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FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

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CONTENTS:

Ninth Conference of Subjugated Nations Held in Estonia	2
Baltic States Protest CSCE Exclusion	5
Crime without Punishment	6
Resolution on the Political Situation in Azerbaijan	7
The Byelorussians get Organized on a Supranational Scale	8
<i>Dr. Serhij Holovatyj: The Peaceful Disintegration of the USSR as a Guarantee of Security and Freedom in Europe</i>	9
<i>Askold Krushelnycky: The Archaeologist of Terror</i>	12
<i>Dr. Jiri Brada: The Democratization of the Communists</i>	15
What Ukrainians want	28
Interview with Stepan Khmara	30
<i>Dan Ionescu: The Romanian Communist Party Under a New Name</i>	40
<i>Christina Svystun: Poetry Helped Me Survive</i>	47

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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ABN APPEAL NOT TO HELP GORBACHOV **but the Democratic Forces of the Subjugated Peoples**

The war in the Middle East has been raging since the morning of January 17th. For the first time in its history, the Security council of the United Nations gave the green light to the use of force for the restoration of independence and sovereignty of a small nation which was overrun by Hussein's armies.

After exhausting all diplomatic and peaceful means President Bush was forced to give orders to the allied forces from 28 nations to attack and to free the occupied Kuwait.

We, the members of ABN take at this juncture the opportunity to remind the world of the fate of the subjugated nations in and around the Soviet Union. Freedom, independence and human rights can and should not be measured by different standards. It is irrelevant whether Michael Gorbachov is directly or indirectly involved in the last massacre in Vilnius. As Chief of state, party leader and commander in chief of the Soviet forces, the last responsibility lies with him. Being preoccupied with the events in the Middle East, the Free World should not lose sight of the developments in the Soviet Union. These developments concern and affect World peace as much as the situation in the Middle East. The process of democratisation and reform in the Soviet Union cannot be turned back. The democratic governments and the free nations should prevent a return of police terror in the Soviet Russian empire. They should prevent a reinforcement of the still existing communist nomenclatura as well as a return to press censorship.

Under the pressure of democratic forces, in particular inside the Soviet Russian empire, the reign of terror and oppression seem to have yielded and allowed to some extent free expression, but with world attention concentrated on events in the Middle East, they have started their traditional methods of oppression.

The Free World should not be deluded by Gorbachov's assertions of his good intentions, but be aware that as long as the subjugated nations are denied self-determination and human rights by Moscow there can never be peace or stability.

Therefore our appeal to the Free World — instead of helping Moscow's dictator, Gorbachov, send your support to the democratic forces of the people struggling for freedom and independence.

For the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations:

Slava Stetsko, (Ukraine)
President

Evdokim Evdokimov, (Bulgaria)
Vice President

Nino Alschibaja, (Georgia)
Secretary General

NINTH CONFERENCE OF SUBJUGATED NATIONS HELD IN ESTONIA

(UCIS) Maardu, Estonia, January 19-20, 1991 — The Ninth Conference of the subjugated nations in the USSR was held in this Estonian city. The conference was organized and sponsored by the National Party of Estonian Independence. Twenty-three national-political organizations took part in the conference, representing 12 nations. The delegates to the Conference sent a letter to US President Bush, in which they express their hope that the present campaign being waged against Saddam Hussein and Iraq will be successful and that this campaign can be linked to sanctions against the USSR for its military aggression against the Baltic republics.

The delegates also ratified separate communiqués and three separate resolutions, the full texts of which are printed below.

Communique

The ninth conference of the USSR Subjugated Nations National Freedom Movements Coordination Council took place in Maardu, Estonia, on January 19-20, 1991. Delegations from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, the Crimea, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, the Tartar Movement, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and also Poland, took part in the conference — representing a total of 23 political organizations. The Bulgarian delegation was unable to attend the conference, since it was denied entry into the USSR.

In conjunction with the conference, a meeting of the coordination centre “Warsaw-90” was held — this group represents parties and organizations from countries within the Soviet empire.

The participants in the conference stated that the political situation in the Soviet empire was deteriorating. A counter-attack has been initiated by those reactionary forces which wish to preserve the empire. This is reflected in attempts to suppress national freedom movements by force, and to provoke inter-ethnic and local conflicts.

The conference participants consider that democratic progress is not possible until the occupation forces are withdrawn, and decisive de-sovietization of government bodies and social structures is implemented. Otherwise such national-bolshevik activities can lead to continuing conflicts with many casualties. In consideration of this, the participants of the conference support the proposal to conduct a public trial of the Communist system and its organs of terror — analogous to the Nuremberg process and the judgement on Nazism.

The participants reject the so-called Union Treaty in any form whatsoever — any such treaty being an attempt to preserve the Soviet empire in a modified form. The participants support the right of all nationalities to refuse to serve in the armed forces of the USSR — in order that the representatives of one nationality cannot be used to suppress the struggle for freedom of other nationalities. The road to democracy — to the true freedom and independence of peoples — can be achieved through the formation of alternative movements

and representative bodies which are independent of the control of Soviet institutions.

During the conference, resolutions were passed on the occupational army, crimes committed by the USSR in Lithuania, the struggles against the preservation of the Soviet empire, political prisoners, the Chornobyl tragedy, support for the Tartar people's independence struggle, the status of the Crimea and the tragic events in Central Asia.

In addition, the delegations signed an appeal by "Warsaw-90" directed to the US President George Bush.

The next conference will be held in Tbilissi, Georgia, on February 23-25, 1991.

Signed by:

Estonian National Independence Party; Solidarity (Poland); Liberal-Democratic Independence Party (Poola); Lithuanian Freedom League; Latvian National Independence Movement; Council of Latvia; Latvian Environmental Protection Club; Byelorussian Popular Front; Byelorussian National-Democratic Party; Moldova Democratic Youth Organization; Tartar National Independence Party „Ittifak“; St. Illia Union of Justice (on the Congress platform) (Georgia); Georgian National Independence Party; Georgian National-Democratic Party; Georgian Democratic Party; Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly; Ukrainian National Party; Ukrainian Republican Party; Uzbekistan People's Movement "Birlik"; Crimean Tartar National Movement Organization (Crimea); Armenian National Self-Determination Union.

Maardu, Estonia, January 20, 1991

*USSR Subjugated Nations
National Freedom Movements
Coordination Council
9th Conference*

RESOLUTION No. 1

On the Occupation Forces

Proceeding from the following:

— that the "Soviet republics" within the Soviet empire were independent states, which had their own state institutions, and which lost their independence due to their occupation and annexation by, firstly Russia and then by the USSR;

— that the presence of the imperial army enables continuing aggression against the captive nations; and

— that the presence of the Soviet occupation forces is the main barrier to achieving full independence:

We consider that the removal of the afore-said occupation forces is the only acceptable solution for our peoples.

In order to achieve this goal;

1. each occupied state must recognize that the status of the Soviet army is that of an occupation force, and must publicly raise the issue of de-occupation, both in the USSR and internationally.

2. in order to accelerate the above-mentioned processes, there must be public encouragement, throughout the empire, to boycott conscription into the Soviet occupation forces — based on the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, where Article 51 forbids the occupying state from conscripting citizens of the occupied state into its armed forces.

The undersigned political organizations undertake to do all within their power to achieve these aims.

RESOLUTION No. 2 On Crimes Committed by the USSR in Lithuania

The Soviet leadership has committed yet another crime against humanity. This is the new act of aggression against the Lithuanian people, as a result of which approximately 500 people have already been killed, are wounded, or are missing.

We therefore declare:

that all Soviet army units should be completely and unconditionally withdrawn from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and other occupied countries;

that the responsibility for the aggression carried out in Lithuania lies completely with the leadership of the USSR, and that President Mikhail Gorbachov is directly responsible. An international tribunal must preside over them.

RESOLUTION No. 3 Against the Preservation of the Empire

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created by the criminal Communist Party. Throughout its existence the USSR has committed genocide against those peoples who were forced to join it, and has carried out aggressive foreign policies. Although this regime has killed tens of millions of people, it has yet to be punished for those crimes.

A referendum to decide the preservation of the USSR, which is carried out on the instigation and guidance of the criminal itself, is an illegal and immoral enterprise, no matter how it is monitored — for the captive nations and the international public — a regime which was born as a result of a coup d'etat, and which has been secured by ceaseless violence, including the method of occupying and annexing neighbouring countries.

We call upon the captive nations of the USSR not to sign the Union Treaty and not to partake in the referendum on the question of the preservation of the USSR, no matter who the actual organizers of the procedures may be.

In addition, we state that political treaties signed by Russia with those nations who have been forced to join the USSR would also lead to the actual preservation of the USSR. Until the power structures of the empire have been dismantled, we consider any participation in negotiations on any political union treaties whatsoever to be a betrayal of the interests of the subjugated nations.

BALTIC STATES PROTEST CSCE EXCLUSION

New York — The foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia protested their exclusion from the 34-nation summit meeting in Paris on November 21, declaring that the new world order would not be complete until the Soviet Union ceases its illegal occupation of the three Baltic states, reported the New York-based Lithuanian Information Center. "World War II has not ended for the Baltic states," said Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans, adding that he hoped the West would help the Soviet Union realize that the restoration of Baltic independence was inevitable. At a press conference organized by Iceland and Denmark, the foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania thanked the countries who have called on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to grant observer status to the Baltic republics, a proposal that has so far been vetoed by Moscow. Following the opening ceremony, the Baltic ministers were banned from even sitting in the conference hall because all CSCE decisions are based on consensus, and the Soviets objected to their presence. From Lithuania, President Vytautas Landsbergis expressed his disappointment over the move, stating that the CSCE member-status buckled to Soviet pressure.

Foreign Ministers Lennart Meri of Estonia, Algirdas Saudargas of Lithuania and Janis Jurkans of Latvia were invited to the summit as "distinguished guests" of the French government. In a statement issued from Paris, the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs appealed to the CSCE member-states to support the Baltic "quest for full membership."

Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Holy See, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Great Britain all voiced their support for the Baltic states at the Paris meeting.



This photograph shows the ruthlessness of the occupying army in Vilnius, where tanks drive over civilians.

CRIME WITHOUT PUNISHMENT

Since coming to power some six years ago, Mikhail Gorbachev has built his political reputation partly on revealing the shortcomings and even criminal acts of his predecessors. Almost self-praisingly he tells the captive nations of the Soviet Union and the communist hierarchy that communism has not been the panacea Marx and Lenin intended it to be. And, he adds, everyone before him had made numerous mistakes on the path to communism.

Furthermore, the crimes of the past are now publicly discussed. The Great Famine-Holocaust in Ukraine, the CheKa, OGPU, NKVD, KGB, Bykivnia and numerous other mass graves across Ukraine are paraded before the people less as a testimony the intrinsic evil of leninism-communism but more as a testimony to the self-righteousness of Gorbachev. Finally, after long years the people - the aging Mothers, Fathers, wives and children - can now fill in the blank pages of their family and national histories and cry over the decaying bones of what were once their loved ones. But is this where it ends? Should tears serve the interests of justice?

In a follow up to Marco Carynnyk's devastatingly powerful essay on mass graves in Ukraine, published in the October 1990 edition of Commentary, the editor's of the American Jewish Committee's monthly published Zbigniew Brzezinski's letter on this topic in the December edition. Brzezinski poignantly raises the issue that of all the mass murders and criminal against humanity, not one Soviet communist has been brought to justice.

"To this day, though we have been saturated with revelation after revelation of the monumental scale of Stalinist crimes, literally not one, not even one Stalinist murderer has been punished for Stalinist crimes anywhere by anyone," Brzezinski wrote.

Furthermore, "All of that raises the wider question of responsibility. The Nuremberg tribunal judged the Gestapo and the SS to have been criminal organizations. Is it not time to demand that the NKVD-KGB, and perhaps the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, be declared by the emerging democratic assemblies in the Soviet Union, with the concurrence of democratic public opinion worldwide, to have been criminal organizations?"

In his reply to Brzezinski, Carynnyk agreed and stated that some of the blame for a lack of prosecution rests with the so-called democratic organizations of the USSR, "who have invested so much energy in revealing the crimes of the 1930s and 1940s.

"The most articulate and outspoken members of the society, the artists, writers and journalists who have made the organization Memorial into a mass movement and have been revealing one mass grave after another, limit themselves to such symbolic gestures as proposing that monuments be erected and that Stalin's accomplice Lazar Kaganovych be brought to Bykivnia..."

Carynnyk also dramatically asks, "Is this refusal to think juridically, this willingness to be satisfied with symbols, a legacy of Stalin no less than the skulls beneath the pine trees? Has the party infiltrated the democratic movement so thoroughly that it can bend it to its will? Do the democrats not know how to make real demands because they have not been allowed, until

very recently, to participate in politics? Are people afraid to bring mass murderers to trial because they sense their own complicity in the erection and maintenance of the Stalinist system?"

Nazi and even Japanese war criminals have been hunted down and brought to justice. The Jewish nation does not allow the world to forget their 7 million dead during World War II at the hands of the Nazis and they have vowed to look for the last Nazi or Nazi collaborator on Earth and bring him or her to justice — in some cases with an a priori judgment.

We, too, must tell the world that Ukrainians suffered at least as much at the hands of Russian communists the likes of Yezhov, Kaganovych, Dzerzinsky, Beria and countless low-level flunkies. Like the Nazis, they, too, still walk among the living and must be brought to justice for their crimes against the Ukrainian nation, against humanity. Carynyk in his first article demonstrated that Ukraine is covered with Bykivnias, that in virtually every town or city there are mass graves in pine forests or in the cellars of former Soviet communist secret police headquarters.

Monuments and plaques can be erected to the memory of the dead so that future generations will know their history. But nowhere in the recorded history of civilization are there any examples of a society allowing murderers to live out their lives without being brought to justice for their crimes. Eye witnesses must come forward or recordbooks must be opened for international inspection to reveal the names of the criminals. And justice must be served by punishment.

Our children or their children will justifiably call us to task if we allow the communist murderers of their grandparents or great grandparents to live and die with impunity.

RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN

The month of January 1990 will live in history as one of the most tragic periods in the history of the people of Azerbaijan. On January 13, the central authorities organized a massacre of Armenians in Baku, in which 54 Armenians and 2 Azerbaijanis died. On the eve of the massacre, the local police was disarmed, and a detachment of the internal troops 12,000 men strong stood by and watched. On January 16, the situation was stabilized by none other than the National Front of Azerbaijan, and all Armenians were evacuated from the city. The people were demanding that the leadership which had been unable to control the situation be replaced. Over a week, the central authorities created, using Soviet and international media, an image of Azerior barbarians. On January 20, Baku was stormed by troops. The young, fledgling democracy of Azerbaijan — which would have taken power had the elections scheduled for March been held — was murdered. This was Mikhail Gorbachev's revenge on an innocent people that had dared to reject a Moscow puppet and a personal friend of his. The outcome was this: about 300 people killed, 400 missing, 1,000 wounded. Among the dead victims, whom Gorbachev has cavalierly labelled extremists, were a boy named Ilgar and a girl named Larisa, both 13 years old: a 90-year-old man; and a baby killed in its

mother's womb. The dead included Azerbaijanis, Russians, Tartars, Lezgins, Jews and other nationalities. And all this, to avert the victory of popular democracy over Communist dictatorship.

Now, we are in the second stage of this war being waged by the rulers on their people.

1. The Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, whose mandate had expired back in February, elected the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan to the post of the first President of Azerbaijan. The voting was completed in seven minutes, in a building surrounded by 70 tanks and armored personnel vehicles.

2. On June 26, the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan took just two and a half hours to debate all 25 items on its agenda, including some crucial laws (legislation on economic autonomy, on citizenship, etc.).

3. At the same session, without lifting the state of emergency, the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan passed legislation on elections to the Supreme Soviet and to local councils, and scheduled the election for September 2, 1990. Thus, there were only two months left for campaigning under martial law conditions.

4. Under the Law on Elections, every registered public organization has the right to run only one candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Given the possible antidemocratic atmosphere, the fact that during the state of emergency human rights are constantly being violated, and the serious danger of tampering with the election returns, we appeal to all democratic movements in the Soviet Union and in the world to send their observers and activists to the Azerbaijan SSR and thus, by a concerted effort, derail the attempt to keep the people of Azerbaijan in the Soviet empire for another five years.

(This Resolution was presented at the Conference on Democracy and Independence in Prague, July 4, 1990).

THE BYELORUSSIANS GET ORGANIZED ON A SUPRANATIONAL SCALE

The support given the world over to the Byelorussians' struggle for national revival is the subject of an interview with Valantsina Trykhubovich, who chairs the Front's foreign relations commission, published in *Naviny*, the paper of the Byelorussian Popular Front *Adradzhennye*, of June 14. Commenting on the foundation of the World Alliance of Byelorussians, on the initiative of writer Yaukhien Letsko, Mrs. Trykhubovich recalled the formulation used in the program drawn up by *Adradzhennye*: "In order to unify the national-cultural movement of Byelorussians and friends of the Byelorussian people in the whole world, the Byelorussian Popular Front proposes that an International Byelorussian Society be founded with a seat in Minsk."

Mrs. Trykhubovich recalled that much has to be done to restore the Byelorussian's national identity. "Today we can scarcely invite children from abroad to spend their summer holidays among Byelorussian-speaking children when there is practically no such community," she argued. "We lack the primers needed to teach our children as well as elementary school teachers.

*Dr. Serhij Holovatyj, Member of Parliament,
Commission on Foreign Affairs, Kyiv, Ukraine*

“THE PEACEFUL DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR AS A GUARANTEE OF SECURITY AND FREEDOM IN EUROPE“

“Franz Josef Strauss-Symposium“
Eleventh International Conference
on Policy and Strategy,
Munich, 20 November 1990

Mr. President!

Allow me to express my deep gratitude for giving Ukraine the honor to take part on the Eleventh International Conference on Policy and Strategy in Munich. It is especially important for us that representatives of the democratic opposition in the Ukrainian parliament are able to participate in such a conference. I am a member of the Commission on Foreign Affairs, having been elected to parliament as a candidate from the Popular Movement of

▶
What could we share with the visiting children, what could we show our compatriots from abroad? Khatyn (one of the villages burnt down by the Germans, together with its inhabitants, during World War II)? The monumental memorials and the empty shelves in the stores? Is this how a republic that was one of the founders of the United Nations looks like today, in reward for its war suffering?” Only a country sovereign in political, economic, and cultural terms can hope to unite its sons and daughters all over the world, said Mrs. Trykhubovich. “Chornobyl has become an ordeal. And it would be wrong to meet the world with but our Chornobyl disaster, because this would be humiliating for the nation.”

Mrs. Trykhubovich stressed the importance of grants that would allow young Byelorussians to study in the highly-developed countries and the older ones to get training in commerce and manufacturing there. In conclusion, she affirmed her attachment to the idea of the World Alliance of Byelorussians.

Also in June, scholars and writers from Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Lithuania, Russia, and the United States met in Warsaw to set up the International Society of Byelorussian Studies. The meeting was sponsored by the Slavonic Studies Committee of the Polish Academy of Science.

Bent upon promoting studies of Byelorussian culture, history, and language, the newly founded Society will have its seat in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. The meeting elected Adam Maldzis, a prominent Byelorussian historian of literature and writer, as president, and Thomas E. Bird, a scholar from the United States, as vice president for the Society.

The Society can be expected to assist the Byelorussians in their efforts to overcome their isolation from world culture, inflicted upon them by the chauvinist and domineering policies of their eastern neighbour. (cs)

Ukraine, or Rukh. Rukh accounts for some 20 percent of the seats in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet that was elected last March.

At the urging of opposition deputies, the newly-elected Ukrainian parliament addressed a statement to the people of Germany to congratulate them on their reunification into a single German state. The feelings of joy on that occasion are shared by the Ukrainian nation, which itself was divided for many decades and which only this year, thanks to the existence of a democratic opposition in parliament, began to take steps toward achieving the right of self-determination and independence.

At Rukh's initiative, on July 16 of this year our parliament adopted the "Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine," therewith proclaiming "the supremacy, independence, integrity and indivisibility of the power of the republic within its territory, and independence and equality in foreign relations."

Chapter X of the Declaration, which is devoted to international relations, states that "the Ukrainian SSR, as a subject of international law, conducts direct relations with other states, concludes agreements with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, and takes part in international organizations to the degree that is necessary to safeguard the republic's interests in the spheres of politics, economics, ecology, information, science, technology, culture and sports.

With this Declaration, Ukraine, which is still under a Communist regime as result of the Communist majority in parliament, ended its isolation and proclaimed its openness to the world around it. After its adoption, concrete steps were taken to establish direct bilateral interstate contacts. The President of Hungary and the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs were recently in Ukraine to sign accords for the establishment of consular and, in the future, dipomatic representation between Ukraine and their respective countries. In addition, Ukraine and Hungary agreed to work out a draft European charter for the rights on national minorities.

Thus, Ukraine began a new page in the history of its international relations and its place in the life of Europe.

Having proclaimed its right as a sovereign state to participate directly in overall European processes and European structures, Ukraine merely affirmed a right to which it has been entitled for decades. Ukraine, which took part in the elaboration of the Charter of the United Nations, is not only a member but one of the founders of this international organization. Ukraine was at the Paris Peace Conference in 1947. Ukraine is represented in the European Body of the United Nations and in UNESCO. Therefore, in keeping with international law and international practice, there are no obstacles to prevent Ukraine's direct participation in the Helsinki process. Moreover, the new architecture of Europe, about which Dr. Thomas Klestil spoke, is impossible without according due place to an independent Ukraine, a country at the geographic center of Europe.

But at the present time, many Western as well as Soviet politicians (as we heard yesterday in a speech by Dr. V. Sobakin) believe that the breakup of the Soviet Union will pose a threat to peace and security in Europe, and, possibly,

in the world at large. Guided by the imperial policy of frightening the Western countries, Dr. Sobakin stated that instead of one nuclear state — the USSR — there will be fifteen new ones. This was a genuine attempt to frighten the West and to persuade it not to recognize the independence of the Soviet republics, and especially that of Ukraine. In actual fact, the main threat to security in Europe emanates not from the struggle of Ukraine and the other republics for independence but from the determination of the central Soviet authorities to hinder progress toward liberty and democracy. Indeed, it is possible to argue that instability in the Soviet Union will be caused, in the majority of cases, by the suppression of movements for national independence. In addition, none of the European Soviet republics intends to maintain nuclear weapons. On the contrary, Ukraine, in its Declaration of Sovereignty, proclaimed its intention to become in future “a neutral state which does not participate in military alliances and which adheres to three non-nuclear principles not to accept, not to manufacture and not to spread nuclear arms” (Chapter IX). One can understand the West’s concern for its security. That is completely natural. But at the same time, it is not natural but amoral and illegal to wish to safeguard one’s own security at the expense of the rights of nations to self-determination and independence. Security in Europe is not possible without guarantees for the natural rights of peoples to freedom, that is to say, without guarantees for the third generation of human rights. The fact is that the USSR, in the form that Dr. Sobakin wishes to preserve it, is the only remaining totalitarian empire. The very existence of such an empire is the main threat to security and freedom in Europe. The constant tension in the USSR (which Dr. Sobakin calls “anarchy, mob rule, the collapse of authority, the outbreak of interethnic conflicts” - the alleged outcome, as he puts it, “of the best forms of Soviet democracy”) results from the suppression of the yearning nations for freedom and independence. By refusing to recognize the legitimacy of these movements, and by rejecting the right of Ukraine and the European Soviet republics to participate directly in the Helsinki process, the West is inflicting harm - above all, moral harm - not only on those nations but also on itself. In the final analysis, one must face the fact that a Ukraine without freedom is a source of potential danger to the freedom and security of Europe as a whole. The independence of Ukraine and the other European republics of the Soviet Union is a guarantee of security and freedom in Europe.

