centres of operations with a view towards facilitating the crossing of waterways and clearing the passages to be used by the Warsaw Pact armies”.²

¹ Van Overstraeten, Albert Ier — Léopold III, “Dans l’état”, page. 52.

² Jacquelyn K. Davis and Robert Pfaltzgraff, United States Strategic Institute, Washington, D.C., 1978, page 20.

From the moment the allied units leave their peacetime barracks in order to march east towards their battle positions, they offer first-choice targets to the helicopter-borne Soviet troops, as virtually all manpower available is on the move, leaving behind a considerable quantity of heavy equipment that is to be protected by an absurdly low number of rear guards. Should these units be defeated, it would have incalculable consequences for the defence of Central Europe.

In perfect timing with the forces of the third dimension, we have to take into account the corrosive action of subversion and internal disintegration. We shall see how effective the actions of the fifth column were in 1940, whose on-the-spot means were relatively modest and in no way in proportion to the material and psychological damage attributed to them.

We only have to think of the effects of actions carried out by “dormant” KGB agents in a subversive network already on the spot and the local intelligence ready to collaborate in all respects.

The Lack of Civil Defence

Let us now turn to the absence of a global policy, examine the problem of the refugees and look at the inexistence of civil defence.

It suffices to examine the map of peacetime barracks of the allied divisions in the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. We immediately notice that a total of about 70 combat brigades should move from West to East, covering a distance of about 200 to 400 km. Bearing in mind that each brigade must have two itineraries for its movements, it can be easily imagined that the totality of the available itineraries will be saturated soon and that only the secondary roads could, if necessary, be reserved for civilian traffic.

Millions of people will be on the move, strangling the road systems and therefore the conclusion is evident: it is absolutely impossible to evacuate globally without hindering military movements.

We have yet another unknown factor: will the borders (Belgian-German, French-Belgian and French-German) be open for the great masses of refugees? Are reception centres foreseen? Will there be sufficient supplies available? Will hospitals and other centres of assistance be set up?

In asking these questions, we obtain the reply that there is a catastrophic absence of any of these structures. According to my knowledge, no international agreement exists which would open the borders, welcome the massive flow of refugees in France or elsewhere, as it has been found out many times during the WINTEX exercises.³ Furthermore, it would be impossible to envisage an evacuation on such a scale under the circumstances mentioned.

What would be the price in innocent victims, if evacuations took place? We would see scenes similar to those in 1940, air attacks having the most devastating effect, and the inevitable trap of the vicinity of the battlefield itself with mortars, artillery, tanks, etc.

However, the tragic absence of any protection for the civilian population is certainly not encouraging the population to practice the “stay put” policy adopted by NATO. In any case, any assumptions of what the population might do in such a case have

³ NATO Exercises for the purpose of training civilian authorities of the Alliance during situations of crises and conflict.

to be weighed with caution, but most probably the immediate instinct of any citizen would be to put as much distance as possible between the battle zone and his family.

Would the military authorities have the means to prevent such an exodus? Of course, radio and television stations as well as the press could be used to communicate the potential dangers to the population, should they want to flee, pointing out the dangers on the road are much greater than just staying home.

Yet, when a population is in the grips of panic, publicity campaigns help very little. Nevertheless, road blocks could be established on the outskirts of large population centres and along the main roads, bridges, etc. But, if an exodus should take place, road blocks would have to be everywhere and would have to be manned or they would be overrun. Therefore military personnel would have to guard the roads, taking them away from the many other tasks for which they are urgently needed.

We can furthermore imagine what type of traffic jams would be created with a variety of vehicles, an ideal target for air attacks, inevitably slowing down the movements of the allied divisions who have to reach their combat areas.

We may have to pay dearly for excessive optimism in this domain which would irremediably compromise even the partial implementation of NATO's Forward Strategy. Eye witness reports of 1940 have given us gruelling details, but at that time the greatest part of refugees still moved on foot and the population was not motorised as we are today. Therefore, we must seriously review the strategy and think of alternative solutions.

The Shortcomings of Civil Defence

The French General Buis is the unfortunate author of the rather infantile proposal claiming that, since all positive measures regarding the protection of civilians would be against the deterring pillar of French strategy, he asks "How can we believe in it when we equally take measures in case this strategy fails?"

Unbelievable but true! As if the warning signs against fire in a building would necessarily mean that a fire will break out shortly. Thanks to that sort of statement, France does not have any worthwhile shelters for its civilian population and this is so in almost all member nations of the Alliance.

Until what point will we push the absurdity in order to avoid questioning the myth of the sacro-saint principle of nuclear deterrence? Such an attitude certainly amazes Swiss observers who have for a quarter of a century patiently built up one of the best civil defences existing in the world, in accordance with the very logic of deterrence, for, in this conflict of will power, if one of the two opponents is in possession of an adequate civil defence and the required will, he holds the determining trump card.

The Chernobyl accident demonstrated the civil defence problem quite well. There is in addition no doubt that the absence of civil defence would play a decisively negative role on the movement of refugees which I have briefly outlined before.

In the psychological domain, the parallels of similarity become even more apparent after half a century. We are now in a position to look back at history for measuring the incredible series of political and diplomatic burdens committed that have marked the end of the thirties. The initial error was, of course, the passive attitude of the allies after the military occupation of the Rhineland. But this failure to react can be found with bewildering continuity in the Anschluss of Munich, leading inexorably from resignation to resignation, straight into the unleashing of World War II.

Public opinion has been subjected to an intense propaganda and people preferred to ignore the Nazi crimes as if it were improper to acknowledge them, in the same manner in which we do not now dare to remind Mr. Gorbachev of the existence of the gulags.

Having been aware of this passivity, the demobilisation of the minds, convinced of the growing success of the Nazi party and having eliminated internal opposition, Hitler multiplied his requests in spite of his pacifist declarations and his solemn engagements not to claim any more territories.

“I have assured Mr. Chamberlain,” said Hitler, “that the German people want nothing but peace. I have also confided in him that, once this problem is solved, there will be no more territorial claims in Europe...” This type of declaration found a fertile terrain since motivation is needed for fighting and the morale of the rear forces has to be satisfactory. The French, who had been very conditioned by political propaganda, at that time never had less motivation for a struggle, never had been more against the military and never despised its military leaders as much.⁴

The most popular slogan of the time was: “We would not even dream of war for problems which definitely are purely German.” It is interesting to see until what point “cowardly comfort” can go and how the explosion of popular joy and enthusiasm welcomed the performances of Chamberlain and Daladier.

The *Paris-Soir* wrote in an irresponsible article: “Our President of the Council and our Minister of Foreign Affairs have safeguarded peace better. Thanks to them, France can continue to live its beautiful and glorious destiny as a pacifist democratic nation.”

On the other hand, General Sirovy declared on Radio Prague: “We have been abandoned. We are alone. Our neighbours are armed and our position is identical to that of a fortress besieged by overpowering troops... We have overcome our sorrow, despair and indignation for the sake of assuring our future.”

But at the same time, supreme irony, upon the request of the Association of “Anciens Combattant” (war veterans) in Paris, Mr. Deladier lit the flame at the arch of triumph and the National Confederation of Veterans and Victims of the War invited the Parisian population to attend en masse so that they could pay their respects to the person who has safeguarded their peace in honour”.

“Whatever our sympathy may be for a small nation, next to a powerful neighbour, we would under no circumstances be able to engage ourselves and draw the British Empire into a war just for this small nation. If we are forced to fight, it would have to be for more important problems. I am myself a peaceful man to the very depth of my soul. You know well that I shall work for peace until the last moment.”

In short, “the French bourgeoisie, in its ignorance and blindness, went into the wrong direction, without realising it, just like the noble families before the French Revolution, and with the same embittered thoughts of von der Goltz.”

“There will be a moment when the need for peace of a people that feel slighted will be stronger... Then one could efficiently put pressure on the rich and numerous members of the bourgeoisie where the developed industries and productive commerce flourish, because it is there where the damage resulting from war is the most devastating. It is certain that these classes have more ways and means for imposing their desires.

⁴ Philippe Boegner, “L’Enchaînement”, 1980, Editions Williams/Alta, page 229.

They can influence the newspapers and, through them, public opinion, and they could easily silence the supporters of a struggle, depriving them of all influence. Wherever the greater part of the slightly narrow-minded bourgeoisie exists, the state is weak, for this bourgeoisie will be the first class to believe, after some hesitation, that all is lost; they most sincerely hope to see the situation turn calm and revert to their habits, so that no more obstacles are in the way to increase their riches and the pleasures they bestow.”⁵

The weakness of France and Great Britain in the military domain explains the lack of resolution in their policies. Already at the time of the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in 1936, they shirked all actions of intervention because the French Army was not ready.

Are we not in an analogous situation at the dawn of the 21st century? Europe seeking to play a role commensurate to its size, is tragically incapable of building up a military apparatus for such a policy. Her recommendations are of a purely platonic nature and all great problems in the world are settled without her, even when her vital interests are at stake, as we have been able to ascertain during the INF negotiations.

This disastrous conventional inferiority, which we have become used to over the decades, is particularly worrisome at a time when the nuclear factor, once regarded as the supreme panacea, gradually loses its importance.

What are the possibilities of reacting if one day the USSR, with the backing of its enormous conventional superiority, would utilise blackmail as Hitler did in 1938? And who can tell that this major trump card does not play a capital role in the attitude of our governments and even more so in the subconsciousness of our public opinions.

It is almost believable, judging from the enthusiastic public demonstrations greeting the signature of the INF Treaty and the euphoria that arises each time a proposal of disarmament — even the most illusory one — is advanced by Mr. Gorbachev.

As we have seen the two pillars of Alliance strategy, the nuclear and the strategic, have been thoroughly shaken. The INF Treaty eliminated any possibility of a real deterrence at the European level; the clear superiority of the USSR in the conventional field, including chemical weapons, makes any coordinated resistance for the defence of Central Europe uncertain. Finally, we must ward off the mortal threat of a surprise attack, likely to overthrow all existing operational plans and resulting in the irremediable loss of Europe.

I only see two alternatives to this disastrous situation:

- The first would be through negotiations in order to re-establish a balance of conventional forces and at the same time, proceed with a redeployment of the forces in both camps, of which the greater part should withdraw by about 300 km. from the Iron Curtain to approximately the Rhine-Danube line on one side, and the Oder-Neisse line on the other. Complementary measures would prevent the presence of war ammunitions onboard tanks, armoured vehicles and aircraft of all types which would gain time and protect us from the surprise attack.
- The second would be a thorough review of our present strategy, basing our policy of security on an in-depth defence rather than relying on a linear defence, and supporting these forces, of which the greater part

⁵ Philippe Boegner, *op. cit.*, pages 333 and 334.

GORBACHEV IN UKRAINE

On February 20, 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev flew to Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. The visit was marked by his typical walks through the city and encounters with people. However, all was not as tranquil and jovial as pictured on the television reports.

One day prior and on the day of Gorbachev's arrival, Sunday, February 20, there were rallies against the elections throughout Kyiv. Reports said that people at the rallies held slogans against Ukrainian Communist Party First Secretary Volodymyr Shcherbytsky and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Valentina Shevchenko. The banners urged people not to vote for these two persons. The voting to the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies is scheduled to take place on March 26. The rallies drew an estimated 2,000 and 5,000 persons respectively. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Hromada student organization organized the rallies.

During Gorbachev's walks through the city of Kyiv shouts against Shcherbytsky were often heard from the crowds. Gorbachev was also supposed to visit Chornobyl, the site of the worst nuclear disaster in history. Earlier in February an article reported that the radiation in the Zhytomyr region, 30 miles west of Chornobyl is 148 times higher than in Kyiv. The article published in the *Moscow News* also reported that since the nuclear accident, one district in Zhytomyr has seen a 100 fold increase in the birthrate of freak piglets "with heads like frogs" while the rate of cancer has doubled in humans and the rate of caesium-137 has also risen radically.

After visiting Kyiv, Gorbachev went on to Lviv in Western Ukraine. According to sources, prior to Gorbachev's arrival in Lviv, seven leading Ukrainian national rights activists were rounded up and arrested and released only after Gorbachev had left the city. Those arrested were Ivan Hel, Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn, Pavlo Skochok, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Ivan Kandyba and Iryna Kalynets. According to reports, what appeared on television of Gorbachev's visit was a sham. There were no spontaneous meetings on the streets, rather the entire thing was carefully choreographed by local party officials who carefully selected people who would be able to talk to Gorbachev from several factories. Thousands of people who had gathered near the opera house were prevented from coming close to Gorbachev.

(For further analysis of the Gorbachev visit to Ukraine see articles by David Remnick and Bohdan Nahaylo under News & Views).

► would be drawn from reserves, leaving the active units the mission of covering and executing mass manoeuvres. This would pay homage to the Swiss system and their example should be recommended to the members of the Atlantic Alliance.

I have attempted to describe the situation selecting strong shades rather than water colours. If I prefer to be frank and straightforward instead of "beating around the bush", it is certainly not for wanting to be utterly disagreeable or for increasing the number, even if marginally, of those who disagree with me or are my declared adversaries.

I have the passion of truth, and even if it demands the courage of expressing myself frankly and disagreeably, but I do so in an atmosphere of total freedom of opinion. This crusade is in direct proportion to the stake involved which is that of our survival and the future of the young generation. If we do not recognise the gravity of the problem in time, we may find out too late that all civilisations are mortal.

GLASNOST AND THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH

In 1946, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was officially outlawed and incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church. Since then, it has existed as an underground catacomb Church. Forty-two years later, in the age of glasnost, despite the attempts of the hierarchy, clergy and thousands of faithful to secure its legalisation, the Church still remains outside the law. Although glasnost and perestroika are in the air, Ukrainian Catholics continue to suffer harassment and persecution. Yuriy Rudenko, for instance, the son of recently released Ukrainian writer, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and former political prisoner, Mykola Rudenko, who arrived in the West in 1987, was arrested on August 3, 1988, in the village of Kulashi, western Ukraine, for "violation of the law on religious activities". According to Mykola Muratov, Moscow representative of the unofficial literary journal, the *Ukrainian Herald*, and legal consultant to the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Yuriy Rudenko had taken part in religious services, but was not directly involved in their organisation. Rev. Havryliv was arrested in Lviv, on August 11, 1988, as he stepped off a train which had just arrived from Kyiv, where he had met a priest from abroad and accepted religious literature and articles from him. He was sentenced to 15 days of imprisonment.

Rev. Havryliv was originally an Orthodox priest. He was accepted into the Ukrainian Catholic Church in December 1979. From then on, like many others, he has suffered constant harassment and has experienced great difficulty in finding work. Unable to fulfill his religious duties openly, Havryliv worked as a disinfectant, electrician and welder. In 1986, he was fined 50 rubles (approximately £50) for conducting a Catholic funeral. A year later, while visiting his friend, Volodymyr Shchur, he was again fined 50 rubles for an alleged attempt to organise a meeting of Ukrainian Catholics.

The Yavoriv district authorities continue to harass Ukrainian Catholic priest, Rev. Petro Zeleniukh. Rev. Zeleniukh, who comes from the village of Kalynivka, is one of many Ukrainian Catholics who are suffering for their religious beliefs.

Since the time the authorities handed the Catholic church in the village over to the Russian Orthodox Church, hundreds of faithful have been gathering in front of Rev. Zeleniukh's house to hear mass. The priest is being constantly fined for celebrating mass even on occasions when he was not in the village. Rev. Zeleniukh wrote a letter of protest to Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the constant unjustified fines. His wife, Iryna, has also directed an appeal to Catholics in the free world, asking for spiritual and material support.

According to religious activist, Ivan Hel, head of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, administrative fines for "illegal" religious activities have been increased following the recent gatherings in Ukraine, attended by thousands of Catholic believers.

But it is not only Catholics that are suffering. Baptists are also being harassed for their religious practices. Although the number of cases when fines have been levied against registered Baptist communities dropped in July, 1988, this practice is, nevertheless, continuing against unregistered Baptist groups. Chernivtsi remains a bastion of the old order. On June 14, the administrative commission of the Lenin district execu-

tive committee, headed by V. M. Petryk, fined the presbyter of an unregistered community of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Ivan Hryhorovych Danyliuk, 50 rubles for holding a religious meeting. The meeting was held in a private residence in Chernivtsi. When Danyliuk appealed to higher judicial authorities, he was informed that he had no right to complain about this or any future fines. Similar cases are numerous.

Although glasnost has led to greater state tolerance towards religion in the USSR, with the granting of various privileges to the Moscow Patriarchate, which was allowed to celebrate the millennium, and the return of Kyiv's ancient Monastery of the Caves to the Russian Orthodox Church, it does not, however, include Ukraine's two largest denominations — the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. They are still not officially recognised. The Monastery, for instance, was returned to the Russian Orthodox Church and not its rightful owner — the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church — and the militia has recently stepped up the persecution of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church: services are disrupted, religious believers continue to be harassed and repressed, priests are prevented from celebrating Mass, and appeals to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are ignored.

Although the crude draconian measures of Stalin's days have gone out of vogue, the state policy of persecution of the Ukrainian Church remains, in principle, unchanged. The only difference being, that the authorities are employing new methods in the struggle against the Church. Activists for the legalisation of the Catholic Church are threatened, imprisoned or subjected to administrative fines, religious attributes are destroyed and churches desecrated. In areas where the campaign for the legalisation of the Church is particularly strong, as in Hrushiv, which became famous last year for pilgrimages to the apparition of the Virgin Mary on the anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, Zarvanytsia, a site of pilgrimages for many years, Tuchne, and Kuchycha Volya, the authorities are opening Catholic churches, closed for over forty years, and handing them over to the Russian Orthodox Church. With the help of blackmail and coercion, the KGB, the militia and the Russian hierarchy are trying to force the most backward and frightened believers into the Russian Orthodox Church. In this way, by turning the Russian Church into a tool for the repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the authorities hope to provoke open hostility between the two Churches. Not only that, by creating the impression of state tolerance towards religion and Moscow's guarantee of the constitutional right of religious beliefs, Mr. Gorbachev is hoping to gain a propaganda coup.

On the other hand, as far as the Moscow Patriarchate is concerned, the official recognition of the banned Ukrainian Churches would entail an immense potential loss for the Russian Orthodox Church. According to figures quoted by the Soviet news agency Tass on May 3, 1988 (also *Radyanska Ukraina*, March 27, 1988), there are 4,000 functioning Russian Orthodox churches in Ukraine. The total number of functioning Russian churches throughout the Soviet Union, according to Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious affairs, is 6,800. Therefore, almost 60% of all functioning Russian Orthodox Churches in the USSR are located in Ukraine. In addition, 1,006 of all the Russian churches in the republic are situated in the Lviv-Ternopil eparchy, which, incidentally, is the largest eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. It follows, then, that almost 15% of all the functioning Russian Orthodox churches are situated in the centre of Ukrainian Catholicism (*Sotsiologicheskie Issledovania*, No. 4,

1987, and *Liudyna i Svit*, No. 5, 1988). With the help of the militia and the security organs, the Russian Church hopes to extend its control over western Ukraine and Transcarpathia, an area inhabited by 5 million Ukrainian Catholics.

And yet, in spite of what is going on, Soviet publicist, Klym Dmytruk, writes ironically that "In Ukraine, nobody is persecuted for their religious beliefs. This is just a figment of bourgeois-nationalist and church propaganda in an attempt to discredit the situation of believers and the Church" (*Liudyna i Svit*, No. 5, 1988).

The Soviet authorities claim that there are no restrictions on religion in the USSR and that people can worship God freely. It is true that there are open churches in Ukraine, where people can come and pray, but they are registered in the Moscow patriarchate and under full control of the Soviet authorities. People go to these churches because there are no others. But even then they are running a great risk. Regular church-goers, particularly suspected Catholics, are often deprived of work, higher education and a place to live.

When Stalin and his henchmen decided to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church, they thought that the priests would die in Siberia, there would be no bishops and the masses would forget in time. What occurred was the complete opposite. The Church survived the Stalinist terror and forty-two years in the catacombs. Thousands of priests returned from the gulag only to resume their previous activities with even more zeal than before, although many, like Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, had been imprisoned two or three times. As a result, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is alive today, and is living through a period of great revival. The millennium celebrations throughout Ukraine, attended by many thousands of believers, testify to this. There are presently around 1,000 Catholic priests and more than 10 bishops in Ukraine, who are performing their religious duties in the underground. Monastic life is also flourishing, particularly the Basilian and Studite orders. Nuns are the right hand of the priests, preparing children for holy communion, helping the sick and the poor, making rosaries and so on. They are usually qualified teachers or nurses, and work in hospitals, laboratories and kindergartens, spreading the Word of God wherever possible.

In recent years, there has been a marked upsurge of religious feeling throughout the Soviet Union. In a speech at the Higher Party School, Konstantin Kharchev stated that the number of believers in the USSR is 115 million. In *Ogonek*, an official Soviet publication, however, he claimed that the figure was 70 million. On the basis of official Soviet data, then, one can assume that the number of believers in the USSR is between 41% and 25% of the population.

In Ukraine, the Chornobyl catastrophe three years ago and the millennium of Christianity have played a major role in reawakening religious and national consciousness. Despite continued persecution, fear of the authorities has disappeared. Recently, the hierarchy, clergy and many of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have come out into the open and are leading an active campaign for the legalisation of the their Church. Petitions to the USSR Supreme Soviet, in some cases signed by thousands of Ukrainian Catholic believers, are becoming more numerous. On June 23, 1988, the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church organised a requiem service for the "victims of Stalinism" in Lviv's main Lychakivskyi cemetery. The service, attended by 3,000 people, was celebrated by two priests, one of whom was the well-known Rev. Petro Zeleniukh. Prayers were said for the 7 million victims of the forced famine in Ukraine in 1933, the cultural activists murdered in the 1930s, the

REQUIEM SERVICE IN LVIV BY UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS AND ORTHODOX

An unsanctioned requiem service on the occasion of the 128 anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet, drew between 25,000 and 30,000 people to the city centre of Lviv in Western Ukraine on 26 February according to observers present. The service, led by Fr. Mykhailo Nyskohuz of the Orthodox Church and Fr. Mykhailo Voloshyn of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was held to show solidarity between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Catholics in the face of persistent government attempts to incite one against the other. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is banned, while the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine is being encouraged by the Soviet government to occupy churches once held by the Catholics and then closed in the 1940s, after their banning. Both priests delivered sermons on making peace and cooperation between the two Ukrainian churches, and symbolically kissed and embraced one another before the huge crowds gathered around the Church of the Assumption in the centre of the city. Two other speeches were delivered — by Ivan Hel, the head of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and by an engineer named Ivan Hretchko.

The police did not intervene to disperse the gathering and observers present reported considerable satisfaction on the part of the participants. However, a select number of political and religious activists were prevented from attending; they were arrested the moment they stepped outside their homes and were held at local police stations until nine o'clock in the evening.

Keston College

▶ thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners murdered by the NKVD in 1941, the Ukrainian prisoners of conscience who suffered imprisonment during Brezhnev's days, as well as for those who are imprisoned today, and those who died in labour camps after Mikhail Gorbachev took over as Soviet leader.

The huge machine has been set in motion not only in Ukraine, but throughout the Soviet Union and is gathering momentum. Without an outright crackdown along the lines of the purges of the 1930s, a reversal of this process is impossible. Pope John Paul's recognition of the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in spite of continued Soviet statements to the contrary, has been invaluable in bringing the suffering of the Ukrainian Catholics to the attention of the free world. This has deprived the Soviet leader of the necessary leeway to launch a full-scale attack against the Church. Freedom of conscience is one of the fundamental human rights without which the process of democratisation is impossible. If Mr. Gorbachev wishes to maintain his image and lend credibility to glasnost and perestroika, he must seriously consider granting the Ukrainian Catholic Church legal status. Western solidarity with Ukrainian Catholics and pressure on the Soviet leadership for the legalisation of this Church, may bring Mr. Gorbachev a step closer to making this decision, however reluctantly. At least, if the Ukrainian Catholic Church remains in the forefront of public attention, with the help of the Holy See and the Catholic community throughout the world, Mikhail Gorbachev will not have a free hand to finish what Stalin had started.

NEWS & VIEWS

Activists Arrested In Ukraine Before Gorbachev's Arrival

Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to the Ukrainian city of Lviv Tuesday was marked by arrests of local activists and angry demonstrations that went unreported in the Soviet media.

According to sources reached by telephone in Lviv, police arrested seven leading nationalist activists there before Gorbachev's arrival in the afternoon and detained them for more than six hours until after the Soviet president left the city.

"I was just walking out of my building when all of a sudden I was arrested," said Ivan Hel, a Ukrainian Catholic activist who has spent 18 years in Soviet labor camps and internal exile. "They obviously didn't want us around when Gorbachev came to town." Bohdan Horyn, a leader of the city's Helsinki Union, a human rights group, said, "What they did, in arresting us, ignores the most elementary laws we are supposed to live by." The police reportedly told the seven people arrested that they were "being held under preventive detention."

Lviv, a city in Western Ukraine that once was part of Poland, has long been a center of Ukrainian nationalists who believe that Moscow has steadily "Russified" the republic's native language, religions and culture. Local Communist Party, KGB and police authorities there are far stricter with political activists than in more liberal areas, such as the Baltic republics.

Sources in Lviv reported that what appeared on Tuesday night's television reports to be a spontaneous meeting on the street Tuesday was actually choreographed by local Party officials who carefully selected people from various factories to talk with Gorbachev. Thousands of people near the city's opera house were prevented from coming close to the Soviet leader.

"Gorbachev spoke a great deal about openness and reform, but what actually happened was just the opposite," Hel said. "The people were told to ask Gorbachev about housing problems, and so on, but nothing really acute or about the national situation. Gorbachev was deceived if he believes this was representative."

Many people in the crowd reportedly expressed their anger with Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, the 70-year-old Ukrainian Party boss. Shcherbytsky, a protege of Leonid Brezhnev, is one of the most conservative members of the ruling Politburo and is considered not at all close to Gorbachev, personally or politically.

Activists also reported that when Gorbachev walked the streets of Kyiv on Monday, demonstrators voiced their dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian leader, shouting "Down with Shcherbytsky."

Sources in Lviv and Kyiv say that, while Gorbachev has no great liking for Shcherbytsky, the Soviet president has kept him in place to make sure that Ukraine, a republic with over 50 million people, does not see the sort of nationalist movements that have sprung up in much smaller republics, such as Estonia.

Soviet television routinely gives extensive coverage to Gorbachev's visits to Soviet cities and foreign countries, and on most trips the evening news program "Vremya" is dominated by the Kremlin leader's remarks and conversations.

Tuesday night's program was no exception, as Gorbachev was shown speaking at length on the streets of Lviv about restrictions on medical cooperatives, the general problems of economic reform and the "need for a revolution in our own mentality" — all themes he has elaborated before.

The only clue on Soviet television that something was amiss was some shouting over loudspeakers in the background, which viewers said sounded like police trying to keep order.

One activist reported that some people did break through police barricades near the opera. But by the time they got to where Gorbachev was talking, the Soviet leader had been driven off in his limousine.

Those arrested before the demonstration were some of the best-known activists in Lviv: Ivan Hel, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn of the Helsinki Union, poet Iryna Kalynets, journalist Pavlo Skochok, Hryhoriy Prykhodko and Ivan Kandyba.

Another well-known activist, Ivan Makar, was given a 15-day jail sentence on February 19. He was arrested during a petition drive in the town center in support of Rostyslav Bratun, a poet who is running for office in the March 26 elections to the national legislature.

Speaking to the crowd in Lviv, Gorbachev said the country needs to make "great" changes, "but some people think that's as easy as making blinis. This is a turning point in our history, and it's not so easy."

In remarks that were televised, Gorbachev made no direct mention of nationalist or religious issues. Also on Tuesday night's "Vremya" broadcast, Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, was shown visiting a monastery in Kyiv. While she praised the "monument" as having "great historical and cultural importance", she made no mention of its religious significance.

On his Ukrainian trip, Gorbachev is reportedly planning to visit Chernobyl, the site of the nuclear reactor disaster in April 1986.

David Remnick in *The Washington Post*, February 22, 1989.

Gorbachev Focuses On Ukraine's Nationalist Troubles

President Gorbachev yesterday flew to the republic of Ukraine which, with its 50 million inhabitants, looks likely to become the latest trouble spot in the Soviet leader's restless empire.

Indeed, after a dramatic week that has seen open defiance of Ukraine's party leadership, the question that is being asked is whether the republic will be allowed to follow the Baltic path to greater autonomy.

On his arrival in Kyiv, Mr. Gorbachev said he would without fail include a visit to the site of the April 1986 disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, which is 80 miles north of the Ukrainian capital.

Moscow radio said the Soviet leader had been given a warm reception by Kyiv inhabitants on his arrival. It said he had discussed a range of issues with the people, including reform, the coming parliamentary elections and the Chernobyl disaster.

Trouble has been brewing in this large and economically important republic because of the determination of the Kyiv authorities, led by Mr. Volodymyr Shcherbyts-

ky, to keep Ukrainian national assertiveness in check and to maintain the old pre-Gorbachev order.

The Shcherbytsky regime has blocked and stifled forces pressing for change and national renewal to such an extent that, as one local newspaper recently acknowledged, the republic has come to be seen as a "reservation of stagnation".

On Friday evening, Soviet television showed an unusually candid report on how local party officials have, in effect, been "rigging" elections to the Supreme Soviet.

Attempts last summer by unofficial groups in Lviv and Kyiv to form Baltic-type popular fronts in support of restructuring were suppressed. In November, however, the increasingly frustrated and radicalized Ukrainian intelligentsia demonstrated its alienation by having another attempt. Despite warnings by the party, the Ukrainian Writers' Union went ahead and drew up a draft programme for a Ukrainian popular movement in support of restructuring.

The writers, many of them party members, unveiled their programme at the end of January. The authorities responded with a media campaign denouncing this act of defiance.

The proposed programme is as radical as that demanded by the Estonians and Latvians. It seeks to restore genuine sovereignty to Ukraine and to transfer control and ownership of local resources and industries to the republic. Some of the writers evidently want the republic to have the right to veto Moscow legislation, even though the Kremlin has declared Estonian moves in this direction as unconstitutional.

As in the Baltic cases, the Ukrainian draft programme envisages that Ukrainian will be made the official language of the republic, that citizens will be expected to learn the local language, and that the migration of Russians will be curbed. Provision is also made for the cultural rights of national minorities to be respected.

The Ukrainian writers were accused by anxious party officials of seeking to form a political opposition party and of failing to learn lessons from what are generally referred to as the "mistakes" made by the leaders of the Estonian Popular Front. Threats were also issued that party members faced exclusion if they joined the proposed movement.

On February 11 and 12, however, the idea of a Ukrainian popular front was enthusiastically endorsed at the inaugural conference in Kyiv of the Ukrainian Language Society. Branches of this informal patriotic association have sprung up throughout Ukraine and it has become a significant pressure group.

The meeting, which drew 500 delegates and more than 3,000 observers, turned into a demonstration against Mr. Shcherbytsky. There were frequent chants of "Popular Movement", "Popular Movement", and on one occasion the entire assembly rose to its feet and shouted "Retire Shcherbytsky!"

The Ukrainian party leader was even attacked by a Ukrainian priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, Father Bohdan Mykhailechko. He causes a sensation by breaking ranks and denouncing the existing ban on the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. He also assailed the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church for not allowing worship in the Ukrainian language. Father Mykhailechko has been forced to relinquish his pastoral duties and has now announced the formation of an initiative group for the Restoration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The conference brought together Ukrainians from various parts of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and from all walks of life. Leading cultural figures and

APPEAL

To the Ukrainian Community gathered in the World Congress of Free Ukrainians
and to Ukrainian Publishers, to the President of the WCFU

Confirming the atmosphere of spiritual renewal in Ukraine, we call to the attention of the cultural, intellectual and free citizenry abroad the initiative of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia and the creative community of the Ukrainian SSR to support the ideal of creative freedom in all spheres of art.

Taking into consideration the assimilatory pressure of pseudo-cultural and spiritually hostile circles in our homeland, the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia and the intellectually aware establishment continue to create opposition in the struggle against a spiritual crisis and a "Suslov-Malanchuk" exploitation of culture through the means of uncensored and *samvydav* organs.

Such independent publications in our native land are the scholarly-cultural almanac *Yevshan Zillya* edited by Iryna and Ihor Kalynets, the cultural-artistic publication *Kaphedra* edited by Mykhailo Osadchyj and Stepan Sapelyak, the *Ukrainian Herald* edited by Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil, the cultural-artistic journal *Za Porohamy* (Beyond the rapids) edited by Ivan Sokulskyj and the cultural-artistic journal *Snip* (The Sheaf) edited by Valerian Bondar in Kharkiv, and a series of others.

Summarizing what has been said and relying on the tradition of solidarity with us by the cultural activists in the free world and the community in popularizing and augmenting the originality of the culture of the Ukrainian nation in its highest forms and defending its cultural and historical values on all levels of historical memory for artistic independence and statehood —

We call upon the Ukrainian community, the Council on Culture of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and Ukrainian publishing houses in the free world to help the above mentioned independent publications technically and materially, in order to ensure creative and cultural work until the time of total democratization in the USSR, when the possibility of free cultural development in Ukraine will become independent and uncompromising both individually and collectively.

Signed by: I. Stasiv Kalynets, V. Barladyanu, M. Osadchyj, S. Sapelyak, B. Horyn, V. Bondar, I. Sokulskyj, O. Shevchenko, M. Horbal, V. Yavorskyj, M. Horyn, B. Rebryk, I. Hel.

► scholars shared the rostrum with workers. Moreover, the meeting provided an unprecedented forum to former political prisoners and proscribed writers. In short, given the impressive display of unity and commitment, the conference could just as well have been a meeting of a Ukrainian popular front.

Inspired by last weekend's events, the Ukrainian literary community has taken a further step on the road to outright confrontation with the Shcherbytsky leadership. On February 16 the Ukrainian literary weekly *Literaturna Ukraina* went ahead and published the controversial draft programme for a Ukrainian popular front.

Matters seem to have come to a head. The question now is whether Moscow will keep the unpopular Shcherbytsky leadership in place at the risk of aggravating tensions in the republic still further, or gamble on being able to placate the Ukrainians in time by appointing officials who are more in tune with Mr. Gorbachev's new course.

Bohdan Nahaylo, in *The Times*, London, February 21. 1989.

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

GEORGIA

DEMONSTRATIONS IN TBILISI BROKEN UP

Up to 15,000 people gathered in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia on February 25, 1989 to protest the 68th anniversary of the Soviet Russian takeover of Georgia. Demonstrators gathered in four locations in Tbilisi. Many carried black flags and banners referring to the annexation date as the anniversary of Georgia's loss of freedom. Other placards called for the freeing of Georgian political prisoners. One dissident said that February 25, 1921, when the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed, "Is for us a day of mourning".

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian national rights activist said the rallies were forcibly broken up. Many troops and armored vehicles, including tanks were in the city during the demonstrations. "It is as if a state of siege had been declared", said Mr. Gamsakhurdia. Large numbers of protesters and even some passers-by were severely beaten with truncheons by security forces.

Some 500 people were detained and arrested. According to Mr. Gamsakhurdia, he and some others who had been arrested were later released.

The demonstrations were organized by the Illia Chavchavadze Society and the National Democratic Party.

POLAND

POLISH GROUP DEFENDS MAKAR

The Ukrainian Press Agency has received copies of leaflets demanding the release of Ivan Makar circulated by Solidarnosc Walczaca, a radical Polish underground group that broke away from mainstream reformist Solidarity in 1982, and adopted a program opposing the occupation of Poland and communist rule. Solidarnosc Walczaca has stood in favour of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation from its inception, in 1983 and 1984 it circulated leaflets in western Ukraine outlining their program and calling for an alliance against a common enemy.

20,000 copies of the leaflet were circulated throughout Poland in November-December, 1988. The leaflet describes Ivan Makar as "an activist for an independent Ukraine" and head of the Committee to Hold Meetings, who played an important role in the 1988 summer demonstrations in Lviv. He was arrested on August 4, the leaflet states, hours before another planned demonstration was brutally broken up by the authorities. The leaflet also outlines Ivan Makar's demands that the Lviv NKVD (KGB) archives be opened to public scrutiny, especially concerning mass repression in western Ukraine during the 1940s. Those responsible for those crimes should be put on trial, the leaflet quotes Makar as saying. The leaflet also chronicles statements by Mykhailo Horyn and the unofficial Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligensia (UANTI) in defence of Makar, as well as an 'Information Bulletin' that is circulating in Lviv published by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The leaflet shows that information about the situation in Ukraine and Ukrainian opposition groups is circulating in Poland, and it represents the latest in a series of

positive publications and actions by Polish dissident groups in support of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation and Ukrainian demands since the early 1980s.

UKRAINE

INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE SOCIETY OF SHEVCHENKO IN KYIV

(UCIS) On Sunday, February 12, 1989, the two-day inaugural meeting of the Ukrainian Language Society of Shevchenko ended successfully. Approximately 500 delegates participated in the inaugural meeting representing the majority of the provinces of Ukraine. 200 observers were present in the Republican Cinema Building where the inaugural meeting took place. Some 4,000 people stood in the square in front of the building listening to the debates which were broadcast outside through loudspeakers.

The participants of the inaugural meeting passed a resolution demanding that the Ukrainian language be given the status of a state language. The resolution stresses that every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR should have command of the Ukrainian language as the state language. At the same time it was pointed out that the Ukrainian language should be the language of international relations in Ukraine, thereby discarding the dual-language principle. Furthermore, the resolution demands that an official "native Ukrainian language" holiday be placed on the calendar.

On the demands of some of the delegates and contrary to the opposition of Party members, in particular Yelchenko, the ideological secretary of the CC CPSU, the resolution states that the Ukrainian Language Society supports the idea of the creation of a National Front for Restructuring. When the voting on this point was taking place, Yelchenko left the meeting room.

One delegate who strongly criticized the national policy of Volodymyr Shcherbytsky received wide support. After the address of this delegate, those present stood up and began to chant "Shame on Shcherbytsky" and "Retire Shcherbytsky".

After one delegate spoke about the fate of the late Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, the participants paid tribute to the memory of those defenders of Ukrainian language and culture who perished in Soviet Russian concentration camps with a moment of silence. The participants also supported the demand of one of the speakers who demanded that Soviet citizenship be returned to Mykola Rudenko, the former head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The inaugural meeting accepted the "Appeal to the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, to all Ukrainians in Ukraine and beyond Ukraine" and elected the leadership of the society. The poet Dmytro Pavlychko was elected chairman of the society. Among the members of the Main Council of the Society are representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, including Bohdan Horyn, the chairman of the Lviv chapter of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Also in the Main Council are representatives of the Moscow branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and representatives of Ukrainian communities in the Baltic countries. Christina Friehtland from Harvard University in the U.S.A. is also a member of the Main Council.

During the inaugural conference of the Ukrainian Language Society three thousand *karbovantsi* were collected for the erection of a monument to Taras Shevchenko in Leningrad.

CALL TO BOYCOTT SOVIET ELECTIONS

The Ukrainian Central Information Service has just received an appeal from the Lviv regional branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union urging the people of Lviv and its *oblast* to boycott the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies in March. There is no guarantee that any of the popular candidates, like Rostyslav Bratun and Roman Ivanychuk, will be elected and the UHU members fear that all candidates who do not meet with the approval of the party bureaucracy will be weeded out in the process.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF LVIV AND ITS OBLAST

Citizens,

The course of the electoral campaign has dissipated any illusions about the possibility of nominating and registering people who would genuinely defend national interests as candidates for the election to the Congress of People's Deputies. The anti-democratic law on elections has been put into practice and has formed a wall to protect the party bureaucrats. The machinations of the party administration during the nomination and registration of candidates in Stryi and Boryslav, in Chervonohrad and Lviv, particularly as regards the popular candidates, Rostyslav Bratun and Roman Ivanychuk, have become widely known. The time when every citizen must face the issue of how to cast his vote is drawing near.

In past decades, the candid falsification of the true election results in the UkSSR has shown mass participation in the elections and a unanimity in voting on a scale that has not even been seen in the democratic world. In a one-party regime where all important administrative posts and control rests in the hands of the bureaucratic apparatus, there is no guarantee that such a disgraceful practice will not be repeated. It would also be naive to hope that the election to the so-called Congress of People's Deputies of several more liberal deputies can in some way influence the composition of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, the composition and politics of the future government. In addition to that, our participation in these elections, which are neither direct, nor equal, nor general, would justify the reactionary legislation and help the party bureaucracy to demagogically state once again that it received the mandate to govern the state from the people.

Therefore, we urge all of you to boycott the anti-democratic elections, which are in actual fact "elections without election"!

We recommend that you boycott the elections in one of the following ways:

1. By taking your ballot card away with you and giving it to activists of the UHU;
2. By non-participation in the elections having previously delivered a statement about your desire not to take part in un-democratic elections to the district electoral authorities;
3. By writing the word "boycott" across your ballot card.

We believe that it is not the result of these "elections", which is known in advance, that will be important, but a demonstration of public courage, the political maturity of the people. Only a conscious mass boycott of the anti-democratic elections will help to abolish the un-democratic legislation and establish a just electoral system, and also speed up the establishment of an all-national democratic movement for restructuring. Boycott the un-democratic elections.

Lviv Regional Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

MASS MEETING IN DEFENCE OF KYIV'S HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

(UCIS) On Sunday, February 26, a mass meeting in defence of Kyiv's historical monuments was held in the public square outside the Lenin stadium. More than 5,000 people attended the meeting.

Some of the participants held slogans which said: "Turn the baba (old woman) and the yoke into scrap metal", with the term "baba" referring to the huge victory monument which overlooks the Dnieper, and "yoke" — the monument to the "re-unification" of Ukraine and Russia. Other slogans said "No to a spiritual Chornobyl!", "Ukrainian roads should lead to Ukrainian churches!" etc.

The numerous addresses, assisted by loudspeakers, included much new information. The participants learnt that the funds allocated for the protection of Ukraine's monuments is many times lower than similar funds for the city of Leningrad alone. This gave rise to criticism of the present leadership and its policy regarding the protection of monuments.

The fact that a military school is situated on the premises of the city's historic Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was also raised during the meeting. The residents of Kyiv are demanding that this national monument be reclaimed from the Defence Ministry, which, in turn, is demanding the sum of 30 million *karbovantsi* (£30 million) from the city of Kyiv in order to build new premises for the school.

The meeting officially ended at 7 p.m. After the microphones were switched off, discussions continued for a long time and the participants did not disperse. The wife of Serhiy Naboka, the head of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, came onto the improvised stage and informed those present of the arrest of her husband and another activist, Yevhen Chernyshiv. At that point the militia rushed on the scene and began to push back the crowds of people. In response the people began to shout "Shame!" and "You are representatives of the people. Mothers fed you too, but not so that you could attack the people!" Some of the participants said that three boys had been arrested and driven away by the militia.

Before departing the participants expressed their discontent with the party bureaucracy in Ukraine and urged all those present to gather in the square at 6 p.m. the next day (February 27) to continue the meeting.

Several writers, as well as the secretary of the Podil district party committee in Kyiv, addressed the February 26 meeting. This was the first time that an official representative of the authorities addressed a public meeting.

'MEMORIAL' SOCIETY MEETING IN KYIV

The Memorial Society held its congress in Kyiv on March 4 and afterwards, on March 5, the congress participants plus 5,000 Kyiv residents gathered in the square before the Kyiv stadium to participate in a meeting honouring the victims of Stalinism in Ukraine.

The meeting, which was held on the 36th anniversary of the bloodthirsty tyrant's death, was not only dedicated to the problems of denouncing Stalin and his mass crimes in Ukraine, but several speakers also dealt with the matter of current neo-Stalinism in Ukraine, continued to this day by Shcherbytsky and his adherents.

Thus, the meeting turned into a demonstration against the present-day party leaders in Ukraine.

In addition to demands on setting up a “Day for Commemorating the Victims of Stalinism”, the opening up of KGB archives and the rehabilitation of political prisoners, the resolutions which were adopted at the rally also stressed the vital importance of the activities of the People’s Movement for Promoting Restructuring in Ukraine, and set a series of other political demands.

At the Memorial Society’s congress and meeting, the case of mass graves in the village of Bykovnia near Kyiv was widely discussed. Witnesses, interviewed by the pensioner Mykola Lysenko in Bykovnia stated that the bodies were victims of Stalin’s terror and not, as the official version of the Soviet regime has maintained to this day, victims of Nazism. According to Lysenko, there are between 150,000 to 240,000 bodies buried in Bykovnia, which had been executed by the NKVD.

Lysenko’s statements have been confirmed in a March 6 article by the *New York Times* correspondent, Keller, who visited Bykovnia and spoke with witnesses to this crime.

LVIV RESIDENTS ATTACKED BY “BLACK HUNDREDS”

As many as 500 residents of Lviv were brutally attacked on Friday, March 10, by Company 6 of the Special Detachment of the militia, when they expressed their outrage at the sentencing of national and religious rights activist, Iryna Kalynets.

Kalynets was sentenced to 10 days’ imprisonment for “organising an illegal meeting” on January 22, commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day in Lviv. Supporters of Kalynets gathered outside the court to await the judge’s decision in what was widely regarded as a case without merit. Kalynets and Ukrainian rights activist Mykhailo Horyn have been accused by representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church of instigating religious conflict because of their participation in a prayer service in observance of the 70th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukrainian lands under a single, independent Ukrainian government.

When the decision against Kalynets was announced, the crowd began shouting “Shame”. The militia attempted to force her supporters away from the court and arrested two young men. The ranks of the militia were then joined by Company 6 of the Special Detachment. The company has come to be known as the “Chorna Sotnia” (Black Hundred), in reference to the most reactionary Russian elements during the tsarist era. The Black Hundreds were notorious for perpetrating pogroms, just as Company 6 of the Special Detachment is known for its brutality against Ukrainians.

The crowd then moved towards the Sobor (Cathedral) of St. George, where the January 22 prayer service was held. There they were met by the “Black Hundreds”, who blocked the road and locked the Cathedral gates. The crowd began directing chants of “Judas” against Metropolitan Nikodim of the Russian Orthodox Church. They were forced away from the Cathedral by the “Black Hundreds” and headed towards the university. There they were once again attacked by the Special Detachment, which finally dispersed the crowd with typical violence.

The primary witness against Kalynets, an activist from the 1960s, were the Rev. Kochkodan and Shtum of the Russian Orthodox Church, who were not present at the trial. They sent written depositions, outlining the charges against her. Their allegations

were disproved and the judge dismissed their written testimonies. Nonetheless, Kalynets, who was ill and running a high fever at that time, was found guilty and immediately removed from the court. Ihor Kalynets, her husband, was unable to discover the location of her incarceration. Every militia station in Lviv has denied knowledge of her whereabouts and all attempts to deliver warm clothing to her have met with failure.

Horyn is to stand trial on the same charges on March 20, the scheduled date of her release.

“BLACK HUNDREDS” BRUTALLY SUBDUE 100,000 IN LVIV

For the second time in three days, on Sunday, March 12, Company 6 of the Special Detachment of the militia attacked 100,000 demonstrators in Lviv, who gathered to protest against the undemocratic preparations for the upcoming elections.

The assault on the protesters was reported to be the bloodiest strike against the democratic opposition in Ukraine during the Gorbachev regime.

More than 300 protesters were arrested. Among them were Taras Chornovil, son of activist Vyacheslav Chornovil, Taras Horyn, son of rights activist Mykhailo Horyn, and Ihor Drach, son of literary critic Ivan Drach. Thousands sustained severe injuries as a result of this “police riot”.

At 2 p.m., 30,000 demonstrators gathered at the monument to Ivan Fedorov, who established the first permanent printing shop in Ukraine in 1573. There the protesters were attacked by the police and the infamous “Black Hundreds”. The demonstrators then separated into groups which moved to other protest sites throughout the city. Thousands marched to the market-place, to the Town Hall, to the Cathedral of St. George. At each location they were set upon by the Special Detachment.

At the Cathedral of St. George, the crowd demanded the release of national and religious rights activist Iryna Kalynets, who was sentenced on March 10 for “organising an illegal meeting” on January 22, Ukrainian Independence Day. The protesters prevented the arrest of Ivan Makar, who led the meeting at St. George’s.

By 4 p.m., on the Lenin Prospect, the crowd swelled to more than 100,000. A suggestion to march to the statue of Lenin was rejected by the demonstrators and denounced as a “shameful” proposal. Instead, they remained and discussed the critical situation in Ukraine, particularly deploring the circumstances of the upcoming elections, and calling for a boycott. At this point, the Special Detachment once again launched an attack and began charging into the crowd, randomly beating the people. The intense assault finally dispersed the demonstrators.

The meeting was organised by the Faction for Election Rights of the Temporary Coordinating Committee of the National Movement of Ukraine in the Lviv oblast. The committee is comprised of former members of the National Front of Lviv, which was reorganised two weeks ago as a chapter of the National Movement of Ukraine.

In compliance with the laws on organising meetings, on March 6, the committee informed the authorities of their intention to hold a pre-election meeting on March 12. The authorities suggested that the committee postpone their event until March 18, when an official programme is to be held. Anticipating a staged event by the authorities, they decided to hold an independent meeting. Despite the fury of the assault against the March 12 meeting, the protesters vowed to continue to hold demonstrations without official sanction.

THE AFGHANS NEED OUR SUPPORT

On their way out of Afghanistan, the Soviet Russians have committed some of the worst and most widespread atrocities of the entire war — almost all directed at innocent civilians.

In one series of air strikes, they bombed and destroyed many villages along the Salang Highway, north of Kabul. Nearly 700 villagers were killed and thousands more wounded. Bombings of Jalalabad and Kandahar continued for days. Last month, more than 30,000 refugees were forced to flee from Kabul.

As they withdrew, the Soviet Army littered the Afghan countryside with landmines, in many cases using plastic mines that are almost impossible to detect. There are now up to 30 million mines strewn across Afghanistan, making travel, resettlement, and farming all deadly dangerous.

And the Communist butchers even brought out a few tricks for their final week, stooping to new levels of cruelty.

In Kunar Province, the Soviet and Afghan Army troops left behind booby-trapped sacks of flour. Here's the account of what happened from a recent *Washington Post* article entitled "The Soviets' Ugly Exit":

"Several refugee women who had come back from Pakistan opened up the flour, trying to find food for their families. Many of them were killed or wounded. Finally the Mujahideen ordered the refugees to go back to the camps in Pakistan — it was just too dangerous in Afghanistan."

As the author then asked, "Why, if the Soviets are leaving Afghanistan for good on February 15, are they still inflicting such elaborately brutal punishment on the Afghan people?"

Two reasons. First, the Soviets will do everything they can to help the Communist Afghans defeat the Mujahideen resistance. They have left behind a well-fortified Kabul regime that will fight to the last man.

And second, to quote the same account:

"...observers of the Afghan scene wonder if this last orgy of destruction might not represent something darker: a final act of vengeance against a small, stubborn nation that has frustrated Soviet plans for conquest...

The Hazarajat, for instance, is remote, far from the fighting fronts where the war will finally be won or lost. Why maim children there, of all places? It seems like cruelty for cruelty's sake."

These actions clearly show the Soviets have no intention of extricating themselves from the future of Afghanistan.

In short, even though the Soviet troops have finally withdrawn, the Mujahideen are in serious danger of losing everything they've fought for so hard for all these years.

The Afghans need our support and our help now more than ever before.

They desperately need shipments of food, medicine, clothing, and seeds. Innocent women and children are being wounded every day by mines and toy bombs, and must receive medical care.

But most important of all, the Afghans need to be sure that the Free World does not abandon them. It would be a crime and a tragedy to help them get this close to victory and then walk away.

SAJUDIS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CALLS FOR DEMOCRATIC AND INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA

(New York, February 16, LIC) The national assembly of Lithuania's largest grass-roots organization has adopted a declaration calling for a free, democratic and neutral Lithuania existing in a demilitarized zone, reports the New York based Lithuanian Information Center.

During a meeting at the Kaunas State Music Theater on the eve of February 16, Lithuanian Independence Day, the 220-member elected national assembly of Sajudis approved its most direct affirmation to date of Lithuania's right to national self-determination.

The text of the declaration, dictated to LIC from Kaunas by Henrikas Sambora, manager of the local Sajudis office, traces the history of Lithuania's desire for freedom. It states that the Lithuanian declaration of independence on February 16, 1918, "expressed the Lithuanian nation's aspiration to create a democratic state." Recalling the annexation of Lithuania in 1940 by the USSR as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the statement says "the Lithuanian nation never reconciled itself to the loss of its state sovereignty". And in a thinly veiled reference to continued Soviet domination over Lithuania, the Sajudis declaration says Lithuania "to this date has opposed manifestations of state colonialism".

The carefully worded statement stops short of calling for immediate political independence for Lithuania, but makes clear that such is the long-term goal:

"Sajudis expresses the nation's determination to regain its rights through peaceful means, to live independent of any kind of dictate... Sajudis will follow the road to legal, political, economic and cultural independence for Lithuania, to state sovereignty, without confining itself to partial achievements. Sajudis' goal is to create the conditions for free and democratic national self-determination".

And in a further demonstration of their sentiment for national freedom, the Sajudis delegates took a public oath on February 16 before a crowd of 200,000 people gathered at the rededication ceremony of Lithuania's Freedom Monument in Kaunas. They pledged:

**"Lithuania should be such as its people desire. Our goal: a free Lithuania!
Our destiny: Lithuania! May God and all people of goodwill throughout the world help us".**

The Sajudis delegates extend an olive branch to the republic's non-Lithuanian inhabitants, some of whom have opposed Lithuanians' campaign for greater national freedom. Their statement promises "cultural autonomy for Lithuania's national minorities in a Lithuanian state". An estimated 20 percent of Lithuania's inhabitants are non-Lithuanian.

The Sajudis declaration is notable for the absence of any reference to Lithuania's future affiliation with the Soviet state. When Sajudis was founded in June 1988, its explicit goal was economic, political and cultural autonomy for Lithuania within the framework of the USSR.

The full text of Sajudis' statement follows.

DECLARATION

Lithuania's declaration of independence on February 16, 1918, expressed the Lithuanian nation's aspiration to create a democratic state. The Lithuanian republic, successfully defended in the war for independence, received international recognition and became a member of the League of Nations. Although Germany and the USSR, through ultimate coercion and mutual agreement in 1939-40, annexed the Lithuanian state, the definitive international recognition of Lithuania's independence remains in force.

The Lithuanian nation never reconciled itself to the loss of its state sovereignty. Through various means it resisted Hitlerite and Stalinist genocide and to this date has opposed manifestations of state colonialism. Lithuania's Reform Movement Sajudis expresses the nation's determination to regain its rights through peaceful means, to live independent of any kind of dictate.

Relying on the new political thinking declared by the top leadership of the USSR as well as on Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the UN General Assembly on December 7, 1988, which stressed the right of nations to choose freely, Sajudis will follow the road to legal, political, economic and cultural independence for Lithuania, to state sovereignty, without confining itself to partial achievements.

Sajudis' goal: to struggle against depression and degeneration, to build new foundations for Lithuania's well-being, to create the conditions for free and democratic national self-determination. Sajudis stands for social justice, humaneness and democracy, for cultural autonomy for Lithuania's national minorities in a Lithuanian state, for its traditional status of neutrality in a European demilitarized zone, for universally accepted human and civil freedoms, from which flows the general right of Lithuania's citizens independently to choose and develop their own forms of state existence. Sajudis invites all patriotic forces in Lithuanian society to unite in raising up and fostering our native land.

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS PARTICIPATE IN LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY FESTIVITIES

The first part of festivities marking Lithuanian Independence Day proceeded without any major hitches, reports the New York based Lithuanian Information Center.

The two-day celebration, which began on Wednesday afternoon February 15 in Kaunas, Lithuania's second largest city and temporary capital during much of Lithuania's period of independence, concluded Thursday evening, February 16 in the current capital, Vilnius. According to Henrikas Sambora, manager of the Kaunas office of Sajudis, the independent group which organized the festivities, the first event was a flower-laying ceremony attended by 15,000-20,000 people at a cemetery containing the remains of soldiers who died in Lithuania's 1919-1920 war of independence. Last year, Lithuanians were forcibly prevented on February 16 from laying flowers at this cemetery and other sites of national and historical significance.

The flower-laying ceremony was followed at 6 p.m. by a six-hour meeting of the 220-member Sajudis national assembly at the Kaunas Music Theater, during which the

delegates adopted a declaration calling for a democratic and independent Lithuania. No representatives of the government were present.

The organizers had hoped for live, nation-wide television coverage of the assembly's proceedings, as had been the case during Sajudis' founding congress in October, 1988, however, they were denied permission. Instead, according to Henrikas Sambora, Lithuanian television carried a one to two minute report on the assembly session.

The first scheduled event on February 16 was Mass at the Kaunas Cathedral by Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius. The Cardinal blessed a rock brought from the village of Tauciunai in central Lithuania where the first soldier in the Lithuanian war of independence died during a battle with Bolshevik forces. The rock was then transported to the War Museum Square and placed at the spot where the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier once existed.

Following the Mass, a long procession of marchers proceeded to War Museum Square for the rededication ceremony of the Freedom Monument, which had been removed after the Soviet annexation of Lithuania.

Before a crowd estimated at 200,000, Vytautas Landsbergis-Zemkalnis, one of the few surviving veterans of Lithuania's war for independence and father of Sajudis president Vytautas Landsbergis, unveiled the monument to the accompaniment of fanfare and the release of a flock of doves.

Speakers at the rally included Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius, representatives of the Estonian and Latvian popular front movements and members of various independent Lithuanian organizations, including Sajudis, the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Lithuanian National Youth Association, the Deportees Club, and the newly reconstituted Lithuanian Scouts. Tape recorded remarks by Juozas Urbsys, last foreign minister of independent Lithuania and a witness to the high-level negotiations surrounding the Soviet annexation of Lithuania in 1940, were played to the crowd. Urbsys, a Kaunas resident who is nearly 93 years old, was unable to attend because of ill health.

One unexpected speaker was Lithuanian Communist Party First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas, who was allowed to address the crowd despite a vow by the Kaunas Sajudis organizers to prohibit any government or party representatives from speaking, in retaliation for government repression of last year's independence day commemorations. Sambora said that Brazauskas called on Lithuanians to work together.

Sambora added that a strike called for February 15 by Jedinstvo, a Russian organization opposed to Lithuanian independence day commemorations, did not materialize. Jedinstvo organized a rally in Vilnius on Sunday, February 12, 1989, to protest moves by Lithuanians to press for greater national freedom.

In a related development, a Sajudis branch at the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute issued a statement on Wednesday, February 15. In the statement, the Sajudis members accuse speakers at the Jedinstvo rally of advocating the use of violence against Lithuanians and they ask why Soviet authorities in Lithuania had not condemned such actions.

FOR A FREE AND UNITED EUROPE

These are exciting and important days for Europe. For the first time in over forty years it is possible to look forward to a day when Europe might just possibly be free again. The old alignments and alliances are shifting and in some cases collapsing. New countries and regions are emerging rapidly into prominence.

This is particularly true of those countries in the Pacific Basin which have been characterized by sustained economic growth over the past two decades and more.

Virtually the first statement of foreign policy intent by incoming US President George Bush was to confirm that the US now increasingly regards itself as a Pacific and not an Atlantic power. Bush asserted — correctly — that America's principal trading, industrial and strategic ties were now with Japan. America's international agenda, he warned, would reflect this geopolitical reality under his administration. The Americans have made clear what we have secretly known all along — if Europe is to succeed and prosper in the future, she will have to do so by her own resources.

The Japanese are the world's second greatest economic power. The newly industrialized nations of Korea, Malaysia and the Republic of China are increasingly significant players on the world stage. The USA too, recognises that its main economic ties for the next century are with the Pacific Basin power bloc now emerging, with or without the nascent power of Red China.

By 2000, the major players in the Pacific are likely to be Japan, the newly industrialized nations and the USA. The role for Australia and New Zealand in this line up is uncertain. What is certain is that there is no place for Europe in this trading bloc.

Faced with this stark reality, Europe must urgently reassess its world position. What is clear is that for Europe the choice must be unite or perish. Only an economically united Europe will survive into the next century.

But such a prognosis still represents little more than the European nations huddling together for warmth in the face of a hostile world. This is not good enough. If Europe is to unite, let it do so, but on European terms, not those dictated to it by the rest of the world. United, Europe is a superpower. Her economies combined are greater than any other trading bloc in history. And in so doing, let Europe reassert the incalculable impact that European values, culture and language have had on the whole world. In short, let Europe unite as a world power rather than a petty and protectionist trade cartel.

The liberals and the communists who control our media are playing a very subtle game when they speak of Europe. To them, European unity does not mean a strong, free, anti-Communist Europe. Your media tells you, for example, that Britain is intransigent on the issue of European unity. You are told that Mrs. Thatcher stands against the uniting of the European nations that is necessary to make Europe strong again. Really? Let's hear what Mrs. Thatcher has actually said on the subject:

“Willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign nations is the best way to build a successful European Community. To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardize the objectives we seek to achieve. Let Europe be a family of nations, understanding each other, appreciating each other more, doing more together



Panelists at the ABN Symposium “National Fronts and the Young Generation in the Soviet Russian Empire” held in Munich, West Germany on March 18, 1989. From left to right: Stuart Notholt (Great Britain), Zirka Kowal (Ukraine), Dr. Filip Paunescu (Rumania), Slava Stetsko (ABN President), Nicolas Szafowal, panel moderator (Ukraine), Nina Alschibaja (Georgia) and Jüri Estam (Estonia).

but relishing our national identity no less than our common European endeavour. Remember too,” Mrs. Thatcher said, “The European Community is one manifestation of that European identity. But it is not the only one. We must never forget that, east of the Iron Curtain, peoples who once enjoyed a full share of European culture, freedom and identity, have been cut off from their roots. We shall always look on Warsaw, Prague and Budapest as great European cities...”

I’m sure no-one here would disagree with those words. They stand for the strong united, free and above all, an anti-Communist Europe — a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals — that we all believe in. So why does the liberal controlled media pretend that the British government is “anti-Europe”?

Simple. This deception is fostered quite deliberately by elements who want to see Europe united alright — but as a Socialist cartel which can then be merged with the Communist dominated COMECON movement. They do not want Europe to be strong, they want it to be subservient to their wishes and aspirations; a Europe regulated, controlled, pacified, neutralised and harmonized. A Europe in which we are no longer allowed to hold up our heads with pride and say, yes, we are all Europeans, but we are also Frenchmen, or Britons, or Spanish as well and we treasure our history and culture as much as we treasure our common European cause.

Unfortunately, it seems to us in Britain that these elements are slowly but surely gaining the upper hand in the European Economic Community. So that is why we are suspicious of certain things happening in the EEC. But do not be deceived into thinking that we are against a united Europe.

On the contrary, what we have is surely a far wider vision of Europe than many. We do not believe there are only twelve nations in “Europe” — the twelve who have joined the EEC. We know there are over forty nations in Europe — nations whose traditions, history and culture are a vital part of our European tradition, and thus, of the future of Europe.

As the nations of Eastern Europe rid themselves of Communism, let us welcome them as full members of the European family of nations. Because we need them! We need Hungary, and Poland and Rumania, in the future Europe, and yet, the occupied nations of the Soviet Union as well. The Ukrainians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Georgians and the Armenians are as much Europeans as are the Austrians, or Germans or Italians.

And what is more the nations of the east have many of the strengths we in the West lack. They have suffered mightily at the hands of the Communists, it is true, but this gives Eastern Europe a far better realization of the importance of freedom and national identity than the soft, complacent, liberal democracies of the West.

We in the West have for years been lectured by progressives and liberals who despise European civilization and everything it stands for. We are ruled by politicians seemingly incapable of addressing the problems of our society — such as drug abuse — because they themselves do not have any concept of the idea of nationhood and national identity. But in the East are nations who still believe in the importance of culture, language, religion and identity. Without them, Europe cannot prosper. With them, Europe can be great again, possibly greater even than she has ever been.

Because there is, fortunately, nothing guaranteed about European decline. Europe achieved superpower status with the emergence of Rome. There followed ultimately the Dark Ages. But from the 15th century, Europe set out to colonize the world and in the 19th century gave the world the technological triumphs of the industrial revolution.

The phenomenon which we call “renaissance” has occurred repeatedly in European history. By the turn of this century, European civilization was indisputably the standard for the entire world. That civilization committed suicide in the mud of Flanders and in the triumph of Communism in the East, but there is not one intrinsic reason why a resurgent Europe should not once again lead the world.

The crossroads facing Europe is thus not whether Europe should unite, but how. On the one hand, the liberal dream of a controlled and stunted Europe, ripe for integration with the Communist world, dedicated only to a mountainous self-serving bureaucracy, and to economic and institutional harmonization above all — and certainly above freedom.

Against this we place our vision of a free Europe extending from the Atlantic to the Urals — a Europe of Nations embracing nations from both east and west.