PARTNERS IN TYRANNY
THE NAZI-SOVIET NONAGGRESSION PACT
August 23, 1939

by JOHN KOLASKY

Published by The Mackenzie Institute, Suite 906, 100 Adelaide str.
West, Toronto, Ont M5H 1S3

THE ARCHAEOLOGIST OF TERROR

The old man shuffles human skulls and bones around the crude wooden table as if playing some macabre game. Rows of shelves erected in the courtyard of the imposing granite building are lined with hundreds of skulls, each with a neat hole marking the entry of the bullet that snuffed out its life.

Other tables are weighed down with piles of bones brown with age. Stacks of small coffins, like those for children, are loaded with other bones.

The man presiding over this disquieting scene in the west Ukrainian town of Drohobych is Yaroslav Lukich, who describes himself as an archaeologist of terror. His discoveries have outraged Ukrainians, spurring on the clamour for independence from the Soviet Union as the country's tragic history is unearthed along with the pitiful remains of thousands of victims of Stalinism.

Other mass graves are now being opened up, and Ukraine's pro-democracy movement, Rukh, is using the grim evidence as proof that communism was merely a cloak for Russian imperialism.



Yaroslav Lukich, who calls himself 'the archaeologist of terror' , with some of his grim finds

Drohobych was part of Poland until the Hitler-Stalin invasion in 1939 when western Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union. The NKVD, the KGB's predecessor, immediately set about rooting out any opposition; at the same time that they were murdering Polish army officers in the Katyn Forest, they were rounding up nationally conscious Ukrainians all over the country.

The building in Drohobych, 120 kilometres south-west of Lviv, is now a teacher training college. But between 1939 and 1941, when the Germans invaded, and then after the war, it was the NKVD headquarters.

It became the scene of massacres that the town's population has always known about but, until recently, never dared to discuss. Even three years ago, when workmen laying an electric cable near the building found themselves digging through piles of bones, the discovery was hushed up by the authorities.

Mr. Lukich, 60, a former political prisoner who spent 20 years in labour camps for "anti-Soviet propaganda", has made it his mission to excavate the remains of those who were killed there and buried in mass graves around and under the building. He and volunteer helpers began the excavations last month; they have already found the remains of 450 victims, and believe that thousands more are buried nearby.

Mr. Lukich, whose brother was a victim of the massacres in 1945, said that most of the bones exhumed were those of young men and women. Skeletons of children had also been found. He said:

"They were shot with small-calibre pistols, .445-bore lead bullets with no metal cladding, specially designed for executions. But many of the dead were literally butchered to death. We found one place where there were 17 skulls but no bones. Other bones show that they were hacked off with a cleaver. These were not just executions, they were sadism. The NKVD enjoyed themselves in their factory of death."

Using architects' plans of the building, Mr. Lukich has uncovered a hidden cellar where a 32-metre deep shaft is filled with the charred remains of human bodies. "It is like the remains you would find in a crematorium. It is impossible to calculate how many people — hundreds or thousands — ended up there."

The tables and shelves erected under a makeshift raf, like of a gardener's potting shed, where Mr. Lukich carries out his grim work, have been turned into a temporary shrine for the victims. Flowers and candles are left by people who silently file past the remains. On November 1, when most of the population commemorated the 72nd anniversary of the short-lived Western Ukrainian National Republic, priests celebrated a mass at the death site. Early next year the remains will be reburied in the town's cemetery in a funeral service conducted by priests from the newly legalised Ukrainian Greek Catholic church.

Many of the older visitors sob as they peer at the skulls or examine the piles of boots, spectacles and shreds of clothing dug out of the graves. Some are residents of the town; others are from the surrounding villages that fell within the Drohobych NKVD's zone of operations. Many are too young to have been alive at the time of the massacres but some older people have come because their loved ones are among the dead.

Maria Malinowska, aged 94, cried as she described the night in May 1941 when the NKVD came for her only brother. She said: „Ther were four of them. They did not say why they were taking him away. He was a teacher and a Ukrainian and that seemed enough reason. The next day I came here to the prison but the guards would not let me in. Local people said that nobody who was taken into the building ever came out. There was the noise of gunfire inside at all hours of the day and night.“

Maria Malinowska said that after the Germans occupied the area they uncovered some mass graves, and she and hundreds of other grieving relatives tried to identify their loved ones. “I couldn’t find him in the graves, there was no trace of him. My final hope is that he is one of these poor people,” she said, motioning at the skulls. “Everything leads here.“

Mr. Lukich and his group all belong to Rukh, the Ukrainian independence movement, whose elected members control most of western Ukraine. They are trying to discover the names of the NKVD officers who commanded the execution parties and, if they are still alive, to bring them to court.

The exhumations at Drohobych have led to similar grim exhumations at dozens of other sites around the Ukraine where local people have broken five decades of silence to point out mass graves. The largest revealed so far is at the village of Bykivnia, near Kyiv, Ukraine’s capital.

Some historians have estimated that up to 300,000 victims of Stalin’s terror in the 1930s are buried there.

Excavations on a smaller scale are taking place in numerous villages across the country where smaller groups — several dozen teachers, priests, artists and journalists, killed by the NKVD, are being reburied.

The numbers of those killed will probably never be known, since attempts to study contemporary files are consistently stonewalled. Historians believe that more than one million western Ukrainians were liquidated between 1939 and 1941 and between seven and eight million Ukrainians in the east of the country are thought to have died in a forced famine at the beginning of the thirties.

Mr. Lukich said: “We are doing this to honour those people who were killed because they were Ukrainian. We want the world to know about the crimes which Stalin committed against the Ukraine and to show our young people that the only guarantee against such horror happening again is our independence.“

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THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COMMUNISTS

A. The system of Communism is the system of the KGB

1. It is a generally recognized fact that the reforms in the Communist countries, the democratization and the turn to a market economy, have been planned, initiated, carried out and directed by the Communist leadership. Flora Lewis, *International Herald Tribune*, July 1988: "...it is a revolution from the top down, trying to use the existing power structure to change the way power functions." Philip Taubman, *International Herald Tribune*, October 3, 1988: "Mr. Gorbachev's effort to remake the system has, from the start, been a revolution imposed and directed from the top."

2. In this democratization and turn to a market economy, the importance of the men in the front of the Communist system has been overestimated, especially that of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The perestroika, the glasnost, the democratization and the turn to a market economy were not invented by Mikhail Gorbachev. They were invented by the KGB and the KGB chief Yuri Andropov who also chose the personnel for the reforms. Serge Schmemmann, *International Herald Tribune*, February 25, 1986: "Mr. Gorbachev was assisted, too, by the ground-work laid by his mentor, Yuri V. Andropov. In Andropov's 15-month tenure as Soviet leader, the long-time KGB chief brought together the core of the new team—including Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Ligachev, Mr. Ryzhkov, Vitali I. Vorotnikov, who had been exiled as ambassador to Cuba by Brezhnev, and Viktor M. Chebrikov, now head of the KGB. Thus, instead of having to start his reign by sharing power with leftovers from the old regime, Mr. Gorbachev took office with a team already in place."

3. In a Communist country, the real power rests with the State Security, the secret political police, the KGB, the secret Communist elite.

The State Security, the KGB, has its members and associates everywhere. It infiltrates every group and organization. It dominates the political life, the media, the finances and the economy, the judiciary, the culture, the foreign service, the visible police, all intelligence services, all jobs and positions generally, the armed forces (there have always been political commissars in the Red Army controlling the soldiers and officers), simply everything and everyone. Typical is the pervasive use of agents-informers and agents-provocateurs at all occasions.

There can be no basic objections to calling, for all practical purposes, and in most cases, the entire secret Communist elite in the Communist countries, also outside of the Soviet Union, simply by the name "KGB".

The rank-and-file visible simple Communists can be called the "peppones" (see the movie "Don Camillo and Peppone"). They are mere pawns.

Members of the elite very seldom take over the visible front positions. From the ranks of the peppones or even the non-Communists, the Communist elite, the KGB, chooses and installs the front-men. This is an important term, indispensable when we are describing the Communist system.

Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolai Ryzhkov, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, Boris N. Yeltsin or Yegor Ligachev can be designated as front-men. They can be substituted by others with a relative ease, without any danger for the system. The KGB has created and supported Mikhail Gorbachev from the very beginning.

Anders Aslund, *The Washington Post, IHT*, January 31, 1990: "The only branch of the administration that really seems to support Mr. Gorbachev is the new KGB leadership..."

The support by this "only" branch, of course, is fully sufficient for the success of any Communist official. The KGB organizes everything for Mr. Gorbachev, including the votes in various bodies. It organizes and directs both the adherents of Mr. Gorbachev as well as his rivals and opponents (including Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Ligachev). It arranges a perfect theater show for the public.

The KGB can have front-men at its own visible front, too. The KGB even makes "revelations" about the KGB itself in order to make it look innocent and harmless. Any statement that the KGB is a tool of the Communist Party, of course, turns the facts upside down. In reality it is the Communist Party which is a tool of the KGB. If you know the many simple members of the Communist Party, the "peppones", or those who are members out of opportunism or fear, all of whom must be directed and led, you can easily understand it. Instead of praising Mikhail Gorbachev, the West should really praise the KGB as the reformer of Communism. Instead of proclaiming "Help Gorbachev", "Save Gorbachev" etc., the West should state "Help the KGB", "Save the KGB."

B. The revolutions against the communists were gentle "velvet revolutions"

4. Because it was the Communist elite itself which organized the revolution against Communism, against its own visible system, this revolution had to remain gentle, a "velvet revolution", without violence against the Communists, without fight, persecutions, revenge and punishments.

Only casually some less important Communist leaders (front-men) have been arrested, and only those Communists who had not followed the line and the orders of the Communist elite, who had deviated from the KGB line, were really thrown out and even executed, like in Romania. Most others found a velvet refuge, pensions, etc., or new positions.

5. The revolutions against Communism showed a pretty similar or identical pattern in all countries in which the Communist elite, the KGB, has had the power.

6. The Communist elite ordered the Red Army not to interfere with the revolutions and the Communist militia and cadres to stay still. This was the absolutely basic precondition for all the revolutions.

7. But even then, the non-Communists remained wary and did not want to burn their fingers again. So they had to be encouraged (provoked) to revolt.

The Czech newspaper *Ceske Slovo*, Munich, No. 6 of June 1990, reports about a TV documentation made by John Simpson, diplomatic corres-

ponent of the BBC. John Simpson published himself an article about his findings in the *London Times* on May 30, 1990. Here is the summary of his statement:

At the end of 1988, a group of prominent Czecho-Slovak Communist functionaries, in a secret meeting with General Alois Lorenc, the chief of the Czecho-Slovak State Security, concluded that the Czecho-Slovak Communist leadership of Miloš Jakeš had no public support and would not last long. The Communist Party had to make an arrangement with the opposition.

General Lorenc devised a plan to bring about the suppression of an expected demonstration on November 17, 1989 by the uniformed police. State Security Lieutenant Luděk Živčák, acting as an agent-provocateur, led the demonstrators, posing as one of them, into the police trap. There were many injuries, and Lieutenant Živčák pretended to be killed — he was brought away as dead by an unknown ambulance.

The news about the one dead demonstrator spread out quickly. An anonymous woman informed the opposition movement Charter 77 that the dead man was a student, Martin Smid. This information was given by the dissidents to the BBC and the Voice of America. (In reality, nobody was killed).

In this way, the fury of the tens of thousands of people was instigated. The demonstrations grew in intensity daily, and Jakeš was forced to resign. The “velvet revolution“ was carried out.

The commission of the Czecho-Slovak Parliament which investigated the November 17, 1989 events found that in the night of November 17, General Lorenc dined secretly with General Teslenko, the chief of the Soviet KGB in Prague, and the vice chairman of the entire KGB, General Viktor Gruchenko, who had arrived in Prague from Moscow three days earlier. During the dinner, they led 25 telephone calls. Lorenc and Gruchenko then left for the State Security headquarters. Gruchenko returned to Moscow the next day.

C. The communists remain in important positions

8. The Communist elite, and the Communist leaders generally, have done everything in order to remain active and exert political, economic, journalistic, cultural and other influence in the newly democratized countries.

The position of the Soviet Union itself is still highly recognized and respected in the Eastern Bloc countries (as well as everywhere else).

John Lewis Gaddis, *The New York Times*, *IHT*, March 24-25, 1990: “And it was the Russians who encouraged (and in some cases perhaps even helped to engineer) the revolution of 1989. Those who benefited from them might well consider their freedom, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops, to be a fair trade for a continuing Soviet role as titular head of a restructured Warsaw Pact.”

9. Members of the Communist elite in the democratized countries have continued to hold economic power, but also other positions, in the political system, journalism, culture and everywhere else.

Stephen Engelberg, *New York Times Service*, *IHT*, July 20, 1990, pictures

the situation in Poland and writes: "Tales like this one have convinced a lot of people in Poland that the Communists they hold responsible for impoverishing the country are now reaping the biggest profits from the transition to a market economy."

"The situation has aroused antagonisms similar to those in other East European countries, where technocrats who had thrived under the old system have retained decision-making roles."

"Under 45 years of Communist rule, nearly all the businesses in Poland — from steel mills to corner groceries — were in the hands of the state-run companies."

"The managers of the businesses were typically members of the Communist Party, and they enjoyed luxuries and privileges that were available to few Poles."

"The fear now is that the same managers have an unfair head start in the race to become capitalists, either through outright theft of state assets or by taking advantage of their inside knowledge of the previous system."

Craig R. Whitney, *New York Times Service, IHT*, July 12, 1990: "A New Germany With Same Old Bosses." "With privatization in full swing in East Germany, thousands of workers and employees are discovering that sometimes their new capitalist bosses and their old Communist bosses are identical."

"Thousands of enterprises run under state ownership during 40 years of communism are being put into private hands all over Eastern Europe, and everywhere, the Communists who used to run them seem to find the complex procedures easier to understand, and take advantage of, than most of the people to whom they used to give orders." Mr. Whitney then gives some names as examples.

Clear complaints were made by West German politicians in the Bundestag debate on August 9, 1990, concerning the fact that former Communist functionaries still keep positions and contribute to the present economic difficulties of East Germany.

The Eastern part of Germany is in a preferential position, but the designs of the democratized Communists there have been the same as everywhere else.

The daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich*, September 28, 1990, quotes the report of Joachim Gauck, chairman of the Special Committee of the East German parliament, who, on September 27, 1990, declared that it was possible to find and remove only a half of the State Security officers who had infiltrated the central positions of the political life, the administration, the economy and the whole general society. On the crucial field of economy, Mr. Gauck stated: "Especially the penetration of the economy by the 'Officers in Special Mission' has hardly been taken notice of at all."

Zoltan Makra, *Freie Presse-Korrespondenz, Munich, No. 1*, 1990, says about Hungary: "Members of the former nomenklatura saved and transferred their political might over into the economy, they were placed at the head of capital-strong firms, economic institutions or enterprises. In this way, previous top Communists became capitalist entrepreneurs!" William Pfaff, *Los Angeles Times Syndicate, IHT*, February 3-4, 1990: "In Hungary, since

privatizations began, it has been a common joke how the new private banks and shops have directors or board members who are the brothers, sisters, in-laws or cousins of Communist officials.“

Jim Hoagland, *The Washington Post, IHT*, July 27, 1989, about a new cooperative restaurant in Moscow: “My friend’s jaw dropped when we walked in and were greeted by the manager — a former employee of his embassy who was known to have been on the KGB payroll at the same time. A Western correspondent stationed in Moscow told me later that this was not an isolated case, that people identified with the KGB seem to be prominent in other ‘market-oriented’ enterprises.“ *Ceske Slovo*, Munich, No. 9 of September 1990, publishes a declaration made by Dr. František Pavlček, general director of the Czecho-Slovak Broadcasting Agency, on September 4, 1990, and addressed to President Václav Havel. Dr. Pavlček spoke about “the feeling of a general danger,“ and said a.o.: “The fact that the article about the leading role of the Communist Party was cancelled in our Constitution does not mean practically too much. As long as this Party and its allies have their organizations, both the known ones and the secret ones, as long as its prominent figures of yesterday, the traitors, tyrans, agents of a foreign power and thieves of the state and national property, free and without being condemned, still enjoy many unjust advantages which they had won at our expense, as long as its functionaries — both those avowed ones and those secret ones — keep many key positions and are, under the most various pseudonyms, founding economic corporations at home and abroad, as long as this Party owns a huge property which has only partly been made evident and is controlled merely in dubious ways, so long as it remains de facto the leading power, and we, in reality being encircled by it, are not able to change this today... any more.“

In the last months, reports of this kind have become very numerous. They include e. g. statements by the Czecho-Slovak President Václav Havel (*České Slovo*, Munich, No. 10 of October 1990 quotes his words: “Powerful structures of the former regime continue to exist and be active... In numerous communities, the same persons are ruling who had ruled there before. They are interconnected with leading officials of the economic enterprises... The mafias of the mammoth economic enterprises are busily trading...“), or the findings in Germany about how the German Communists have secured huge funds (billions of German marks) for their future activities in a united Germany by means of refined capitalist transactions.

The members of the Communist elite (secretly operating, as always before, also now in democracy) have become first-class capitalists and democrats without the slightest difficulty. They obviously have the slogan: “Democracy is the continuation of Communism with other means.“ Stephen Engelberg, *New York Times Service, IHT*, November 2, 1990: “Jerzy Urban, the former spokesman for the Communist government who warded off a generation of reporters with his cynical wit and acid tongue, is Poland’s newest capitalist success story.“

“Mr. Urban is taking full advantage of the new laws here establishing a free press. His book lampooning the country’s leading cultural

and political figures, 'Urban's Alphabet,' has sold nearly 600,000 copies and earned its author \$80,000 in profits so far."

"And the satiric weekly he founded is already one of the best-selling publications in Poland, doubling its press run to 200,000 after only a few weeks on the newsstands."

"I like capitalism a lot, said Mr. Urban, who now wears well-tailored pin-striped suits. "When I was in the government, I was never so rich and I never had the chance to play such a fascinating game as I do now."

D. For some peoples communism is indigenous

10. Not all Communist countries and nations (nationalities, ethnic groups) can easily become non-Communist. To some of them, Communism is indigenous.

Everybody knows the difference between the mainland Chinese and the Japanese. (A remark in passing: Communism of the Chinese type is different from the Soviet type — therefore America treats the Chinese correctly in a different way.)

There are many cases of indigenous Communism: Let us think of Cuba, the Sandinistas, the Communists in Afganistan and elsewhere. In some countries in which the KGB has had the power, it has great difficulties to introduce democratization and the free market. Above all, there is the case of the Russians. It is not a mere coincidence that Russia (and not e. g. Germany or England) has been the birthplace and motherland of Communism. There are numerous testimonies about the Russian resistance to a free economy:

Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post Service, IHT*, July 9, 1990: "People are prepared to put up with not living well, as long as their neighbor does not live any better," Mr. Bozhko said. "The fact that he works harder does not make any difference. When people see someone earn more money than they do, they start getting envious."

"The debate at this month's Communist Party congress in Moscow suggests that private property is still ultimate ideological taboo."

Bill Keller, *New York Times Service, IHT*, March 3-4, 1990: "But last year, private businessmen came under attack from the economic establishment, which did not relish the challenge from the new private sector, and from the public, bred on seven decades of egalitarian ideology and now resentful of the stylishly dressed new entrepreneurial class and its high-priced establishments."

Bill Keller, *New York Times Service, IHT*, February 9, 1990: "Soviet Party May Prove To Have Staying Power." "But for several reasons, the Soviet Party seems likely to prove more tenacious than its offspring in Eastern Europe. It has deeper roots, faces a fractured opposition and enjoys the strategic prowess of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev."

"The roots of Soviet communism run into the national psychology and the system of power."

"Bolshevism was indigenous..."

Robert J. Samuelson, *The Washington Post, IHT*, November 17, 1989: "In one recent Soviet poll, 40 percent of the respondents preferred a 'return to a strong hand' and only 25 percent wanted free markets."

Bill Keller, *New York Times Service, IHT*, November 6, 1989: "The survey found that more than 90 percent consider the economic situation in the country bad or critical and most say they expect no improvements for at least 10 years, if ever."

"...price decontrols, worker-owned factories and even private property..."

"But the poll shows that these new notions are up against a deeply ingrained feeling of dependency on central government and a powerful distaste for letting some get richer than others."

"Mr. Rutgeizer said that the prescription for the future chosen by those surveyed could be grouped roughly into four categories. The largest group, about 40 percent, crave the return of a strong hand. About 25 percent believe that the country should move toward free markets. Another 20 percent want the government to keep everyone at roughly an equal level. And the remaining 15 percent see the key to recovery as help from the West."

"At the same time, the poll indicates that most Soviet citizens instinctively look to the government to protect them from the mercy of the marketplace."

"The poll graphically displayed the bitter resentment felt toward those who have become more affluent under the economic experiments of the Gorbachev years — especially cooperatives, as private, group-owned enterprises are called."

"Mr. Rutgeizer said that the antagonism toward cooperatives had doubled since a similar poll a year earlier, reflecting a concerted campaign to portray the people involved in those ventures as money-grubbers and fast-buck artists — a campaign led, most recently, by the trade unions."

Bill Keller, *New York Times Service, IHT*, July 27, 1989: "Along with soap rations and winter shoes, night bonuses and greater political power, many of the miners called for abolishing or sharply curtailing the freewheeling private entrepreneurs who have amassed wealth and huge resentment under the new economic order that Mr. Gorbachev is trying to build."

"Moreover, public opinion polls — and the bitter envy directed at the flourishing private sector — indicate that most workers believe that the state has an obligation to prevent some citizens from prospering while others fall behind."

"Mr. Gorbachev has assailed this traditional 'wage-leveling' instinct as an impediment to the most productive workers, but the instinct is deeply ingrained in the Soviet workers who are now finding their political voice."

Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post Service, IHT*, September 27, 1989: "A deputy from a Urals region, Veniamin Yarin, said that the government was 'legalizing the plunder of the working class.'"

"One of the most common demands of the strike committees formed in Siberia and Ukraine was for the closure of cooperates dealing in trade or catering."

E. The Reasons for the Democratization

11. Why has the Communist elite ordered the democratization and the turn to a market economy in the Communist countries? And why has it tried to enforce it even against the resistance of the “peppones“?

The answer is short and clear.

The elite is trying to end the economic, the scientific and ecological backwardness and misery of the Communist countries which has led them into ruins and would end in a catastrophe. Socialism in Communist countries has failed in a way which its adversaries would have never been able to imagine before.

12. The Communists now demand and will demand much more economic assistance from the Free World.

The question is whether some nations are able to earn their living at all, to work, to organize their economic and other activities, to sustain themselves by their own work. In fact, it looks like that there are nations, unable to feed themselves alone, nations which will forever depend on the foreign aid.

The Soviet Union expects considerable economic aid from Germany, the United States, the European Community and other free countries. And even small countries with their own economic difficulties must support the Soviet Union.

Radio Prague, IS, July 25, 1990, 15.02 GMT, reported that Czecho-Slovakia had given a 2 billion ruble credit to the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet debt in Czecho-Slovakia will increase by further 500 million rubles at the end of 1990. “After all, also President Václav Havel clearly said in the American Congress: If the USA wants to help Czechoslovakia, it should help above all the Soviet Union...”