Implicit in the Europe of the Nations principal is a revival of European power, culture and civilization. Not a miserable, harmonized, regulated, bureaucratic social democracy but a future superpower of some forty free nations, working together while respecting their differences. It is our task to bring that Europe about.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM SUNG AT UNOFFICIAL GATHERING IN KYIV

On Sunday, March 19, at 3 p.m. there was an official meeting by the Kyiv stadium in support of Masyk and Zkurskiy, two candidates running for the elections in Kyiv. Approximately 10,000 people attended the meeting. Before the meeting ended, however, several members of the unofficial student group Hromada and the Ukrainian Helsinki Union decided to leave the gathering and made their way to Askold's Tomb.

There, a group of people numbering 200 placed a memorial plaque in memory of the Ukrainian students who perished at Kruty in 1918 (Kruty, near Kyiv, was where hundreds of Ukrainian students died trying to stem the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine in 1918). The plaque was blue in color and bore the inscription in gold lettering: "Fighters of the student division of 'Sichovi Striltsi' who died defending Kyiv and justice in 1918 lie buried here in Askold's Tomb" (blue and yellow are Ukraine's still banned national colours). There are approximately 30 students buried in the tomb. A gold Trident (Tryzub), Ukrainian national symbol, was painted under the inscription. Around the plaque people stuck small blue and yellow tridents into the ground. Others placed bouquets of flowers. Yevhen Sverstiuk and Oksana Meshko placed red carnations.

One of the leaders of Hromada, Dmytro Korchynsky, opened the meeting and Volodymyr Chemaryn gave a speech about the historical importance of those years. Another member of Hromada read out a poem by Pavlo Tychyna "In memory of thirty", a poem he wrote in 1918 dedicated to the 30 students who are buried there. The first line of the poem reads: "They were buried in Askold's Tomb". Following this the entire crowd sang the Ukrainian national anthem. Candles were placed around the plaque. Most of those present wore blue and yellow flags on their lapels. After the singing of the national anthem, Mykola Budnyk sang Ukrainian dumy (songs dating back from the Cossack era) to the accompaniment of a kobza, an ancient Ukrainian instrument.

Although members of the security forces were present, there were no arrests or any violence. It was also reported that several tour guides showed the plaque to visiting groups. Askold's tomb is a popular tourist attraction.

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Young Croatian participants in a demonstration held in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. in January, 1989. The protest march was held on the 45th anniversary of the creation of Communist Yugoslavia in support of an independent, separate state of Croatia.

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AN END TO GLASNOST

The official organs of the Government of the USSR and CPSU, "Izvestia" and "Pravda", published on April 11, 1989 a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the introduction of changes and additions to the legal code of the USSR "on criminal responsibility for anti-state activity" and other legal statutes of the USSR, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, the President of the Supreme Soviet, and T. Mentashvili, the Secretary. The Decree is dated April 8, 1989, which was the day following Gorbachev's return to Moscow from Great Britain. The legal changes called for in the Decree came into effect with its publication, despite the fact that it was not ratified by the Supreme Soviet, although normal procedure requires such ratification.

These new legal statutes clearly establish that the much-publicized *glasnost*-liberalization reform initiative has come to an abrupt end, as is illustrated by sections VII and XI from this Decree:

"VII. 1. Appeal for the overthrow or alteration of the Soviet political or social order. Public appeals for the overthrow of the Soviet political and social order, or its alteration by means which are inconsistent with the Constitution of the USSR, or are inconsistent with the implementation of Soviet laws with the aim to disrupt the political and economic system of the USSR, as well as the preparation and dissemination of materials of this nature — is punishable by the deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three (3) years or a fine of up to 2000 rubles.

2. Such activity, carried on continuously or organized by a group of persons, utilizing technical means adapted for mass publication is punishable by the deprivation of freedom for a term of up to seven (7) years or a fine of up to 5000 rubles.

3. Such activity, as described in the first two parts of this article, carried out on the instructions of foreign organizations or their representatives, or with material/financial assistance received from such organizations, — is punishable by the deprivation of freedom for a term from three (3) to ten (10) years.

XI. 1 Defamation or slander against state organs and public organizations. A public defamation or the slander of higher organs of state power and the government of the USSR, other state organs, formed or elected by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, or the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as social or public organizations and their all-Union organs, legally established and acting in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, — is punishable by the deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three (3) years or a fine of up to 2000 rubles."

A CRY OF ANGER AND DESPAIR

Bohdan Horyn, a leading member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, issued the following statement upon the publication of this decree:

"The publication of this Decree on April 11, 1989, signifies a total reversal to anti-democratic methods in our political and social life. The reception, which the General Secretary received in London, gave him the opportunity to sign this Decree. If the West would have been more critical and careful in noting the violations of legality and international legal statutes, which were effectuated during the period of so-called democratization, *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and would have underscored its concern with such violations, then perhaps this Decree would not have appeared. The West closed its eyes to this unlawful highhandedness, which repeated itself in the various republics, thereby

creating the conditions for the publication of this Decree, on the basis of which the authorities will begin to again imprison and sentence to concentration camps the representatives of various unofficial groups, organizations, and public activists. The West's lack of foresight and its capacity to be deceived by generalized phrases and empty promises gives the opportunity here to institute completely reactionary practices and to implement such reactionary laws, which were not even instituted during the reactionary period of Brezhnev and his predecessor. This Decree is not the first such law; the West has already swallowed the anti-democratic law on elections, it calmly ignored the Decree on meetings and demonstrations, resulting in the implementation of these measures and the arrests of many people (including myself and my brother Mykhailo). If the West continues to give its tacit approval to such anti-democratic measures, then these crimes, which will continue to take place, will never be brought to light.

These are our first cries of anger and despair, cries which are in fact powerless, insofar as we are no longer able to do anything to prevent the implementation of this Decree. It has already been implemented once it was released in the press. In the 1930s, during the years of artificial famine in Ukraine, officials in the West knew of this genocidal catastrophe, but chose to remain silent and are tainted by guilt for their silence. Should the West choose to remain silent about this Decree, it will share the responsibility and guilt for the repression that will follow."

CONDEMNATION OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST REGIME

Taking into account the events that are currently taking place in the country of our origin — Byelorussia, where the Byelorussian people are fighting for better and bigger individual and national rights, Byelorussian Association of Australia, being the oldest known, active organisation of Australians of Byelorussian origin in Australia, wishes to make known the following:

1. We Australians of Byelorussian origin are enjoying and deeply appreciate the existing in Australia freedom, which allows us, among other things, to retain and to pass on to the new generations our Byelorussian customs, language, culture, etc.

2. We Australians of Byelorussian origin strongly condemn the Russian communist regime of the past, which brutally carried out the policy of Russification of Byelorussia through mass physical exterminations, (recently opened mass graves at Kuropaty, near the capital of Byelorussia, Minsk, are just a small additional proof of that policy of genocide) mass deportations, liquidation of Byelorussian language from all Government, Educational Institutions, etc.

3. Byelorussian Association of Australia fully supports the struggle of Byelorussian people for those rights of freedom and independence which are guaranteed by the very Constitution of the Soviet Union, and which are recognized by the Organisation of the United Nations, of which Byelorussia is a Charter Member as an independent nation, and

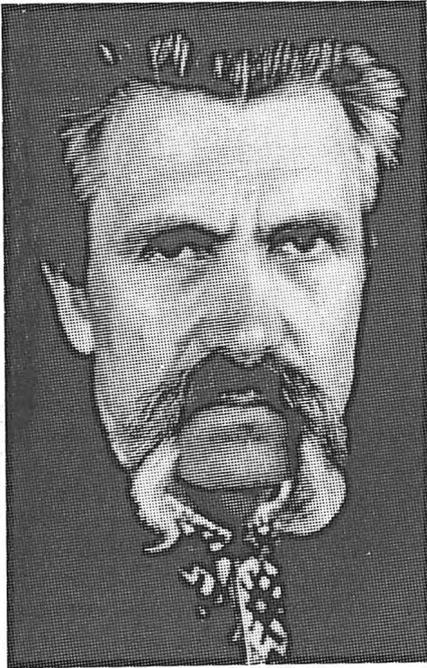
4. Byelorussian Association of Australia calls on the Government of the Soviet Union to speed up the process of restoration of freedom and national independence to Byelorussia, as well as to all other nations under its control, so as to ensure that they also can enjoy their freedom just as much as we have enjoyed ours here in our country — Australia.

Fairfield, 14th April, 1989

A. Olechnik *Federal Secretary-General Byelorussian Association of Australia*

LUKIANENKO AT CSCE CONFERENCE: „FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE GUARANTEES EUROPEAN SECURITY“

In a statement at a press conference on Thursday, June 15, at the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Paris, Levko Lukianenko, the dean of Ukrainian political prisoners and head of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, declared that freedom for Ukraine will guarantee security for Europe. Lukianenko said that Moscow has not introduced genuine democratization, but merely a paper form of it. Human and national rights violations, perpetrated by Moscow, persist in Ukraine he said. Below is the full text of Lukianenko's remarks on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union:



Despite the fact that the Soviet Union signed many international documents, which guarantee human rights and national rights and committed itself to implementing them, thereby elevating its prestige within the democratic world, in practice Moscow ignores international legal norms. At a time when the world enthusiastically welcomes the democratic transformations in the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow adopts one anti-democratic edict after another, which contradict the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Act, the recent Vienna conference. Dulling the astuteness of the Western states, the government of the USSR, on the basis of these enacted edicts, began to brutally suppress the democratic forces.

With particular emphasis this is directed against the activists of the Memorial Society, the Ukrainian Popular Movement for restructuring („Rukh“), the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for participating in a peaceful ecological meeting in Dnipropetrovsk. They include Andronova, Dmytrieva, Herusov, Sakharov, Shulyk and Tochyb. Numerous fines have also been levied against Ukrainian Catholic clergy. In addition to the unusually heavy fine against Stepan Khmara, a member of the Executive Committee of the UHU — 1,000 karbovantsi (roubles) — for attending a sanctioned meeting, the militia has also placed him under administrative surveillance. In this manner, Ukraine is experiencing the return of this humiliating form of punishment against dissenters.

The Party bureaucracy is not ceasing its campaign, not without instructions from the KGB, of slandering members of the UHU, as well as libelling them in the mass media, which it has usurped. Under false pretexts, the militia allows itself to conduct searches in the homes of members of the UHU, as was recently done in the case of the

head of the Chernivtsi oblast branch Vasyl Kuzmyn. The practice of summoning people with active civic positions to the militia, the prosecutor's office and the KGB is continuing.

While the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right to form various societies and associations, the government does everything possible not to allow the formation of any new unofficial groups. On June 3, the founding meeting of the All-Ukrainian Society of the Repressed was being held in Kyiv. Through the intervention of the Memorial Society, the authorities initially set aside premises for this conference, but in the last minute they reneged. For the first time, the longterm prisoners of Stalin's and Brezhnev's camps gathered in Kyiv to establish this society. But the meeting took place, though not as originally planned, in the open air. The government not only refused to show respect to the recent victims of the Stalin-Brezhnev regime, but through its behaviour it demonstrated the honourable inheritance of its predecessors.

Even these few episodes bear witness to the violations of international pacts on social and political rights in Ukraine. It is important to point out that the authorities are continuing to deploy special military units against peaceful assemblies of people, as happened in Lviv on May 1, in Kyiv on May 22. Flaunting its democracy for all to see, the KGB systematically seizes independent democratic publications — newspapers and journals. While Mykhailo Horyn was attempting to go to Kharkiv, literature was confiscated from him and not returned. Without reason, 750 copies of *The Voice of the Renaissance*, a UHU newspaper, were confiscated from UHU member Valentyn Stetsiuk. UHU members who try to go to other cities on civic business are forcibly deported on a regular basis.

The roster of violations of international treaties on human and national rights convinces us that the Soviet Union, while permitting paper democracy, in practice continues to restrict and suppress the political activity of the masses, resorting even to arms.

Inasmuch as complying with international treaties on the rights of man guarantees peace and security in the world, and the internal aggression against one's own people is the harbinger of external aggression, we call upon this august conference to place this question on its agenda and demand that the USSR live up to international treaties. Freedom for our nation — guarantees the security of the nations of Europe.

FROM THE TRENCHES...

“A nation lives as long as in it lives a consciousness of its individuality and aspiration to independence. So in order to preserve our nation, let us not cloud with ambiguous words our true independence-driven essence. Let us be truthful and brave.”

Lev Lukianenko, “What Next,”
Ukrainian Central Information Service, 1989

ABN MEMORANDUM TO THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS

While Gorbachev's reform initiative has raised the hopes of many both in the West and in the USSR, the piecemeal changes that have been introduced so far have altered the essentially imperialistic structure of the Soviet-Russian system of subjugation. For the nations that have been historically subjected to Russian colonial domination since well before the Bolshevik Revolution and that have continued to languish under Soviet-Russian communist tyranny, the only means by which genuine substantive change can be effectuated is through the reestablishment of their national, sovereign and independent, nation-states, which in itself would require a complete dissolution of this last remaining empire on earth.

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has been in the forefront of the subjugated nations' struggle for national independence and statehood since its inception in 1943 in the forests of Ukraine, at the very height of Ukraine's determined war of liberation, which was fought on two fronts — against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The ABN was formed as a coordinating center of the national-liberation struggles of thirteen nations, which at the time were fighting for their national independence and statehood against both the Nazi and Soviet-Russian aggressors. Since that time the ABN has grown to 25 member organizations, which represent the liberation struggles of their respective nations, subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism. Since 1946 until 1986 the ABN was headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the Sovereign Ukrainian Government (1941), Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist (OUN), and a survivor of Nazi concentration camps.

Western Policy towards the USSR

Since the end of World War II, the West's policy towards the Soviet Union has remained basically unaltered: seeking to maintain global status quo, while concurrently striving to stem Moscow's drive towards expansionism and global hegemony by promoting „democratization“ of the Soviet-Russian system of oppression without undermining the system's integrity. This uninterrupted policy was given different names, (e.g., containment, detente) to signify shifts in US foreign policy from one administration to the next. Whatever the name, however, Western policy has yet to take into account the right and aspirations of the subjugated nations in the USSR and its satellites to national independence and statehood.

Glasnost or National Liberation?

Mikhail Gorbachev and the new technocratic class of Soviet managers and rulers that he represents have apparently concluded that if the Soviet Union is to survive, it must embark on a course of genuine modernization, which itself requires a complete overhaul of the Soviet socio-economic and political system. If Gorbachev's economic

reforms (*perestroika*) are to be successful, the working population of the USSR has to be given concrete incentives to participate in the new processes. Given the fact that the Soviet system for many decades has been plagued by nepotism, corruption on all levels, and feudal-like mechanisms of interest and privilege, Gorbachev first needs to revive the socio-political system by engineering a moral rebirth, which he hopes will salvage the crumbling imperialistic structure. The policy of *glasnost* (democratization-/liberalization) is the new Soviet leader's high-profile attempt to gain the trust of the masses in the USSR by openly effectuating a clean break with the stagnant and overtly repressive policies of his predecessors. By creating the conditions for mass participation in new political processes, albeit supervised from above by the traditional means of control, Gorbachev and his advisors apparently believe that the masses will eschew their deeply entrenched cynicism and a new trust will emerge. The hope is that this amplified volume and frequency of political activity, according to the strictly demarcated framework of *glasnost*, will consequently cascade down to the economic sector, thereby allowing the Soviet Union to proceed with the primary goal of economic modernization.

Under no circumstances does Gorbachev's reform initiative envision national independence and statehood for the nations which have been subjected to blatant Russian colonialism and cultural Russification since the very inception of the USSR. Clearly, national independence is tantamount to the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire, which no Soviet leader is ready to even tacitly endorse, despite the fact that genuine democracy is inconceivable within a colonial framework, something that the Founding Fathers of the United States of America fully understood.

The subjugated nations have taken this historic opportunity to revive their ancient cultural traditions and to raise the national consciousness of their respective peoples, so as to intensify their national-liberation struggle. Numerous groups have emerged on the territories of the subjugated nations, most of which have adopted in one form or another a platform of national independence and statehood. More importantly, the subjugated nations have proceeded to coordinate their activities, albeit on a more open plane. Several joint conferences have taken place in Tbilisi, Yerevan, Lviv, Riga and Vilnius over the course of the last year. The Vilnius Conference, held on January 28-29, 1989 and attended by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine, adopted a joint statement in which it is stated:

„History has shown that the existence of a multinational empire is an anachronism which creates insufferable conditions for all the nations living in the empire. We feel that pluralism is as fundamental a principle in international relations as it is in the sphere of human rights.

„While consolidating the right of every nation to individual development, we represent national movements which have been fighting for independence. While we do not impose our conceptions of state organization and sovereignty, we feel that neither common existence within the framework of the empire, not federative or confederative state organization are acceptable to the nations we represent.

„We need political and moral support for our movement from all governments and social organizations. We hope that our understanding of the contemporary world will prevail, in accordance with which only the free and

independent existence of nations which are striving towards this end will ensure the stable and peaceful development of the world community.“

Democracy and Colonialism — Incompatible Systems

In the past Western academicians and statesmen, with few exceptions, tended to discount the viability of pursuing national independence for the subjugated nations in the USSR and its „satellites“, condescendingly referring to the struggle of these nations as a „nationalities problem“. The recent events in Armenia, the Baltic countries, Georgia, Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR clearly indicate that the resurgence of the liberation struggle is more on the order of a crisis. The subjugated nations have challenged Gorbachev to be fully consistent in his policies with his much-publicized and at times self-touting rhetoric. Their position, which fully reflects the ABN's long-standing position, is that genuine democracy is incompatible with colonialism; it requires the people's full empowerment, in accordance with the right of national self determination. Moreover, democracy is certainly incompatible with a monolithic one-party political system, and yet Gorbachev has vociferously insisted that *glasnost* does not mean the introduction of pluralist values and the CPSU's abandonment of its stranglehold on the reins of power. As an ideal, democracy is not a relative value. A totalitarian system cannot be „democratized“; it must first be dismantled completely, so that truly democratic structures can be established in its place within the framework of a sovereign nation-state.

Although Gorbachev has introduced several cosmetic changes in the Soviet Union's political system, so as to give more substance to his policy statements, he has also enacted a series of anti-democratic decrees, which, for example, prohibit unsanctioned assemblies, or require that candidates for election to the Council of Deputies be first approved by the regime. According to the most recent such decree, enacted in an extra-legal fashion in April of this year, anyone, who engages in a form of political activity, which is perceived to be „anti-Soviet“, can be punished by a term of imprisonment of up to ten years. The political and cultural activists in the non-Russian republics of the USSR believe that this latest decree may be a precursor of a new wave of repressions to be directed particularly against them and the increasingly restive populations of the subjugated nations. Curiously, the foreboding decree has received little publicity not only in the Western press, but in the US Congress as well.

National Independence — a Viable Alternative

It has been argued in the West that the integrity of the USSR must be maintained, since its dissolution into national independent states will result in an intolerable degree of chaos in the world. The moral indifference of such an argument notwithstanding, we submit that the Western powers have much to gain by supporting the movements of national-liberation in the USSR and the „satellite“ countries. Firstly, with the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire, at most only fifteen independent nation-states will emerge in the initial stages, one of which will be a democratic Russian republic, rendered to a position of non-aggression by force of circumstances. The notion that there are over a hundred nationalities in the USSR clamoring for independence, or

striving to realize some irredentist ambitions, is simply not founded in reality and may very well be a surreptitious ploy to frighten the West from rendering support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

Secondly, each of these nations has demonstrated its ability to develop into a politically stable and viable, as well as economically self-sufficient entity. With the establishment of independent states of the subjugated nations not only will there be greater opportunities for Western capital investment, but the decolonized and un-shackled economies of these nations can be integrated into the world economic infrastructure, which will undoubtedly be a boon to the increasingly interdependent global economic system.

Thirdly, the level of tension in the world, much of which is directly attributable to Moscow's pursuit of global hegemony, will certainly not increase with the establishment of independent nation-states on the territories of the fifteen republics of the USSR, but will markedly decrease. With the portentous specter of nuclear Armageddon looming over the world, the Western Democracies have been forced to adopt a strategy of „mutually assured destruction“, a morally indefensible, but, in sheer practical terms, a nearly mandatory policy, given the overwhelming Soviet conventional military advantage. This threat, which unilaterally lies in Moscow's consistently expansionist policies, will be eliminated with the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian prison of nations. Moscow cannot suppress the subjugated nations by resorting to using nuclear weapons, since by doing so it would also be destroying its own occupational forces and its political and administrative colonial apparatus of control. Moreover, the uncontrollable factor of nuclear fallout precludes the use of Moscow's vast nuclear arsenal to neutralize a war of liberation within the USSR. We submit that the dominant Russian nation will undoubtedly opt to relinquish its empire and create a democratic Russian republic, rather than commit an act of suicide.

There are those in the West who have quietly raised the concern that the dissolution of the USSR into independent nation-states may result in a „Balkanization“ of nuclear power in this geo-political arena. The subjugated nations fully appreciate the magnitude of the problem that nuclear proliferation poses, having themselves been victimized by Moscow's irresponsible nuclear policy, i.e., Chornobyl. By deploying in the past much of its middle-level nuclear arsenal (SS-20s) on the westernmost territories of the USSR, in Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries, Moscow maneuvered NATO into adopting a nuclear strategy, according to which the territories of these nations were to become a nuclear coliseum, decimated by Western GLCMs and Pershings in the event of a military offensive undertaken by the Warsaw Pact against Western Europe. In light of the foregoing, we submit that the de-nuclearization of global military power must begin with the elimination of the primary threat of nuclear war — Soviet-Russian expansionism. Only then, after the dissolution of the USSR, can the Free World, together with the liberated nations in the USSR and other responsible nuclear powers, proceed to look for ways to resolve this problem, with a view towards eliminating all nuclear weapons from the face of earth.

Gorbachev has adopted a pliant and conciliatory tone in his foreign policy statements, as he seeks to gain much-needed Western capital and technology. There is no guarantee, however, that Gorbachev or his more overtly militaristic political opponents in the Kremlin, who may forcibly ascend to power in the future, will not revert to expansionism and militarism, once the USSR's economic base has been sufficiently

solidified through the infusion of Western resources. By buttressing the Soviet-Russian system of oppression and bolstering its economic base, the West may, indeed, be fostering instability and tension, since such a policy will push the subjugated nations to the brink and force them to engage in a desperate life-or-death struggle.

What can the West do?

In light of the foregoing, the West should formulate a coherent political strategy of rendering moral and political support to the subjugated nations, their respective national-liberation movements, in their concerted and coordinated struggle to achieve national statehood, a universally recognized right of every nation. The subjugated nations are not asking for any form of Western military assistance, in the hope that at the very least the Western democracies will discontinue all forms of assistance to the Soviet-Russian colonial regime, which only allows Moscow to reinforce its apparatus of oppression and subjugation. By rendering such assistance to the USSR, the West shares some of the responsibility in the crimes that will continue to be committed by Moscow against the subjugated nations.

Some of the following suggestions may serve as a basis for formulating such a Western liberation strategy:

1. **Technological assistance** — The Western Governments should advance (or encourage Western firms to do so) to the liberation movements, unofficial groups and non-governmental organizations various electronic and technological items, designed to facilitate the distribution of information, e.g., computers, desktop publishing systems, off-set machines, copiers, tape recorders, video cameras and other types of mass media devices.

2. **Radio broadcasts** — Western radio broadcasts into the USSR and the „satellite“ countries should:

a. be more consistent in reporting news about events particularly in the USSR, e.g. mass demonstrations, protests, unofficial gatherings and other activities sponsored by the various national groups that have been established recently;

b. incorporate into the content of these broadcasts the national, cultural, historical and political values and aspirations towards national independence of the subjugated nations.

3. **The „Helsinki process“** — The Western governments should demand that the various non-governmental organizations and liberation movements, their representatives, particularly the various so-called Helsinki Monitoring Groups, be allowed to participate in all future Conferences on Cooperation and Security in Europe. Furthermore, the West should insist that the basic principles of the Helsinki Accords, signed in 1975, particularly those sections of the Accords dealing with national, human, religious and civil rights, be fully implemented in the Soviet Union.

4. **An end to oppression** — The West should demand that all concentration camps and political prisons be immediately liquidated, and that the recent set of legal statutes, particularly the Decree of April 8, by which the Moscow and its colonial regimes in the subjugated nations have reinstated the past policies of severe repression for „anti-state“ political activity, be immediately rescinded.

5. **A Charter of Independence** — In view of the high-profile propaganda waged by the USSR under the auspices of *glasnost*, by which Moscow is attempting to portray itself

as moving towards greater democracy and liberalization of its repressive system of subjugation, the Free World, particularly the United States — the champion of freedom in the world, should initiate a political counter-offensive by proclaiming a Charter of Independence, based on the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other relevant international agreements to which the USSR is also a signatory. The fundamental premise of such a political campaign should be the position that the basic barometer by which *glasnost* will be judged in the Free World will be the question of national independence and statehood for the nations subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its „satellites“. Until these nations are truly free, *glasnost* remains nothing else but a set of empty promises. In the words of Richard Pipes, a noted Harvard University academician and Sovietologist, „The new administration must devise a long-term strategy for the decolonization of the inner Soviet empire — the Soviet ethnic republics. President Bush should begin by calling the Soviet Union what it is — the last colonial empire in the world. Then he should offer moral and other appropriate support to the anticolonial, national-liberation forces inside the Soviet Union.“ (Richard Pipes and The Heritage Foundation Task Force, „Paper Perestroika; Gorbachev and American Strategy“, *Policy Review*, Winter 1989, p. 17).

Conclusion

The Western Democracies must understand that genuine global peace and security can never be achieved as long as entire nations are denied their right to national independence and sovereignty and are subjected to the most brutal forms of repression and cultural ethnocide, with the tacit consent of the West, which has been buttressing the Soviet-Russian empire by extending to it economic and other forms of assistance. The world is at a crossroads. The United Nations can take this historic opportunity to become a forceful champion of freedom in the world, which is the hope of the subjugated nations. Otherwise, these nations will be cornered into a position of leading a desperate struggle to attain what is rightfully theirs — independence and statehood, ideals which they will never renounce.

Slava Stetsko
President

Nino Alschibaja
Secretary General

From the Trenches...

“Salvation can only be ensured through the reestablishment of an independent Ukrainian state. Passive existence in slavery unavoidably leads to destruction. There are no alternatives.”

**Stepan Khmara, from an article on Gorbachev’s visit to
Ukraine, distributed by the Ukrainian Central
Information Service.**

GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA WILL NOT BRING DEMOCRACY

Washington, D.C. — In the face of the growing number of Western governments, institutions and media outlets succumbing to glasnost and perestroika's Siren call, a group of representatives of the subjugated nations adamantly reaffirmed at a seminar here that true democratization behind the iron curtain can emerge only with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the establishment of independent nation states.

„The subjugated nations have resolved to continue and strengthen their struggle not only for human rights, not only for a non-socialist, democratic alternative in the USSR, but for the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire into national, democratic and sovereign states, which alone can guarantee civil liberty, freedom of religious beliefs, social justice and cooperation among nations,“ said Slava Stetsko, world president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, one of the sponsors of the seminar.

The forum, held Tuesday, May 23, at the Heritage Foundation and at the Rayburn House Office Building, attracted more than 100 supporters of the plight of the nations held by Moscow. Called „International Affairs and Policy Issues Seminar“, the day-long session was also sponsored by the American Friends of the ABN and ABN Canada. It was co-organized by the Educational Research Institute and the Ukrainian Freedom Foundation.



From left to right: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Genys, Congressman Bill Young, Mr. George Nesterchuk

Speaker after speaker demonstrated that Mikhail Gorbachev's self-proclaimed program of reforms is intended to revitalize the economy of the Soviet Union without offering any benefits for the captive nations. They said that the so-called liberal improvements have not resulted in the full implementation of national, civil and religious rights. Furthermore, the spokesmen pointed out, Gorbachev's program does not take into consideration the increasing demands for independence voiced by a variety of groups in Ukraine, the Baltic states, Georgia, Armenia and elsewhere.

Dr. Volodymyr Bolubash of the Ukrainian Free University and contributing editor to The Ukrainian Echo in Toronto explained that Gorbachev realized in September 1986 that „there can be no restructuring of the economy without the full and spontaneous participation of the masses“. However, he continued, glasnost and perestroika unexpectedly unleashed in the peoples emotions which can tear apart the Soviet Union.

„What we are seeing in the Soviet Union now is an extraordinary phenomenon of the resurgence of a long-suppressed energy of many nations striving for economic and political self-determination and ultimately full sovereignty and independence,“ Bolubash said.

Wars of national liberation, in which Moscow has been involved for nearly five decades, Bolubash said, „have exploded with universal force within the Russian empire among the non-Russian nations.“

Glasnost and perestroika pose a great internal threat to the national liberation struggles of the captive nations, said Roman Zwarycz an editor with The National Tribune in New York City. He said that „many people from the subjugated nations welcome this new wind of change, some with realistic sense of caution and skepticism, others with euphoric and hopeful release of fear“. Glasnost, he explained, is the „greatest threat“ those movements face because of the confusion it spreads among the captive peoples. While admitting that the reforms should be taken advantage of, Zwarycz warned that the captive nations should not fall into the trap of „accepting piecemeal reforms and neglecting the overall goal of national independence.“

Zwarycz said that step by step reforms do not lead to independence because, in his words, „statehood is not a relative term, it is an absolute value. The empowerment of the nation will guarantee the empowerment of the individual.“

Zwarycz urged the „revolutionary movements of national liberation in the subjugated nations to make one thing eminently clear to their people: Gorbachev's political and economic reforms, although effectuating unprecedented changes in the Soviet-Russian system, can never lead to national independence, sovereignty and statehood. Simply put, glasnost is not enough.“

In the West, the allure of glasnost and perestroika have led many governments and businesses to seriously consider investing in the Soviet Union for short-term gains, said George Nesterchuk, executive vice-president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Nesterchuk indicated that there exists a real economic crisis in the Soviet Union because, „by definition, it is an economy of crisis“. Its 30 percent deficit rate threatens the Soviet Union's military capabilities, he pointed out.

According to Nesterchuk, Gorbachev designed glasnost and perestroika to balance the crisis. „In the Soviet Union, one can't disassociate economics from politics. Rampant inflation cuts to the core of the communist ideology, however none of this means

they'll give away the empire. Gorbachev and his colleagues want to maintain power by eliminating the old party hacks“.

Nesterczuk believes that glasnost and perestroika are the Kremlin's last chances to reinvigorate the Soviet Union. Consequently, by labeling the bureaucracy as the enemy, Gorbachev has shown that he is willing to rule with the Communist Party or without it depending on what is convenient to his program.

„This will appeal to Western tastes,“ Nesterczuk said. Hence, the free world is seriously considering a variety of concessions such as a Yalta II conference which would free the East European satellite states but maintain the constituent republics within the sphere of the Soviet Union in exchange for investment opportunities, he observed.

None of this is necessary, Nesterczuk stressed. „The West need not pay a nickel to buy out a person or a nation. The price has been paid by every nation subjugated since 1917 by their blood, sweat and tears. The downpayment for independence has been made. If the West waits long enough, the system will crash by the weight of its own ineffectiveness. And that time is quickly approaching“.

For Petro Ruban, one-time Ukrainian political prisoner who since his arrival in the United States last summer has been championing the cause of cooperatives in Ukraine, prudent use of economics can bring down the Soviet empire. Ruban argued that by supporting the recently-legalized cooperative movement, the West can return power to the people who in turn will have the means to pursue their quest for independence.

The American government also has an important role in this liberation process, said Rep. Bill Young (R-Fla.), who hosted the afternoon's reception in the Rayburn Foyer. The Florida lawmaker said, „answer for the President. George Bush doesn't rattle sabers but he is firmly committed to freedom of the existing free world and those who list it to the Soviet Union“. Young said the Soviet government spends between \$3-\$5 billion on active measures such as counterfeiting, lying and distortions to make the United States look bad in international affairs. However, he reminded the Kremlin that the United States „never used our strength to eliminate our neighbors as the Soviet Union has done. The United States is a shining example of what it is to be free. Let's keep hope alive!“

Turning to life behind the iron curtain, Young said, „Many in Ukraine have never lived in freedom. That's bad. However, despite the oppression, their culture and religion have kept alive. The United States has an obligation to do and say things to keep alive the hope that freedom will return to Ukraine, the Baltic states, the Warsaw Pact countries and elsewhere. Gorbachev puts on a good face for the USSR, but deeds speak louder than words. Let's see if Ukrainians are allowed their freedom“.

Young said that the United States must tell the subjugated peoples that „they have a lot of friends in the West...“. Acknowledging that the Soviet Union is not the easiest place to function because the United States' „intelligence capabilities are more limited than I like,“ Young said that all free nations „should make public statements in support of freedom-seeking groups behind the iron curtain. Freedom should be nourished“.

Herbert Romerstein, co-author of „KGB Against the Main Enemy“, highlighting the duplicity of glasnost and perestroika, said, „Even under Gorbachev the iron fist can come down and turn back the clock four or five years. Just as they opened up, they can close down“.

Alluding to the network of contacts between the captive nations and the West, Romerstein observed, „Independence for Ukraine cannot happen from outside, only

from inside. We in the West should weaken the regime so that the peoples of the Soviet Union can express themselves. We should send them nationalist, independence literature, but not only that. We have to take advantage of every weak link in the Soviet Union“.

Romerstein and Wolodymyr Zarycky of the Ukrainian division of the AF ABN addressed the topic of Soviet Russian infiltration of American organizations such as the Ukraina Friendship Society.

The conference was also addressed by other spokesmen for the captive nations who discussed how their peoples are waging the fight for independence, among them: Evdokim Evdokimov of Bulgaria, who moderated the opening session; Eric Nasar, Central Asian Affairs Consultants; Dr. John B. Genys, Lithuanian American Council; Marek Ruszczynski, Confederacy of Independent Poland; Raimond Tralla, Estonian American National Council; Radi Slavoff, Bulgaria; Orest Steciw, chairman of ABN Canada, who moderated the afternoon session; Prof. Nicholas Chirovsky, chairman of AF ABN; Henry Kriegel, executive director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, who urged the United States to continue supporting the Mujahideen because the war there is not yet over; Troung Quang Si of the Asian Youth Anti-Communist League, who discussed communist oppression and resistance in Southeast Asia, and Laszlo Pasztor of the Hungarian organization.

Eric Nasar, who spoke on behalf of his father, Rusi Nasar, described the economic deprivation of his ancestral homeland of Turkestan agricultural exploitation. He detailed how 70% of the cultivatable land devoted to growing cotton, 90% of which is exported to Russia. „This, in turn, is processed into fabrics or garments and returned to Turkestan, where it is sold at a substantial mark up. This is a devastating situation“.

Nasar observed that the condition is worsened by the corruption, which is „inherent to the structure of socialist production. It will always contribute to theft in central Asia“. He added that his people welcome glasnost and perestroika but their ultimate goal is self-determination and independence.

According to Marek Ruszczynski, the current national upheaval in Poland is the result of material and psychological frustrations. Ruszczynski said that Western credits can pacify the people only for a few months. However, if within that time period real reforms do not surface „the people will feel cheated once again and this time will take drastic actions“. Regardless of the outcome of the current reform movement in Poland, Ruszczynski, echoing the sentiments of his co-panelists, said the pro-independence groups in his country will continue on their course until Poland is free of Soviet Russian domination.

Radi Slavoff, accused the Bulgarian regime of Todor Zhivkov of being among the most subservient to Moscow in Eastern Europe. He said that glasnost and perestroika do not exist in Bulgaria. Despite the arrests and repressions, Slavoff said there is a new dissident movement in his country. Pasztor directed his comments at the American establishment, urging Eastern European ethnic groups to work together and press the government and Capitol Hill to support the liberation movements behind the iron curtain.

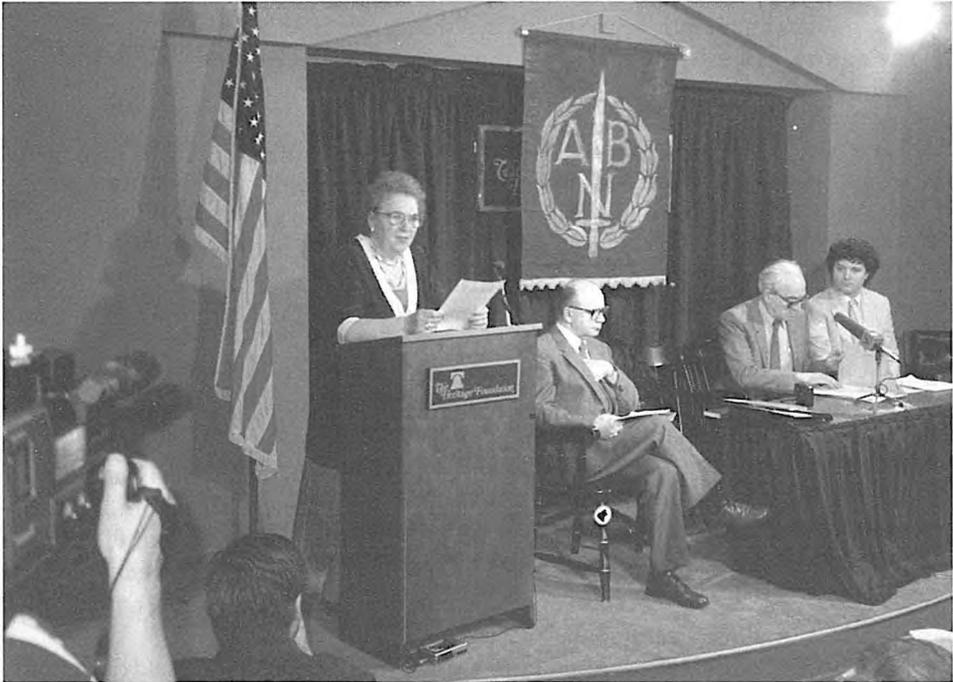
Dr. Genys, who moderated the second session, bemoaned the lack of concrete American encouragement for the aspirations of the subjugated nations. He said the U.S. government does not adequately tap the Eastern European American communities for advice on events in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

DEMOCRACY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH COLONIALISM

Introductory Remarks To the International Affairs and Policy Issues Seminar.

Ladies and gentlemen!

It is my honor to open this Seminar at a time when the world finds itself at a critical, historical juncture. Communism, in the words of Prof. Bzezinski, has shown itself to be the “grand failure” of the XXth century. This Seminar has brought together people of various ages and nationalities, those who are free, and those still fighting for their freedom and national sovereignty. The subjugated nations have resolved to continue



Mrs. Slava Stetsko — ABN President — opening the ABN Conference

► Despite the recent, dramatic occurrences in Lithuania, Genys warned that his country is like a „captive bird in a cage. At any time the landlord can lock the cage and kill the bird. They have sovereignty but no independence“.

The seminar concluded with a reception in the elegant, marbled foyer of the Rayburn House Office Building, which was attended not only by the panelists and participants but by many Washington guests and congressional staffers.

and strengthen their struggle not only for human rights, not only for a non-socialist, democratic alternative in the USSR, but for the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire into national, democratic and sovereign states, which alone can guarantee civil liberty, freedom of religious belief, social justice and cooperation among nations.

We are not only fighting for some vague notion of self-determination, which according to Richard Williamson, an Assistant Secretary of the US State Department, who in a speech delivered on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Washington, on December 25, 1988, stated that self-determination does not necessarily mean national sovereignty. The subjugated nations in the USSR and the so-called „satellite“ countries have long since determined their national aims and objectives — full and unconditional national independence, statehood and sovereignty. According to the declaration of the coordinating center “Democracy and Independence”, which was created in Paris on May 9, 1989, self-determination should lead to the establishment of oppositional national parliaments — as the instrument and expression of a nation’s will, formal citizenship in one’s own national republic, diplomatic representation abroad, etc. In other words, national self-determination, as a matter of principle, is incomprehensible outside of the framework of an independent, sovereign nation-state. Democracy is incompatible with colonialism.

The XXth century has been called the “age of decolonization”. The subjugated nations are demanding their sovereign rights and are manifesting their will by hundreds of thousands on the streets of Tallinn, Vilnius, Riga, Yerevan, Tbilissi, Minsk, Lviv, Kyiv and Tashkent. Recently, Mikhail Gorbachev, who is being presented as the “peace angel” of the XXth century, signed into effect a series of draconian laws which are a signal that a new wave of repressions against the political, cultural and religious activists of the subjugated nations is about to begin.

We fully agree with Prof. Brzezinski, Alain Besancon, Jerzy Urban, Milovan Djilas and others who believe that the empire is crumbling, that the situation in the USSR is indicative of a pre-revolutionary period, and that a new “spring of nations” will soon unfold. We fully agree with Prof. Richard Pipes who writes in the Winter issue of **Policy Review** that “the new administration must devise a long-term strategy for the decolonization of the inner Soviet empire — the Soviet ethnic republics. President Bush should begin by calling the Soviet Union what it is — the last colonial empire in the world. Then he should offer moral and other appropriate support to the anticolonial, national liberation forces inside the Soviet Union.”

At a Conference of National Liberation Movements in the USSR, held on January 28-29 of this year in Vilnius, and attended by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Ukraine, a joint statement was adopted in which it is stated: “While consolidating the right of every nation to individual development, we represent the national movements which have been fighting for decades for independence. While we do not impose our conceptions of state organization and sovereignty, we feel that neither common existence within the framework of the empire, nor federative or confederative state organization are acceptable to the nations we represent... We need political and moral support for our movement from all government and social organizations”.

From its inception in 1943, the ABN has been striving to mobilize in the Free World moral and political support for the subjugated nations in their struggle for

THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION

As we approach the end of the twentieth century one of the greatest events of our times is the decline and the inevitable disintegration of the Soviet-Russian empire, the most violent and the most ruthless entity, which, during its existence committed enormous atrocities against humanity, including genocidal annihilation of many nations and nationalities.

Like a biological organism, as maintained by the Spenglerian concept of history, the Communist Russian empire was born in a murderous convulsive way, and it is aging in an immature, cruel manner to ultimately perish ignominiously for the good of humanity and the world.

Somebody said a long time ago that man is a measure of all things. Through one's subjectivity man perceives the surrounding cosmos and imparts upon it one's own interpretative cognition.

In his speech of last December at the United Nations Gorbachev spoke of two great revolutions that changed the course of history and whose ultimate objectives were to make man's life happier, more just, and more secure. Of course, Gorbachev was referring to the Great French Revolution and the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, which had a powerful influence upon the historical process and radically changed the direction of world events.

However, Gorbachev failed telling his distinguished audience that the French Revolution has given us the concept of the „nation“ and „nationality“, the notions of „democracy“, „liberty“, and „fraternity“ in the occidental frame of reference, as well as the understanding of „allegiance“ to one's nation, the vision of equality and national unity in terms of social diversity.

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution, on the other hand, has given us the most horrible experience in terms of destruction in the post-revolutionary period. As a consequence of the Revolution, millions of human lives, national cultures and churches, synagogues, mosques and prayer houses were annihilated.

The most authoritative scholars and politicians on Soviet-Russia have reflected upon the nature of Russian historical messianism and its offspring disguised as USSR. Accordingly, Nicolas Berdyaev, a Russian philosopher, in trying to shed some light on the psychology of hatred and intolerance of Russian communism in one of his books says: „Russian communism is difficult to understand on account of its twofold nature. On the one hand it is international and a world phenomenon; on the other hand it is national and Russian. It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the national roots of Russian Communism and the fact that it was Russian history which



survival. The present events in our countries are testimony to the fact that not only have our nations survived, but with the support of the West we can accelerate the realization of our hopes and dreams — namely, to quote from the Vilnius Conference — “free and independent existence of nations which are striving towards this end which will ensure the stable and peaceful development of the world community.”

determined its limits and shaped its characters“¹. He concludes that the fusion of historical Russian messianism and Marxist universal messianism has created a formidable aggressive ideology for world domination.

Richard Nixon in his latest work maintains that „Soviet foreign policy is a deadly mix of traditional Russian expansionism and the revolutionary drive of ideological communism. It is imperialism multiplied by a factor of two“².

A similar observation is made by Zbigniew Brzezinski. He says: „Great Russian imperial consciousness is a complex web of religious messianism that has long associated Moscow with the Third Rome; of nationalistic instincts of survival and power; and of more recent universalistic ideological zeal“³.

Again, from a somewhat different perspective, Richard Pipes holds that „Russia became a multinational empire before a modern Russian identity was formed. In the West, empire-building came after nation-building... The Muscovite state gradually expanded into non-Russian territories“ and „found it difficult to distinguish between ‘Russia proper’, that is, their national homeland, and their tsar’s imperial possessions that were not Russian in the same sense. This confusion, in turn, made the Russians more suspicious of their subject nationalities and their demands, which they treated as a threat to state’s integrity“⁴.

Seweryn Bialer, in his work on the Soviet Union, says: „Continued existence of specific characteristic of the Stalinist system is inevitable. The survival of the police state, the permanent priority assigned to military growth, and the fusion of Leninist messianism with Great Russian nationalism are the most obvious Stalinist features of contemporary Soviet Union“⁵.

C.G. Jung, the great anthropologic psychologist of our time, made the following observation concerning the evil of Communism: „The Christian world is now truly confronted by the principle of evil, by naked injustice, tyranny, lies, slavery, and coercion of conscience. This manifestation of naked evil has apparently permanent form in the Russian nation“⁶.

Russian Imperialism after the Jugular

Lenin’s characterization of Russia as the „jailhouse of nations“ fits as well today as it did in the tsarist times. After the Bolshevik Revolution many formerly independent nation-states fell victim to the conqueror. Furthermore, the Moscow-imposed „governments“ of those subjugated nations were forced to relegate national rights of the people to the newly created supranational body called the USSR. In consequence, all non-Russian nations of the empire practically lost all attributes of statehood. Unlike Western imperialism in the past, Russian colonialism strives to weed out and emasculate the soul of the people from the unique national subjectivities and particularities and replace them with Russian symbolism. Its fettering is not limited to the imposition of colonial administration and economic exploitation as has been the case with Western modalities of imperialism in the past. Russian totalitarian coercion always develops into full assimilation, a social digestion of the conquered nations. Russification was the basic formula of the Russian tsarist nationalities policy, and it is even more repressive in Communist Russia’s nationalities policy, for it is clear that as long as people preserve their history they cannot be considered subjugated.

The most important asset for any nation is its historic past, and for an enslaved

nation it is even more significant. Milan Kundera in his book *On Laughter and Forgetting* put it this way: „The first step in the liquidation of a people is to do away with its memory, to destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then order someone to write new books, create new culture, discover new history. Soon the nation begins to forget what it is and what it was. The surrounding world will forget it even faster. Therefore, the struggle for existence is a ‘struggle’ with loss of memory“⁷.

Throughout most of the Bolshevik period Moscow has been pursuing a policy of Russification, denationalization, and assimilation by uprooting and deporting tens of millions of people (55m) to the remotest part of the empire. The Kremlin did away with the concept of nation and has proclaimed on many occasions that the nationality problem has been „solved forever“. Schools were converted into atheistic institutions and communist indoctrination centres. The histories of the nations were rewritten many times over to suit the contemporary needs of the regime. All other books on history and humanities were either destroyed or locked up in so called „special collections“.

The twentieth century, among other things, has been characterized by many as the age of national liberation, as an epoch of anticolonial nationalism and the disintegration of empires. The result of the second condition is caused by the thrust of the first. The Communist Russian Empire, under the guise of the Soviet Union, cannot evade the age of nationalism. By Gorbachev’s own admission „The nationalities question has become one of the most fundamental issues of our time“⁸. Consequently, it is not the nuclear threat, an earthquake, ecological pollution and diseases, but the national aspirations of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, their national self-assertiveness, which has become in the Soviet „disunion“ the most dynamic challenge to the stability and the very survivability of the Soviet empire.

What we are seeing in the Soviet Union now is an extraordinary phenomenon of the resurgence of a long-suppressed energy of many nations striving for economic and political self-determination and ultimately full sovereignty and independence. The evolving gigantic ideological, ecological, nationalistic, material, spiritual and demographic crisis is not exclusively rooted in Stalinism and Breshnev’s „stagnation“, as Gorbachev has repeatedly been saying, but it is a cumulative crisis of historic dimensions, which is directly linked to the all-pervasive crisis of Russian imperialism in its full complexity, anxiety, confusion and unpredictability.

With the rising tide of national revival of the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet empire, Gorbachev is faced with a difficult dilemma: How to introduce the necessary reforms without jeopardizing the centralistic controls? How to unleash the creative energies of the population in all areas of endeavour without weakening or even losing the monopoly of political control? Last but not least, how to revive human initiative without encouraging too much independence and disobedience?

The Baltic Countries and the West

There are many crisis in the Soviet Union as there are republics and nationalities. The Baltic nations — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — have so far made the boldest stride in challenging the very legitimacy of Moscow’s occupation of their countries. These countries became independent after the Russian Revolution of 1917 until they were forcible incorporated in 1940 after the Soviet-German non-aggression pact was signed on August 23, 1939. Attached to the pact was a secret protocol that placed Estonia,

Latvia and Lithuania within the „sphere of influence“ of the Soviet Union. That secret protocol gave Stalin a free hand to seek a „solution of the problem of the Baltic countries“.

The West, including Canada and the U.S. never recognized the occupation of the Baltic states as legitimate. With the coming of glasnost, Baltic activists put it to the test and staged demonstrations on August 23, 1987, in Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn. Speakers denounced the Hitler-Stalin pact, commemorated mass deportation of the early years of Soviet occupation. On October 12, 1987, the European Parliament overwhelmingly approved a resolution which urged the Soviet government to improve the human rights in the Baltic states as well as urging the Soviet government to respect the right of self-determination for the Baltic nations. By this resolution the ministers of foreign affairs of the member-states of the European Community were asked to do everything in their power to exert pressure on the Soviet Union in Vienna as well as asking the mass media in Western Europe to report not only on oppression in the Baltic States but also on the history of the oppression.

On August 17, 1988, twenty eight U.S. senators sent letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and the Baltic peoples calling for the repeal of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which led to the annexation of the Baltic States by the USSR. In those letters the U.S. senators reaffirmed the U.S. position of refusing to recognize the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States in 1940. President Reagan remarked on June 14, 1988, that „the American people... suport the aspiration of the Baltic people to regain their freedom that was theirs to chart their own course“.

Such a direct message of encouragement by U.S. legislators and the President to the people living in the Soviet Union or its occupied territories is believed to be without precedent. The letter to Mr. Gorbachev urged that the pact's secret protocols be published in the leading Soviet press, that the general secretary denounce the protocol „officially and publicly“, and that Soviet government promise to „restore genuine sovereignty to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania“. The Baltic press — official and unofficial — published the secret protocol.

During 1988, the Baltic peoples were permitted by the Soviet authorities to create their first large-scale political national movements — the Movement to Support Perestroika in Lithuania, and Popular Fronts in Estonia and Latvia.

At the 19th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held from June 28 to July 1, 1988, in Moscow, Latvian and Estonian representatives called for greater autonomy in political, economic, ecological, cultural and educational spheres. Baltic intellectuals also prepared documents in which strong criticism was voiced over the nationalities policies demanding the right to control migration, particularly of Russians, to their republics, and to restore the Estonian and Latvian languages to primary use in the respective state schools, cultural life and government. Hundreds of thousands of people have taken part in rallies organized by the Popular Fronts. At those rallies a major spiritual transformation of all participants had taken place.

The emergence of three mass movements with strong national self-identity in the Baltic states have transformed politics and have caused leadership changes in Latvia and Lithuania. Officially, all three Fronts favour a multi-party system and a very loose Soviet „confederation“. The rank-and-file members hope to achieve full independence.

In its manifesto, the Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP) envisages inde-

pendent Estonia and friendly relations with its neighbours. The Latvian National Independent Movement has formally adapted a program calling for Latvian Independence. Recently, the national assembly of Lithuania's largest grass-roots organization, the „Sajudis“, has adapted a declaration calling for a free, democratic and neutral Lithuania.

Ukraine may pose the Greatest threat to the Survival of the Soviet Union

In Ukraine — the key non-Russian republic — there is also substantial independent public pressure for change, and the events in the Baltic republics have found considerable resonance here. However, the communist authorities in Ukraine seek to prevent any „spillover“ from the Baltic by not publishing news and preventing activists from meeting with the Ukrainian representatives.

Historically, since Ukraine was conquered by Russia, repressions against Ukrainians have always been the most brutal.

After the Bolsheviks subdued Ukraine in the armed struggle, Stalin perceived the conscious strata of the population as his greatest threat in his quest to dictatorial power. Long before, massive repressions were embarked upon, Stalin made a decision to annihilate a majority of the active and more conscious population. It is conservatively estimated that under Stalin's terror, twenty million Ukrainians were slaughtered.

During World War II, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought the Nazis and the Soviets and subsequently the Soviets until the 1950s and beyond. Richard Nixon in his book writes: „They remember that their national repression was so severe that in World War II, when Hitler's Germany occupied the region, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, composed of forty thousand guerrillas, fought against **both** the Soviets and the Nazis“. According to the Ukrainian communist party daily *Radyanska Ukraina* (November 27 — December 8, 1988), UPA numbered at its peak at 90,000 men. The supportive underground infrastructure consisted of over half a million men and women.

Since the 1960s at least a dozen underground organizations have been uncovered in Ukraine. The best known is one connected with the lawyers — Levko Lukyanenko and Ivan Kandyba. For their attempt to seek the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, based on the Ukrainian Soviet and All-Union Constitutions, they were sentenced in 1961 to death and life imprisonment respectively. Both spent 27 years in strict-regime concentration camps.

Since the end of 1976, fifty-four members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group have been arrested and given the longest prison terms. Four of them perished in confinement. For these and other complex reasons the national movement in Ukraine is developing cautiously but steadily.

Over the years, there has been considerable solidarity between the non-Russian political prisoners. On June 11 — 12, 1988, leading national rights activists from Armenia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine met in the Ukrainian city of Lviv to establish a Coordinating Committee of the Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR. They adopted a programmatic position that resembled the goals of the Popular Fronts of the Baltic republics — namely, „the complete political and economic decentralization of the USSR.“

On July 7, 1988, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which was founded in 1976, was reorganized into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) with the objective of establishing its branches throughout Ukraine and beyond. That aim has already been achieved. Horizontally and vertically, intensive work is in progress, but not without brutal harassment by the security forces. Mykola Muratow, head of the Ukrainian Press Agency in Moscow, published an open letter to M. Gorbachev on his visit to Great Britain, in which, among other things, he states: „There is not doubt that the basic contingent of future political prisoners will consist of activists of the national democratic and separatist groups and movements. The process of forming the „socialist legal state“ is entering an interesting phase: full administrative tyranny in relation to dissidents and activists of the religious movement. The methods of administrative terror which have replaced criminal persecution have taken on a force of their own which were not known previously. Illegal administrative detentions under false pretences, deportations to “the official place of one’s residence” and administrative arrests for up to 15 days“.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union publishes a chronicle of current events in Ukraine as well as an unofficial journal, the **The Ukrainian Herald**. Copies of both are promptly being delivered to Radio Liberty for immediate broadcasting of their content back to Ukraine. Accordingly, millions of people in Ukraine listen to RL and its valuable programs.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union issued a Declaration of Principles. Among other postulates, it asks for the „restoration of Ukrainian statehood, which today exists only on paper“. It also states that „the freedom of the individual cannot be reliably safeguarded in the absence of national freedom... the nation is the sole natural social environment in which an individual can fully develop his abilities. Finally, it condemns „the criminal policy of centralization pursued by the all-union government and the all-union ministers, which disregarded the interest of the population of Ukraine“. As a result of this policy, „the republic now faces the threat of ecological genocide (ecocide)“.

In November 1988, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF) was formed. In its manifesto it asserts that the Communist Party is incapable of solving the crisis situation facing Ukraine. The UCDF also demands the revival of Ukrainian national symbols. Recently, it declared itself in favour of outright independence and statehood.

In December of 1988, **Memorial** was founded, a public organization whose aim is to study Stalin’s crimes and repressions, and the famine in Ukraine in 1932-33. Experienced criminologists, writers, journalists and members of **Memorial** helped in establishing that in mass graves uncovered at Bykivnia, near Kyiv, were victims of Soviet crimes not Nazi crimes as claimed by communist authorities. It is possible that as many as 300,000 people could have been slaughtered and secretly buried here.

At Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University an unofficial Student Society **Hromada** was organized. The Society supports the development and defence of Ukrainian culture and the consciousness of the Ukrainian culture and the consciousness of the Ukrainian nation.

On April 26, more than 20,000 Ukrainians commemorated in the Dynamo Stadium in Kyiv the third anniversary of the world largest nuclear tragedy in Chornobyl. A blue and yellow flag of an independent Ukraine was raised. Because the Soviet central

authority in Moscow has withheld from the people vital information on the geography of radioactive isotopes and the dosimetric level of the same (because of genetic deformities and the rise of cancer in greater frequency have been observed, because the ministry of health has instructed the doctors to ascribe cancerous diseases to other causes than the Chornobyl tragedy) people consider these criminal acts as an attempt upon the life of the nation. Consequently, the enmity for Moscow and Russian imperialism is manifestly rising. This fact alone can be seen as the greatest catalyst in the explosion of defensive nationalism.

In Kyiv on the 11-12 of February 1989, a conference was held with the participation of about 700 delegates, which included prominent writers and government representatives. At this conference the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society was founded. This is an important event in the life of Ukrainian culture and in the re-awakening of national consciousness. According to the most recent information from Soviet Ukrainian officials, amendments to the Constitution are currently being drafted for the designation of the Ukrainian language as the state language of the republic.

Throughout 1988, leading members of the Writer's Union of Ukraine have sought to establish a Baltic-type Ukrainian popular front for reconstruction. Despite strong opposition from the Communist Party in Ukraine a draft program of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Reconstruction was published for discussion in **Literaturna Ukraina** (Literary Ukraine) on February 16, 1989. The Communist Party immediately launched a major campaign against the writers and the published Document charging that the proposed program is „a manifestation of political demands“, and an attempt to set up „an alternative political structure to the CPSU“.

Ukraine at this time is said to be a major battlefield between Communist authorities and organized people functioning in a myriad of formal and informal organizations. William Safire of the New York Times published on April 24, 1989, an article based on Western diplomatic and intelligence sources. In it he states: „From Kyiv in the East to Lviv... in the West, the 'RUK(H)' — a Ukrainian nationalist movement talking autonomy but thinking independence — is gathering strength“⁹.

Zbigniew Brzezinski published on February 26, 1989, in the **New York Times Magazine** an article „Will the Soviet Empire Self-Destruct“, in which he make the following observation: „Nationalism is increasing in predominantly Islamic Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan and also — most dangerously from Moscow's point of view — in the Slavic Ukraine, with its large population and rich natural resources, may come to pose the greatest threat to the very survival of the Soviet Union“¹⁰.

Byelorussian Activists Trying to Establish Popular Movement

The Byelorussians were one of the first to raise in the press the issue of the disastrous state of the native language in the republic. Under pressure from the public, intelligentsia, writers, informal and official groups, the authorities were forced to improve the condition of teaching the native language in kindergartens and preschool institutions.

One of the most prominent Byelorussian writers, B. Bykov, published in „Izvestia“ an article on October 8, 1988, „Language — The Soul of the People“, in which he condemned Moscow's „internationalistic“ policy as a „camouflaged chauvinism“. Soviet police used tear gas to break up a rally on October 30, 1988, staged by tens of thousands of people in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk to commemorate the victims

of Stalin's terror, including tens of thousands of massacred in the Kurapaty woods near Minsk.

Because of harassment by the police and Communist authorities, Byelorussian national and human rights activists convened recently in Lithuania to discuss the establishment of a popular movement in their republic.

As it has recently been revealed, tension and hostility to Moscow is rising because one-fifth of Byelorussian territory was contaminated by the fallout from Chernobyl and that a great deal of information about the nuclear disaster has been concealed or distorted.

Moldavia Demands the Return of the Latin Alphabet

In Moldavia, tens of thousands of students and members of the intelligentsia have demonstrated for the revival and the usage of the Moldavian language and to have it recognized as being identical with the Rumanian language. Moldavia demands the return of the Latin alphabet, rather than the Cyrillic script that was forced on the republic to distinguish the Soviet Moldavians from their neighbours. Ferment continues.

Moscow's *Izvestia* published on January 31, 1989, a major article on the political and cultural situation in Moldavia.

Conclusion

On January 28-29, 1989 representatives of national movements of Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia have convened in Vilnius to establish a „Charter of Freedom of the Enslaved Peoples of the USSR“ and to form a Committee, „which will unite its efforts towards the formation of nationally liberated and independent states“. The Charter says that „History has taught us that the existence of a multi-national empire is an anachronism and creates unbearable conditions for all the peoples inhabiting it... We represent the movement for peoples, who, for decades have struggled for national independence... We require political and moral support for our movement from all governments and social organizations“.

For almost seventy years, Great-Power Russian imperialism has been implementing a policy of national nihilism, a policy of „fusion of nations“, a policy of moulding a „new synthetic historical society“ which has never existed in history. It was considered to be a political crime against the state to talk of a nationality problem.

Over decades, communist propagandists have been making gigantic efforts and have spent billions of rubles to have younger generations brought up in the spirit of „Soviet patriotism“ and „eternal friendship with the great Russian people“.

„Perestroika is our last chance“, said a grim Gorbachev on January 8, 1988. „If we stop, it will be our death“¹¹. Gorbachev knows that the Soviet economy is in grave crisis and that the people can no longer be motivated by empty propaganda and exhortations.

Zbigniew Brzezinski maintains that the greatest weakness of **perestroika** — its Achilles' heel — is the problem of non-Russian nationalities within the Soviet Union. **Perestroika** depends on decentralizing the state-owned economy, and, as Gorbachev has realized, to accomplish that he has to decentralize the political system as well. This

means yielding power to previously subordinated nations within the Soviet empire. To be successful economically, **perestroika** must involve the restructuring of the Soviet Union into a „genuine confederation“, thereby ending Moscovite rule. Economic success can only be achieved at the cost of political stability. Political stability can only be sustained at the cost of economic failure.

Because of the nationalities question and the intensity of its dynamic manifestation, Brzezinski says that „It is thus quite possible that by the first decades of the twenty-first century the largest region in the world beset by intense nationalist conflicts will be the Soviet Union — a development that would represent the final victory of the appeal of nationalism over communism“¹².

Holding similar view of the seriousness of the national problem within the Soviet Union, Seweryn Bialer contends that „The national problem is the most difficult one to solve without a drastic alteration of the system. It is highly probable that ethnic issues will become in the future the single most important cause of sweeping change or even disintegration“¹³.

For decades intellectual dissidents and artists have been demanding more freedom of expression and the liberation of man from the shackles of communist oppression and repression. Economically, it meant legal freedom for each citizen to pursue his-her economic self-reliance and interest undue interference by the government.

Back in September 1986, Gorbachev realized that there can be no restructuring of the economy without the full and spontaneous participation of the masses — horizontally and vertically. Glasnost which was supposed to expose the corruption and efficiency of the system, and weed out opponents to **perestroika**, unintentionally and unexpectedly unleashed long-suppressed indignation and potentially explosive psychological energy, which gave rise to the establishment of diverse independent political, social, cultural and religious groups commonly called „informal groups“. A great many of these groups focus their energy on national objectives: preserving culture-spiritual and material. Richard Nixon states, „Virtually all the non-Russian nations consider the Soviet government to be ruled by the Russians and for Russians. They still remember that Russian minority now dominates key government and economic positions at the provincial level...“

Americans often forget how powerful and enduring the memories of historical injustices can be. They mistakenly believe that the non-Russian nations incorporated into the Soviet Union have assimilated themselves into Russian, just as immigrants do when they come to the United States. But fifty million Ukrainians, for example, have never forgotten that they are the largest nation in the world without a state“¹⁴.

Under the sole monopolistic „guiding force“ of the Communist Party there can never be full moral **glasnost** nor can there be genuine democracy. Gorbachev's democratization pertains only to the communists, their entrenched interest and privileges. Members of the Party constitute only 6.8% of the total population. **Glasnost** and democracy is understood strictly within the framework of the communist ideology and the Soviet Constitution. What is permitted by the Constitution, as far as **glasnost** and democratization are concerned, is prohibited by the Criminal Code and special decrees, as it came to light on June 29, 1988, and April 8, 1989. The whole Soviet system inherently rests on inconsistencies, inner contradiction, lies, cynicism, lawlessness and corruption. Without political opposition there can be no respect for the law nor can there be progress.

Glasnost is dwarfed by doctrinal limitation and monopoly of power by the Communist Party. The Party is particularly nervous about the rise of the independent associations, whose leaders are being harassed, beaten, arrested and jailed. The signs of imperial failure may be found in ideological, economic, political and military areas.

For almost half a century Moscow has been involved in so-called „wars of national liberation“. Now, the same phenomenon of national liberation has exploded with universal force within the Russian empire among the non-Russian nations. Communist leaders have themselves maintained that the just wars of national liberation will always end up victoriously. This is one of those rare instances when they are absolutely right. Decolonization is knocking on their own door.