We hear the warnings.

Judy Shelton: *The New York Times*, *IHT*, July 6, 1990: “We don’t want 280 million wards feeding indefinitely off the West.”

“Look at the mechanics of the proposed deal: Assuming the sought-after financial credits are made available, what happens to the billions of dollars’ worth of Western food and consumer goods shipped to the Soviet Union? It gets eaten and otherwise used up. Gone.”

“And next year? Do we change our mind and decide to let the Soviet Population starve? We don’t want that to happen, but we also don’t want 280 million permanent wards feeding off the West.”

In addition, the Communist organization itself draws great financial profits from the Western help. Ms. Shelton says: “Unless Western benefactors plan to drop the consumer goods from helicopters, or insist that the Soviet government distribute the goods gratis, Moscow will reap colossal paper profits as the exclusive agent on billions of dollars’ worth of Western imports. The Kremlin could plug the gaping hole in its budget without cutting a ruble from military spending.”

“The West’s limited financial resources should not perpetuate the Soviet state apparatus.”

13. The great military strength of the Free World was an important factor

contributing to the Communist capitulation — above all it was the strength of the United States. It gave the Soviets and the Communists generally no alternative to a capitulation.

The Free World will have to keep a strong defense also in the future. The Red Army will namely certainly continue to be the Soviet instrument for making a living, obviously the main or even the only instrument, and it is necessary to have a Free World counterpart for protection.

The American president correctly demanded from Moscow, beside the change of its economic system, the reduction of the Soviet armed forces before the USA would give economic aid to the Soviet Union.

14. The saving of the economy in the Communist states and the expected economic aid from the West is the main reason for the Communist democratization.

Yet there can be some further additional reasons for it which we quote in the following as the dangers for the Free World.

F. The Dangers for the Free World Deriving from the Free Exchange of Capital, People and Ideas with the Communists

15. The new opening of the Communist world toward the West conceals also some additional dangers for the free peoples.

The first danger comes from the possibility that some of the Western investors in the East are not private entrepreneurs of the true American, West European or Japanese type, free economists like Henry Ford I was, but rather “economists“ like the insider traders, economic conspirators, junk-bond dealers, speculators, failed bankers, experts in leveraged buyouts, S&L adventures and the like.

In the Czech newspaper *Narodni Politika*, Munich, No. 4, April 1990, Prof. Dr. Milan Zelený of the Fordham University in New York, an American expert on this issue who holds many lectures on the subject, warns of this danger.

“Is it possible to permit that this whole era of greediness would start just now in Central Europe?“

He gives names of men from the West of dubious standard who came recently to the Eastern and Central European Communist countries and became economic advisers to the new democratized governments there, and he urges the Eastern and Central European politicians not to consider the decadent achievements of these speculators to be a progress.

There are obviously already joint ventures consisting of dubious, economically and morally inferior partners. The KGB itself admits and criticizes some less important, marginal negative side-effects of the activities of some private enterprises with foreign participation.

Reuters, IHT, October 23, 1990, reports: “The KGB chief, Vladimir A. Kryuchkov, said Monday that organized crime in the Soviet Union was booming with the help of foreign-backed private companies.“ He spoke about “organized bands operating across frontiers.“

“Private enterprises set up with foreign backing... had become a front for large-scale crime, he said...”

“Interior Ministry officials say raids on some private companies have yielded vast hauls of contraband goods, guns, flak jackets and explosives.”

Reuters quotes Kryuchkov: “Organized crime has assumed a scale we could never have expected a couple of years ago, he said at a news conference. Brutality, violence and sadism have become widespread.”

The situation representing the hidden real principal threat is, of course, much more serious. And it has been protected, authorized and created by the KGB.

Indeed, there could be the danger that anonymous insider trading cooperation of the kind of joint ventures, and very much beyond, could arise and become powerful, pushing the real representatives of the free economy out of business and existence and taking over the wealth of the entire world.

16. The second danger is the new open population migration between the Free World and the Soviet world.

It could, as it continues and grows in its size, change and end not only the good working, structures, organizations, finances, industry and economy in the prosperous countries but also their ethnic composition, culture, morale, ideals, their political systems and their way of life because, in a democracy, the majority rules. (The danger is, of course, considerably greater. From the Communist history we know that a determined minority can dominate the majority of others.)

In this connection is of interest a report of the *German Press Agency, Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, of June 16-17, 1990, declaring that Moscow reckons with the emigration of Soviet citizens.

“The Soviet Labor Minister, Vladimir Cherbakov, expects that after the passing of a law concerning the free emigration which is planned for Autumn, two to three million Soviet citizens could seek work in the West. It is therefore necessary that the labor ministers from the East and West come together in order to discuss the problem which will arise from the employment of Eastern employees.”

According to Reuters, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, August 30, 1990, up to 8 million Soviet citizens will travel abroad yearly after the passage of the new law.

William Drozdiak, *Washington Post Service, IHT*, October 23, 1990 writes: “Western Europe, already in the throes of the largest European migration since World War II, is expected to be flooded with millions more immigrants in the next two years because of deepening economic crises in North Africa and Eastern Europe, and Western governments are worried that the influx may exacerbate social unrest and overwhelm welfare programs.”

“Many of the migrants may come from the Soviet Union, where exit visa requirements will soon be abolished.” Mr. Drozdiak speaks of “fears that jobs, medical and welfare benefits and even cultural identity may be jeopardized” and of “the volatile social climate that often arises when foreign minorities grow large enough to challenge the dominance of the indigenous population.”

17. And there is the third danger caused by the opening between the East

and the West. It is the Communist espionage, especially also the economic espionage, now possible much more than before.

Anders Aslund, *The Washington Post, IHT*, January 31, 1990, speaks about "...the new KGB leadership, drawn heavily from the foreign espionage wing of the KGB. Little surprise that no reduction in such activities has been noticed."

Jim Hoagland, *The Washington Post, IHT*, describes recent cases of revealed Soviet espionage.

"In the mirror world of espionage, every silver lining has a cloud." The KGB is being transformed "...into a more professional and sophisticated outfit for spying abroad."

"'They have not changed the way they do business at all, glasnost or not glasnost', a British official says of Soviet operatives abroad."

"Perestroika and espionage are not mutually exclusive." The KGB is now concentrating "...on bagging Western secrets."

"A kinder and gentler KGB at home does not mean a less dangerous adversary in the continuing East-West spy wars."

Beside the espionage, this third danger includes also the possibility of an international journalistic cooperation of the "democratic Communists."

18. Thus we see the dangers of the Communist democratization for the Free World. This democratization will burden the Free World with the continuing huge financial and economic aid to the Soviet Union and other (formerly) Communist countries, and, as an irony, will bring about enormous perils stemming from the democratic demands of a free flow of capital, people and ideas. The opening to the Communists and the joining with them as partners brings in this way clearly defined lethal dangers for all free men and nations.

And so apprehensions must be voiced that the Communist policies, which had destroyed the freedom and economic life in the Communist countries in the past in a very rough way, could in the future after a certain time destroy, in a democratic way and in a more subtle way, this time however definitely and for good, the freedom and the economic life in the entire world.

G. The Reality

19. We must not overestimate too much the democratization and the new gentleness of the KGB in the interior political life. The system remains the same. The KGB still keeps everything in its iron hands — only in a more kinder, gentler way, in a more democratic way.

A typical example is the case of the Soviet censorship.

Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post Service, IHT*, August 2, 1990: "Censorship was officially abolished in the Soviet Union under a liberal press law that came into force Wednesday, granting any group of Soviet citizens the right to found their own newspaper."

"As Soviet journalists hailed the dawning of a 'new day of freedom,' the erstwhile censors were busy changing the signs of their doors to reflect their new status as 'media consultants.'"

They have traded in their old rubber stamps with the laconic word 'Permitted' for new rubber stamps that say 'No state secrets divulged.' "

"For an agreed fee the erstwhile censors will advise editors on the kind of article that could get them into trouble."

"Beginning Wednesday, many of the same people will continue to occupy the same offices."

20. Let us return to the Communist foreign policy. In the previous chapters we described the dangers for the free peoples coming from the change of the Communism into the democratic Communism to which the Free World opens itself voluntarily, and against which, at least at present, it seems to be defenseless.

After the economic system of Communism has absolutely broken down, some people in the West have succumbed to illusions about the Soviet Union. They see in it now a failed, poor, weak former adversary (the Soviet propaganda pictures every weakness of the USSR), a country which has given up the aggression and expansion, a repenting defeated former enemy who deserves pity and help, a new grateful friend, a reliable partner, a real new ally. The facts indicate something different. They are visible a. g. in the Iraq crisis.

The Iraq crisis means a great economic profit for the Soviet Union and, at the same time, heavy blows against the Western economy and thus against the government of George Bush, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl, against the Arabs, Japan and others. Both the economic and political consequences of the Iraq crisis are in the Communist interest. Of course, also in the Iraq case, the No. 1 Communist aim could possibly have been the removal of George Bush (and Dan Quale) from the White House.

It was the Soviet Union which enabled the military expansion by Saddam Hussein. The Soviet Union (the democratic Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev) armed Iraq — and, what is important, after the end of the Iran-Iraq war it did so at double the levels typical of the war years.

Let us hear the testimonies concerning the Iraq crisis:

Peter Schweitzer, *The New York Times*, *IHT*, August 23, 1990: "The Soviet Union stands to benefit from the Middle East crisis. With 80 percent of its hard currency earnings coming from oil exports, every \$ 1 increase of the price of oil pumps in an additional \$ 2 billion in desperately needed hard currency. Assuming that the oil price stays in the \$ 28 range for the coming year, this Middle East crisis already promises the Soviet economy an extra \$ 20 billion this year."

TASS, Moscow, August 13, 1990: "The Ministry of Defence reported that 'with the aim to complete the agreements between the governments, a small group of Soviet military experts continues to stay in Iraq working mainly in repair factories, training centers and on construction sites.'"

Reuters, *IHT*, August 24, 1990, reports that at present (August 24, 1990), there are still 9,000 Soviet citizens in Iraq (compared e.g. to the 270 French citizens).

Barry James, *International Herald Tribune*, August 23, 1990: "...many of the Soviets are still stationed in Iraq, even though Moscow has otherwise cut off trade with Baghdad in compliance with the United Nation resolution."

“France, which also has supplied large quantities of military equipment to Iraq, no longer has military technicians in that country...”

International Herald Tribune, August 24, 1990: “The Bush administration is concerned that the Soviet Union is still providing military advisers to Iraq...”

“...the administration officials are suspicious of Soviet claims that advisers are kept at a distance and are engaged only in training.”

Peter Schweizer, *The New York Times*, *IHT*, August 23, 1990: “What Are Those Soviet Military Advisers Still Doing in Baghdad?”

“Before the West canonized the Soviet Union for its condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, its arms embargo and its willingness to join a United Nations-endorsed naval blockade, a simple fact should be considered: The Soviet Union almost certainly knew ahead of time that the Iraqis would invade Kuwait”

“Several senior Soviet officers are reported to be members of the closest circle of military advisers to Saddam Hussein. A U.S. intelligence official who studies the KGB says that its agents “have penetrated every aspect of Iraqi government life to the highest levels”.

“Sources in the US Defense Intelligence Agency say that it would have been virtually impossible for Saddam Hussein to launch his invasion of Kuwait without the technical and operational knowledge of Soviet military advisers.”

During the Iran-Iraq war, Soviet advisers had a critical part in all aspects of the Iraqi military effort...”

Mr. Schweizer mentions the “secretive visit” to Baghdad by the new senior military adviser to the Iraqi government, Colonel-General Albert M. Makashov, on July 17, 1990. The Soviet general held private meetings with the Iraqi foreign minister.

“Soviet arms sales to Iraq in the six months before the invasion were running at double the levels typical of the 1980s.”

“Iraq’s arsenal of Soviet equipment would not survive long without Soviet technical personnel. Soviet aircraft make up 11 of the 17 squadrons of the air force; 4,000 of Iraq’s 5,500 tanks are Soviet-made. These systems are largely maintained by Soviet technical personnel.”

On the number of the Soviet advisers, the Soviet Communists have given various information showing the efforts to conceal the reality.

Thus, according to Joseph Fitchett, *International Herald Tribune*, September 10, 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of some 150 Soviet advisers in Iraq in September 1990. *The International Herald Tribune* of October 29, 1990, wrote: “Mr. Primakov... His visit to Baghdad earlier this month resulted in Mr. Hussein’s decision to free 5,000 Soviet citizens in Iraq. “*The Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, October 30, 1990, wrote about Primakov: “In Baghdad, he had achieved the freeing of all Soviet economic advisers.”

Of course, in order to seem to be just a little plausible, it was high time for the Soviets to pretend that their citizens in Iraq have been hostages like e.g. the Americans, and not the friends, sponsors and supporters of Iraq and Saddam Hussein as they really have been.

WHAT UKRAINIANS WANT

The following commentary by Ira Straus, Executive Director of the Washington-based Association To Unite The Democracies, appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on November 28: The main Ukrainian opposition movement, RUKH, called at its Oct. 28 Congress for complete independence from Russia. RUKH already controls a third of the Ukrainian Parliament and is likely to gain a majority if free elections are held as promised. The breakup of the Soviet Union has lurched another huge step forward.

However, Ukrainians mean something very different by “independence” than the stand-alone nationalism that westerners assume that they mean. They blame “Moscow propaganda” for portraying them as mere nationalists. They are concerned that they are being misunderstood in the West.

“We want out of the Soviet Union so we can join Europe faster,” the RUKH economist, Oleksander Savchenko, told me. Ukrainians want their economy to be oriented westward, not eastward.

Politically, Ukrainians want unity with the West on three levels:



The Iraqi expansion has brought great successes to the Soviet Union.

Joseph Fitchett, *International Herald Tribune*, September 10, 1990: “Mr. Bush, a diplomat said, ‘has conferred new statesman’s status on Gorbachev...’”

“Mr. Gorbachev also got a pledge of White House support for technical assistance, including help for the oil industry.”

“...Mr. Bush publicly linked his shift in favor of more economic aid for the Soviet Union — in contrast to his objections at the seven-nation economic summit talks in July — to Moscow’s cooperation against Iraq.”

“The new U.S. view... appeared to represent the Bush administration’s blessing for a long-term Soviet involvement in the Middle East.”

“For 25 years the most volatile theater of East-West rivalry, the Middle East has seen successive administrations put high priority on blocking any increase in Soviet political access to the region.”

“In a fundamental U.S. switch, the joint statement Sunday invited Moscow to join in seeking to ‘develop regional security structures and measures to promote peace and stability...’”

21. There are people in the West who criticize and deride (acting as conscious or unconscious agents of the democratic Communism) as “Gold Warriors” those who say that the Communist danger has not diminished after the reforms and the “velvet revolutions”

In fact, we, too, criticize these “Cold Warriors”. We reproach them to be too goodminded because they are picturing Communism to be as dangerous today as it was before.

The reality is, however, that the new, reformed, free, pluralistic, free-market, capitalist, liberal, democratic Communism is incomparably more dangerous than the old primitive socialist Communism of Joseph Stalin or Leonid Brezhnev.

1) Through a confederacy with the East European countries, to balance the new Germany; 2) through joining the Common Market; and 3) through The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the 35-nation group that includes the United States and Russia as well as continental Europe. They want neither more independence nor subordination to Russia, but international integration on a basis of individual freedom and national equality. They hope to find this by looking West.

The danger is not that Ukrainians want to stand alone but that the West will leave them all alone. A leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party, the most nationalist of all the parties allied with RUKH, told me that Ukraine would much rather be a state of the United States than a state of the USSR. But, he said with tongue only half-way in cheek, he feared the US would not accept Ukraine.

RUKH used to call for a new Soviet confederation of Sovereign States, but today rejects this idea lest it perpetuate Russian domination. RUKH now wants only bilateral treaties among the former Soviet republics once they are independent, or at most a Common Market Treaty.

Ukrainians and other Soviet nationalists would rather organize their ties with one another through western institutions, where nationalities are well-balanced, than through any new Soviet-shaped union, where Russians are a majority — and a hated one at that. They want representation in western economic institutions. They want embassies in western capitals. They want full diplomatic recognition by the West.

Formal diplomatic recognition is as yet premature. The West is not going to precipitate a crisis. It is up to the Ukrainians to win their freedom.

Less formal diplomatic, political, and economic ties, however, are possible now. Indeed, such ties are already being formed. Ukraine is establishing offices abroad. So is Boris Yeltsin's Russian Republic.

The West should be seeking to expand these ties with individual Soviet Republics. It should be strengthening its own joint institutions and preparing them for the membership of Ukraine and other nations. It should be trying to build the strongest possible CSCE institutions, not whittling them down (as unfortunately the US is still doing, thanks to Foreign Policy habits formed in a completely different era).

This would give the nations within the USSR a sort of "common home" to shelter them as the old Soviet home comes tumbling down. It would make for a soft landing.

RUKH wants a Ukrainian currency with full convertibility, less as a new barrier to trade than to liberate trade from the morass of currencies now floating around: an inconvertible ruble with three official exchange rates, various Western currencies in street use, exchange with Moscow by central command not by money calculations. The West should be ready to help stabilize a Ukrainian currency and integrate it into the European monetary system.

RUKH does not want to cut off all economic links with Russia, but to replace the old coercive links with natural links. Economist Savchenko has a five-year plan to end all five-year plans: the old centrally-planned industrial

INTERVIEW WITH STEPAN KHMARA IN LUK'YANIVSKA PRISON, KYIV.

Interviewer: Mr. Khmara, allow me first of all to pass on all the good wishes we have received for you from good people not only within Ukraine, but from all continents. And we must also take our uncomfortable conditions into account, since (this interview) is being done in the Luk'yanivska Prison...

Khmara: Let me first of all thank you.

Int: Could you tell us please a bit about the circumstances of your arrest?

Khm: Yes, I can. It happened between 10 and 11 in the evening. A group of militia in uniform and in plainclothes came tearing into the Supreme Soviet building, by the way, not giving any identification to the guard which is supposed to do this (identify all who pass through Supreme Soviet doors); and you know that the Supreme Soviet is guarded by a special department of the KGB. So, they did not identify themselves, and they have no right for this kind of entry. The guard willfully let them through and moreover, even opened the corridor doors for them.

I was with a group of deputies at that exact moment: there was Ihor Derkach, Bohdan Rebyk, Levko Horodkiwsky and Volodymyr Kolinets. A person in plainclothes read out some document very quickly, which was on the whole unintelligible even by content, without introducing himself, like you

▶ and agricultural deliveries would be cut by 20 percent each year; new trade agreements would be negotiated between Russia and Ukraine; natural trade links would grow as the market economy developed.

An independent Ukraine will need rapid integration into a security system with the West. Otherwise it will be forced to seek security in its own power and in diplomatic maneuvers. If the West were to reject Ukraine, it could move toward a more combative nationalism. Ukraine's independence from Russia is inevitable. More and more Russians are recognizing this reality. The West might be the last to accept it. The West could make terrible mistakes because of its failure to understand the actual state of affairs.

The business of sound diplomacy is to welcome what is inevitable and smooth its way into the world order. The business of Western diplomacy is to accept the breakup of the Soviet Union and do everything possible to help manage it smoothly. The best way to manage the breakup and fit it into a world order is to integrate the former Soviet nations, including Russia, with the West. This integration should begin before the breakup is complete, by setting up informal diplomatic offices with individual nations of the USSR, giving them a place in Western institutions and in the CSCE, and pushing economic and security arrangements as far as possible through these institutions.

In this way there can be a period of overlap, with new ties phasing in before the old ones have expired. The awful prospect of a period of stand-alone sovereignty for a dozen ex-Soviet republics can be avoided.

That is what Ukrainian nationalists themselves want. The West needs to hear and heed their voices.

would normally expect, and I won't even mention about the order to sign something. Suddenly... they took me under the arms, the militiamen, and dragged me out of the Supreme Soviet building. So I asked them to give me a chance to get my things, since I was without both a hat or an overcoat as well as without my personal things. I have never seen anything like this, even in the time of so-called "stagnation", when an arrest is in progress. They took me out... into the courtyard... the inner courtyard of the Supreme Soviet building, and there they forced me into a Zhiguli (Soviet make of car) without any police markings. This was in the inner courtyard of the Supreme Soviet. I emphasise this because who has the right to allow suspicious vehicles to pass through? With this I want to emphasise to what extent the KGB is mixed up in this. Furthermore, when they grabbed under each arm, and I'm not even talking about when they were pushing me into the car, they gave me this bruise, which is still visible. But this is not the point. They acted brutally towards the other deputies too. Ihor Derkach was standing close by. They also grabbed him under each arm and dragged him away from me. Well that's, come on, that's going beyond all bounds!

But I want to say that this didn't surprise me. After the events that took place, after the incident with Oleksander (?) when they beat him right in front of the militia; after what happened on October 28 by St.Sophia's when militiamen beat some deputies, and finally after the provocation incident with Grigoriev, when he also raised his hand to strike a deputy, this did not surprise me.

Int: Tell us please, do you consider yourself guilty of anything?

Kh: I... if I consider myself guilty of anything, it's that in my whole life I never made peace with the lawless communist system. I always spoke out, I speak out now and it's exactly in this my "guilt" lies.

Int: Fine. So then I'll follow with this question. So you consider that the affair, so-called... which has received the name the "Khmara Affair", this is not a simple, isolated provocation, but something more?

Kh: My "affair"... well, first of all, if you categorise it in that kind of narrow understanding, it should be called the "GrigorievAffair". In the wider sense, this is a matter of the "albanisation" of Ukraine which the leadership of the CPSU-CPU began in Ukraine and in which it is trying to realise and pass on power to the corrupted communist majority in parliament, led by members of the Politburo of the CPU, under its "president", appointed by the Group of 239, by order of the CC CPU. I consider this on a wider scale, an attack on the democratic forces in Ukraine, with the goal of crushing the young Ukrainian democracy and to drag Ukraine again into an imperial structure.

This, by the way, is not even covered up by the communist party. Especially Horenko, in his shameful speech at the last plenum. The shameful, I emphasise again, of such a speech! If we lived in a legal state, or a state which is beginning to go along the road to building a state based on law, then Grigoriev would be brought up on criminal charges. What's more is that this is not the time that he has done this, and all the leaders of the communist party do this (provocatory acts). An especially active and aggressive role in these processes is played by Kravchuk, as a professional demagogue who for

decades has worked in the CPSU apparat, and behind whom there are decades of criminal activity in this criminal organization.

Int: So right now, in connection with your arrest and in connection with the so-called “Khmara Affair“ they are attempting... the investigative organs and the communist majority, are attempting to find some kind of juridical explanations (for the arrest) here. In fact, they are justifying the arrest with the fact that you can in some way interfere in the investigation to get to the bottom of this, or that you will try to avoid investigation. Have you done anything to give any basis for considering you this way?

Khm: Well first of all... I want to answer this question a little more broadly. From the very beginning (and for this the provocateur Grigoriev should be grateful to me), I did everything so that, God forbid, some people provoked by the shameful and offensive slogans he was shouting, where he was saying (in Russian), “There are 20 million of us communists! We will put you all up against the wall!“ I was simply afraid that some people would execute their own justice (on Grigoriev) and I carefully and actively used measures to try and prevent this. And luckily no one, I repeat, no one lay a hand on Grigoriev even once. He was simply disarmed, and later they found identifying documents in his pocket. Why (was this done)? Because our appeals to the militia received absolutely no reaction. The militia refused to get mixed up in this. Also refusing, and this I saw myself... the KGB that was there refused. I don’t know his name, but I saw one of the KGB officers who was there in the morning on October Counter-revolution Square (or as the bolsheviks call it “revolution“). There was also a colonel of the KGB who denied our accusation that he was KGB, and this other KGB officer was with him. Later, he was in the underpass. I saw him and unfortunately, I don’t know his name. So this all was well played out.