Professor Richard Pipes makes the following recommendations to the new administration „The new administration must devise a long-term strategy for the decolonization of the inner Soviet empire - the Soviet ethnic republics. President Bush should begin by calling the Soviet Union what it is - the last colonial empire in the world. Then he should offer moral and other appropriate support to the anticolonial, national-liberation forces inside the Soviet Union. The backing the U.S. would receive from half of the Soviet population would far outweigh a predictably negative official Soviet reaction“¹⁵.

The people of non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union are American allies, allies of the free world. Each and every country within the empire fought Russian aggression at one time or another as the Afghans have been doing recently. As events evolve, there will be more communication and coordination of activities between the national movements of the people in question.

There is evidence that **glasnost** concerning the national question is being openly discussed in the press of the Baltic republics. With the exception of the Baltic states, however, the changes and accomplishment in the other non-Russian republics are lesser.

As a matter of fact, Moscow has banned the distribution of some of the Baltic publications, both in the respective languages of the Baltic countries as well as in Russian in an attempt to limit the discussion of the nationalities question to certain geographical areas.

Radio Liberty has been rendering a very important service to non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union by broadcasting over the years in their respectful national language valuable programs. However, there is always room for improvement. People from the USSR request even better programs — qualitatively and quantitatively. That is something that the American administration should explore. Even Gorbachev admitted at the UN that the revolution in mass communication has rendered ideological indoctrination and the strategy of isolation futile. The jamming of radio signals has stopped.

In his speech to the Central Committee on March 15, 1989, Gorbachev said that the Soviet economy is continuously deteriorating, and that there is a great shortage of practically everything. The shelves are empty, the waiting lines on the street before the stores are getting longer. There is no small farm machinery to be used in the agricultural sector by those farmers who leased land from state-owned collective farms. Admittedly, there is a great shortage of suitable farmers as the USSR has not recovered from the genocidal famine of the 30s which affected Ukraine in particular. The younger generation is leaving the rural areas for industry and the big cities. The

existing agricultural land is progressively becoming less fertile. The losses in grain are 30%, which equals about fifty million metric tons of grain. That is exactly the quantity of grain Moscow has to buy abroad for hard currency.

The Soviet GNP is only 1/3 of that of the U.S., and the military expenditure takes over 20% of their GNP. The Soviet budgetary deficit amounts to 11%. The international collapse of the price of oil caused a major setback to **perestroika**.

The Soviet-Russian empire rests on the premises of Marxist universalism and Great--Power Russian messianism and imperialism. By conquering and subduing many nations and nationalities and by sentencing their national cultures to destruction, a foundation of contempt and alienation, indignation and enmity was laid. There is no instance in history that an oppressor has ever been loved by his subordinates. Gorbachev's so-called „new thinking“ is based on the same imperialistic ideology, the same totalitarian perspective. The Soviet-Russian empire is coming apart because it has no common historical and philosophical heritage and no legitimization of authority.

The struggle for human and national rights of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR has placed the Communist regime on the defensive. The Soviet-Russian leaders have failed to find a new unifying ideology — a new patriotism to counteract the natural forces of nationalism and the universal aspiration for democracy. Today, the idea of communism as a motivating force is irreversibly dead. The vacuum created by the discredited communist ideology is being quickly filled by genuine patriotism and religious conviction.

Dr. Leon Aron of the Heritage Foundation states: „The liberation movements in the USSR are distinctly pro-Western and openly and unequivocally committed to the principles of democratic capitalism, private property, a multi-party political system, respect for human rights and liberties“¹⁶.

The Russian nation in its present imperial state is faced with an extraordinary psychological dilemma; it is confronted by virtually all non-Russian republics with their legitimate national aspirations for self-determination and statehood. This process is constantly increasing in potency and dynamism. The explosive nationalities question can be reduced in a nutshell to the alternative but national independence and sovereignty for the subjugated nations.

¹ Nikolai Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism*, The University of Michigan Press, 1960, p.7.

² Richard Nixon, *1999-Victory Without War*, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1988, p. 48.

³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Game Plan*, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1988, p. 21.

⁴ Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 206.

⁵ Seweryn Bialer, *The Soviet Paradox*, Alfred Knopf, 1986, p. 6.

⁶ C.G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, Vintage Books, NY, 1968, p. 328.

⁷ Milan Kundera, *On Laughter and Forgetting*, 1981.

⁸ *Pravda*, Moscow, February 19, 1988.

⁹ William Safire, *The New York Times*, April 24, 1989.

¹⁰ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Will the Soviet Empire Self-Destruct?*, *The New York Times Magazine*, February 26, 1989.

¹¹ *Izvestia*, Moscow, October 8, 1988.

¹² Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure*, Charles Scribner's Son, NY 1989, p. 246.

¹³ Seweryn Bialer, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁴ Richard Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹⁵ Richard Pipes, *Policy Review*, Winter, 1989, p. 17.

¹⁶ *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 26, 1989.

GLASNOST: IS IT ENOUGH?

Gorbachev's reforms from a nationalist perspective

A new wind is blowing from Moscow. Many hope that it is a harbinger of positive change towards greater freedom in the USSR. Others, hard-line "cold warriors", who have grown quite leery of even a slight breeze from the Kremlin, have consistently warned that the much publicized reform program of Mikhail Gorbachev is simply a smoke-screen designed to lull the Free World into a sense of complacency as a prelude to an all-out assault against the West. While those in the West have come to embrace Gorbachev as „the Man of the Year“ conveniently forget that he presides over what still is the largest imperialist system of subjugation and oppression in the modern historical era, the „cold warriors“, on the other hand, neglect to recognize that unprecedented, sweeping changes have already been effectuated in the Soviet-Russian empire.

Whatever case may be, the policy of reform, popularly known as *glasnost*, has serious implications for the revolutionary, national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the „satellite“ countries. To dismiss the Kremlin leader's utterances about his vision for the Soviet Union as propaganda, or as some sophisticated KGB-inspired chicanery, without providing some critical assessment of present Soviet policy and of the rationale behind it would be very dangerous for a liberation movement which embraces a revolutionary ideology.

It is becoming increasingly clear, particularly as Gorbachev's program begins to gain momentum in the Soviet Union, that many people from the subjugated nations welcome this new wind of change, some with a realistic scepticism, others with a euphoric and hopeful release of fear. It would seem that at the very least Gorbachev's reform program may, indeed, pull the rug from under the feet of those who claim that only a revolutionary overhaul of the USSR, its dismantling into national independent and sovereign states, can lead to genuine substantive change. This essay will attempt to provide a new perspective on the reform initiative from a nationalist vantage point, while also considering probable directions this reform will take, reasons why such unprecedented reform is even being considered, and, finally, the reform program's implications for the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations at this critical juncture.

The thesis

In order to place Gorbachev's reform initiative into a perspective that would be most meaningful for the various peoples subjugated in the USSR, it would be appropriate to remind ourselves of the ABN's axiom: **genuine liberty for a nation requires, as a precondition, the establishment of a sovereign and independent nation-state, which — in the case of the USSR — further requires a revolutionary overhaul, a complete dissolution of the Soviet-Russian system of subjugation. Any future re-structuring that falls short of national independence and statehood leaves the presently subjugated nations in a vulnerable position.** The question, therefore, becomes the following: are Gorbachev's



Group of representatives of the subjugated nations at the congressional reception

policy proposals, concrete reforms, and long-range vision, although heralding unprecedented changes in the Soviet system, commensurate with the general agenda of national-liberation of the non-Russian nations in the USSR? Can the program of economic restructuring (perestroika) and liberalization/democratization (glasnost) eventually lead to the establishment of sovereign and democratic nation-states of the non-Russian peoples subjugated in the USSR?

The thesis, which this essay will attempt to substantiate, is that *glasnost* is not only incompatible with the program of liberation nationalism, but that it poses the greatest threat to the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations since the inception of the Soviet Union. Essentially, the argument is that the program itself is designed to create the political and socio-economic conditions for a new, albeit democratic(ized) empire, in which the non-Russian peoples would still be denied their inalienable right of national independence while being allowed to enjoy minimal democratic liberties (human rights) which do not threaten the integrity of the empire.

Reasons to reform

Often a political system's longevity is predicated by its capacity for change, by its adaptability to evolving global (social, economic, and political) conditions. Although some scholars have argued that a repressive, totalitarian system cannot afford to even appear pliable, out of fear that such adaptability would be interpreted as a sign of weakness¹, at times a regime² may reach a critical juncture in its history when change become imperative.

Totalitarianism purposefully breeds fear, which is in itself an instrument of control wielded by the regime. Fear, however, is a prohibitive, or at best, a static political force,

designed to mobilize shell-shocked masses in a semi-militarized state, while in effect discouraging genuine political participation and activity. Mass mobilization cannot be equated with genuine political participation. The dilemma which arises for a totalitarian regime committed to industrial modernity is how to maintain vitality, necessary to keep pace with the development of objective global forces, while maintaining absolute control in what must remain a static socio-political system.

It seems that the key to maintaining continuity of dominance for a repressive regime is to be willing to institute reforms which are designed to re-structure the system, without altering the existing power quotient in any of its essential aspects. A proven method for taking the wind out of an escalating revolutionary situation is to begin implementing a reform program which even incorporates some of the demands of the less militant centers of dissent. Moreover, the pace and substance of a government-sponsored reform program is completely controlled and determined by the regime, which means that a regime, after having *loosened the noose, may at any time easily tighten it again if the reforms should backfire.*

Several considerations may affect the regime's decision to embark on a reform program. First, the indigenous revolutionary forces may be ominous enough to cause the regime to re-think its priorities with a view towards salvaging the system through an overhaul of its structure. A revolution's success ultimately depends on its ability to challenge the established normative value system, which infuses the socio-political order with meaningful purpose and projects a vision for the future. This value system not only can be changed in such a way so as to seemingly accommodate the dissenters, i.e. the non-revolutionary intelligentsia, while continuing to buttress the traditional power infra-structure, providing the regime with a claim to legitimacy. In a revolutionary situation, reforms are effectuated as a palliative device, designed to diffuse the intensity of the revolutionary processes by bifurcating the leadership of the underground movement, with its maximalist agenda for change, from the people. A reform program, effectuated in piecemeal fashion, can buy the time a regime needs to reconsolidate its power base.

Another consideration may be the regime's acknowledgment of the need to infuse a stagnant economy with much needed vitality by allowing for greater mass participation in new political structures which can be integrated into the established system without undermining its integrity. The regime's hope is that this increased volume and frequency of mass political participation will cascade down to the lethargic socio-economic system, giving the later a much needed shot in the arm. The people would be encouraged to participate with promises of more liberty, coupled with a projected future of progressive material gain, usually accompanied by veiled criticism of past policies. The regime's success in this regard is predicated on its ability to establish in no uncertain terms a clear break with the past, not only in style, but also in substance.

These two sets of concerns need not be mutually exclusive. Indeed, a revolutionary situation will not necessarily arise solely because the established political order is experiencing severe ossification of its lines of communication and disequilibrium between its projected value system and existing realities³. Economics plays a critical role. A simple axiom that Karl Marx understood only too well was that people with full stomachs will not be inclined to rebel. According to the theory of relative deprivation (also known as the „J-curve“ theory)⁴, poverty alone will rarely generate a revolution-



Marek Ruzczynski, representative of KPN delivering his speech

ary situation. The potential for revolution is considerable, however, in a society which has experienced steady economic growth followed by a sudden, unexpected, sharp reversal. Up to the time of the reversal, people's expectations are that the economy will continue rising, so that they are completely unprepared for the hardship that the regime asks them to endure in the successive period of austerity. Hypothetically, that same sense of relative deprivation may arise in a totalitarian, repressive society, which has been telling its people to endure hardships for several decades, while promising a rosy future just around the corner. A legacy of dashed hopes and empty promises is fertile ground for revolution.

The decision to effectuate change in the form of liberal reforms may be the result of conclusions drawn from both sets of concerns: a) the regime's cognizance of a revolutionary threat, and b) a stagnating economy⁵.

The Soviet model: uneven modernization

The status of the USSR as a global superpower has always been somewhat tainted by its inability to effectively compete with Western industrialized societies, like Great Britain or France which in military terms are miniscule in comparison to the Soviet-Russian military behemoth, but in terms of sheer economic and technological potential for growth completely outclass the Soviet model. Traditionally, industrial development in the Soviet Union was viewed as a correlate of military growth. The accepted criteria of a healthy industrial Western economy simply did not apply in the Soviet Union. Not only was heavy industry subsumed within the vast military complex, with its insatiable appetite for capital outlays, but the entire light consumer industry was viewed as an unfortunate appendage of the industrial/military complex;

a nagging appendage which, unfortunately in the eyes of the Kremlin, could not be served, since it kept the people fed, clothed, housed and, most importantly, running the factories which would propel the USSR to a position of global ascendancy.

Recent studies indicate that previous estimates of the Soviet Union's GNP growth rate over the last decade were too low. Researchers and economists now place the figure at around 3-4%, which is still a modest, but respectable, percentage. Nonetheless, it ought to be pointed out that the researchers had to rearrange the accepted criteria when gauging the performance of the Soviet economy, since it simply could not measure up to the multi-faceted economies of the Free World's industrialized societies. Upon closer examination of the total output of goods and services in the Soviet Union, what emerges is a markedly disproportionate hierarchy of capital allocation decidedly favoring the heavy industrial sector, to the detriment of the lighter industrial sector.

The result is that although the USSR's leadership was quite capable of projecting military power on an unprecedented scale and of continuing to compete with the USA (e.g., in space exploration), despite its technological inferiority, it cannot avoid importing grain from the West in order to feed its population and to fulfill its obligations to its Third World client-states. Thus, although the Soviet Union possesses many of the high-profile characteristics of a modernized society, it is beset by a vast array of social problems stemming from inherent weaknesses in its socio-economic infra-structure. Modernization in the USSR over the course of the last two decades has proceeded at a staggered, uneven pace. Since its development as an industrialized society has been so disproportionate for such an extended period of time, the once manageable gaps between the light and heavy industrial sectors have now become structural fissures which are beginning to jeopardize critical long-standing projects.

The „nationalities problem“

Further exacerbating the socio-economic problem is what many Sovietologists somewhat euphemistically label the „nationalities problem“⁶. At no time since the inception of the USSR have the various non-Russian peoples, who have been denied their inalienable national and human rights and liberties, been sufficiently quiescent to allow the Kremlin's power-brokers the luxury of dismantling the huge and draining apparatus of terror and repression. In fact, even though the view that the USSR is the historical heir of the Russian tsarist empire has fallen out of vogue in academic circles, the one constant in both tsarist and Soviet policy has been the treatment of the nations formerly colonized by the tsars and again subjugated by Lenin's disciples.

The post-Stalin power elites, unwilling and/or unable to implement their predecessor's genocidal policies towards the subjugated nations, have adopted what is basically a „carrot-and-stick“ approach: promises of more fruitful material benefits as a reward for loyalty and for willingness to „Sovietize“ (i.e., Russianize), coupled with harsh repression as punishment for any manifestation of divergent, potentially disintegrative national identity. Because of its prolonged economic difficulties, however, the carrot had to become leaner while the stick's shadow loomed larger. Ultimately, the Kremlin's „nationality experts“ periodically had to resort to blatant terror tactics, sentencing the more prominent cultural activists to inhumane terms of incarceration. Such tactics were, indeed effective in the short run, as they shocked the subjugated peoples into submission for some time; but they also exposed Soviet-

Russian „nationality policy“ for what it was: a surreptitious campaign to stamp out all vestiges of national consciousness in the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The policy itself was proven to be an abysmal failure, which only further accentuated the potentially revolutionary contradictions within the Soviet-Russian system of subjugation.

Glasnost and Perestroika: an attempt at modernization

The Stalinist period left a legacy in the Soviet Union that was not easily expunged. Stalinism left an indelible scar even on those who professed to be dismantling it, e.g. Khrushchev. Having learned how political priorities are dictated and effectuated under Stalin, the post-Stalin leadership did not possess the wherewithal to devise constructive means of change, which could have strengthened the system. Instead, under Brezhnev's reliable, consistent, but unimaginative stewardship, the system was allowed to languish in static stability, as the established elites, particularly with the able assistance of the KGB, had enough fire power at their disposal to effectively deal with any outward signs of dissent or opposition.

As the Soviet economy grew, albeit at a sluggish pace, the USSR was able to fulfill its ever-expanding foreign policy commitments and to keep pace with the USA in a financially attenuating arms race. Yet, the Soviet Union was still far from becoming a truly modern industrialized society. Moreover, the subjugated peoples of the USSR were becoming immune to pain quicker than the KGB was able to inflict it. Clearly, a more sophisticated type of campaign needed to be directed at the non-Russian peoples to bring them closer to „Sovietization“, i.e., de-nationalization, Russification.

As the post-Stalin establishment was plodding along, a new technocratic class was being reared in the ways of Soviet politics. This new breed was rather proud of its predecessors' achievements, but eager to take the USSR onto a higher echelon. Yet, it was asked to wait as the aging gerontocrats refused to yield their entrenched positions. The first signal that something was about to give came not when Gorbachev ascended to the Throne, but when Yuri Andropov, the former KGB chief, the architect of Hungary's „goulash communism“, and Gorbachev's mentor, took over the ideological portfolio following Mikhail Suslov's death. The position itself was critical not solely because the USSR, as a totalitarian state, must pay homage to its ideological base, but primarily because historically the holder of the portfolio was the clandestine king-maker in the Kremlin. Andropov used this position and his subsequent brief tenure as party chief to smooth the ruffled feathers of the old guard while forcefully paving the way for Gorbachev and the coming of the new, technocratic, essentially managerial, Soviet elite.

Now that this new elite, personified by Gorbachev, has a firm grip on the reigns of power in the USSR, its task is to begin modernizing Soviet society. According to the classical Western model, the process of industrialization, or modernization, proceeds in three separate phases, or „waves“. The first wave requires vast capital accumulation followed by rapid development of heavy industry. The second wave, sometimes referred to as the mass consumer revolution, is ushered in with a burgeoning of the industrial sector in all aspects, which nearly over-saturates the economy, and the subsequent creation of various branches of light and service industries to absorb the excess capital (mass consumption society). Finally, the third wave, in which the major industrial societies presently find themselves, is preceded by a technological revolution

in the means of mass communication and exchange of information, which allows for an increase in productivity and industrial efficiency.

Soviet economic planning until now has clearly ignored this Western model, opting instead to rely solely on heavy industrial development as the one single-piston locomotive which was to drag Soviet society into modernity. This one factor alone explains the lop-sided gaps in Soviet industrial and overall economic development over the last few decades. Apparently, the Gorbachevite technocrats are cognizant of the detrimental implications that such uneven, staggered modernization has for any industrial society in the twentieth century. It would seem that Gorbachev has made a conscious decision to revive the drive towards modernity by proceeding with all three “waves” *simultaneously*. This venture may prove to be risky, if only because, in strict accordance with the model, each phase should logically lead into the next in a systematic, almost dialectic, fashion. The alternative, however, is even more ominous, since continuing with the status quo will almost certainly lead to total systemic breakdown, and perhaps revolution. Dialectics had to take a back-seat to good, old-fashion, capitalist common sense in the state which at one time idolized Karl Marx.

The nuts-and-bolts of reform

Gorbachev’s reform initiative is basically a two-fold program: *glasnost*, or liberalization (a loose translation) of the totalitarian state towards greater civic liberty for the individual, and *perestroika*, or a re-structuring of the economic sector and the vast administrative apparatus that oversees it. The connection between the two aspects of the program is not altogether that apparent. A re-structuring of the economy of a country does not necessarily require an introduction of liberal reforms. Yet, it is probably no mere coincidence that the Soviet-Russian leader is pressing ahead on both fronts simultaneously. Upon closer scrutiny the inter-relationship between *glasnost* and *perestroika* will become clearer.

Essentially, the economic reforms are designed to create the conditions in which elementary „free market“ forces may rise and be nurtured. The program itself calls for the following changes: introduction of material incentives for workers to increase their productivity; the establishment of a new set of criteria by which a factory’s or a firm’s performance is to be evaluated and which will emphasize profits rather than plan fulfillment; releasing capital resources and making them available to low level managers at competitive interest rates, giving them greater power to make individual decisions; expanding the private agricultural plots for farmers. In short, although the USSR is not going to undergo an overnight metamorphosis into a capitalist state, the introduction of such free market forces will give the Soviet economy only a faint resemblance to the former, classical communist model.

Several obstacles must first be overcome in order for Gorbachev’s program to take root. The first, most formidable, hurdle which Gorbachev must clear is the far-reaching, well-entrenched Soviet administrative bureaucracy, which is in a position and possesses the capability and interest to sabotage the program before it gets off the ground. Historically, the Soviet bureaucracy, which includes the official state apparatus, the political party *apparatchiki*, and the vast network of middle and lower level factory managers, has conducted business in what may be termed a “corporate” fashion, i.e., in accordance with its own set of interests which did not necessarily

coincide with the interests of the Soviet-Russian empire. Gorbachev must obliterate any and all corporate interests deeply imbedded within the complex bureaucratic labyrinth, if he is to succeed. Needless to say, such a policy is sure to meet with intense opposition and may wreak havoc throughout the entire administrative network.

The neutralization of the bureaucracy is to be accomplished primarily by eliminating the middle level administrative organs in the bureaucratic hierarchy, resulting in a greater degree of autonomy for the lower level agencies. Moreover, the unlimited controlling power of the central organs, e.g. GOSPLAN, must be considerably restricted, particularly with regard to their daily operational activities which have a direct bearing on the lower-level agencies. Finally, horizontal links between the various bureaucratic bodies on the lowest levels of the hierarchy must be established, so that factory managers, for instance, can communicate directly with each other and place orders on specific supplies and materials. Such direct links will circumvent the power of control historically wielded by the central planning agencies, resulting in a marked improvement in the productive process. There is nothing complicated to these administrative reforms. In fact, an American corporate executive would probably have little difficulty recognizing the schema of these reforms in terms of sound, rational management.

Glasnost: an end in itself?

The policy of *glasnost*, which has received most of the notoriety in the West, is not as simple to place within our analytical framework. The question, simply put, is why introduce such potentially cataclysmic changes in the political order, when the primary goal is economic modernity? Although the theoretical base for capitalism was utilitarian liberalism, industrialization proceeded in Western Europe, the USA, and later in Japan by assembling a centralized, vertically organized, hierarchical system of organization and technological discipline.

There are several factors which need to be considered in this regard. First, Gorbachev and his cost-conscious technocrats have apparently conceded that one major reason for the Soviet economy's sluggishness over the years has been the complete lack of any individual incentives, material or otherwise, for the workers and farmers. This conclusion is most poignantly brought out in the agricultural sector, where the private plots, which comprise only about 1-2% of the total arable land in the Soviet Union, were producing about 20% of the USSR's total agricultural output. To mobilize disinterested masses behind yet another industrialization drive, which would undoubtedly require greater labor discipline, more austerity programs, and a higher degree of individual effort on the part of the "Soviet citizen", rhetorical promises of a rosier future would only further reinforce the people's deeply entrenched, and well founded, cynicism toward the regime. Instead, a show of sincerity and genuine good faith was needed and even critical to the future success of *perestroika* — the ultimate goal.

Glasnost is intended to be showcased as Gorbachev's high-profile show of sincerity. It is a high-powered, highly volatile and risky vehicle for mobilizing the masses, primarily the Russian people, behind the economic reform program. The hope is that by giving the people the opportunity to truly participate in the USSR's political processes, they will acquire a personal stake in the entire system, giving them each an

individual incentive, in addition to the material benefits, to become more active in the economic sector. The avenues of political participation will be expanded in incremental stages, perhaps as far as allowing opposition parties to emerge. The emergence of an opposition, however, does not mean that the primacy of the Communist Party and its grip on the epicenters of the power structure will be undermined. It should be noted that any officially sanctioned opposition activity will still remain under the watchful eye of the KGB and the CPSU. The very existence of an opposition, in fact, in such a scenario will depend on its ultimate benefactor: the established power elites, which the opposition, theoretically at least, will be called to oppose! **He who loosens the noose can at any moment decide to re-tighten it.**

If Gorbachev is to convince the masses to participate in the newly created political processes, he must first tear down the wall of cynicism which has grown as the many lies coming from the Kremlin have accumulated. The Soviet leader, however, has chosen the simplest weapon to fight against the destructive nihilist attitude of most every person living in the state which gave Orwell the inspiration he needed to create Big Brother. As incredulous as it may seem, that weapon is the truth! Amazingly enough, Gorbachev has managed, practically overnight, to make honesty an instrument of his personal power and a vehicle spurring change. By manifesting his desire to speak with unprecedented forthrightness, not only has Gorbachev orchestrated a clear break with the past, he also hopes to generate a moral rebirth which may revive the Soviet Union's socio-political processes of development.

A second, more personal consideration, in Gorbachev's individual interest, is his need to develop a viable base which would allow him to consolidate his own grip on the reigns of power and give him and his technocratic managers the historic opportunity to move the USSR onto a higher plane. It is difficult to establish what precisely constitutes the present Soviet-Russian leader's power base. The old criteria seemingly do not apply any longer. Gorbachev was vaulted into the seat of power by his mentor Andropov. His track record, in fact, as a Party Secretary responsible for agriculture was abysmal. Gorbachev presided over the worst years of agricultural output in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death, and yet he emerged unscathed. Clearly, Gorbachev's ascendancy was prearranged.

Upon assuming the stewardship of the Soviet-Russian empire following Chernenko's death, Gorbachev proceeded to alienate many of the power groups at or near the apex of the Soviet hierarchical pyramid, a policy which in any other circumstances would prove to be suicidal for a new Soviet leader. In the past each new personage who emerged as leader needed to forge a consensus between the various power blocks, each possessing their own vested interests. Such a consensus would later form that leader's power base. Although Gorbachev's ascendancy was probably orchestrated in a similar fashion, probably by Andropov, the present Soviet leader is seeking to broaden his power base beyond the walls of the Kremlin. His reforms will undoubtedly disrupt the system of privileges so jealously protected by Soviet officials on all levels. One can expect that the vast bureaucratic apparatus, which is Gorbachev's first target, is certainly going to pull out all stops to sabotage the First Secretary's reform program.

The army, which is one of the major interest groups in the Politburo has been considerably embarrassed by the debacle in Afghanistan and is certainly not going to be willing to support Gorbachev's reforms after he forced it into an exit that many military officers felt was too premature. Furthermore, Gorbachev's program calls for

the allocation of more capital outlays for the consumer industrial sector, meaning that the military/heavy industrial sector will have that much narrower a slice of the budgetary pie.

The KGB's position with regard to the reform initiative is somewhat more difficult to gauge. The KGB has often been a key partner in the formation of the various coalitions behind a new leader's ascendancy to power. Yet, at the special Politburo meeting called this spring prior to the recent extraordinary Party conference, the present KGB chief, Viktor Chebrikov, openly sided with Yegor Ligachev, who was targeted for attack after he allowed (and probably authored) a series of articles to appear in the Soviet press criticizing Gorbachev's reform program. Chebrikov's statements at this Politburo meeting, however, may not necessarily reflect the views of the majority of KGB agents working within and outside of the USSR, many of whom are themselves the products of Andropov's more sophisticated training schools.

One would think that the party as a whole would probably stand behind Gorbachev. A closer analysis, however, indicates otherwise. Historically, the Party has played the role of the mobilizing force in Soviet society, usually resorting to terror tactics, instead of persuasive arguments, to move people. Presently, this former mobilizing force itself has to be mobilized. The crisis in the Party is a microcosm of the society of which it has been called to be the vanguard. It is beset by stagnation, corruption, a feudal system of loyalty and nepotism, and by political ossification. People join the Party today not out of conviction, but out of personal interest. Although outwardly it appears that the crisis is essentially economic, or perhaps even social in character, the root of the problem is **moral**. The USSR is an enervated society incapable of generating belief in the value system which it espouses.

Gorbachev has yet to indicate what role he has envisioned for the Party, with the one exception being the clearly dominant and critical task that the Moscow p.p.o. (primary party organization) is to fulfill. The Moscow party apparatus, by far the largest in the Soviet Union, will function in a super-supervisory role, overseeing every aspect of the reform program on all its levels and in all its aspects. Although the power of the former central organs, the central planning agencies in particular, is to be severely restricted in the new schema, the special role reserved for the Moscow p.p.o. would seem to indicate that the reform does not call for complete decentralization, but, instead, it envisions a re-centralized bureaucratic administrative structure, albeit on a broader, more horizontal plane. (The much-publicized Yeltsin affair is a clear sign that Gorbachev has not fully consolidated his power base and is encountering strong opposition from within Party circles).

Moreover, although the Moscow p.p.o.'s function has been clearly defined, Party leaders elsewhere, in the periferies and the republics, are asking with increasing concern what role they are to play, beyond trying to woo the local intelligentsia to secure its support of the reform initiative. In fact, everything that Gorbachev has asked the Party apparatus to do has been tantamount to asking it to act contrary to its own interests. On the other hand, the handful of truly dedicated, ideologically motivated communists still remaining in the Party, although possessing no personal interests, cannot help but be confused, even repulsed, by the not so veiled capitalist elements in Gorbachev's reform program. With regard to the economic aspects of Gorbachev's program, the Party is not to be the primary vehicle of reform. That role is reserved for the government apparatus, which at one time was almost completely subservient to the

Party. It would seem that the only function the Party, the vanguard of the proletariat, is to fulfill is to stay out of the way!

The Party's dilemma is particularly poignant in the agricultural sphere, where the role of the Party has always been key. Gorbachev's vision calls for a partial, if not total, dismantling of the collective farm system. In its place a system of family brigades is to arise. These brigades are to enter into contractual relationships with the state (not the Party) regarding renting the land, the necessary tools and machines, livestock, or even with regard to gaining financial credits. This economic policy will destroy the power base of the local party cells, and yet the entire Party membership is being called on to support the reform program, to the detriment of its own formerly privileged position.

Gorbachev: the consummate populist.

If the traditional power groups are not Gorbachev's base of support, wherein does it lie? The answer is to be found in *glasnost* itself. Gorbachev's base of power is in that group which is to be enfranchised and most empowered by the reforms: the people, or more specifically, the Russian people, whose sense of national pride had not been aroused to such a high feverish pitch since the "Great Patriotic War". Gorbachev has managed to instill in the Russian people a sense of purpose, perhaps even a sense of mission. Watching the Soviet-Russian leader working a crowd of Leningrad workers on television evokes images of some of the most revered American populist leaders.

A reasonably accurate barometer of the Russian people's support is the attitude of the Russian intelligentsia, which has historically, since tsarist times, played the role of an unofficial opposition and from which the Russian people have, in varying degrees, taken their cue. Neutralizing the intelligentsia would not have been enough, however; Gorbachev needed to coopt its support in order to ensure the support of the Russian people. From the outset, that support was forthcoming, at times with unreserved enthusiasm, e.g. Andrey Sakharov. Even a hard-line anti-communist and **Russian imperialist**, like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, has most recently indicated that he welcomes some of the changes that Gorbachev has instituted.

With the Russian people's support, Gorbachev's position may very well be virtually unassailable. If for any reason the present Soviet-Russian leader should be deposed, the remaining leadership could be facing a revolution in the RSFSR, in Moscow itself, which the non-Russian nations are sure to take advantage of. The Russian people's full support for their present leader, however, may not be so extraordinary. For that matter, it is highly unlikely that the Soviet-Russian empire could have lasted for as long as it already has without at least the tacit support of the Russian people. The Communist Party itself constitutes only 1% of the total population of the USSR. To argue that the Party alone can subjugate so many millions is quite simply absurd. Simply put, the Russian nation was an agent of imperialist oppression, willingly or unwillingly, but consciously to some degree. Hence, Gorbachev's mobilization of support of the empire's base national group, the Russian oppressor nation, not only maintains historical continuity, but is also designed to preclude the empire's downfall. Perhaps the "old guard" and the less daring, conservative elements within the established power elites recognize in Gorbachev that same imperialist quality that is latent in every good Russian.

Implications for the liberation processes.

The analysis presented above can now shed more light on the degree to which Gorbachev's reform program is commensurate with the liberation aims of the subjugated nations. The original thesis, viz., that *glasnost* poses the most threatening prospects for liberation nationalism, can now be put to the final test.

A reform program, which will establish more liberty in sheer quantitative terms, e.g., freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, or any other arithmetic calculus of freedoms, can never be equated with national independence, statehood and sovereignty. Statehood is a value in itself; it cannot be quantified. Otherwise, statehood could be arithmetically expressed as a scientific formula of specific liberties, which is clearly absurd. Moreover, it is very dubious that individual liberty can be genuinely instituted without its prerequisite: national independence, sovereignty, and statehood. How can people enjoy true individual and civic liberty in a colony? Individual liberties are without substance when the nation as a whole is deprived of freedom. At one time John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau forcefully argued that individual liberty can only be viewed as an extension of a people's sovereignty.

In terms of national independence, the key issue involves authority, i.e., the legitimate, moral right to rule, as opposed to sheer power alone, i.e., the strength to impose rule. The nature of a reform program is to change only some, or perhaps even many aspects of the system and the authority structure, while maintaining the integrity of the established order. Revolutionary processes, on the other hand, are essentially characterized by the elevation of an alternative center of authority, based on a set of norms and values, diametrically opposed to the established order. In terms of liberation nationalism, the two polar centers of authority are completely incompatible, since one respects the authority of the subjugated nations, while the other represents the imperialist authority. Both are completely incompatible, in fact, mutually exclusive, since they base their claim on legitimacy on opposite value-systems. Revolutions have often been described a crisis of dual authority.

As a revolutionary situation develops, the society becomes increasingly polarized between those strata that fully support the underground revolutionary authority, with its maximalist program of total change, and those who continue to buttress the old order. As this polarization becomes more severe, the revolution's prospects become brighter. Inevitably, the illegitimate, established regime will recognize this and will seek to confuse issues, so as to render the choice between the two competing value-systems less clearly defined.

The primary, historically proven instrument by which an established regime can seek to attenuate such revolutionary societal polarization is by introducing piecemeal reforms in order to obscure the diametric polarity that serves the interests of the revolutionary movement. The reform program can act as a pacifying device, designed to relieve societal tension, or as a palliative instrument with the intention of coopting key people, particularly the intelligentsia, behind the regime, while confusing the rest with the new policy of apparent benevolence. In the later case, the reforms become an insidious threat of sorts, i.e., be satisfied with these new changes which will bring additional material benefits, or else risk losing everything. For example, a farmer who has worked on a collective farm all his life and has dreamed of owning his own land will

certainly harken to a revolutionary program that promises to destroy the collective farm system and extended the right of private property. If, however, the regime presents the farmer with the option of leaving the collective farm and working on land that he would initially be renting and which can later be bought outright from the state with credit financing, the farmer's support for the revolutionary movement may wane somewhat.

As uncertainty and confusion set in, the regime buys time to reconsolidate and perhaps reverse the increasingly revolutionary tension. The revolutionary movement, on the other hand, is cornered into a position where the only way it can counter-attack the reform initiative is on an abstract plane, e.g., warning the farmer that only in a national, sovereign and democratic, independent state, which in itself will be an extension of the sovereignty of the people, will the farmer's territory truly be his private property by (moral) right, whereas with the regime's reform program the land will be the farmer's only on a provisional basis as a gratuity from the regime and in accordance with colonial law. The farmer may hear the theory, but all he knows is that he has land to work on for himself now.

Whether the primary or partial purpose of Gorbachev's reform initiative is to create additional leverage for the established order, which he has been bequeathed, by introducing pacifying and/or palliative measures cannot be fully ascertained. Clearly, however, Gorbachev's intention is to make the Soviet Union, i.e., the Soviet-Russian prison of nations stronger. At the risk of oversimplifying the case, whatever strengthens the enemy consequently weakens the liberation movement. Reforms may, indeed, effectuate wholesale changes in the established system, but, nonetheless, the system itself must continue functioning according to its original design; to subjugate, and certainly not to liberate.

If, however, the reform initiative is designed to undermine the developing revolutionary processes in the USSR, the Gorbachev has, indeed, embarked on a risky course. A reform program is a double-edged sword. The system may already be irreversibly bankrupt to the point of structural disrepair. A revolutionary situation, in fact, not only develops as a result of the activity of the underground forces; it needs fertile breeding ground, viz. internal systemic contradictions that further fuel the growing revolutionary polarization. In a bankrupt system, in a society experiencing polar disequilibrium between the projected normative value-system and existing objective realities, the very moral fiber of that society may be completely eroded. People believe nothing, while corruption pervades every sphere of activity. In such a situation, not completely unlike the present circumstances in the USSR, the question of reform may be on the order of too little, too late. Reforms would only further accentuate the existing internal contradictions.

Gorbachev clearly is willing to take the gamble in the realization that the alternative, viz. continuing the policies and practices of his predecessors, will certainly lead to complete dissolution. The gamble, however, becomes less risky if the revolutionary underground hesitates to forcefully attack the program on all possible levels. As a matter of strategic principle, the underground movement cannot afford to even appear to be taking advantage of the reforms for its own purposes; purposes which must be inherently contrary to the reform program's agenda for change. For example, the temptation to participate in new, more open political processes will undoubtedly be great, and the underground may decide, as a tactical maneuver, to attempt to establish

an opposition party, espousing a set of non-threatening aims (e.g. freedom of the press). In such a scenario, the underground would fall right into Gorbachev's trap, since by participating in the new political processes it lends an element of legitimacy to the reform program, which the regime itself was incapable of generating, while the underground itself loses some of its validity in the eyes of the subjugated people. Confusion sets in, while order is reestablished.

The reform initiative must be viewed as a challenge. In effect, Gorbachev is telling the subjugated nations that he does not think that the non-Russian people truly care for national independence, particularly when offered the opportunity to improve one's material standard of living. Presently, it is up to the revolutionary movement of national liberation in the subjugated nations to make one thing eminently clear to their people: Gorbachev's political and economic reforms, although effectuating unprecedented changes in the Soviet-Russian system, can never lead to national independence, sovereignty, and statehood. Simply put, **glasnost is not enough**.

¹ Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973).

² The use of the term "regime" is being used here purposefully as an accurate depiction of the "Soviet government". Despite the terms obvious connotations, and in spite of the apparent incongruity of the term in an article discussing liberal reform in the USSR, the term is, nonetheless, appropriate, since if the Soviet government were not a regime, then the very question of reform would be moot.

³ Johnson, Chalmers, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston & Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1966).

⁴ Davies, James Chowning, (ed.), *When Men Revolt and Why* (New York, The Free Press, 1971) & Gurr, Ted Robert, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970).

⁵ Some may argue that international pressures, the pressure of an outraged world public, or of the diplomatic community may have a significant impact on a regime's decision to institute reforms. History, however, would seem to indicate otherwise. As long as such pressures have no real bearing on the way a regime conducts its business, and as long as it will not severely jeopardize a regime's long-term projects, in the field of foreign policy in particular, a repressive regime has little interest in embarking on a course which would take it through uncharted political waters. In fact, as a matter of principle, the Soviet Union has consistently insisted on strict adherence to the diplomatically accepted axiom of non-interference in the internal affairs of another state.

⁶ The label, in fact, betitles the struggle of the subjugated nations for national independence, while appearing to be academically objective. Problems are manageable. They can be dealt with in rational, pragmatic terms. A war of liberation, however, is more on the order of a crisis. For example, no reputable historian would refer to the rebellion of the South in 1861 as a "problem" for Lincoln. By labeling the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the USSR a "problem", scholars are discounting the viability of pressing for national independence for the non-Russian peoples.

"He who helps the subjugated nations in their strive for independant statehood, secures his own freedom".

Yaroslav Stetsko

Turkistan in the Period of Glasnost and Perestroika

Thank you for inviting me to participate in this ABN seminar. In the brief amount of time available I will attempt to give you an overview of the effects of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in Turkistan. Let me begin by describing where Turkistan is.

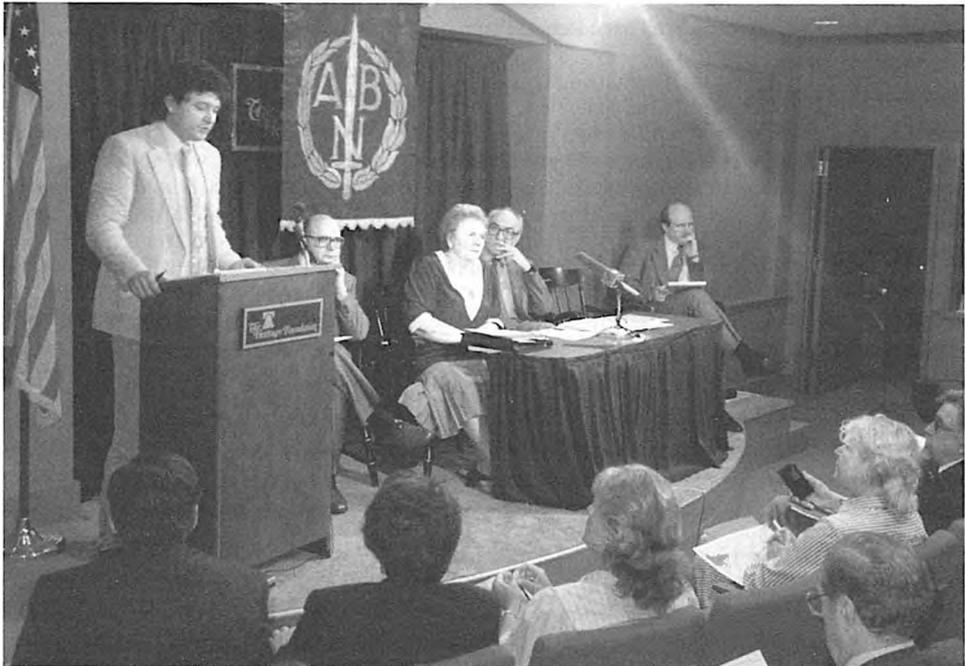
You won't find the name Turkistan on any modern map because its name has been erased. Turkistan means „land of the Turks“, and consists of three parts:

1) Western Turkistan, also known as „Russian Turkistan“ or „Soviet Central Asia“. This part of the country was conquered and colonized by Russia in the 19th century. In 1924 it was divided into five union republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

2) Eastern Turkistan, conquered by China in the 18th century and known since 1950 as the „Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region“.

3) Southern Turkestan, consisting of the northern provinces of Afghanistan.

Since the subject today is *glasnost* and *perestroika*, my remarks will be limited to the situation in Western Turkistan.



Eric Nasar, delivering his speech at the first panel in the Heritage Foundation

So-called „Russian Turkistan“ is not Russian. The native people speak Turkic and Iranian languages and they are Islamic in religion and culture. Turkistanis are heirs to a long and rich history that is uniquely their own. They have long resisted Russian domination and Russification. This tradition of resistance continues today under *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Turkistanis support and will continue to support *glasnost* and *perestroika*, but only as long as these policies lead them to their ultimate goal of freedom from exploitation and the independence of their country. They are not against the Russian people, but they want to end the Russian domination of their lives. They want the Russians and all other peoples to respect their right to self-determination.

Under *glasnost* there has been for the first time the recognition by some Russian intellectuals of the problems and rights of the Turkistani people. Here are some recent quotes by Vladimir Karpov, First Secretary of the Writers' Union of the USSR:

Uzbek writers today are demanding that the Uzbek language be given a leading role in the life of the people, and this is a just demand. I don't consider this to be nationalism. It is a natural desire that all people feel.

I lived in Uzbekistan before World War II. I have been in many countries but nowhere else have I seen a land so rich in fruits and vegetables, with so much sunshine and good soil. Now, in order to grow cotton, we have destroyed the gardens, orchards, and vineyards. We have demanded that the Uzbeks grow more and more cotton and have created an economic, social, and ecological catastrophe. We know that cotton is a strategically important cash crop, but for what is this cash capital being used? To improve the life of the people? No!

Although *glasnost* permits the open discussion of such vital issues in both the all-Union and native language presses, the colonial exploitation of Turkestan by Moscow and its local henchmen continues. 70 per cent of the best agricultural lands of Soviet Central Asia are under cotton cultivation. Of the cotton harvested, 94% is exported to Russia where the textile processing plants are located. Shirts made from this cotton in Moscow and Leningrad are marketed back to Central Asia and sold for 30 rubles each. Local critics say that a processing plant in Turkistan could produce the same shirt and sell it for 5 rubles.

Cotton monoculture has resulted in the intense exploitation of the working population of Turkistan. Cotton growing is very labor intensive, and local bureaucrats are constantly pushing the people to fulfill Moscow's production quotas. Twelve-hour days in the fields are common, and there is much reliance on the labor of women, children, and young students. In 1988, 270 women in Soviet Central Asia committed suicide by burning themselves to death. Although the official press said that they were driven to suicide due to abuse by their husbands, the real reason is that intolerable working conditions had not allowed these women to have normal family and community lives. Again, although much is being written now in the press about agricultural exploitation, these conditions have not changed.

Cotton monoculture has had a devastating impact on the natural environment in Turkistan. The draining off of precious river water to irrigate the cotton fields has been steadily drying up the Aral Sea, one of the largest inland bodies of water in the world. Chemical pesticides and fertilizers have poisoned drinking water wells in rural areas, leading to illnesses among pregnant women and a rise in the infant mortality rate. Ecology has thus become a major social and national issue.

Glasnost and *perestroika* have focused a great deal on the exposure of corruption. In Uzbekistan, corruption has become synonymous with the cotton monoculture economy. It was the control of cotton production that allowed Sharaf Rashidov, former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and his cronies to rake off billions in unearned profits for themselves. Uzbek and other Turkestanian writers have now gone beyond official Soviet characterization of corruption as „errors“ to assert that corruption is inherent to the state-controlled production system of the Soviet Union. The writers are openly saying that without radical changes in the socialist economic system, corruption will continue to flourish and that Moscow will continue to „have its hand in the pocket of the Central Asians“.

Glasnost has opened the door for the formation of several unofficial popular front groups in Western Turkestan. Chief among them is “Birlik”, meaning “Unity”, which is short for „The People’s Unity for Defense of Nature, Material Resources, and the Spiritual Wealth of the Uzbek SSR“. This group has held two significant demonstrations in the city of Tashkent recently, on March 17 and on April 9. On March 17 „Birlik“ held an illegal march in downtown Tashkent with some 12,000 people. The marchers demanded that the Uzbek language be declared the state language of the republic. For three days afterward, Soviet military units patrolled the city. The Tashkent municipal government then adopted a resolution banning all political demonstrations in the center of the city.

The April 9 demonstration was a legal one on the outskirts of Tashkent, with some 100,000 people participating. Speakers and demonstrators called again for Uzbek to be made the state language, and in addition they made the demand for the annual cotton quota for Uzbekistan to be reduced from the current 5.2 million to 4 million tons. Among the banners raised in the rally was one that said, „When Will Restructuring Take Place on the Central Committee?“

Similar demonstrations have been held in Tajikistan by an organization known as the „Friends of Perestroika“. There, calls for Tajik to be made the state language of their republic plus demands for economic reforms have been made.

In April, apparently due to the pressure of the popular front groups, the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the CP’s of Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, Nishanov and Makhkamov, jointly announced that the Uzbek and Tajik languages would be given the status of state languages in the near future. This was a turnabout of their previous positions, which had been the advocating of Russian-native language bilingualism. Draft laws concerning the two language’s state language status have since been published.

Throughout the five republics of Western Turkistan there has emerged a movement to learn the old Arabic script which was used in Central Asia for 1,300 years. The Arabic script, which had been a unifying element among the peoples of Turkistan, was replaced by the Soviets first with the Latin alphabet in 1929, and then with Cyrillic in 1940. Consistent with the colonial strategy of divide and rule, different versions of the Cyrillic alphabet were created for each regional dialect. The current popular effort, which involves the organizing of courses in universities and high schools to teach the Arabic script, demonstrates the people’s renewed interest in their common linguistic heritage and in gaining access to their own history. There are thousands of important historical documents that exist only in the Arabic script. Not only that, the history

currently taught in Soviet Central Asian schools focuses on the Soviet Union in general and virtually ignores the rich and unique history of Turkistan.

Glasnost has ushered in a big demand for the publishing of the works of patriotic Turkistanis who were executed or suppressed during the reactionary regime of Stalin. Despite the fact that there is this demand and that many of these writers have been rehabilitated, Soviet bureaucrats are still blocking the publication of those works which express the ideas of national self-determination and independence.

With regard to the recent round of elections for deputies to the Supreme Soviet, Turkistanis view the process with mistrust. They have noted and protested the underrepresentation of candidates of native nationality. Also, they see that as a result of the election, Gorbachev was able to consolidate the power of a new party elite that is supportive of him and not necessarily of increasing the popular representation of the Turkistani people.

In summary, we see that the people of Western Turkistan are taking advantage of the opportunities provided by *glasnost* and *perestroika* to assert their national identity, and to work toward their goal of democracy, self-determination, and independence.

Washington, D.C., May 23, 1989

PRESIDENT BUSH REQUESTED TO SUPPORT CHINESE STUDENTS

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which unites the subjugated nations in the USSR and its „satellites“ in their struggle against Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism and for the re-establishment of their independent, sovereign and democratic nation-states, fully and unequivocally supports the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people in their heroic struggle against the tyrannical communist system of oppression. We urge you Mr. President and the Government of the United States — the bastion of freedom in the world — to be steadfast in voicing your support of the courageous Chinese students, who have dared to take up the torch of freedom, following the footsteps of the Founding Fathers of your great nation over 200 years ago.

In voicing our support of your position and that of the US government, we would like to respectfully suggest that the United States be more forthcoming in mobilizing world public opinion in denouncing the brutal terror tactics employed by the communist Chinese regime in suppressing the manifest will of the Chinese people to liberty and democracy. We believe that appropriate forums in this regard are the United Nations, the European Parliament, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and others. Such unequivocal moral and political support of the Chinese students and the freedom-loving Chinese people may prove to be a decisive factor in the struggle against communist tyranny.

We appeal to you, Mr. President, not to repeat the mistakes of past US administrations, which chose to remain silent during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation, waged against both Nazi and Soviet-Russian imperialism during and after World War II, during the Hungarian uprising of 1956, and the „Prague Spring“ of 1968. US silence in those instances was tantamount to tacit approval of the brutal means of suppression used by Moscow to subdue these nascent liberation struggles, which had a devastating effect on those who took up the torch of freedom that shines

forth so brightly from the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. We fully trust that this flame will continue to offer inspiration and solace to the Chinese people and to all of the subjugated peoples of the world in their struggle for Truth and Justice, Freedom and Democracy, Individual Liberties and National Independence!

Respectfully yours,

Slava Stetsko
President

LITHUANIA WANTS OUT AND HAS THE COURAGE TO SAY SO

...Now, nearly 50 years after its kidnapping and Sovietization began, Lithuania retains the national feeling to want out and the courage to say so. In its rediscovery of its ethnic self it may be farther along than the other Baltic peoples and the Ukrainians, the Armenians and others in the Transcaucasus, and the Moslem peoples of Central Asia. But it is not untypical, and its latest example of outspokenness is likely to quicken the nationalist fever throughout the Soviet Union as a whole.

The Soviet Union is aptly described as the one European imperial power that colonized by land. It is the one that accumulated colonies of an equal or greater level of culture and development. The empire is not only external — in Eastern Europe, whose states are straining in their own ways to recover their national destinies — but internal: within the Soviet Union itself.

Autonomy, self-determination, sovereignty, independence: these ideas are political dynamite... A state that has ruled by suppressing its ethnic as well as individual parts cannot be spared the pain of coping with its own reality.

The larger fact is that ideologically, economically and politically, Soviet communism is disintegrating, becoming something else. On this profound and sensitive a matter, Mr. Gorbachev cannot be „helped“ by well-wishing or anxious outsiders. Nor should he be. To help him by, say, condoning renewed suppression of the Lithuanians if it comes to that ought to be regarded as unthinkable. But to incite the Lithuanians to bold actions when those doing the inciting are not in position to save them from the more dire possible consequences of their choices, carries its own moral dangers.

(„The State of Lithuania,“ *The Washington Post*,
February 20, 1989)

**HAVE YOU ORDERED AND PRE-PAID
YOUR ABN-CORRESPONDENCE?**

GORBACHEV ATTACKS LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE-SEEKERS

Denounces Patriots as „Extremists“ on Eve of Independence Day

Mikhail Gorbachev took advantage of a staged exchange of views to issue a blanket denunciation of those Lithuanians who demand independence for their country. The denunciation was pointedly delivered on February 14, on the eve of a festive celebration of Lithuania's Independence Day.

The opportunity for this attack was provided by Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Soviet Union's „working class“ — a group selected by the party bureaucracy (*Tiesa, Vilnius, Feb. 17, 1989*). The single voice from Lithuania, a foreman from a ship-building plant in Klaipeda, **K. Asmonas**, emphasized that Lithuania's „working class, the people favor **perestroika**, but are against those elements that demand almost Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union.“

„Those who demand Lithuania's secession from the USSR,“ Gorbachev replied, „are people who are guided by personal ambitions, career considerations, or are simply extremists. They are against Socialism in general... We should act calmly, but at the same time we must give a determined rebuke to them... Those who use slogans against our unity are acting selfishly and are not thinking about the people's fate. These are pernicious slogans, this is a dead end alley... Can we allow that some things would be determined in the interest of one nation alone, by harming the other nations of the USSR?...“

*ELTA Information Bulletin,
March 1989*

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN LITHUANIA DENOUNCE RUSSIAN CHAUVINISM

Rallies to protest the Independence Day celebrations were held in Vilnius, the capital in Lithuania, on February 12 and 13 by local Russians who make up about 10% of Lithuania's 3.7 million population. They attacked the Lithuanian patriotic movement Sajudis and called for the removal of the republic's Communist government for „nationalist tendencies“. However, a strike called for February 15 by the Russian chauvinist organization **Jedinstvo** did not materialize.

Representatives of other Lithuanian minorities expressed their support of the Lithuanian national and democratic aspirations at the festive session of the Sajudis parliament on February 15, in Kaunas. **Emanuelis Zingeris**, member of the Sajudis Council and chairman of the Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Society, read a Declaration of the „Lithuanian Interethnic Coordination Association,“ whose members protested the „demagoguery“ of **Jedinstvo**. They accused the Russian chauvinist organization of propagating great-power chauvinism, fomenting discord among various nationalities, ignoring the right of nations to national self-determination, and pretending to speak in the name of the ethnic communities in Lithuania. The representatives of those communities the Declaration said, support the introduction of Lithuanian as the state language.

The Declaration was signed by the Armenian Cultural Association; **Tkuma**, the Association for the Rebirth of the Jewish Self-consciousness; **Siebryna**, the Belorussian Society; The Group for Support of the Tatar Culture in Lithuania; The Latvian Club in Vilnius; Hul, the Society of Ukrainians in Lithuania; The Estonian Culture Association; The Mordvinian Society; The Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Association; The Lithuanian Karaim Cultural Group; The Group for Support of the German Culture.

SOVIET CRIMES AGAINST LITHUANIAN PEOPLE INVESTIGATED

Mecys Laurinkus, lecturer in social sciences at the Vilnius University 1981-87, is a member of the **Sajudis** (Lithuanian Restructuring Movement) Parliament Council. He heads the **Sajudis'** commission to investigate the crimes of Stalinism and is a member of the State Commission investigating the crimes of Stalinism in 1940-1941 and later. Early in 1988 he and his collaborators began collecting data about the Lithuanian deportees in 1941-1953. Following are excerpts from an interview with Laurinkus in the February 1, 1989 issue of **Gimtasis Krastas**.

150.000 Names of Deportees Collected... The people have become bolder. The chief mass of the victims of repressions — the country folk — have started moving. We (already) have 150 thousands names of deportees and the information keeps flowing. It is now obvious that the earlier (official) published figures — 120 thousand — were (deliberately) reduced. Now we are strong. The government has appointed its own commission to investigate deportations and crimes of Stalinism.

KGB and MVD Still Hiding Documents on Terror and Deportations. We must liberate the archives. The state security committee and the Ministry of the Interior still fail to agree in whose cellars the cases of the deportees are rotting away. Who can guarantee their safety? However, despite all obstruction, people have the right to know the entire truth. The magazine **Pergale** will publish "The Archives of the Expellees" — the memoirs of the victims of repression. We plan to publish a book containing the lists of expellees and the available documents, indicating on whose orders and by whom people were deported...

Post-WWII Anti-Soviet Guerilla Struggle — "Resistance Against Genocide." On the basis of the documents and testimonies we have collected, what can I say about the (anti-soviet guerilla) war in the postwar period? First of all, this was a resistance to genocide. There was cruelty on both sides. But where can a man hide when his family is being terrorized? Why should the older generation be deprived of the right to defend Lithuania's independence that they have won with their own hands?

Anti-Soviet Resistance Provoked to Justify Repression? We are finding out many facts which make us believe that (Lithuanian anti-soviet) resistance was being provoked. Perhaps that was being done, in order to justify the repressions?

Lithuania and Afghanistan — "Liberators" and Terror. Don't you think that today we tend to simplify the events of 1940-1953? Genocide is always simple. The "Liberators" who came to Lithuania had graduated from a school of terror in Russia. The occupying powers are acting the same way everywhere. The events in Afghanistan attest to that.

Elta Information Bulletin



OBITUARY



It is with great sorrow that we inform our readers that on 13th March 1989, John Kosiak, President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America, member of the Presidium of the Byelorussian Liberation Front, member of the editorial board of the *Byelorussian Thought* and for many years Byelorussian representative in the Central Committee of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the USA, passed away in Chicago, Illinois.

Mr John Kosiak was a great Byelorussian patriot, an anticommunist fighter and for many years member of the Byelorussian Central Council. He addressed audiences at many conferences, in particular those organised by American Friends of ABN. He also took part in conferences in different parts of the world organised by the World Anti-Communist League. Always dedicated to the cause of liberation of the subjugated nations, in particular to his native Byelorussia. The Byelorussian liberation front and ABN lost, with his death, one of their great activists.

The funeral took place at the Byelorussian Cemetary at South River, New Jersey on 18th March 1989.



Fragment of Georgian demonstration in front of the UN protesting the brutal suppression of peaceful Georgian demonstrations in Tbilisi

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FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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STRIKES UNDERMINING THE EMPIRE

About 150,000 Siberian miners have been on strike since July 11th and have not stopped at a list of economic grievances. They have called for an end of Communist Party primacy as well. The special commission called in to deal with the strikers' demands agreed to improve food, housing and working conditions. Thus Gorbachev acceded to many of the Kuzbass economic demands, but not to the giving up of Communist Party primacy.

The strike quickly spread to Vorkuta in the Pechora Coal Basin, to the Don river city of Rostov and to the Ukrainian industrial centre of Dnipropetrovsk in the Donetsk Basin. More than 300,000 miners were on strike on July 21st in the Donbass (the largest coalfield in the Soviet Union). On July 20th the workers in Chervonohrad, Lviv oblast, joined the strike. In addition to social and economic demands the Chervonohrad miners made the following political demands:

1. Pre-term elections to the city councils.
2. The dismissal from office of the first secretary of the city party committee Mariyenko, the secretary of the district electoral commission Mamontova, the head of the city council Harlamov, the chief of police Poliaov, the deputy chief of police Horuk, the head of the KGB Zaderel, the city procurator Olenchyn, the editor of the newspaper *Shakhtar Chervonohrada* (Chervonohrad Miner) Dubyna, and judges Tarnavska, Matsey and Posisen for the violation of law governing elections in Chervonohrad electoral district No. 492 during the last elections to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.
3. The establishment of an independent trade union under the name "Solidarity".
4. On July 21st, the strike had spread to all 12 of the city's coal-mines and the striking miners added a fourth demand to their initial three political demands — "Away with Shcherbyskyj!".

On July 20th the Soviet television programme "Vremya" reported that nearly 100 of the region's 120 coal-mines have joined the strike and that meetings attended by thousands of people are being held in a number of mining towns. According to a member of the strike committee in Donetsk the miners are now discussing the formation of an independent miners' organisation which would unite all the mines in Ukraine and protect the interests of the mineworkers.

Transport workers in Selidov and several other areas have made attempts to support the miners, but these have been stopped. There are also unconfirmed reports that strikes are being planned in Kharkiv.

Representatives of the unofficial groups in Donetsk have held talks with the strike committee urging the miners to demand an amendment to the mining statutes against which the miners are presently defenceless.

Miners from the local coal-mines as well as representatives from Ternivka have gathered in Pavlhrad's central square. They have put forward 42 demands. These are principally social and economic, but include some political demands:

1. all power is to be handed over to the councils;
2. independent trade unions are to be set up;
3. party officials are to be deprived of their privileges;
4. self-financing for individual mines.

On the first day of the strike, contact with the “Pavlohradvuhillia” mines was broken. The angry miners demanded the dismissal of those responsible.

On July 20th, more than 16,000 miners in the central Asian Karaganda region (third largest coalfield in the USSR) refused to go down into the pits.

In the 1970's two leading Ukrainian workers from the Donbass region — Oleksa Nykytyn and Wolodymyr Klebaniv formed the first independent trade union since the late 1920's. While in Moscow, losing faith in the authorities Nykytyn entered the Norwegian Embassy on April 15th 1971 with an appeal to the United Nations and the World Federation of Labour. Nykytyn was arrested because of this and put into a psychiatric hospital until his death in 1984. Afterwards Wolodymyr Klebaniv formed the Association of Free Workers in February 1978. He was also put into a psychiatric hospital and his group was forcibly broken. But he survived and returned to the Donbass mines to form another miners' organisation which is involved in the current strike.

During all the strikes in Siberia and in Ukraine the official trade union organisation has sided with the regime. The bloody put-down of the strike in Novycherkask in 1962 can hardly be repeated today.

The reaction of workers to Moscow's policy of exploitation which brought the population to such unbearable conditions may have unforeseen results. William Safire says that whether the strikers are subdued peacefully or violently they will speed up the coming internal confrontation. The miners' strike could be solidarity in embryo — the restless Ukraine is the testing ground. (New York Times, July 21st 1989).

There is hardly anyone left who believes that the Soviet Union is a paradise for the working class. It is high time that the trade unions throughout the world came to the aid of the workers inside the Communist Russian empire by exerting strong pressure on Moscow to accept the legitimate demands of the workers — the creation of independent trade unions which will be able to defend the workers' rights.

INDEPENDENCE FOR GEORGIA

Under this banner more than 20,000 Georgians once again started their demonstrations on July 25th in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi. The demonstrators gathered outside the Academy of Science. The protesters came at the end of a day of mourning for the victims of clashes between Georgians and Abkhazians in which 21 persons have been killed.

Demonstrators along Rustaveli Prospect carried posters bearing slogans such as “Down with the rotten Russian Empire”. The others demanded “Invaders go home” and “Freedom for Georgia”. Protesters dressed in black carried the national Georgian flag — the deep red, black and white. Some hundred participants also remained through the night and their interviews to the press expressed the Georgians' urge for the “Independence for Georgia” and asserted “to stay there until Moscow satisfies our demands”.

During the time of the clashes the factories remained closed in Sukhumi and the beaches were empty.

The Russian policy of arbitrary translocation of the population caused these difficulties in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other national republics. The drawing of frontiers without any consent of the nations inhabiting different republics is now bringing disastrous results. It is in the interest of all the subjugated nations to find the harmonious outcome to the benefit of subjugated nations inspite of Moscow's *divide et impera* policy.

YAROSLAV STETSKO

19.I.1912 — 5.VII.1986

July 5 marked the third anniversary of the death of Yaroslav Stetsko, Premier of the Ukrainian Independent State proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941.

Before this historic date, Stetsko was active in the Ukrainian underground, the Ukrainian Military Organization, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, of which he later became chairman.

Because he refused to bow to Hitler's demand to revoke the 1941 proclamation, he was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

After the war, in 1946, he was chosen as chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

It became a basis for Stetsko's fight — not only for Ukraine, but for all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

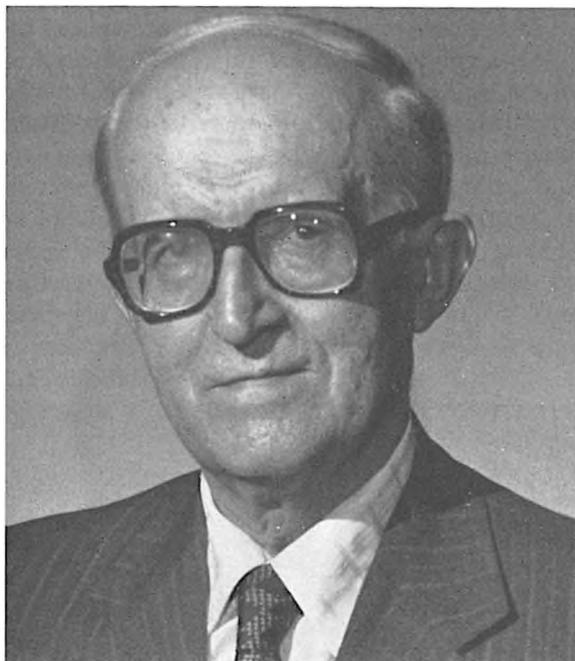
He travelled the world, meeting with leaders, promoting the ideals of freedom and liberty. He often endured slander and defamation, as well as several assassination attempts, because of his ideals.