Next... I used all methods available to get the procurator to come to the scene of the incident. Here, I said already, up top, when Grigoriev came out of the underpass, a circle was formed around him so that no one could get to him and provoke him, God forbid, by hitting him. I called on and explained all this to the Kyiv Assistant Chief of Militia, Captain Shoposhnikov. He.. although he went (to get the procurator)... and sure, the procurator didn’t show up for a long time, I ended up waiting about an hour.

And so, that same day I went directly to the procurator. Some witnesses came along.. some witnesses expressed the willingness to come along, to the Kyiv Lenin Procuracy, where I presented my explanations on this account. I also want to say that, firstly... that it is very interesting that there was not even a scratch or scrape on Grigoriev’s body. I was there when he was taken to the police medical examiner’s, and I was also in the Lenin procurator’s office where he undressed so that the criminologist could take his shirt and undershirt, which he himself had torn... he did this (himself) and I saw him do this. There was not a single mark on his body. So then I wrote a statement, in which I demanded the bringing... to the Procurator of the UkrSSR... to bring the hooligan-provocateur Grigoriev to criminal... to begin the process of bringing him to criminal responsibility. I wrote a second letter to the procurator of the Lenin district, since the incident happened in this district of Kyiv.

On November 13 the investigating procurator, Kharchenko, called me down to the Investigative Department of the Kyiv Procuracy. I showed up, and, as I indicated in the statement, as a witness and a victim, declared my justified, written statement. I also answered several questions. Unfortunately, the procurator, Potebenko, at the session of the Supreme Soviet on November 14, fully covered up everything... lied...when he stated that I categorically refused to show up at the procurator's office. It's the exact opposite... I was the one who took the initiative. I, and I want to indicate here, that I have not as yet received any satisfactory response as to why the matter against Grigoriev has not been touched on, because in the answer that the procurator of the republic sent me, it is said that the matter is being "studied". But before the beginning of the investigation, without any (legal) motive or basis, procurator Potebenko demanded my arrest.

Int: Not having studied the question...?

Khm: Not having studied the question. Exactly.

Int: What do you think was the basis for the search that the procuracy carried out in your apartment during your wife's temporary absence? She literally left for about 40 minutes, and meanwhile, some people (later this proved to be workers of the procuracy) undertook a search. What kind of evidence could they have found there? Was there really any reason (for them) to break into your apartment and go through your things?

Khm: Here...if you take it all and tie it together, and with the fact of my wife's absence, in the apartment in which she lives, and everything else, then you can't talk about reasons why this was done, but it is simply a case of employees of the procuracy committing an illegal act which has an appropriate categorisation in the Criminal Code.. So that it would be appropriate to bring these people to justice.

Int: Mr.Khmara... the Supreme Soviet did not strip you of your mandate, insofar as it does not have this right.They did not elect you and you have your responsibilities and duties to your voters. Do you have the possibility to fulfill your responsibilities, to realise your deputorial activity?

Khm: I not only do not have the slightest possibility to carry out my duties or to be in contact with my constituents, what's more, I am not given any information about what is going on in the Supreme Soviet and documents that are necessary to me are not getting through. On the whole I am very limited in the information I can receive, except for two newspapers which they give us here in solitary confinement, "Pravda Ukrainy" ("The Truth of Ukraine") and "Izvestia" ("News"), and that's not even every day. I also get to listen to some program on the radio. I have no contact with the outside world. Except maybe with the people defending me. Well and even this, as you see... you brought newspapers... only Soviet newspapers which with the "permission" of the procuracy you passed on to me. There you have all the "information" that I have been getting.

Int: Were you allowed to use the radio that your wife gave you?

Khm: They gave it to me one day, then on the next day they came and took it away. Just took it away.

Int: Do they carry out searches? Do they single out any things when you

have any visits or after the visits with us?

Khm: Every time... it's not only when I go to meet you they carry out a search, but even when we go for our walk they also carry out searches. They search our cells in our absence, for example, when we are out on our walks.

Int: Mr. Khmara, what would you comment on the latest decision by Kravchuk, when he refused 100 deputies who had appealed to him with the demand to return to the resolution of your question, and specifically to look into the question of your release? He refused them on the basis that during the "Miscellaneous" (part of the Supreme Soviet daily routine) is not the time to hear such questions, that they must first be discussed in committee. Was this procedure adhered to when the order was given for your arrest?

Khm: It was exactly during "Miscellaneous" part of the daily session that permission for my arrest was given... the question and statements were read out by Potebenko and the permission given in the "miscellaneous"... in the "miscellaneous". Secondly, at yesterday's meeting, in the morning, Ihor Derkach rose with the proposition that my question should be included in the daily routine of the Session. It was even Kravchuk himself who said, " Well... you talk it over, we will think it over, and so on." When the question came up a second time as I found out, by Avtoniyanin (a democratic deputy of Armenian descent), Kravchuk replied... like you just said...refused. What is this supposed to be? Kravchuk acts with his own style. Kravchuk is one of the organisers of the anti-Ukrainian reactionary campaign and Kravchuk is one of the organisers of my arrest, with the motive of eliminating me from the political arena in Ukraine.

Int: Would you call this decision a legal one? Would you call it a decision of high moral standing?

Khm: I would refrain from speaking about morals when talking about communists. I believe, or rather, I don't believe that there is one single communist in the Soviet Union who would have the right to say that he is a "moral" person. This is after everything that has become known... not just that for 5 or 10 years there were some communists who were "unaware", did not know what the system and its criminal party were doing. This is all well known now, even in the Soviet press and other mass media... And the existence of this criminal party, its behaviour — it's all immoral, profoundly immoral. I would like everyone to understand this: regarding the leadership of the CPSU-CPU, it is without argument, criminal.

Int: Mr. Khmara, it is not seldom that one can hear voices that say that, supposedly, the democrats, the "radicals" demand some kind of reckoning with the communists, that all communists... that they are calling for the physical liquidation of all communists. What would you say on this point?

Khm: I have written more than a few articles that touch on this question. This is also mentioned in my project for a resolution of the Supreme Soviet regarding the dissolution of the CPSU in Ukraine, the nationalisation of its wealth... at rallies and demonstrations and so on. The communists are purposely twisting this and lying to democracy in general, and me in particular, by saying that we are calling for a reckoning with the communists. No. I have always stated, state and will state as long as I exist and our

totalitarian system exists, that the CPSU must be evicted from the state-political arena. Without this, democracy is impossible. Without this the construction of a democratic Ukrainian independent state is not possible. This (the liquidation of the communist party) should be done in a legal, civilised way. The communist party should be dissolved, the resources taken by it should be reclaimed... returned to the people. The leadership of this party should be brought to trial and a court should decide which of the leaders should get what punishment. But, without argument, there must be punishment for certain leaders. Why? Simply because if the principle of non-punishment, non-accountability exists in society, then such a "society" cannot be called a lawfully democratic society. So if an armed robber or murderer runs around free and is not responsible for his acts, then this gives birth to... and encourages others towards similar crimes.

This is the same thing we have with our criminal organisation (the Party), which in essence, is not a political party but a political-state structure, since the leading organ of the CPSU subordinated the state and all its structures to itself, and uses them for its own aims and its own privileges. And I would like to pose a rhetorical question. Would the German people have been able to stand on the road to democracy and build a post-war democratic Germany (I mean the Federal Republic of Germany in the past, now it's all democratic) if Hitler's National Socialist Party remained in the political arena and its leaders without punishment plundered German land? Without an argument, this was not so. So why is no one surprised and why does no one yell out when the communists do this? The National-Socialist Party was declared a criminal party, its leaders faced appropriate punishment, its wealth was nationalised and Hitlerian symbolism was destroyed. This was within legal bounds, and no one protest this. But I want to ask: Does the CPSU have, behind its own back, less crimes than the National Socialist Party? Tens of hundres times more!

Int: Therefore, as I have already understood, you propose to bring to justice... to bring individuals to justice for specific, concrete crimes, and not for (ideological) convictions?

Khm: Absolutely. Moreover, I explain in my articles that after the CPSU, the CPSU itself, will be removed from the state-political arena, removed from all state structures; when they will be cleansed of it and the mechanism of a state of law begins to work, then let them...those who believe in the utopian ideas of Marx-Lenin; those who believe in this Satanic philosophy... let them create a party on the general basis.. on equal terms with other parties, and in the framework of a state of law.

But here I would like to digress for a bit. We see that the CPSU will never go for this. I have in mind yesterday's appearance by Gorbachev at the Moscow Party Conference... This was clearly an anti-climactic appearance, where Gorbachev underscored again that, " We will never deny the vanguard role of the party. We will not be a party of the parliamentary type. We are not becoming a party of some kind of babblers. We must take control in our hands along the lines of the executive power, from the president to the very bottom of the executive structures." (Continues here to paraphrase Gorbachev, intermixed with his own comments). We must create committees... some

committees (he proposes some kind of extraordinary committees here, or something like that) along with executive structures and if they act in such a way that they are not supposed to... it must be understood, that this means not in the movement that supports Gorbachev and his party, then simply get rid of them. He states simply, that we (the communists) made many mistakes during the elections, that we did not take advantage of the principle of representation in the workers' collectives, and so on. And so, why do I mention all of this? So that there will be no illusions as to Gorbachev and his anti-democratic, anti-national, criminal party.

Int: Therefore, Gorbachev, if I have understood you correctly, is calling for a return to the communist "winter". In Ukraine we are living through a Ukrainian-communist winter. What advice could you give on this matter to your sympathisers outside of prison? What are the most important tasks they must undertake?

Khm: Well, you know that Moscow has always carefully followed Ukraine and kept it in its field of vision and.. what's more, one of my articles in the underground Ukrainsky Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) which I published, was "The General Pogrom." The main thrust of attack was always directed at Ukraine. So it's not surprising that reactionary forces have reared their heads now in Ukraine and there is a terrible assault on democracy. I call this an attempt at the "albanisation" of Ukraine by the leadership of the CPSU-CPU. I would like to warn all democratic organisations, all the honest, good citizens of Ukraine, in general, all the citizens. Be very careful in this extraordinarily decisive moment. It is necessary to show a maximum of activism now in your civil capacity and to step out in defense of democracy. We have to take example from the German people, from the Czechs, the Slovaks... who were able to bring down their communist, totalitarian regimes with their decisive, collective and coordinated actions, through peaceful revolution.

The parliamentary road, I have already exhausted (this topic).. The opposition is absolutely, completely paralysed, it's practically non-existent, inactive. The communists do whatever they want. I believe that by continuing (to participate in the Supreme Soviet session), the deputies are compromising the opposition, and that to some extent, this plays into the hands of the communist clique in the form of the Group of 239. They create these illusions that we have, so to speak, a parliament. So therefore, concluding from this I believe that the opposition must extricate itself (from the Supreme Soviet) and work separately and strive to formulate draft laws and to make them known to the general populace through their own means, especially in the unofficial press, since right now, access to the official press is completely closed off by the CPU apparat... We must also give a concise evaluation of the criminal acts that are taking place in Ukraine right now... Especially the shameful, draconian law accepted yesterday which unites the hands of reaction and throws Ukraine far back beyond 1985. Therefore the CPSU-CPU, its controlling apparat in the Supreme Soviet, wants to legalise lawlessness. That is why it is necessary for everyone to undertake decisive action. This... first of all, this is not an official (legal) law; it absolutely contradicts the General Declaration on Human Rights; human rights... (the law) that contradicts documents that are, by the

way, signed by Comrade Gorbachev... saying that our internal legislative (system) must be in accordance with these international documents.

Here in Ukraine, the opposite is happening. And not only on this question... specifically, the question of the review of the law on property, on land, where the communists are again demagogically reaffirming their dogma, and in no way do they want to allow ownership of private property. Well there's a lot... I mean, a lot could be said on this account here. Anyway, only action can prevent the young Ukrainian democracy from being crushed. I call upon the creation of Committees of National Salvation, strike committees in all, and most of all in workers' collectives. To work with every rank-and-file communist, to show him that he is a member of a criminal organisation, and to strive for the liquidation of the party organisation, above all, in the workers' collectives. We must drum the communist party out of the workers' collectives. The path lies along the organisation of the workers, the working class, the intelligentsia and other interest groups... We must immediately organise mass meetings, demonstrations, rallies, pickets... seriously prepare, and maybe its about time for a general political strike — a general Ukrainian or rotating political strike in Ukraine. Otherwise we will have no future. We see what is happening. Ukraine is on the verge of collapse, of an abyss, and the communist party is pushing it into that abyss.

Int: Thank you very much, Mr. Khmara. Let me voice our hope that the democratic forces will not allow themselves to be crushed.

KhM: I have always been an optimist. I believe in my people, in general, in the people of Ukraine, in all the citizens of Ukraine, Ukrainians and our brothers in the national minorities, in those of various political and religious persuasions, with various feelings of responsibility and civil duty... And they will persevere for their right to life, their right for democracy. I thank all.. once again, all my sympathisers and wish them each happiness and good health.

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTY STEPAN KHMARA: A BIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

Stepan Khmara was born into a peasant family on 12 October 1937 in the village of Bobyatyn, in the Sokal region of Lviv. His father, Ilko Klymovych Khmara, born in 1902, lived his whole life in that same village and died there on 4 March 1990, while his mother, Kateryna Prokipivna, was born in 1909 and died on November 1989.

The family of Ilko and Kateryna consisted of three children, all sons. The oldest of the three, Petro, lives in Lviv and works in one of the city's scientific research institutes as a zoological veterinarian. The youngest son, Vasyl, was born in 1947 and now lives in the city of Chervonohrad (formerly Khrestinopil). He received his education in mechanical engineering and works in the municipal administration of the Chervonohrad City Council, taking part in the administration of the local economy.

Stepan Ilko's and Kateryna's second son, started primary school in the village of Tartakiv (Bobyatyn and Tartakiv being neighbouring villages), following the Second World War, in 1945. Ten years later, in 1955, he finished

the full ten-year secondary school programme. Following his graduation, Stepan went to work, and during the next four years, held jobs as a driver and miner first in the province of Lviv, then in Dzhezkazgan, Kazakhstan. In 1959, he entered the Lviv Medical Institute's Faculty of Stomatology and completed the programme in 1964, receiving a degree in Stomatological Medicine. He was then sent by the government to work as a physician in the village of Himyk, Sokal region, at the local polyclinic, where he worked until his arrest and imprisonment in 1980.

In 1965, Stepan Khmara married Anna Pavlivna Nazarenko. Anna, of Ukrainian origin, was born in 1942, also into a peasant family, in the village of Maksymivka, Hadyach region, in the province of Poltava. She met Stepan as a colleague at the Lviv Medical Institute, from which she graduated in 1967, having completed the programme at the Faculty of Curative Medicine. It was during their time studying together that Stepan and Anna had grown close to each other. From 1967 to the present, Anna has worked as an ophthalmologist at a children's polyclinic in Chervonohrad (about 10 km from Hirnyk, where Stepan worked). Their two children, Roman and Solomia, were born in 1966 and 1973 respectively. Roman is now in his third year at the Chervonohrad Medical Institute's Faculty of Curative Medicine. Before entering the Institute, he served in the Soviet Army and worked as a miner. Solomia graduated from secondary school this year and has entered the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the Lviv State University, where she is studying English Philology.

The KGB arrested Stepan Khmara on 31 March 1980 and charged him under the infamous Article 70 of the Soviet Constitution, "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was incarcerated according to Article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code. According to official reasons, Khmara was imprisoned for his "attacks" on "the bright and satisfying" Soviet reality, while the true reason lay in his publication of a series of articles on the artificial famine-genocide in Ukraine in 1932-33. In these articles, Khmara uncovered (in Ukraine, there was as yet no official admission that the famine had even occurred) the artificial nature of the famine and presented factual evidence pointing to the responsibility of the Soviet authorities. When the underground journal "Ukrainskyi Visnyk" (Ukrainian Herald) in essence ceased publication after the arrest of its editorial staff (among whom was Vyacheslav Chornovil), Stepan Khmara revived it and contributed to it under a pseudonym.

At the end of December 1980, Khmara was sentenced by the Lviv Provincial Court according to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 7 years imprisonment in a strict-regime labour camp, to be followed by 5 years of internal exile upon completion of incarceration. Khmara served his sentence in labour camps No 35 (Perm) and 36 (Ural) in the Russian Republic. In 1987, he was granted "amnesty" by the USSR Supreme Soviet and released. To this day, however, Khmara has yet to be rehabilitated and the unlawfulness of his imprisonment has not been officially admitted. Khmara returned to Chervonohrad following his release and resumed his medical practice at the Chervonohrad Stomatological Polyclinic. In addition, he actively participated

in the movement for Ukraine's national revival. In 1989, nationalist-minded citizens in Chervonohrad joined forces to elect Khmara as a USSR People's Deputy. However, due to the efforts of the party apparatus, his election was prevented. (During the electoral campaign, Khmara was twice illegally arrested and fined for the "organisation of and participation in illegal public activity"). For 10 months, therefore, Khmara was kept under strict administrative and police surveillance.

Despite this, the inhabitants of Lviv's Industrial electoral district elected Khmara People's Deputy to the Ukr. SSR Supreme Soviet on 4 March 1990. Simultaneously, the residents of Chervonohrad elected him deputy to the Lviv provincial governing body, the Provincial Council.

Ignoring the party's active campaign to discredit him in the eyes of the electorate, Khmara was able to pass through the "strainer" of the regional electoral committees and meetings during the election campaign and win the confidence of the others to emerge victorious in the Industrial electoral district of Lviv. He thus, became at once a deputy to the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet and to the Lviv Provincial Council.

The circumstances of Khmara's parliamentary activity are common knowledge in Ukraine. As a People's Deputy (until his arrest on November 17 of this year and the stripping of his parliamentary mandate by the communist bloc in the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet), he constantly stood in parliament on a harshly anti-communist platform. He professes (even in prison) the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state, the socio-political system of which would bring the world-wide concept of democracy to Ukraine. In the economic realm, Khmara stands for a course towards the establishment of a market economy, based on free enterprise initiative on a wide scale, the privatization of all branches of the economy and completion in all forms of ownership. Khmara is also demanding and working towards the liquidation of the Communist Party, which, he feels, is a criminal organization that has illegally nationalized the people's land and property. With these views, Khmara has been and continues to be adamant and outspoken in the achievement of the political aims he has enunciated.

KLYMCHAK RELEASED

Lviv — In the last few days, the Committee in Defense of Political Prisoner Bohdan Klymchak received a telegram from Klymchak informing them that of his release, reports Volodymyr Yavorivskyi a member of the Committee. Klymchak will return to Kyiv and from there to Lviv. Klymchak was arrested in November 1978 and sentenced to 15 years of strict regime imprisonment and 5 years of exile for escaping to Iran, taking with him "nationalistically-biased" works of fiction, which he intended to publish abroad. He was handed over to the Soviet authorities.

THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY UNDER A NEW NAME

On November 17, the media announced that a new party — the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) — had been created the day before through the merger of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party, which had never formally registered with the authorities, was described as “the result of the reorganisation, on a new basis, of the former Romanian Communist Party (RCP).” Founders of the new SLP pledged to take into account “the socialist and workers’ movement traditions in Romania and the experience of West European left-wing, socialist and democratic parties.” They elected Constantin Pirvulescu Honorary President and established a steering committee headed by Ilie Verdet, a former high-ranking RCP functionary.

Pirvulescu, born in 1895, is the only surviving founder of the RCP, which was formed in 1921. He is known for having publicly attacked Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP’s 12th congress in 1979, as well as for having co-signed the so-called “Letter of the Six,” a document incriminating Ceausescu that was made public in the West in March 1989. Ilie Verdet, born in 1925, is the “strong man” of the new party and another former RCP official. He was re-elected Chairman of the RCP Central Auditing Commission at the 14th RCP Congress — its last — in November 1989, only one month before the uprising that marked the end of the Ceausescu regime. If he was not put on trial together with other RCP leading figures, it was probably due only to the fact that he was not a member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, which had approved Ceausescu’s orders to crush the popular revolts in Timisoara and Bucharest.

No Death Certificate for the RCP.

The announcement of the RCP’s recreation hardly came as a surprise, as from a legal point of view, the party had never ceased to exist. The day Ceausescu was toppled, the RCP (with a membership of no fewer than 3.8 million Romanians) seemed to vanish into thin air, despite Ilie Verdet’s desperate attempt to form a provisional government able to ensure a certain amount of political continuity. He was quoted as saying, “I am a communist from a communist father.. In the void left by Ceausescu, you have asked me for political advice, so I will tell you what you have to do in order to form a government: (first of all) you have to keep quiet.” According to *Romania Libera*, it was the protest by a group of young people in the Central Committee building which put an end to Verdet’s “ghost cabinet” after only 22 minutes of existence.

On December 30, 1989, an “initiative group” launched a television appeal to all RCP members to support the convening of an extraordinary congress in order to proclaim their party’s dissolution, the result of the fact that the RCP had been “definitively compromised in the people’s and history’s eyes by the dictatorship of the Ceausescus and their acolytes.” The appeal also dealt with

the ticklish question of the party's assets, recommending that they be handed over to the people "through the agency of the National Salvation Front Council. "In a conversation with a foreign journalist, a young scientist made the following rather prophetic comment on the RCP's future: "They will change the name of the party, but it will be the same. It must be dissolved or they will reorganize."

On January 11, Ilie Verdet was reported by *Romania Libera* to be "looking for a location for a working team (to be set up) in order to dissolve the Communist party" at the former Stefan Gheorghiu party academy. But another daily, *Libertatea* (the NSF Council's mouthpiece during the first days of the Front's existence), appears to have been better informed, observing that Verdet was in fact looking for "suitable headquarters for the Socialist Party." "Could this (Socialist Party) possibly be the name for a new grouping of those still faithful to communism?" the journalist asked himself. Although a Socialist Party has never been officially registered in Romania, a group of former Communists bearing this name surfaced in the November 16 merger.

On January 12, one day after the teaching staff of the former party cadre school had firmly rejected Verdet's attempt to take possession of its premises, Verdet and some of his Communist followers tried to infiltrate the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), a satellite of the NSF that provided a haven for old-guard Communists such as 81-year-old Eduard Mezincescu, Minister of the Arts in the early 1950s, who fell out of favor with Ceausescu only in the 1970s. At that time, the DLP had not yet officially registered with the authorities (on February 6, the DLP was registered as Romania's 26th party; the NSF was registered as the 27th). Though Verdet boasted that he could bring some "800 members and 6 million lei" with him, his offer was turned down. With memories of the Ceausescu era still fresh in their minds, the DLP leaders were hardly in a position "to enter into an alliance with (former) nomenklatura members whose faces were turned to the past only." These early contacts with the DLP leadership are particularly interesting in the light of recent developments.

Outlawed for One Day.

One of the key moments in the history of communism in Romania occurred the same day, January 12. During a turbulent but rather small rally of several thousand people, Ion Iliescu bowed to public pressure and announced that the council of the NSF would issue a decree-law stipulating that "the RCP is outlawed, as this party goes against (Romania's) national spirit and our ancestors' law" — a rather populist way to describe Romania's political traditions. The move made Romania the first and only country in Eastern Europe to ban its Communist party. However, that decision was reversed after only one day. In the evening of January 13, Iliescu announced on Radio Bucharest that he had received many letters criticizing his weakness in yielding to the pressure of the crowd. He announced that the decision to ban the RCP would be submitted to a referendum on January 28, but the idea of the referendum was subsequently abandoned.

A Scarecrow.

With anti-Communist sentiments running high in the wake of the January 12 demonstration, members of Ceausescu's nomenklatura preferred to keep a low profile for a time. Many rank-and-file Communists, however, opted to dissolve their local party organizations, eventually burning their membership cards publicly. But time and again, rumors concerning the Communist party's recreation circulated in the media. Thus, in March, *Romania Libera* denied a rumor that the RCP had been registered at Bucharest's Municipal Courts by Ilie Verdet. As the May 20 elections neared, the rumors intensified, creating the impression that the party planned to compete in the elections. With such rumors in the air, it was easy for the front to present itself as a much more palatable alternative than the Communist. In an April interview with a Western journalist, for instance, Prime Minister Petre Roman obliquely admitted that the Communist's participation in the elections would make it easier for the NSF to distance itself from its "neo-Communist" image. He added that the only problem was the impossibility of finding a single Communist willing to show his true political colors in post-Ceausescu Romania.

A certain amount of pro-Communist agitation continued throughout the summer and autumn of 1990. An appeal in the name of a "truly Communist" organization was sent to various media for publication in August, but the appeal was denounced as a fake by a clandestine group calling itself the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party of Romania-Organization No. 1/Craiova. In another more serious development, Ilie Verdet renewed his advances to the DLP leadership in mid-August in an effort to persuade that party to become a Communist organization. At the beginning of November, the pro-Front daily *Dimineata* announced that a group of "inveterate philo-Russians" and "pro-Soviet fossils" was about to restore the defunct RCP in a new formation which would include some smaller parties. Finally, the very day the SLP was founded (November 16), the independent daily *Romania Libera* published a photograph of a document resembling an application for membership in the RCP, bearing the heading "Romanian Communist Party 1990" and the country's emblem from the Communist era. The daily warned in this context of a possible "Communist counterrevolution."

More of the SLP.

More details are currently emerging on the circumstances under which the new Communist party was formed, together with information on its leaders, membership, political program and ideological profile. Several leading figures of the former DLP complained that their national conference had in fact been hijacked by a group of some 100-120 Communists invited as "guests." A group of seven leading DLP figures released a communique denouncing the conference as "a masquerade...(in wich) maneuvers, forgeries and intimidations prevailed", apparently together with some of the old Communist-style secrecy. After only one night of membership in the new SLP, one of its vice-chairmen, George Serban, formerly of the DLP, resigned "in

bitterness“ to protest Verdet’s failure “to disjoin himself from the ideology of the former RCP.” The entire editorial board of the DLP mouthpiece *Fapta* also resigned. Despite this internal struggle, the new party registered with Bucharest’s Municipal Courts on November 22, 1990. A group of former DLP leaders protested the registration, describing the way in which the merger had taken place as “a typical case of Communist forgery.”

Various newspapers published Verdet’s curriculum vitae, not neglecting to mention the monthly pension of 8,549 lei Verdet enjoys for his activity as a Communist apparatchik. They also disclosed details about other former high-ranking RCP members who now hold key positions in the newly-created SLP, including Traian Dudas, Vasile Vilcu, Ion Stanescu and Georghe Pele. SLP leaders claim that their party already has a membership of up to 123,000. As for the party’s political program, Verdet maintained in a series of interviews that it focused on the rights of “large social strata,” including blue- and white-collar workers. He described the SLP as “a left-wing, moderate, socialist-type party,” whose intention is to ask for membership in the Socialist Internationale. Such claims could raise problems for the ruling NSF, which describes itself as a social-democratic party that aspires to a membership in the same international organization. At the last annual council meeting of the Internationale New York in October, a Danish Social-Democrat dismissed similar claims from ex-Communist parties in Eastern Europe with the words “the irony is that the old Communist Parties in Eastern Europe are now trying to grab the social democratic label as their own... they’re all Social Democrats (now).”

Cui Prodest?

The reappearance of the RCP under a new name will provide former nomenclatura members and activists with few, if any, benefits. Some of these activists seem to realize that re-entering the political limelight at a moment when the Ceausescu era is still well remembered in the country may be dangerous. That may be why some old-guard Communists have refused to join the new party. One of them, Cornel Burtica, denied any connection with the SLP, stating, “I have no reason to be nostalgic about the former RCP or to wish its rebirth in any form.”

Members of the opposition, as well as independent critics of the current regime, tend to target the NSF as the true winner of this political game. In this context, the most frequently heard word is “diversion.” The daily of the National Peasants’ Party spoke of the “Verdet diversion.” The NSF, it said, “can have a more peaceful life now,” as the new Communist party’s role seems to be that of “diverting public attention from the ruling political formation, whose leadership is a regrouping of the most important figures of the old regime, with the exception of those directly involved in the last years of the Ceausescu tyranny.” The small National Democratic Party issued a communique calling “the diversion of creating the so-called Socialist Labor Party... (a way) to distract public attention from current problems...(such as) the clarification of the ideological position of the NSF.”

Romania’s main independent daily *Romania Libera* described the new SLP

as “the puppet of the NSF,” alleging that a kind of division of labor existed between the NSF and the SLP: “The SLP was invented as a scarecrow: look, you should be afraid of this new-born (party), not of us!” In fact, the daily added, “We are now blessed with two Communist parties... What is the NSF, with its scores of notorious Communists and activists, but just another Communist movement?” According to the newspaper, it can be assumed that “the two parties will throw mud at each other just for show” in the future. In its next issue, *Romania Libera* spoke of a double diversion, aimed both at discouraging those who tend to equate the NSF with the former RCP and at creating “ phoney targets for the opposition, which has dangerously concentrated its fire on the NSF and the persons in power, including the country’s President.” It is, indeed, difficult to gloss over the fact that the re-creation of the Communist party took place only one day after the large anti-Communist demonstrations marking the third anniversary of the Brasov revolt against the Ceausescu regime. The rallies, organized in many Romanian towns, turned into the largest antigovernment protest so far and were a clear sign of the erosion of the NSF’s popularity.

The timing of the Communists’ reactivation is favorable to the NSF in at least one other sense. “The NSF’s (national) convention is drawing nearer,” wrote the political weekly *Lumea Azi*, adding that “many true promoters of economic and political reforms from the NSF’s ranks are probably not ready to accept being labeled as ‘neo-Communists’ when they feel more like Social-Democrats or even Liberals. The Communist party could be their salvation!” The weekly concluded by observing that both the responsibilities of the past and the current accusations of neo-communism could be shifted onto the new Communist party.

Reactions.

The outcry at the re-emergence of the Communists has been almost general. One of the first organizations to react to the creation of the SLP was the Association of the Former Political Detainees from Romania, which staged a silent protest march on November 19 in which an estimated 3,000 to 15,000 people took part. It also released a communique recalling the “hundreds of thousands of people killed on direct orders from this abhorred party.” The same day, the National Liberal Party — *The Young Wing* stated that “the NSF bears in fact the moral responsibility for the new Romanian Communist party.” The ruling NSF reacted within hours to those accusations, rejecting any hint of alleged links between the NSF and the new SLP as “tendentious and provocative.” In the evening, the NSF’s political leader Roman said in a televised interview that the founders of the new SLP had “committed an act of irresponsible bravura,” but insisted that Communist parties could not be not banned in a democratic state. Two days later, the front’s mouthpiece *Azi* tried to play down the issue, stating that the re-emergence of the Communists was “nothing but a storm in a glass of water” and claiming that the real danger came from ultra-leftist groups such as the rather mysterious Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party of Romania.

The controversy over the SLP also reached the parliament's two houses. During the debates, a deputy for the National Liberal Party repeated accusations that the ruling NSF was "responsible for the rebirth of the 'monsters.'" Ion Ratiu, National Peasants' Party deputy and a presidential candidate in the May 20 elections, said that he hailed the new party's creation "as an important moment in our national history," suggesting that the Communists would thus have a chance to compromise themselves in an open, democratic contest and would consequently "be vanquished for ever." But another deputy from Ratiu's own fraction strongly disagreed with him, insisting that the Communist party had already been compromised enough and that its leading figures should be put on trial for their past activity.

Numerous institutions, organizations, parties, trade unions and professional groups as diverse as the Orthodox Church, the Jiu Valley miners (known for their June 14-15 expedition to Bucharest), the Romanian Journalist's Association and the small Monarchist Party joined in the protest. In what could be viewed as an example of historical irony, the miners even threatened to return to Bucharest to help get rid of the SLP. But a journalist from *Romania Libera* appeared less than enthusiastic about these reactions, warning that this wave of quasi-unanimous protests could be misused by the NSF. "Do not be surprised if the NSF joins us from now on every time we shout 'Down with Communism!' It will probably shout even louder than we do. So can national consensus be reached. For, when the issue is communism, we stop thinking about hunger, cold, bad government, the June 13-15 events..."

Dan Ionescu

SUBJUGATED NATIONS MEET IN KYIV

Kyiv (UCIS) — Representatives of the national-democratic movements of eight subjugated nations in the USSR held a joint conference in the Ukrainian capital on October 13-14, 1990. Such conferences are held every three months. Delegations from the following parties and organizations were among those that attended the conference: National-Democratic Party of Georgia; Party of National Independence of Georgia; Tartar Party of National Independence; Crimean-Tartar National Movement; Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly; Ukrainian Republican Party; National-Democratic Party of Byelorussia; Estonian Party of National Independence; Fighting Solidarity (Poland). Five separate resolutions were adopted at the conference:

- in support of the students conducting a hunger strike in Kyiv to protest against the proposed new union treaty;
- calling for a boycott of recruitment into the Soviet army;
- on common principles of the national-democratic movements, with particular emphasis on anti-communism and the struggle against Russian imperialism;
- in support of the Byelorussian and Central Asian national-democratic movements;
- calling for an international tribunal on communist crimes, with an appeal to the governments and peoples of the world, and to everyone that can bear witness to communist atrocities to take part in the preparations of such a tribunal. The conference was organized and chaired by Stepan Hura, who represented Ukraine.

LVIV RALLY DEMANDS KHMARA'S RELEASE

Protests Against Union Treaty

LVIV, December 2 — On the square outside the opera house a public rally was held to discuss the new union treaty, that Moscow is forcing on Ukraine, the arrest of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, and the general offensive that the communists have launched against the national-liberation movement throughout Ukraine. Approximateley 50,000 people attended the rally.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, the chairman of the Lviv provincial soviet, in his address pointed out that the Narodna Rada (People's Council) opposition bloc should leave the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet and form a shadow government in Ukraine. "Personally speaking", Chornovil said, "I will return to the debating chamber of the Supreme Soviet only when Stepan Khmara will take up his seat once again".

People's Deputy Bohdan Horyn in his address pointed out the insidiousness and criminality of the Union treaty. He said: "The collective author of this document is the Communist Party. It is like a vampire; it wants to feed on the oppressed peoples... We should now struggle not so much against the union treaty, as for Ukraine's secession from the USSR."

People's Deputy Iryna Kalynets spoke about the arrest in Ivano-Frankivsk of six youths who deserted from the Soviet army. Their mothers have declared a hunger strike.

The chairman of the Lviv region Soldiers' Mothers Committee, Hanna Kovalchuk, talked about new cruelties against Ukrainian army recruits. The participants of the rally adopted a resolution protesting against the signing of a new union treaty, the arrest of Stepan Khmara, and the reactionaries' attack against democracy; demanding the immediate release of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, M. Holovach, L. Berezanskyi, M. Ratushnyi, O. Batovkin and Ya. Demydas; calling for an independent commission to carry out a detailed review of the events in Kyiv on 7 November 1990; for criminal charges against them; expressing non-confidence in the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, L. Kravchuk, and the republican prosecutor, M. Potebenko, and calling for criminal charges against them; expressing support for Stepan Khmara's draft law "On the dissolution of the Communist Party"; supporting the idea of an international tribunal and trial of the CPSU; calling on the Narodna Rada deputies to set up a shadow parliament; calling on deputies of all levels to demand the implementation of the Supreme Soviet decree of 30 July 1990 on military service in Ukraine; urging all democratic parties, civic-political organizations, and citizens of the Lviv region to form a united front in the struggle against the CPU attack against democracy.

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“POETRY HELPED ME SURVIVE“

*I said love
the dream has come true
something in that world
something in that
I said love
the dream has come true
something in the world has really*

*something has really
I said love
the dream has come true
something in that world
something has really
happened*

(“Interpreting the Chronicle“)

Although Ukrainian writers have in the past participated in Toronto’s International Festival of Authors, they were officially representatives of the Soviet Union. “I am the first to officially represent Ukraine,” states Ihor Kalynets, renown Ukrainian dissident poet.

The 1990 International Festival of Authors ran from October 12 to 20 at Harborfront. More than 70 authors and biographers from around the world participated. Kalynets launched his selected poems, *Crowning the Scarecrow*, his first book in English translation. Translated by Marco Carynnyk, the book was published in Toronto this year by Exile Editions in Toronto.

Only one of Kalynets’ 17 volumes of poetry has been officially published in Ukraine, and that was immediately banned. In 1966, his collection, *Vohon Kupala* (The Fire of Kupalo) was published in Kyiv; however it was immediately suppressed and all copies were confiscated. (It was reprinted in the West in 1975). After this time his collections were published in the West. They included: *Poezii z Ukrainy* (Poems from Ukraine, 1970); *Pidsumovujuchy Movchannia* (Summing up the Silence, 1971); and *Koronuvannia Opudala* (The Crowning of the Scarecrow, 1972).

Kalynets is a lyric poet whose work draws on pagan antiquities and folk beliefs. He combines metaphysical contemplations with social criticism and erotic imagery.

When asked if his work was inspired by other poets Kalynets quickly replied, “It is due to reading the poems of Bohdan Ihor Antonych that I began to write poetry seriously. His work had a tremendous influence on me“: The works of Antonych (1909-1937), a Ukrainian poet and critic deal with philosophical themes and combine the principles of imagism with folklore of the Lemko region in Ukraine.

Born 1939 in Khodoriv in the Lviv region of Ukraine, Kalynets has found memories of his youth. “My parents gave me a strong religious and national background. I always knew who I was“, states Kalynets. His strong sense of national identity was vital to his adult life when all aspects of Ukrainian life were being russified.

After graduating from the Lviv University with a degree in philology — the study of the structure and development of languages, Kalynets worked in the provincial archives until 1972. At the beginning of that year his life was ruthlessly uprooted.

“My wife was arrested in January, 1972“, states Kalynets and continues,

“our house was searched and all my work was confiscated except for one collection which Iryna managed to discreetly kick under the furniture“. The horror of the times is captured in his recollection of his daughter’s comments after his wife’s arrest. “My daughter, a young child at the time, said to me: “during the search of our house they took my poem about the sunshine and the sunset, will they take me away like they took mommy?“ After his wife’s arrest Kalynets continued to write and dedicated his poems to his wife and others who were arrested. This did not last long. He was arrested later that year. “I was arrested for my collections which were published in the West and charged with among many things, anti-Soviet agitation, clericalism and pessimism. I was told that the main theme predominating my work was a lament for the condition of western Ukraine (Halychyna) which was being russified. Jokingly I told them: at least charge me with lamenting the condition of Ukraine in its entirety, my scope of vision isn’t that narrow“. Kalynets and his wife, human rights activist and poet, Iryna (nee Stasyv) were victims of a wave of political arrests of young Ukrainian professionals and intellectuals throughout Ukraine in the 1960s and 1970s. They were charged with disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. The real issue at hand was that these educated people wanted to be Ukrainian and not Russian as the Soviet system wanted them to be. Kalynets and his wife were sentenced to six years of strict-regime camps and three years of exile.

“I managed to save everything that I wrote in prison. Poetry helped me survive“, he says. While in prison he raised his pen in order that the prisoners’ voice could be heard. “I wrote on thin cigarette wrappers, which I swallowed and passed to those who were allowed to visit me“. His writings, including petitions for help and protests were smuggled out of prison, some reaching the West.

After his release from prison in 1981, Kalynets returned to Lviv, his poetic muse silenced. “While in prison and exile I felt spiritually unchained and this feeling of spiritual freedom prompted me to write; however when I returned to Lviv the city was dominated by feelings of such immense sadness and oppression that I could no longer write. I haven’t written since“.

Kalynets lives in Lviv and is active in the political and cultural revival in Ukraine. He is an active member of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (RUKH). Currently he works at the Stefanyk Library of Sciences in Lviv. Kalynets work consisting of 17 collections of poetry, grouped into two cycles, will be published in 1991. The first cycle, “The Muse Awakened“ (9 collections of poetry written up to his imprisonment in 1972) will be published in Poland. The second cycle, “The Muse Imprisoned“ (eight collections of poetry written 1972-1981) will be published in Toronto and edited by University of Toronto Professor of Slavic Languages and literatures, D.H. Struk. A short book containing 3 of his collections is to be published in Kyiv and Kalynets comments, “I was told that there is not enough paper for a thicker book“.

Christina Svystun

**THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING OF THE WORLD LEAGUE
FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY (WLFD) HELD IN TAIPEI
(ROC), JANUARY 21-25, 1991**



UKRAINE

AND THE SUBJUGATED
NATIONS: THEIR STRUGGLE
FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

BY YAROSLAV STETSKO
EDITED BY JOHN KOLASKY



YAROSLAV STETSKO

* January 19, 1912 — † July 5, 1986

Inmate of Nazi concentration camps;
Prime Minister of Free Ukraine;
President of the Antibolshevik Block of
Nations;
Chairman of the Organization of Ukrai-
nian Nationalists;
Board member of the World Anticom-
munist League;
Board member of the European Freedom
Council.

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation is a collection of the inspiring writings of Yaroslav Stetsko. It illuminates the struggle between the free world and Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe at the dawn of the cold war.

Stetsko, who was both Prime Minister of a Free Ukrainian Government in 1941, liquidated by the Nazis and a modern-day freedom fighter, explains:

Why Russian Imperialism exists long before communism;
Why the Russian occupation of Ukraine was illegal and opposed by the vast majority of Ukrainians and much more.

This is a revealing and important document about a pivotal period in East European history. Over 20 years, Prime Minister Stetsko's writings have come to be regarded as eloquent and impassioned pleas to all those who champion the downfall of Bolshevism.



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2

March-April 1991

CONTENTS:

Support for the Lithuanian Nation	1
Ukrainian Students Help Defend Lithuanian Independence	2
Striving for a New League Image	7
Changing International Relations and the Future of China	9
What is Happening in Bulgaria Today?	11
Independence for Georgia	13
Ukraine's Health in Critical Condition	19
Democratic Congress Established in Kharkiv	20
For Freedom and Democracy	22
Dr. Francisak Skaryna — The First Byelorussian Printer	23
Gorbachev Increases Aid to Najibullah	25
<i>Peter Hardi (Hungary)</i> Changes of World Communism and International Detente	27
<i>Eck Spahich</i> Croatia's History in Stamps	33
Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day Celebrated in Major Cities	35
URP, Rukh Protest Communist Rally to Mark Formation of USSR	41
Ukrainian Nationalist Leader Speaks out on Crisis in USSR	44
Canadian Government urged to Develop Relations with National Republics	47

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Freedom for Individuals!

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SUPPORT FOR THE LITHUANIAN NATION

Finland protests Soviet violence in Lithuania

On Sunday, January 13, the first demonstrators were in front of the Soviet embassy in Helsinki at 10 a.m., lighting graveyard candles in the snow along the pavement. On the 16th a protest march started from the House of Student Corporations, demonstrators with Finnish and Baltic flags, carrying slogans and candles, shouted anti-Soviet and pro-Lithuanian/Baltic catchwords and rhymes. The marchers were spontaneously applauded by people on the streets and many a streetgoer joined the ranks when the march proceeded through central Helsinki to the Soviet embassy. The number of marching demonstrators in front of the Embassy was approximately 300-400 persons. From the Embassy the march proceeded to the Presidential Palace, in front of which the demonstrators shouted "shame, Koivisto" and demanded his resignation or that he resign because of the attitudes he expressed in his speech concerning the Baltic question last week. The demonstration was spontaneously arranged by a small group of activists, and the information could not reach people in time to join the demonstration. All news media have, however, reported extensively the protest action. President Koivisto did not receive the delegates of the demonstration who wanted to present him with an address signed on the streets.

A more thoroughly organized demonstration with a march through central Helsinki was organized by various organizations. Thousands of demonstrators took part.

Meanwhile the Government of Finland has issued a more satisfactory declaration, asking the Soviet authorities to stop the use of violence and act according to its CSCE commitments. However, it has not expressly condemned the methods used in Lithuania. Prime Minister Holkeri will join in a Nordic protest letter from the prime ministers of the 5 Nordic states to the Soviet Government. All Finnish parties except a tiny remnant of Moscow-minded communists (like the 'night party' in Lithuania) have condemned the use of military means in Lithuania, even the parties which are forming the present coalition government are using stronger language than the government itself. The use of force in Lithuania has been condemned by the Green Party which is accusing the Western governments, including the government in Finland, of co-culpability because of the cool attitude they have adopted towards the democratic liberation movements in the Baltic republics. A strong condemnation has also come forth from the former communists, now rebaptized 'Leftist Union'.

A private initiative has been announced for a general half-masting of the flag, in mourning because of the events in Lithuania. The appeal will be published at least in a part of the daily press throughout the country.

THE HELSINKI GROUP OF FINLAND

Heimo Rantala, Chairman

UKRAINIAN STUDENTS HELP DEFEND LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

VILNIUS, January 28 — A delegation from Kharkiv, headed by People's Deputy Andriy Sukhorukov arrived in Vilnius with a considerable amount of medical supplies. Members of the Ukrainian Student Association, the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM) and the Ukrainian Nationalist Association also arrived in the Lithuanian capital. The Ukrainian volunteers joined the groups from the Lithuanian defence department. Their primary objective, according to the volunteers, is to help the Lithuanian people defend their independence.

January 30 — The Ukrainian national flag was raised near the Lithuanian parliament building as a sign of gratitude to the people of Ukraine, according to sources in Ukraine. The right to raise the flag was granted to a member of the voluntary student group of the Ukrainian Committee in Support of Lithuania, Ihor Kolesnikov, from the Kyiv-based "Arsenal" factory. According to the newspaper "Komsomolskoye Znamya," 11 people from Kyiv, 10 people from Lviv, and 9 Kharkiv residents took part in defending the Lithuanian parliament from the Soviet troops. The Committee in Support of Lithuania gave the Lithuanians medical supplies and 10,000 karbovantsi (roubles), collected in Kyiv.

February 2 — A group of Ukrainian patriots, mainly members of the Ukrainian Student Association, formed the honour guard at the funeral of Jonas Tautkus, the 20-year-old victim of the recent Soviet Russian military aggression. After the funeral, a meeting took place between the Ukrainian group and the Lithuanian defence minister and President Vitautas Landsbergis. During the meeting, the situation in Ukraine was discussed, as well as the affairs of the Ukrainian group. The Ukrainian group informed the Lithuanian President and the other government officials present that they had prepared and distributed leaflets to Ukrainian soldiers in Lithuania, appealing to them not to participate in the assault on the Lithuanian republic.