However, this did not discourage him — it only made Stetsko more determined to pursue what he believed was right and true — Freedom for individuals, Freedom for nations.

His memory and goals remain alive today in the hearts of many.

QUOTATIONS FROM YAROSLAV STETSKO'S WRITINGS

National liberation struggles are being fought continuously. The intimidating and agitating uprising and strikes of Ukrainian and other national prisoners throughout the 1950's, the 1953 Berlin workers' uprising, the Poznan rising in Poland, the Hungarian revolution in 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Ukrainian renaissance in the 1960's and 1970's, the liberation war of the Afghan people against brutal Russian aggression and the recent developments in Poland demonstrate the fact that these subjugated nations yearn to break away from Moscow's colonial bondage. Yet the barbarous and cruel methods used to crush these individual uprisings also indicate that the Soviet Russian empire can be toppled only through the united efforts of a common front of subjugated nations. This liberation strategy based on the concept of a common



front of the Free World and the subjugated nations against both totalitarianisms — the Nazi German and Bolshevik Russian — was proposed as early as 1943 at a conference of subjugated nations in the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine.

“The Lessons of History”, May-August 1985

By fostering and strengthening by means of the available communications, technologies the infrastructures of the subjugated nations and by counterposing our system and philosophy of life to the Bolshevik system, such a psycho-strategic offensive can systematically undermine the Soviet Russian system of occupation. In other words, if the West wishes to prevent a nuclear war, the focus of Western policy would cease its economic and other types of relations with the Soviet Union, if it would stop supplying it with grain, technology, credits, and so on, Moscow would be forced to allow, albeit reluctantly, the revival of socio-economic institutions, such as, for example, the private ownership of land (to increase agricultural production). This, in turn, would strengthen the indigenous infrastructures of the captive nations further undermining the colonial system of Soviet Russia in very real terms.

“The Problems Facing Us”, November-December 1985



On the third anniversary at the grave of Yaroslav Stetsko, Munich, Federal Republic of Germany.

KHMARA TO SECRETARY BAKER: “A WAVE OF REPRESSION HAS BEEN UNLEASHED AGAINST UKRAINE”

In a letter to US Secretary of State James Baker, Stepan Khmara, a leading member of the current national revival in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), said that a wave of repression has been unleashed against Ukraine by the central Moscow leadership. According to Khmara's letter, a text of which was received by the Ukrainian Central Information Service, the Kremlin is unwilling “to allow essential changes in the empire, democratization and decolonization”. The full text of the letter follows:

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Your visit to the USSR comes at a critical time for us — the unleashing of a new wave of repression. Ukraine has become caught in a peculiar situation. Unwilling to allow essential changes in the empire, democratization and decolonization, the central Moscow leadership, maintaining age-old imperial positions, is doing everything possible to strangle the national-democratic movement in Ukraine.

With this in mind, the Gorbachev leadership is protecting Shcherbytskyi's untouchable reactionary party apparatus in Ukraine, which is continually conducting an anti-national policy.

In the course of the so-called perestroika years, the situation in Ukraine has worsened; colonial looting has risen by means of increased quotas to the central fund. Moscow's economic policies in Ukraine are designed to exhaustively exploit our natural and human resources. This kind of policy has resulted in an ecological catastrophe, which threatens the survival of the Ukrainian nation. A danger greater than Stalin's famine of 1933 looms over our land and our people. In order to avoid the final catastrophe, leading representatives of our nation have undertaken active civic work.

On the eve of your visit, the officials began a total offensive against the democratic and rights-advocacy movement in Ukraine. From threats to persecution of separate individuals, the repressive agencies resorted to widespread, coordinated persecutions. The suppressive edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, issued on April 8, 1989, which contradicts international laws and the Helsinki process, has already been incorporated into the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and, on the basis of which, the ominous Article 62 of the Code has been expanded with the addition of Article 62-1.

A wave of administrative arrests, punishments and summonses of civic activists has passed over Ukraine with the intention of black mailing and intimidating them with draconic quasi-legalistic decrees. The persecution of Ukrainian Catholics has also intensified.

The authorities have set a new precedent. On May 5, 1989 I was fined 1,000 roubles for participating in an officially-sanctioned meeting in Lviv on April 26, 1989, and placed under administrative supervision of the militia, which prohibits me from travelling beyond Chervonohrad, as well as appearing in certain parts of the city. If I violate this supervision, I can be imprisoned. This shameful and arbitrary act was committed against me in order to exclude me from active participation in civic affairs,

particularly in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, of whose leadership I am a member. These actions should be recognized as attempts to decapitate and progressively choke the most influential rights-advocacy organization in Ukraine — the UHU.

Honourable Mr. Secretary,

Your great and democratic state remains today as the primary guarantor of freedom and democracy on our planet. To a great extent, the fate of the subjugated nations of the USSR depends on the policies of the US. Consequently, peace and democracy on Earth will depend on whether the USSR develops into a democracy or remains a totalitarian empire.

In the meantime, the rulers of the USSR have not rejected the philosophy of evil, but continue to adhere, in their practices, to the principles of evil. These conditions, as well as the reexamination of US policy towards the Kremlin leadership, particularly in the area of trade (the granting of most-favoured nation status, wide access to scholarly and technological advances of the US, extension of credits, etc.), would have a destructive impact on the democratic movement in the USSR, and would simultaneously result in a death sentence against the current generation of freedom fighters in the USSR.

The negative ramifications of the unreasonable policies of the West European countries are tangibly bearing down on us. Only through the complete and unreserved implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the decrees on political and civil rights of the executive of the USSR and the agreement of the Soviet legislature with the aforementioned documents can one consolidate one's posture vis-à-vis the leadership of the USSR. It would be premature to remove the label of "evil empire" from the USSR.

Honourable Mr. Secretary, I would like to request that my thoughts be brought to the attention of the government and Congress of the United States of America.

Respectfully,

Stepan Khmara
Chervonohrad, Ukraine
May 11, 1989

TADEUSZ KONDRUSIEWICZ NEW BISHOP FOR BYELORUSSIAN CATHOLICS

Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, 43, was appointed by Rome as the new bishop of the Byelorussian capital of Minsk. Thus, two million Roman Catholics in Byelorussia have received their spiritual leader. His title will be apostolic administrator, which is roughly equivalent to chargé d'affaires.

The last apostolic administrator in Byelorussia, Boleslaw Sloskans, was assigned by the Vatican in 1926, but was imprisoned the following year later expelled from the Soviet Union. He died in exile in Belgium eight years ago.

CANADA AND CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION

Extracts from the speech by the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Baltic Federation in Canada, Ottawa, June 21, 1989.

We have been accustomed to thinking of Canada's multiculturalism exclusively in Canadian domestic terms — the variety it offers; the challenge of drawing the best qualities from different cultures; the tolerance it can teach us here at home. But there is an international dimension to Canada's multicultural character. It provides us direct access to the multitude of countries and societies from which Canadians come. Usually, that helps us understand those countries better, and we can apply that understanding in the exercise of Canada's historic international role as a moderating nation, and a leader in the practical pursuit of human rights. But it can also, in critical times, give us an influence that is not available to countries which lack our links of family and culture and language.

Sometimes those links can create problems, as, for example, when foreign disputes are imported into Canada. But more often, they create opportunities, and we should act on them. Take the case of the Baltic communities in Canada. There once was some fear that the presence in Canada of citizens with origins in Central and Eastern Europe would limit our ability to encourage glasnost or perestroika. The opposite is the case. Your communities can help Canada encourage those changes. Thousands of Canadian citizens speak Estonian, Latvian, Polish, Hungarian, Serbo-Croat, Slovak or Czech. They give Canada direct and personal connections with the activists of Solidarity, the nationalities of the Baltic States, or the faithful seeking to practise the principles of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, or of Judaism in the Soviet Union.

Those are not obstacles to Canadian foreign policy. They are considerable assets, if we have the imagination to make the most of them.

[...]

That is why I come to you this evening — not just out of courtesy to a significant Canadian community, nor simply to celebrate your culture and your history. I am here to ask your help in Canada's contribution to positive and permanent changes in the Soviet Union, and in Eastern and Central Europe.

[...]

This is a time of profound change in the lands from which many of you and your families came. Like all change, it can be difficult and controversial, and will require both imagination and compromise. We are not spectators in these events. We are part of them — as a nation whose citizens share languages and heritages with Europe; as a country prepared to exercise our influence internationally; as a society whose economic system and political traditions offer encouragement as examples to those seeking changes in Europe.

As we assess these changes, some of you will counsel caution, and we will want to weigh your advice carefully. Others will see opportunities that do not leap to the eyes of our officials.

[...]

The leaders of the Popular Fronts in the Baltics have demonstrated wisdom in a volatile situation, seeking a peaceful transition to independence. We hope their efforts will be crowned with success, so that Soviet authorities will gradually accept that their

best interests are served by granting maximum freedoms to the people of the Baltic States. They have to be encouraged to understand this.

[...]

We welcome the release of political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Religious tolerance is increasing and should be enshrined in the new law on religious practice which the Supreme Soviet is expected to pass this year. The effects of this law will be keenly felt in the Baltic States and will be of key interest to us in terms of its impact on the Ukrainian Uniate Church. We will continue to urge the maximum freedom of religion for all.

[...]

No one can fail to appreciate the difficulties facing the Soviet Union. The challenge of reforming the economy, the tragedies of Armenia and the train disaster in the Urals, the legacy of Chornobyl, and the ethnic violence of Armenia-Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Georgia. There is a rising tide of demands for greater recognition of the rights of nationalities. These come from around the Soviet Union, from Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia, but most significantly in the Baltic States.

Perhaps the most remarkable development in a unique year in the history of the Soviet Union has been the flowering of the popular movements of the three Baltic States and the acceptance of large parts of their agenda by the local Supreme Soviets. The election of popular front representatives to the Congress of People's Deputies gives them a national forum for the pursuit of their objectives. Live television coverage of the entire session of the Congress showed Baltic representatives demanding a renunciation of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and independence for the Baltic States. This must have been an eye-opener for most of the country which would have been made aware of Baltic concerns for the first time. The agreement to set up a commission of the Congress to look into the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was an admission, at last, that the issue must be addressed.

In the meantime, the Baltic States insist on their independence, refusing to recognize Soviet all-union laws unless they have been approved in their own Supreme Soviets. They have made their languages the official languages of the Baltic States. The Baltic Assembly of Popular Movements which met in Tallinn last month will contribute to the sense of joint purpose of the three Baltic States.

[...]

The aspirations of the Baltic peoples will not be met all at once. But there has been real progress. This Government applauds the efforts of the Baltic peoples to assume responsibility of their own destinies. Glasnost and perestroika provide a context in which a new reality is unfolding, from which we hope there will be no turning back.

Canada continues to refuse to recognize de jure the forced incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. We give substance to that position in a number of important ways:

— First, federal government Ministers and Ambassadors do not travel to the Baltic Republics.

— Second, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania remain acceptable designations as places of origin on Canadian passport and immigration documents, and

— Third, as a result of a policy I initiated last year, a disclaimer now appears on all federally-produced maps of the Baltic region reiterating our policy of no de jure recognition of the Soviet annexation.

Our position of principle on this matter will not change. The legitimate aspirations of the Baltic peoples must be met. The basis on which the Soviet Union incorporated the Baltic States was illegal and immoral. The situation must be put right.

There is now a new reality in the Baltic States and together we must determine our response to it. Canada continues to recognize *de facto* Soviet control over the Baltic States. To recognize it is not to accept its legitimacy. It is the reality. But we have a choice. We can turn our backs on the Baltic region altogether, thereby denying courageous people the encouragement and contact we can offer. Or we can maintain our *de jure* position and work within the realm of the possible to improve the life of the people there, many of whom are family to you here tonight.

[...]

Apart from the key issues of independence and economic autonomy the Baltic States face three basic problems: the need for economic modernization and development; the threat from environmental pollution; and the need to preserve their national identities. Canada can help with some, perhaps all, of these issues.

[...]

Canada has played a constructive role in creating the atmosphere of reduced East-West tensions which in turn has contributed to greater freedoms in the USSR, in the Baltic States, and in East Europe. Whether on arms control issues, confidence building, Alliance building, or in the CSCE process, the voice of Canada carries weight and conviction. We have a reputation for telling frankly those countries in the Warsaw Pact whose human rights record is wanting, that they cannot be fully accepted as reliable members of the international community until they live up to their commitments.

But we now face a new situation. Some Warsaw Pact countries are beginning to make such substantial changes that we are obliged to rethink our relationship with them. We do not forget the human rights concerns which remain to be satisfied; we do not forget the aspirations of nationalities such as those you represent. But we must seek new ways to strengthen the processes already under way. We must encourage the Soviet Union and its neighbors to realize that their best interests are served by living within a family of nations, where people are ruled by governments of their own choosing, associated freely according to their own identified national interests.

“YOU ADMIRE GORBACHEV TOO MUCH” CARDINAL SLADKEVICIUS TELLS WEST

“...It is your great mistake, the fascination with stars, stars, stars, stars. When someone becomes a star, he can blind people. We must be cautious. Stalin was also applauded (in the West). You admire Gorbachev too much. Nobody should be admired like that. Only God.”

“We see...very real changes... I rejoice at these changes, but I am afraid they may not last long. As long as you have a one-party government, there is a danger of dictatorship. Stalinism is dormant, but it is not dead.”

Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius,
as quoted by Michael Dobbs,
Washington Post, February 4, 1989.

SUBJUGATED NATIONS PRESS FOR SUIT AGAINST MOSCOW IN INTERNATIONAL COURT

Representatives of the subjugated nations at a meeting in Tallinn, Estonia, demanded that a case be opened in the International Court against the Kremlin "for its criminal treatment of small nations."

"We, the participants of the Tallinn conference appeal to the heads of states which took part in the Helsinki Conference to demand the opening of a case in the International Court in the Hague against the Kremlin for its criminal treatment of small nations," they said.

The meeting, held on April 30 and May 1, was attended by 100 representatives of national-democratic movements from Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan as well as Jewish and Crimean Tatar activists. The Ukrainian delegation included members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front, the editorial board of the unofficial journal "Ukrayinskyi Chas" (Ukrainian Time) and Ivan Makar, who represented an independent judicial committee from Lviv.

At the start of the meeting the national flags of all the republics represented at the meeting were raised in front of the conference building. The meeting was officially sanctioned by the local authorities, who regarded it as a gathering of former political prisoners.

Several documents were adopted during the meeting, one of which we are excerpting below:

Having studied materials concerning Georgia, the Tallinn conference on international problems has come to the conclusion that it was not a clash between troops and people that occurred in the republic, but a premeditated act of genocide and that the victims were not crushed to death as official Soviet propaganda is attempting to portray. All the materials and videotapes bear witness to this. Moscow's policy toward the captive nations has always been cruel, not only prior to October 1917, but since then too. In the last 70 years relations with the nations which comprise this empire were built on coercion, the aim of which has been the physical and spiritual destruction of entire nations.

Famine Deaths

In the 1930s, millions of Ukrainians were destroyed by an artificially-created famine; in the 1940s, Soviet tanks trampled the freedom of the Baltic states and western Ukraine, other nations were deported and met their demise in Siberia. The Crimea was left without Tatars and the northern peoples without homeland or language. In recent years, Moscow organized an international clash in Armenia and Azerbaijan, which left many thousands of people without a home. On April 9, Soviet tanks crushed peaceful demonstrators in Tbilisi and dozens of people who were demanding independence were murdered by Soviet troops.

The events in Georgia are an act of barbarism, which only a communist regime could commit. One should mention Pol Pot, Mao, Stalin and today — Gorbachev. We believe that it is clear that to every thinking individual what restructuring really is and who Gorbachev is. Recent events, particularly in Georgia, testify to this.

TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF THE CSCE

The Paris Conference has already received a great deal of documents from Ukrainian rights activists, which underline the fact that in Ukraine the repression of activists and participants of the national-democratic movement, as well as Ukrainian Catholics, is continuing. While the Conference has been in session, new evidence, which shows the repressions in Ukraine not only are not coming to a halt, but are taking on distinct forms of organized repression, has come to light.

In particular, on the night of 11-12 June, a group of unknown persons brutally assaulted Ukrainian rights activist and former long-term political prisoner, poet Anatoliy Lupynis, in the Kapustino district railway station, Cherkasy oblast. The attackers tortured their victim for 5 hours. They knocked Anatoliy Lupynis to the ground, kicked him in the head and tried to hang him. Presently, Anatoliy Lupynis is in clinic no. 4 in Cherkasy. He is suffering from concussion and his hearing has been impaired.

On 13 June, at 7.40 a.m., Roman Hladysh, a member of the UHU, was brutally assaulted on a street in Ivano-Frankivsk.

On 14 June, in Lviv, the head of the Lviv oblast branch of the UHU, Bohdan Horyn, was imprisoned for 15 days. A similar fate awaits Taras Chornovil, a member of the Lviv branch of the UHU, and the well-known Ukrainian poet and leading member of the women's religious society of "Mercy", Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, who failed to make an appearance at the militia, where they were summoned on June 14.

On June 12, in Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, the head of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front, Vasyl Sichko, whose father, Petro Sichko, was sentenced on June 6 to 10 days of imprisonment, was sentenced to 15 days of imprisonment. Both father and son are former political prisoners of Stalin's and Brezhnev's concentration camps.

On 11 June, in the previously mentioned city of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, the militia detained Mykhailo Havryliv, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It was only after several thousand religious believers arrived at the district militia headquarters and began to demand his release that the officials of the so-called "organs of law and order" released the priest.

We would like to remind you that the wave of repressions in May of this year affected dozens of people — rights activists, as well as priests and believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that the authorities in Ukraine are violating basic human rights, laid down in the documents of the countries participating in the Helsinki process, with particular cynicism.

We have just been informed from Lviv that last night groups of unknown persons distributed leaflets, supposedly written by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, in the city. The leaflets contain the following call to the local population: "Away with the Rus-



We, the participants of the Tallinn conference, appeal to the heads of states which took part in the Helsinki Conference, to demand an opening of a case in the International Court in the Hague against the Kremlin for its criminal treatment of small nations.

VIKTORAS PETKUS: LITHUANIAN PATRIOT AND UKRAINIAN HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP MEMBER

At numerous Helsinki Review Conferences, the Soviet delegation has repeatedly denied American charges that Soviet authorities punish or persecute individuals for their beliefs, and yet Lithuanian dissident Viktoras Petkus has been repeatedly and specifically mentioned as a criminal who was sentenced for “real crimes”. A closer scrutiny of this case, however, shows that he was imprisoned for what would not be considered a crime in most other countries.

Viktoras Petkus represents the main current of Lithuanian dissent and thus the Soviets, in citing his case, may have wanted to suggest that all Lithuanian dissidents are criminals. He was first imprisoned in the period after World War II. Petkus was one of the five founding members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group which was established in 1976. The 58-year-old Petkus appears to have been the unofficial leader of the group and its moving force. The authorities recognized this very quickly and arrested him on August 21, 1977, less than a year after the group had been set up. Although the Helsinki Group eventually added more members, it was never as active and as effective as when Petkus guided its work. His role in the group has been recognized in the US where he has been repeatedly nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Petkus was particularly concerned to foster friendship and cooperation among the Balts. Realizing that the Estonians and Latvians were not going to form Helsinki groups at that time, the Lithuanian group took up their causes and published a number of documents about violations of human rights in Estonia and Latvia. Petkus apparently tried to create more formal ties among the Balts which resulted in the formation of a Committee of the National Movements of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in August 1977. Petkus was in a good position to establish contacts with other Balts, for after trials in 1947 and 1958, he had served thirteen years in labor camps and prisons where he met many Estonians and Latvians. The exact nature of the charges for which he was sentenced is not clear, but the first term was probably for organizing a Catholic youth group in his high school. After being amnestied in 1953, Petkus returned to Lithuania and became an avid collector of Lithuanian poetry. He also became a specialist in Lithuanian language and literature. His second term of imprisonment was allegedly for the dissemination of such material. In July 1978, he was again tried in Vilnius and received a sentence of ten years imprisonment and five



sians and Jews!” This is the latest evident provocation on the part of the local authorities. Similar provocations may result in heightened repression.

15 June 1989

Stepan Khmara *Member of the UHU Executive Committee and Member of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*

Anatoliy Dotsenko *Moscow representative of the UHU Press Service*

years exile for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” and it was in Perm labor camp that Petkus even joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

During his last sentence, Viktoras Petkus shared a cell in Chistopol Prison for sixteen months with Natan Scharansky, who was released from the Soviet Union in 1987. Inspired by his conversations with Scharansky, Petkus wrote a study entitled “Christianity and Judaism” which was later confiscated and burned by prison guards. A copy of the study that Petkus mailed to Lithuania disappeared in the mails. Scharansky has confirmed reports that Petkus also had begun work during that time on a huge literary encyclopedia, now said to total 3,300 pages and to contain 45,000 biographies of world writers. However, it was learned in the spring of 1987, that prison authorities had confiscated this manuscript as well.

Petkus was kept in virtual isolation in 1984 by the Soviets, and, quite frankly, many feared that he had died as a result of medical neglect before having had a malignant tumor removed from his face in 1982. His wife wasn’t allowed to see him and was no longer receiving any of his letters. However, after numerous appeals, two of his letters sent in 1984 reached his wife in 1985 indicating that he was still alive.

On August 23, 1987, Petkus completed the prison portion of his fifteen year sentence and began five years of exile. The following selection of readings by Petkus, who is, by the way, an honorary member of International PEN, are primarily excerpts from his letters from labor camps.

Viktoras Petkus writes, “On August 23, the sum of the years I have spent in prison will be a round and solid twenty. In the twenty years I’ve spent in houses of detention I’ve never seen a fellow countryman who did not celebrate Christmas or Easter. Of course at Christmas we had no tree, but on the table we had a beautifully ornamented tree clipped from a horticulture magazine. Our life is monotonous; for us, receiving newspapers and magazines is problematical. They claim that periodical literature reaches us three times a week. So they say, but in reality, weeks have gone by without our receiving a single newspaper. If they do deliver the newspapers they usually bring the magazines only once a week, so they make an armful. The rule here is that an individual prisoner can keep only five items in his cell, no matter whether books, brochures, or magazines. Everything else has to be checked with the storeroom on the pretext that you can claim it when you want it. Theoretically it looks like a pretty good system, in practice, it sometimes takes over a week to get them to take you to the storeroom. So you wind up in a vicious circle. It’s worse with books. Receiving any books from home is categorically forbidden. Booksellers are uninterested in sending us books on order since they are often returned to the sender, that is, to the bookseller. Thus, in their eyes, we’ve become less-than-serious customers.

We are out in the fresh air no more than one hour in 24, and even this hour our guards sometimes try to shorten in order to spend as little time as possible cooling their heels while we take our walk. In other prisons, to prevent this there are clocks hanging in the corridors and we asked for the same arrangement here, but they replied that “For us, time has stopped”. Nevertheless, later they did hang up a broken clock, but still later they reconsidered and hid it away somewhere. There is not a single clock in the whole prison, and when you ask the guards what time it is, they don’t tell you anything either, so that at work, it’s disorienting.”

Another letter reads as follows, “I received your February 20 letter on May 19. Perhaps my letter will also take three months to reach you. It is not much better with

Russian letters. For instance, I received an April 7 letter from Kaunas on May 19, although the local postmark reads April 12. I took the occasion to ask the administration whether they had begun to translate my Russian letters into Lithuanian because they justified the long travel time of the Lithuanian letters by claiming they had to be translated into Russian. On February 23, I sent a 52-page letter about ptolemism and neo-ptolemism in philosophy and their influence on Lithuanian *belle-lettres* and on the afternoon of April 2, I was already informed that it was confiscated for so-called "ideologically harmful expressions". I am very sorry that I lacked opportunity to answer more diligently the letters I received because my hands are tied by the quota. Good people understand this and patiently continue to write even though they receive no news from me. Those letters bring me a breath of air from the homeland and the whisper of the pines on Birute's hill, (in Lithuania — ed.) the sounds of hymns sung by crowds making the stations of the cross and the poet's words, "Whoever bears my Calvaries will celebrate my feast of joy".

I've been doing quite well during the past year. I was left a uniquely beautiful impression by over forty thieves and other kinds of prisoners who at Pope Paul VI's death asked me to tell them about the popes and explain the difference between the Catholic and Orthodox religions. I attempted to fill their request with the help of the Russian philosopher Vladimir Soloviev, whose ideas should be more familiar to them. How they would quiet down and for hours listen with the utmost curiosity, and afterwards, they would overwhelm me with questions. I will never forget how several of them gathered in a corner, unraveled a nylon sock, and worked on something all afternoon. After supper, they presented me with a cross made from those threads, thanking me for sharing my knowledge with them. I have probably never received a more precious gift in my life. Poor people, how they hunger and thirst for truth, and how hard their earthly road!"

Such is the man called Viktoras Petkus. Armed only with the strength of his Catholic faith, his commitment to national independence for the Baltic states, his love of the Lithuanian language and literature, Petkus appeals loudly for the respect of inalienable rights of the human person.

PATRICK BOYER IS PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK

Patrick Boyer, M.P., formerly of Bracebridge, has been appointed by Prime Minister Mulroney to the position of Parliamentary Secretary to External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. Boyer's duties include assisting Mr. Clark in his House of Commons work relating to Canadian foreign policy.

In the House of Commons Patrick Boyer is member for the Metropolitan Toronto federal riding of Etobicoke-Lakeshore, having been elected first in 1934.

He studied international law at The Hague, The Netherlands, and formed the International Law Society at the University of Toronto when a student there in the mid-1970s. He said "Joe Clark and I will be able to work together effectively because we have been colleagues for almost 20 years, starting when we both worked together in the office of former Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield." Boyer has been a member for a dozen years of the Canadian Institute for International Affairs and the Canadian Council on International Law. In 1987 he accompanied Mr. Clark to meetings in Poland, East Germany and Hungary.

THE RETURN OF UKRAINIAN POET — WASYL STUS

(UCIS) Munich. Towards the end of 1987 from exile in Yakutia, Yuriy Badzio, renowned publicist and member of the Ukrainian national-patriotic movement sent a letter to “Literaturna Ukraina” demanding the return, for Ukrainian culture, of Ukrainian poet Wasyl Stus. Below is the full text of his letter, which although written in 1987 has not lost any of its significance.

Dear Editors,

I am addressing you, and through your newspaper, the leadership of the Ukrainian Writers Union, with the proposal which probably, if it receives your positive response, demands social courage and a unique sense of responsibility for the development of Ukrainian poetry.

On the 6th January 1988 it is fifty years since the birth of Wasyl Stus. This name when it is read does not say anything to the reader. Perhaps many of you do not know of him. In the 1960's when Wasyl Stus, a political and cultural activist became part of Ukrainian historical life, he, through unfavourable social circumstances, could not — already was not able to — address himself as he is to the Ukrainian community, and even more to literature, as a dedicated citizen, original poet and literary critic. A few poems and translations from Rilke, Gide, Lorca, a literary critique, an article and one review, and that is all, were printed in the Soviet press. Collected poetry presented as “Soviet Writers” received a positive response from Evhen Adelheyma but there was no mention about placing it for publication. In 1963, in Kyiv, the Ukrainian Writers Union held a creative evening in which a number of poets took part including Wasyl Stus.

In January 1972 when the new wave of arrests took place in Ukraine the poet was imprisoned too. Alongside other representatives of Ukrainian productive intelligencia, Wasyl Stus stood victim of state repressive acts directed, I believe, against the modern Ukrainian national revival, which began with the emergence of the Anti-Stalinist thaw. Now it is even officially recognised that the democratic tendency in party politics after the denunciations of the Stalin cult was not serious enough and was inconsistent. These democratic tendencies were soon terminated. This circumstance should be received by you as evidence which proves the return of the cultural genius of Wasyl Stus — if the Ukrainian Writers Union could acquire such initiative — the affair was not altogether hopeless and politically untimely.

Thirteen years of imprisonment and constraint — spent in concentration camps behind barbed wire, and in exile — did not break his community spirit and did not weaken the creative energy of this poet. His rich and spiritually strained life is adequately portrayed in his poetry which is of a high professional and cultural level. Such interweaving of personal life and artistic creativity can only be found in great poets. In Ukrainian poetry for example, — by Taras Shevchenko.

Wasyl Stus lived an active life in society. His community consciousness and conduct had a direct political manifestation. But still, even his poetry is full of present history, it is also completely free from one-sided, biased, socio-political reality: his poetic creativity is a very realistic biography of ones fate; complete spiritual experience which perceives the world and ones place in it in a new and free way — in his rich, intellectual emotional expressions which mostly have a tragic ring to them.

The poet's artistic individuality grows from a deep dramatic patriotic necessity and recognition which did not however, shackle the poet's creative will. This is not only confined to a national framework: Wasyl Stus suffers the historical status of our nation — he accepts it as Human Fate which everyone can recognise or sympathise with a part of their own spiritual existence. In other words, the national content of the poet's imagination and sufferings is only the form — a concretization of general human conditions which finds the solution in the artistic ideals of freedom, goodness and justice.

Intellectual experience from his soul, cultural poetic thought, feeling and expression, ideal-esthetism, in harmony with language and semantics, Wasyl Stus's fresh Ukrainian words are genuine — he made a progressive breakthrough in our poetry, for which we waited long and hard; he brought it to far higher artistic horizons.

In the history of Ukrainian poetic creativity his place comes close to that of Shevchenko. His poetry — our common cultural achievement, achievement which corresponds to the present highest imagination about the spiritual value of a human being, about general and artistic culture of the poet. For today's Ukrainian, spiritually crushed or destroyed by ruinous historical circumstance, Stus' poetry is needed like a healing drink of water: because it is capable of restoring to us the feeling of human and national dignity, free us from our complex of ethnic inferiority, help us to weaken or tear apart the shackles of cultural provincialism, and enrich us in ideas, psychologically and esthetically. Exploit life in the name of freedom — at the cost of life! — it is necessary to everyone! — to the dead, to the living, to those yet to be born! In order to resurrect and regenerate, to be born healthy and be able to live.

I propose that you commence the efforts for the civic rehabilitation of Wasyl Stus, and the first step in this direction is to mark the 50th Anniversary of the poet's birth on the 6th January 1988 in the pages of "Literaturna Ukraina". The patriotic duty of the leadership of the Ukrainian Writers Union is to make every effort so that the whole nation is familiar with his works. Luckily, he is known to Ukrainian readers, but where? in emigration, and not only by Ukrainians. Abroad, after publication in the periodical press and in collected anthologies, a separate small book of poetry by Wasyl Stus, encompassing 460 pages, was published in considerable numbers in the summer of 1986, under the title "Palimpsest" includes the lyrics about his first imprisonment in concentration camp. The collection was composed during his time in exile and he himself gave it the title „Palimpsest“. The collected poetic works are printed in the German language. As I know from reliable persons, German critics paid great attention to his works. In the autumn of this year a translation of Stus' poetry into German should be published as a separate edition.

In May 1980 the poet was arrested a second time. This time the terms of his imprisonment were more severe. But the poetic Muse did not quiver. Wasyl Stus wrote and translated a great deal but unfortunately nothing reached the outside world. Particularly as the law forbids the sending of one's own creative works and translations in letters to relatives.

On the night of 2nd-3rd March 1985, in his prison cell in the Urals, the suffering and heroic life of Wasyl Stus ended. He was 47 years old — the same age as Taras Shevchenko. The remains of the great Ukrainian were given to the cold foreign soil. His creative writings are still prohibited. The family retain the pain of loss and hope that justice will be resurrected in the future.

Our native earth waits for her self-sacrificing son, the literary museums wait for the

APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

Dear Mr. President!

The Head of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR M. Gorbachev is beginning his official visit to your country. As well as Franco-Soviet relations he will address the issue of creating a "common European home". We have no doubt that the Soviet leader will say many fine words about democracy and human rights, but we would like to bring to your attention at the outset the fact that the words of the USSR's leaders do not always correspond to these principles. In particular, as concerns us, Ukrainian Catholics, our right to freedom of worship, guaranteed in Article 52 of the USSR Constitution and fundamental international laws, is being violated in the most brutal manner.

The authorities continue to persecute our Ukrainian Catholic Church, destroyed and forced underground by the Stalin regime in 1946. They have not changed their Stalinist attitude towards our Church.

Against the background of statements by the USSR's present political leadership on restructuring, democratization and glasnost the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics appears particularly cynical. Contrary to the will of the Ukrainian Catholics, the authorities are handing our churches, which have remained closed until now, over to the Russian Orthodox Church on a mass scale, and declare our services and other religious rites unsanctioned gatherings and meetings. For participation in these priests and faithful are fined, subjected to administrative arrest and maligned in the press. Priests are conscripted for months of military training. For conducting religious services in May five priests were sentenced to 15 days in prison. Rev. Mykola Simkailo is presently under administrative arrest in inhuman conditions.

It is unfortunate that official propaganda hypocritically attempts to present the situation surrounding religious rights as the triumph of religious freedom in the USSR. In their agitation organs of state and representatives of the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church label as "extremist" our demands for the guarantee of one of the fundamental rights, freedom of worship, and the cessation of the repressions against the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Our numerous appeals to various government institutions demanding the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not bring any positive results. They fell



exposition of his works, our culture waits for the publication of everything which came from the pen of Wasyl Stus, and our nation waits for the possibility to become enriched with the great genius of the poet.

Our patriotic and humanitarian duty is to do everything that we can to bring forward the day when Wasyl Stus will publicly enter our cultural and social life.

*Yuriy Badzio
Selo Chandyha, Yakut SSR
5th December 1987*

on deaf ears. The authorities do not wish to resolve our problem and the persecution continues. This induced the episcopate, priests and faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to begin a continuous hunger strike and protest in Moscow on May 16. Although this hunger strike is now in its second month, the authorities and Soviet media act as though they know nothing about it and remain silent.

Mikhail Gorbachev is also very well aware of the existence of this important unresolved problem.

Dear Mr. President! We appeal to you, the head of a government whose people have made an immense contribution to European civilization and civilization as a whole and continue to do so today, to raise your authoritative voice in defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the millions of persecuted Ukrainian Catholics.

We ask you, Mr. President, to remind Mikhail Gorbachev once again that a country where basic human rights are being consciously and systematically violated, and whose statesmen adhere to a totalitarian form of government cannot join a European home based on freedom and democracy.

3 July 1989

With respect and wishes of successful negotiations.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic hunger strikers in Moscow,
Members of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church:

Stepan Khmara

Orest Karelin

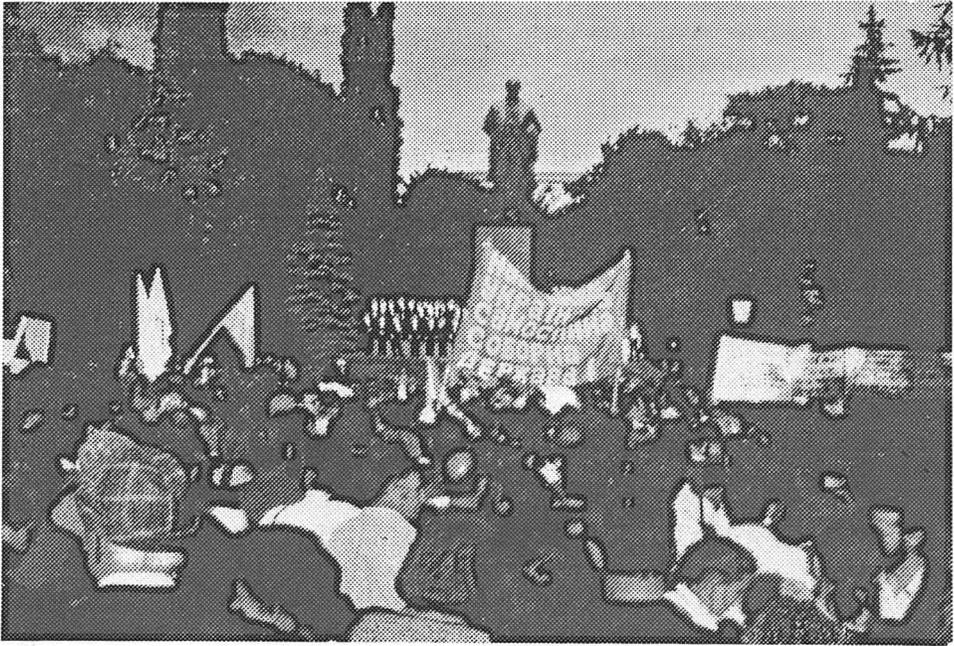
Andriy Kovalov



Groups of the subjugated nations demonstrating in Bonn on 15th July 1989, during the 3rd "Captive Nations Week", established in America by President Eisenhower in 1959.

POPULAR MOVEMENT MEETS IN KYIV, JULY 1

On July 1, the Kyiv regional branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine held its founding conference in the Ukrainian capital. Nearly 1500 people from all over Ukraine and outside the republic took part in the meeting. The head of the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), Kravchuk, was also present.



Around 50 speakers, among them representatives of the Popular Fronts of Latvia and Lithuania, addressed the conference.

Ukrainian writer Ivan Drach gave the opening address. He spoke about the maligning of the Popular Movement of Ukraine by Kravchuk and the CPU, and outlined the problem of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Vyacheslav Chornovil brought up a series of issues, including the administrative repressions in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the hunger strike by the Ukrainian Catholics in Moscow. He also talked about the armed struggle of the 1940s and 1950s, pointing out that the participants of this movement were national heroes who defended Ukraine against the Stalinists. Chornovil received a standing ovation.

All the speakers were particularly critical of those clauses of the draft programme of the Popular Movement which recognized the leading role of the communist party. People's Deputy Yavorivskiy, a writer, stated that the Movement's programme did not reflect the present social conditions in Ukraine, only those of the past, as presently it is inopportune to recognize the leading role of the party. He also pointed out that, in his opinion, all the misfortunes of the Ukrainian people stemmed from the fact that Ukrainians have not been masters of their own land, and that Ukraine has not had her own state, and that national, social and other problems could only be resolved through the achievement of statehood. Several other speakers also addressed the issue of Ukrainian statehood.

The elections of the executive of the Kyiv branch were held at the end of the conference. Over 70 people were elected to various executive posts. The conference ended late at night.

POPULAR MOVEMENT HOLDS PUBLIC MEETING IN KYIV

On July 2, a public meeting organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine was held outside the central republican stadium in Kyiv. The meeting, which began at 12 a.m., was attended by around 10,000 people.

After the meeting the Movement staged a demonstration. The 2,000 or so protesters marched from the stadium to the Taras Shevchenko monument, situated opposite Kyiv State University. The participants carried blue and yellow Ukrainian national flags, banners with tridents and a large picture of Shevchenko, and shouted various slogans: "The Popular Movement!", "Glory to Ukraine!", "Glory to the Heroes!", "Freedom for Ukraine!", "Independence for Ukraine!", "Away with Shcherbytskyj!" and "Shame on the indifferent!".

Throughout the whole march, the demonstrators sang Ukrainian national songs. When the column reached its destination, the flag bearers mounted the pedestal and lowered their flags in honour of Shevchenko. At that point, the people began to sing one of his compositions: "The wide Dnipro roars and groans", which was followed by songs of the Sich Riflemen*, as well as various national and kozak songs and the Ukrainian national anthem.

* A Ukrainian military unit which fought in the First World War and the Ukrainian War of Independence, 1917-1921.

'MEMORIAL' SOCIETY FORMED IN ODESSA

On June 10, the Odessa branch of the 'Memorial' Society held its founding conference. The aim of the Society is to immortalize the victims of repression and to prevent further repressions. One of the activists and founding members of the Odessa branch of 'Memorial' is Viktor Tsymbaliuk, a reader in philosophy.

For several months, the local authorities made attempts to split the Society, and even to disband it completely by installing their own people, who played an active role in splitting the Odessa branch of the Popular Movement for restructuring, into the 'Memorial' executive. To achieve this it was necessary to form a reactionary majority at the founding conference, which would vote for the candidates proposed by the authorities, disrupt the proceedings and prevent any addresses critical of the organs of state security and the party leadership. For this purpose, 140 people joined the Society in the last days of May. In the words of one of the delegates at the conference: "A KGB invasion has descended upon us".

Of the 290 delegates at the conference nearly half formed the reactionary front. But Viktor Tsymbaliuk orientated the conference around the Moscow group of delegates to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, showing that he is hoping for a nationally-oriented 'Memorial'. The small democratic majority succeeded in voting down all the candidates proposed by the reactionary delegates.

The authorities did, however, manage to ensure that the election of the 'Memorial' executive lasted 7 hours, which left no time for any speeches. The resolution of the Odessa 'Memorial', accepted by a majority of delegates, states that the Society is basing itself on the democratic minority at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, and supports all the proposals put forward by Sakharov, Afanasiev, Popov and Vlasov.

Diakov, a history teacher and dedicated Stalinist, demanded that references to the artificial famine in Ukraine should be dropped from the resolution as the CPSU is full of love for the people and could not possibly have resorted to such forms of repression. Diakov joined 'Memorial' as part of the "KGB invasion" and was one of those whom the authorities hoped to install into the executive. Diakov's demand was condemned and he was exposed as a protege of suppression of peaceful demonstration in Georgia condemned the repressive organs.

The conference also condemned the suppression of the peaceful demonstration in Georgia on April 9, which led to many deaths. The conference described the events in Tbilisi as a continuation of repression and condemned the Odessa regional party committee for the organization of the campaign against the Popular Movement of Ukraine. To those who opposed this part of the resolution Tsymbaliuk replied: "At this point we are speaking neither for nor against the Popular Movement. We are condemning the maligning of the ideas of the popular movement in Odessa".

Vasyl Barladianu proposed the total liquidation of the KGB. He pointed out that this organization never defended the security of the state, but merely maintained in power those who fought and continue to fight against the people. "As long as the KGB remains in existence, there will be no guarantees that repressions won't be repeated. The KGB officials have to be driven from the city without delay, and the building occupied by the KGB must be turned into a museum of the Odessa 'Memorial' ", said Barladianu. "'Memorial' should also control the activities of the CPSU, so that it

PERESTROIKA AND BUSINESS AS USUAL

Perestroika, petrochemicals and politics: USA negotiated billions in business deals while Soviets ravaged Afghanistan

One of the less publicized stories of the recent Moscow summit was the announcement of over twenty-six billion dollars of business deals involving US corporations and the Soviet Union. Most of the news media devoted more attention to Armand Hammer's announcement that he would be building a golf course near Moscow, than to the revelation that Hammer and others will be building processing plants and factories to convert Soviet oil and natural gas into products which will, in large part, go for Soviet Russian military use.

Business deals involving tens of billions of dollars take years of extensive planning and negotiations before they reach the stage of the projects announced in Moscow. This means that Occidental Petroleum, McDermott International, and Combustion Engineering, were negotiating with the Soviet Russians during the bloodiest days of the war in Afghanistan. The U.S. corporations would not have proceeded in their planning and negotiations without at least tacit assurances from the U.S. State Department that the technology transfers involved in these projects would be approved. Given that the U.S. Congress has the power to block such transfers, there can be little doubt that these corporations consulted with many of the members of congress to get assurances the projects would not be prohibited. So, while the U.S. Congress was voting for military aid for the Afghan Resistance, and the State Department was in charge of various activities which were supposed to help the Afghans reclaim their country, many of the members of these same bodies were giving their support to U.S. business ventures which will result in a strengthening of Moscow's military capabilities.

The U.S. State Department's role in this matter will surprise almost no one. The State Department's unwillingness to take any effective actions against the Soviet Russians in retaliation for their aggression in Afghanistan has been condemned by numerous people including members of Congress such as Senator Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire. Less obvious has been the overall failure of U.S. policy which has kept the Afghan Resistance forces politically and militarily weak to the point that while Soviet troops may leave Afghanistan, there is little change of Soviet Russian influence being expunged. This situation which, as shall be shown, is linked to the petrochemical

► would no longer be in a position to resort to repression", said Barladianu. His propositions were approved.

The conference decided to send a letter to the Chinese government expressing its support for the student movement in China and condemning the repressive measures taken by the authorities. The delegates paid tribute to the students killed in China with a moment's silence. When asked who was the author of the draft resolution and the letter to the Chinese government, Viktor Tsybaliuk replied: "The resolution and letter were principally written by me and I am prepared to answer for them".

The delegates greeted his statement with applause, which turned into an ovation.

plants, was created not so much by pro-Soviet sentiment in Congress, but by the self-serving action of many of the members. Those congressmen whose districts and lists of campaign contributors contain both petroleum/natural gas related industries and defense contractors, can be expected to support petrochemical companies doing business in the USSR, especially when the resulting increase in Soviet Russian military strength will trigger greater U.S. defense spending. Such motivations might explain the often counterproductive and contradictory actions of ostensibly pro-Afghan congressmen like Charles "Wonder Weapon" Wilson. The manner in which the military aid was micro-managed by such congressmen kept the Resistance just strong enough to continue fighting but denied them the training and cost effective weapons which would have allowed them to seriously hurt the Soviets and/or develop any degree of self-sufficiency. (The relative effectiveness of the Afghan Resistance can be gauged by comparing the casualty figures for the Soviets in Afghanistan with those approximately three times greater for the Vietnamese troops occupying Kampuchea, a country with only one third the population of Afghanistan).

It appears that as soon as he assumed power, Mikhail Gorbachev began to view the petrochemical and plastics plants as vital parts of his plan to strengthen the Soviet Russian economy and its military capabilities. Most likely he was told that Western public opposition to the ventures would be too great unless the situation in Afghanistan was settled one way or another. His first choice and attempt was obviously for a military victory, as 1985 saw the heaviest bombing and some of the fiercest fighting of the war. When it became apparent that a military solution couldn't be gained soon enough to suit his perestroika timetable, he chose to withdraw the Soviet troops. The first evidence that a pullout was imminent was the dramatic decline in bombing in 1986. While this decline is often attributed to the arrival of Stinger missiles, recently released statistics confirm my own observations that the decline in air attacks started at least eight months before the Stingers first showed up in the field and almost a year before any meaningful numbers arrived. With the decision to withdraw already made, the Soviet Russians wanted to limit their aircraft losses, so they adopted much more conservative tactics in their air operations. Sadly, this evidence of a long planned Moscow withdrawal has been misconstrued by members of the defense establishment and their congressional toadies as evidence of the invincible effectiveness of the Stinger missiles, and will likely result in a catastrophic overdependence on these weapons by American forces.

The Soviet Union occupation forces in Afghanistan were supplied in large part by trucks produced by the U.S. built Kama River truck plant (a "paltry" \$1.5 billion venture) which also had a role in the development of the T-72 main battle tanks. In the next war of Soviet Russian aggression, not only will the trucks be products of U.S. technology, but virtually every item of military significance, from explosive and rocket propellant plasticizers, to the difficult-to-detect plastic casings on land mines, to fuel additives, to weapons parts, to tires, to uniforms, will have been produced at least in part by the U.S. plants negotiated while the Soviet Russians were trying their hardest to enslave the Afghans.

The greatest astonishment is that the Afghan Resistance forces have now been told that the U.S. will not recognize them as the government of Afghanistan until they are able to "fulfill the valid international obligations of Afghanistan". What are the international obligations of Afghanistan? The only ones anyone can discern are agreements

concerning exports of Afghan natural gas to the USSR. During the war approximately 90% of the gas has been piped to the USSR (which conveniently installed the meters on its side of the border) and most of the remaining 10% has gone to the petrochemical fertilizer plant in Mazar-i-Sharif, about half of the production of which has been exported to the USSR. The northern areas of Afghanistan which contain the gas fields are held by the communists. It is generally agreed that even if the communists are forced out of Kabul they can fall back to these areas along the Soviet Union border and use the foreign exchange generated by the gas exports to pay for aircraft and heavy weapons to use in their fight against the Resistance forces which will remain without any means of self-support. In other words, the natural gas of Afghanistan will be used to perpetuate communist oppression in that country. That same gas will then enter the Soviet natural gas grid that will feed the U.S. built petrochemical and plastic plants which will be producing materials that will help the Soviet Russians impose their will militarily on nations inside and outside the USSR.

Anyone who finds it difficult to comprehend that Western democracies could conduct a “pulled punches” effort to contain Soviet Russian expansion in Asia while ignoring the Soviet Russian crimes and conducting business with them, would do well to read the recently released documentary collection “The Foreign Office and the Famine”. In this compilation of British government documents, the editors Carynyk, Luciuk and Kordan, point out that in the 1930s while the British government, along with others, was allowing business to be conducted with Moscow and generally suppressing information it had concerning the famine in Ukraine, it was releasing limited amounts of that information to British diplomatic personnel in Afghanistan and India to help them in their efforts to counter communist political agitation in those countries. Fifty years later the Western nations were once again making a weak attempt to control Soviet Russian expansion in Central Asia, and at the same time were doing business with the Soviet Russians ignoring the mass murders taking place, and convincing themselves that Moscow will somehow reform and will no longer commit such heinous crimes.

Clearly, both history and current events show that Western governments will come to the aid of the Soviet Union’s government regardless of the magnitude or the ongoing nature of Soviet Russians’ violations of international law and human decency. The rights and even the lives of those being oppressed continue to be abandoned in favor of the interests of a few of the Soviet Russians’ fellow travellers and their Western political collaborators.

“LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE UNION” ESTABLISHED

In a meeting on May 25, in Vilnius, the representatives of the Lithuanian political organizations and parties, which have not been recognized by the Communist government, have established the Lithuanian Independence Union (Lietuvos Nepriklausomybes Sajunga). The main goal of the Union is the restoration of full independence for Lithuania. The mass movement Sajudis, which has an official status, was not represented at the meeting.

The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party was revived on May 19, in Vilnius. In a statement issued on this occasion, the LSDP asserts that democratic society is impossible without a multi-party system. The LSDP was first established in the late 19th century.

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC & INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN ESTONIA

A meeting of 100 leaders of national democratic and independence movements in the Soviet Union and the Soviet-occupied Baltic States was held in Estonia on April 30 — May 1, according to the Estonian American National Council. Seven non-Soviet flags — Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian, were flown. Also in attendance were Crimean Tatars, an Azerbaidzhan Popular Front representative, a correspondent of Moscow's Glasnost magazine, and a Russian Democratic Union representative.

The participants exposed the Soviet strategy of "divide and rule," maintaining that conflicts between different nationalities are, instead centrally provoked and even planned. They agreed that solutions of cultural and economic problems were impossible without political freedom and independence. There was also agreement that the totalitarian Soviet regime would not be able to turn back the tide of history and that there could not be a complete return to the Stalinist era.

A Resolution adopted by the representatives of the independence movements described the "military Soviet state" as existing "on the verge of catastrophe" and charged that the authorities were striving to preserve the "decaying foundations of their colonial empire" without making any fundamental democratic decisions. The Resolution denounced the "state terror" in Georgia and expressed its support of national independence movements in various republics. The Conference demanded the annulment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the restoration of the independent states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The Lithuanians were represented in the Conference by members of the Lithuanian Christian-Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, and the "Young Lithuania" Association.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN RIGA

"International Conference for the Right to National Self-Determination and Nation Equality" in Riga, August 21 and 22 is sponsored by the National Independence Movement of Latvia (LNNK) and is timed to lead into massive rallies in Riga, Latvia, Tallin, Estonia and Vilnius, Lithuania on August 23, the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Organizers of the Aug. 21-22 Riga Conference have invited parliamentarians, scholars and human rights activists from around the world, and anticipate participants from throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe, as well as the West.

The 8,000-member National independence Movement of Latvia (LNNK) has launched a nationwide campaign for Latvia's total political independence from the Soviet Union. Despite initial charges by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee that the LNNK's activities were illegal, on June 22, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution granting the LNNK the right to exist, concluding that its pro-independence program was in no way unconstitutional.

Latvia's largest pro-independence movement, the Popular Front of Latvia (LTF, 250,000 members) is holding a similar conference, "1939 and the Baltic States" on August 10, 11 Riga. LTF representatives will also participate in the Aug. 21-22 LNNK conference.

UNDER WHICH FLAG DID THEY KILL OUR PEOPLE

On June 1, 1989, Borys Oliynyk made the following statement from the podium at the Congress of People's Deputies: "It is wrong to immediately grab one's heart after seeing the ancient symbols, in Tallinn, say, or Lviv. For the sources which feed the river of national history are not to blame, when certain parts of this river have become silted. It has to be dredged, for from it future generations will quench their thirst to discover whose children we are" (Izvestia, June 2, 1989). A day before Borys Oliynyk's address, the newspaper *Lvovskaya Pravda* published a long article entitled "Whose Symbols?". The author, Yevhen Kravchenko, not only grabbed his heart, but actually spat in the face of the tens of thousands of Lviv inhabitants who remembered the victims of the Stalinist repressions at the "Requiem" meeting on May 28, carrying blue and yellow flags, not red ones, and tridents.

Yevhen Kravchenko was trying to prove that those who recognized the blue and yellow flag and the trident as the national state symbols of Ukraine in 1918 were to blame for all the misfortunes of the Ukrainian nation. I am not going to analyze Yevhen Kravchenko's pseudo-academic inventions about the history and origins of Ukrainian symbols. The author of "Whose Symbols?" has, with the exception of a few pages from the history of the CPSU, probably read nothing at all about Ukraine. I will merely make a brief analysis of the literary inventions of the KGB, which allege that "with the help of Ukrainian national symbols certain people would like to rehabilitate the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, forgetting about their atrocious crimes in Ukraine during the Great Patriotic War and in the post-war years" (*Lvovskaya Pravda*, May 31, 1989).

In 1982 Soviet publicist Yakiv Valakh, while indulging in polemics with Ukrainian emigre historians in the journal *Vsesvit*, wrote the following about the losses suffered by our nation during the Second World War: "From 1941 to 1945, the Ukrainian nation lost over 13 million people. This huge mass of people did not die at the hands of those who fought under the blue and yellow flag. Neither did those people who died in western Ukraine after the war".

In 1976, while in a drunken state, an artist from Odessa confessed to me with tears in his eyes: "You have respect for me, but after the war I was an officer in a cavalry company in Ternopil. We changed uniforms and during the night, disguised as Banderites, attacked villages, burnt down houses, raped, murdered, and cut stars in people's skin". In this way, according to the Odessa artist, the KGB tried to seize the ground from under the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), to discredit it in the eyes of the people.

The same year, I became acquainted with another inhabitant of Odessa, who does not sleep at night. The sight of the women, children and Soviet activists murdered by the disguised Red Army soldiers does not leave his eyes. "Under which flag did you do this?" I asked the artist. He opened his mouth in amazement and then said: "We attacked the villages without any flag. They were left behind in the barracks."

When, in 1987, *The Ukrainian Herald* began to appear in Lviv, people who witnessed the above facts began coming to see its editors.

But the subject of KGB crimes in western Ukraine remains behind seven locks and so today I will not dwell on this issue. If one could gather the remains of those who died in all the battles against the military units of the UPA and lay them beside those who

are buried in Bykivnia, then, with their cries of revenge, the victims of the red-bannered KGB will deafen the moans of all those who died in the war against the Ukrainian army. But Bykivnia is not the only mass grave. In Odessa and the surrounding villages 5 similar graves have already been uncovered, not to mention the 9-10 million victims of the artificial famine of 1932-33 and the three thousand writers repressed in the Soviet Union — 500 of whom were Ukrainians, excluding the 200 Ukrainian literary activists murdered in Kuban. From 1928-1938, the population of the USSR increased by 11%, decreasing in Ukraine and Ukrainian Kuban by the same amount (*Nash Sovremennik*, 1988, No.4, p. 67).

On the basis of facts presented by Vadym Kozhelnikov, most of the 23,200,000 people who were repressed between 1917-1923 were in Ukraine (*Ibid.*, p.65).

The Bolsheviks began repressions against the Ukrainian people as soon as they established their puppet government in Kharkiv. A Red Army unit was dispatched to the Vovk estate, where, in front of the mother of Ukrainian historian Yevfemenko, the Red-bannered soldiers raped a young Ukrainian poetess, and then murdered them both. The murder of notable artists O. Murashko and H. Diatchenko, whose names are well-known to everyone, followed.

According to Vadym Kozhelnikov (*Nash Sovremennik*, No.4, 1988, pp. 160-175) and Volodymyr Shubkin (*Novyi Mir*, No. 4, 1989, pp. 165-184), there are 1.5 million political murders for each of the 72 years of Soviet rule. The murderers acted in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the party. The mass murders were justified by party ideology. The murderers wore five-pronged red stars on their caps. The military units which took part in the deportation of the population, the mass shootings, carried out their executioner's duties under red flags with a hammer and sickle.

Today the authors of numerous publications against the national-democratic movements and national symbols of the peoples of the USSR state that the origins of restructuring lie in the CPSU and not the national, patriotic forces. In connection with this, the question — where did the destruction of the peasants originate, and who supervised the murder of millions upon millions — begs to be asked. Answer: the CPSU as well. All these crimes were committed under the symbols, which were not represented at the May 28 "Requiem" meeting in Lviv. Not one red flag was brought to the meeting. The reason for this is very simple — the Ukrainian nation does not need the symbols of murderers.

Vasyl Barladianu

FROM THE TRENCHES...

"A nation lives as long as in it lives a consciousness of its individuality and aspirations to independence. So in order to preserve our nation, let us not cloud with ambiguous words our true independence-driven essence. Let us be truthful and brave."

*Lev Lukianenko, "What next,"
Ukrainian Central Information Service, 1989*

BALTIC INDEPENDENCE: A DREAM KEPT FRESH

U.S. Groups Provide Support to Nationalist Movements in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

Ever since 1944, when he and his parents fled their native Estonia as Soviet tanks rolled in, Juhan Simonson has lived with the dream of independence for his homeland.

"All these years, we've tried to keep the issue alive saying 'There is an Estonia'," said Simonson, who at 56 is president of the Estonian American National Council.

And now Simonson and other Baltic Americans say their dreams have a chance to come true.

In the past two years, nationalist movements have blossomed in the three Baltic republics of the Soviet Union: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The Lithuanian and the Estonian Supreme Soviets, the republics' legislatures, have declared that they can veto laws made in Moscow if they wish. And earlier this month the Soviet Union's new Congress of Peoples' Deputies agreed to investigate the history of the original Soviet annexations of 1940, a move that challenges the official Soviet claim that the three tiny countries in the north-east corner of Europe voluntarily "asked" to join the Soviet Union.

For ethnic Balts in the United States, this news vindicates more than 40 years of work to keep their homelands' cultures alive and to prevent the United States from shunning the cause of the Baltic states.

While small in numbers — the 1980 U.S. census listed 743,000 Lithuanians, 92,000 Latvians and 26,000 Estonians — American Balts have been a potent force for their homelands and heritage.

The American Latvian Association, the Estonian-American National Council, the Lithuanian World Community and other groups are in constant contact with nationalists in the Baltic states. For the past two years, Western Balts have bought and sent communication technology — copying machines, computers and video cameras — to the nationalist movements. Eased travel restrictions have allowed Baltic business leaders, politicians and scientists to meet face-to-face to plan cooperative ventures.

These changes have offered new hope to the independent republics' diplomatic corps here. Because the United States has refused to recognize the Soviet Union's annexation, the three countries still maintain diplomatic missions here, funded by money deposited in the West before World War II by the independent government.

Carefully, so as not to alienate the U.S. government, the missions are beginning to get involved as well in nationalist matters at home. The Lithuanian legation, located in Washington at 2622 16th St. NW, is the most active, helping Western groups funnel funds, books and medicine to Lithuania. The legation also issues more than 1,000 passports a year, an increase from a few hundred several years ago. Soviet authorities do not recognize the documents, but native Lithuanians "want to have it in the pocket" said Lithuanian charge d'affaires Stasys Lozoraitis Jr.

Although the Latvian legation, located here at 4325 17th St. NW, and the Estonian consulate in New York's Rockefeller Center do not have formal contact with the nationalist movements, they keep tabs on events through informal meetings with

Baltic American groups and the State Department. "We have started planning strategy for the future," said John Lusiš, first secretary of the Latvian legation.

American Baltic groups have recently found it much easier to exchange information with Balts in the Soviet Union. Several years ago, "Whenever someone started talking about something significant, the phone line would be cut off," said Ojars Kalnins, public relations director of the American Latvian Association.

Now Kalnins, whose office is in Rockville, talks to the Latvian Popular Front by phone at least once a week. The Popular Front's newspaper, "*Atmoda*" or "*Awakening*" recently published an article he wrote about the U.S. non-recognition policy.

The Lithuanian Information Center here in Washington sends information and news clippings daily to Sajudis, the Lithuanian nationalist movement, via a fax machine donated by Lithuanians in North America. The Information Center — a branch of Lithuanian Catholic Aid — also translates Lithuanian documents and sends them to American news organizations and the State Department.

The State Department often uses the groups' translations because its own staff includes very few Baltic speakers.

The legations also try to inform Balts in the homelands and the United States about events in both places. Estonian consul Aarand Roos discusses events in Estonia and abroad in Voice of America broadcasts to Estonia. The Estonian people "want to know what Washington is thinking. It gives them hope," Roos said.

Since December, the Chicago-based Lithuanian-American Community has collected \$150,000 to aid Lithuanians working for independence. In March, the group sent \$50,000 to pay for publication in Lithuania in April of 100,000 copies of "the definitive history of (pre-war) Lithuania," according to the group's spokesman Arvydas Barzdukas.

The issue of foreigners' providing communications equipment and books to Soviet citizens has always been a sensitive one for Soviet authorities. Despite the new era of openness, the Supreme Soviet Presidium in April issued a decree making "public calls for the overthrow of the Soviet state" using "technical means received from organizations abroad" punishable by a jail sentence of three to ten years.

Baltic Americans and native Balts are also visiting each other. Lithuanian-American and Lithuanian business executives have met to discuss joint business ventures; an Estonian rock group recently toured the United States, and Kalnins attended a May summit meeting of Western Latvians and delegates from the Popular Front held in France. They discussed political strategy and Latvian environmental problems.

The increase of nationalist activities in the Baltic States is drawing attention on Capitol Hill as well, according to activists here.

"Other than the Balts themselves no one thought that we'd get anywhere," Kalnins said. "Now you can almost sense congressmen coming to do something on our behalf".

As it has for the past eight years Congress declared June 11 to be "Baltic Freedom Day" — an event that the Latvian weekly *Atmoda* recently featured on its front page.

Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.) and 20 other senators have written President Bush to ask him to meet with the Baltic States' diplomatic representatives and with leading Baltic-American groups. No major change in U.S. policy is planned but

STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN MAINLAND CHINA

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Early this morning, Chinese Communist troops finally used military force to attack the students and others demonstrating peacefully for democracy and freedom in Tienanmen Square in Peking, resulting in heavy casualties and loss of life. Although we anticipated this mad action of the Chinese Communists beforehand, it still has moved us to incomparable grief, indignation, and shock.

We believe that the existence of any political regime must be based on the will of the people. The Chinese Communists were able to usurp the Chinese mainland with violence and lies, but there have been constant internal struggles and suppression of the people over the past forty years. In the face of a universal awakening of our mainland countrymen, the inhumane actions of the Chinese Communists are sure to be judged by history, evoke even stronger opposition from our mainland countrymen, and hasten the demise of the Chinese Communists.

With a deeply grieved and heavy heart, I wish, on behalf of the government and people of the Republic of China, to summon all the peace-loving nations and people of the world who share a concern for human rights to sternly condemn the Chinese Communists; to demand them to put an immediate stop to this bloody massacre; and to demand them to offer their best care and relief to the wounded and families of the dead.

I also summon all Chinese people at home and abroad to put their great love for their countrymen into practice, to closely unite and act as a backup for our mainland compatriots in their struggle for survival and freedom, to support and assist them in every way possible, and to make a complete break with the Chinese Communists.

At the same time, I also wish to remind the people on our bastion of national revival, military and civilian alike, to remain alert to the Chinese Communists' inclination towards the use of violence and military force, and to be prepared, on the eve of the collapse of the Chinese Communists, for any action that they might risk taking.

The Chinese Communist tyranny is the shame of all the Chinese people of the world. The government and people of the Republic of China must resolutely unite all anti-communist forces and exert their utmost efforts to overthrow this tyranny. We pledge not to stop until we have achieved this goal.

LEE Teng-hui, President, Republic of China, June 4, 1989

► administration officials are looking into the request, said Sen. James McClure, presidential assistant in charge of congressional relations. Secretary of State James A. Baker III has met with Latvian representatives.

The National Endowment for democracy, which gives federal money to U.S. organizations that seek to foster democracy abroad, last year gave \$27,500 to the American-Latvian Association and this year gave \$25,000 to Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid. The money is being used to furnish the nationalist movements with modern communication equipment.

The Washington Post. July 9, 1989

SOVIET RUSSIAN ATROCITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

A former Soviet Army officer, Valeri Krasnopolsky (Ze'ev Steinman), who served in Afghanistan for two years, 1981-1982, after which he was condemned to three years in a prison camp, receiving a supplementary three-years sentence there narrates about his experience in Afghanistan.