February 3 — Leaders of the volunteer Ukrainian student group, helping the Lithuanian defence department, gave a press conference at the Lithuanian parliament. Yevhen Nykolenko and Yevhen Kykyi answered questions on the political situation in Ukraine and the future outlook for the further development of Ukraine's democratic national-liberation movement.

UKRAINE SUPPORTS LITHUANIA

KYIV (UCIS) — A demonstration against the brutal military suppression of unarmed civilians in Vilnius, Lithuania took place on January 13, on the October Revolution Square in the Ukrainian Capital, Kyiv.. The rally was organized by the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly with the support of the Popular Movement of Ukraine — Rukh.

Speakers who addressed the demonstrators included: People's Deputies Oles Shevchenko, Mykhailo Horyn and Volodymyr Yavorivsky; city council official Anatolii Shybiko, and representatives of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Students Association, the all-Ukrainian Strike Committee, the Association of Ukrainian Women, delegates from a conference of Jewish organizations of Ukraine, which was being held the same day, and the Lithuanian Cultural Society in Ukraine.

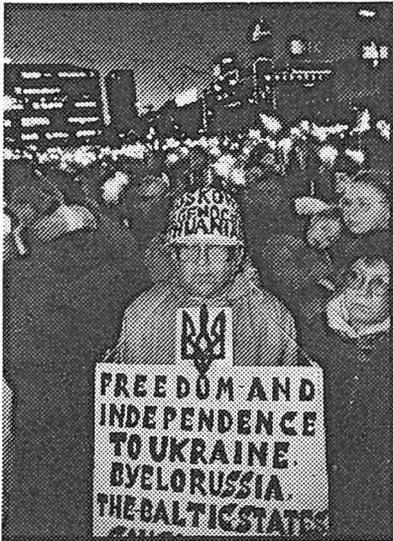
People's Deputy Oles Shevchenko read a protest statement, signed by several of his parliamentary colleagues, which demanded the withdrawal of occupational forces from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and appealed to the parliaments of all countries to implement warning sanctions against the Kremlin to force it to adhere to international laws.

In Moscow, USSR People's Deputies from Ukraine issued their own statement in support of Lithuania, which they delivered on January 13 to Mr. Egidius Bickjavicius at the Lithuanian representation in the Russian capital. The statement, signed by Yuriy Shcherbak, Rostyslav Bratun, Yuriy Koltsov, Serhiy Ryachenko, Valeriy Hryshchuk, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, Roman Hromiak and Volodymyr Cherniak, demands the immediate withdrawal of troops and a full restoration of the lawful government, elected by the Lithuanian people.

In Lviv, western Ukraine, on January 13, thousands also gathered to express public protest against Moscow's military occupation of Lithuania. The rally was organized by the Lviv regional (oblast) branch of Rukh.

The demonstrators listened to addresses by the chairman of the regional parliament, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and People's Deputies Roman Lubkivskyi, Yaroslav Kendzior, Orest Vlokh and Bohdan Horyn.

The participants approved a resolution, which denounced the military aggression against Lithuania and appealed to all democratic forces in Ukraine and the parliaments of all the countries of the world to help Lithuania.



A Demonstration in solidarity with the Lithuanian people took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, where approximately 20,000 people participated. In front is ABN representative Peter Kusma-Balitsky.

Following the bloody aftermath in Vilnius, 13th of January 1991, massive demonstrations took place in the Free World and in the Soviet Union in protest of the bloody actions of the Occupational Soviet army in Lithuania, and also solidarity manifestations with the struggling Lithuanian nation. In Copenhagen, Denmark, a solidarity demonstration with the Lithuanian nation took place on the 14th of January. It was coorganized by a

representative of ABN - Petro Kuzma-Balytsky (as pictured during the demonstration). Approximately 20 thousand people took part in these actions, including members of Danish parties and organizations.

GEORGIA CONDEMNS ATROCITIES IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

13.1.91 Demos took place in Tbilisi and Gori because of the actions undertaken by the central government of the USSR in Lithuania. They gathered tens of thousands participants. At the Demonstration president Zviad Gamsakhourdia spoke, condemning Gorbachev's actions in uncompromising words. The Supreme Soviet of Georgia addressed to Gorbachev a stern demand to desist immediately from further violence and atrocities in the Baltic republics.

Other events in Georgia

Jan.10.91 Georgian Television brought an interview with eight Azerbaijani deserters. They had fled from the Soviet army demanding asylum in Georgia which was granted. The Azeris said in the army they had been exhorted to begin Jihad — holy war -against the christian Georgians.

Gorbachev has given his support to Ossetian terrorists. Moscow has sent them weapons and even land missiles which the Ossetians have used to destroy the village of Tamarasheni in the beginning of January 1991. The Helsinki Group of Finland has received these informations by phone from president Zviad Gamsakhourdia.

THE PHILIPPINE COUNCIL CONDEMNS MASSACRE OF LITHUANIANS

The Philippine Council for World Freedom, Inc. through its Chairman General Luis A. Villa Real (Ret.), viewed yesterday the "bloody massacre" in the Baltic republic of Lithuania where 14 people were killed and hundreds were wounded "with shock, outrage and condemnation."

"Like the Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing in 1989, the crackdown in Lithuania by the Soviet troops is an open defiance of the people's call for freedom and democracy," Villa-Real said.

The former director-general of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA) said that whether or not the Soviet military was responsible for the "madness" in Lithuania without the consent of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the event signals the reimposition of the "reign of terror, the suppression of the press freedom and the crushing of the seeds of democracy already in the land of the republic."

Villa-Real said that the Lithuania incident shattered the confidence of the freedom loving people of the world in Russia's immediate prospects and could prove economically disastrous to the Socialist Republic.



Top: A Soviet soldier attacking the Lithuanian Radio Station; Bottom left: Tanks looming over demonstrators; Bottom right: The first casualty.

He said that the clamor of two influential United States senators — Republican Robert Dole and Democratic Robert Byrd — for the suspension by President George Bush of the 1 billion dollar export credits to the Soviet Union is understandable.

The PCWF charman also said he will not be surprised if the US - USSR summit scheduled on February 11 - 13 will be cancelled due to the Lithuanian crackdown.

LITHUANIAN APPEAL TO THE WORLD'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS

We appeal with urgent request - help Lithuanian people to defend democracy and freedom in the Republic of Lithuania! Following Soviet president Gorbachev's ultimatum of January 10, 1991 soviet troops, KGB and ultra-conservative pro-Moscow organizations have begun a large scale offensive against our freely elected, legitimate parliament, governmental buildings, offices and radio-TV. A real threat exists that soviet troops will attack Lithuanian parliament and other strategic objects in the city. Lithuanians are gathering in large numbers around the parliament in order to defend it, responding to the urgent appeal made by Lithuania's authorities.

Only a firm, concrete and determined response of the democratic countries could safeguard the independence and democracy in Lithuania and other Baltic states - Latvia and Estonia.

Vilnius, January 10, 1991

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania

BALTIC AMERICANS ALARMED ABOUT SOVIET THREATS Senators and Representatives Urged to Act to Avert Crackdown

In letters sent during the first half of December to all Senators and Representatives, the Joint Baltic American Nation Committee (JBANC) said that the Kremlin's escalating threats against the Baltic states have caused alarm in the U.S. Baltic communities as well as in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. JBANC points out that Gorbachev's recent appointees, Boris Pugo and General Boris Gromov, are notorious for repressing independence movements in the past.

The Senators and Congressmen are asked to undertake various actions in order to avert a crackdown and support the Baltic hopes for a peaceful resolution of the current crisis:

1. Letters from the Congress and the Administration urging Mikhail Gorbachev to avoid using violence in the Baltic countries;
2. Resolutions in Congress and editorials in major newspapers expressing the solidarity of the U.S. Congress with the people in the Baltic countries;
3. Resolutions or letters urging the White House and State Department to maintain direct lines of communication with the leaders of the Baltic countries;
4. Actions stopping all assistance to the Soviet Union if they initiate a crackdown in the Baltic countries.

STRIVING FOR A NEW LEAGUE IMAGE

Memories are still fresh of the days we spent together in Brussels last July for the World League's 22nd Annual Conference and exchange of views on league development and international situation. And now I am most pleased that we are assembled again, this time in Taipei, thanks to your coming from afar, for the World Freedom Day events and for the Executive Meetings of the World League and the Asian Pacific League. As the man in charge of the host chapter I have the honor to welcome you and extend to you the best of New Year wishes. One thing I regret is that I was prevented by other engagements here from attending the 35th Conference of the Asian Pacific League in Manila last November.

The Brussels Conference last year was a successful one. It also provided a new starting point for the World League Movement. This is because the most important of the many resolutions adopted then was to change the league name as "World League for Freedom and Democracy." The Asian Pacific League likewise decided to adopt a new name shortly thereafter. These were decisions most appropriate in line with the trend of the age. Having acquired new appellations, our two leagues now have bigger room for activity. Expansion of formation is quite possible and so is better facilitation of operation. All of you Executive Members command genuine respect for the wisdom and devotion you demonstrated at our last meetings, especially in the process to adopt new league names.

At this outset of our Taipei sessions, I would like to bring up a few points for your reference and consideration.

I submit, first of all, that the two leagues must seek new vigorous growth through innovative approaches. Many views were heard in this connection right after the World League decided to change its name last July, such as increase in terms of volume, qualitative upgrading of participating individuals, expansion of organization and work in Eastern Europe, Africa, and so on. All these are very important and must be translated into action through joint endeavors.

As for new-type activity, WACL Secretary-General Dr. Woo and ROC Chapter Secretary-General Dr. Hu were in Geneva late August through early September last year representing the World League as an NGO (non-governmental organization) at the 4th meeting of NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) signatory states. Earlier this Dr. Woo was in New York with the Japan Chapter's vice President Takeshi Furuta and ROC Chapter Deputy Secretary-

▶ JBANC maintains that large scale economic assistance to the Soviet Union under the current circumstances appears to be doomed to failure. Moreover, initiating or continuing such assistance would send the wrong message to Soviet central authorities if a crackdown were to occur in the Baltic countries.



A Wreath Laying Ceremony in the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall. In front President Tze-Chi Chao.

General Li Pi-liang at an U.N. meeting on banning of nuclear test explosions. On both occasions our men were warmly received and well responded to by the world body's secretariat personnel. We feel that such contact with United Nations circles is worth continuing and should be enhanced. We also hope that more people from the World League will participate for better liaison with U.N. sources and other NGO status civic organizations. This is one good way for the league to upgrade its function so as to contribute more to, and exert greater influence over, international affairs.

Secondly, I submit that we strive to carve a new league image and that we must, in this connection, hold the 23rd ELFD Conference and 36th APLFD Conference in best possible ways. In the two decades of WACL's anti-communist endeavor, the league won praises from international circles but at the same time invited some mud-hurling by leftists. Now that the league has started functioning under a new appellation, we must creatively achieve new goals as we inherit the past and usher in the future.

It has been decided that the 23rd ELFD Conference will be held in Costa Rica in August this year. We understand that Mr. Urbina is pushing preparation and, aside from requesting the president of Costa Rica to address the conference in person, hopes that speeches will be made by other government leaders and the Legislative Assembly speaker as well. I hope that Mr. Urbina's plan to make the conference very successful will be fully endorsed and supported by all the rest of us.

Lastly, but not the least, we should complete our charter amendment work

CHANGING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF CHINA

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to thank each of you for your eager participation in the seminar we are holding here today in commemoration of World Freedom Day.

The topic of this seminar is “Changing International Relations and the Future of China.” Our goal is to study and discuss the international situation, which is presently undergoing so many changes, and to solve the problem of Chinese communism. Particular emphasis will be placed on the latter. At this very moment, war has broken out in the Middle East. World peace has met with a new crisis. We who stand on the side of freedom, democracy, and peace cannot but be concerned, so we have invited an expert to give a special report on the Middle East issue during this seminar.

Everyone is aware that 1990 was the year that the struggle against communism won a great victory. The utter collapse of communism in Eastern Europe brought about an East-West detente centered on the United States and the Soviet Union as well the reunification of Germany. This has altered the entire international situation thereby marking the 1990's as the decade of complete triumph in the struggle against communism. But, I must point out here, the collapse of European communism liberated not quite four hundred million people. Yet, in mainland China 1.1 billion people are being cruelly oppressed by the communists. This tells us that much arduous work remains in our fight against communism. Only when the problem of Chinese communism is solved will the problem of global communism be solved.

The Chinese communists believe that the changes in Eastern Europe were the result of a scheme to carry out “peaceful evolution” by “international reactionary forces” led by the United States. They're right. Other than Romania, the countries of Eastern Europe did all “peacefully evolve” towards democracy. But, as the whole world knows, the failure of communism has been its intrinsic opposition to the currents of our times and its inability to accept guidance from the masses. The Chinese communists political and economic defeats are already very obvious. As a result, we are confident that the Chinese communists must ultimately change their ways and, in the end, terminate their party dictatorship and take the path towards democracy and freedom. What now lies before the free world is the question of how to increase the pressure on the Chinese communists and hasten their “peaceful evolution.” After the

▶ without undue delay. The League Charter is the compass and legal basis of our work. I hope excellent pooling of wisdom and careful screening will take place at this Taipei meeting.

The three points I have just mentioned are, as I said a while ago, for your reference and consideration. My best wishes are for your well-being and successful meeting. Thank you.

(Speech by Mr. Tze-Chi Chao, President, ROC Chapter at Joint WLFD/APLFD Executive Meeting, Taipei, January 22, 1991.)



The President of ABN, Slava Stetsko with Premier Hau Pei-tsun of the Republic of China, Taipei, January 1991.

Peking Incident the year before last, the political and economic sanctions applied to the Chinese communists by the countries of the world did put heavy pressure on them. This is the best way of turning the Chinese communists around.

With the reunification of Germany, we naturally think of Chinese reunification. At present the Chinese communist's policy towards Taiwan professes "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems." Whereas, our position is to reunify China with democracy, freedom and prosperity. Even though the Chinese communists use "peaceful reunification" as their slogan, they have not ruled out the use of force to liberate Taiwan. We believe that Chinese reunification can be realized only through the democratic process. This was the biggest lesson we learned from the reunification of Germany. Therefore, if mainland China were to institute democratization, the problem of Chinese communism would be resolved, which in turn, would be the solution for world communism. Even though Chinese reunification is a matter for the Chinese people, it is also a question of global significance. The solution to this dilemma not only requires the hard work of the Chinese people but also requires the support of all those who cherish the forces of freedom and democracy. We are very confident about the ultimate reunification of China.

Finally, I would like to wish this seminar much success.

(Dr. Tze-Chi Chao, Opening remarks 1991 World Freedom Day Seminar, January 22, 1991.)

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN BULGARIA TODAY ?

An overlook of the remarks of Prof. Dr. Elka Konstantinova presented before an international forum on Dec. 15, 1990 in Washington, D.C.

While the communist political and economic system under totalitarianism in Bulgaria has almost completely collapsed, the hope for new market economy has not yet emerged. No privatization has occurred although the communist party has renamed itself the socialist party. Land has not been restored to the farmers, and the economic crisis continues to deepen. In Parliament, the so-called Great National Assembly, members of the opposition are unable to pass new economic laws because they comprise a minority.

The opposition, called the Union of Democratic Forces or UDF, has achieved considerable success during the year of its legal existence. It has made possible the creation of 16 independent political movements, with 144 seats in Parliament as against the 211 held by the communists. The leader of the UDF, Zhelyu Zhelev, was elected the President of the state. Recently, the UDF, backed by students propelling a general strike, succeeded in overthrowing the communist government of Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov, whose cabinet had stubbornly fought to keep the Bulgarian socialist (communist) party in power.

The overthrow of communism in Bulgaria, mild in comparison with the former communist countries of Central Europe has been described as a "tender revolution," and lags behind the rest for three reasons: 1. The country has suffered from the presence of the strongest military command and the KGB, resulting in virtual enslavement. 2. In 45 years, the United States and Western Europe had left Bulgaria within the grip of the USSR, and communism raged about the country, almost destroying it. 3. Even today, the communists, through their nomenclatura (elite) cadres, continue to govern the state, especially small towns and villages, because the people fear reprisals.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party pretends that it has reformed communism, but the truth is that it has not altered its totalitarian nature. It does not admit guilt for the national catastrophe, it has left the nomenclatura system intact, has not bought a single communist criminal to trial, has not restored either stolen property or money, and has not made a single concession in the trend toward the democratic process. In fact, it deliberately causes unrest by promoting mean national passions, and ethnic diversions, for example, in areas populated mostly by Turkish speaking citizens of Bulgaria. Mass ethnic conflicts between these and Bulgarians have fortunately not broken out because the UDF has played a major role in its defense of the rights of minorities.

The UDF is prepared to assume executive power and govern the country without the participation of the socialists, but is awaiting a more appropriate moment, since such a transition could provoke the former communists to provoke a civil war. Bulgaria's Opposition leaders want the change from totalitarianism to democracy to be bloodless. The temporary alternative is a neutral government carryout some of the most urgent democratic reforms

until elections in April or May, 1991, when the UDF, despite its minority in Parliament, will do its best to dismantle the political and economic structure of the nomenclatura. If this proves to be impossible, then the UDF will advance the parliamentary elections to February, so that the new Parliament would be able to draft a new constitution for a truly democratic Bulgaria.

In the meantime, the country is facing its worst winter after a half century of communist rule, and we are on the brink of economic catastrophe. Food stores are completely empty, we lack essentials, the rationing system is a failure, and power supply is cut daily. The Bulgarian people have never known such a dire situation. Despite their incredible patience and diligence, they are martyrs who deserve a place among the nations in the Common European home. Despair is growing by the hour, thousands of the young are fleeing the country, and starvation will be aggravated by cold and the unavailability of medical supplies. The only light in the tunnel is the hope that democracy will come in the spring with the UDF in power, with a market economy in operation, and the liberation of the individual.

America is able to help us bring this change about by:

1. Providing United States and Western experts to back us managerial skills;
2. Sending us machinery, advising us on technology, and investing in our agriculture, light industry, tourism and the spread of our culture;
3. Establishing American and Western European seats of learning in our educational system;
4. Lending scholarships for our university students as well as lecturers in foreign languages and management;
5. Sending us desperately-needed humanitarian aid immediately to help us survive this winter, particularly medicines, milk and baby food.

We hope to see the monarchy restored as a symbol of our national unity. We have a strong and well organized, united Opposition, which has the support of the people. It is committed to the obliteration of our communist past. But the truth is that after half a century of unprecedented Soviet suppression, the Bulgarian people are unable to overcome the present catastrophe by themselves.

Kyiv Newspaper: Ukraine is Production Leader

KYIV, February 19 — “Vechirniy Kyiv” newspaper here reported that Ukraine ranks among Europe’s most productive countries. Based on 1989 official Soviet governmental statistics that compare Ukraine with Britain, Italy, France, and West Germany, the newspaper reported that Ukraine ranks first in the production of coal, iron ore, steel, potatoes, and sugar. With regard to natural gas and oil, Ukraine ranks second behind Britain; with regard to grain, milk, and butter, Ukraine ranks second behind France.

“Vechirnij Kyiv” made the disclosure in the context of the current debate on whether Ukraine should oppose or support a new Union Treaty for the USSR.

February 27, 1991 — 28/91

THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS — INDEPENDENCE FOR GEORGIA

POLITICAL PLATFORM OF “ROUND-TABLE — FREE GEORGIA”

1) The General Principles.

The development of the civilization has entered the phase, when the progressive states try to solve the general human problems with joint efforts. The word processes are so accelerated, that if these contradictions aren't settled in the nearest future, the possibility of the global catastrophe will increase greatly. Almost recently the political problem of the most importance was the confrontation between the free world of the West and the totalitarian regimes of the East. Due to the progressive world political opinion this acute global confrontation has been eliminated at the cost of the minimal sacrifice. The vital processes taking place in the East are so well controlled from the West by means of the economic methods, that the repeated confrontation of these forces is almost excluded.

From the geopolitical point of view, at present Georgia is part of one the conciliated super powers. This will greatly complicate its struggle for the reestablishment of its state independence, if this struggle runs counter to the processes of their rapprochement. As the rapprochement of the political systems of the West and the East, so the re-establishment of the state independence of Georgia are positive, democratic processes, which can't be principally incompatible.

Since April, 1990 the radical and democratic opposition of Georgia has been united in the political bloc of the “Round Table”. Its aims to reestablish the state independence. At present the following political organizations are the members of the Round Table: The Helsinki Union of Georgia, All-Georgia Society of St. Iliia the Righteous, All-Georgia Society of Merab Kostava, the Union of Georgian Traditionalists, the Popular Front of Georgia — the Radical Union, The National-Liberal Union of Georgia, The National-Christian Party of Georgia and the individual members.

Though there are some differences in their view points, these political organizations have the same political strategy and platform of the national-liberation movement, the principal provisions of which following below.

Today Georgia, having the centuries-old tradition of statehood, is on the verge of the spiritual-moral, political, social-economic, demographical and ecological catastrophe due to the criminal, anti-national policy pushed for 70 years by the communist government, installed by the Kremlin. The main reason of it is the abolition of the independent Georgian statehood as a result of the occupation and factual annexation by Soviet Russia in 1921.

Despite “perestroika” and “democratization” having been declared in the USSR, the violation of the political and civil rights of the Georgian population, discrimination on its own land is being continued; the territorial integrity of Georgia is in danger. It should be mentioned, that due to its forced sovietization in 1921, Georgia has already lost almost one-third of its territory recognized by the League of Nations. Georgia has no frontiers, neither has it

government or military units that will defend its national interests. The Treasury is being squandered without control, natural resources are being robbed, the Georgian nature and monuments of culture are being destroyed; the Georgian Church is in danger. No material damage can compare with the losses the Georgian nation has suffered through genocide and terror of the last 70 years. There was purposeful extermination of intelligentsia during 1921-24, 1937, 1950-51, 1956 and 1989. Every year, everyday persecution and imprisonment of people, incompatible with any norms of law has taken place. The approaching disintegration of the Soviet Empire has forced the Kremlin to change its tactics.

To preserve the conquered nations and territories in a new confederal state structure a new union treaty is being formulated. This is dangerous to the Georgian nation as the Kremlin resorts to different methods of repression against the national-liberation movements to achieve this goal. Apart from new constitutional-legislative barriers and economic blockades, "illegal" interfronts "are formed by the KGB. Provocation against national-liberation movement leaders in order to create ethnic unrest is a common method of suppression, created by the Kremlin to accelerate the assimilation of non-Russian nations. The Round table considers that the re-establishment of independent statehood by means of peaceful struggle, national parliament, national constitution and legislation as the only avenue out of the crisis. It is considered that there are two principal ways of re-establishing statehood for the enslaved nations of the Soviet Empire.

1) National and civil disobedience.

2) Political and legislative struggle against the existing totalitarian government; holding democratic elections, electing the government which will defend the national interests in the Transition Period: creation of the legislative mechanism for the reestablishment of the independent statehood.

In recent years the only method of solving vital problems of national importance has been through mass protest action. Only the joint efforts of the opposition and the entire nation made the adoption of the comparatively democratic election law and holding of the multi-party elections possible.

Thus, the civil disobedience and the parliamentary struggle are the two sides of the same strategy, leading to the re-establishment of the state independence of Georgia. The Act of Independence declared by the National Council of the Democratic Republic of Georgia on May 26, 1918 and by the Constituent Assembly on March 12, 1919 is still in force. It has not lost juridical importance and remains as the juridical basis of the re-establishment of the independent statehood of Georgia. As the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia hasn't signed the capitulation act and neither have the government and the constitution of the republic been annulled in a legislative way, so the state of independent Georgia still exists "de jure", the action of its constitution has temporarily been suspended by the legal government in 1921.

The Supreme Soviet of Georgia

The Supreme Soviet of Georgia should be the highest legislative body, elected

on a multi-party principle through universal, democratic, direct suffrage by secret ballot; its jurisdiction spreads on the whole territory of the present Georgian SSR.

The Session of the former Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR in its resolution of March 9, 1990 and June 20, 1990 has declared unlawful the armed aggression of 1921 of the Russian SFSR against Georgia, its occupation, factual annexation through forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. So have been declared canceled all “juridical” documents connected with the said fact.

The Supreme Soviet of Georgia has been elected on a basis of a comparatively democratic Law with a multi-party principle. The political parties and organizations participating in the elections were registered by the Central Electoral Commission, formed on a par;

According to the Election Law, the newly-elected Supreme Soviet is the “Supreme Soviet of Georgia” and not the “Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR”. Of course, this is not only the change of names, but a step forward in the direction of dismantling of the socialist system, of the Soviet structures in general;

Proceeding from the universal human values and the generally accepted norms of the International Law, the Supreme legislative body of the country, formed on the basis of the universal democratic elections, is plenipotent to change any law acting earlier in the country and to suspend temporarily or stop the action of the existing Constitution.

Everything mentioned above creates the legislative basis permitting to ignore the Soviet structures — the constitution and the legislation during the future elections and the period follows. The new Supreme Soviet should juridically legalize already achieved results and make new steps in the direction of full reorganization of the existing political system. In this connection the following normative acts be adopted:

- 1) The declaration on the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia.
- 2) The declaration on outlawing the Soviet power in Georgia and stopping the action of the constitutions of the Soviet Union and the Georgian SSR on the whole territory of Georgia.

2. Transition Period

Proceeding from the existing political realities, nowadays the re-establishment of the full state independence is impossible without the preparatory Transition Period. The legislative, political and economic basis of the independent statehood of Georgia should be created in the Transition Period. The Transition Period starts after the idea of necessity of the re-establishment of the state independent matures in the consciousness of the whole population of Georgia and after the legislative mechanism of Georgia’s incorporation into the alien country no longer exists. Thus, in fact the Transition Period has already started in Georgia. From our viewpoint, for its further development it’s necessary that the following legislative acts be adopted and realized:

- 1) The declaration on changing the name and the state Symbolics of the Georgian SSR and on announcing the Transition Period.

2) Resolution on the Principal Law of the Transition Period, based on the constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, suspended temporarily in 1921.

3) Resolution on annulling the union agreement concluded by the unlawful government having been installed in Georgia since February 16, 1921.

The Transition Period can be considered over, after independent Georgia is recognized as the subject of the International Law by International political organization. Then the democratic elections of the parliament of independent Georgia will be held. To be recognized as the subject of the International Law, Georgia should have strictly determined frontiers, the government elected on a democratic basis, controlling the whole territory of the country.

The Territorial Integrity of Georgia and its Defence

As a result of the annexation of 1921, besides the loss of its territories, Georgia has suffered great damage through the merciless exploitation of its minerals and natural resources. Million tons of manganese, non-ferrous metals, marble, etc. were carried away from Georgia. This has caused not only the irreparable harm to nature, but Georgia has also suffered enormous financial losses, for its territory is actually defenceless and the state borders exist only on maps.

The new Supreme Soviet should decide the question of the territory of Georgia, the nationalization of its natural resources and its reliable defence.

A special commission defending the state borders of Georgia and its territorial integrity should be set up. Proceeding from above, that Transitional Supreme Soviet should without delay adopt the following legislative acts:

- 1) Declare the land, space, water resources, continental shelf and minerals to be national property;
- 2) Declaration on land, sea, air borders;
- 3) Declaration on the national military formations;
- 4) Declaration on customs service;
- 5) Declaration on transit and transport;
- 6) Declaration on giving the status of the armed forces of the alien country to the units of the Soviet army in Georgia; declaration on the National Security Service.

As the state independence of the Democratic Republic of Georgia has not been abolished in a lawful way, its constitution has only temporarily been suspended by the lawful government on March 16, 1921, the lawful government of Georgia has not signed the capitulation act and there exists no legislative basis of incorporation of Georgia into the Soviet Union; thus we consider Georgia of the Transitive period to be an annexed country re-establishing its state independence.

The newly-elected Supreme Soviet should see to it, that the representation of Georgia be restored or open in various countries. This will promote Georgia's international relations, re-establishment of the juridical status of its statehood. After the re-establishment of the state independence these

representations will ensure the foreign diplomatic relations with these countries.

4. The Protection of Human Rights and Civil Tolerance

The history of Georgia proves, that national and religious tolerance have always been characteristic of the Georgian phenomenon. For centuries people of different nationalities, political viewpoints, and religion have lived in Georgia without any ethnic or religious conflict.

Naturally, the newly-elected Supreme Soviet, as the organ expressing the will of the Georgian nation, will be guided by these ancient traditions, creating the legislative basis for regulation of ethnic and religious relations, having been so aggravated in the period of communist totalitarianism. In Georgia of the Transition Period, concrete effective measures should be taken to secure the political, religious and civil tolerance and protection of citizen's rights on the basis of the UN Organization Declaration on Protection of Human Rights, Final Acts of the Helsinki and Vienna International Agreements. The equality of all citizens of Georgia should be guaranteed in Georgia of the Transition Period. Proceeding from above, we think necessary the adoption and realization of the following legislative acts:

1) On the state language; 2) citizenship; 3) political guarantees and rights of the citizens; 4) political-legislative guarantees of national minorities; 5) immigration; 6) freedom of conscious; 7) religious organizations; 7) political parties; 9) mass media.

In a life deformed for decades by the "Soviet way of life" has meant that for the greatest part of society, living honestly has actually been a form of heroism. Therefore, it is unjustifiable to raise the question of social, moral or judicial responsibility of people who were forced to morally compromise in a totalitarian.

Even criminal actions were very often caused by the inhuman conditions of life under the totalitarian regime. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet should discuss the question of wide-scale amnesty, the abolitionment of capital punishment and declare universal reconciliation and tolerance.

5. The Union Agreement

Proceeding from the generally accepted norms of the International Law the union agreement can be concluded only between equal, independent states. Thus before Georgia is recognized to be the subject of the International Law, even posing the question of the state union agreement with any country, the USSR among them, is inadmissible. This doesn't exclude the-conclusion of different governmental economic and cultural agreements for different terms in the Transition Period. The conclusion of any state union agreement is a prerogative of the national parliament of free Georgia, which will be elected immediately after the Transition Period.

6. The Dismantling of the Soviet Imperial State Structures And The Creation of New Democratic Structures.

The centralization of Soviet imperial structures, command-administrative system has brought Georgia to the factual derangement of all constituent elements of the state structures, which, on its part, has created covert economic mechanisms: mafia has gained the upper the hand, corruption has risen to a catastrophic scale. Professionalism has declined greatly, labor has become ineffective. Georgia has found itself on the verge of the economic, social, political and cultural catastrophe.

To improve the situation it is necessary to gradually dismantle the existing state system and its constituent structures, and create new democratic structures. The Supreme Soviet of Georgia should take the following measures in this direction:

- 1) De-ideologization of all spheres of social life.
- 2) Resolution on full separation of legislative, executive and judicial power;
- 3) Law on the reform of the judicial system; introduction of the institute of jury;
- 4) Law on the administrative-territorial division of Georgia;
- 5) Law on local self-governing forms through municipal elections;
- 6) Resolution on the creation of structures of executive power;
- 7) Resolution on the creation of national police;
- 8) Reform of the education system;
- 9) Reform of the system of protection of monuments of nature and culture.

How should the Transition Period Supreme Soviet of Georgia direct its struggle for the reestablishment of the independence of Georgia so that it won't run counter to the global political processes?

Georgia and its newly-elected Supreme Soviet as the sole official organ being the genuine expresser of the nation's will should act proceeding from the categories of universal human values. These values, on their part, can be based only on the religious principle of genuine truth. Art should create the atmosphere of sharing these values and these must be strengthened in the human consciousness by the scientific achievements of mankind.

The main goal of the Georgian nation ranks with such universal human values. This goal is the development of the independent national state of Georgia preservation of freedom, universal welfare and justice in our homeland. Naturally, this can't be achieved locally in one country only. With the help of the Lord and with the effort of the whole of mankind universal freedom and justice should be secured on the earth.

***HAVE YOU ORDERED AND PRE-PAID
YOUR ABN-CORRESPONDENCE?***

UKRAINE'S HEALTH IN CRITICAL CONDITION

KYIV (UCIS) — Ukraine is experiencing severe health consequences because of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and industrial pollution, according to a top health official in the 50-million-strong republic.

In a December 6, 1990, interview with the prominent weekly “*Literaturna Ukrayina*,” Dr. Andriy M. Serdyuk — then deputy minister of health of Ukrainian SSR — broke official silence and stated that Ukrainians’ health was in “critical condition.”

“Blatant mismanagement, criminal irresponsibility, and primitive understanding of technology are crucial factors in the destruction of our environment and, consequently, the individual person... Life expectancy in the republic is now 7.5 years lower for men and five years lower for women than in the developed countries. We sadly occupy first place in the world in terms of heart disease, allergies, bronchial asthma and diabetes... But the most tragic part is that we are doing irreparable harm not only to the health of those presently alive, but to future generations as well”, said Dr. Serdyuk.

When asked to describe Ukraine’s deteriorating health situation, the official listed a series of statistics recently compiled by his department.

“In the first half of 1989, the death rate jumped by 6.8% in comparison with the previous year. The rate was even higher in industrial centres. For example, in Kyiv, there was an 8.1% increase, which has no precedent in peace time. As a result of the increase in the death rate in the last year, average life expectancy in the republic has dropped by some five years,” said Dr. Serdyuk.

The marked increase in deaths is coupled with a severe drop in births in the republic, which have fallen off by 13% since 1986, according to Dr. Serdyuk.

Additionally, he reported, the rate of still births and premature births has quintupled since 1980; the rate of children born with deformities has doubled since 1975; 25% of all infants are diagnosed as “ill”, and 80% of school children have some health problem listed on their official records.

The statistics would be even worse if not “for the tragic fact that per capita, Ukraine is first in the world in abortion, as a result of the lack of contraceptives,” said Dr. Serdyuk.

In Dr. Serdyuk’s view, poor health in the republic is linked to industrial processes. He reported that 30% of all reported illnesses are related to the workplace, mainly the chemical, manufacturing and agriculture sectors. Furthermore, he stated that in most regions of Ukraine, air pollution is between five to 20 times above a sustainable level and that “overly aggressive” agrotechnology has led to the contamination of almost all food products by pesticides and nitrates.

A study conducted by Dr. Serdyuk’s department shows that atmospheric pollution in the Zaporizhia chemical-industrial region of southern Ukraine is so bad, that if it continues at the present rate, the region will be uninhabitable for humans within 150 years.

Dr. Serdyuk also commented on the Chernobyl situation, revealing that approximately 1.8 million people still live on “radiated” territory and that more than 150,000 people, including 60,000 children, suffer from symptoms

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS ESTABLISHED IN KHARKIV

KHARKIV (UCIS), January 26 — One hundred and sixty one delegates from 46 parties and civic organizations, representing Ukraine, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan, gathered forces in this eastern Ukrainian city for the founding congress of a new coalition of democratic forces in the USSR. The name of this newly founded coalition is — the “Democratic Congress.” All the organizations attending the Congress are active strictly within the context of their respective “national”, Soviet republics.

Representing Ukraine were: the Party of the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine (PDVU), the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Green Party, Rukh (Peoples’s Movement of Ukraine), the Ukrainian Students’ Association, Representatives of the Ukrainian Republican Party attended the Congress as observers.

The first session was addressed by the vice-chairman of the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet, Volodymyr Hryniiov, who represented the PDVU, and Yuriy Afanasiev from the Democratic Party of Russia. Hryniiov pointed out that in order to achieve some semblance of unity among the democratic forces in the USSR, a common platform needs to be agreed upon. But he further underscored that such an agreement will be difficult given the many points of conflict.

Afanasiev, in his address, pointed out that: “Today it should already be clear to everyone that national demands will not succeed until totalitarian political forms are defeated.” He also proposed that inter-parliamentary meetings of the above-mentioned republics be established on a permanent basis.

The Sajudis representative, Mr. Nedaniputekas, expressed thanks to those press organs, which objectively covered the recent tragic events in Lithuania and Latvia. “Against the military there is no force other than democracy,” Nedaniputekas stated. “On the basis of the Baltic experience, it becomes clear

▶ related to radiation poisoning.

When asked what has been done to deal with the crisis in Ukraine’s national health, particularly regarding to Chornobyl’s impact, Dr. Serdyuk replied that Western governments capable of providing aid, rightly have little faith in USSR health officials and claimed that previously authorities in Moscow have misdirected funds and supplies intended for Chornobyl relief. He urged republican authorities to take more resolute action on their own initiative.

Commenting on why none of the above information had previously been discussed Dr. Serdyuk replied: “Yes, we talked about it but, unfortunately, not to journalists.”

Following his disclosures, Dr. Serdiuk is reported to have left the ministry of Health in unclear circumstances, to take up a public health research position.

that, although the parliaments have become democratic, the decisions they make remain one thing and their realization — something else,” he further stated. “A vertical rift of the democratic forces from the parliaments took place, as well as a horizontal break — we confused international law with Soviet law. As long as there are tanks in Poland and Hungary, we cannot exclude the possibility of a repetition of Budapest and Prague, or that the Third World War will not break out. Democracy has no borders. And so we should not limit ourselves purely to the democratic movements of the so called union republics. We should also include the European countries.”

The representative of the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, Volodymyr Lysenko, presented his analysis of the present situation in the USSR, stressing that today there exists a powerful reactionary bloc, which stands for a single and undivided Union. Lysenko further stressed that the democratic forces ought to rely more on their own strength, rather than place all their hopes on the West. The Democratic movement was unable to achieve the dismantling of the totalitarianism and today has suffered defeat through the illusion that freedom can be achieved without assistance, Lysenko continued.

The following representatives also spoke during the first day of the Congress: the representative of the United Democratic Party of Byelorussia, Mykola Samsonov; Mr. Oduvanov from the Social-Democratic Party of Kazakhstan; a representative of the Social-Democratic Party of Azerbaijan and the Party of National and Social Justice of Armenia; the vice-chairman of Rukh, Oleksander Lavrynovych; Yuriy Badzio, chairman of the Democratic Party of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian delegation held a press conference following the addresses. The conference was led by: Aleksander Lavrynovych, Henrikh Altunyan, Oleksander Yemets, Volodymyr Muliava and Bohdan Horyn.

The next day, in the morning, the Congress approved the following declaration on the formation of the Democratic Congress:

“We, representatives of the parties, organizations and movements listed below, realizing the necessity for the consolidation of efforts of the democratic forces for the peaceful liquidation of the totalitarian regime, the establishment of sovereign states and the dismantling of imperialist, unitary structures, have established the Democratic Congress of independent parties, movements of social-democratic, liberal, general-democratic and national-democratic orientation.

The founding parties, organizations and movements intend to resolve the following tasks within the framework of the Democratic Congress; agreement of positions, organization of common political actions and other forms of common activity in the resolution of general tasks for the democratic movement: opposition to the policy of *diktat* regarding the republics, the organization of peaceful forms of resistance to attempts to use military force, economic suffocation, ideological terror; the formation of public thought in defence of democracy, independence and public peace, against the incitement of inter-ethnic hostility, the provocation of chaos, and the incitement of civil war within society.

The participants of the Democratic Congress are actively engaged in the defence of human rights, recognized by the world community.”

FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

The developments in Eastern Europe and and namely in the Soviet Union give also reason to severe concern. It is alarming that people in the West are insufficiently aware of the political explosive situation in the Soviet Union, also as a result of the very bad economic situation.

In diverse countries as in Romania and Bulgaria the steeled communistic cadres are certainly not wiped out. But there is also reason for joy now that the German Democratic Republic has ceased to exist and is incorporated in a democratic Germany.

The tension between East and West has indeed decreased considerably, ...the problems though have not disappeared from the earth likewise.

It is a sheer fiction to believe that communists do convert easily and by conviction to a democracy or a free market system. As far as they do so now it might be outwardly under vast economic pressure rather than as a result of an awareness of their own ideologic catastrophe. It will be a process of many years.

In several countries communist regimes are still in power. In Red-China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea for instance millions are still suppressed and terrorised and the world is still confronted with new and severe threats as the Gulf crisis, international terrorism, drugs and the increasing religious tensions.

For the Europeans the developments in the process of European Unity are also of great importance.

There is still a long way to go before we can speak right down about "world Freedom and Democracy." A road that is sowed with explosives, which by the least contact may lead us farther from our objectives.

The tasks we have undertaken have not grown easier by the spectacular changes in the communistic world. On the contrary, we have to fight an opinion, which grows with increasing power, that the "grief is over now" and that there is "no danger any more" for us. But at the same time the present situation is a challenge for those who are determined not to leave the field and who have the necessary perseverance to accomplish the objective: **World Freedom and Democracy.**

P.J.G.A. Ego, ECWF-Chairman

Kharkiv Rukh Holds Second Conference

KHARKIV, December 22 — Delegates from 29 district Rukh organizations, representatives of labour collectives, civic, political and national organizations and members of the press gathered in this eastern Ukrainian city to attend the second conference of that city's People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) branch. The chairman of the Coordinating Council of the national Rukh organization, People's Deputy Mykola Porovskiy, was also present.

The speakers pointed out that in the space of a year, Rukh branches have been set up throughout the province and represent a serious opposition to the Communist Party. The primary task of the local branches is to spread the Rukh network in factories, small towns and villages.

DR. FRANCISAK SKARYNA — THE FIRST BYELORUSSIAN PRINTER

*The following is reprinted from „Skaryna’s Anniversary Year“ published by the
Byelorussian-American Association.*

This year is one of special significance to all Byelorussians. It is the year in which the 500th anniversary of Dr. Francisak Skaryna’s birth has been marked with a great fanfare in Byelorussia and abroad. Indeed, UNESCO, a United Nations organization, has dedicated the whole of 1990 to his memory. High government and academic officials from Byelorussia, including Prime Minister Viacaslau Kiebic, Foreign Affairs Minister Piotra Kraucanka and Academician of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences Adam Maldzis, travelled all the way to New York to participate at the United Nations in a special event on September 27 dedicated to Dr. Skaryna. The event was sponsored by the Byelorussian Mission to the United Nations and attracted over 300 people, mostly scholars, politicians and Byelorussian emigres. Similar Skaryna events were featured at the P. Kreceuski Foundation in New York, the New York Public Library, New York’s Queens College, and Rutgers University in New Jersey.

This year Byelorussians are celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Doctor Francisak Skaryna, the first translator and publisher of the Bible (1517-1519) in the Byelorussian language. The impact of Skaryna’s work has been profound both on the cultural development of Byelorussian patriotic movement in the 20th century. For it was Francisak Skaryna who wrote in his commentary on the book of Job:

As animals that roam the deserts know from birth their dens, as birds that soar in the skies are aware of their nests, as fish that swim in the seas and rivers sense their depths, as bees and the like defend their hives, so do people preserve great affection for the place where they were born and brought up in God.

Although the life of Francisak Skaryna is a legitimate subject of scholarly research in Soviet Byelorussia, the republication of Skaryna’s historic translation of the Bible is still barred by the Soviet authorities. Since very few copies of the original publication have been preserved, the fruits of Skaryna’s labors are virtually unavailable to the people in his own land.

Byelorussian printing owes its beginnings to Dr. Francisak Skaryna, a prominent scholar and humanist. Dr. Skaryna was born into a wealthy merchant family in the old Byelorussian city of Polacak. After attending local schools he studied at Cracow and other universities. He received his degree in liberal arts, and later, at the University of Padua, he received his degree in medicine. He was a true Renaissance man — his intellectual interests embraced theology, literature, linguistics, poetry, art, law, medicine, botany, and printing.

The most important of his achievements was the translation and publication of the **Bible** into the Byelorussian language, first in Prague in 1517-1519, and later in Vilnia. Skaryna's Byelorussian Bible was the second printed in a native Slavonic tongue.

Skaryna's **Traveller's Journal**, which appeared in Vilnia in 1522, is prefaced by meditations on life, poems of a delightful naiveté (the earliest extant Byelorussian poetry) and essays in which Skaryna introduces his readers to geography, history and music. "Reading," he wrote, "is the mirror of our life, the balm of the afflicted."

Like other translators working elsewhere in Europe at that time, he wanted to "make knowledge available to the people in their own language," he said. "I vow it shall become a language of books, and not only of speech."



Francisak Skaryna — Fragment from painting by J. Salavianiuk

Photo by J. Price

GORBACHEV INCREASES AID TO NAJIBULLAH

Even as his own people brace themselves for severe food and fuel shortages this winter and face the possibility of renewed oppression in the name of order, a report has surfaced claiming that Gorbachev has actually increased his aid to ex-secret police chief Najibullah.

Since the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Gorbachev has supplied the Afghan Communist regime with 400 to 500 million dollars a month, or 5 to 6 billion dollars a year, worth of economic and military aid. The new aid, as reported in the Sept. 1 AFGHANews, consists of "230,000 tons of grain and 110,000 tons of aviation fuel... The Kabul regime's request for an additional 100,000 tons of grain and 50,000 tons of aviation fuel is under study of the Soviet authorities."

Eugenia Ordynsk, Executive Director of the Washington, D.C. branch of the Congress of Russian-Americans, said, "The Russian people are suffering while the Soviet government continues with its internationalist agenda, refusing to reallocate its funds from the military sector to the consumer sector. We sympathize with the Afghan people."

"GORBACHEV: A POOR CHOICE FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE"

Mikhail Gorbachev came to power during the spring of 1985, five years after the beginning of the brutal war in Afghanistan. The Soviet leadership, headed by their new president, examined and evaluated the war. As a result, the Soviets decided to intensify their efforts in order to crush the Afghan resistance. Just one month after Gorbachev came to power, the Soviet Union doubled its war efforts. In spite of this military escalation, however, the Soviets could not defeat the Afghan Mujahideen. Instead, they acquired an increased political and military burden, which led to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in February of 1989.

To date, one can summarize that:

- Gorbachev shares responsibility for the deaths of 1 - 1.5 million Afghans.
- Gorbachev shares responsibility for creating the greatest refugee emergency situation in the world, as 6 - 7 million Afghans have been forced to seek refuge in foreign countries and within their own country.
- Gorbachev shares responsibility for the enormous destruction of the Afghan infrastructure.
- Gorbachev shares responsibility for the millions of mines planted throughout Afghanistan, and is ultimately responsible for the nonexistence of any constructive Soviet initiatives to clear the mines from the country.
- Gorbachev holds ultimate responsibility for the massive military support that the Soviets continue to give to the Quisling regime in Kabul. Even today, the Soviet Union provides the Kabul regime with a great number of military and civilian advisors. Total military assistance amounts to 400 million US dollars per month. This assistance is the major obstacle to a peaceful solution of the problem of Afghanistan.

The decision by the Nobel Prize Committee honoring Mikhail Gorbachev with the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize is outrageous..” Swedish Committee for Afghanistan.



I look forward to seeing my ruined home again. An Afghan orphan.