Valeri Krasnopolsky finished a Suvorov Military School in Ussuriisk, and then, in 1980, a higher Officers School in Ryazan, where he trained as a sniper and won the title of Master of Sports in sharpshooting.

Ranking as lieutenant, he was sent, in 1981, to command a squad of snipers with the Soviet Army in the field in Afghanistan. Here is his story:

Participating in the military operations against the rebels in the vicinity of the towns of Kandagar, Lagman, and Takhat in 1981 and 1982, his squad was constantly in hiding to observe roads and paths linking the villages and towns. The order to the snipers was simple — to shoot all passers-by in the head only; to kill women, children and the old people; to kill all and sundry, disregarding sex and age, because “they are all bushman bandits”, the commanding officers said. The order was carried out.

Two special units were dislocated alongside the snipers — an “anti-plague sanitation and epidemiological battalion” and a company of “special task” forces.

With acquaintances in both these units, Lieutenant Krasnopolsky learned that the sanitation battalion doctors engaged in collecting and examining corpses of civilian Afghans killed with chemical and bacteriological attacks on a village, the “sanitation” battalion arrived on the spot and collected all human and animal corpses. It was strictly forbidden to leave corpses behind.

After preliminary examination, these special unit doctors shipped the “materials” and results of tests to the USSR for further laboratory “processing”. The medical officers joked cynically, “Our gases are humane, when you are hit, you don’t even have time to squirm, you die right away”.

The special task men — the whole force consisted of officers — flew out in helicopters, dressed in Afghan clothing, armed with foreign weapons. None of them were Russian, but Kirghizians, Turkmenians, and Mongols, specially selected for Afghanistan.

Special tasks were performed without possession of documents, so that in case an operation misfired, it could not be discovered that the perpetrators were Soviet.

Participants told Krasnopolsky about certain of their “exploits” when they were routinely made drunk upon their return from operations. They bragged that they exploited hostilities between different groups of Afghans to steal into a village and kill the men and their leaders and wipe out entire populations. Upon leaving the site of a killing, they would “accidentally” leave traces, making a pretence that the murders were committed by a hostile Afghan group. As a rule, such provocatory actions led to fratricidal battles between Afghans and to their mutual destruction.

Participants also told about wiping out the spiritual leaders of the rebels, so that they “would not stir up the Afghans against the USSR”. Special task officers disguised as rebels would entice Afghan refugees — women, old folks, and children — escaping to Pakistan into impassible spots and shoot them there. This was done with the same goal of provoking trouble by performing executions in imitation of the manner of

hostile Afghan tribes. Again, these actions led to fratricide and armed clashes among the Afghans.

There were instances when refugees were enticed into minefields. The special task officers returned to their bases without casualties, since their training and high professional military standards always made it possible for them to get away undiscovered to helicopters sent out for them.

The witness told about a rocket unit whose officers he was in contact with. They used medium range earth-to-earth rockets and trained by firing at targets in Pakistan. The special task forces conducted observations of their hits. Sometimes the targets were refugee camps.

Prior to leaving for Israel in 1988, V. Krasnopolsky had a chance to talk with the rocketry officers from Afghanistan. They told him they were now firing at targets in Afghanistan from Uzbekistan and Turkmenia (Soviet Middle Asian republics). "It is cheaper and safer that way", they said, "and you do not have to ship rockets to Afghanistan, we'll need to keep our sights trained on certain targets".

Valeri Krasnopolsky refused to carry out a routine inhuman order to annihilate civilians in Afghanistan. He was arrested and condemned by court martial to three years in a prison camp; he was stripped of his senior lieutenant rank and all his decorations.

It is typical that during the investigation it was discovered that ever since his childhood, he bore the name of his foster parents; he was born with the name Steinman. A scandal stormed in the army political department and personnel offices: "How did they let a Jew go to Afghanistan as a commander!"

Ze'ev Steinman, as they now insisted on calling him, landed in Irkutsk and Chita Regions. He was shifted around between many camps, jails and transit prisons from 1983 to 1988.

As has been pointed out in our previous Information Bulletins, the concentration camp regime in the USSR has gradually become more brutal: the barracks within the camps are now separated by barbed wire into "local zones". Visiting neighbouring barracks, even talking across the barbed wire, is forbidden. The camp administration now has the right to punish infringements by incarceration in a punishment cell not for a limited period up to 15 days, but to prolong the sentence time and again. The administration has been given the right to add up to three years to the prisoners' terms for violating rules. Food rations have been reduced from 15 roubles to 8 roubles per person per month. The camp guards have been given the right to suppress "internal disorders" in the camp by firearms.

We have reported prisoners' strikes, new arrests of religious people and Jews and other fighters for national revival, new extermination camps in the USSR, banishment from Moscow for former prisoners, and many other increases in the brutality of Soviet legislation.

*Information Bulletin
of the Research Centre,
Israel
June 1989*

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN BRADFORD

At a mass meeting held on Sunday, 23rd July 1989 in the Ukrainian premises 196 Legrams Lane, Bradford 7 to conclude the Captive Nations Week in Bradford the members from Byelorussian, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian communities, all represented by the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford, had the following resolution proposed and adopted it unanimously.

THE RESOLUTION

We, members of the Captive Nations, are viewing with concern the recent changes in attitudes of Western statesmen and Governments in their dealings with the Soviet Union. The 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' policies of president Gorbachov have brought about a feeling that the Soviet Union is now a country where freedom, human rights and democracy exist, added to which the Gorbachov's initiative on disarming might suggest that the Communists in Moscow have ceased their ambitions for expansion and will settle for peace. This is not so and unfounded false sense of security could be very costly.

We saw on our television screens only last month the Chinese students demonstration being crushed by the Communist rulers in Peking — the bloody onslaught by the army and a swift follow up with death penalties. But, we have forgotten that the very same action was taken by the Red army against peaceful demonstrators in Georgia on 9th April 1989 — the soldiers clubbed people with spades, including women and children. The day after he returned from London Mikhail Gorbachov rushed through legislation which restricts the rights of political opposition to the Soviet system and in particular provides severe sentences for people with contacts and support from individuals or organisations abroad.

The recent elections in Soviet Union, hailed as the first democratic elections there, were so "loaded" that the Communist party could not possibly lose.

The Republic parliaments in Estonia and Lithuania have passed resolutions for national sovereignty, but the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have blocked these resolutions although the Soviet Constitution provides for its member Republics to leave the USSR if they so decide. We wish to see true freedom in Eastern Europe and therefore urge the Western Governments, institutions and trading delegations to:

make sure that all the Agreements and Treaties concluded with the Soviet Government insist that Moscow abides by the human rights requirements of the Helsinki Agreement.

insist that all business deals entered into with Soviet firms and authorities secure their assurances that due regard will be paid to industrial safety, ecological and environmental considerations by the Soviet counterparts.

demand that the Berlin Wall is brought down as a pre-condition for any exchanges in scientific, technical or social fields.

be cautious when meeting the Soviet requirements for financial support — this financially ailing despotic Government, which does not hesitate to turn its army on its own people, if recovered, could turn on you too.

On behalf of those at the Meeting:

Mr. G. Tamsons, Chairman

Anna Dnistran, Secretary

THE TRAMPLING OF EXISTING LAW

The following document was received in the West by the Ukrainian Central Information Service on 28 September 1988 from the Ukrainian Helsinki Spilka (Union).

An Appeal

To the Governments of Countries who participated in the Helsinki Accords,
To the International Helsinki Federation:

We, the participants of the Riga Conference, representatives of national-democratic movements of the nations of the USSR, appeal to you to recognize that the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Union remains unresolved.

The pressures brought to bear by democratic communities both within and outside the USSR, have forced the regime during the past few months to release a number of well-known prisoners, specifically — Mart Niklus, Hryhorii Prykhodko, Ivan Sokulsky, Vasyl Ovsienko, Mykola Horbal, and Ivan Kandyba.

Nonetheless, we cannot reconcile the fact that those convicted for their beliefs, our fellow countrymen, continue to be imprisoned in concentration camps and in exile, including:

Estonian

Enn Tarto (strict regimen)

Ukrainians

Pavlo Kampov, (especially strict regimen); Bohdan Klymchak, (strict regimen);

Lithuanians

Boleslav Lizunas (prison regimen); Valdemaras Karalunas (special psychiatric institution); Joanas Pakutzkas (strict regimen); Balis Haiauskas, Gintautas Iesmantas, Viktoras Petkus, Reverend Sygitas Tymkiavichus (exile); Piatras Hrazhulis (general regimen)

Crimean Tartars

Reshat Ablaiev, Synaver Kadyrov (general regimen)

Evrei

Leonid Lidman (strict regimen)

Russians

Mykhail Alexieiev (especially strict regimen); Deacon Vladimir Rusak (strict regimen)

Byelorussian

Mykhailo Kukobaka (strict regimen)

and others.

The utter violation of law and international judicial norms, promulgated during Andropov's rule, specifically under Article 183 of the Criminal Code of the Russian SFSR and relevant articles of the criminal codes of other republics, effectively allow

for the interminable prolongation of sentences for prisoners, who “have not yet learned the errors of their ways”.

An example of the trampling of existing law is the fear-induced decision to deport, directly from prison, the well-known Armenian patriot Paruir Airikian, who was expelled from the USSR.

The reactionaries of the ruling apparatus, the guarantors of injustice, are prepared to reap new harvests. They have already selected the new victims — activists and participants of peaceful demonstrations and meetings — Latvian Motrys Lujans and Ukrainian Ivan Makar have been arrested. Participants in meetings and demonstrations are regularly meted out 15-day prison terms under administrative laws, forced labor, large monetary fines, as well as the deprivation of labor, the garnishing of wages, and other repressive measures.

We, the participants of the Riga International Conference, consider it our responsibility to alert, through you, the entire international democratic community, that an atmosphere of trust in relations between the Free World and the Socialist Camp is not possible until the tauted slogans of Soviet restructuring allow for the clearing of barbed wire in order to make room for independent nations.

Only the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience, only the complete rehabilitation of all repressed political associations, only the elimination from legal codes of articles which legitimize political repression, only the prohibition of prosecuting individuals for their beliefs — on clearly fabricated criminal charges — only then can there be a rationale for the people to change their perception of the political system of the USSR, for the establishment of a climate of trust in international relations.

25 September 1988; Riga

Signed:

Ints Tsalitis (Unofficial National Front of Latvia)

Juris Ziemelinsh (“Helsinki ’86”, Riga Chapter)

Givs Ozolinsh (Club in Defense of Society, Latvia)

Lydija Doronina (Unofficial journal “Auseklys”/Latvia)

Valdis Titaus, Gerta Livia Astra (Movement for the National Independence of Latvia)

Nijole Sadunaite (Lithuanian Catholic Church)

Vytautas Bogushis, Antanas Terliatskas, Andrus Tuchkus (League for the Freedom of Lithuania)

Stepan Khmara, Viacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko (Ukrainian Helsinki Union)

Liahle Parek (National Independence Party for Estonia)

Merab Kostava (Georgian National Democratic Party)

Heorhii Himpu (Member of the Romanian National Movement in the Moldavian SSR)

Niyazi Selimov, Server Tuvarti, Abdureshid Dzhepparov, Sadyk Berberov (Members of the Crimean Tartar National Movement)

KHARKIV ACTIVISTS DEFEND UKRAINIAN HETMAN

On Thursday, 6 July, poet Stepan Sapelak, chairman of the Kharkiv branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), together with other activists from the city, went to Poltava to protest against the official celebration (July 6-9) marking the 280th anniversary of the Battle of Poltava, and to mourn the thousands of Ukrainians slaughtered by Peter the Great after his victory over Hetman Ivan Mazepa. After the battle, Ukraine lost the substantial autonomy she enjoyed under the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) between Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Tsar Alexis of Russia. The celebrations were staged by the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and other all-union institutions in Moscow.

According to Sapelak, 12 people from Kharkiv managed to reach Poltava. Activists travelling from Lviv were taken off the train.

In connection with this, the Kharkiv branch of the UHU and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) have issued a joint declaration in defence of Mazepa, in which they disassociate themselves from official interpretations of the Hetman's role in Ukrainian history and call for the return to official historiography of the names of national Ukrainian scholars. The full text of this declaration follows below.

In Defence of Hetman Ivan Mazepa

To the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians
To the editors of newspapers in the free world and in Ukraine
To the administration of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR

Declaration

With this declaration, the Kharkiv branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) and the Initiative Group of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) disassociate themselves from the interpretations of official historiography and individual pseudo-scholars regarding the role of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the life of Ukraine.

We deem it imperative to declare before the community that for us Hetman Ivan Mazepa is a nationally revered symbol of Ukrainian statehood. Relative to this, and taking into consideration the objective analysis and research into the work of the Hetman by historians who are recognized authorities of national historical scholarship, we demand the return to official historiography of the names of the following scholars: Dmytro Doroshenko, Ivan Ohiyenko, Dmytro Chyzhevskyi, Volodymyr Antonovych, Olha Yakymenko, Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, and the reprinting of [Tyktor's] *History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces*.

We also declare that on the day of the battle for national independence at Poltava and the defeat of the Ukrainian nation under the leadership of Ivan Mazepa, we will arrive [in Poltava] in sorrow and mourning. Today, we appeal to the world community and those in Ukraine to support our initiative and join us in grief and mourning.

In the future, we will demand that the Rumanian government returns to Ukraine the remains of our glorious Hetman, the defender of national rights and independence.

Stepan Sapelak, Chairman, Kharkiv UHU branch

Svitlana Shkumat Chairwoman, Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM)

July 5, 1989

STEPAN SAPELIAK IN OTTAWA

Well-known Ukrainian poet and former prisoner of conscience of the notorious concentration camp No. 36 in the Perm region, Stepan Sapeliak visited the Canadian House of Commons on Wednesday, April 19, taking the opportunity to provide Canadian members of Parliament with his insights into the current political, social and economic changes taking shape in Ukraine.

Sapeliak began his visit to Parliament Hill with a private meeting with Alex Kindy, Ukrainian-born, Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament for Calgary-North-east. Mr. Sapeliak presented the Calgary parliamentarian with a signed Canadian edition of a collection of his poetry entitled "*Without Sword and Native Land*".

Following that meeting, Sapeliak, accompanied by Alex Kindy, Andrij Hluchowecky, Director of the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Ottawa, and journalist Stephan Jaworsky, met with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, where Sapeliak thanked the Prime Minister and the Canadian government for their intervention on his behalf.

Immediately following the meeting with the Canadian Prime Minister, Sapeliak proceeded to the Department of External Affairs, where he met with Robert W. Poetschke, Deputy Director of the USSR and East Europe Relations Division. Sapeliak expressed grave concern over the strict new laws passed on April 8 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet that include prison terms and fines for anyone who publicly insults a government body. The decree, signed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, prohibits public appeals for undermining and overthrowing the Soviet state and social system, as well as the publication or circulation of materials containing such ideas.

After the External Affairs briefing, Sapeliak returned to Parliament Hill for a meeting with Liberal Member of Parliament for Ottawa Centre, Mac Harb. The new Soviet decree, the after effects of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster and the mysterious disease, due to thallium exposure, affecting the children of Chernivtsi were the main points brought before the parliamentarian by Sapeliak.

In the morning, Sapeliak was interviewed by Andrey Loginov, the Ottawa correspondent for Radio Canada International for broadcast to Ukraine and by Paul Mooney, reporter for the Canadian Press (CP) wire service.

The day earlier, Sapeliak delivered a lecture before the Ukrainian community in Ottawa. This literary event was organized by the Ukrainian National Home and the National Information Bureau of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Ottawa.

Stepan Sapeliak is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and a founding member of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intellegentsia, which publishes an independent unofficial journal "*Kafedra*" ("*The Rostrum*").

In 1973 Sapeliak was arrested by the KGB for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was tried and sentenced to 10 years of incarceration in the Vladimir prison and concentration camp No. 36 in the Perm region. He completed his term in 1983 and took up residence in Kharkiv.

TO MY FOREIGN FRIENDS — A WORD OF THANKS!

After seven years of concentration camps in Mordovia I spent my period of exile in Yakutia — 9,000 miles away from Ukraine, near Oymyakon, the cold north pole. However, the coldness of captivity has other dimensions. For myself and my wife the cold was less biting thanks to the spiritual warmth brought about by people from abroad who were not indifferent to our fate. We received hundreds of letters and greetings for Christmas and New Year 1989 from individuals, families and student groups in Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Belgium and West Germany. The letters continue to arrive even now. We feel a deep gratitude to all those who have responded to us. We would like to respond to each one individually, unfortunately there is no possibility for this. That is why we are appealing to newspapers and we ask them to convey our thanks to all those who morally supported prisoners of conscience and cared about their plight. That we were released is largely due to your efforts, our dear foreign friends.

Historical fruit is not always visible on the tree of life, but the tree itself is nourished by the personal, moral deeds of the individual; figuratively speaking, by the sensitivity and memory of the human soul and the heart. Each person who paid attention to the fate of prisoners of conscience by this alone, contributed to the betterment of life on earth. Perhaps such words are too resonant. Nevertheless, I hope they do not stifle the truth that they contain, truth about the great strength of human mutual understanding and mutual help to create good. Freedom is manifold, multi-layered value, but it is indivisible. Therefore let this constant need unite us, people, in aspiring to make the life of each human being more fortunate and valuable.

I should like to hope that behind my name, my foreign friends also see my homeland — Ukraine. I would be happy if my civic destiny would instill in some of you a desire to familiarize yourselves with the history and culture of the Ukrainian nation more closely. The “European home” is only a part of the sole edifice of universal peace and the strength of this edifice depends on how comfortable each nation feels in it. Unfortunately, sometimes one is forced to remind politicians, among them even “close” neighbouring ones, that we Ukrainians also live in Europe; it is here that we have our primordial and permanent sanctum, our own house which we want to see sovereign and safe, I am a native of Transcarpathia, a Ukrainian province, in which the geographical centre of Europe lies.

Thanks to all who are not indifferent to the fate of the wronged! Let freedom be our common home, our common language, our home!

*Yuriy Badzio, Ukrainian former prisoner of conscience
Kyiv, March 1989*

Yuriy Badzio was born on April 25, 1936 in Transcarpathia, Ukraine, in a family of many children. In 1953 he entered the Ukrainian section of the philological faculty at the University of Uzhhorod. In 1961 Badzio began post-graduate work in theory at the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences and worked on his dissertation: “Criteria of truth in the appraisal of a literary-artistic work”. In 1965 Badzio was expelled from the Institute for his civil activities, in 1966 he was thrown out of the Communist Party. In 1972 Badzio began work on his book “The Right to Live” for which he was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. He was released at the end of 1988. Yuriy Badzio with his wife Svetlana and daughter Bohdanna arrived on July 25, 1989 in West Germany for a 3-month visit at the invitation of their Ukrainian friends. They also expect to visit the United States and Canada.

KAZAKHS AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS

According to information in "*The Christian Science Monitor*" of 16th-22nd March, the Kazakhstan Writers Union expressed its protest against further testing in nuclear plants in the republic. Moscow had built an underground installation not far from the town of Semypalatynsk to be used for nuclear experiments. Affirming that last month two experiments released radio-active gases into the atmosphere, the writers demand the closure of all nuclear installations and army bases which have a connection with nuclear explosions in the republic. "We can no longer justify reasons to defend the silent war which the state wages against its own people" says the writers' statement.

This letter is spreading opposition against the use of nuclear energy, from the atomic energy to the nuclear military programme, which was taboo until now. On the 12th and 17th February after the atomic tests, gases from the underground installation were released into the atmosphere. It needs to be remembered that this was not the first accident involving the release of gases. On 17th April, some people died as a result of a similar experiment and dispersal of gases. In an open letter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to republic authorities, the writers state that there was an increase in the number of cases of illnesses connected with radio-activity. During the last decade the average life expectancy has shortened by four years. "One of the reasons for this terrible consequence is the growing concentration of radiation in water, earth and in food products" states the letter. In Kazakhstan 42 million acres are used to grow wheat as opposed to 49 million acres used by the army bases, installations and nuclear testing plants.

LETTER FROM US STATE DEPARTMENT

Ms. Irena Chalupa
Ukrainian National Information Service
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Suite 225
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Ms. Chalupa:

The Department of State closely follows the events now taking place in the Soviet Union. We applaud the positive steps that have been taken to bring the Soviet Union into greater compliance with internationally recognized human rights, including the right to peaceful political expression and the right of believers to practice their faith. We are mindful, however, that much remains to be done.

The situation in Ukraine is of special concern. We recognize the importance and key contributions of Ukraine to the USSR as a whole. At the same time, we are dismayed by the authorities' refusal to allow Ukrainian Catholics to legalize their church's status and to practice their faith without government interference. This issue, as well as the broader issue of freedom of political expression, has been raised in our bilateral human rights discussions with Soviet officials and, most recently, at the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension which concluded last month.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ARAL: BLAME KREMLIN COLONIALISM

One consequence of the policy of glasnost in the Soviet Union is that Central Asian writers have begun to explore the causes of one of the world's great environmental tragedies: the destruction of the Aral Sea.

The epic proportions of the Aral problem were summed up by the former president of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Polat Habibullaev, who wrote: "Until now, human history has not witnessed in the span of a single generation the disappearance from the Earth's surface of a sea which once had an area of 6 million hectares (14,8 million acres) and its transformation into a barren land upon which no vegetation or form of life can be sustained."

The Aral is referred to as a "sea" only because of its size. Actually, it is a lake, once 265 miles (430 kilometers) long and the fourth-largest lake in the world. But it is shrinking. According to R. Berdibaev, a Kazakh professor of philology, the Aral's water level fell 6 feet from 1957 to 1984. Others have written that by 1987, the waters of the Aral had fallen a total of 8.4 feet.

Each 1-foot drop in the water level shrinks the sea by about 8 percent, specialists say. Some estimate that the Aral's area has diminished by half.

As the Aral Sea gets smaller, it is getting saltier. Since 1960, the salinity of the sea has been increasing, from about 10 percent to about 23 percent today. Incredibly, in some areas, the Aral Sea is now 44 percent salt. As it recedes, it leaves behind a desiccated land — a desert of salt and sand.

The principal explanation for the shrinkage: The rivers that once fed the sea — the Amu Darya and Syr Darya — no longer do so. The Syr Darya has not reached the Aral in 18 years, and the waters of the Amu Darya, partly diverted into the Karakum canal, rarely seep into the Aral. If this persists, it is expected that the Aral will dry up by the year 2010.

The Aral remained relatively stable until 1960, when the authorities began drawing water from the Amu Darya, the Syr Darya and other rivers to irrigate some 3 million hectares of new farm lands.

It was only by building a vast network of reservoirs and canals, some on the banks of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, that productions of cotton, by far the principal crop being irrigated, could expand at a rate satisfactory to the demands of the central



We recognize that individuals such as yourself are in the forefront pressing for change within the Soviet Union. For our part, we will continue to press the Soviet leadership to live up to the commitments made in the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent international agreements.

Sincerely,

Alexander Vershbow
Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington D.C. 20520

government. Marshland, pastures, forests and even fruit orchards were eliminated to make room for cotton.

During the Soviet period, state investment in, and demand for, cotton has perhaps been the most elementary force guiding Moscow's treatment of Central Asia.

The inordinate demand for cotton led to the enactment of various absurd and painful initiatives. The steps taken to meet Moscow's cotton quotas were recalled by the Uzbek writer Ramz Babajan: "I still remember those days when we tore out the seams of our quilted blankets and gathered up the cotton inside. Armload upon armload, we piled the cotton high. At that time newspapers admonished us with slogans about our patriotic duty to help fulfill the plan... Was all this necessary? For whom and for what was the cotton needed? It was just such 'initiatives' that broke peoples' hearts, brought turmoil to the home, and left people agitated and indignant."

The writer Otkir Hashimov criticizes the cotton mania: "Until the cotton is planted right up to the patio outside your window, what must be done? If we continue to drill too many wells and leave our pastures parched, where are we going to get milk, meat and butter?"

The end result was the shrinkage of the Aral. This has affected the region's climate and ecological balance. As A. Alzhanov, a Kazakh environmentalist, wrote: "Winter has begun to come early and last a long time. Summer now turns out to be rainless, dry and hot. Winter is snowless, severe and cold."

Central Asia's problem is fundamentally a colonial one. The culprit is a system of unlimited demands from a distant metropolis — a system that organizes and directs local economic development according to a national agenda, regardless of local limitations.

Unless this colonial relationship is broken, I cannot see how the core problems, including the Aral's desiccation, can be solved.

The danger for Moscow is that these "local" ecological issues will inspire nationalism and unrest in the Moslem republics of Central Asia. For these issues play on the underlying sense of indignation, of "us versus them," that animates the ethnic politics of the Soviet Union.

*By Rusi Nasar, Head of Central Asian
Affairs Consultants (Central Asian Survey)*

MONS. JAN SOKOL — ARCHBISHOP OF TRNAVA AND PRIMATE OF SLOVAKIA

Since the foundation of the Slovakian diocese on December 30, 1977 by Pope Paul VI, the seat of the Metropolitan in Trnava had remained vacant. The Communist government in Bratislava used its veto to fail all nominated Bishops unless they were members of the priest movement "Pacem in Terris", which is authorised by the Communist government in Prague.

After long consultative talks between the Vatican and the Czechoslovakian government on July 27, 1989 the nomination of Mons. Jan Sokol former titular Bishop and Apostolian administrator, as Archbishop of Trnava and Metropolitan of the Slovakian diocese, and therefore, Primate of Slovakia was pronounced.

UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

1. Political Prisoners

1. **BABYCH**, Serhiy, b. 13.12.1939, worker
Arrested 11.6.1976, 15 spec. (incl. 5 in prison);
Release (under amnesty) 12.2.1990
Art. 218-1 p. 3. Possession of samvydav literature; links with human rights activities
Tried on 4.8.1976
From Zhytomyr
Current location: Prison in Rivne oblast

2. **KAMPOV**, Pavlo Fedorovych, b. 21.9.1929, mathematics teacher
Arrested 13.7.1981. 10 str. + 3 exile. End of camp term (under amnesty) no later than April 1990; end of exile no later than April 1992 (April 1993?)
Art. 93 p. 3. Ukrainian national movement; sought emigration
From Uzhhorod
Current location: labour camp in Kirov region

3. **KIRICHENKO**, Serhiy Volodymyrovych, b. 1959, computer engineer
Arrested 11.5.1983. 10 str.
Release (under amnesty) 25.5.1990

Art. 64. Got acquainted to foreign diplomats
From Kyiv
Current location: labour camp (Perm 35)

4. **KISLYAK**, Petro, student
Arrested in February 1986
Art. (?) Ukrainian national movement
From Kyiv
Current location: criminal camp (?)

5. **KLYMCHAK**, Bohdan Stanislavovych, b. 1938, technician
Arrested in November 1978. 15 str. + 5 exile. End of camp term (under amnesty) September 1989; end of exile March 1992 (September 1994?)
Arts. 64 and 70. Escaped to Iran, taking with him works of fiction that were "nationalistically biased" and which he intended to publish abroad; was handed over to Soviet authorities.
From Ternopil oblast
Current location; labour camp (Perm 35)

6. **KRITSKYI**, Edward Oleksiiovych (?), b. 21.3.1940, driver
Arrested 1.5.1980, 3 ord.



Pope John Paul II on the same day nominated the former priest of Levoča Rev. Dr. František Tondra, Bishop of Spišské Podhradie, where the episcopate had remained vacant since 1948 when the Communist foreign government had imprisoned the 72 year old Bishop Ján Vojtassák and had condemned him after a show-trial from January 11-15, 1951 in Bratislava, to 24 years in prison for "espionage for the Vatican and the West".

In Slovakia with a population of 5.5 million, 85% are Catholics, who are registered in six other episcopates. With the episcopate in Banská Bystrica and the above mentioned Bishop nominations in Trnava and Spišské Podhradie, the episcopates of Nitra, Rožnáva, Kosice and the Greek Catholic episcopate in Prešov are still waiting for their appointnees. The Vatican hopes that it will be possible to fill the still vacant episcopates in the near future. This would normalise the Slovakian hierarchy a little.

Valentino Berko

Art. 206 p. 2. Took part in creation of a free union; attended a May 1 demonstration calling for the independence of trade unions

Rearrested in camp 27.4.1983, 3 str. + remaining term. Art. 190-I. Rearrested in camp in April (?) 1986. 4 str. + remaining term. Release 30.4.1990

Art. 188-3

From Dnipropetrovsk oblast

Current location: prison in Goris, Armenia

7. **KUKHARUK**, Oleksiy Volodymyrovych, b. 1923

Arrested 30.3.1972, 15 str. + 5 exile. Release March 1992

Art. 64. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

From Volyn oblast

Current location: exile

8. **MAZURAK**, Vasyl, b. 1927,

teacher

Arrested at the end of 1981, 10 spec. + 5 exile. Camp term may have been shortened.

Release no later than 1991

Arts. 64, 68, 70. Nationalistic activities

From Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

Current location: exile

9. **NECHAYUK**, Petro

Arrested no later than 1982, 5 str. + 5 exile

Release no later than 1992

Ukrainian Catholic Church

Current location: exile

10. **PETRENKO**, Pavlo

Arrested in mid-1985. 5 str. Release in mid-1991

Religious activities; Jehovah's Witness

Current location: criminal camp in Rai-kivtsi

11. **SHISH**, Serhiy, b. 1955

Arrested 7.8.1986. 3 str. Release 7.8.1989

Art. 206 p. 2. Organized a Christian community

Tried 11.3.1987

From Donetsk

Current location: labour camp in Donetsk oblast

12. **YAKIVTSIV**, Bohdan, b. 1941, metalworker

Arrested in 1986. 3 yrs. deprivation of freedom; conditional release into mandatory labour. Release in 1989

Art. 83. Crossed the Soviet-Polish border; returned

From Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

Current location: mandatory labour project in Buryat

13. **ZINCHUK**, Kyrilo Oleksiyovych, b. 1922

15 str. + 5 exile

Art. 64. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

From Ukraine

Current location: exile

II. Psychiatric Cases

1. **BUZHENKO**, Serhiy (?), b. 1957

Arrested no later than 1981

Art. 190-1

Current location: SPH in Dnipropetrovsk

2. **KALYUZHNYI**, Volodymyr

Dmytrovych, b. 24.5.1951

Hospitalized in February 1988

Sought emigration to West Germany

From Donetsk

Current location: Donetsk PH

3. **NAZAROVETS**, Mykola (?), b. c.

1955

Arrested before 1982

Art. 70

From Ukraine

Current location: SPH or PH

BOOK REVIEWS

“THE KGB AGAINST THE MAIN ENEMY”

The past fifteen years has seen a veritable cascade of books dealing with past and recent Soviet Russian intelligence operations against the United States. The various campaigns — the manipulation of the American communist party for purposes of espionage in the 1920's and 30's, the use of notorious spy rings in the 40's and 50's, the creation of disinformation networks in the 60's and 70's — have been analyzed from every conceivable angle. It would seem impossible that anything might be added to the subject. Yet a remarkable work entitled **The KGB Against the Main Enemy** co-authored by Herbert Romerstein and Stanislav Levchenko have accomplished just such a feat.

The success of the book lies in its synthesizing capabilities. The piece manages to show how particular Soviet Russian intelligence operations have been artfully interwoven to produce one never ending assault on the nation the USSR fears the most. The piece further manages to capture the relentless evil genius of the Soviet Intelligence Service in its various historical guises — as the Cheka, GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MKGB, or the KGB. As a result, the reader comes away from the work as convinced as the authors are that the Service is presently the single deadliest threat to America — “the most effective weapon in the arsenal of the Soviet Communist Party today”.

For Americans of East European origin the book is vitally important on two levels. One, the piece should help awaken their fellow Americans to the perils of the KGB. Two, the piece should make it easier to convince the larger American community that they have been victims of vicious attempts at discreditation by the KGB. With regard to the latter, the inclusion of several examples of such attempts — Alfred Khan's diatribes about Ukrainian fascist sympathies in the 1940's, the campaign to paint Ukrainians, Balts and others, as former Nazi collaborators in the 60's and 70's, and the Boomerang operation in September 1988 indicting Ukrainians traveling into the USSR as tools of western intelligence services — are a welcome bonus.

In some ways, the work is no surprise. Herbert Romerstein has served as a staff member on the House of Representatives Intelligence Committee and as director of the Office to Counter Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation at the USIA. Stanislav Levchenko was a high ranking officer in the KGB until his defection in 1979 and has become in recent years a key source of information for the US government in

4. **SIDORCHENKO**, Anatoliy Ivanovich, b. 1942
PhD candidate in philosophy
Arrested in spring of 1984
Art. 70. Wrote a book on V. Vysotsky
From Moscow
Current location: Kazan SPH

5. **STEBA**, Ivan, b. 1926
Arrested in 1963
Art. 70. Critical statements; sought emigration to relatives in Australia
Current location: PH in Chernihiv

6. **STYSHCHUK**, Konstantyn Mykolayevych, b. c. 1920
Arrested no later than 1983
Art. 190-1
From Ivano-Frankivsk
Current location: PH in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

UCIS
Ukrainian Central Information Service
200 Liverpool Road
London N1 1LF,
Great Britain

matters of Soviet espionage. Few men, East or West, can match the qualifications that the two have brought to their writing. The reviewer can only hope that the two will work together again in the future.

W.Z.

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation, *Selected Writings of Yaroslav Stetsko*, edited by John Kolasky, Philosophical Library, New York, 1988, 720 pp.

Yaroslav Stetsko, former prime-minister of the Ukrainian Government in 1941, passed away on 5 July 1986, in Munich, West Germany. This impressive collection of selected writings was posthumously published through the efforts of his wife, Slava Stetsko, who remains deeply convinced that her late husband's words still carry a very important message for the Free World. Yaroslav Stetsko dedicated his entire life to the Ukrainian liberation movement, and it was in the post-World War II years that he devoted a great deal of attention also to the other nations subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism. Wherever he went, Stetsko carried a message of hope for the enslaved nations of the world, backed with a strong warning to the Free World — to remain vigilant of continued Soviet Russian imperialism and aggression.

The text features a foreword by John Wilkinson, UK MP and president of the European Freedom Council, as well as a preface by Bertil Haggman, Swedish political activist; both were good friends of Yaroslav Stetsko and shared a profound appreciation for his work. Wilkinson writes,

“It is a daunting task to write an introduction to this collection of articles by my old friend, the late Yaroslav Stetsko. Daunting because few words can truly express the commitment shown by Yaroslav in his fight to free not only his beloved Ukraine, but also all countries which are denied freedom by the Soviet Union... His memory, however, will be kept alive not only by his friends and countrymen, but also by this collection of articles which span many years and topics. In them the reader will find one of the finest critiques of Communism and oppression coupled with Yaroslav's undying call for freedom...”

Let us pause to ponder the fact that the Russian “Prison of Peoples” grew from around 15,000 square miles in 1462 to 8,6 million square miles in 1914. It continued to expand after the Communists took over. In books, speeches, and essays Yaroslav Stetsko reminded us tirelessly of the expansionist driving force of the heirs of the Tsars.”

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations contains many articles, essays, and speeches, written during a forty-year period, by Yaroslav Stetsko, who was also president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, executive member of the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League, as well as the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Stetsko spent over three and a half years incarcerated in a Nazi concentration camp when he refused to renounce his government's proclamation of the recreation of Ukrainian independence, announced 30 June 1941. The Act of June 30 thwarted Hitler's plans for the occupation and destruction of Ukraine.

This collection of Stetsko's writings covers a wide range of topics and historic occasions: the Church and religion; eulogies and funeral orations; special addresses, appeals, articles, and interviews; international events; Russian Communism, imperialism, and oppression; the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; the Ukrainian

Insurgent Army; insurgent Ukraine; nationalism and nationalist ideology; criticism of Western policies towards the USSR; and the national liberation struggle.

Stetsko was the champion of freedom for all Russian-dominated countries: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and others. He lobbied the Western governments to ally themselves with those subjugated nations, lending them full support in their national liberation struggles. According to him, the dissolution of the modern Soviet Russian empire is the only moral, just solution in preventing a nuclear holocaust. Unfortunately, Stetsko's "alternative to nuclear war" has found little support within the liberal circles of the West. For them, "peaceful coexistence" seems to be the only reality; for Stetsko, that type of policy represented the greatest crime against humanity.

Borys D. Ozharivsky

KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union, by *Amy W. Knight*, Unwin Hyman, New York, 1988, 348 pp.

The author of this text, Amy Knight, is a prominent Sovietologist at the US Library of Congress in Washington DC. She is also an accomplished essayist and has contributed to many specialized journals and publications. Knight completed her studies at the London School of Economics, which is well-known for its Soviet affairs specialists.

KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union is divided into three parts: "Origins of the KGB", "Structure of the KGB", and "Functions of the KGB". Unlike many of her colleagues, this author does not center her work around the more sensationalistic aspects of the infamous intelligence-terrorist organization. On the contrary, she uses a wide-range of materials, methodically following the KGB's history, its legal foundation, structure, and methods of operation. Knight also analyzes its role in the development of the Soviet Russian empire and its position in the Soviet regime. One positive feature is the "Suggestions for further reading" found at the end of the book, recommending additional texts for the interested reader.

Concerning source material, the author writes,

"The main source of information used here is the Soviet press. Soviet legal textbooks and journals also offer valuable information on the formal structure and functions of the security police, as well as on its investigatory role in cases of political crime." (p. 20)

It is no secret that Western scholars have a very difficult time researching Soviet affairs. They are forced to pick their way through a wide variety of sources, where even obituaries provide a wealth of information. The author states as her immediate purpose: "This book represents an attempt to redress the balance and fill a significant gap in Western Sovietology by describing and analyzing the KGB as a political institution" (p. 16). This reviewer finds that Knight has successfully met her objective.

The "Voroshilovohrad Affair", involving newsman V. Berkhin who was arrested and harassed by KGB operatives, including their local commanding officer, was originally seen as a shocking expose designed to embarrass the local KGB apparatus in eastern Ukraine. Western observers felt that the incident might even serve as a means

by which to unseat Brezhnev's crony in Ukraine, V. Shcherbytskyi. It now seems that the entire affair was geared not towards compromising and removing the Ukrainian Communist leader (as was generally thought by Western observers in 1987), but was directed at deposing Ukrainian KGB chief S.N. Mukha. Iegor Ligachov, Gorbachev's so-called "opponent", replaced Mukha, who was KGB chief in Ukraine from June 1982 to May 1987, with a Siberian comrade from Tomsk, N.M. Holushko, who still holds that post. As for the "Voroshilovohrad Affair", Mukha may only have been guilty of being an ethnic Ukrainian — his replacement is a Russian. This may also have been the case with another "Ukrainian", Fedorchuk, who barely had time to move into his office as USSR KGB chief, when, after only seven months in service, he was replaced in December 1982 by a Russian — Chebrikov.

Just as the entire Bolshevik regime was established, the CheKa was also instituted without legal basis, on a regular decision of the Council of Commissar's, while the uncontrolled terror was directed by the private decree and verbal orders of Lenin himself.

"From the outset the powers of the Vecheka were ill-defined. There were no written definitions of the crimes it was to uncover, no procedures were established to determine whether the Vecheka's relationship with the latter (which were under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Justice) was vague. The first formal statute on the Vecheka, enacted on 28 October 1918, did little to clarify these issues...

Given its militant role and supralegal status, it is not surprising that the Vecheka acquired powers of summary justice as the threat of counter-revolution and foreign intervention grew." (p. 11)

KGB chief Holushko has only recently gained notoriety as the leading Soviet agent-provocateur in Ukraine. Holushko himself chaired a press conference in Kyiv in 1988 to "expose a ring of Ukrainian nationalists". One of his faithful comrades, Colonel Konstantyn Visotsky, with help from an equally distinguished Pole, Major Alexander Minkowycz, "uncovered" a non-existing Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists underground network with "ties to centers in London and the USA", which they summarily liquidated, but continually refused to provide any names or details of those who were "uncovered and liquidated". Even their KGB peers were unable to extract any pertinent information from Holushko and company. It now seems that the "September KGB bombshell" turned out to be blank. The KGB operations in Kyiv are an excellent example of the KGB's often sensationalistic style which is concisely addressed and expertly assessed by Amy Knight.

Although her book is not without typical Western, especially American, illusions, such as the claim that after 1954 "the powers of the political police were restricted considerably" (p. 18), overall this text is expertly written and scholarly in nature. Knight's book is in a sense a pioneering work since it touches upon the problems that often causes authors to rely on more sensational and uninvestigated events. This is not the case here. Both Soviet and non-Soviet materials have been carefully selected and well-used, while the conclusions and assessments made are pertinent and well-founded, even though it may be difficult to agree with her all the time. *KGB: Police and Politics* will undoubtedly serve as an invaluable reference for both Sovietologists and enthusiasts in general.

Yaroslav Haywas

TWO NEW BULGARIAN REFERENCES ANNOUNCED

Two new reference books, written by noted Bulgarian philatelic expert Dragomir Zagorsky now of LaMesa, Calif., are now available through the Croatian Philatelic Society.

The "*Short History of Bulgarian Philatelic Rarities*" covers the 19th century period. The profusely illustrated 101-page volume concentrates on plate and printing varieties and formats, perforation varieties and proofs. Postal stationery and postal history are also covered. Text is in Bulgarian, although the excellent illustrations will be of value to the non-Bulgarian speaking student as well.

"*The Jews of Bulgaria, A Collection of Bulgarian Judaica*," relates the story of Bulgarian Jews from 1879-1941 through postal history. Each of the 100 pages illustrates two covers that relate to Jewish individuals, firms or topics, with English captions and notes. This work will be invaluable to the student of Bulgarian postal history or Judaica.

The books are available for \$32 each, postpaid in U.S. funds, from James T. Lee, Corresponding Secretary, PO Box 07185, Cleveland, Ohio 44107.

Also available from the CPS in limited quantity is Zagorsky's book "*First Bulgarian Single-Circular Cancellations in Eastern Rumelia After Annexation*." This 105-page work presents an exclusive treatment of this rare postal history field. The book, as with all of Zagorsky's, is profusely illustrated. Text is in Bulgarian. Price is \$32 postpaid from Mr. Lee at the above address.

ALBANIA STUDY GROUP FORMED

Michael Hampson of Brighton, England has become chairman of the Albania Postal History Study Group.

Albania is a small, poor and mountainous country, on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, squeezed between its large neighbors, Greece and Yugoslavia.

Albanian postal history can be conveniently split into five periods:

1. The "Ottoman Empire" — up to 1913.
2. The "1st World War Occupations" — up to 1923.
3. The "King Zog" regime — up to 1939.
4. The "2nd World War Occupations" — up to 1945.
5. The "Communists" under Enver Hoxha.

Albania offers postal historians the opportunity of a wide and varied choice of areas and themes for specialization. For example, during the "1st World War" period, troops from Austria, Hungary, France, Turkey, Italy, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Montenegro, Holland and Greece occupied parts of Albania at one time or another.

The nearest the American army has come to Albania was in 1919, when troops were stationed at Cattaro (Kotar) in Dalmatia, just a few miles to the north of the Albanian border.

Persons interested in Albanian postal history who would like to exchange ideas and information, should write to Michael Hampson, 90 Ambleside Avenue, Telscombe Cliffs, East Sussex, BN9 7LH, England.

Membership in the study group is open to any member of the Croatian Philatelic Society, an alliance of collectors devoted to postal issues, postal history, numismatics and other collectibles.



CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1989

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each July, we Americans celebrate our Nation's independence and the blessings of self-government. As we give thanks for the rights and freedoms that citizens of this Nation have enjoyed for more than 200 years, we also recall our obligation to speak out for oppressed peoples around the world. We thus pause during Captive Nations Week to remember in a special way those peoples who suffer from foreign domination and from ideologies that are inimical to the ideas of national sovereignty and individual liberty.

Today, the leaders of the Soviet Union and other Communist governments are discovering that the voices of those who long for freedom and self-determination cannot be silenced. Around the world, men and women in captive nations are calling for recognition of their basic human rights. Their calls — the undeniable expression of just aspirations — are beginning to be heard.

In Afghanistan, the nightmarish years of Soviet occupation are over, and the Afghan people's demand for self-determination is drawing to realization. Unfortunately, a decisive end to the Afghans' long ordeal remains elusive while a puppet regime in Kabul continues the proxy devastation of their war-ravaged homeland.

In Africa, the people of Angola have a real chance to find peace after years of violent struggle against the ruling Marxist-Leninist regime. Our hopes for national reconciliation in Angola will remain tempered, however, as long as armed Cuban mercenaries continue to stalk the forests and veldt of that land and other countries on the African continent.

Communist expansionism has been frustrated in Southeast Asia, and today there is new hope that the people of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam will regain some day their long-denied political and religious freedom. Such hope has also returned for many of our neighbours to the south. In Nicaragua and other Latin American nations, popular resistance to attempts at repression by local dictators — as well as resistance to political and military interference from Cuba and the Soviet Union — has proved to be formidable.

In Eastern Europe, even as we see rays of light in some countries, we must recognize that brutal repression continues in other parts of the region, including the persecution of ethnic and religious minorities.

This week we recall with deep sadness the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact between Nazi Germany and the USSR that doomed Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to dismemberment and foreign domination. The United States refuses to accept the subsequent incorporation by the Soviet Union of the Baltic States during World War II. Since their forcible annexation in 1940, the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have faced political oppression, religious persecution, and repression of their national consciousness. But decades of oppression have not broken the great spirit of the Baltic people and other victims of Soviet domination.

Hundreds of thousands of men and women around the world continue to demonstrate publicly their desire for liberty and democratic government, demanding freedom of speech, assembly, and movement, as well as the freedom to practice their religious beliefs without fear of persecution.

Their voices are being heard; there have been improvements in human rights practices by the ruling regimes in many of these countries. But justice demands that more positive steps be taken. The fundamental rights and dignity of individuals must be recognized in law and respected in practice; the peoples living in captive nations not only ask for but are entitled to lasting protection of their God-given rights.

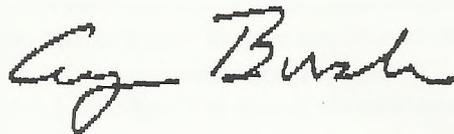
The United States shall continue to call upon all governments and states to uphold the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act until freedom and independence have been achieved for all captive nations.

Affirming all Americans' determination to keep faith with those who are denied their fundamental rights, the Congress, by joint Resolution approved July 17, 1989 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week."

Now, therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 16, 1989, as Captive Nations Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their devotion to the aspirations of all peoples for justice, self-determination, and liberty.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fourteenth.

George Bush

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George Bush". The signature is written in dark ink on a white background.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

5

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1989

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS DESERVE WESTERN SUPPORT

On the anniversary of the 1956 uprising that was crushed by Russian tanks which left 25,000 people dead, 150,000 injured and over 200,000 people had to emigrate, Hungary declared itself a Republic on 23 October 1989. Tens of thousands of people in Parliament Square broke out in cheers hearing the Proclamation by acting Head of State Matyas Szuros. They carried Hungarian flags, some with holes cut out where the Soviet red star should have been. The Parliamentary session removed all Stalinist elements from the Constitution and pressed laws for multi-party elections to be held in June 1990. In his speech Matyas Szuros envisaged the future Hungary as a free, democratic and neutral country like Austria and Finland.

Hundreds of thousands demonstrated on the streets of Leipzig and East Berlin for democracy. The Poles will demand at the next foreign ministers meeting to be held in Warsaw the guarantee from Moscow that Soviet troops will never again intervene in Warsaw Pact countries for ideological or political reasons. The Solidarity led Polish government is obliged to get these security arrangements in order to satisfy the concerns of their electorate, and not to ignore the anger and resentment of the population over the Red Army's presence. There are already demands in Hungary for a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia is progressing. In the republics of Yugoslavia the nationalist trends are growing stronger and stronger. The Albanians in Koshovo province are fighting for the unification of this part with Albania. Recently Slovenia introduced in its Constitution the right of secession from the so-called federation and establishment of its own sovereign state. Such a crisis was reached that for the first time the Yugoslav Defense Minister General Veljko Kadijevic made a public statement that the "Yugoslav Peoples Army is preparing itself against the nationalist movements". Up to now the army kept a neutral attitude in respect to these movements which were combatted with the help of state apparatus, the Communist Party and the organs of interior security. General Veljko Kadijevic made this statement shortly before a meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party which shows how critical the situation is.

The situation for Moscow's rulers is no better in the Soviet Union. The Baltic republics are pressing for independence. During his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Sheverdnadze, Secretary of State James Baker said that using force in the Baltic republics would jeopardise relations with Washington. He stressed the U.S. commitment to self-determination for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The United States does not recognise the annexation of the Baltic republics. This annexation was followed by forced Russification, mass deportations to remote regions of Siberia and the imposition of economic controls that still stifle initiative among the Balts. The United States attitude towards the Baltic nations — Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia — is congratulatory. Why are the other subjugated nations denied such moral support? Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan did not join the Soviet Union voluntarily. They were conquered by the Red Russian Army and their republics re-established after World War II, were forcefully incorporated into the Soviet Union. Persecution followed. The man-made famine which left Ukraine with over 7 million dead, deportations, purges of the intelligensia in all conquered

republics, extermination of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Autocephalic churches and persecutions of Moslem and Jewish religions as well as forced Russification and economic exploitation. However, in spite of all these persecutions the subjugated nations are alive and are voicing their demands by mass demonstrations for religious freedom, to be able to make their own economic decisions, and making demands for sovereignty and national independence.

The present efforts by Moscow to “reform” relations between the nations in the USSR were made under pressure because of the national revivals in the republics and growing demands for independence and are only meant to preserve the empire. They are only promises similar to those made earlier in the 20th century in order to silence the nations in the USSR. The platform on the “Party’s national policy in the present circumstances” was accepted on 20 September at the USSR’s Communist Party Central Committee’s Plenary Session after a long speech made by Mr. Gorbachev. Although discussed, the issue of national problems does not move forward. Mr. Sakharov criticises that “the principles of self-determination and equality of republics are not reflected either in the Platform nor in Gorbachev’s speech”. It speaks about filling the federation with new contents. But it guarantees for the centre of the federation in Moscow legislative powers, defense and foreign policy decisions, economic, political and cultural decisions etc. Defending the centralised system of the Soviet economy Gorbachev stated in his speech at the plenum that it became the “only national economic complex” and this has to remain.

There is much said about sovereignty of the republics in the present Soviet republics’ constitutions but this does not hamper the imperial centre to russify and rule the republics with even the smallest details. But the question arises whether the nations will believe in these new promises. It is more than doubtful that Moscow will be able to silence the national revival and the urge for national independence. The national movements came to the belief that only national, independent, democratic states can guarantee religious freedom, cultural development, economic growth, social justice and other human rights. It would be of benefit to the Free World to render them moral and political support instead of rescuing the Soviet Russian empire from disintegration by giving it economic and technological help. The consolidated Russian empire will only continue its scheme of world conquest.



Mass demonstration for religious beliefs, Lviv (Ukraine). 17 September 1989

STEPAN BANDERA — FOUNDER OF A NEW ERA

Statement of the Leadership of the OUN On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Death of Stepan Bandera

*“You cannot kill one, who has become a banner for the people!”
Leonid Poltava*

The murder of Stepan Bandera on October 15, 1959, by the hand of Moscow's hireling Bohdan Stashynskiy demonstrated to the entire world the essence of the Ukrainian issue, which the Russian murderers have attempted to resolve in a traditionally Russian imperial manner — eliminating the leaders of a subjugated nation. However, this did not happen immediately because in the early phases Moscow's agents attempted to blame the murder on internal Ukrainian antagonisms, inciting one group against another with accusations of “fratricide.” But a miracle happened. Exactly three years after the assassination on October 15, 1962, during his trial in Karlsruhe, the assassin revealed the complicity of his Russian superiors. The world learnt the truth about the real relations between imperial Moscow and subjugated Ukraine. The Ukrainian community was reassured that this kind of crime can only be committed by expansionist Moscow, which meticulously liquidated all of our national leaders: Petlura, Konovalets, Shukhevych-Chuprynka and Bandera.

Stepan Bandera appeared on the Ukrainian political scene at the most critical moment in the occupational rule of the four invaders of Ukraine. Poland between the two world wars, with its political motto of a single Poland “from sea to sea” (the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea) and “for the destruction of Rus”, its policies of colonizing Ukrainian lands with Polish people and Polonization of schools and administrative life, was fertile ground for the development of a revolutionary movement, which drew its ideological sustenance from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the experienced leadership of Col. Yevhen Konovalets, who was then based outside Ukraine.

At a time when the enemy's occupational policies in Ukraine reached the zenith of savagery against Ukrainian people, when prisons were filled with nationally-conscious Ukrainians, when Moscow was about to launch its ill-fated genocide in the form of an organized famine in 1932-33, Col. Yevhen Konovalets appointed a 23-year old student of the Lviv Polytechnic named Stepan Bandera, who by then had already fulfilled many tasks within the ranks of the OUN, to head the National Executive of the OUN in Ukraine.

A member of the youth organization Plast, whose leadership included many capable officers of the Ukrainian armed forces, and having obtained a Christian-patriotic upbringing in the home of his father, the Rev. Andriy Bandera, as well as completing the initial training in the youth branches of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the gifted student Stepan Bandera undertook his new high assignment in the OUN, espousing a maximal programme of political and revolutionary activities.

The OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera immediately became the leading dynamic force and source of inspiration for Ukrainian youth in Ukraine. The leadership, which was headed by Bandera, also included such recognized individuals as Volodymyr Yaniv, Yaroslav Stetsko, Yaroslav Makarushka, Dmytro Hrytsai, Bohdan Kravtsiv, Bohdan Pidhaynyi, Yaroslav Rak and others. Actions against the spread of Polish schools across Ukraine, actions against monopolies, and ultimately the assassination of Polish Minister Pieracki in retribution against his policy of

destroying all vestiges of Ukrainian culture were conducted by the OUN headed by Stepan Bandera. On his instructions, Mykola Lemyk protested against Russian genocidal policies in Ukraine by assassinating Moscow's consul in Lviv, Mayilov, in 1933 when millions of Ukrainian farmers were dying of hunger.

The first true test of the moral and organizational-political fortitude of Stepan Bandera, as national head of the OUN, was his arrest in connection with the assassination of Polish Minister of Internal Affairs Pieracki and the Warsaw and Lviv trials in 1935 and 1936. Although two of the defendants momentarily succumbed to the pressures, Stepan Bandera courageously endured police torture and changed his position from accused to accuser of the Polish police regime, revealing before the world's press gathered at the trial the goal of the OUN and why it became necessary to resort to such extreme actions. His statements during the trial were widely reported in the international press, while objective elements of the Polish press wrote about Stepan Bandera and the OUN with astonishment and praise. One Polish nationalistic newspaper said the following: "Even if there are only a handful of Ukrainian nationalists, the dedication, commitment and heroism of this small group is so intense that by itself it not only can resurrect but even build a nation".

Initially sentenced to death, which was later commuted to life imprisonment in Poland, Stepan Bandera left his spiritual mark on Ukrainian youth, which continued the fight with courage, filling the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In the wake of the eruption of the Polish-German war, Stepan Bandera was released from Polish imprisonment and naturally assumed the leadership of this fight, taking appropriate measures in anticipation of the growing conflict between two imperial forces — Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. On the orders of Stepan Bandera task forces of the OUN, which numbered several thousand members, set off to ideologically undercut Russian influence in Ukraine. The command element, headed by his deputy Yaroslav Stetsko, was under orders to reach Kyiv or Lviv and, contrary to the wishes of the invaders, proclaim an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State. In support of this concept, Stepan Bandera managed to rally virtually all of the existing Ukrainian political forces, thereby demonstrating the sovereign will of the Ukrainian nation to statehood. Even though for his courageous farsightedness Bandera, together with the head of the Ukrainian Government Yaroslav Stetsko and several other key members of the leadership, was made to pay with renewed imprisonment by the Nazis, his determination was undeterred. Neither Stepan Bandera nor any of the other leading activists succumbed to the police threats and did not revoke the Act Restoring the Ukrainian State of June 30, 1941. Stepan Bandera did not collaborate with Hitler even when the latter released him and his colleagues from imprisonment shortly before the end of the war and promised to form a Ukrainian army if Stepan Bandera would only sign a Nazi appeal.

At the same time Stepan Bandera and his name became a banner for the OUN and its newly-formed military arm, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which declared war against the Nazi and Russian invaders. The spirit of Bandera's movement became legendary and spread across Ukraine filling her with its undauntedness and heroism for many years after the end of the war. The label "banderite" became synonymous with Ukrainian patriotism and a keen sense of national consciousness. Moscow even designated the Ukrainian language as "banderite" in order to prevent the people from using it. Participants and eye witnesses of the post-war strikes in the Siberian coal-mines, among whom were many foreigners, testified about the strength of the "banderite" actions. Without them the strikes would have been impossible. They added a spirit of bravery, organization and dedication.

"Bandera was a valuable as an entire army", wrote German prisoner of the

Siberian Gulag Arthur Furman. "The glory of his revolutionary acts, the brilliance of his name and the creative dynamism of his extraordinary individuality, which inspired us with an enormous undaunted strength, equalled the power of tanks and planes, which he did not have... Because Bandera personified all of the greatest and best virtues of the Ukrainian people, he was for hundreds of thousands, no, millions, the symbol of freedom and independence for which they longed".

For that reason Moscow decided to kill Bandera on the eve of the emergence of the new Ukrainian activists of the 1960s. It feared that legendary name, which symbolized the elusiveness of the nation's energy, which emanated from the Ukrainian people and threatened an eruption, aimed at the imperial centre — Moscow.

However, the reckoning of Moscow's undercover assassins proved futile. Firstly, they failed to lay the blame on the so-called "fratricides", as they had successfully done on previous occasions. Secondly, Moscow's philosophers of death, who cannot raise themselves above the sphere of materialistic thinking to the sphere of spirituality, did not anticipate the posthumous influence of Stepan Bandera, whom the nation elevated to the level of a national hero.

Commemorating this year the 30th anniversary of the death of the founder of a new era in the modern history of Ukraine, Stepan Bandera, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists pledges that the name of Stepan Bandera, which embodies the idea of the uncompromising struggle against the enemy, of national and personal steadfastness, of firm belief in one's nation and its insurmountable strength, and the cult of national heroes, which fosters the development of the spiritual characteristics of the nation and the mobilization of all forces to attain Ukrainian statehood, has become the banner of the Ukrainian nation, and his magnetic attraction will continue to spread. Today's events and developing currents in the national-liberation process in Ukraine and in the Soviet Russian empire are inseparable parts of the new era, which was brought about by Stepan Bandera.

Long live the name of the Founder of the new era of Ukraine — Stepan Bandera!
Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Stepan Bandera! Glory to the Heroes!

October 1989

Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists



Requiem at S. Bandera's graveside, Munich, 14 October 1989

WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE CONFERENCE

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The Extradordinary Meeting of World Anti-Communist League Conference was held in Brisbane, Commonwealth of Australia, from August 21st to 24th in an atmosphere of cooperation, mutual understanding and friendship. It was attended by 50 member units with some 118 delegates.

Hon. Genevieve Aubry (Switzerland), Chairperson of the 21st WACL Conference, opened the conference.

President George Bush of the United States, in a personal letter delivered by Congressman Gerald B. Soloman, said: "While the Iron Curtain may still stretch from Stettin to Trieste, it is a rusting curtain. Shafts of light from the Western side, our side, the free and prosperous side, are piercing the gloom of despair and revealing the failure of Communism on the other side. The Kremlin, which echoed once with the ominous footsteps of Stalin, now resounds with a denunciation of Stalinism. Seventy-two years after the Bolshevik Revolution, Marxism has lost its dim luster.

"My recent trip to Poland and Hungary convinced me there is new hope for change. The people of Eastern Europe, and yes, even the peoples of the Soviet Union itself, are admitting the simple fact that Communism does not work. The desire for economic opportunity and political representation is an undeniable aspiration of the human soul. And around the world, the people of China, Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua are demanding the basic human rights that form the bedrock of our beliefs — the worth and dignity of every individual.

"Above all, the free world must continue to support these principles of democracy through the world that we know are the best hope of mankind. It is our duty as free men and women, and we can do no less. **George Bush**"

President Lee Teng-Hui of the Republic of China, in a congratulatory message to the Conference, expressed his hope that democratic countries will cooperate closely to meet the challenge from Communist countries.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman of WACL in his message of congratulations declared that only through the elimination of Communism can mankind live in peace, freedom and prosperity.

Dr. Tze-chi Chao, the newly elected President of the WACL ROC Chapter, in his moving message (read by Ambassador Dr. Bernard T.K. Joei), stressed that Communism is eroding but it has not changed. Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and Deng Hsiao-ping's blood-bath of Chinese civilians reflects the crises confronting Communist totalitarianism. The free world must not be misled by the Soviet "peace" offensive and Chinese Communist "reforms" intended to disarm our vigilance, to save their collapsing economies.

The Hon. John Howard, former leader of the Liberal Party of Australia, supported by Mr. Bruce Goodluck, Australian Member of Parliament, in welcoming the delegates to Australia expressed their deep concern at the Australian Government's refusal to grant visas to several delegates without giving a reason.

Participants of the conference unanimously condemned the massacre committed by the Chinese Communist authority against the unarmed peaceful demonstration of Chinese students and workers, and agreed on the following:

The scale and intensity of the pro-democracy movement reveal the intense



Turkish, Ukrainian and Croatian delegates at the WACL Conference

resentment of the mainland Chinese against the Communist regime, while the extent of brutality perpetrated by the military against its own people shatters the deception that Peking has become more liberal.

In spite of world wide censure against the leaders of Peking, major democratic countries have been reluctant to continue applying rigorous economic sanctions against Peking. They claim the strategic importance of Communist China and they fear that Peking might become isolated. The fact is that only the threat of isolation and economic collapse can induce political reform in mainland China. The bloodshed in Tiananmen Square would have been in vain if the democratic countries were to resume "business as usual" with Peking and to continue military cooperation and technology transfer.

Furthermore, if Chinese Communists' atrocities and persecutions are committed with impunity, Soviet Russia would be further encouraged to repeat their brutality and slaughter of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and peoples of Eastern European countries. Communist China must be isolated from the world community, and rigorous economic sanctions be continued until Peking meets the demands for democratic reforms.

Many countries in the Third World are faced with serious economic problems and foreign debts. Their growth will be a great asset for the free world. We must encourage the seven major industrialized countries and economically successful developed

countries to engage in free trade, technology transfer, investment and other measures to help the underdeveloped and developing countries in their economic growth. This Conference welcomed the initiative of the Republic of China in offering an International Development and Aid Fund of one billion US dollars to help countries in the Third World.

The WACL Conference expresses its deep concern at the continued conflict in the Middle East and urges all parties under the umbrella of the United Nations to meet in a determined effort to resolve this massive problem.

Taking into account the request of national movements of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan gathered at the conference in Vilnius, January 28-29, 1989 to render moral and political support in their endeavours to restore sovereignty and national independence for their respective countries, stronger and stronger developments in Poland, Hungary and Croatia and the rights of minorities in other countries under Communist domination, such as Bulgaria and Rumania, WACL calls upon the Free World to help these nations by all possible means.

We strongly support the people of Hong Kong in their quest for democracy and self-determination and call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to reconsider its agreement with Communist China to ensure that the people of Hong Kong are given the right of self-determination for their political future and that, consistent with the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, this matter be also brought before the United Nations.

Despite the increasing bankruptcy of the Marxist economic system, the USSR continues to extend its influence over the continents of the world. It is scoring extensively in Africa, in Nicaragua and Central and Latin America. It has succeeded in undermining the ANZUS Alliance in the Southwest Pacific and the Monroe Doctrine and the OAS Treaties in the Western Hemisphere.

The Conference expresses appreciation to the Australian Chapter of hosting the extraordinary meeting of WACL.

THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC REPLACED BY THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

The Hungarian Parliament decided on 18 October 1989 to make a change in the Constitution. The imposed name of 'Peoples Republic' is now abolished and the Hungarian state is officially called 'The Republic of Hungary'. Approximately 100 corrections have been introduced. In particular, it was decided that the place of the Presidential Council should be taken over by the President to be elected by the whole nation in direct elections. An independent Constitutional court in the city of Eshtergom was also established.

The monopoly of the Communist Party was liquidated. Political parties can be organised, and new laws relating to the procedures on how elections to the parliament are conducted have been accepted. In spite of the many existing links between Hungary and the Russian empire, these acts greatly broaden the sovereignty of the Hungarian nation. Neighbours of Hungary are welcoming these developments since they also weaken the position of Russian imperialism in their own countries thus strengthening their struggle for statehood and national independence.

THE COMMUNIST WORLD IS IN TURMOIL

Congressman Gerhard Solomon's Speech at the WACL Conference

Brisbane, Australia, August 1989

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends of Freedom:

This is an historic moment. We stand on the threshold of victory! The struggle that brave men and women have been waging for these past 70 years — the struggle against communism in all its ugly guises — is near to being won. Victory is within our grasp!

As mankind enters the tenth — and final — decade of the 20th century, the attention of the world is focused on an awesome spectacle: the collapse of communism. From Eastern Europe to the East China Sea, the communist world is in turmoil. From the Baltic Sea to the streets of Beijing, the people who have been enslaved by communism are rising up to take their destiny into their own hands.

My friends, how fortunate we are to be alive today!

Can you imagine how many people — how many heroes of our struggle — would have liked to have been alive at this moment? Think for a moment about Chiang Kai-Shek. Think about Douglas MacArthur. And about the freedom fighters in Hungary. The brave patriots in Poland. The brave people in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the Ukraine.

How much would they have given to be alive at this moment? How fiercely they waged the battle against communism in their lifetimes! How they would have loved to stand in our place today — we who will witness the final victory over communism!

Yes, this is a time to rejoice. But it is also a time to maintain our vigilance. We cannot afford to let our guard down. Our struggle has reached its final stage. And now is the time to stand firm.

From Moscow to Beijing, from Warsaw to Hanoi, communist dictators are grappling with the bitter consequences of their own policies: ruined economies, national disintegration, ideological exhaustion, and moral collapse.

As they desperately search for a way out, these dictators cling to power in the hope that the free world might come to their rescue — with loans, with trade, with financial and technical assistance of all kinds.

The truth is, my friends, all of the money in the world cannot save communism from its death throes. Communism has failed, and there is no way it can be made to work. Communism is broken, and there is no way it can be fixed.

If the nations of the Free World extend a helping hand to the communists, without insisting on significant political and economic reforms as part of the bargain, only two things will have been accomplished. Communism will be able to stagger along for a few more years before it finally collapses. And the treasuries of the Free World will have been raided one more time.

But let us always remember one thing: a collapsing communism is still a dangerous communism. And before the final crash occurs, these desperate tyrants may yet be able to inflict substantial damage on the rest of the world.

Let us look at the Soviet Union, for example. Mr. Gorbachev regularly tours Western Europe announcing new military reductions and troop withdrawals. Talk is one thing, actions are another. What does the record show?

The record shows that the Soviet Union has increased its military spending by 3%



From left to right: Congressman G. Solomon, ABN President Mrs Slava Stetsko, WACL Chairman M-me Genevieve Aubry, Ukrainian delegate Mr. M. Dobridenko

each of the four years that Mikhail Gorbachev has been in power. Deployments of newer and more menacing intercontinental ballistic missiles continue uninterrupted. Ceilings established by the Salt II treaty over numerous weapons systems continue to be breached.

My friends, Soviet actions make Gorbachev's words sound very hollow indeed. And the reason why Gorbachev cannot rein in his own military is the very same reason why the communist tyrants in Beijing let the army take over when the going got rough. These regimes govern by virtue of one thing — naked military power.

Brute force is the only thing protecting the dictators in the Kremlin and the great hall of the people from the very people these regimes claim to have liberated. And that is why we must remain on our guard.

When the communist regime on mainland China was shaken to its very foundations by the voice of the people crying out for freedom, it had no recourse to pragmatism. An ideologically exhausted dictatorship could not turn to genuine reforms. It chose to do the only thing it knew how to do: to gun down its opponents in the streets.

And make no mistake: Gorbachev is going to face a Tiananmen square-type of crisis soon — very soon. I cannot tell you exactly where the rebellion will come. It may come in one of the Baltic republics; it may come in the Ukraine; or it may come in an oppressed satellite country like Poland. But it will come!

And when it does, Gorbachev is not going to give up his communist party's monopoly on power in the Soviet Union any more than Deng Xiaoping gave up his communist party's monopoly on power in mainland China.

This is why we cannot let our guard down. As these crumbling regimes get torn apart from within, let us stay on guard and not be lulled into a complacent or false sense of security. The end is near, but a lot can happen between now and then.

Even in its diseased and decaying condition, communism is inherently expansionist. Its failures at home are inevitably followed by aggression abroad. A regime that is not at peace with its own people cannot be at peace with its neighbors.

But how much longer, my friends, can communist dictators continue to demand that their own people put up with austerity and sacrifice in the name of the great proletarian revolution? The answer is: not much longer. And that is why communism's days are numbered.

In the modern world, there is no possible way, short of becoming another North Korea, that a communist regime can prevent its people from finding out how the rest of the world lives and what the rest of the world is thinking. This also means, of course, that the communists can no longer hide their own failures.

History is running our way! The decisive current in the events of mankind are flowing in our direction! Communism is failing because communism itself cannot adjust to the new world we live in.

How ironic it is that a philosophy which claims to have unlocked the secrets to the meaning of history and the inevitability of progress is, in fact, the most reactionary theory that twisted minds have ever managed to devise.

Equally ironic is the fact that communist leaders cannot truly reform their systems, because the only true reform is to do away with communism itself! And, of course, they cannot do that, because their own personal power depends on keeping a dictatorial system intact. Does anyone believe these men could win a free and fair election? They themselves know they could not.

And so the vicious cycle rolls on, and it will not be long now before it finally stops altogether. Communism, the great scourge of the 20th century, will be dead.

I will conclude, my friends, by saying that we here hold the future in our hands. We know the meaning of history. We know the true source of all human progress and social advancement. And it is not to be found in the crazed ravings of Marx, Lenin, and all the rest.

Human progress, social advancement, and — above all — peace can only come when individual freedom and dignity are cherished. And these precious gifts — which come from God alone — must be sheltered by the rule of law and nurtured by the exercise of social duties in a free society.

Speaking as an American, I can tell you that this has been the formula which has made my country the great and free nation that it is. And this same formula has worked everywhere else it has been tried. And the people here from countries around the globe can testify to that.

So, my friends, we have much to rejoice about today. We also have much to stay on our guard about. But, let us finish the job and liberate this world from the blight of communism!

THEIR ONLY DEMAND — THE RETURN OF GEORGIAN INDEPENDENCE

The term “nationalism” does not adequately reflect the essence of the movements that are taking place in Georgia and in other republics of the USSR. Actually, these are national-liberation and national-democratic movements. The Georgian national liberation movement has two goals: The reinstatement of independence which existed in Georgia before it was annexed by Bolshevik Russia on 25 February, 1921, and the creation of a democratic, multi-party parliamentary system in Georgia.

The movement in Georgia is characterized by specific national traits but is pro-Western in its orientation. Georgians have always dreamed of forging closer ties with Europe, because historically, Georgia never indentified with the East, whose religion and values were alien to its own.

Ethnic hostility toward any other national group has never been a part of the Georgian national-democratic movement. Little Georgia has a multitude of different nationalities, and it is hardly possible to find another place on earth where there is so much tolerance and friendship among various peoples. Georgians are known for their hospitality and their friendliness. The very notion of the word “Georgian” implies a collective essence, because the Georgian nation consists of numerous tribes, including the Imeretinians, Mingrelians, Svanetians, Gurians, Kakhetians, Meskhetians and others.

The Abkhazians are also ethnically close to the Georgians. There has never been any religious intolerance in Georgia. The Meskhetians, for example, are Muslims, and they have worshipped freely. Anti-Semitism is also not part of Georgian life.

Both the Russian Czarist empire and later the communist authorities tried to Russify Georgia, and the Soviets have attempted to assimilate the Georgian into a single “Soviet nation.” The Georgians have been extremely sensitive to any attempts to tamper with their territorial unity, as in the case of Abkhazia, but the current problem in Georgia is not essentially territorial, as has been suggested by some Western observers. Forty per cent of Abkhazia’s population is Georgian and only sixteen per cent is Abkhazian, and it is for this reason that the Abkhazians’ calls for secession are considered by the Georgians to be unfounded and provocative.

When the ruling authorities in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic appealed to Moscow on 18 March of this year with the request that Abkhazia be separated from Georgia, the Georgian population of Abkhazia naturally accepted this as a rude challenge and started to call for mass protests. The mainstream Georgian national-liberation movement in Georgia and the Georgian population in Abkhazia did not agree on the advisability of such actions. The unofficial organizations which are leading the national-liberation movement considered the Abkhazian government’s call as an obvious provocation, inspired by Moscow, and they urged the Georgian population in Abkhazia not to react.

The recent growth of the national movement in Georgia has been dramatic and in Moscow’s eyes undoubtedly alarming. Moscow urgently needed a pretext, which would also look conveniently similar to the conflict between the Azeris and the Armenians over Nagorno-Karabakh. The Kremlin leadership introduced Martial Law in

Armenia, and they arrested Armenian national leaders. As a consequence, the authorities were able to put a temporary stop to the momentum enjoyed by the national movement in that area. The same scenario was probably envisioned for Georgia in connection with the Abkhazian question.

The leaders of the mainstream Georgian national-liberation movement were not successful in trying to talk the Georgian population in Abkhazia out of their plans to stage mass demonstrations, (which would be considered simply as an 'ethnic' conflict), and the Georgians in Abkhazia went ahead with their plans to hold a demonstration on April 9.

The various unofficial Georgian groups, located primarily in Tbilisi, a considerable distance away from Abkhazia, had planned a large mass meeting for 14 April, which is an important date for all Georgians, because on that day eleven years ago a huge demonstration in Tbilisi had forced the central authorities to allow the Georgian language to be legally adopted as the official language of Georgia.

In addition to that of 14 April, another important date was looming on the horizon... that of 26 May, the day when Georgian independence was proclaimed in 1918, and it was expected that this too could serve as a powerful boost to the already burgeoning national liberation movement in Georgia. Leaders of the mainstream national movement realized that all of these plans could be undermined by the sudden appearance of the 'Abkhazian question', and they decided to circumvent this dangerous course of events somewhat earlier, on 4 April.

This was the real course of events leading up to the demonstrations in Tbilisi. As you can see, the "Abkhazian question" played only an indirect role. At the beginning of the demonstrations some protesters did carry placards bearing slogans aimed against the Abkhazian separatists, and some called for "the increased national integration of Georgia". But these placards were quickly removed, because the demonstrators realized that they could be provocative and harmful.

The 158 people who went on hunger strike on the steps of the government building on Tbilisi held up a sign which called for only one thing: The separation of Georgia from the USSR and the return of Georgian independence. This was their only demand, from the beginning of their protest to the end.

It should also be pointed out that the demand made by the hunger strikers was not at all "extremist," because Article 72 of the Soviet constitution allows Soviet republics to secede.

The hunger strike of the Georgian activists, the thousands of people who supported them, (the demonstrations were sometimes 300,000 strong), and the ensuing strikes were to exemplify the will of the Georgian people, and all of the events were scheduled to stop on 14 April. Thus, the assertion of the Soviet authorities that the demonstration were out of hand and spontaneous was false. All of the speeches were well organized and disciplined, and all of the events were under the control of a single centre, called the Central Strike committee, which was formed on 8 April. The Committee was composed of the leaders of all the major un-official groups, such as the National Democratic Party of Georgia, the National Independence Party, the Chavchavadze Society, and the Georgian Helsinki Watch Group. A number of student activists were also members of the Committee.

All of the demonstrations were peaceful, because non-violence is a guiding principle of all the sponsoring groups. The atmosphere was festive, something to which

numerous foreign tourists who were there could testify. Young men and young girls carried flags of independent Georgia and placards bearing the image of St. George and Holy Nina, who are the patron saints of Georgia. The young people were singing religious hymns and national songs, and they were praying. The bloody reprisals to which they were subjected on Sunday morning, 9 April, were unprovoked.

There were two instances during which the demonstrators were violently beaten. The hunger strikers and the demonstrators assembled in two places, in front of the government building and by the television station. The demonstration by the television station was the first to be broken up, and both were done so with extreme violence. The demonstrators were first incapacitated by an unknown poisonous gas, and then they were beaten by military troops with rubber truncheons and sharp metal shovels.

There were no fatalities by the television station, although many people were hurt. According to official sources 19 people were killed by the government building but as of today we have the names of 42 persons who were murdered. Furthermore, these people were killed not because they were trampled to death, but primarily because of the blows inflicted by the shovels. The heads of many of the victims were split open.

It is important to note that immediately after the soldiers broke up the demonstration by the television they started to attack the demonstrators by the government building without given them any warning as to what may happen. Leaders of the national movement emphasize that had they been warned, they themselves would have dispersed the demonstration by the government building, in order to avoid bloodshed. The authorities also never made any attempts to have a direct dialogue with the organizers of the demonstration.

Eye witnesses to the events reported that the gas used to disperse the crowds did not induce tears but had a neurological-paralysing effect. The victims experienced a number of toxic symptoms, and all of the corpses had bloated stomachs.

There is an eye witness report testifying that at least one person was shot in the head. All of this information was received from participants in the events, and we can provide the names of those with whom we have spoken.

It is impossible to conceive of Perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union if they are not to be accompanied by the growth of national-liberation movements. The contradiction inherent in the "Gorbachev phenomenon" is that as Gorbachev moves along the path of democratization, he will have to give up his intentions of continuing to sustain an empire. That is, he will have to cease being who he is.

The West is afraid that any over-reaction on its part may help to bring ultra-conservatives to power in the Soviet Union. But should that happen, it will only mean that the Soviet Union's collapse will be hastened, because reactionaries may be able to put the entire country behind bars, but they will not be able to feed it. It seems to us, however, that this is a problem that must be solved by the communists themselves.

MERAB KOSTAVA THE LEADER OF GEORGIAN NATIONALISTS DIES

Merab Kostava died in Georgia in an inexplicable automobile accident. At his funeral, which took place in the Georgian capital Tbilisi, half a million people participated. This underlines the avantgarde role this great Georgian played in the Georgian nationalists movement and it also shows how the population are determined in their struggle for national independence.

BALTIC MOVEMENTS FOR “SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE”

The first joint assembly of the Baltic patriotic mass movements was held in Tallinn, on May 13-14. Almost 500 leaders and activists of the Lithuanian Sajudis and of the Latvian and Estonian Popular Front took part in a united campaign to attain political, cultural and economic autonomy. They resolved to hold such assemblies at least once a year.

Also, in attendance were 61 of the 89 deputies to the new USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which was scheduled to meet on May 25. The deputies resolved to form a “Baltic Bloc” within the congress. The bloc's program includes a demand that the USSR be restructured into a confederation of sovereign republics having equal rights to determine their domestic and foreign policy.

The Communist Party leaders of the Baltic republics stayed away from the meeting. Radio Helsinki quoted unofficial reports that a few days earlier the first secretaries of the three Baltic republics had attended a Politburo meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow and it was agreed that they should maintain a certain distance from the Popular Fronts.

In an Appeal to the United Nations and to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the representatives of the three patriotic movements asked them to heed the aspiration of their nations “for self-determination and independence in a neutral and demilitarized zone of Europe.” The Appeal, which was also addressed to the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, denounced “the criminal collusion between Stalin and Hitler in the division of Eastern Europe, as a gross violation of the rules of international law and obligations of the USSR, and as forcible seizure, i.e. annexation, of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union.” The Baltic representatives said that the questions of their nations must be resolved “on the level, with the participation of plenipotentiary representatives of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania,” and that the “free, democratically expressed will of the Baltic nations must be decisive in the determination of their fates.”

The concept of a “neutral, demilitarized Baltoscandia” was proclaimed in a Declaration of the Rights of the Baltic States. The Declaration accused Stalinism of “genocide” and charged that by annexing the Baltic States, “the Soviet Union destroyed the statehood of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and did its utmost to make the peoples of these countries lose their national identity.” The Baltic representatives assert that even today Moscow's policy remains basically unchanged, and emphasize the right of nations to existence in their historical territories; to self-determination and free determination of their political status; to the preservation of their culture and identity; the free choice of such forms of management that guarantee their material and cultural development, as well as a rational utilization of their national resources and protection of their environment; and the right to independent relations with other nations and states.

A Declaration of the Economic Independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania criticizes “perestroika's” economic reform for its many inadequacies, including the failure to promote the republic's economic independence. The leading bodies of the Soviet Union ignore the Baltic proposals and try to substitute “verbosity and contradictory principles” for full-fledged reform. The Declaration states that the peoples of

sovereign Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania “will themselves choose their model of socio-economic development and system of economic relations.” The Soviet government should pass laws to guarantee the transition of the Baltic republics to economic independence starting from 1990.

In the Appeal to the Congress of People’s Deputies on the State’s Threat of War Against its People, the Baltic representatives demand the rescinding of the “anti-democratic and anti-constitutional” decrees on meetings, demonstrations “state crimes” and interior forces adopted this year by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; the disbanding of interior and special armed forces, and setting up of national-territorial army formations; and full civil control over the activities of the armed forces.

The arrest of the members of the Karabakh Committee, “the recognized leaders of the Armenian nation,” is sharply criticized in an Appeal to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Procurator-General of the USSR. This “abuse of power” is “in flagrant violation of the Final Act of the Vienna Conference.”

In a Resolution on Stalinist Crimes the participants of the Baltic Assembly demand that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR recognize Stalinist actions as Genocide against the Baltic peoples and a crime against humanity. Victims of these criminal repressions should be paid compensations and pensions from the state budget of the USSR. Agencies directly responsible for genocide crimes (OGPU, GPU, NKVD, etc.) should be declared criminal and Nürnberg-style tribunals should be instituted to examine “crimes against humanity.”

SAJUDIS STARTS INDEPENDENT INFORMATION AGENCY

The Lithuanian mass movement Sajudis has started operating its own information agency (SIA) last March. This is the first independent news agency in the entire Soviet Union.

The director of SIA is **Alvydas Medalinskas**, member of the Sajudis’ council. According to journalist **Rimantas Kanapienis**, who works for the agency, neither the Lithuanian nor the Soviet (TASS) agencies can be relied on to provide objective news. Therefore, the SIA will seek to inform foreign journalists accredited in the Soviet Union about the Sajudis goals and the events in Lithuania.

The SIA publishes a weekly bulletin, **News of the Week**, for foreign and Soviet journalists in Lithuanian, English and Russian languages. Another weekly, entitled **Apie Mus** (About Us), acquaints Lithuanians with the world and Soviet press coverage of their homeland.

NEW STATE HOLIDAYS IN LITHUANIA

The Parliament of the Lithuanian SSR decided on 18 October 1989 that Christmas Day, namely 25 December, will become a state holiday in Lithuania. November 1, a day dedicated to honour all the dead, will also become a state holiday. These two acts are a blow to Leninism and atheism which have been fighting against religion for many years.

HUNGER STRIKE IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

(UCIS, London) — At 6 p.m. on Sunday, July 30, the Ukrainian National-Democratic League (UNDL) ended its 24-hour hunger strike in protest against the dishonouring of Ukrainian national symbols. The protest action was held on the steps of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in Kyiv, which is preparing a law banning the blue-and-yellow flag and trident.

The hunger strike was supported by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Popular Movement of Ukraine and the 30 hunger strikers were surrounded by several hundred supporters.

At the start of the hunger strike the police tried to disperse the people. Police officers seized the protesters' blue-and-yellow flag and arrested some of the participants. Several people, including the elderly Ukrainian writer Mykola Kaharnytskyi, who was walking by and spoke out in defense of the protesters, were severely beaten up.



Demonstration in Lviv. Placard reads "Independence for Ukraine"

The protesters held the following slogans : “Freedom and independence for Ukraine!”, “Independence and sovereignty for Ukraine!”, “Shame on those who dishonour Ukrainian symbols!”, “Police — Don’t be the hangmen of the Ukrainian people!”, “Where there is no sacred freedom, there will never be any good!”, and others.

At the end of the protest the organizers stated that this hunger strike was merely a warning and that if the suppression of Ukrainian symbols and the persecution of those who display them continues, a continuous hunger strike will be declared.

Prior to the hunger strike the local authorities began a campaign to intimidate the initiators of the protest. On July 25 the police forced their way into the home of Yevhen Chernyshov, an activist of the Ukrainian National Democratic League, and tried to arrest him. A group of neighbours prevented the arrest. On the morning of July 27 the police arrested Dmytro Korchynskiy, a member of the Kyiv branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. He was sentenced to 15 days’ imprisonment.

Appeal of the Popular Movement of Ukraine

Citizens!

On 20 July members of the Ukrainian National-Democratic League declared a hunger strike in protest against the suppression of the ancient national symbols of Ukraine — the blue-and-yellow flag and the trident. The deputy of the Kyiv Office of internal Affairs V. I. Shaposhnikov called this action a provocation. But it was the police who lent their hand to provocation. They surrounded the crowd of people who stood around the protesters and attacked the hunger strikers and their supporters with rubber truceons. Several people were badly beaten, including the writer Kaharntskiy. Hundreds of people shouted “Shame!” in response to this action.

The Coordinating Council of the Popular Movement took the following position towards the hunger strike: the Movement as an organization did not take part in the hunger strike, but supports the demands of the protesters, realizing that the national symbols of Ukraine not only represent the Ukrainian nation in the world, but today also rally round themselves the forces which stand for the national rebirth of Ukraine and the establishment of a free and democratic society. Regarding the protection of the people from highhandedness as their duty, members of the Coordinating Council of the Movement Poyizd, Linchevskiy and Odarych began negotiations with Shaposhnikov. He agreed to release those who had been arrested and to return the confiscated flag on condition that the hunger strikers moved from the steps of the Supreme Soviet building to the fountain situated in front of the Mariyinskyi palace. Both sides kept their word.

The Movement demands an immediate halt to the suppression of national symbols. The decree of April 30, 1981, which justifies such actions, permits the use only of the flags and symbols of state institutions and public organizations by their officials. The blue-and-yellow flag and the trident are historical national symbols and do not fall under the provisions of this decree.

July 30, 1989

Participants from the Popular Movement

Bertil Häggman (Sweden)

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS — TERROR IN RUSSIA

Although the Jacobin terror during the French Revolution is probably the most well-known historical tradition of revolutionary violence in modern history, the terror tactic was perfected in Russia. It was a new, ascetic, impersonal type of violence that was introduced in the Tsarist empire during the 19th century. A strategic concept of calculated revolutionary violence was then combined with the old ideal of direct action.

During the 1860s, the terrorist's bomb replaced the traditional dagger or pistol of the assassin. The terrorists of the 1860s, Dmitri Karakozov, Nikolai Ishutin, Ivan Khudiakov, and Sergei Nachayeff, were without doubt psychopaths. Their creed was, "propaganda of the deed" which dramatised the cause. Actions and reactions would ultimately influence all the levels of society under attack. The use of terror against officials would, according to Nachayeff, cause such panic in governments that they would lash out indiscriminately against the terrorists. This would, in turn, make "oppression" so obvious that it would lead to revolutionary countermeasures. Nachayeff preached attack against the very masses he wanted to "liberate", but in such a way that the government appeared to be the enemy.

Nachayeff was the first to express the duty of the terrorist: "terrible, total, complete destruction... Aiming cold-bloodedly and untiringly towards this, [the terrorist] must be ready to destroy himself and destroy with his own hands everyone who stands in his way"¹. The true role of the terrorist, as explained by the 19th century terrorists, was that of supreme executioner.

In the 1870s, a new generation of anarchist terrorists appeared in Russia. Narodnaya Volya (The Will of the People) was born in 1879. In its programme, it stated that it wanted to "liquidate the worst officials — to give constant proof that it is possible to fight the government, to strengthen the revolutionary spirit of the people and its faith in the success of the cause, and finally to form capable cadres in the struggle"².

The strategy of Narodnaya Volya was first to assassinate a number of Tsarist officials, and finally the Tsar himself. When the Tsar was dead, the masses, so the terrorists believed, would rise. Finally, after seven attempts, Alexander II was blown up, but the people did not rise. In the end, almost the entire organisation was apprehended.

The first modern terrorists, active in the decade between 1877 and 1887, had the following characteristics: Russian terrorists were the product of the expectations of an educated class which had been torn away from traditional religious values. The liberal reforms of Tsar Alexander II were insufficient, and the revolutionaries saw terrorism as the next step. The Russian terrorists were the first to make use of the new possibilities opened to them by newspapers and telegraph services. Women came to play an important role in the moral validation of terrorism. They would, according Nachayeff, make either the best or the worst revolutionaries. Women had a capacity for dedication, compassion and a willingness to undertake the most difficult and suicidal assignments. One of the assassins of Alexander II was a pregnant woman and the regime was faced with a dilemma whether to execute her or not for her part in the assassination. Perhaps the most dangerous legacy was the creation of a precedent of counter-terrorism both within the Russian government and outside it. Moscow turned

to counter-terrorism to defend the aristocratic order, a tradition that was inherited by the new Marxist-Leninist regime in 1917 and perfected into a state terrorist apparatus never before seen in history.

At various times, Karl Marx showed a willingness to accept the use of assassination and terrorism to achieve his goals. Lenin was proud of his elder terrorist brother, executed in 1887. In the 1880s and 1890s, Marxism became a rival of the terrorist tradition among the Russian revolutionaries — Nachayeff and others. Formally, Marxism rejects a strategic adaptation of terrorism, but in practice it has formed the ideology of some of the most terroristic regimes in world history.

There is a similarity between communist and Nazi terror, as pointed out by Herbert Romerstein: “These tactics were developed by both the communists and Nazis in Germany during the 1920s and the 1930s. Robberies, beatings, street killings, and the assassination of prominent moderate officials, including police officials, became common occurrences. The communist movement began its paramilitary violent activities in 1918 as the Red Soldiers’ Union. By 1921, the Nazis began organising their stormtroopers under the convenient pretext of fighting communist terror with their own terror. Each used the other as an excuse for violence”³. In the 1960s, the Soviet Russians began to realise that both black and red terrorism was effective in destabilising Western and Third World governments.

When Lenin’s brother was executed for terrorist acts in 1887, Lenin concluded that terrorism should not be used and remained in favour of the non-terrorist path for the following ten years. Yet later, in the first issue of the journal, *Iskra*, Lenin stated that terror should not be rejected on principle. When Lenin seized power in 1917, he actively pursued a policy of terrorism. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution), predecessor of the GPU (State Political Administration) and the KGB, came into being on December 20, 1917. Initially, it had an offensive function — to establish communist rule throughout the whole Russian empire. In the period up to 1924, which marked the establishment of communist rule in the empire, the terror squads of the Cheka formed an indispensable part of the system, and terrorism a decisive operational means.

It is, therefore, surprising that the Cheka is so seldom mentioned in the history of terrorism. It was **the largest terroristic enterprise if not in the whole history, then at least in modern history.**

Lenin’s successor, Joseph Stalin, was a terrorist not only in principle, but also in practice. He liquidated the Kulaks and organised the manmade famine in Ukraine. He wiped out the Mensheviks, purged the Bolsheviks, and killed the Leninists. Marshal Tukhachevsky was liquidated, along with other high-ranking intelligence officers, the leaders of the Polish Communist Party and prominent members of the German Communist Party who had fled the Soviet Union during WW2. Stalin employed terrorism against ethnic groups and made wide use of the assassination of “enemies of the state” outside the USSR.

From 1946 until Stalin’s death, the Soviet Russian institution responsible for kidnapping and murder was **Spetsbuuro No. 1**. Its chief was Lt. General Pavel Anatolevich Sudoplatov. His deputy was Major General Eitingon. With 1953 came the beginning of a reorganisation. From that time on, Spetsbuuro No. 1 became known as the **Ninth Department (Otdel) of State Security**, headed, after 1953-54, by Colonel Studni-

kov. Until the beginning of the 1960s, it was known as **Department No. 13** of the Foreign Intelligence Directorate of Soviet State Security.

High ranking officials and other prominent figures around the world who were opponents of Russian policy were selected as targets for assassination by the head of State Security. This selection was then approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU. At lower levels, selections were approved by the chief of the Intelligence Directorate of State Security.

A murder or kidnapping operation began with the selection of a suitable agent. A dossier was compiled on the victim and a special weapon or poison was developed. Later, support for the agent had to be found in the target country. Often it would take a year or more to prepare the kidnapping or assassination. An important part of the plan was to make the death appear to be a mystery or something other than an assassination: a natural disappearance, for example, or suicide. If anything was to go wrong, a scapegoat was selected on whom the blame could be laid.

At a hearing of the US Senate (Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act etc.) on March 26, 1965, a defector and former officer of the NKVD testified about the activities of the Soviet Union in gathering information on certain people in the West, and their possible assassination:

Question: ...First, isn't it true that the Soviet apparatus carefully keeps dossiers on everybody who is working against the Soviet Union or who is in position to do any harm or endanger them or even to gather information relating to them, as you say?...

Answer: Dossiers exist on all anti-Soviet and anti-Communist elements around the world. There are file cards and full dossiers which might be used today or possibly tomorrow against these people...

Question: Now, is it also true that this Soviet apparatus sometimes will order the assassination of an individual who may not be working actively against the Soviet Union simply because his removal from the political scene will change a situation to the benefit of the Soviet Union?

Answer: That is correct.

Question: And these are perhaps the hardest kind of assassinations to pin on the Soviet Union?

Answer: Yes".⁴

In 1936, the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) set up the **Administration of Special Tasks (AST)**, which the Russians referred to as the department of "wet affairs" (mokriye dela). In 1941, the AST became the **Fourth (or Partisan) Directorate**, engaged in espionage, sabotage, assassination, and guerilla operations behind the German lines. After WW2, General Sudoplatov's Spetsburo established networks throughout Germany, Austria and Switzerland, which offered personal protection, matériel, and other support for kidnappings and assassinations. Abductions were carried out by "combat groups" (boyeviye grupy). These groups were supervised by Russians and were comprised mainly of East Germans and Czechs.

At one time, the AST was known as **SMERSH**, or the **Ninth Division for Terror and Diversion**. The name is derived from its motto — *Smert Shpionam* (Death to Spies)⁵.

According to Ronald Seth, a British expert on the organisation, it planned "its operations with great patience and thoroughness. It maintains laboratories and experimental workshops where drugs are tried out and special weapons are invented, all with the object of making their killing appear to be the result of natural causes, or to

POPULAR FRONT SPECIFIES ITS POSITION ON ESTONIA'S INDEPENDENCE

On April 29 the Representative Council of the Popular Front of Estonia discussed various topical problems of the day and clarified its position on Estonia's independence. The following statement was first published in the May 1 issue of the Noorte Hääl daily.

— The Popular Front of Estonia, a popular movement adhering to the principles of democracy and humanism, regards as natural the unconditional application of the right to self-determination to all nations.

Yet, there are nations in the world today who are denied that right. The independence and statehood of several nations was brutally destroyed by totalitarian regimes at the outbreak of World War II.

On the initiative of Hitlerite Germany the fate of Czecho-Slovakia was 'decided' in 1938, the future of several European states and peoples was determined by the secret protocol of the 1939 Germany-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression. By now part of this injustice has been repaired and the Munich agreement has been voided. However, the existence of the secret protocol of the Stalin-Hitler Pact has not been admitted, neither have the international acts of violence and crimes against humanity committed on its basis been condemned.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Pact the Stalinist regime launched an imperialist expansion plan, attacking Poland and Finland, annexing the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and part of Rumania. National self-determination of

▶ facilitate the assassin's escape..."⁶. The post-Krushchev leaders of Russia have spread the idea that SMRESH has itself been disbanded. In fact, it has merely been renamed CUKR, posing as the internal security department of the Army. Seth's statement is probably not true today. It was made in 1972. But if SMERSH or a similar organisation exists, its task is most likely to provide the KGB and the Soviet army with expert advice for death squads and Spetsnaz units preparing for action in a crisis or in the outbreak of war.

(Article taken from Bertil Häggman's book "Moscow and Low-intensity Conflict, Assassination, Kidnapping and Terror).

1) David C. Rapoport: *Assassination & Terrorism*, Toronto, 1971, p. 49

2) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3) Herbert Romerstein: *Soviet Support for International Terrorism*, Washington D.C., 1981, p. 7.

4) *Murder International Inc. — Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy*, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington D.C. 1965 (US Government Printing Office), p. 24.

5) Ronald Seth: *Encyclopedia of Espionage*, London, New English Library, 1972, p. 582.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 582.

the Estonian people had taken place already in 1919 through the Constituent Assembly and had won full international recognition.

The abolition of the sovereign Estonian state in 1940 was a crime against the Estonian people that brought in its wake the Stalinist terror and for decades made Estonia defenceless before the great-power command economy, ideological and political pressure and unchecked colonization. All this violated the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty between Estonia and Soviet Russia, under which the Russian SFSR, proceeding from the nations' right to self-determination, relinquished forever all claims to Estonian territory.

The forcible incorporation of the Republic of Estonia into the Soviet Union and determining the status of the resulting Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic have given rise to extremely contradictory political, legal and historical interpretations underlying the restructuring policies of different political forces.

The Popular Front of Estonia proceeds in its course of action from the following position of practical politics expressed in its Charter and the General Programme:

'De facto' Estonia is a Soviet socialist republic enjoying constitutional sovereignty which, however, it has lost as a result of the unitarian policies of the central authorities. The immediate aim of the Popular Front of Estonia is to develop the formally declared sovereignty into real one. Turning the Soviet Union from a unitary state into a union of states (confederation) could serve as a transitional stage in achieving this goal.

'De jure' Estonia is an occupied country as of June 17, 1940, and annexed as of August 6, 1940. The continuity of the Republic of Estonia has thus been interrupted by outside force.

The modest results of the restructuring policy in the Soviet Union and the socio-political developments in Estonia (and other Baltic states) have shifted the accent from 'de facto' problems to our status 'de jure'. Considerably wider opportunities for a more just solution to these problems can be found in the November 16, 1988, amendment to the Estonian SSR Constitution by which universally recognized international covenants on human and civil rights, ratified by the Soviet Union, are taken to be an inseparable part of the judicial system of the Estonian SSR.

The Popular Front of Estonia believes that the interests of the Estonian people and all ethnic groups in Estonia who support their strivings can best be protected by restoring the independence of the Estonian state, through the people's free expression of will. The future independent Estonia can come into being after its present rights as a state have been extended, proceeding from the principles of international law and without resorting to hostility or violence.

The realization of the right to self-determination by parliamentary means requires certain legal and political conditions. The creation of legal conditions could begin with the elaboration of the law on plebiscite. The political conditions for free self-determination presuppose the elimination of the possibility of outside pressure, a situation that could be achieved by admitting the existence of and voiding the secret protocol of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact by the signatory states or their legal successors.

The Popular Front of Estonia believes that the restoration of Estonia's sovereignty can be achieved through consistent democratization of the present social system so that the people could freely and undistortedly express their will and act accordingly. Since the present actual state power rests on the gross violation of international law by the Soviet Union in 1940, the Estonian statehood can only develop towards the

BULGARIA AND ITS OPPRESSORS

When, in the closing speech of the first session of the new Soviet Congress, Mr. Gorbachev declared that there would be no political pluralism and that the "reforms" could be carried out within the frame of the existing system, he not only set up the limits of "Perestroika" but also preannounced its failure. He could not have spoken more openly. He practically said that Soviet rulers have no intention to democratize the regime. Yet the traditional benevolence and tendency towards wishful interpretation once again deviated a great number of Western political leaders and the prevailing majority of "mass-media" in the free world from logical conclusions: Once again they failed to notice that the original design of "Perestroika" contemplated the consolidation of the system and not its transformation. They still refuse to understand that the Soviet Russians are mainly concerned to safeguard the Empire. To this end they play the cards of ideological compromise; to this aim only, they masterfully speculate on the desire for peace and security which is common to all well-meaning people on Earth.

It should be obvious that the success of "Perestroika", in line with the desires of those who conceived it, would inevitably lead to the creation of a huge totalitarian

restoration of the pre- 1940 Republic of Estonia. This development must lead to the legal recognition of the Estonian state by other democratic states and international organizations.

An important factor in the democratization process is guaranteeing all citizens the right of voluntary association to pursue joint activities. The development of political pluralism, abandonment of one-party monopoly on power, free emergence and multitude of different popular associations is a necessary precondition for the formation of a law-based state.

At the present stage in the restoration of the Estonian statehood the Popular Front of Estonia finds it essential to attain full economic (the IME project) and cultural independence, as well as to revive the democratic social and political infrastructure destroyed in the 1940s. In the present situation the Representative Council of the Popular Front of Estonia attaches priority to the speedy adoption of the election and immigration laws, not the law on citizenship, and demands democratic elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in the autumn of 1989. Any obstacles on this way arising either from the USSR central authorities' desperate attempts to preserve the rigid unitary system or from the Estonian authorities' lack of resolution in supporting the people's strivings towards sovereignty will only strengthen the Estonians' determination to gain state sovereignty. The Popular Front of Estonia sees its mission in achieving the realization of the people's sovereignty pursuits through parliamentary means, uniting all democratic political forces of Estonian society, all nationalities of the Soviet Union struggling for freedom.

(Supplement to the Estonian weekly KODUMAA, May 10, 1989)

monster — much less dogmatic, but also much more solid, much more efficient and much more dangerous than before. The prospect of an involution of this kind should be the permanent nightmare for true democrats, particularly those who have founded their political action and fortunes on sincere or pretended anti-fashism. “Perestroika” is important, indeed, not for its limited initial propositions, but for unpredictable and far-reaching side-effects.

Ours is an even smaller world. Events and developments in every part become more and more interdependent. The fate of small nations, in particular, can only be understood within the context of the general state of world affairs. Bulgaria is no exception; 45 years ago it was invaded by the Red Army and forcefully incorporated in the Soviet Empire. Ever since it lost its sovereignty, our native country, became a passive member of the international community. Therefore, its present situation has to be considered under the light of events that take place out of its borders.

In Bulgaria “Perestroika” or reconstructing, is limited to promises of vague and inconsistent economic reforms. The internal policy of the regime continues to be based on repression. Spontaneous initiatives to organize dissent and legal opposition are being crushed down. Their promoters are being persecuted, isolated, arrested, interned and in many cases expelled from the country. The ever-growing number of new members and sympathisers are being systematically molested, menaced and discriminated. In spite of “Perestroika”, the regime is strengthening its hold and control over the entire population. The recent arrests of leaders of the Independent Association for Human Rights in Bulgaria, of the president of the independent Trade-Union “Podkrepa” — Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, of the president of the Committee in Defense of Religious Freedom and Spiritual Values — Reverend Christophore Sabev, among others, could be considered as indications that, in line with worst communist traditions, the government is preparing new trials and exemplary punishments for its “enemies”. We are particularly concerned about the fate of hundreds of Bulgarians who pay heavily for their patriotic and democratic sentiments, whose names in many cases may remain unknown.

The painful lot of the Muslim minority in Bulgaria (particularly its Turkish component) is again being brought to drastic evidence nowadays. After having proclaimed widely that there were no Turks in Bulgaria, the Government of Sofia is now trying to force a solution through mass expulsion of Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin. A compulsory measure of huge proportions that involves close to 10% of the population of Bulgaria. A shameful abuse that reveals the true nature of the Bulgarian communist regime and confirms all doubts about the consistency of their engagements to respect human rights.

The permanent and largely differentiated abuses of Bulgarian communists have been repeatedly denounced by us in the past. The new element in these revivals of state-terror is that this time the Bulgarian communist regime seems to be overtly challenging international public opinion. Such a provocative attitude calls for coordinated international reaction. We appeal to governments and Humanitarian Organisations all over the world to condemn the violations in Bulgaria and to subordinate their political, economic and cultural relations with the regime in Sofia to the unconditional, effective respect of Human Rights, requesting in the first place the immediate interruption of discriminatory acts against our Muslim compatriots.

We invite them to take the victims of repression in our country under protection, to

find some way of adopting them, so as to avoid tragic consequences to those who, in the name of human solidarity and freedom, expose themselves and their families to extreme risks. Only the vigilant interest of international public opinion and the manifested will for determinate intervention may induce the Soviet pro-consuls in Bulgaria to face their responsibilities and possibly modify their arrogance.

In recent decades there have been lots of misunderstanding about Bulgaria. Our nation has been victim of widespread prejudice that it might be too closely bound to the Soviet Union by pro-Russian sentiments. The record of disqualifying subservience of Bulgarian communist leadership is notorious. But it stops at party level and regards only relations between party nomenklaturas. On popular level any trace of pro-Russian sentimentalism has ceased to exist. It would be false, unfair and offensive to identify the people of Bulgaria with the hateful regime enforced on them and kept in power by violent repression. Respect of truth calls for drastic distinction between people and government in Bulgaria, as do the persecutions of Turkish minority when confronted with the stainless tradition of ethnic and religious tolerance in the past, when Bulgaria was an independant country.

The extremely reluctant approach to "Perestroika" and the increasing rigidity of the Bulgarian regime are being dictated by the interest of Soviet Russian leadership to prevent destabilizing developments in a strategically important part of their Empire. In the same way the harassing treatment reserved to Bulgarian Turks could be related to the growing ethnic and religious unrest in the Muslim regions of the Soviet Union. Obviously KGB's attempts to channelize raising nationalist aspirations towards minor interethnic conflicts prove to be no more sufficient. Therefrom, the need to deviate the attention of Muslim nations (Turkey in the first place) from developments in Central Asia towards easier targets like Bulgaria.

We are all convinced democrats. We are anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists. Are we ready to fight coherently against any form of colonialism? Are we willing to engage ourselves thoroughly for the disappearance of the last colonial empire on earth? What remains after a sincere verification of our democratic coherence?

As victims of Soviet Russian imperialism, we Bulgarians pose the question of the peaceful disintegration of the Soviet Union. A proposition of this kind should not scare anybody. It would be the logical conclusion of a historic era. We have seen and applauded the dissolution of all past colonial systems. There are absolutely no reasons for which Russia should be privileged over France or Great-Britain or Italy. The peaceful disappearance of the Soviet Union would certainly open bright new prospects for peace, security and prosperity to all mankind. It would bring back to freedom nations with millenary traditions. It would reunite Europe. It would offer Russia the opportunity to redeem itself of the sins of hegemonic ambitions and totalitarianism, to discover finally the benefits of Democracy and thus find its right place among the leading nations of the civilized world.

Paris, June 1989

*Dimko Stateff, president Ligue Bulgare des Droits de l'Homme
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EXPERTS SAY PSYCHIATRIC ABUSES CONTINUE IN THE USSR

(*UCIS — London*) — On June 12, a delegation of US psychiatrists who visited the Soviet Union testified that, despite some reforms, mentally healthy people are still being confined in psychiatric hospitals for their political vies. The team of experts testified before the US Congressional Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The US team of experts went to the Soviet Union to investigate reported political abuses of psychiatry. From February 25 to March 12 they examined 15 patients as well as 12 former patients released within the last 2 years. According to the report submitted by the team of experts, out of the 25 patients diagnosed as schizophrenic, the US team found only 9 patients deserved such a diagnosis. The delegation also condemned the Soviet's use of the drug sulfazine and other drugs stating that they had been used for punitive purposes.

Dr. Darrel A. Regier of the National Institute of Mental Health said: "A substantial number of individuals who were arrested for political activities were diagnosed as having severe mental disorder on the basis of such symptoms as 'delusions of grandeur' or 'anti-Soviet thoutht' ". Among the 12 patients released prior to the delegation's arrival, Dr. Regier said that "the US team found no evidence of any past or current mental disorder in 9, and the remaining 3 had relatively mild symptoms that would not typically warrant involuntary hospitalization".

The United States agreed to participate in a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 on the condition that the USSR stops putting political activists in mental hospitals. The trip of the team of experts was related to this agreement.

One of the reforms implemented in the USSR regarding psychiatric hospitals is that they have been transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior to the Health Ministry and the passing of a law in 1988 intended to end psychiatric confinement for anti-state activity. However, the team's report stated that, despite improvements in the last 18 months, there was still reason for concern about the political abuse of psychiatry.

The Soviet Union was condemned by the World Psychiatric Association in 1977 for its abuse of psychiatry and it subsequently withdrew in 1983 to avoid being expelled from the WPA. The USSR is now requesting to be readmitted. The team of experts did not take a position on readmitting the Soviets to the WPA but Senator John Heinz (R-Pa) stated that from the testimonies he "can only conclude that the Soviet Union has a long way to go and should not be readmitted under any circumstances."

The Soviet Union has submitted a formal response to the report, admitting that drugs such as sulfazine and atropine had been misused and stating that guidelines now exist banning the use of these two drugs in psychiatry. The response also stated that the American delegation had paid too much attention to statements of patients who were mentally ill.

Among those patients interviewed by the American team were several Ukrainians, including Anatoliy Ilchenko, who was released after being pronounced mentally healthy by the US psychiatric delegation.

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE DESERVE GREATER SUPPORT

In 1975, shortly after the United States Congress cut off military assistance, the government of the Republic of (South) Vietnam (RVN) was overthrown and the country was occupied by the Soviet supported Socialist Republic of (North) Vietnam. Despite the loss of over 100,000 American and Allied soldiers, the U.S. government did not offer to support those who continued to resist the communist occupation.

The tremendous attention given to the "boat people" those who took to the high seas on leaky rafts in hope of some how ending up in the West, failed to incite Congress to assist the anti-communist resistance.

As a result, the United States now faces substantial risks in Southeast Asia. Vietnam's triumph has allowed the Soviet Union access to Cam Ranh Bay. This bay is recognized as one of the safest ports in the Western Pacific.

The Pacific Basin is an area of vital interest to the United States. The U.S. has engaged in war on four occasions over the past century in order to protect its interests in the Pacific theatre. In its insistence on preventing Japanese rearmament after World War II and in its continued military presence in Korea, the United States has committed itself to the defense of East Asia.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has transformed its navy from a small coastal defence force into a major nautical fighting machine. The Pacific elements of this force are based in Vladivostok and in Cam Ranh Bay. The sea lanes which approach Vladivostok are controlled by U.S. which are based in Japan and Korea. The sea lanes which approach Cam Ranh Bay are controlled by U.S. forces based at Subic Bay in the Philippines.

Due to the change of government in the Philippines, the potential loss of the Subic Bay naval facility makes the problem of Cam Ranh Bay quite acute.

The Southeast Asia area generally supplies large amounts of vital strategic material to the West, including titanium, zirconium and manganese as well as substantial supplies of rubber, tin, tungsten, petroleum and natural gas. In addition, the trade routes which supply oil and other raw materials to Japan permeate this vital area.

The experience of World War II clearly illustrates that if a hostile power takes control of the sea lanes around Vietnam and the Philippines, the freedom of Australia and the Pacific Island nations are in serious jeopardy. As well, this power will extend to India and Hawaii.

In response to the above, the Soviet Union has shipped US\$ 40 - 60 million of weapons and military supplies into Cambodia during 1982-1983. Clearly they are engaged in a major effort to consolidate their control of Cambodia.

Since the fall of Saigon, several organizations which oppose the communist occupation have appeared. Yet, not one of these groups has received any official support from the United States government. Instead, they are supported by Vietnamese-Americans who have successfully entered American society.

Formed in 1984, the Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties (CVNP) represents the union of four major Vietnamese political parties. The parties listed below have been active in supporting Vietnamese liberation since the 1946 battle to end French colonial rule.

1. Vietnamese National Party (Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang). This group has been

active in the struggle against communists for more than 50 years. It has continued its activity underground since the communist takeover.

2. Vietnamese Restoration Party (Phuc Viet Dan Toc Dang). This party was established ten years ago after the fall of Saigon. Several of its members have been executed by the occupation forces. One of its leaders, Nguyen Trong Nhan, left Canada to join the military forces in Battambang, Cambodia and was killed in action on September 20, 1986. He left behind his wife and four children in Toronto.

3. Vietnamese People's Bloc for National Restoration (Khoi Dan Toc Phuc Quoc). This party was founded by a former RVN Deputy Prime Minister, Tran Van Tuyen, who died in a concentration camp.

Two other parties are members of the CNVP but their names are not public due to their activities within the SRVN government.

Financial support is the primary difficulty, the CNVP has faced since its founding. The so called "Vietnam Syndrome", the reason that the United States cites for their non-provision of funding, has placed the CNVP outside the scope of what has been called the "Reagan Doctrine". This is despite the fact that there has been extensive bipartisan support for U.S. assistance to the non-communist elements of the resistance in Cambodia.

Some limited support has been available to the CVNP from the Vietnamese people who have moved to the West and other governments in the area, but that support has not been sufficient to sustain extensive military operations.

However, The Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties has envisaged an extensive program which can eventually result in a national uprising in Vietnam; paving the way for its political victory over the communists. This anticipated victory has set up a political program which contains several key points which are listed below.

Internal Policy

- Vietnam should be a free member of the international community.
- Vietnam should maintain peaceful relations with her neighbors.
- Vietnam should encourage all developments toward a peaceful and neutral Indochina.
- All internal concentration camps should be eliminated.
- All political prisoners should be released.
- Former communists and their supporters should be permitted to rejoin the society without fear of retaliation.
- Military forces should be maintained at the minimum level necessary to protect the nation from external aggression.
- Freedom of speech, transportation, assembly and other basic civil rights as recognized under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be guaranteed.
- Equality for all ethnic groups must be a national policy.

External Policies

We consider that if any nation attempts to tip the power scale of Indo China for its national interest, this intervention will eventually bring war to Indo China and Asian countries. Because of these political stands, Vietnam and in addition Laos and Cambodia must be granted their independence as well as any nation which wants to have mutual security and reciprocal protection. The Coalition will respect its own political system as well as those of neighboring countries as long as these countries reciprocate in turn.

1. The Hanoi regime must withdraw all “troops” and “immigrants” in Cambodia.
2. The Hanoi regime must recognize the existence of other political parties and accept their legality within and outside of Vietnam. These political parties must have the right to establish their bases inside Vietnam for political activities.
3. The Hanoi regime must eliminate all concentration camps and consequently release all political prisoners.
4. An interim coalition government comprised of different political parties must be set up to hold a national referendum within one year for a solid solution to the situation in Vietnam.
5. Finally, subsequent to the success of the above terms, a national election must be held under the observation of the United Nations.

With the year 1990 approaching, it is the CNVP's ultimate hope that freedom and rights will be reinstated with those people who are the most deserving — the Vietnamese.

The Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties

KGB RAID SCOUT CAMP NEAR LVIV CHILDREN AGED 10-17 BEATEN UP AND ARRESTED!

On Friday, August 4, a team of police, KGB and Komsomol (Communist Youth League) officials attacked a summer Plast (Ukrainian scout) camp organized by the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF) on the Palanyky estate near the village of Veselka, Horodotskyi district, Lviv oblast.

The 175-strong assault team arrived in 3 buses, 5 mini-buses and 3 cars. When the 11 participants, aged between 10 and 17, saw the column approaching, they locked themselves in the camp administrative building. The attackers broke down the gate and the front door with an axe, smashed the windows, destroyed tents, ripped up a blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national flag which the scouts raised every morning, confiscated the inventory, beat up the children, Roman Tlustiak, 17, who was knocked to the ground and kicked for refusing to hand over a Ukrainian flag, 16 year-old Bohdan Tarnavkyi who photographed the assault team through a window and hid his camera, Mykhailo Hrabovenskyi, Bohdan Harbar, Olesia Khoma and others. Seven scouts were arrested and driven down to the Horodotskyi district council.

The officials ransacked the camp confiscating the camp library, audio cassettes, clothing with national symbols and various documents.

The Central Council of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front has sent a protest to the Prosecutor General of the USSR and the Head of the UCDF Vasyl Sichko is appealing to all Plast members around the world to intervene on behalf of Plast in Ukraine. Plast was reestablished in Lviv by the UCDF earlier this year.

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) has also sent a protest to the USSR Prosecutor General condemning the pogrom against the young Ukrainian scouts. Below we give the full text of this statement.

PROTEST

Of the Executive Committee of the UHU against the Recent Attack on a Plast Camp of the UCDF in the Village of Veselka, Horodotskyi District, by the authorities

To the Prosecutor General of the USSR

In the fight against the growth of initiative, the development of public structures and the raising of the national consciousness of our people the Lviv reactionaries have lost their minds. On the morning of August 4 the officials of the Horodotskyi district committee and the Lviv oblast committee of the Komsomol, the Horodotskyi department of education, the oblast militia and the KGB, in all 175 people, organized themselves into a single criminal group and attacked the Plast patriotic sports camp, where 11 children, aged between 10-17, were spending their vacation. When the children saw the column of 3 buses, 5 mini-buses and 3 cars they locked themselves in the camp administration. The attackers broke down the gate and the door with an axe, smashed the windows, destroyed tents, ripped up a blue-and-yellow flag, searched the bedding, confiscated the inventory, beat up the children, and pushed 7 of them into a bus and drove them down to the Horodotskyi district council. Eventually, they were sent home. This unprecedented treatment of children shook the people of Lviv. They regard this senseless and brutal pogrom as the reaction of local authorities to the attempt of children and teenagers to renew the Plast movement which is traditional in our region.

The UHU is outraged by the latest act of lawlessness on the part of the local authorities and demands the cessation of this practice, that the initiators and perpetrators of this shameful action are brought to criminal justice, and a halt to the terror against our children, who are looking for new ways to spend their vacations.

Take your hands off our children!

Put the criminals on trial!

5.8.1989

Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT IN ZHYTOMYR

(UCIS - London) The Zhytomyr branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for restructuring held its founding conference on July 8. Around 300 people, including People's Deputy Yaroshynska, attended the meeting.

The speakers included Yakiv Zayko, a leading member of the Popular Movement. They addressed the issue of giving real power to the democratically elected councils of People's Deputies, called for an all round democratization and development of society, and condemned the arbitrariness of party officials at all levels.

There were also calls for the sacking of Shcherbytskyi, the Ukrainian party boss, Valentyna Shevchenko and the first secretary of the Zhytomyr oblast party committee Vasyl Kavun and others.

Mykola Yarmoliuk, a writer from Radomashl, condemned national nihilism. Journalist Vasyl Vrublevskyi accused the organs of state security of persecuting dissidents, pointed out how they periodically censor letters sent in to the editorial board of the Zhytomyr newspaper *Komsomolska Zirka* (Komsomol Star) and called Anatoliy Kuchin, the editor in chief of *Komsomolska Zirka*, a KGB agent.

Former Soviet army captain Valeriy Kolosivskyi represented the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. He urged those present to cooperate with all the informal groups in Zhytomyr, gave a short history of the UHU, explained its principles, and drew everyone's attention to the extremist methods used by the authorities to combat the UHU — administrative arrests, special riot police, the disinformation campaign in the press and so on.

The representative of the Ukrainian Language Society spoke about the present state of the Ukrainian language, criticized the idea of bilingualism, and read out the principles of the Society.

Vasyl Ovsienko, who represented the Society of the Repressed, pointed out that restructuring was initiated not by the communist party but those people who have for decades been labelled "anti-Soviets" and "maligners". Taking Serhiy Babych, who was present at the meeting, as an example, Ovsienko concluded his address with the following words: "This man spent 27 years in prison so that today we would have the opportunity to speak. He is true hero of restructuring!"

The auditorium applauded his remarks and one of the participants handed Serhiy Babych flowers. During his address, Ovsienko emphasized that it is futile to expect the full rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism and the Brezhnev era so long as the followers of Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi and his puppet the first secretary of the Zhytomyr party committee Vasyl Kavun preside over the courts and not true servants of the people. "Judges Dubenko and Kovalenko in Radomyshl, and Biletskyi in Zhytomar remain in office. These are the people who imprisoned me for my rights activity", said Ovsienko. He also received a bouquet of flowers from the participants.

The conference ended late at night. The meeting adopted a programme and statutes and elected various organizational committees.

An appeal to the people of the Zhytomyr oblast was read out in four languages — Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and Hebrew.

Bertil Häggman

Moscow and Low-Intensity Conflict

Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror

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RECENT EVENTS IN UKRAINE

Bilcha (Mykolayiv district, Lviv oblast)

On August 6 around 1,000 faithful attended a Mass celebrated by Rev. M. Havryliv of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Chernihiv

On August 6 at the city cemetery members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) and the Popular Front of Ukraine Oleksander Kotenko, Mykola Mykolayenko and others set up a stand with information about the hunger strike outside the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv in protest against the ban on Ukrainian national symbols. The public approved of the protest and protected the local activists from the police and officials in civilian clothing for nearly an hour.

In the last few days workers of a radio factory sent a statement to the oblast party committee in which they bitterly criticize the system of party privileges. The statement also pointed out that the party leadership is incapable of leading the oblast out of its present economic and social difficulties. "We do not want to be in the same party as these communists!", said the workers, who had the support of the local branch of the Ukrainian Language Society and the Popular Movement of Ukraine.

Dnipropetrovsk

On August 8 the Popular Movement of Ukraine held a sanctioned meeting. During the meeting, whose theme was "The Popular Movement and Restructuring", the participants raised 3 Soviet flags and 15 blue-and-yellow flags.

Donetsk

Recently Yakovlev, a member of the local branch of the Ukrainian Language Society, presented a proposition to the city council: to mark the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, to establish a museum in honour of the 19th century Ukrainian poet and to rename the Voroshylovhrad district the Shevchenko district. He received a reply which pointed out that the measures he called for were unnecessary because Shevchenko had no direct connections with Donetsk and that local residents supposedly did not agree with Yakovlev's propositions.

On August 6 the oblast branch of the Ukrainian Language Society of Shevchenko held a meeting, chaired by its joint chairman Biletskyi. Tykha, a member of the republican executive and the council of the Society, read a report about the establishment and activity of the Society. Nearly 30 chairmen of branches around the Donetsk oblast attended the meeting. Two guests, a member of the Slavutych Ukrainian Society in Moscow and a representative of Ukrainian Greeks, took an active part in the meeting. The participants discussed the establishment of the first Ukrainian school in Donetsk.

Kalush (Ivano-Frankivsk oblast)

In the last few days a number of activists of the Ukrainian national-democratic movement received very heavy fines.

On August 6 20,000 people attended a meeting organized by the local branch of the Ukrainian Language Society "Rebirth" despite the official ban on the meeting. The authorities tried to disrupt the proceedings.

The local branch of the Ukrainian Language Society “Rebirth” sent a statement to the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi, the head of the Supreme Soviet of the UkSSR V. Shevchenko and the head of the Council of the Ukrainian Language Society Dmytro Pavlychko protesting that the introduction of the Ukrainian language in 200 schools in 1988-1989 is a mere façade — only the new signs and notices are in Ukrainian. The statement also demanded the status of state language and language of international communication in the republic for the Ukrainian language and pointed out a number of necessary measures to improve the present situation of the language.

Kolomyia

On August 7 a requiem service was held at the grave of the Sichovi Striltsi (Sich Rifle Corps). On the way to Kolomyia Vasyl Sichko and Mykola Huk from the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF) had their car stopped by police. They were arrested and sentenced to 15 days’ imprisonment for having Ukrainian national flags in the car.

Kyiv

On August 2 the Coordinating Council of the regional branch of the Popular Movement held a meeting. The participants of the meeting formed a commission to investigate the assault on the writer Kaharlytskyi by a policeman and the 15-day imprisonment of UHU member Dmytro Korchynskyi. The Popular Movement sent a statement to the city council and the Supreme Soviet of the UkSSR demanding that the people responsible for these acts of lawlessness are punished.

On the morning of August 4 Les Bykov, the unemployed son of notable film director Leonid Bykov, began a hunger strike. He was arrested and sentenced to 9 days of imprisonment.

On August 5 the republican newspaper *Robitnycha Hazeta* published a report about a “round-table” discussion between UHU members Vyacheslav Chornovil, Bohdan Horyn and Mykhailo Horyn and the first secretary of the Kyiv party committee.

On August 8 *Pravda Ukrainy* published an interview with Major General Voytsekhivskyi, the senior police officer of the Ukrainian SSR. According to Voytsekhivskyi in the first 6 months of 1989 500 activists were arrested, subjected to moral and physical repression, beaten up and fined or sentenced to 15 days of imprisonment.

On August 13 the Popular Movement of Ukraine protested outside the Supreme Soviet of the UkSSR against the dispersal of the participants of the 24-hour hunger strike which began on July 29.

Kryvyi Rih

On August 5 residents of the city held a conference to discuss the creation of a local branch of the Popular Movement for restructuring. Nearly 50 people took part in the conference: representatives of the Kryvyi Rih Memorial Society, the Ukrainian Language Society of Shevchenko and members of the independent organization Chesnyi Vybir (Honest Election). A Ukrainian national flag was displayed in the conference hall.



Ukrainians demonstrating in Gdansk, Poland on 14 October 1989. The placard reads 'There is no free Poland without a free Ukraine'.

Lviv

On August 8 70 year-old Oksana Bandera, the younger sister of Stepan Bandera (the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists from 1940-1959) returned to Ukraine for the first time after 48 years in Siberia. That same day she laid flowers in the centre of Lviv on the site where a monument to Taras Shevchenko is going to be erected. The residents of Lviv welcomed her with the Ukrainian national anthem and other songs.

Mativka (Skolivskiyi district, Lviv oblast)

On August 6 a Catholic requiem service was held at the grave of the Sichovi Striltsi. 5,000 faithful gathered for the service. After the service Petro Sichko, a leading member of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front addressed a meeting.

Moscow

On July 28 a group of Ukrainian Catholics who are staging a hunger strike in Moscow held a demonstration outside the residence of the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church in protest against the Russian Orthodox hierarchy's negative stance regarding the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In the last few days a group of Ukrainian Catholics held a requiem service at the grave of Ukrainian Hetman Petro Doroshenko in the village of Yaropolets, some 4 hours drive from Moscow. It was conducted by Rev. Yaroslav Lesiv of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Around 200 locals attended the 3-hour service.

On August 3 or 4 Stepan Khmara and Rev. Yaroslav Lesiv had a brief meeting with Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin assured them that the problem of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is being reviewed and will be resolved.

The next day, August 4, a group of homeless and unemployed and those who have suffered psychiatric repression raised several slogans in the lobby of the "Moskva" Hotel. They aimed to bring their plight to the attention of the People's Deputies. Nearly half the protesters were Ukrainians.

Rivne

On July 29 at 5.00 p.m. activists of the local branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine set up a stand with materials relating to the founding conference of the Popular Movement in Rivne. Police in civilian clothing destroyed the stand. A police major stated: "I would like to kill you!"

Stryi (Lviv oblast)

580 Stryi residents sent a statement to the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR and the mass media protesting against the destruction by local authorities of a cross erected by Ukrainian Catholics to mark the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

Sumy

A Society of Independent Philosophers, which is a corporate member of the UHU, has been in existence in the city for a long time. The activity of the Society continues to anger the local authorities. On July 25 the local authorities disrupted an exhibition and sale of computers and artistic wares organized by the head of the Society Oleksander Kobyliaikov. Profits from the event were to have gone towards the establishment of a computer class in a school for orphans.

First of all, the first secretary of the oblast party committee stated at a closed meeting that the aim of the Society is to create a new party. Then the local newspaper printed a libellous article about Oleksander Kobyliaikov, the agreement regarding the lease of premises for the exhibition was annulled and the funds of the cooperative where the head of the Society works were seized. Finally a group of unknown people attacked Kobyliaikov and seized his briefcase which contained 3,000 karbovantsi (roubles) and various documents.

The members of the Society are holding the first secretary of the oblast party committee Pavlovskiy, the deputy head of the city council Zhurba, the head of the oblast social services administration Baliuk, who did not act without the knowledge of KGB Colonel Monastyrskiy, responsible for this outrage.

Ternopil

On August 6 a Catholic Mass was held at the city cemetery. To disrupt the service police destroyed the cemetery chapel, intimidated the priest and beat up one of the faithful.

Wilnius (Lithuania)

On July 29-30 representatives of the UHU and the Ukrainian National-Democratic League (UNDL) took part in the founding congress of the Lithuanian Democratic Party, an officially recognized legal party.

TRADE WITH UKRAINE OR WITH COOPERATIVES IN UKRAINE

In October 1987 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a resolution, stating in part: "The following is noted about improving external economic activity in the new economic conditions: 'It is foreseen that credits will be issued to the Council of Ministers of the union republics from expended costs for the export of production generated by the debits of these enterprises subordinated to the Union, which are on the territory of the given republic in the case when their reorganization is realized by enterprises which are subordinated to either local or republic authority.'"

Should we use our funds to support the countless enterprises controlled by the Soviet Union or the Ukrainian SSR, whose operations leave a polluted environment, issue paper reports about operations and profits, and return everything else to the center?

Supporters of trade with Ukraine strangely argue the need to "to support those forces in Ukraine which are zealously fighting the economic, business and self-financing status of the republic."

This "trade with Ukraine" will be directed at the destruction of such a status, because with their capital these individuals are acknowledging the legality of the system in Ukraine and thereby giving the party bureaucracy the strength to emerge from its political and economic crisis, leaving the problems of our nation unsolved.



Zalishchyky district (Ternopil oblast)

On August 3 police stopped an ecological expedition which was sailing down the Dnister river. The expedition was organized by Lviv's Lev Society. The police confiscated blue-and-yellow flags from members of the expedition and refused to explain their action.

Zaporizhia

On August 5 around 2,000 residents of Zaporizhia attended an unsanctioned public meeting in support of the creation of a local branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine. Despite warnings by the police about the use of Ukrainian national symbols, the participants raised 2 blue-and-yellow flags. People's Deputy Chelyshev, who addressed the meeting, stated: "I fully support the idea of establishing the Popular Movement of Ukraine".

Zhytomyr

On August 3 the Zhytomyr branch of the Ukrainian Language Society held its founding conference in the building of the local branch of the Writers' Union of Ukraine.

In connection with the specifics of the system and Ukraine's individual position in it, the anarchistic activity of Ukrainian businessmen in the West may lead to unbelievable harm rather than the hoped for benefits to our nation, instead of honor and glory — shame.

The structure of the ruling powers has not changed. Simply because official representatives are beginning to speak with the Diaspora does not yet mean that we are speaking with the Ukrainian people. Speaking is a normal process, but we should not fall into embraces. There is an essential difference between a person with whom we sympathize and a representative of the system.

No matter which slogans are used to disguise it, the propaganda of “trade with Ukraine” directly supports the idea of a “one and indivisible Russia,” and a “democratic Soviet Union,” in which Ukraine will be allotted the possibility of “normal” development within the confines of a restructured “union.” Are we not paving the road for these thoughts by the appearance of the official functionaries from Ukraine?

Profits for Ukraine

With our united Ukrainian capital we can help only the cooperatives. Their material profits will remain completely in Ukraine. By supporting Ukrainian cooperatives we are not supporting the system, but our people, we are helping them to be self-supportive, mobile and nationally conscious. This help should not be a knee-jerk reaction, but goal-oriented, organized and in opposition to the still existent total bureaucracy. As an economic and psychological factor, the fact that we can help our relatives and close ones, has great importance.

State business, which the supporters of trade with Ukraine want to help, turn over all their assets to the state, while the cooperatives are compelled to return only somewhat more than 50%, and remainder stays within the jurisdiction of the republic, the province and the region. Cooperatives operate with more than 40% of their currency.

Therefore, whom do we help — state businesses or cooperatives?

Undoubtedly the work is unbelievably complicated and difficult, and that is why the roads are being paved to relations with state businesses, roads upon which we have embarked without much contemplation, as if to rescue the economy of Ukraine. This is not the case, because through business relations with state enterprises we will be tightening the noose around the neck of our nation and our statehood. By helping cooperatives, we will be truly helping Ukraine, we will inspire national elements to independence in the economic sphere and to a move to economic accounting and self-financing.

Every entrepreneur acts on his own risk and fear, and will not have the possibility of even raising the question of granting most favored status to trade with cooperatives before the government, because each one will only see his own, private interest. The absence of such a status renders production from Ukraine uncompetitive in the open market. Only with the consolidation of Ukrainian strength and the strength of other nations can we attain the privileged status of friendly trade between the West and cooperatives. By helping the development of an alternative economic sector, the free world will continue to strive for human rights on the economic and social level, at the same time showing its humanistic essence.

30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

From July 19 through July 22, 1989, the National Government of Taiwan held its 30th Anniversary Commemoration of the Captive Nations Week. This annual gathering of people from all over the world was sponsored by the World AntiCommunist League, Republic of China Chapter. Co-sponsorship was by the Asian Pacific Anti Communist League, which is also headquartered in Taipei. For five days, the government of Taiwan hosts delegates from many countries at rallies and forums. This year's gathering focused on the massacre of pro-democracy students in Tienanman Square the month before.

Delegates from 23 countries were invited and most representatives were members of their country's government. There was the Speaker of the National Assembly from Korea, as well as senators from Guatemala, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay and the Philippines. A former Prime Minister from Belgium and members of the Australian Parliament, as well as members of the national assembly of France, Singapore, Malaysia and Japan. There was representation from Saudi Arabia, Mauritius, Bangladesh, Great Britain, Turkey and Jordan.

Mrs. Roxolana Bukschowany Potter, Chairperson of the American Friends — Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc was invited by the WACL organization to give one of the keynote addresses at the Taipei City Hall. While she officially represented Ukraine, her organization, ABN, represents the interests of all peoples whose countries are under Communist domination.

On Thursday, July 20, 1989, Mrs. Bukschowany Potter received a special invitation to meet with the President of Taiwan, the Hon. Yue at the Presidential Palace. Along with 19 other dignitaries, mostly members of the Congresses and Parliaments of participating countries. They met with President Huan for more than one hour. Three members of the delegation spoke, the official response was by the



Six months ago when I arrived in the United States I talked about the indispensability of helping the cooperatives in Ukraine. This idea which was generally outlined in the concentration camps of the Urals with Levko Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba, Mykhailo Horyn and Ivan Sokulsky and other political prisoners was perceived in different ways. For the most part I received moral support from Ukrainians I met with in Australia, Canada and the United States, and I am searching for ways to realize the idea.

Petro Ruban is a former Ukrainian political prisoner, who arrived in the United States in the Summer of 1988 and was honored by President Ronald Reagan at the White House during Captive Nations Week.

minister from the Australian Parliament. Mrs. Potter addressed the world reaction to the killing of the pro-democracy students in Beijing. She indicated that the New York City Commemoration would be dedicated to these brave freedom fighters.

On the following day, a large rally was called and attended by 1500 invited guests. **The International Rally for Democracy Movement in Mainland China** was officially opened with remarks by Dr. Chao, Tze-chi, President of WACL R.O.C. Chapter. He introduced H.E. Lee Huan, Premier of the Republic of China. He was followed by Hon. Kim, Han kyu, Member of South Korea Parliament; Senator Pedro Hugo, Paraguay and The Hon. George Mamin, Member of Parliament, France.

Mrs. Bukschowany Potter completed the forum with her speech related to the deceptive propaganda of Gorbachev's Perestroika and Deng's hypocrisy in mainland China. She spoke about the Goddess of Democracy, the statue the Chinese students constructed in Tienanman Square. She spoke about her native Ukraine and the manner in which it serves as the key economic point for Soviet Russian domination. She received a rousing applause when she stated that the Soviet Empire would no longer exist when Ukraine becomes a free and independent nation.

Following these speeches, the official Declaration was read and accepted by the delegates present. In it, the Conference attendees affirmed the condemnation of the massacre of students in Beijing. It indicated that the Chinese regime was trying hard to survive from the struggle for freedom and democracy of the Chinese people. It pointed out that Perestroika is a tactical maneuver in Soviet global strategy and Chinese brutal suppression is a desperate attempt for survival. They adopted the proposition that the task of supporting democratic movement in mainland China as the center of activity of the "Captive Nations" campaign. They appealed to the people of free and democratic nations to recognize the true nature of the Communist regime, to exert common efforts to stop the savage conduct of the Chinese Communist rulers from violating international and Human Rights Declarations. They appealed to President George Bush to respect the US Congress's strong demand of sanction against the Chinese Communist regime. The Proclamation also appealed to the British Government to seriously consider the urgent demand of the millions of residents in Hong Kong unwilling to accept Communist Chinese rule, to be allowed to emigrate to the British Commonwealth. Finally, the Declaration appealed to the people of Taiwan to clearly recognize the evil nature of the Communist Chinese lies concerning open reform and especially the concept of "one country — two systems." The proceedings were broadcast to the mainland and heard by an estimate of 30 million people.

All delegates were invited to a reception at the Ministry of Communication and Trade by its new Chairman, Dr. Clement C.P. Chang. As former President of WACL, ROC Chapter, he was especially interested in the activities the delegates were pursuing. Mrs. Bukschowany Potter was asked to give one of the two formal responses to his comments and she expressed her sincere appreciation on behalf of the delegates for his leadership as both head of WACL and now in his cabinet position.

One final reception was scheduled that day, and this was by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Lien. Held at the Foreign Office, the delegates were provided refreshments and greetings by the Deputy Minister, Dr. Yui.

That evening, Dr. and Mrs. Han, Secretary General of APACL hosted a traditional Chinese banquet at the Taipei Fortuna Hotel.

On Saturday, July 22, the delegates convened at the National Trade Offices for



At speakers' waiting platform: from left — Dr. Chao Tze-chi, Paraguay Senator Pedro Hugo Pena, ABN representative Mrs. Roxolana Potter, and Korean National Assemblyman Kim.

a forum on Economic and Trade discussion. At that time, Mrs. Bukschowany Potter reminded the delegates the importance of trade embargo against the Communist bloc countries. She encouraged those political leaders present to limit the amount of economic and technical assistance that Soviet Russia and Communist China receives from the industrialized countries.

In late morning, the delegates were transported to the National Parliament Building where Premier Lee hosted a tea in their honor. He emphasized the importance that these delegates must return to their countries bringing the message of anti-communist action to their people.

In the afternoon, the delegates were treated to a Mass Activities on the grounds of a major movie studio and amusement park. Here the delegates got the opportunity to meet with the people of Taiwan directly. They participated in various examples of folk arts crafts and got the see first hand, the types of cultural richness of these people.

That evening, President and Mrs. Chao hosted a Farewell Gala Banquet for all the delegates.

On other business while in Taiwan, Mrs. Potter accompanied her husband, Mr. W. Bruce Potter as an official delegate to visit Chia-Yi, the sister city of their New Jersey Home, East Orange. They met with the Mayor Po-Ya Chang, MD, and members of the City Council, as well as Dr. Wen-Ying Chang, sister to the Mayor and member of the National Assembly. They set the groundwork for the implementation of an administrative technical interchange program for the two municipalities.

In a similar context, Mrs. Potter met with Deputy Minister Chin-sheng Chang, Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations, Ministry of Education in Taipei. As the official spokesperson for the East Orange Superintendent of School, Mrs. Potter established the groundwork for a student/teacher exchange program between Taiwan and the United States.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM

It is indeed an honor and pleasure for me to be here in the National Republic of China to address the WACL delegates from around the world at this 30th Anniversary Year commemorating the signing of the Captive Nations Week Proclamation. Our organization, the Antiboldshevik Bloc of Nations, has been dedicated to the struggle for national independence and statehood since its formation by the original thirteen subjugated nations in 1943. This battle was first against the tyranny of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russian aggressors. It has continued against any imperialistic/totalitarian/communist governments that rob the cultural and national spirit and God given Human Rights of all men. Our members include Afghan Freedom Fighters and patriotic representatives from Eastern Europe; Baltic Nations, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia and Georgia. We are Vietnamese, Cambodians, Turkestanes and Cubans. We fight with the partisans of Nicaragua and we stand here today with both moral and physical support for you, our Chinese friends.

As the decade of the 80's comes to a close, the free world has begun to see the crumbling of the political dominance of Communist systems around the world. For the last seven decades in Soviet Russia and four decades in mainland China, the socio-economic policies of these governments have resulted in failure after failure in bringing food to the people and a viable work ethic.

Realizing the end of their imperialistic rule is threatened, the leaders of these totalitarian governments have begun a systematic plan to convince the free world that their socialist ways are changing and at the same time, to deceive their citizens into believing, as in an Aesop's Fable, "... the stones in their mouths are really pieces of bread..."

In the United States and now Europe, we hear Soviet Premier Gorbachev talk about his Glasnost and Perestroika as though they were his private Marshall Plan. He is now calling for a common European community. Why? If it did not work with the Soviet Bloc, why should Western Europe consider his call? The Western press media lauds him as a great negotiator and reformer, and yet his Soviet empire is slowly crumbling as local regions see their people swell with nationalistic pride and demand the end of Russian domination.

The real irony of Gorbychev's Perestroika is that it points up very important flaws in the foundation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It has provided the catalyst to highlight the proof that Communism is an alien political structure which has been imposed on the natural human character. Communism denies the recognition of a human being to function with his or her unique and individual identity.

The Communist principle that the production of the individual must serve the good of the state has proven itself a failure in the economic structure of these governments. To deny the individual the right to be aware of his own self-worth and to benefit from his own labor has resulted in stagnant and unproductive economic conditions throughout the Soviet, indeed all Communist governments. No matter how much effort and political propaganda Gorbachev develops to try to convince the peoples that a new modernization is needed in order to achieve economic success, the working person is still not motivated to produce if success is defined as State rather than Individual achievement.

On initial inspection, recent trends in various countries under Communist domination towards “loosening” the political and economic grip on the methodology in which their citizens participate in sharing the common wealth had Western leaders scrambling to pay tribute. In the United States, politicians have been hailing the end of the Cold War and apparent disintegration of the “Iron and Bamboo Curtains.” These new liberalizations, however, are merely superficial and window-dressing for Western News Media consumption. In truth, they are beginning to prove themselves dangerous juggling acts for Communist leaders as more and more subjugated peoples under their control begin to demand the full spectrum of freedom and the right to national/ political/cultural identity.

In Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan and Georgia, incidents have come to light, in spite of Soviet censorship, which more realistically shows that Russian domination is being challenged from within. Protest rallies and strikes are prevalent, as a result of crippling local economies. Just as significant, these demonstrators are demanding the right to express themselves through their real national languages and be identified by their social-political order and not that of their Russian leaders.

Earlier this month, Gorbachev made a rare television address to the ‘Soviet people’ wherein he declared the “...stresses among the scores of nationalities endanger the destiny and integrity of the (Soviet Russian) state.” While suggesting a policy of moderate tolerance of ethnic aspirations, as reported by the New York Times on July 2, 1989 he adamantly warned of “...most decisive measures...” against those who promote separatism, and territorial disputes. What the Soviet leadership fails to understand is that limited or partial democratization is no democracy.

In Poland, the Communist party thought it was placating its citizens when it agreed to allow a limited election for a minority number of seats in its federal government. It lost every race when the Polish people were given the opportunity to experiment with democratic voting practices.

In my country, Ukraine, the fight for national independence has been particularly difficult as Moscow has always needed the agricultural and natural resources of my country to feed its Russian citizens. Our struggle for independence has never stopped. Whether through demonstrations of thousands of people in Kyiv, political rallies through the streets of Lviv, or mass protest rallies in front of the Soviet Mission in New York, one day my people will be independent of Soviet Russian domination and we will have a free democratic nation once again. That day, when Ukraine is no longer subjugated, Russia would no longer be an Empire.

Finally, let’s look at what happened within the last two months in Communist China. The Beijing government has been so hungry for Western technology and economic support, it has had to allow its urban communities to be opened up to Western scrutiny. As more and more contact between Western people took place with the new Chinese entrepreneurs, the ideas of democratic reform began to spread once again through the country.

When the student demonstrations began in cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, I believe that the Communist leaders tolerated these actions. The Spring, 1989, was to have been another propaganda attempt to show the free world that the old days of hard-line Marxist philosophy were over and the beginning of a modernized China was on the road to fruition.

The giving of superficial Human Rights is difficult to control for the benefactor.

ABN RESOLUTIONS TO THE WACL CONFERENCE

WHEREAS, the principle of national independence and statehood is universally recognized as an inalienable right of every nation and has become incorporated into numerous international agreements, covenants, and legal statutes, e.g., The United Nations Charter, the UN Declaration on De-Colonization, and

WHEREAS, genuine human rights and civil liberties are inconceivable in colonial conditions, where the sovereign will of a nation as a whole is denied its rightful expression by being subjected to the imperialist will of the oppressor nation, and the individual is, therefore, denied the ability to basic freedoms by a repressive totalitarian colonial regime, and

WHEREAS, real democracy, i.e. the empowerment of the individual/the people, requires, as an essential precondition the empowerment of the nation as a whole in a sovereign and independent national state, which alone can guarantee the realization of



Once a person begins to think of their individual potential, Human Rights stops being a gift from another person and becomes a responsibility of SELF to maintain. This is what the leaders in Beijing never expected from the university students in Tiananmen Square. Not only did their assembly give them an identity foreign to the purposes of the Communist leaders, but just as important, the action of the students served to focus the frustration and distrust that the Chinese people as a whole have towards their totalitarian leaders.

The world will never forget the image of a lady with a flame known as the **Statue of Freedom** that spontaneously rose one spring day this year in Beijing. The international media flashed pictures of her defiant stand in front of the picture of Chairman Mao-Tze-Tung, as if to say to the Communist leadership: "I am the Real Spirit and Hope of the People in this Country." As with America's Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York City, the lady with a flame symbolizes the dream that all people have to be FREE.

The American Friends of Anticolsoviet Bloc of Nations will hold its Captive Nations Week Ceremony in September. We will hold our Commemoration at the Statue of Liberty to pay tribute to the memory of the valiant Chinese students who died in Tiananmen Square. We hope each and every one of you will be with us, if not in person, then in spirit.

As we stand here today, we pledge to continue in our struggle to achieve the inalienable rights of Freedom for all individuals and their right to choose the destiny of their Nations. It is our commitment that one day in the near future, we will meet again in your country on the mainland and in my country known as Ukraine to celebrate our victory against Communism.

The speech by Mrs Roxolana Bukschowany Potter at the 30th anniversary of the Captive Nations Week, Taipei, July 1989.



Slovaks demonstrate for an independent Slovakia in Bonn 15. July 1989

Captive Nations demonstration in Bonn



individual rights and liberties, as an extension of the liberty of the nation, of its general will, and

WHEREAS, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which is the historical heir of the tsarist Russian colonial empire, is the last remaining imperialist system, in which Moscow — in direct continuity with traditional Russian imperialism — has subjugated numerous nations, subjecting them to the most barbarous forms of oppression in all of human history in an attempt to eradicate all vestiges of a non-Russian

national consciousness in these nations through a policy of severe Russification, and WHEREAS, despite the series of atrocities which have been inflicted upon the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its “satellites” over the last 75 years, these nations have continued their national-liberation struggle and have even strengthened their resolve to attain their goal of national independence and statehood, and

WHEREAS, the recent series of “reforms” which have been introduced in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev under the catchall phrase “glasnost and perestroika” are not an indication of Moscow’s desire to “democratize”, but rather an indication that the Soviet-Russian empire is in the midst of a serious economic, political, and — most importantly — a moral crisis, where no one, perhaps even the First Secretary himself, believes in the false vision of Communism, and,

WHEREAS, insofar as Gorbachev’s program of “glasnost” does not envisage full national independence, sovereignty and statehood for the subjugated nations, it only presents a veil of democracy as an attempt to lure the working population of the USSR to become more productive in the economic sector — an essential precondition if Moscow is to solidify its military base, which it needs to continue enslaving the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union and its “satellites”, and from which it may launch yet another wave of military expansionism in its aim to establish global hegemony, and

WHEREAS, the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which has now become greatly intensified and is taking on mass proportions, and which will ultimately result in the dissolution of the last remaining empire on earth, together with its huge military apparatus, represents the only viable alternative to a nuclear Armageddon, the unilateral threat of which lies in Moscow’s uninterrupted historical drive towards world domination, which was begun well before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and which has not abated even at this present stage of “friendlier” relations between East and West, and

WHEREAS, the subjugated nations have taken several steps towards consolidating their common struggle for freedom, by holding several Conferences throughout the Soviet Union, and attended by the representatives of these nations, at which it was once again unequivocally stated that the subjugated nations will not rest until their final goal of independence is attained, and

WHEREAS, insofar as the establishment of a truly sovereign government, viz. a government that passes and executes laws in accordance with its people’s will and not on orders from an external power, is an essential pre-requisite to national independence, no “satellite” country, for instance Poland, can be considered truly free and independent as long as members of the Communist Party, subservient to Moscow, hold important ministerial positions in that government, and

WHEREAS, Moscow’s granting of partial economic autonomy to the Baltic republics is an attempt to divert their attention from the ultimate goal of full independence, and whereas Gorbachev’s reform program is designed as a palliative device, intended to at least partially satisfy the subjugated peoples’ basic material needs, in the hope that the revolutionary ferment, that has been steadily growing in the USSR and its “satellites”, will considerably subside, thereby allowing Gorbachev to proceed with his program of economic re-structuring, which will not only strengthen the Russian empire, but will also place Moscow on a firmer military foundation for future expansionism, and

UKRAINIAN DELEGATES' RESOLUTION AT THE WACL CONFERENCE IN BRISBANE

Whereas, the Soviet Union has reached an irreversible critical point in its 72-year existence as a Soviet Russian empire facing political, economic and social collapse; and

Whereas, the said crisis was triggered by Moscow's destructive, militaristic, totalitarian, imperialist and aggressive system devoid of all human, cultural, spiritual, economic, social, ecologic, religious and political concerns for the population at large and the numerous nations under Moscow's hegemony in particular ; and

Whereas, the new policy of so-called *glasnost* and *perestroika* has been introduced by the current Soviet regime as a last-resort attempt to salvage the Soviet Russian empire from total economic collapse under the mounting pressure from the subjugated nations and their liberation movements and under its own weight; and

Whereas, the "restructuring" of the USSR as a unified and centralized empire, on the one hand, and a politically and economically viable "democratic" Soviet Union, on the other, is a contradiction in terms and an impossibility because, as current events have shown, the national interest and drive for independence and statehood of the subjugated nations in the USSR have clearly taken precedence over Moscow's "all-union" concerns; and

Whereas, Ukraine, because of its vast demographic resources, economic and geopolitical importance is the key nation within the Soviet Russian empire to become a catalyst for a GENUINE RESTRUCTURING of the empire into sovereign, democratic and independent states of the subjugated nations currently comprising the Soviet Union;

Be it resolved that WACL

1. Recognises the current political and socio-economic realities in the USSR and so-called satellite states, as outlined above.



WHEREAS, Western economic assistance, whether in the form of governmental subsidies or private investment, serves to buttress Moscow's dominant colonial position

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED THAT —

1. The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) again voices its full and unequivocal support of the national liberation struggle presently waged by Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and the other nations subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites";

2. WACL calls upon the governments of the Free World to discontinue all forms of economic assistance and transfers of technology to the USSR;

3. WACL calls upon the Western Governments to proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for all the nations subjugated in the last remaining empire on earth — the Soviet-Russian empire, which will send a powerful message of the Free World's moral and political support of the subjugated nations in their struggle.

2. Encourage the governments of the free world to cease their futile attempts to help Moscow to salvage, albeit in a “modified” form, the political integrity of the Soviet Russian empire and its failing economy. Any economic and technological assistance by the free world must be LINKED in a proportional manner to an ever increasing process of decentralization and dismantling by Moscow of its totalitarian system of control and occupation of the subjugated nations.

3. Encourage the governments of the free world to actively support the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations, such as Ukraine’s Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in its efforts to re-establish an independent Ukrainian state with a democratic political system and a free market economy.

4. Encourage the governments, peoples and interested organizations of the free world to render all possible assistance to the popular “unofficial” Ukrainian organizations (and their publications) that have sprung up in Ukraine in an effort to regenerate the political, social, cultural, religious and economic infrastructures of the nation which had been weakened (or destroyed) by the totalitarian system of the empire, and to recreate the necessary conditions for state independence. Some of the organizations in question are: the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Restructuring, the Ukrainian Memorial Society, the Ukrainian Language Society, the Ukrainian Youth Association, the Ukrainian Scout Organization “Plast”, the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front, the Initiative Group for the Restoration of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Association of the Independent Creative Intelligentsia, the Ukrainian ecological organization “Green World”, the “Lion” Society, the Ukrainian National Democratic League, etc.

5. Encourage the governments of the free world to demand from Moscow the restitution of full freedom and all property to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Protestant and Evangelical Churches, and all other religious denominations practiced by citizens of Ukraine.

6. Encourage the governments of the free world to pressure Moscow to seek out, arrest, prosecute and punish all those members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the police and the secret police, and the armed forces for their crimes against humanity, against the citizens of the USSR, and in Ukraine crimes against the Ukrainian people.

7. Encourage the governments of the free world to seek and whenever possible to initiate the process of establishing direct diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with the Ukrainian people and its LEGITIMATE AND SOVEREIGN representatives.

8. Encourage the world mass media to send radio, press and TV journalists and crews to Ukraine in order to provide adequate objective and regular coverage of the developments taking place in that country, and thus end the practical news blackout and isolation of Ukraine.

9. Demand that the Moscow authorities (on all levels) immediately release all Ukrainian political prisoners and cease the brutal harassment and violence against Ukrainian political, civic, religious and cultural leaders, as well as Ukrainian citizens holding rallies, meetings and gatherings to express their concerns regarding their national and human rights, social, economic and ecological problems, etc. Recent examples of physical assault by Soviet security forces on Ukrainian citizens: poet Stepan Sapeliak, Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv, Taras Osadchy (son of writer Mykhailo

Osadchyi), the violent break-up by Soviet security troopers of a Ukrainian scout (“Plast”) camp, etc.

10. Demand that the body of the greatest contemporary Ukrainian poet VASYL STUS be allowed to be brought to Ukraine for a dignified national burial in the nation’s capital Kyiv. Vasyl Stus was murdered by the KGB in a concentration camp (camp Kuchino - 35, Mordovia) in 1985, and lies buried in an unmarked grave in the camp graveyard.

11. Direct all its member organizations and member nations to work directly and/or through their respective governments and international organizations like the United Nations to implement the above resolutions (Nr. 1-11) as adopted by this WACL Congress.

POLICE CONDUCT SECRET RIOT TRAINING IN RAKOVYTS, LVIV OBLAST

On Saturday, August 5, 40 police vehicles and several fire trucks arrived at a military training area near the village of Rakovyts in the Pustomytiv district of Lviv oblast.

On arrival the contingent split into two groups — “demonstrators” and riot police. The first group proceeded to stage a demonstration shouting various slogans such as “Russians go away!”, “Glory to Ukraine!”, “Independence for Ukraine!” and others. The second group then charged and began to beat and disperse the “protesters”. The training lasted 2 hours.

It is difficult to establish the purpose behind this exercise. Secrecy was clearly being maintained and locals who came up to see what was going on were forced away. One woman who made persistent attempts to get a closer look was pushed into a vehicle and driven away.

According to activists from Lviv the training may have served 3 purposes: Either

a) The local authorities are preparing some type of provocation and the “demonstrators” will be used to create disorder in Lviv to justify a general clampdown on all political and religious meetings.

b) The staged “demonstration” is to serve as “evidence” for a film supposedly portraying events in Lviv in order to justify the brutal police action against demonstrators which will presumably be sent to Moscow.

c) Riot police were training for future deployment against public meetings in Lviv.



Over 150,000 Lviv residents demonstrating for the recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and protesting the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik occupation of Western Ukraine on 17th September 1989

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FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

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CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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MEMORANDUM

TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Dear Mr. President,

With the situation in the USSR and its “satellites” becoming more critical, due to the imminent economic collapse of the Soviet economy and the increasingly determined aspirations towards national independence and statehood of the non-Russian nations, we wish to submit the following for your consideration, particularly in light of the long-standing US policy encouraging processes of change and democratization in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries.

The determined national-liberation struggle waged by the subjugated nations, which recently has acquired mass proportions, as evidenced by present developments in the national “republics” of the USSR, is a clear indication that the concept of the Soviet Union is not only an historical anachronism, but that the continued existence of the USSR in its present form, *viz.*, and imperialist system of domination by force, represents an ominous threat to global security and stability. In formulating future foreign policy directives vis-a-vis the USSR, Washington must take into account the liberation struggle of Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and the other nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communism, which are committed to independence and statehood, as a primary precondition for a viable and lasting resolution of most, if not all, political, socio-economic, ecological, cultural and religious problems, which themselves are a by-product of Moscow’s colonial policies and the continued existence of the USSR. To argue that this struggle is a de-stabilizing factor and that the West must buttress the Soviet-Russian system to maintain peace and stability is to ignore the incontrovertible fact, that Moscow initiated the use of force to erect and maintain its empire and, that insofar as such repressive force will continue to be used against the subjugated nations, it is responsible for de-stabilizing this geo-political area of the world. A slave cannot be blamed for rebelling and fighting for his freedom. Peace and stability are unattainable without freedom.

With a view towards achieving global security and stability, the United States should develop political, economic and cultural relations with the legitimate representatives of the various nations subjugated in the USSR, and not simply maintain bilateral relations with their oppressor. Unilateral transfers of technology and Western economic aid to the Soviet Union have, indeed, been instrumental in perpetuating Moscow’s colonial policies. At the very least, the Western Powers ought to disengage themselves from Moscow’s colonialism, which is partially perpetuated by Western economic assistance. In turn, Western capitalist economies should seek to integrate the geo-political and economic region of the USSR and its “satellites” into a global market economy, which is the goal of the subjugated nations, by first ensuring the viability of such an integration, the precondition for which is the establishment of national and democratic independent nation-states of the nations presently subjugated

by Moscow. As long as these nations, many of which have considerable economic resources, continue to languish in colonial conditions, the economic potential of these nations will remain under-utilized. The United States has demonstrated its willingness and capacity to take a leadership role in advancing democracy and national independence in the struggle against racism, political oppression, colonialism and socio-economic inequality in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. The same strategy should also apply to the Soviet Union.

The positive processes of change that have been effectuated in the Soviet Union are only partially due to Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of administrative reform from above. The unprecedented surge towards change is primarily a result of the historical national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which currently has acquired mass proportions. Numerous "unofficial" organizations and national movements have been formed in the various non-Russian, national "republics". Such a heightened level of political activism did not develop in a vacuum, because of Gorbachev's benevolence. It is the direct result of a long process of struggle, undertaken by the subjugated peoples against the Soviet-Russian system of colonial oppression, which Gorbachev has no intention of weakening. Gorbachev's agenda for reform does not include a recognition of the inherent right of the subjugated nations to national independence and statehood. For this reason, his announced goal of economic modernization for the Soviet Union must be viewed as suspect, since history has shown that modernity cannot be achieved in colonial conditions.

Although a limited program of reform has been implemented, the repressive machinery of terror is still intact and in full operation, as witnessed by the massacre of peaceful demonstrators in Tbilisi, the recent brutal repression of peaceful demonstrators in Lviv (Ukraine) and the equally brutal repression of demonstrators in Moldavia, as well as daily incidents of official harassment and surgical KGB terror (including murder) against civic, cultural and religious activists, who attempted to exercise their "rights" within the officially sanctioned parameters of *glasnost*.

The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan may be viewed as an indication of a desire on the part of Moscow to engage in a more constructive approach towards the situation in Southern Africa and the Middle East, towards disarmament and global security. Moscow's apparent change of heart, however, should also, if not primarily, be viewed as the result of a) the unbearable internal pressures on its colonial system, b) the collapse of a foreign policy based on military aggression and the export of communist revolution to the Third World, and c) a forceful American policy based on the recognition of the universal right of all peoples to freedom and independence.

The long-standing US commitment to national independence for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is very commendable and greatly appreciated, as is Washington's refusal to recognize the annexation of these Baltic republics. As a result to this military annexation, the Baltic peoples were subjected to traditional Soviet-Russian measures of repression, viz., Russification, mass deportations and the imposition of economic controls that stifle all initiative. The United States should render moral support to all the subjugated nations in their struggle to attain freedom within their own democratic, sovereign and independent nation-states.

Recently, the subjugated nations have sought to consolidate their common struggle by organizing a series of Conferences, attended by the leading representatives of the respective national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations. The right

of every nation to national independence, sovereignty and statehood, as a precondition for a democratic system guaranteeing every individual's civil rights and political liberties, was the primary principle guiding the proceedings of all these conferences.

The national revival has presently reached a stage of development, that the processes of change towards democracy and national independence cannot be reversed or even stifled without the use of force. The disintegration of the Soviet Union is only a matter of time. The only question is whether the Free World will lend its moral and political support to this positive movement of change, instead of assisting in its repression, by extending to the USSR economic and technological assistance. This aid will serve as a de-stabilizing factor, since it will inevitably be directed in one form or another to maintaining the integrity of the Soviet-Russian empire. The West has a historic opportunity: together with the subjugated nations it can help build a truly stable and peaceful world by promoting an era of universal justice and freedom, where every nation's right to national independence and sovereignty will be guaranteed.

With the highest respect,
Sincerely yours,

Slava Stetsko
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Department
Ukrainian National Government

Nino Alschibaja
Georgian National Democratic Party

Valentino Berko
National Council for the Independence
of Slovakia

Evdokim Evdokimov
Bulgarian League for Human Rights

Joan Boaca
Rumanian Liberation Front

Marek Rushchynsky
Confederation of an Independent Poland

Valdas Anelauskas
Lithuania's Independence Union

Dimitry Kosmowicz
Byelorussian Liberation Movement

Bertil Häggman

Moscow and Low-Intensity Conflict

Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror

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GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA ARE NO SUBSTITUTES FOR FREEDOM

A decade ago the USSR's "Evil Empire" seemed impregnable; ever expanding its frontiers militarily and politically in Asia, Africa and Central America.

The Soviet Army had invaded Afghanistan as another step on the way to achieving an old Russian dream, a warm sea-port in the oil-rich Arabian Gulf. Cuban mercenaries has secured Soviet footholds in South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua. The then Soviet leader, Mr. Brezhnev, proclaimed that development of a global Soviet Marxist hegemony was an inevitable historic process. Any challenge to this doctrine would be a hostile act and a "casus belli" between East and West.

Cracks appearing

The signs were not lacking that already in 1979 the arrogant, invincible Soviet Empire had in fact passed its zenith, that erosion within it had already started, and that cracks would soon start to appear in its facade.

Vastly superior land and air forces proved themselves unable to defeat even a guerilla Afghan peasant army. Even more significantly, when free elections were held in countries earlier faced with a possible Communist take-over through the ballot box, successive voting results had started to reveal a steady, continuing reduction in popular faith in the Marxist creed, e.g. **France:** 1976 — 21.4%, 1978 — 20.6%, 1988 — 6.8%; **Italy:** 1976 — 34.4%, 1979 — 30.4%, 1987 — 21.6%.

So less than 60 years after the 1917 Soviet Revolution, a general appreciation that Marxism could not deliver the goods, socially and economically, in contrast to a prospering liberal capitalist world, was already growing.

Impact of Technology

Enormous advances in communications technology ensured that these bitter truths could no longer be concealed by the Kremlin's traditional resort to barbed-wire, outdated radio-jamming, and phoney propaganda.

When Gorbachev came to power, the Kremlin did seem ready to make definite changes of course, not just cosmetic ones.

Has there been a change of heart in the Kremlin? — or only a change of mind? There is no evidence of the former, but the Kremlin does apparently accept that continuing, blind pursuit of Marxist doctrines, politically, socially and economically, is relentlessly widening the living-standards gap between the Communist World and the Free World — in the latter's favour.

This does not mean that any Soviet leader can possibly hope to survive by overt repudiation of Marxist shibboleths. Mr. Gorbachev's only escape route has been to indulge in glasnost; admitting that there have been terrible blunders in past policymaking, economic and social; but attributing these not to Marxism-Leninism, but to the misinterpretation and misapplication of these doctrines during the last half century.

In trying to achieve this sleight of hand operation, it has been necessary to follow

up glasnost about the past, with new proposals for the future. Thus Gorbachev declares continuing loyalty to Marxism as a political and economic doctrine, while promising henceforth, to interpret and implement it as it ought to have been interpreted by all those who have wielded power in the Kremlin since Lenin's death!

Cynical manipulation

It remains to be seen yet whether this cynical manipulation of the popular mind will succeed with Russia itself. Outside the Russian heartland, it has already been decisively rejected. e.g. by the Poles, the Balts and the Hungarians. They still harbour their own nationalist and non-communist, religious, cultural and political loyalties and memories and these are too strong for them to do other than dismiss glasnost and perestroika, except as slogans to be exploited to obtain their real aim — freedom from alien rule.

In particular, perestroika — an offer that in future an alien, coercive and discredited political system, which they detest, will henceforth be implemented more efficiently than before — serves only to increase their resentment.

No, it is neither glasnost nor perestroika that Europe's enslaved peoples are seeking. It is quite simply something never mentioned in Mr. Gorbachev's turgid lectures and exhortations — LIBERTY.

All that they want is the fulfilment of assurances given to them in the Atlantic Charter issued to the world by the American President and the British Prime Minister on 12 August, 1941, and endorsed — a fact too often forgotten — by the USSR itself a month later. In that historic document, the victorious Allies declared they “sought no aggrandisement, territorial or otherwise; desired to see no territorial changes that did not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; promised to respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live; and wished to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.”

Betrayal of Yalta

Four years later, at Yalta, every single one of these pledges was broken — deliberately by the USSR — and abandoned by the Western Allies, because they were unwilling or unable to enforce their implementation. As a result, the countries of Eastern Europe have had to endure nearly half a century of political and economic serfdom under alien rule. Their patience exhausted, a Continent-wide ferment has come into being and is daily growing.

In September 1939 the British Prime Minister declared that we could no longer tolerate the “evil things” that Hitler represented — “bad faith, injustice, persecution, brute force and oppression.”

How better can one describe the heinous Ribbentrop/Molotov Pact, the dismemberment of Poland; the enforced absorption of the Baltic States; The Berlin Wall, the sending of tanks into Budapest in 1956, into Prague in 1968; and the invasion of Afghanistan in 1978?

Of course today there can be no question of another “remedial” war. All other considerations apart, including the nuclear menace, World War II, which cost 50

REMAINS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS RETURNED TO KYIV FROM UNMARKED PRISON GRAVES

London (UCIS) — In a solemn and patriotic ceremony, reminiscent of a state funeral, the remains of three Ukrainian writers and national rights activists, who died while incarcerated in a Russian concentration camp, were reinterred in Kyiv's historic Baykiv cemetery on Sunday, November 19.

Up to 30,000 Kyivites and others from across Ukraine, many holding blue-and-yellow flags of an independent Ukraine trimmed with black ribbons, lined the streets near the St. Sofia Sobor several deep in order to pay their final respects to the three they considered heroes of Ukraine — Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhyi and Yuriy Lytvyn.

Stus, born on January 8, 1938 died in a Perm region concentration camp on September 4, 1985. Considered one of the finest Ukrainian poets and literary critics, Stus began his literary career in 1959. His human and national rights activism began in 1965. For signing appeals in defense of his friends, he was dismissed from the Academy of Sciences' Literary Institute and remained unemployed until 1972.

In January 1972, during the infamous KGB crackdown against Ukrainian intellectuals, Stus was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment and three years' exile. In prison, he was treated very harshly, denied medical care, and two months after a stomach operation his special diet was discontinued. This negligence reportedly contributed to untimely death.

After completing his sentence, Stus returned to Kyiv and endured official slander in the press. He was rearrested on May 18, 1980, and sentenced to another prison term. Stus joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group in October 1979.

Tykhyi, one of the 10 founding members of the original Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was born on January 31, 1927. A teacher by profession, he was arrested in 1977 and convicted in the notorious Druzhkivka trial of Helsinki monitors in July 1977. He was sentenced to 10 years' special regime labor camp and five years' exile.

In the labor camp, Tykhyi went on a hunger strike to protest against the cruel treatment of prisoners. On the 16th day he lost consciousness and was taken to a camp infirmary for a stomach operation. He died on May 6, 1984.

Lytvyn, born in 1934, was a writer. He was first sentenced in 1955 to 10 years' imprisonment and three years' exile for nationalist activity. Lytvyn was rearrested in

▶ million dead, served only to replace one tyranny in Europe — the Nazi one, by another, even more powerful — the Soviet one.

West's moral duty

Nevertheless we in the West have a clear moral duty to help, politically and economically, those who are seeking for themselves those freedoms, set out in the 1941 Atlantic Charter, which we now enjoy as a matter of right.

We are of course reminded by those who favour a more neutral role that a wounded animal is a dangerous one! Maybe so, but it is not a relevant comment. The Soviet Union has **not** been wounded. It is mortally sick through self-inflicted injuries.

The "Evil Empire" is dying. So be it.

March 1975 and sentenced to three years' strict-regime labor camp for writing a collection of prison poems titled "The Tragic Gallery".

Lytvyn joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in December 1977. His report on the human-rights struggle in Ukraine appeared in Information Bulletin No. 4. Two weeks before arrest in 1979, Lytvyn, a teetotaler, was forcibly taken to a sobering-up tank, tied to a bed and beaten. He had recently undergone a abdominal operation. In December 1979, he was sentenced to three year's strict regime labor camp incarceration for "resisting the militia". Lytvyn died on September 5, 1984.

The bodies of the three arrived in Kyiv aboard a flight from Perm, where they died, on Saturday, November 18. Mykhailo Horyn, head of the secretariat of the National Movement of Ukraine, welcomed Stus, Lytvyn and Tykhyi upon their return to their native land and expressed the gratitude of the nation for their fight for freedom. A brief liturgy at the airport was celebrated by priests from the Ukrainian Catholic Church, assisted by choirs of the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox churches.

The exit ramp from the airport and the road to Kyiv were lined with mourners, who tilted their flags in respect as the funeral cortege passed. The bodies lay in state overnight in the Church of Mary the Protectress.

The next morning, Ukrainian Catholic priests celebrated another liturgy and requiem in the presence of an overflowing crowd of faithful.

Before interment in the Baykiv cemetery, thousands attended a meeting previously called by the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association near the central Kyiv Stadium. Among the speakers were Oles Fedoruk, Dmytro Korchynsky, Oles Serhiyenko from the Society of the Repressed, Yevhen Chernyshov from the Ukrainian National Democratic League, and others.

The militia, which twice attempted to disrupt the meeting because it was unsanctioned, did not forcibly disperse the procession with flags which began at 11:30 a.m. The procession wound across the Red Army street, along Shevchenko Boulevard to Volodymyr Street and the square near the St. Sophia Sobor and the Shevchenko monument, where the throng had gathered.

At 1 p.m., three hearses with the bodies of Stus, Lytvyn and Tykhyi arrived at the square. Despite the absence of official permission, the mourners began the slow procession to the Baykiv cemetery. The choir sang Ukrainian religious and patriotic songs. The procession was led by a banner which read "Shame to the murders of the Ukrainian nation."

At the cemetery, Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests offered an ecumenical requiem. Eulogies were delivered by Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Drach, Lev Lukianenko, who read a statement from the World Ukrainian Liberation Front, Stus' friend poet Oleh Orach, Atena Pashko, Zynoviy Krasivsky, Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, Vasyl Ovsienko, a representative of the Donbas coalminers, and Lytvyn's mother.

At 7 p.m. that day, in the face of militia obstructions, a commemorative emblem was unveiled in Kyiv's Lviv square, the site of a future monument to Stus. Nearby activists set up an information booth about the deceased. Candles were lit near the emblem and Ukrainian national flags were displayed until they were confiscated by the militia.

TENS OF THOUSANDS REMEMBER VICTIMS OF STALIN TERROR IN IVANO-FRANKIVSK; SICHKO FAMILY SUFFERS CONSEQUENCES

(UCIS, London) — Tens of thousands of Ukrainians gathered in the village of Pasichne in the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast of western Ukraine, on Sunday, October 29, to honour the victims of Russian terror during Stalin's reign in 1941, according to Vasyl Sichko, head of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF).

The memorial service, officially sanctioned by the Soviet authorities, was organized by both official and unofficial Ukrainian organizations, which included the UCDF, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, and others.

On return to Dolyna after the service 50 KGB and police officers attacked Vasyl Sichko and his father, Petro, along with 15 others. The attack took place at the Dolyna train station, where the lights were intentionally turned off and people were severely beaten. Petro Sichko was seized and thrown into a police car. According to his son, Vasyl, who managed to escape, Petro Sichko has been hospitalized and is in a serious condition due to severe police brutality.

Vasyl Sichko, who is presently in hiding, emphasized that the police attack on the UCDF leaders was unlawful, as the memorial service was officially sanctioned by the authorities. He can only conclude that this repressive government action was not directly linked to the mass gathering in Pasichne. He believes that the authorities are attempting to forcibly liquidate the Christian-Democrats.

Sichko also stated that "from the time Ivashko came to power, a vigorous campaign of repression has been launched against members of various unofficial Ukrainian organizations, especially members of the UCDF".

APPEAL

to all Christian-Democrats of the World from the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front

Attention all Christian-Democratic Parties, Organizations, and Governments throughout the world!

Christian-Democracy has been outlawed in Ukraine, USSR!

The ruling communist party will not tolerate the existence of any party or social force which poses a direct threat, through democratic means, to its monopoly on state power.

The communist party has decidedly failed in its quest to win over the hearts and minds of the people. For decades, the communists' monopoly on state power has been rooted in their ability to intimidate and terrorize: through arrests, torture, and murder.

Now, however, the people have realized that the communist system is bankrupt, and no longer afraid, are voicing their dissatisfaction with the performance of the ruling party. And, in order to regain their monopoly on state power, the communists have reverted to their terrorist tactics.

According to several reliable sources, Ivashko's ascent to the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, also marked the initiation of plans to liquidate certain popular organizations and besmirch others, with the intent of making them subservient to the ruling communist party.



Among those organizations singled out, stands, first and foremost, our own: The Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF); for it was a year ago that the CPSU ruled that Christian-Democracy is ideologically dangerous, and hence its existence in a communist state is impossible. The Christian-Democrats of Ukraine have been suffering the consequences of this decision ever since: arrests, beatings, interrogations, exorbitant fines, and harassment at their places of employment. With Ivasho's ascent to power, however, this has all been taken one step further; we must now contend with an outright manhunt.

On October 29, 1989, upon returning from a memorial service in Ivano-Frankivsk held for the victims of communist terror, the founders of the UCDF felt the effects of this new policy. At the Dolyna train station, Petro and Vasyl Sichko were surrounded by dozens of KGB officers and policemen. They abducted Petro Sichko, a member of the Central Council of the UCDF, forced him into a car and drove away. With the help of several friends, Vasyl Sichko, the leader of the UCDF, managed to escape. The authorities are presently engaged in hunting him down.

The fact of the matter is that the memorial service for the victims of communist terror was officially sanctioned by the authorities. The authorities had little choice, for the service was attended by between 300,000 and 500,000 people, according to various estimates, and it would have taken place regardless of whether it was officially sanctioned or not.

Thus the question arises: If the peaceful memorial service, attended by up to 500,000 Ukrainian Eastern Rite Catholics, was officially sanctioned by the government, then what right does this same government have to hunt down members of the UCDF who were present at the service?

The matter in question is not the memorial service itself. The incident underscores the fact that we, Christian-Democrats, are subject to forcible liquidation. Furthermore, the authorities want to carry out this liquidation at the same time the Ukrainian Catholic Church gains official status, a goal which we also consider among the highest of our priorities. The communist government hopes that the general euphoria surrounding the recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, will draw attention away from a Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front faced with liquidation.

This is why we, the Central Council of the UCDF, appeal to all our Christian-Democratic brethren, to all the Christian-Democratic parties of Europe and the world, to all Christian-Democratic Organizations; for totalitarianism is once again rearing its ugly head. We must still contend with a wolf in sheep's clothing. That is why the issue of whether Christian-Democracy is allowed to exist in the totalitarian structure of Soviet Ukraine is not only our concern, but is a matter which should be addressed by all of you; it is a matter of solidarity amongst all Christian-Democrats who wish to see the victory of Christian humanism.

*The Central Council of the UCDF
October 30, 1989*

APPEAL

To the International Leadership of Christian-Democracy in Europe and Elsewhere

In the name of the principles of Christian-Democratic solidarity, I have the honour of appealing to you on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Party of Ukraine, which I head as chairman. My appeal is motivated by the nearly one year of attacks that our party has been subjected to by the official communist authorities with the intention of liquidating it.

On November 14, 1988, we sent a declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, concerning the registration and granting of official legal status to our organization. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, contrary to all legal norms, sent this declaration for appraisal by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC CPU). The CC CPU concluded that Christian-Democracy is an ideologically harmful phenomenon and on January 4, 1989, proposed self-liquidation to us, asserting at the same time that, in the event of our refusal to do so, they have hundreds of ways to destroy us as an organization. We refused to disband and the repression against us commenced. Here are a few facts to illustrate this repression.

1. Refusing entry to the inaugural meeting. On January 13, 1989, the police raided the room in Lviv where our inaugural meeting to accept the by-laws and programme was taking place, demanded the identities of those present and checked the documents of the meeting. For this reason, the Moleben, which was to have been celebrated by our priest, could not take place at the end of the meeting.

2. A campaign of lies. The official press constantly labels us "extremists", "terrorists" and other epithets. No one responds to our protests before the courts or procurator. They ignore us, the law and civil rights.

3. Ban on meetings and demonstrations. Our numerous applications for permission to stage meetings or hold demonstrations have always been rejected. When we actually hold them, the authorities, with the help of punitive organs, disperse, arrest and punish us.

4. Intimidation and threats. Our members are often summoned by the organs of state security, the KGB, who threaten us in a variety of ways in order to compel us to relinquish our membership of the UCDF. If this fails, they impose heavy fines. We are constantly under surveillance of the security organs and the mere participation in a sanctioned meeting can result in up to 15 days' arrest. The fines are usually high and are deducted from wages during one year. For example, Mykola Kindratiuk, a member of the UCDF, was fined 900 karbovantsi (roubles), almost one year's wages — for his participation in a meeting sanctioned by the authorities, which took place in the town of Dolyna on June 25, 1989. In addition, they cynically wrote in the sentence that the accused acknowledged his guilt. There are many such examples.

5. Jurisprudence in the service of terror. The method of intimidation and moral terror, which is employed by the state security organs, is abetted by the judiciary which ignores existing laws and the logic of justice, and very often punishes twice for the same "offence". For example, I was sentenced by a court on June 12, 1989 to 10 days' detention for organizing the meeting held on June 16, 1989. Yet on July 7, 1989, for the same reason, I was sentenced to 15 days' detention. For participating in a meeting which was sanctioned by the authorities Mykola Huk, a member of the UCDF, received 15 days' detention because, ignoring the threats made by the KGB, he refused to relinquish his membership of the UCDF. Taras Peltser, a member of the UCDF, was fined 120 karbovantsi (one month's wages) simply for reading the programme of the UCDF at his place of work. Yet at his trial his sentence was recorded as punishment for attending the meeting on July 30, 1989, even though this meeting was sanctioned by the authorities.

6. Physical terror. Attacks on individual members of the UCDF are becoming frequent. On a number of occasions, I have been beaten by police officers. They severely beat the UCDF chairman of the Yavoriv region, Petro Huk. On July 17, 1989 an attack and beating was organized against the chairman of the newly-formed Christian Youth Association, Ivan Loy.

7. Kidnappings and forced deportations. To impede important gatherings, often of an international character, police and KGB agents attack leading individuals of the UCDF on the street, twisting their arms and, without authorization from the procurator or judge, hurl them into a car and drive them as far as 150 km. outside the city, into a wooded area or an uninhabited region, and there leave them to fend for themselves. This happened to me on the day I was to have travelled to the Baltic republics for an International meeting on May 23, 1989. They pulled me off the plane which was to fly to Riga and drove me 150 km. to a forest, and there they abandoned me. This psychological terror is reinforced by seeing with one's own eyes that one is being followed step by step by members of the security organs, often numbering several individuals. There have also been instances whereby the defenders of state security have torched automobiles of persons who assist us with transportation. This happened to my brother on August 18, 1989 when gasoline was poured over his car which was then set on fire.

8. Repression at place of work and education. The authorities pressurize students, members of the UCDF, to quit the UCDF, threatening them with expulsion from their institute or other schools. This also happens in factories or industries, where even the most ordinary workers are expelled so as to dissuade the intelligentsia from joining the UCDF.

9. Control over correspondence and phone tapping. Mail from abroad does not reach me. Other mail which does reach me arrives torn and censored. The authorities forbid our members to have telephones installed. When we use other people's telephones, outsiders join in the conversation and we often hear threats made in our direction.

10. The leadership of Ukrainian Christian-Democracy — targets for destruction. We are aware that the KGB has formed a separate dossier on every member of the UCDF, containing full characteristics of that person. These dossiers conform with similar ones prepared by the NKVD at the beginning of World War 2, when persons on that list were physically destroyed upon the retreat of the Red Army. Such a devastating situation may develop at any time in the event of internal upheavals within the USSR.

This short enumeration of the anti-democratic methods, which are being implemented by the Communist Party and its organs in Ukraine, reveals the deep contradiction between the externally declared slogans of glasnost and perestroika and the true state of affairs of the developing processes in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine, whose status remains that of a colony of the Russian empire under the name of the USSR. Ukrainian Christian-Democracy, as an expression of 1,000 years of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, which has its roots in the princely and kozak eras in the history of Ukraine, and is in full accord with the principles and activities of Western Christian-Democracy, seems to be a threat to the Communist Party which is in power in the Ukrainian SSR. The latter, therefore, has decided to annihilate us. Here, today, writing these lines, I read an interview in a local newspaper with the regional head of the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk, in which he expressed his concern that the UCDF still exists. It would seem that by their calculations, we should have already been destroyed. We have survived one year in desperate struggle — and the repressions are constantly on the increase. Whether Christian-Democracy will survive in Ukraine depends upon the concrete support from Christian-Democratic parties and Christian moral forces in Western Europe and the world. If communist parties are allowed to exist freely in the West, why then cannot the Christian-Democratic Party be allowed to exist in the USSR? This is specifically applicable to the Christian-Democratic Party of Italy, which will shortly have the opportunity to meet with Gorbachev. Our fate will depend on the attitude and strength of Christian-Democratic solidarity, on the will to assist our Christian-Democracy to operate in accordance with accepted principles in the cultured world.

On October 13, 1989, in Kyiv, a meeting of four Christian-Democratic parties from the republics of Estonia, Georgia, Lithuania and Ukraine took place, at which it was mutually agreed to form a coordinating council for the common activity of Christian-Democratic parties under totalitarian conditions. Representatives of the following were included into the coordinating council: the UCDF, the Christian-Democratic Union of Georgia, representatives of their youth organizations, namely the Christian Ukrainian Youth Association, and the Estonian and Lithuanian sections of young Christian-Democrats.

Having returned from Kyiv to the place of my residence in Dolyna, my apartment came under siege of the police for the purpose of carrying out searches and arrests. My whole family, including my one-year-old son, are living under psychological terror. I write these lines to the accompaniment of banging and yelling at my door — all of

which are without any formal judicial mandate. The appointment of a new first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine has changed nothing. On the contrary. The bloody events in Lviv on October 1, 1989, during which defenceless, peaceful people were brutalized, indicates the direct opposite.

We, therefore, appeal to you, the leaders of the Christian-Democratic parties of the West, with the following urgent requests:

1. Convince the Soviet government to adhere to the recently-signed agreements in Vienna and to respect human rights.

2. Demand that the USSR permit the official registration of our organization and grant it the status of a legal body which would give it the right to:

- rent premises to carry out its normal work,
- publish its own periodical,
- conduct mass meetings and other gatherings,
- carry out normal work and struggle for the realization of its statutory aims within the framework of the law,
- open a bank account.

3. Protest against the monopoly of the Communist Party of the USSR in conducting state policy, neglecting the will of nations to have other political parties (in their respective countries), including the Christian-Democratic Party.

4. Protest, with all conviction, to the government of the USSR, against its use of physical and psychological terror, arrests, punishments and trials of members of the UCDF.

5. Accept the UCDF into the membership of the Christian-Democratic International.

6. Demand that the government of the USSR does not hinder free contact between the UCDF, the outside world, and Christian-Democratic parties of other countries.

7. After recognizing our legal status, supply us with technical aid so that we may publish our periodical.

Ending my appeal to you, brother Christian-Democrats, I wish to express my most sincere wishes. May the Lord bless your initiatives and deeds to strengthen our mutual efforts, for the victory of our ideals — peace and a better life and liberty for all nations.

Respectfully,
Vasyl Sichko

UKRAINIANS OBSERVE 71ST ANNIVERSARY OF NOVEMBER 1 REVOLUTION IN LVIV

Tens of thousands of Ukrainians in Lviv commemorated the 71st anniversary of the November 1 Revolution and the 45th anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, according to Hryhoriy Prykhodko, editor of “Ukrainian Time”.

A requiem for Metropolitan Sheptytskyi was held on November 1 near the Gunpowder Tower with more than 30,000 people present. From there the multitude went to the ancient, historical Yaniv and Lychakiv cemeteries for requiems at the graves of the Sich Riflemen.

On Sunday, October 29, a commemorative rally was held at the “Druzhba” stadium, also with 30,000 people in attendance. Mykhailo Kosiv of the Ukrainian Language Society read the group’s resolution which called for the reestablishment of independent Ukrainian statehood.

SOVIET UNION HAS MISLED WORLD MEDIA ABOUT SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

The Oslo Hearing on Afghanistan showed that the western media and public have been greatly misled by Soviet and Kabul-regime propaganda. If the Mujahideen do not take proper steps to counter it, they may lose the sympathy of their traditional supporters.

On 23 September 1989, the Afghanistan-Norwegian Committee hosted a Hearing on Afghanistan in Oslo, the capital of Norway. It was the third Hearing of its type, in which a large number of Afghan supporters, journalists who have been in Afghanistan, Afghan specialists, the representatives of some of the humanitarian organizations based in Peshawar or abroad, Mujahideen commanders and representatives of some Afghan political parties have participated.

The Hearing lasted for three days, and covered different areas, such as military, political, economic and social aspects of the Afghan problem.

Two commanders from Kabul, Anwari and Belal, discussed the military situation around Kabul. Both explained why the capital had not fallen. Commander Belal mentioned the lack of a unified command on the Mujahideen side. He felt that time was needed to overcome the problem.

Masood Khalili, a political officer from Jami'at, talked about the political situation in Afghanistan, and the strengths and weakness of the Mujahideen and the Kabul regime in the light of the superpowers' behavior in the post-withdrawal phase.

Dr. Agha Gul and some others talked about reconstruction of free Afghanistan. Three ladies, including Fatima Gailani, discussed issues regarding the role of women in the future Afghan society.

Mine clearing, medical help, educational assistance and shortage of essential commodities were also covered in detail.

Speakers in the Hearing stressed the need for sending humanitarian assistance both to the refugees in the countries neighboring Afghanistan and to the war-affected Afghans inside the country.

The main questions asked by the Westerners in the Hearing were: Why have the Mujahideen not been able to topple the Kabul regime? Why do the Mujahideen fire rockets on the residential areas of poor people? Why do the Mujahideen not talk to the Kabul regime, which has renounced communism? Why do Afghans kill each other? Why has the AIG not been able to accomplish anything militarily or politically? Why were the Jami'at commanders killed by Sayed Jamal? Why was there no unity amongst the leaders?, and so forth.

The answer given by the Mujahideen commander about the military situation were educational for the questioners. The Mujahideen commanders rejected the enemy allegation that they intentionally fired rockets into the residential areas in the cities. They said that some sad incidents in which civilians were hit were attributed to inaccurate weapon systems. The regime military installations were the real target of these attacks.

Surprisingly, most of Western questioners had forgotten to mention how the communist regime took power in 1978. They did not ask why the people of Afghanistan revolted against the communist regime before the Soviet invasion. Nor, why did the Soviets invade Afghanistan? Why were 1.5 million Afghans killed or



Three generations of Mujahideen continue to fight against the Soviet regime in Afghanistan.

wounded? Who has planted thousands of mines in Afghanistan? Why did the Soviets destroy 60% of agricultural fields of Afghanistan?

Najib had become, in the eyes of the Western media or at least those journalists at the Hearing, a reasonable, innocent, rational and religious person, who is concerned about the safety of the civilian population, and is the only guardian of peace in the country.

The Mujahideen present at the panel saw the problem from another angle. They admitted that the Mujahideen had their weak points and were suffering from lack of a proper mechanism to express their views; but did this mean that Najib should turn into an innocent gentleman overnight because of his propaganda power? They added that there was no difference between Najib's government and his puppet predecessors such as Taraki, Babrak and Amin. The Najib regime has survived mainly on massive Soviet military and economic assistance. Weapons of mass killing, such as Scud missiles, have been given to Najib in great numbers. The Mujahideen attending the Hearing were of the view that Afghans should be allowed to determine their future.

AFGANews, November 1, 1989

USSR — LATVIANS REMAIN MAJORITY IN LATVIA

Latvians managed after all to retain their majority status in Latvia in spite of the continued influx of Slavs, according to the first data made available on the ethnic composition of the population of the republic at the time of the January, 1989, census.¹ A major factor contributing to this somewhat unexpected state of affairs appears to have been the return to Latvia of Latvians living in other union republics, and in particular the RSFSR. It also seems probable that more individuals of partly Latvian origin chose to be recorded as Latvians at the time of the census. While the fact that Latvians are not yet in the minority in their republic may be of some consolation to them, it is unlikely to alter their conviction that they must be in charge of their own destiny if they are to ensure the future of their nation.

The census data reproduced in Tables 1 and 2 show that the Latvian share of the population declined from 53.7 percent in 1979 to 52.0 percent in 1989. The size of the decline (1.7 percentage points in ten years) was, however, markedly lower than in the previous intercensal period 1970-79 (2.6 percentage points in nine years). The main reason for the slow-down was the much greater increase in the size of the Latvian population in the later period. While the number of Latvians in Latvia went up by only 2,000 (0.2 percent) between 1970 and 1979, it grew by no less than 44,000 (3.3 percent) between 1979 and 1989.²



Rumanians demonstrating against Communist dictatorship in their country and demanding freedom on 15 November 1989 in Bonn, W. Germany

Some of this improvement can probably be attributed to a higher rate of natural increase, and also, as mentioned earlier, to more inhabitants of the republic with Latvian blood choosing to claim Latvian nationality this time round, but the greater part seems to have been the result of a reversal of migration trends among the Latvian population of the Soviet Union. In the years 1970-79 the number of Latvians in other union republics increased by 7,000 or eight percent (compared with 0.2 percent in Latvia itself), suggesting significant outmigration from Latvia. In contrast, in the decade 1979-89 the number of Latvians resident outside Latvia dropped by 24,000 (from 95,000 to 71,000). Most of this reduction occurred in the RSFSR where the Latvian community declined from 67,000 to 47,000. It cannot, of course, be excluded that some of the decline in the Latvian population outside Latvia was due to assimilation.

The data of the 1989 census confirm that the Eastern Slav population (Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians) of Latvia continued to increase faster than the Latvian and as a consequence these nationalities either increased (the Russians and Ukrainians) or maintained (the Byelorussians) their share of the republic's population. The Russians now account for 33.8 percent, the Byelorussians for 4.5 percent, and the Ukrainians 3.4 percent of the total. But the rate of growth of both the Russian and Byelorussian population was markedly lower than in 1970-79, pointing to a reduction in the scale of in-migration. The size of the three other significant minorities (Poles, Lithuanians, and Jews) all declined, both absolutely and relatively.

Although demographic trends continued to be unfavorable for the Latvians in Latvia in the decade 1979-89, they were less unfavorable than earlier. Their rate of natural increase appears to have risen while the rate of in-migration declined.³ Moreover, Latvians themselves constituted a significant part of this in-migration. What of the future, then? It has to be said that average annual rate of natural increase of the Latvians (0.14 percent in the Soviet Union as a whole⁴) is still far too low for the population not to begin to decline in the long run. Also the number of Latvians living outside Latvia who might return to Latvia is finite.

As regards migration in general, though, data for the first six months of 1989 are encouraging. According to the State Committee for Statistics of the Latvian SSR,⁵ they show a reversal of migration trends resulting from implementation of the resolution of the Latvian Council of Ministers and Latvian Trade Unions of February 14, 1989 on halting unnecessary in-migration. While there was a net in-migration of 6,700 in the first six months of 1988, there was a net out-migration of 1,610 in the first half of this year. The State Committee commented, however, that the data showed that effective measures had still not been taken in all parts of the republic to stop unjustified in-migration and that the positive tendencies of the first six months of 1989 needed to be given a stable and irreversible character.

1. *Sovetskaya Latvia*, October 11, 1989.

2. For the earlier intercensal period see Kestutis Girnius: RL 110/80, "Precipitous Decline in Rate of Growth of Latvian Population in the Latvian SSR," March 19, 1980.

3. See Ann Sheehy, "1989 Census Data on Internal Migration in the USSR," *Report on the USSR*, No. 42, p. 2.

4. See Ann Sheehy, "Russian Share of Soviet Population Down to 50.8 percent," *Report on the USSR*, No. 42, p. 2.

5. *Sovetskaya Latvia*, September 28, 1989.

Table 1

Latvian SSR: Population Changes, 1970-89

	Thousands of Population			Percentage of Change	
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1970-79</u>	<u>1979-89</u>
Total	2,364	2,503 ¹	2,667 ¹	5.9	6.6
of whom:					
Latvians	1,342	1,344	1,388	0.2	3.3
Russians	705	821	906	16.4	10.2 ²
Belorussians	95	112	120	17.9	7.1
Ukrainians	53	67	92	26.4	38.1 ²
Poles	63	63	60	0.0	-4.8
Lithuanians	41	38	35	-7.7	-7.9
Jews	37	28	23	-32.1	-17.9
Others	29	30	43	3.4	43.3

1. Excluding temporary residents
2. Based on more precise figures given in *Rahva Haal* of September 19, 1989.

Table 2

Latvian SSR: Share of Principal Nationalities in Total Population (Percentages)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1989</u>
Latvians	56.3	53.7	52.0
Russians	29.8	32.8	33.8 ¹
Belorussians	4.0	4.5	4.5
Ukrainians	2.3	2.7	3.4
Poles	2.7	2.5	2.2
Lithuanians	1.7	1.5	1.3
Jews	1.6	1.1	0.9
Others	1.1	1.2	1.6

1. Based on more precise figures given in *Rahva Haal*, September 19, 1989.

Table 3

Latvians in the USSR

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1989</u>
Total	1,430,000	1,439,000	1,459,000
of whom:			
In Latvia	1,342,000	1,344,000	1,388,000
In other parts of USSR	88,000	95,000	71,000

Sources: RL 110/80, *Sovetskaya Latvija*, October 11, 1989, and *Rahva Haal*, September 19, 1989.

NATIONAL PARTY IN UKRAINE ADOPTS STATEHOOD PLATFORM

(UCIS London) — The Ukrainian National Party, one of the latest political organizations formed in Lviv, Ukraine, on October 21, has adopted a national independence and statehood platform, according to Hryhoriy Prykhodko, editor of “Ukrainian Time”.

Among the other demands in its programme, Prykhodko said, are:

- Guaranteed civil liberties, private property, political pluralism.
- Recognition by Western democracies and the USSR of the occupied status of Ukraine.
- Abrogation of the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and the treaty forming the USSR.
- Withdrawal of the Ukrainian SSR from the United Nations.
- Establishment of a temporary government in Ukraine on the basis of those political groups which support statehood.
- Creation of national military forces.
- Withdrawal of occupational troops from Ukraine.
- Convening of an inaugural congress.

Its programme states:

“The Ukrainian National Party regards the political, economic, cultural and ecological crises in Ukraine as a consequence of the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation. In January 1918 the Ukrainian people established an independent state — the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) — which was recognized de facto and de jure by many free countries. The UNR was also recognized by the government of the RSFSR. On November 1, 1918, the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was proclaimed. On January 22, 1919, an act of union was signed, uniting the UNR and the ZUNR into a single sovereign state — the Ukrainian National Republic.

At the end of 1918 the RSFSR commenced its aggression against Ukraine, violating the peace treaty. The RSFSR’s act of aggression was not provoked by the government of independent Ukraine, and it thus unlawful. Therefore the Ukrainian people continued the struggle for an independent state. On March 14, 1939, Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed independence. Its suppression shortly thereafter did not bury Ukrainian aspirations towards independence. The Act of June 30, 1941, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian independent and sovereign state headed by a Ukrainian government. In defence of the Ukrainian state the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought a two-front war against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia until the mid-1950s. These are indissoluble and complementing events in the Ukrainian struggle for an independent state in the 20th century. It is also a continuation of the Ukrainian state traditions of the princely and kozak eras”.

According to its by-laws, the aim of the Ukrainian National Party is the revival of the Ukrainian National Republic, which was established on January 22, 1918, and united with the Western Ukraine National Republic one year later to form a sovereign republic of the Ukrainian people. It further stated that the party will conduct itself in a democratic manner in accordance with international laws, and will abide by all internationally-recognized rights of man and national minorities. The party also disapproves of violence and is not calling for such drastic actions.

The executive board of the Ukrainian National Party consists of Bohdan Kohut, chairman, a 70-year-old prewar intellectual and veteran of the war of liberation; Vadym Smohytel, secretary, composer from Kyiv; members of the council: Volodymyr Solovyov, 30, from Dnipropetrovsk, chairman; Olena Protsiv, student; Vasyl Ivasiuk, 35, writer from Kalush; members of the arbitration council, Roman Duzhynskyi, chairman; Bohdan Pryshliakevych, Hryhoriy Prykhodko and Bohdan Chyk; Volodymyr Maksymovych, auditor.

Petro Ruban of Philadelphia, Pa., has been designated as the temporary representative in the Diaspora.

The first branch of the party was formed in Lviv on November 3. It is being run by Ihor Kotsiurba, chairman; Lubomyr Ivakhiv, secretary; and Bohdan Chyk, treasurer.

On October 30, the members of the party met with Yuriy Shukhevych, who recently returned to Lviv from exile. They discussed the Diaspora's position vis-a-vis unofficial groups in Ukraine, the government's attitude towards the national renaissance in Ukraine, the role of the Popular Movement of Ukraine in the rebirth and its limitations, and the position of the U.S. government and Congress towards developments in Ukraine.

PROGRAMME OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PARTY (UNP)

The Ukrainian National Party regards the political, economic, cultural and ecological crises in Ukraine as a consequence of the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation. In January 1918 the Ukrainian people established an independent state — the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) — which was recognized de facto and de jure by many free countries. The UNR was also recognized by the government of the RSFSR. On November 1, 1918, the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was proclaimed. On January 22, 1919, an act of union was signed, uniting the UNR and the ZUNR into a single sovereign state — the Ukrainian National Republic.

At the end of 1918 the RSFSR commenced its aggression against Ukraine, violating the peace treaty. The RSFSR's act of aggression was not provoked by the government of independent Ukraine, and is thus unlawful. Therefore the Ukrainian people continued the struggle for an independent state. On March 14, 1939, Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed independence. Its suppression shortly thereafter did not bury Ukrainian aspirations towards independence. The Act of June 30, 1941, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian independent and sovereign state headed by a Ukrainian government. In defence of the Ukrainian state the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought a two-front war against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia until the mid-1950s. These are indissoluble and complementing events in the Ukrainian struggle for an independent state in the 20th century. It is also a continuation of the Ukrainian state traditions of the princely and kozak eras.

As a consequence of the RSFSR's aggression against the UNR at the end of 1918 Ukraine was occupied. An artificial structure — the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic — whose government became one of the initiators of the USSR, was established on her territory by a decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Because the Ukrainian SSR and its government were created by a decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, overthrowing the legal government of the UNR, the laws of the Ukrainian SSR and agreements between

the government of the Ukrainian SSR and governments of other nations are judicially invalid. Therefore the Ukrainian National Party does not recognize them and regards the Ukrainian SSR not as a republic, but as the colonial administration of Ukraine.

The UNP stands for the right of the Ukrainian people to an independent state and declares as its goal the revival of the Ukrainian National Republic on its ethnic territory.

For the achievement of its goal the UNP has drawn up the following programme, relevant to the present situation:

1. To strive towards the establishment of democratic principles in society. This goal requires the following democratic guarantees:

a) Guaranteed private ownership. This requires the transfer of all industry, banks, transport, and media, presently owned by the state, to private, cooperative and shareholder ownership.

b) Guaranteed permission for possession of private firearms. The absence of private firearms makes the citizen defenceless against armed criminals and is a fundamental restraint on the democratization of society. Without private firearms democracy becomes a farce which allows the usurpation of power by a single party. A firearms law regulating the use and calibre of firearms is necessary for the legalization of private firearms.

c) Guaranteed political pluralism. The party monopoly of power and information is immoral and unlawful.

2. The recognition by governments of Western democracies and the government of the USSR of the occupied status of Ukraine.

3. The abrogation of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and the treaty forming the USSR. The UNP regards aims to renew the treaty of union or to draw up a new treaty as attempts to legalize the enslavement of Ukraine.

4. The withdrawal of the Ukrainian SSR from the United Nations and the replacement of its representation by a representation of national forces of opposition, including those abroad.

5. The establishment of a temporary government in Ukraine based on those Ukrainian political forces which support Ukrainian statehood.

6. The creation of national armed forces.

7. The withdrawal of occupational forces from Ukraine.

8. The convention of an inaugural congress.

Lviv, October 21, 1989

KREMENCHUK RESIDENTS PICKET KGB HEADQUARTERS

Over 1,000 Kremenchuk residents picketed the city's KGB headquarters on 26 November in remembrance of the victims of the 1933 forced famine in Ukraine and Soviet Russian terror during Stalin's and Brezhnev's rule.

Priests of the Russian Orthodox Church conducted a service in their memory, during which the participants held lit candles and torches, lowering the official flag of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian national flag, trimmed with black ribbons.

A CATACOMB CHURCH IN GORBACHEV'S USSR

Fifty years ago the Soviet Union entered World War Two on the side of Hitler's Germany and invaded what had been Eastern Poland. Since May of this year, the Brezhnevite party leadership of Ukraine, led by Vladimir Scherbitsky, has planned celebrations for the anniversary of this so-called "reunification" of Western with Soviet Ukraine. Nobody is surprised that the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine is celebrating what is, after all, a Stalinist anniversary, and public opinion and emotion has for months been running high in Western Ukraine in opposition to this "anniversary".

This public opinion is reflected in the manifestations of a great variety of groups and individuals: newly elected reform-minded deputies, members of the Popular Front (or 'Rukh'), the Memorial Society (dedicated to the millions of Ukrainians who were murdered under Stalin), ecological and cultural organisations, dissident groups like the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and others. One group above all others suffered the devastating consequences of the annexation of Western Ukraine by Stalin: the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It was forced to become a 'catacomb' Church, like the early Christians of the Roman Empire, and for almost fifty years officials denied its very existence. On September 17 of this year, however, onlookers were able to witness a march of well over 100,000 Ukrainian Catholic believers from the Communist Party Headquarters to the steps of the pre-war Catholic Cathedral of St. George, see of the Metropolitan of Ukrainian Catholics.

In 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church supposedly "dissolved" itself and "voted" to join the Russian Orthodox Church at a pseudo-synod held in Lviv — the only time in history that a whole Church has voluntarily liquidated itself! Although instigated and carried out by Stalin, President Gorbachev has until now been reluctant to denounce this act of Stalinism. And so too most of the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, who in 1946 supported this anti-canonical and totally unjust action. This inertia is in total contrast to the numerous other Stalinist crimes which now constantly receive denunciations in the Soviet press. Yet the brutality of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church differs little from other Stalinist crimes. Thousands of clergy and believers were martyred or deported to Siberia, and their churches either locked up, destroyed or handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church. In a letter to the Vienna Helsinki Review Conference earlier this year, Ukrainian Catholics pointed out that "Today, Stalin's policies are officially rejected. But only on paper. Look at us; for almost half a century we have been forced to live underground... we are exposed to sordid defamation, as well as questioning, imprisonment and exile."

The casualty record of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, following on the pseudo-synod of Lviv, is as follows: 8 bishops, 2700 priests, 164 monks, 580 nuns and hundreds of thousands of faithful were murdered or deported. Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, spent 17 years in the Gulag, whilst many other bishops each received a punishment of over 10 years in prison. Nearly 3000 parishes, 150 monasteries and 4200 churches and chapels were confiscated and either destroyed or given to the Russian Orthodox Church. In Carpatho-Ukraine, Stalin did not even bother to convoke a church synod before dissolving the Church there and murdering Bishop Teodor Romzha of Mukachiv.

Since August 1987 the Ukrainian Catholic Church has emerged from the catacombs and has begun a widescale campaign for its legalisation. Ukrainian parishes represent two-thirds of the Russian Orthodox Church today in the USSR, while the importance of Ukraine can be measured by the fact that Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv is the second highest ranking official in the Russian Orthodox Church after Patriarch Pimen.

The situation, though, many now be changing. It is rumoured that the authorities reluctantly agreed not to interfere with the astonishing march and open-air mass which took place on 17 September as the result of the intervention of certain newly elected deputies. The deputies, supporters of the 'Rukh', attended the inaugural congress of the Ukrainian Popular Front, which demanded the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In addition, both *Ogonyk* and *Moscow News*, two publications in the forefront of glasnost, are on record as being in open support of this aim. Photographs of Ukrainian Catholics on hunger strike have been published in *Moscow News*. Not only Ukrainians, therefore, are being vocal about the need to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Prominent individuals like Andrej Sakharov and the Russian Orthodox dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov likewise support legalisation.

Another major factor in the growing campaign, and one which gives Ukrainian Catholics much encouragement, optimism and satisfaction, is the supportive attitude and action of Pope John Paul II. In 1988 the Pope refused to attend the millennium celebrations in Moscow since he himself had been refused access to his Ukrainian Catholic flock. On October 5th the Holy Father, in a gathering with the Ukrainian Bishops meeting in Synod in Rome, made an impassioned plea for the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful. Many are now looking towards the imminent meeting of President Gorbachev with Pope John Paul II in the Vatican. Many have raised hopes and throughout the world Christians are praying for the fruits of this historic encounter.

Meanwhile, the situation remains tense. The Russian Orthodox Church hierarchy seems to be still committed to its support of the Brezhnevite party leadership in Ukraine, and therefore to hostility towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church. But the tide is turning. Democratisation and de-stalinisation means that the injustices inflicted upon Ukrainian Catholics have to be recognised and redressed. This may be painful for the Russian Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Catholics will have to act with some sensitivity. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which is also outlawed, is also campaigning for its rights for re-constitution. If both these Ukrainian sister Churches are given back their properties, the Russian Orthodox Church stands to lose some 4000 of its total of 6800 parishes in the Soviet Union.

Today, Ukrainian Christians — Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants — are still suffering repression and the denial of religious glasnost. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, with over 5 million believers, is too large a problem to be ignored any longer by Gorbachev and to be forgotten by public opinion in the West. Priests and believers are still being regularly fined amounts of up to 1000 roubles — nearly 6 months wages. Some have been deported to Chernobyl to clear up radioactive waste, others are beaten up or are subjected to a 15 day period of "administrative arrest". They continue to pray in forests, by rivers and in private apartments. Nor should we forget the plight of other religious believers. Half a million Jews have no religious facilities, with only 20 to 30 registered Jewish congregations and only one active Rabbi in Kyiv. The Muslim

REMEMBRANCE CEREMONIES IN BYELORUSSIA

The traditional ceremony of honoring one's ancestors, known in Byelorussian as Dzyady, was held on 29 October in the cities of Vitebsk, Grodno, Baranovichi, Mogilev and Brest. In recent years such remembrance ceremonies included gatherings in memory of the victims of Stalinism. In contrast to the brutal police action against participants in last year's ceremony in Minsk, most of this year's ceremonies were sanctioned by the Byelorussian authorities. In Brest, however, an attempt by the municipal authorities to arrest the members of the local Council of the Byelorussian Popular Front who had organized an unsanctioned Dzyady gathering was foiled by the intervention of the crowd. Similarly, in Mogilev, despite official prohibition and the deployment of police units in the streets, a mass was celebrated in the city cathedral followed by a meeting at a recently discovered spot in the city, where Stalinist executions once took place. The meeting was led by local USSR People's Deputy, Syarhey Haurusyou (Gavrusev), who is also a member of the Executive Committee (Soym) of the Popular Front.

The town of Naraula, just outside the evacuated Chernobyl zone, was a scene of a town meeting devoted to the clean-up of Chernobyl after-effects. The townspeople demanded that the town and surrounding area, which were seriously affected by radioactive fallout, be specifically referred to in the massive multi-billion ruble program of cleanup measures recently adopted by the BSSR Supreme Soviet. They threatened a town-wide general strike, the third this year, unless their demands were met. The meeting further adopted a resolution in support of two recently arrested organizers of the Chernobyl Way march and rally in Minsk.

An event known as the "Students' Forum" was convened in Minsk under the auspices of the BSSR Education Ministry, the BSSR Trade Union Council and the republican Komsomol from November 1-3. Our Minsk correspondent noted that the Forum had little to do with students's affairs, despite its name, and voiced the opinion of observers that such pseudo-civic events may be organized by the authorities to preempt genuine grassroots initiative. The Byelorussian CP First Secretary Efrem Sokolov treated the gathering to what has become his standard speech. The main thrust of the speech is to assure the republic's citizens that Byelorussian economy is flourishing and that the use of the term "Stalinist relic" with reference to Byelorussia is tantamount to a compliment. Sokolov, who was described as the most reactionary speaker at the initial session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, has used every opportunity recently to expound this message.



Crimean Tartars are denied their rights and protestant groups such as the Baptists, Pentacostalists, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses remain banned.

Ukraine, therefore, remains as a major blank spot on Gorbachev's policy of religious glasnost and the suffering of Ukrainian believers is a blight on Gorbachev's foreign image. Legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and that of the other presently outlawed religious groups would not only give credibility to Soviet glasnost, it would be a sign of the reality of true perestroika.

DISAFFECTION WITH THE MILITARY

As the Soviet Army prepares for today's 72nd anniversary of the October Revolution, its senior commanders are showing increasing alarm at draft dodging and outright refusal of military service, above all in the rebellious, highly nationalist republics along the Baltic coast and in Transcaucasia.

In the latest sign of such unrest, it emerged yesterday that 500 Georgian conscripts are staging sit-ins in the capital, Tbilisi, and other towns. Like their counterparts in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, they say they will serve only in separate republican defense forces, hived off from the Soviet army proper.

Just how many people are involved throughout the country is unclear, but their number runs into several thousands at the very least. Last week, General Nikolai Ter-Grigoriants, deputy chief of land forces, told the army newspaper, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, that already this spring 1,500 young Georgians refused their call-up. In Azerbaijan, the draft of 1,000 conscripts was "disrupted". In Armenia too, similar protests had occurred.

"We are seeing things we have never seen before," declared General Ter-Grigoriants, citing the case of a Communist Party official in Georgia who sided with the draft-dodgers. The official was quoted as telling the military who had sought his help: "I am with the people and the people do not want to serve."

In Armenia, the general said, one group of intended conscripts had tried to assassinate a call-up officer.

In the Baltic republic of Latvia, according to a report in *Izvestia*, the Popular Front has called on the Latvian Supreme Soviet to pass a law suspending this autumn's draft, and to arrange alternative service. This campaign is being openly linked by the military with apparent efforts by the local media to downplay and discredit the 7 November parade in Riga.

Not only is the trend threatening the conscript manpower of the Soviet army, which has already been hit by the release from national service last July of 175,000 students, which will deprive it of many bright and well-qualified draftees. It is further evidence of a spreading general disaffection with the military. Nowhere it is stronger than in non-Russian republics, where nationalism has focused its hostility on the "Soviet occupiers" stationed on their territory.

In all of the three Baltic states, demands are growing for conscripts to do their two years' national service within the republics, and for Soviet army strength there to be cut.

The Defence Ministry, however, rejects all such calls on both practical and political grounds. Territorial service, said General Ter-Grigoriants, was "technically impossible" and in some areas it would be perilous in the extreme. "What would happen if Armenia and Azerbaijan had their own national divisions?" he asked. "They would turn their arms on each other. We would have another Lebanon."

Rupert Cornwell, (The Independent, Nov. 7, 1989)

RECENT EVENTS IN THE CAPITAL OF UKRAINE

1. On the morning of October 14, in Kyiv, an attempt by a group of Ukrainian Catholics from Lviv to celebrate a Liturgy on the feast of Mary the Protectress at the St. Volodymyr the Great monument was disrupted by the police. Dressed in civilian clothes, the officers approached and detained Rev. Vitaliy Dudkevych, head of the Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Ivan Hel and Petro Kahuy. The remaining members of the group went to the municipal building to demand their release. The demonstration, which attracted a number of passers-by, was dispersed and four of the protesters were detained.

2. On October 14, city officials organized a public rally of official trade unions at the Unity Arch. The participants were selectively chosen from businesses and institutions. They met at preassigned locations, from where they marched to the site of the rally. About 1,000 people were present, including a number of police officers in civilian clothes as well as the KGB. Many held red and red-and-blue (official flag of the Ukrainian SSR) flags. Attempts to display blue-and-yellow flags were denounced and those who did so were harassed. Speakers primarily blamed the cooperatives, the unofficial organizations and the “yellow press” for the dismal state of the country.

3. The Ukrainian deputies' club met on October 14 to discuss an alternative draft of the law on elections. Deputies Hryshchuk, Riabchenko, Martyrosian, Konyev and Kutsenko, among others, addressed the meeting. Deputy Leontiy Sanduliak of Chernivtsi spoke about the government's ban of an election meeting on October 15, claiming that the people went to work in the villages. He also decried the persecution he faces in his job. The deputies also denounced the illegal actions of the authorities in breaking up peaceful gatherings in Lviv and Kyiv, and expressed their support for legalizing Ukrainian national symbols.

4. On the evening of October 14, the detained Ukrainian Catholics were brought to trail. Myroslav and Oleh Revto, two members of the Lviv Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM), were sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment, Ukrainian Catholic activist Olha Bryn was sentenced, while others were fined and released. Some of the detainees were beaten.

5. On October 14, on Castle Hill, a cross was blessed at the site of the grave of 70 Sich Riflemen, who were killed in 1918 defending Kyiv during a red army attack. The grave and cross were restored by members of the Kyiv SNUM.

After the blessing, the group held a requiem, officiated by Rev. Metodiy Andrushenko of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. About 5,000 people were present, among them two deputies — Konyev of Dnipropetrovsk and Kutsenko of Poltava. Several dozen blue-and-yellow flags were raised over the grave of the heroes. After the religious services, members of SNUM, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, “Rukh”, and the Ukrainian National Democratic League glorified the memory of the Ukrainian soldiers and highlighted today's efforts in the fight for Ukrainian Independence.

KYIVITES CHANT: "LONG LIVE AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN UKRAINIAN STATE!"

Around 30,000 people attended an All-Ukrainian meeting on Sunday, October 22, near the republican stadium "Druzhba" in Kyiv and chanted "Long live an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state!"

The purpose of the meeting, which began at 2 p.m., was a public discussion of the draft laws on elections and language, which will be debated by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on October 25. Dozens of Ukrainian, Latvian, Byelorussian, Moldavian, Georgian and Armenian national flags were held by representatives of those nationalities. Slogans stating: "Long live an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state", "Ukraine has not yet perished", "Freedom for all peoples in the Ukrainian state", "Registration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church", "Yes to the rule of the Councils! No to the rule of the CPSU" and "Our strength lies in elections!" were displayed.

Deputy Serhiy Koniev, vice-chairman of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, opened the meeting. He read a statement by the Movement, protesting against the libel campaign aimed at the organization, and a statement, protesting against the creation of special units by the authorities for combating the independent organizations.

Viktor Linchevskiy and Deputy Hryshchuk took an active part in the discussion of the alternative draft law on elections. A representative of the "Arsenal" factory assured the meeting of the employees' support for the alternative draft law on elections. A statement by the rector of Kyiv university Skopenko, in which he promises the university's support for the law, was also read. The Secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR Khomenko informed the participants that the authorities have made the decision to delete several of the most reactionary clauses from the official draft law on elections.

Many of the speakers addressed the issue of the law on languages, emphasizing that Ukrainian must be the language of international communication in Ukraine. Speaking on this issue Dmytro Pavlychko called for the transformation of the "imperial USSR into a union of independent states".

Bohdan Horyn of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union spoke about events in Lviv and read out a protest against the violent measures employed by the authorities to disperse a peaceful march in Lviv on October 1, adopted by the Supreme Council of the Popular Movement of Ukraine the previous day. In connection with this, Dmytro Poyizd called for the disbandment of the special unit of riot police. Stepan Khmara, a member of the Lviv strike committee, read statements regarding the events of October 1 and the elections. Oles Shevchenko, head of the Kyiv branch of the UHU, called for the abolition of the CPSU's monopoly of power by parliamentary means.

On the proposal of Mykhailo Horyn, the Georgian human rights activist Merab Kostava, who died in a car accident, was remembered by a moments's silence.

After the meeting, which lasted four hours, the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) began destroying Komsomol membership cards. The people did not depart for a long time, but stayed behind singing Ukrainian national songs.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

London, December 7, 1989 — The Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church issued the following statement on December 4, 1989:

“On November 30, on the eve of the visit of the Head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev to Italy and the Vatican, Yuriy Reshetylo, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR in the Lviv region, publicly declared on local television, that Ukrainian Catholics will be allowed to exercise their right to register their church communities in the western regions of Ukraine.

Thus Soviet officials have publicly recognized the Ukrainian Catholics' right to exist. The declaration should be regarded as the first step towards legalizing the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

According to the declaration on religious communities, issued on November 1, 1976, any decisions concerning religious communities in the various republics must be approved by the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, i.e. an all-Union rather than a republican organ. The all-Union Council's position regarding the matter remains, to this date, unknown.

The above-mentioned declaration was publicly announced only in western Ukraine, and republican and all-Union media did not report on the document, thus testifying to the fact that this pronouncement of justice affects only those Catholics in western Ukraine.

Taking this into account, the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church considers the declaration of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR to be indecisive. It merely expresses the authorities' desire to renew the legal status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a process which involves the above-mentioned declaration as a primary step.

During his visit to the Vatican, Mikhail Gorbachev declared that adherents of all faiths have the right to fulfil their spiritual needs, and that a new law concerning freedom of conscience is currently being drafted.

Can such a promise be expected from those same communists rulers who have over the course of seventy years, promised to create a paradise on earth, while in practice creating a living hell? The realities of history cannot “fail to influence” the attitude of millions of Ukrainian Catholics towards the declaration of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR.

The deliberate procrastination on the part of the authorities in addressing the problem of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has resulted in a general change of the religious situation in Ukraine. The movement of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is gaining strength, and certain forces, which identify themselves with “the struggle for autonomy” and have compromised themselves in Christian and national terms, are seeking to join this movement.

The Ukrainian exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, which comprises two-thirds of all Russian Orthodox parishes has almost ceased to exist. Recent events have resulted in the creation of social and national tensions, which may be exploited by anti-democratic forces.



Ivan Hel, head of the Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, addresses the meeting

In the second part of the document, instead of recognizing the inherent right of Ukrainian Catholics to register their communities and returning to the Ukrainian Catholics all church property which belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic Church prior to 1946, the government proposes to conduct polls and referendums in order to discover, thereby, whether local populations support the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The faithful are not pleased by the possibility of such a “plebiscite”, for it is common knowledge that the ruling communists have the uncanny ability to manipulate figures concerning the outcome of votes and elections.

When reading the text of the declaration, one becomes familiar with the logic followed by its authors: Ukrainian Catholics, the rightful owners of the property which was stolen from them, are expected to supplicate before those same people who stole their property. Such an attitude, even at a passing glance, is obviously bereft of any sanity.

The Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church once again declares that the faithful do not consider legalization as mere formal registration. Legalization entails the return to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the more than 600 churches, including the Cathedral of St. George, all property owned by the Ukrainian Catholic Church prior to 1946. The ruling organs, who were the de facto organizers of the 1946 pseudo-synod in Lviv, must recognize this in the form of a formal statement, thus politically rehabilitating the Ukrainian Catholic Church”.

Lviv, December 4, 1989

*Head of the Committee for the Defence of
the Ukrainian Catholic Church Ivan Hel*

Legal consultant for the Committee Mykola Muratov

UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX SYNOD APPOINTS BISHOP TO HEAD UAOC

A synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and Russian Orthodox priests who support the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was held in Lviv on October 20 and appointed Bishop Ioan Bodnarchuk of the ROC to head the Ukrainian OrthoChurch in Ukraine.

The Synod also elected an Orthodox Church Council of the Lviv Eparchy.

On Sunday, October 22, a bishop celebrated a Liturgy for the first time in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Lviv. The Liturgy was officiated by Bishop Ioan and the Revs. Volodymyr Yarema, Myroslav Maksymovych, Ivan Pashulia and Mykola Kavchak. During the service Yuriy Boyko was ordained a deacon. Priests from the Zhytomyr oblast were also present.

In the last few weeks, 10 functioning parishes in the Lviv oblast broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church and transferred their allegiance to the UAOC, the majority of them on October 22. These were the parishes of Zhovtantsi (Rev. Stefan Zhyhalo); Kurovych and Solova, Zolochiv district (Rev. Yevhen Vasylenko); Dobryany, Mykolayiv district (Rev. Ivan Vladyka); Solonka, Pustomytiv district, (Rev. Ioan Domashovets); Lviv-Holosky (Rev. Roman Petryshyn); Volovyn, Sokal district (Rev. Vasyl Dubetskyi); Shehynia and Bykiv, Mostyska district (Rev. Mykolay Maletych); Ushnia, Zolochiv district (Rev. Marian Balash); Horodyslavychi, Mykolayiv, Pidsosniv, Pustomytiv district (Rev. Mykolay Kavchak); and The Church of the Ascension in Lviv (Rev. Myroslav Maksymovych).

Biographical Note

Bishop Ioan was born Vasyl Maksymovych Bodnarchuk in 1929 in the village of Ivane-Puste, Borshchiv district, Ternopil oblast.

His father graduated from the conservatory in Montreal, Que., and conducted the choir of the Church of Apostle John the Theologian in his native village.

Vasyl Bodnarchuk studied conductorship from his father. In 1945, after the death of his father, he conducted the church choir until 1949, when he was arrested and sentenced to 20 years of hard labour in Kazakhstan.

In 1953 he was declared innocent and released. From 1956 to 1964 Bodnarchuk studied at a seminary in Leningrad and at the Leningrad Academy. He performed his duties as a priest in Truskavtsi, Lviv oblast. In 1977 he was ordained bishop and appointed to the Zhytomyr-Ovruch Eparchy, where he remained until the present time. On accepting the proposal put forward by the Lviv Synod on October 22, he became the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

ADOLESCENT DISEASE PERSISTS IN CHERNIVTSI

(*UCIS London*) In the wake of the government's refusal to recognize the seriousness of a disease affecting adolescents in Chernitsi, a city about 120 km southeast of Lviv, local civic activists have declared a series of general strikes.

"What other recourse is left for us. We can no longer endanger the lives of the children. (In September, 25 new cases of hair loss were reported). A total fight, with the recognition of the possible difficulties and losses, is imperative. And the only means available to us is a strike, inasmuch as petitions and meetings have not accomplished anything", declared Ihor Nesteruk, head of the ecological commission of the Chernivtsi branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, popularly referred to as "Rukh".

Nesteruk called on all businesses and companies in the Chernivtsi region, except those which were forbidden to strike by an October 3 edict of the Supreme Soviet, to organize strike committees for one-hour work stoppages in November and December.

In a statement issued by Nesteruk on October 17, three demands were put forward:

- An international commission to investigate the disease and its cure is to be established. Independent experts, who will control the research, should be included in the commission.
- The sickest of the children are to be allowed to travel abroad for medical treatment.
- O.O. Baranov and A.M. Kasianenko are to be dismissed from their jobs in the ministries of health of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, respectively, for consciously lying about the cause of the disease.

According to Nesteruk, despite contradictory evidence, Baranov and Kasianenko have claimed that the disease is caused by thallium. Nesteruk said that experts have shown that the sickness, which affects youngsters, is not caused by that chemical. Furthermore, he said, government and medical officials have been downplaying the number of cases of the disease.

For example, in a kindergarten in the village of Berehomet, officials registered one infected girl, omitting the four additional cases. In another instance, a girl, who suffered total hair loss in October 1988, regrew hair by the end of November only to experience alopecia by the end of May of this year, Nesteruk said. The disease is spreading at a rapid pace, he explained. In the first six months of 1988, when the Chernivtsi disease first emerged, seven cases of childhood hair loss were reported. However, in the same period of time in 1989, 201 cases were reported, he said.

Nesteruk believes that until there is a change in the personnel in the Ministry of Health, the cover-up will persist and the infected children will not be allowed to go abroad for medical care. "Only an objective investigation will ultimately refute the lies of the medical authorities and reveal their crimes", he said.

Nesteruk warned that their already "great sin" will become greater if the current medical diagnosis will be perpetuated. These individuals are protected by the party-government apparatus, he said, and "enjoy privileges even in the most sensitive of spheres — that of health". Nesteruk fears another Chornobyl cover-up, because Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi, the person responsible for ordering the May Day parade in 1986, fully cognizant of the high radiation levels, was retired as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with standing ovations and platitudes.

RECENT EVENTS IN UKRAINE

Chernivtsi

(UCIS London)

On October 15 an unsanctioned public meeting was held in Chernivtsi in support of a democratic law on elections. Those participants who were arrested went to court the next day. Chernivtsi University students Kost Bondarenko and Serhiy Soltys were sentenced to 10 and 15 days of administrative arrest respectively. Several people were fined. The local branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine sent a telegram of protest to the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR, and the students of Chernivtsi University formed a student strike committee stating that if their comrades are not released they would boycott lectures. It was also reported that the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) of Chernivtsi University shared a similar disposition.

On October 20 five members of the Popular Movement of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Helsinki Union began a hunger strike in the centre of the city in protest against the authorities' repressive measures. On October 22 it was announced that the students had been released.

Demianiv, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

On October 29 at 11.00 o'clock the remains of the victims of Stalinism in Demianiv were reburied. A Ukrainian Catholic service was held in their memory. The local authorities are pointing out that these were the victims of the terror of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, but activists of the local branch of the "Memorial" society have conclusive evidence which shows that the authorities' claims are unsubstantiated.

Donetsk

On October 14 a meeting demanding the realization of the agreement between the miners and the authorities took place at the "Shakhtar" (Miner) stadium in the city. The majority of speakers expressed the miners' discontent with the measures taken by the authorities. The head of the strike committee Bokariiev pointed out that the miners' demands are either not being met or else their implementation is being delayed.

Kirovohrad

The Lenin district party committee expelled writer Kobzar Volodymyr, an activist of the Popular Movement, from the ranks of the CPSU for violation of the law on meetings, involvement with independent publications, and duplicity. The officials had in mind his membership both of the Party and the Popular Movement of Ukraine.

Kyiv

On October 18 the police dispersed a demonstration organized by the Society of the Repressed outside the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. That day the Central Committee of the CPU was holding a plenum. The

demonstrators demanded a meeting with the new first secretary of the CPU Volodymyr Ivashko. A number of people were detained, some receiving terms of imprisonment.

On October 28 the association "Green World" organized an ecological meeting in Kyiv.

Lisna Ternovytsia, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

On October 19 riot police brutally dispersed villagers who were protesting against the conversion of a local quarry into a rubbish dump, indiscriminately beating men, women and children. One of the victims was a handicapped girl. As the quarry is situated on a riverbank the waste will flow into the river and pollute the whole oblast. The people of Lisna Ternovytsia, Havrylivky, Pereroslia and several other villages declared a strike in protest against the beating of the innocent people. Teaching stopped. The people are demanding the public disclosure and punishment of those responsible for this inhuman act, the dismissal of the first secretary of the oblast party committee Nesterenko, a halt to the authorities' plans to convert the quarry into a rubbish dump, as well as the formation of a commission of people's deputies of the USSR to investigate this tragic incident. If the above demands are not met by November 1 the independent organization will call for a general strike throughout the oblast.

Lviv

On October 1 long-term political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych, son of General Roman Shukhevych commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, returned to Lviv from the Tomsk region of Siberia after completing his term of exile. During his 30-year imprisonment and exile he became an invalid.

On October 29 at 3.00 p.m. a meeting dedicated to the 71st anniversary of the establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was held near the "Druzhba" stadium in Lviv. The meeting was organized by the Lviv branch of the "Memorial" society. The speakers who addressed the 30,000 strong gathering included Yevhen Hryniv, deputy head of the Lviv branch of "Memorial", who explained the historical background of the establishment of the ZUNR, the Director of the Institute of Social Science Isayevych, the deputy head of the Lviv Ukrainian Language Society of Shevchenko Mykhailo Kosiv, and UHU members Stepan Khmara and Ihor Derkach. Two former Sich Riflemen were also present and gave their account of events in 1989. A girls' choir sang various religious hymns and songs of the Sich Rifle Corps. During the meeting 36,000 karbovantsi were raised for the erection of a monument of the Sich Riflemen.

Uzhhorod

The oblast branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union recently held its founding conference. Former political prisoner Oleksander Oros was elected to head the branch.

Budaniv (Ternopil province)

On November 26 around 8,000 people paid tribute to the soldiers of the Sich Rifle Corps, as well as the people murdered by the NKVD in the Budaniv prison. The local authorities, together with the head of the village executive council, did all they could to obstruct the proceedings; teachers prevented their pupils from attending.

Kyiv

November 25

A public meeting was held on Lviv Square, near the site where a monument to Vasyl Stus is to be erected. The chief of the Shevchenko district police department removed a portrait of the poet displayed by the participants of the meeting. On 19 November, after the reinterment of the remains of three Ukrainian political prisoners Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn and Oleksa Tykhyi, a memorial plaque was unveiled at this site. It was removed by police.

A group of Ukrainian theatre enthusiasts set up a “New Ukrainian Dramatic Theatre”, whose artistic director is Volodymyr Opanasenko, a leading art aficionado of the Ukrainian SSR. This did not meet with the support of cultural officials. The theatre does not have its own premises (plays are staged in the Kyiv Institute of Construction Engineering) and lacks funds. People have not been paid for four months.

November 26

At the Baykiv cemetery in Kyiv the All-Ukrainian Society of the Repressed paid tribute to Ukrainian activist Yuriy Lytvyn on the day of the poet’s birthday. A commemoration also took place in the home of Lytvyn’s mother Nadia Antonivna Parubchenko, who lives in the village of Barakhty in the Kyiv province.

Lakshyn (Berezhany district)

November 26

A memorial service was held by the grave of victims of the NKVD. The column of 150 people, headed by members of the Ternopil and Berezhany branches of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), marched from Berezhany to Lakshyn with blue-and-yellow flags. Members of the UHU and SNUM (Independent Association of Ukrainian Youth) Yuriy Morhun and Ivan Sirko addressed the 2,000 or so participants, pointing out that the reasons for the present crisis lie in the system itself. The meeting ended with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem.

Zabaliv (Berezhany district, Ternopil province)

November 26

According to Ivan Dmytryk of the Ternopil branch of the UHU, a memorial service was held at the grave of the soldiers of the Sich Rifle Corps. Around 5,000 people attended the service, during which 30 blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national flags with black ribbons were displayed. UHU activists Levko Horokhivskyyi, Yaroslav Demydas, Roman Sydiala, and Petro Malenkyi addressed the participants. The service ended with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem.

SHUKHEVYCH RETURNS TO LVIV



Yuriy Shukhevych, the 57-year-old son of Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), returned to Lviv on October 21 after nearly 40 years' imprisonment and exile.

In 1948, when he was 15 years old, Shukhevych was arrested by the NKVD and threatened with incarceration if he did not renounce his father. Shukhevych refused and was imprisoned for 10 years. At the completion of that term he was resented to another 10 years' imprisonment, and then a third time.

After his final release, he was banned from Ukraine and forced to live in exile. In the mid-1970s Shukhevych joined the original Ukrainian Helsinki Group and was arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and exile.

This is Shukhevych's first return to his native Lviv since his teenage years.

According to Hryhoriy Prykhodko, editor of "Ukrainian Time", Shukhevych is blind and regarded as an invalid of the second category. Since returning to Lviv, he has appeared several times in public and spoken about his family's legacy, imprisonment and current affairs in Ukraine. He spoke at the Shevchenko monument, with youth, and at a recital of Ihor Kalynets' poems.

Prykhodko said, "He was a patriot and remains one. He will never renounce his father".

UKRAINIANS DEMONSTRATE IN POLAND

On October 14 around 150 Ukrainians gathered in Gdansk, in the centre of the old city, to protest against the brutal police attack against peaceful residents of Lviv on October 1. The demonstration was organized by the recently formed Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM).

The demonstrators read out a protest against the unlawful act of the Lviv police, addressed the problems facing the Ukrainian minority in Poland, and explained the programme of SNUM.

During the protest banners with slogans stating in Polish: "There can be no free Poland without a free Ukraine!" and "Down with the fascist methods of the Soviet police!", a Ukrainian national flag and the Trident (the Ukrainian national symbol) were raised.

Passers-by showed great interest in the demonstration. The reason for the protest was explained to foreign tourists in English.

The participants of the protest sung several traditional Ukrainian songs, ending the action with the Ukrainian national anthem.

The October 14 protest action in Gdansk was the first street demonstration staged by Ukrainians in Poland.



LITERARY EVENING DEDICATED TO BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH IN LVIV

A literary evening dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the birth of noted Ukrainian writer and civic activist Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, a former soldier of the Ukrainian Army of Halychyna (UHA), was held on October 29 in the Gagarin Palace of Culture in Lviv.

The programme was prepared by Myroslava Zvarychevska, a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature, and included vignettes from the life and works of Antonenko-Davydovych and songs of the Sich Riflemen, performed by a choir conducted by Maria Pustoviat.

Athena Pashko, Oksana Maranovych and Mykhailo Osadchyi, who were acquainted with Antonenko-Davydovych, or had the opportunity to hear him speak, gave their account of the writer and his works.

Osadchyi spoke about a little known aspect of Ukrainian literature of the 1920s: Stalin's official reception of a group of Ukrainian writers, including Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Ostap Vyshnia, Valerian Polishchuk, Valerian Pidmohylnyi, Ivan Kulyk, and an official of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Andriy Khvyliia on 12 February 1929.

Lviv schoolchildren read passages from the works of Antonenko-Davydovych. Sviatoslav Maksymchuk an actor from the Lviv Zankovetska Theatre read excerpts from the autobiographical works of Antonenko-Davydovych.

The choir sang various religious hymns, the march of the Sich Rifle Corps, the Ukrainian national anthem and other songs.

The writer's son-in-law, well known contemporary writer Borys Tymoshenko from Kyiv, recalled the difficult life of Antonenko-Davydovych, pointing out that the writer spent 18 years in Russian concentration camps during Stalin's reign and was constantly persecuted. Upon his return to Kyiv Antonenko-Davydovych received no support. Under Brezhnev he was subjected to more than a dozen searches.

After he became seriously ill, Antonenko-Davydovych wrote a 260-page account of his service in the UHA. When the KGB learned of this, his home was searched and the work confiscated. In the spirit of glasnost the relatives of the writer appealed to the KGB to return the work. It was to be included in a two-volume collection of the works of Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, which is presently being prepared. The KGB reported that the confiscated work had been burned. Tymoshenko later discovered that it had been burned a month after the writer's death in May (?) 1984.

The evening ended with the singing of Antonenko-Davydovych's favourite song "The Eternal Revolutionary" by Ivan Franko.

UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX FAITHFUL MOBILIZE IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE

An Initiative Group to reestablish the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has been formed in Mykolayiv, a town 400 km south of Kyiv on the Black Sea.

The establishment of this group is significant because the religious situation in the southern regions of Ukraine is far more critical than it is in the rest of the country. Intense russification, denationalization and intermixing with other ethnic groups have

DEATH OF A GEORGIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER



Merab Kostava (50), who had been a leading member of the Georgian Human Rights movement, was killed in a car accident which happened on a remote wet road outside Tbilisi on October 13, 1989. According to the British Institute "Keston College" and also to several friends, Kostava had repeatedly been threatened by anonymous telephone calls, fortelling his death.

Merab Kostava was a member of the Georgian Orthodox Church and was actively involved in the Georgian Human Rights movement. He was a founding member of the Georgian Helsinki Union in 1974.

Merab Kostava was arrested on April 7, 1974 at the conservatorium of Tbilisi, where he was a professor of music. He was initially sentenced to 3 years of severe labour and following them forcefull exile for "anti-soviet agitation and propaganda." Kostava spent 10 years in the gulag. In 1987 he returned to Tbilisi with

ruined health and with TB and continued to devote himself to the cause of Georgian human and national rights. On his return his son who had apparently committed suicide — which is doubtful — was already dead.

► created an entire chain of problems, which need to be resolved, including the religious issue.

There are reportedly many supporters of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Mykolayiv and Kherson oblasts, however they are scattered over vast territories and the official anti-religion campaigns have kept them from their faith.

One of the goals of the Initiative Group is to create an Autocephalous Orthodox parish and to secure a house of worship.

The Initiative Group in Mykolayiv includes: The Rev. Vasyl Hirniak (Syniushyn); Vasyl Nosa, jurist (Mykolayiv); Oleksyi Havrylyshyn, pediatrician (Mykolayiv); Oleksiy Mot, machine operator (Mykolayiv) and Anatoliy Ivanchuk, senior tradesman, steel-concrete mill (Mykolayiv).

THE CHAMPAGNE STOPS AT THE BORDER

Amid self-congratulatory backslaps, the Washington establishment recently commemorated the 41st anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by proclaiming a victory of democracy over communism.

Citing the recent tumultuous events in Eastern Europe, where one communist regime after another has been peacefully toppled by the people, government and private-sector spokesmen declared at a colloquium on human rights, held at the State Department here on Dec. 7, that the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, in the words of Carl Gershman of the National Endowment for Democracy, is a "decisive accomplishment" for the West.

Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, said that the world has been shaken by events in the Eastern bloc. The existence of a human rights movement in the USSR has been known to the West for 25 years, Schifter said, but it was Mikhail Gorbachev who lifted "the lid of oppression," allowing these forces to emerge.

"So, in place of the political monolith of yesteryear, we see today in the Soviet Union a wide spectrum of opinion, ranging from the most radical advocates of reform to supporters of gradual reform, and, the extreme, extending to those who long for a return to autocracy."

Morton Kondracke of *The New Republic* said 1989 "is the most glorious year in history. More glorious than 1945 or 1918."

However, their exhilaration and expectations of further improvements in human liberties grind to an abrupt halt at the Soviet border. The "wide spectrum of opinion" in the USSR that Schifter spoke about has holes in it.

In the post-Malta era, it has become fashionable and politically appropriate to toast the defeat of communism in Eastern Europe because Gorbachev seems to approve it. American officials, sovietologists and pundits are ready to dance with Berliners atop the crumbling Berlin Wall, but they shudder at the thought of joining in a hopak at the Porokhova Vezha or St. Sofia Square.

Government officials and experts from research institutes and the media rejoiced at developments in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and East Germany. Dr. Charles Fairbanks of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University described the changes as not merely evolving into humane communism, but an "an abrupt halt to it, a revolution, communism is being replaced." The speakers also recognized that even though human rights gains lunged forward in 1989, they warned that U.S. vigilance can not be abandoned.

But as for Ukraine and the issue of its independent statehood, the panelists' awkward silence testified that such a topic is still taboo and cannot be broached within the hallowed halls of government.

In his highly philosophical analysis of human rights, Dr. Michael Novak was the only one of seven panelists to point out that among human rights is the "freedom to erect republics based on the people's own consent."

When this comment was related to the Ukrainian nation's right to establish an independent republic and the consternation it causes among government officials, private sector spokesmen and the media on both sides of the political spectrum, the

momentary silence of the panelists, including that of Schifter, was deafening. The group's honor was rescued by Novak who explained that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev supports human rights advances in Eastern Europe and will abide by the peoples' desire for self-determination there, but that commitment stops at the Soviet border. Internally, Gorbachev has no intention of allowing the nations and republics to go it alone. As a Soviet official said during the Dec. 7 Nithline broadcast, Gorbachev does not want to be the first Soviet leader to preside over the dissolution of the Soviet Union. He is committed to its retention, the official said. Apparently, so is Washington.

Novak recognized the subjugated status of the constituent republics by citing the hackneyed and offensive quip, comparing Ukraine's membership in the United Nations to that of Texas. During the break, Novak implicitly acknowledged that an independent Ukrainian republic means the dissolution of the USSR and obviously bristled at the suggestion that the U.S. government could even be asked to take a position on the question of cutting up another country.

George Weigel of the Ethics and Public Policy Center also attempted to smooth over the anxiety the Ukrainian issues causes in Washington today by stating that America can't go on ignoring the possibility of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. "I don't think that anyone up here is for the perpetuity of the Soviet Union as it now exists" and the United States should not be disinterested in this matter, he said. For their parts, neither Schifter nor John Bolton, assistant secretary for international organizations affairs, entered into the discussion.

This attitude raises in the minds of Americans who trace their ancestry to the captive nations of the Soviet Russian empire as well as the freedom fighters there the question, "What right does America or the West have to tell us how we should live our lives. We want to depose one totalitarian system and not be dictated to by another system."

A. M. Rosenthal, who was not at the panel, addressed this issue in his Dec. 8 column in *The New York Times*. Rosenthal challenged the Western leaders to explain "what world are they living in." He said that American elected leaders, bureaucrats and many academics and journalists have a complete lack of understanding of the needs of the subjugated nations. Westerners are attempting to shape their future by negotiating with "the one important communist apparatus that so far has managed to avoid destruction — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Rosenthal said.

"They cluck nervously at the passion for freedom of the people of Eastern and Central Europe, whose very captivity was unfashionable to mention for many years. They talk busily about plans for future relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, maybe some kind of nice club, all together," Rosenthal continued. "This is their world. In the world of Eastern Europe and Central Europe there are different goals, standards, political morals and reality. There it is understood, deep in blood and bone after decades of suffering, that the one great creator of instability since the end of World War II has been the imposition of communism by the Soviet Union. The goal of the revolutionaries is the end of communist rule."

American leaders delight at the developments in Eastern Europe because Gorbachev is not taking sides on the issue and has tacitly allowed them to go it alone. However, the demonstration by Rukh in Kyiv during Mitterand's visit there on Dec. 6, calling for the end to Communist Party's rule apparently did not attract the sympathetic attention of the White House.

Instead, at Malta, Bush and Gorbachev discussed ways of helping the Communist Party of the Soviet Union preserve and maintain its dominance over the subjugated nations. Bush eagerly offered Gorbachev economic and political advice on how to make glasnost and perestroika succeed, without realizing that its success means the continued enslavement of the peoples in the USSR.

Concluded Rosenthal: „How sad it is that so often our leaders cannot understand the strength of the passion for freedom of political choice. They did not understand it in South Korea or the Philippines and looked on stunned when the young people of Beijing almost brought down their government. All those people had seemed so faceless in the West before they rose in rebellion.

“Now our leaders and advisers do not understand that neither we nor Mr. Gorbachev have the power any longer to decide what is best for the Soviet people. We can delay their time of choice, as we are. But we cannot talk or plan it out of existence of ignore their faces, not in the real world of revolution.”

The revolutions is under way. Sooner or later the people will achieve their goal—in the case of the Ukrainian nation, independent statehood, with or without Washington’s support. Ironically, history will record that Washington, the bastion of freedom, sided with the Kremlin against the people. George Bush has the opportunity of a lifetime to be the first American president to preside over the dissolution of the USSR and the reestablishment of freedom in the former empire, but it requires the political foresight and will to do so.



Lithuanians' demonstration in Toronto on August 23, 1989.

CLUB OF REPRESSED FORMED IN LVIV

A Club of the Repressed was formed in Lviv on October 22. Heading the club, which is part of the Lviv branch of the Memorial Society, is Orysia Andriyivna Mateshuk, a victim of Russian persecution during Stalin's reign.

On that day, residents of Lviv met with those poets and writers, persecuted during Stalin's regime, who are members of the Club of the Repressed. More than 400 people were present.

Among the speakers were Oleksander Hrynko, an actor with the Maria Zankovetska Lviv Ukrainian Academic Theatre; Iryna Senyk and Mykhailo Osadchyi, former political prisoners, "recidivists" and honorary members of International PEN; Writers' Union of Ukraine member Ivan Hnatiuk, Zynoviy Krasivskyi and Viktor Rafalskyi, poets and former political prisoners, and Maria Khorosnytsky, a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine.

M. Osadchyi's account of the renewal of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, a prewar scholarly institution, was met with a boisterous ovation.

The participants of the meeting posed numerous questions to the speakers, rewarded them with bouquets of flowers and offered them best wishes in their work.

Also that day, the Culture Building of Kuznetsov was the site of a poetry reading by another repressed poet of the Brezhnev era Ihor Kalynets. He read accounts from the Ukrainian press in the diaspora how certain Ukrainian writers were barred from joining the PEN Centre in Ukraine by the backroom intrigues of the official Ukrainian establishment.

They revealed that the representative of the Writers' Union of Ukraine Mykola Vinhranovskyi refused to represent repressed Ukrainian writers at the 54th congress of International PEN. Vinhranovskyi had previously denounced one of the most gifted poets of the 1960s-1980s, prisoner of conscience Vasyl Stus, saying: "It is blasphemous that Vasyl Stus calculated his life to die at the same age as Shevchenko".

Evidently, Vinhranovskyi believes that Stus was not murdered by the KGB as a political prisoner, but Stus himself, hastened his death as a prisoner. This is truly a blasphemy on the part of Vinhranovskyi, not Stus!



More than 100,000 people demonstrated in Lviv on 17 September 1989, on the 50th anniversary of the occupation of the city by the Red Army and demanded the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic church. Many made their demand by going on hunger-strike.

INAUGURAL MEETING OF “FREE TRADE UNIONS” ASSOCIATION IN DONETSK

According to Vasyl Spynenko from Donetsk, the inaugural meeting of the independent public organization “Free Trade Unions” was held in the city on November 26. The meeting appointed a regional council: miner Volodymyr Stemasov, who heads the strike committee of the “Sotsialistychnyi Donbas” pit, was elected to chair the city committee of the organization, and Oleksiy Kudryshov as deputy chairman. Representatives of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, “Memorial” and other independent public organizations took an active part in the proceedings.

The aim of “Free Trade Unions” is to provide workers genuine support and to replace official bodies with real trade unions, as stated in the information bulletin of the newly-formed organization. “Free Trade Unions” is affiliated to an all-Union association of the same name, formed in 1978 by Volodymyr Klebanov, Viktor Luchkov and Anatolii Pozniakov.

MASS MEETING IN KYIV, DECEMBER 3

On December 3 the Popular Movement of Ukraine held a public meeting near Kyiv’s central republican stadium, said Kyiv-based Ukrainian National Democratic League (UNDL) activist Leonid Milyavskiy. The theme of the meeting, which lasted from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., was “Through democratic elections to a democratic state”. Petro Kahuy, a representative of the Secretariat of the Popular Movement, pointed out that this meeting signalled the beginning of the Movement’s preelection campaign.

The 15,000-25,000 participants, many of whom held Ukrainian national flags, were addressed by representatives of the Movement Mykhailo Horyn, Veniamin Sikora, Serhiy Holovatyi, the head of the Kyiv branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union Oles Shevchenko, former political prisoner Yuriy Badzio, poet Dmytro Pavlychko and others.

With the exception of the first secretary of the Moscow district party committee of Kyiv all the speakers called for genuine economic and political sovereignty for Ukraine, for a multi-party system and a multi-faceted economy.

Popular Movement activist Larysa Skovyk demanded an independent Ukrainian state, and the leader of SNUM (Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth) Dmytro Korchynskiy and the head of the UNDL Yevhen Chernyshov called “For councils without communists!” In his appeal to communists in Ukraine, the head of the Movement’s publishing commission, Dmytro Poyizd, called for the self-liquidation of the Communist Party (this “criminal organization”).

The participants of the meeting adopted a series of resolutions, including a resolution in support of the erection of a monument to Vasyl Stus in Kyiv’s Lviv Square.

At the end of the meeting the Secretary of the Popular Movement of Ukraine Mykhailo Horyn announced the Movement’s intention to mark the anniversary, on 22 January 1990, of the union of the Ukrainian National Republic with the Western Ukrainian National Republic (1919) by a “human chain” stretching from Lviv to Kyiv.

The police did not interfere with proceedings.

United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
December 8, 1989

Mrs. Slava Stetsko
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
Central Committee

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

I am replying on behalf of the President to your letter of November 20 on United States policy toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Our policies toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have undergone a thorough reassessment in recent years. They have changed and evolved in keeping with the tremendous changes occurring in the region. The administration shares your belief that the reform and democratization now underway in the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies cannot be attributed solely to Gorbachev and his government. The people of the region themselves deserve most of the credit for insisting on and fighting for their freedom during the long years of dictatorship and oppression.

We believe the remarked change in Soviet foreign and domestic policies warrants a serious response from the United States. A Soviet Union that is freer and more democratic will benefit not only the Soviet people, but the entire world. The Soviets still have a long way to go in this regard, but we have seen much real progress in recent years both in U.S.-Soviet relations and in the Soviet government's observance of the rights of its citizens.

While the United States wishes to be helpful to the process of reform in the USSR, we do not believe massive aid or loans to the Soviet Union would further that goal. We share your view that the most important goal of our policy should be to integrate the USSR and Eastern Europe into the global market economy. The achievement of that goal, however, depends almost entirely on Soviet willingness to make the hard decisions that are necessary to rationalize and restructure the Soviet system.

Our commitment to the right of national self-determination by the peoples of the Baltics and of the long-subjugated "satellite" nations of Eastern Europe remains central to our policy toward the region. The administration shares your hope that the events we are witnessing in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will lead toward a better, freer and safer world for all.

Sincerely,

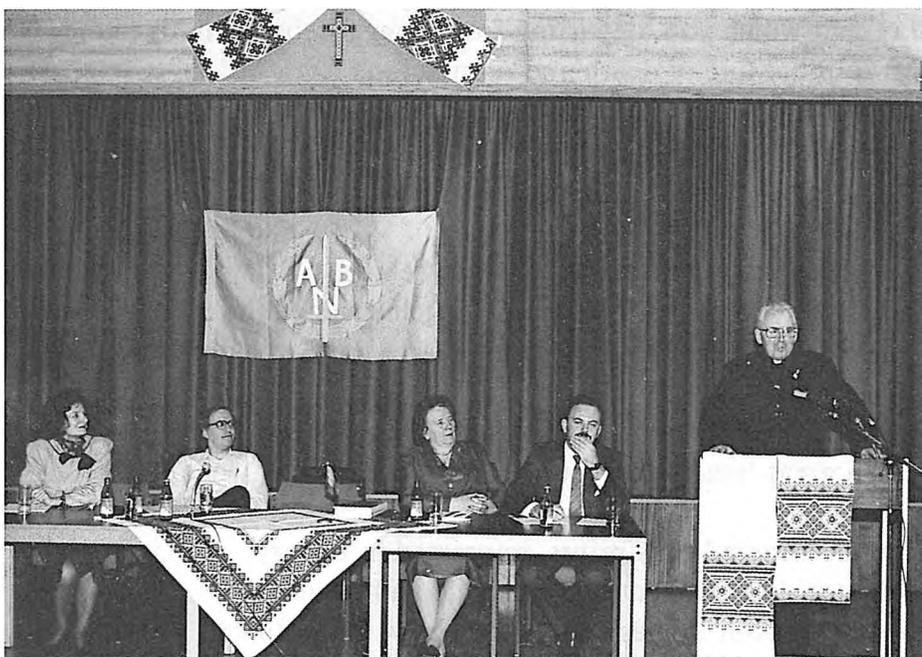
Alexander Vershbow
Director
Office of Soviet Union Affairs

WE DRAW OUR STRENGTH FROM THE CROSS OF CHRIST

On July 12, 1988 Father Svarinskas who spent 21 1/2 years in various camps in the GULag was released on condition that he leave his homeland Lithuania and go to West Germany at the invitation of Bishop J. Stimpfle of Augsburg.

On December 15, 1989 he spoke in Munich at the ABN invitation about his life in the concentration camps and his friendship there with the late Ukrainian Patriarch, Cardinal Joseph Slipyj and many priests of different nationalities.

“While I was in camp, I longed with all my heart to see Lithuania, to travel its roads once more. I thought about the land of my forefathers, and sang. I sang as well as I knew how, so that later, no one would say that the Lithuanians in the Urals did not sing songs or hymns. Some old prisoners, seeing it, said, “His long sentence has made him take leave of his senses.” They often do not understand us believers, they do not understand where we get the strength, often at the most critical times. We draw our strength from the Cross of Christ, from prayer.”



Father Alfonsas addressing the audience. From left to right: Mrs. Nino Alshibaja (Secretary General), Mr. Sarnius Girnius (speaker on most recent situation in Lithuania), Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN President), Mr. Mykola Szafowal (presided the meeting).

and Cluj and finally in the capital in Bucharest. In Bucharest they were started by young students. They could not idly look how thousands peaceful demonstrators were shot and killed by security forces in Timisoara. Troops were shooting on a crowd of about 3,000 demonstrators in Arad, students were ordered out of a college, made to stand against a wall, and then shot dead. But the protestors continued to march on chanting "down with Ceausescu", "down with the dictatorship", "freedom without blood", "Libertate" (freedom). When demonstrations spread into the capital military tanks rolled through the capital and formed a circle around several thousands mostly young people. They fired at the crowd but some soldiers were unwilling to shoot at demonstrators. They were shot on the spot. Elderly people urged troops not to shoot against the protestors. Many young people were between 15-19 years of age. They held Romanian national flags, they tore and broke the flags of the Romanian communist party and chanted "democracy" and "freedom". The people also chanted "we are not fascists". Tear gas grenades were thrown. Shooting started of single shots and then massive fire. Securitate people run mercilessly after the protestors. People with small children were shouting "down with Ceausescu". The crowd sang a Romanian song "the Romanian woke up". Police used tanks and automatic weapons to disperse this anti-government demonstrations. On Thursday (21 December) the demonstration numbered between 20,000 and 30,000 and it was the first public protest in the capital since Ceausescu mobilized tanks, helicopters and heavily armed police to put down a protest down few days before in the city of Timisoara, where tens of thousands of people ignored a ban on public gatherings and took to the streets.

Thursday 21st the violence erupted in Bucharest in the middle of a pro-Ceausescu rally, organized by government, and which Ceausescu addressed from a balcony. Several hundred protestors in their late teens carrying Romanian flags appeared on the edge of the pro-government crowd chanting "freedom" and "democracy". A great number of people joined the youths, shopkeepers and employees started to close shops. Ceausescu's speech was abruptly interrupted. Security officials were making drastic efforts to ensure that security troops obey orders to fire on unarmed protestors. The demonstration lasted the whole day. Then the army joined the people and the struggle began between security forces and police on one side the people and the army on the other. The bloodshed continued through Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Romanians throughout the world started demonstrations in solidarity with their people. West Germany, Hungary and Austria called for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council, the Governments of East Germany and Czecho-Slovakia recalled their ambassadors from Bucharest on 21 of December.

In the evening of December 24 the army and the people were almost in the control of the country and the National Radio wished the nation "Merry Christmas"!

ANTHOLOGY OF STETSKO'S WRITINGS PUBLISHED BY PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY

New York — The writings and speeches by the late Yaroslav Stetsko, prime minister of Ukraine and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, have appeared in a 648-page English-language volume from the Philosophical Library here.

Titled "Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation", the book spans the history of Ukraine's war of liberation since World War II, when during it the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, in the midst of the new Nazi-Russian conflagration, proclaimed the renewal of Ukrainian statehood on June 30, 1941, and created a government in Lviv with Stetsko as prime minister.

Stetsko's involvement in the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalist movement lasted nearly a half century. Since the assassination of Bandera by a Russian agent in 1959, until his death on July 5, 1986, Stetsko was the leading spokesman in the West for the reestablishment of independent Ukrainian statehood.

The book includes Stetsko's writings on such topics as the Ukrainian church, including the Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate, the Hungarian revolution, coexistence between the US and the USSR, the Helsinki process, russification as a form of national genocide, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which he headed; the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Ukraine's liberation war on two fronts, Ukrainian nationalism and its ideology, a critique of Western policies toward the USSR, and others.

The anthology was edited by John Kolasky, a Ukrainian Canadian who wrote two popular books on Ukraine in the 1960s, titled "Two Years in Soviet Ukraine" and "Education in Soviet Ukraine".

In his note, Kolasky observed, "The articles and speeches reveal the author's deep conviction and dedication, as well as his personal modesty and abiding Christian faith."

The foreword was written by John Wilkinson, member of the British Parliament and chairman of the European Freedom Council, who said, in part, that Stetsko "always rejected totalitarianism, was a passionate advocate of national self-determination."

"He worked tirelessly until his death, promoting the causes of Ukraine and the other Captive Nations, championing the right for individuals as for nations that they should both be free. Inspired by a deep, personal Christian faith as well as a profound sense of history, Yaroslav was a symbol for those who wished to see the downfall of bolshevism and the oppression and sorrow which it inflicts," Wilkinson wrote.

In his preface, Bertil Haggman of Helsingborg, Sweden, said, "The ideas of Yaroslav Stetsko will continue to be a guiding light not only to Ukrainians but to all in the West who love liberty. Ever since World War II they have served as an inspiration to those Western leaders who feel that free peoples worldwide have an obligation to aid their subjugated brothers and sisters."

A glossary, index and photographs are also included in the book.

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

ABN STATEMENT ON THE EVE OF 1990

On the eve of New Year, in an effort to predict the future, politicians, historians and journalists are re-evaluating the events of the past year. There is general agreement; 1989 will take an exceptional place in human history. The process of disintegration of the Communist Empire gained speed and came to the point of no return.

After the tremors of the earthquake called “the nationalities problem” shook the very foundations of the Soviet Union the world witnessed the abolishment of the Brezhnev doctrine and the supremacy of the Communist Parties except in the Soviet Union itself. The events followed at an astonishing tempo with the following results: the Polish government is under the Chairmanship of a non-Communist; Hungary is no longer a People’s Democracy and looks forward to its first democratic elections; the Czech and Slovak Communist Parties were forced by their peoples to abandon the role of leading force in state and society and to accept the candidate of a non-Communist party for President of the Federal Republic of Czecho-Slovakia; even the conservative Bulgarian Communists are hurrying to prevent an explosion of the peoples’ anger by making concessions in the direction of democratization and by sending most of the old party leaders into the desert. The world witnessed the peaceful revolution in the German Democratic Republic and the demolition of the Berlin Wall. Finally the brutal crushing of peaceful demonstrations in Rumania have led to the ousting of “conducator” Ceausescu.

Inside the Soviet Union from the Baltic States to Turkestan, the subjugated nations are marking important steps in fulfilling their aspirations for independence and sovereignty: Azerbaijan and Georgia have legislated the right to secede from the Soviet Union. In Lithuania the leading role of the Communist Party was struck from the Constitution. Despite strong protests by Gorbachev, the Lithuanian Communist Party at its Extraordinary Congress has put an end to its subordination by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Supreme Soviets of Estonia and Lithuania have declared national sovereignty. In Ukraine, the Popular Movement for Reconstruction and all the non-formal organizations are pre-occupied with elections which may play a decisive role in further efforts on the road to national independence. The demonstrations in Moldavia, Armenia and Turkestani republics are expressions of the same aspirations.

The striving and struggle of the subjugated nations for human rights and for national independence needs and deserves the support of the Free World — even more if it is in its self-interest.

SEASONS GREETINGS !



B. SOROKA

CAROL SINGERS

Wishing all our friends and readers of ABN Correspondence
a very Merry Christmas and a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

ABN Central Committee