AFGHANISTAN

1.3 million dead (Feb. 4th N.Y. Times)

2 million internal refugees (Aug. 31st Chr. Sci. Mon.)

Almost 6 million refugees in Pakistan and Iran (Aug. 31st Chr. Sci. Mon.)

At least half of Afghanistan's 30,000 villages obliterated (Feb. 4th N.Y. Times)

500 Soviet military advisors in Afghanistan (Sept. 30th N.Y. Times)

5 - 6 billion dollars a year Soviet aid to Najibullah (Nov. 15th Chr. Sci. Mon.)

Approximately 30 million mines left behind by the Soviets.

Peter Hardi (Hungary)

CHANGES OF WORLD COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL DETENTE

The dismantle of the communist bloc in Europe was probably the last blow on European communist movement. In the post-second World War history this movement suffered all the major blows but one by East European events: in 1956 in Hungary, in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and in 1981 in Poland. It was only the Afghanistan intervention by Brezhnev which had a similarly destructive effect in late 1979. In Europe the only remaining major communist party with mass membership, the Italian is changing its structure and even its name to preserve at least a remnant of its earlier influence; German unification discredited and financially strained the German communist party; while the almighty communist parties of the East shrank to insignificant, peripheral groups in the previously communist countries. But above all, the biggest single blow on the international communist movement was the changes inside the Soviet Union and inside the Soviet Communist Party.

From a traditional communist point of view the most dangerous process was to start the strategy of glasnost. Communist power structure was built upon myths and doublespeech; it reflected a worst type of Macchiavellianism and double standard. It was based on merciless authoritarian power and on the exclusiveness of the communist party. Glasnost ranked down the party to a fallible human status and deprived it from its position of being the sole arbiter of truth. Glasnost also opened up history for a new scrutiny which revealed the party's and the communist power's misbehaviors.

The power vacuum in Soviet leadership, the policy of glasnost and the open failure of communist economic policy deprived the communist movement from an existing, presentable model of communism. Even the perspectives were obscured because there have been no remaining alternatives in Eastern Europe along a communist line. The failure of the communist endorsed central planning and command economy system was total; the pragmatic realities of empty stores, starvation, collapsed redistributive system, and the fully obsolete industrial structure killed even a slight hope for restoration of this system.

Even the longest lasting bastion of traditional communism is shaken by domestic upheavels and reforms: Albania will also soon disappear as a communist country. But the failure is not yet complete. There are certain regions in the world where not simply leftist but communist thinking is still strongly present, where, as a means of opposition to the existing regimes as they are, a leftist alternative has still certain appeal. Probably the message was not quite clear or it was misinterpreted or intentionally distorted—who knows? But it is of a great surprise to many East Europeans to discover that what they see and live through as a total deadlock of communist alternatives and this view is most frequently shared even by previous top communist leaders-, they still present a viable option for many people outside Europe. Probably that justifies why to examine in a more detailed way the failure of communism in Eastern Europe.

In Hungary, the process of erosion within the party was fortified by the small but continuously present opposition movement which carried the values of a democratic society and liberalism, and which, by the help of the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and its final act's emphasis on human rights, could force party reformist to give way to fundamental systematic changes.

The combined effect of domestic and external changes had an unforeseen effect: the communist party leadership had lost control over the reform process. The old communist leadership became confused when Gorbachev introduced his policy of glasnost and challenged some of the fundamental tenets of mainstream communist ideology. Through the devastating criticism of the Brezhnev period of stagnation, the old leaders in Eastern Europe, most of them children of the Brezhnev era, lost their best support and legitimizing background in the Soviet elite. They had to abandon the idea of using force against their political opponents after losing political control over them just because Soviet uneasiness in offering any support to a coercive move. In this context Gorbachev's most significant foreign policy statement in 1989 was a reference that the Brezhnev doctrine was dead. The late fall events of 1989 in East Germany and Czechoslovakia were the empirical proofs of the validity of his statement.

The Soviet Union did not want and probably could not intervene in Eastern Europe to save these leaders; anyway, Gorbachev tried to support reformist changes and reform communists in these countries for over many years. He had good reasons for that: he wanted to have friendly, reformist regimes in his immediate neighborhood in the socialist bloc, thus reducing a possible support for his domestic conservative opposition and enhancing the actual support of his own reform policy by the spread of reforms in Eastern Europe. But events took over his initiative; it was a deep and far reaching structural change of the communist system. East European events went out of Gorbachev's control as they have gone out of the control of local communist leadership. Without Soviet support the communist regimes could not hide the fact any more that their power has been founded on alien, superimposed structures which was proved in the case of Romania.

The election in Hungary closed a period of domestic power vacuum. This vacuum lasted for about a whole year; from early 1989, the very moment of open debates within the ruling communist party over the reevaluation of 1956 revolution until election day, March 25, 1990. The first institutional proof of this power vacuum was the informal influence of the opposition parties which could legally act in the political arena since early 1989 and which formed a coalition called the Opposition Round Table. In order to accelerate the transition to democracy, the opposition formed a coalition of its own, the Opposition Round-table. It was formed to create better chances to influence the bargaining process in political life. It became clear quite soon that the communist party wanted to divide the oppositional forces and tried to set up different private deals with the different opposition parties in order to weaken their overall impact. There was a real chance this strategy might have succeeded because opposition was divided and there were too many points of

controversy among the different parties. At this juncture, however, they realized the importance of unity and events more or less justified their position.

The second proof was the start of official negotiations between the opposition and the ruling party: the formation of the so called National Round Table. This institution had to accomplish the transition to a fully legitimate system, and to secure the democratic and peaceful character of the transition.

The opposition fought from within the system: it challenged the power structures and the Communist party's monopoly of power. The real issue was defining the rules of the transition game. The term "transition game" expresses the essence of the process in which the monopoly power of the communist party will be replaced by the pluralist power structure of a multiparty system. The stakes were very high because the fight was about how much power the communist party, which started from the most advantageous position, could retain, and how much power the opposition parties, which started from different handicaps, could gain.

In order to give a framework and rules to the power struggles, the communist party and the Opposition Round-table agreed to start negotiations over the rules of the game. The real task of the National Round-table was twofold. First, it had to produce an agreement on the terms of the first free elections in 40 years. Second, it had to produce consensus on all major legislative proposals before they were submitted to parliamentary debate. In this process, the ruling party split into two, lost its membership as well as its power: the government functioned more or less as an interim institution: and the successor party of the communists, called Hungarian Socialist Party, ultimately lost all political debates, including a major power showdown in a referendum postponing presidential election in which the candidate of the ruling party could have had a good chance to win. When election day set in, the communists, reformist or conservative alike, had no chance at all not only to win but to be at least number three behind the two major opposition parties.

After the free elections, after the assembly of the newly elected Parliament, the power vacuum is to be ceased, at least in a systemic meaning; and constitutionalism will be reestablished. From that point on, society will have the possibility to develop a self-regulating automatism for social and political activity.

The collapse of communist values were also clearly seen in foreign policy. In most of the newly democratizing countries in the East-Central European region relation to the past in conducting foreign policy is an issue of domestic debates. In certain cases one can find an accusation that present foreign policy does not go beyond previous government's line.. This issue is most prevalent in the Hungarian and in lesser extent in the Polish case where the opening to the West and the strive to become an accepted part of (Western) Europe has started already during the previous-still communist-regime. It goes without saying that those countries which had no previous official record in challenging communist foreign policy now can illustrate mainly the differences and discontinuity. Hungary, however, offers an excellent possibility for analyzing the similarities and dissimilarities in foreign policy before and after the change of system.

First of all it was the collapse of the ideological and political framework. It had many reasons, including the uncertainties created by both domestic party politics and Soviet foreign policy new thinking. The collapse created a vacuum in guiding principles produced a drifting in foreign policy (a reactive policy instead of an acting one). This was the biggest single shortcoming of that foreign policy, also the reason of its improvised character especially in 1989. Yet it had two cornerstones:

a/keeping basic commitments to the Soviet Union and not provoking it by violating even its perceived security interests; and

b/approaching the West and trying to cut hole on the web of former foreign policy ties. This line included the opening of the Iron Curtain, Hungary's request to join the Council of Europe, creating contacts with the European Parliament, the North Atlantic Assembly, approaching EFTA, etc.

The second characteristics was a desperate economic diplomacy for immediate survival. In the last period of communism its strategy was to offer a promise of democratization in change of economic assistance and support to manage especially the debt crisis.

Despite the lack of a conceptual framework, there was a very specific Hungarian contribution to European politics: Hungary was the first communist country to systematically dismantle the Iron Curtain (both actually and symbolically), to open political boundaries, i.e. to overcome communist policy framework.

The most obvious area of continuity is a desperate economic diplomacy for immediate survival. The difference is that now, instead of promising democratization, not only to make the debt crisis manageable but also to help a privatization program.

Probably the least desirable field of continuity is the controversies with several neighboring countries. In a way this controversy is more unfortunate than during the previous regime when it meant a tension and in several cases a conflict over the process of democratization; now it means a conflict over nationality and minority policy, bringing about old, historical enmities.

At this point, the next question we have to raise is the following: What will come after socialism? What will a systemic change bring about? At this point let me refer to an academic paper which was published last summer in an American scholarly journal, *The National Interest*, by the government official, Mr. Francis Fukuyama under the title "The end of history?". Starting from Chinese and Soviet reforms, and referring to Hungary, he draws a conclusion that communism has failed as fascism had failed forty years ago; it means that the two historical rivals of liberal, pluralist market democracy have disappeared as viable options, and it is only this democracy which can survive. In other words it means that history has reached an ultimate stage, and every change anywhere on Earth takes us to this social framework, so this is the end of history. It does not mean, that there are no more events in history, but it means that there are no more alternatives.

I do not want to be engaged into a philosophical debate. I do not want to make categorical statements either. So let us put aside philosophy and ideology and focus on everyday practice. In that case the question is the

following: What type of society can systemic changes create in Eastern Europe? Is there a third way in between capitalism and socialism? After a careful analysis — which hardly can be done in the frame of such a presentation — produced a drifting in foreign policy (a reactive policy instead of an acting one). This was the biggest single shortcoming of that foreign policy, also the reason of its improvised character especially in 1989. Yet it had two cornerstones:

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make categorical statements either. So let us put aside philosophy and ideology and focus on everyday practice. In that case the question is the following: What type of society can systemic changes create in Eastern Europe? Is there a third way in between capitalism and socialism? After a careful analysis — which hardly can be done in the frame of such a presentation — we can summarize the following facts:

All East European societies want to catch up to the West, both in their social-political structure and in their economy. Most analysts call this process modernization; and the purpose of modernization is to create a compatible and competitive system-compatible to and competitive with Western liberal, pluralist market democracies. Changes in the political structure are to promote this process, as it is best expressed by German reunification demand: East Germans want to be united with West Germany under West German terms and conditions. Hungarian elections proved the same; and now it is up to the new parliament and the new government to fulfill this task. The difficulty is not any more to find the goal but to implement the necessary means. Both the major winning parties which emerged in the elections, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats, have very similar programs concerning the long term goals of creating a liberal, democratic Hungary. Neither party wants to reestablish any reformed form of socialism; they do not even speak about a third way --mostly because that third way is undefinable. Their differences rest mainly in the speed and means of transformation of Hungarian economy. One hardly can discover in the programs any element which clearly supports a genuine third way. The Free Democrats openly speak about the importance of reintroducing a private ownership based market economy; the Democratic Forum considers itself a center-right party in the West European sense, and it is clear that these parties do not want to transcend capitalism. When Hungarian politicians of the leading parties speak about ideas which could be interpreted as certain references to a third way, it will soon be obvious that they speak about a model which resembles to a Scandinavian welfare and social security system instead of something in between capitalism and socialism.

Taking all arguments into account, Fukuyama's statement seems to be right on the phenomenological level: when a modern system as an alternative to liberal democratic capitalism fails in Europe, the way out is not a new system but a return to liberal market democracy. Whether this empirical proof validates or not a statement of historical-philosophical dimension, that is a separate problem beyond the framework of this paper.



CROATIA'S HISTORY IN STAMPS

If you are prepared for excitement in stamp collecting, you should consider specializing in Croatia, 1941-45, and its exile issues. You probably will be the only one among your friends who knows where Croatia is on the map and whether the Croatian Liberation Movement still is active.

I have been collecting postage stamps sine age nine; however, it was not until my return from military service in the spring of 1972 that I realized I had become a specialist in collecting my homeland and various other nations of the Balkans.

That same year, I helped organize the Croatian Philatelic Society in Borger, Texas, which has become the only society of its kind outside of Croatia to cater to collectors of Croatia, Yugoslavia, Central Europe, and the Balkans.

The specialty organization has attracted members in 30 different countries around the world, receiving daily inquiries and correspondence from collectors eager to learn the philatelic histories of their stamps.

My interest in the Croatian exile issues began during a family trip in 1965 to Chicago. I met a man there by the name of Abas Salkanovich, who proudly revealed that he was a former bodyguard to Croatian leader Dr. Ante Pavelich in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Salkanovich, a Croatian Muslim, lived in northside Chicago with his Austrian born wife. Upon hearing that I was interested in stamps, he brought a set of his extra Croatian stamps to me, presenting them as a souvenir from his days in exile in Argentina. He had immigrated to the U.S. only several years earlier. Not listed I later found a mention of these stamps in the 1966 issue of Scott's Standard Stamp Catalogue. The catalogue simply published this notice: "Various sets have been released in Argentina since April 1951, by the 'Croatian Government in Exile.' In the opinion of the Editor, information justifying the listing of these sets has not been received".

During my long hours serving as a combat correspondent with the U.S. Army in South Vietman, I was able to establish contact with Branko Marich in Madrid, Spain, a Catholic priest who was at the time manager of the Croatian Philatelic Service in Madrid.

This service initially was established in Buenos Aires. It was later moved to Madrid after the Yugoslav secret police attempted to assassinate Pavelich April 10, 1957, in el Palomar, a Buenos Aires suburb.

The issuance of the Croatian exile stamps April 10, 1951, in Argentina is closely related to the Croatian struggle for freedom, independence, and its own democratic state.

The first set of six different commemoratives was issued by the Croatian Government in Exile, in Montevideo, Uruguay, in conjunction with the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941.

According to the Philatelic Information Service Bulletin no. 1, dated October, 1951, the set was designed by Argentinean postal official Amadeo

dell'Acqua, and issued in sheets of 35 stamps, bearing a total quantity of 30,000 stamps each.

From 1951 until 1972, a total of 44 different and colorful stamps were issued in Argentina and Spain by the Croatian Government in Exile in cooperation with the Croatian Liberation Movement (Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret - HOP), which Pavelich had reactivated during his stay in Buenos Aires.

The stamps helped publicize and finance the independence movement abroad. They were sold to stamp dealers in Western Europe and the U.S., who in turn marketed the sets to collectors worldwide.

The large typographed adhesives are in a class with the Norwegian and Czecho-Slovak stamps issued in exile in London, and the Polish stamps issued in Italy when these nations were occupied by Germany in World War II.

The late Ernest A. Kehr, writing in the May 20, 1951, issue of the New York Herald Tribune says most of the stamps were released through Buenos Aires and Damascus, Syria, where Croatians in the 1950's and 1960's had government-in-exile offices, while some were sent to Zagreb, Croatia, for use within the county.

The exile stamps depict scenes intended to arouse patriotic and anti-Communist feelings in exile and in the homeland, and to inspire support of anti-Communist sentiment throughout the world.

Concerning the first set of six different stamps, the 1k carmine shows Zagreb, the nation's capital on April 10, 1941, when the country declared its independence from the Serb-dominated Yugoslav government.

The 2k blue depicts a view of Split, Dalmatia, an important Croatian seaport.

The Shiroki Brieg Monastery, built by the Franciscan Order, is shown on the 5k brown stamp. In 1945, when the Serbian Communists captured the monastery, they set the entire town aflame, burning alive 28 Franciscan professors after spraying them with gasoline. The 10k orange represents the panoramic view of the important city of Sarajevo in the heart of Bosnia, where the 1984 Winter Olympics were held.

The 20k olive green represents the historic session of the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) on Feb.23, 1943. It also was the Croatian Parliament that on Oct.29, 1918, proclaimed separation of Croatia from Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the independence of Croatia.

On the 30k violet a weeping woman is shown in a vast cemetery where Communist victims are buried. The stamp's inscription says, "My people are poor slaves, my land, a vast field of graves."

Later issues include a commemorative of the anniversary of the murder of the Croatian deputies in the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Parliament June 20, 1928; a provisional noting the 75th anniversary of the Universal Postal Union; a set of four showing national folk dances and popular games; and a special issue with a portrait of Dr. Pavelich on the first anniversary of the 1957 assassination attempt.

Another issue notes the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY DAY CELEBRATED IN MAJOR CITIES

(UCIS) — Several major rallies were held on January 20-22 throughout a number of Ukrainian cities to commemorate the 53rd anniversary of the establishment Ukrainian statehood on January 22, 1918, and the 52nd anniversary of the unity of all Ukrainian lands on January 22, 1919. A brief outline of the major rallies is presented below. (All the information is based on a report by the Ukrainian Independent Information Agency — “Respublika”, unless otherwise stated.)

KYIV, Jan. 20, 1991 — On the day of the announced rally, the centre of this capital city was adomed with blue-and-yellow banners of Ukrainian independence and with the national symbol of Ukraine — the “trident.” A religious service (moleben) was held on St. Sophia Square at 2:00 p.m. The service was conducted by priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

Afterwards, a rally was held in which tens of thousands of people participated. The original text of the Proclamation of January 22, 1919, by which all Ukrainian lands were united into one national independent state, was read out loud at the start of the rally. Many deputies on all levels in Ukraine, as well as several leaders of Ukrainian political organizations, addressed the rally. All those who spoke underscored the fact that the day’s celebration was dampened by the tragic events in Lithuania, when the Lithuanian people were burying the victims of Soviet Russian colonial occupation.

▶ Croatian Liberation Movement “Ustasha”, a specially issued stamp on the 25th anniversary (April 10, 1966) of the Independent State of Croatia. A May 1, 1965, Bleiburg Massacre issue notes the 20th year since extradition by British military forces of more than 300,000 Croatian military men, government officials, and civilian refugees near the Austrian border town in May 1945.

From 1960 until April 1972, 13 different and attractive stamps were issued with Europa topics, similar to the regular issues of the Europa series issued concurrently by the various European nations.

In many instances, quantities of less than 30,000 per stamps were issued. Some provisional stamps were issued in lots of 1,000 stamps, creating a demand in today’s philatelic market. A number of exile stamps were accompanied with a first-day cover, an envelope carrying the newly issued stamp and accompanied with a special postmark. These covers are scarce.

For nearly a quarter-century, Pavelich and his followers issued these attractive sets, which were outlawed in Croatia and looked down upon by some serious philatelists. Yet the demand for the stamps has grown steadily. A set of 20 different Croatian exile stamps are available for \$20 or 15 different for \$15 postpaid in U.S. funds from Croatian Philatelic Society, 1512 Lancelot, Borger, Texas 79007-6341.

The organizers of the rally asked for donations from the participants to assist the Lithuanian people in their time of need.

People's Deputy — Oles Shevchenko — read a letter of greetings from Stepan Khmara, a deputy who remains illegally imprisoned in Lviv.

Following the rally, the participants paraded down one of the central boulevards of Kyiv. By this time the crowd had grown to over 40,000 people, who marched to the Taras Shevchenko monument, carrying Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian national flags. Many were carrying placards calling for a rejection of any and all new "union treaties," and condemning the colonial authorities in Moscow for the latest act of imperialist aggression in Lithuania.

That evening a commemorative concert was held in the "Ukraina" palace.

KHARKIV, Jan. 20 — Approximately 5,000 people gathered for a rally held on Independence Square in this eastern Ukrainian city, the second largest in Ukraine, to commemorate Ukrainian Unity Day. The rally was sponsored by the municipal Rukh (People's Movement of Ukraine) organization in conjunction with several other Ukrainian civic and political organizations.

For the first time in the period of Soviet Russian colonial occupation, this historic event was commemorated in the various towns and villages surrounding Kharkiv, despite several attempts by members of the Communist Party to disrupt the commemorations.

CHERKASY, Jan. 20 — On the initiative of several independent organizations, that are active in this city, a commemorative rally was held dedicated to Ukrainian Unity Day. The participants signed a petition in which they voiced their protest against the military aggression in Lithuania. The petition was forwarded to M. Gorbachev and to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR.

LUTSK, Jan. 20 — The commemoration of Ukrainian Unity Day began here with a religious procession headed by Bishop Mykolai of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. A religious service was then celebrated on a central square in the city. The service was dedicated to Ukrainian Unity Day.

Tens of thousands of people participated in a rally which immediately followed the religious service. Many hundreds of Ukrainian and Lithuanian national flags were waving in the winter air over the heads of the participants. The Lithuanian flags were draped in black ribbons as a sign of mourning for the victims of the latest military aggression against the Lithuanian people.

VOLYN PROVINCE, Jan. 20 — A series of rallies were held in many towns and villages throughout this province commemorating Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day. They were organized by the provincial leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP). The rallies were held despite the fact that many of them were not officially sanctioned by the authorities. No major incidents occurred, despite several reports of disruptions during the commemorations.

LUHANSK, Jan. 20 — Several hundred residents of this city, activists of independent civic and political organizations, formed a human chain to commemorate Ukrainian Unity Day. The participants held placards with the names of all the various lands, that make up Ukraine.

VERKHODNIPROVSK, Dnipropetrovsk province, Jan. 20 — A protest picket action was held in this city against the decision of the municipal authorities to prohibit a rally in commemoration of Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day. The picket action was staged in front of the municipal committee headquarters of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU). The demonstrators were demanding that the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR calling for such commemorative rallies be upheld. The demonstrators also carried placards voicing the support of the residents of this city for the independence aspirations of the various Baltic peoples. Others called for the immediate rejection of the newly-proposed union treaty.

NOVOMOSKOVSK, Dnipropetrovsk province, Jan. 20 — A rally was also held in this city, commemorating Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day, during which a handful of communists tried to disrupt the proceedings. In the ensuing melée that broke out, Viktor Hryhorenko, a URP activist, was beaten up.

The participants of the rally passed a series of resolutions in which they voiced their support for the independent Lithuanian republic, their protest against the newly-proposed union treaty, and demanding the immediate release of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara.

DNIPROPETROVSK, Jan. 20 — A rally commemorating Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day, sponsored by the local Rukh branch, was attended by nearly 2,000 people, despite the fact that special units of the militia and the OMON (black berets) troops were called out, ostensibly to prevent any violence from breaking out. The rally organizers stated that this was a not so well disguised attempt on the part of the local authorities to prevent the unsanctioned rally from taking place.

The rally participants carried many blue-and yellow national banners of an independent Ukraine, as well as the national flags of the Baltic republics, Georgia and Azerbaijan. In a series of resolutions passed during the rally, the participants denounced the military crackdown in Lithuania, and demanded that those responsible for the brutal aggression in Vilnius, Tbilisi, and Baku be brought to justice. The participants also demanded the creation of a Ukrainian national army and denounced the attempts to impose new forms of censorship in Ukraine. Finally, the participants of the rally demanded the resignation of M. Gorbachev and called for new elections.

NIKOPOL, Dnipropetrovsk province, Jan. 22 — A large group of activists within the ranks of several Ukrainian democratic organizations commemorated the Day of Unity by singing the Ukrainian national anthem in the centre of the city under blue-and-yellow national flags of an independent

Ukraine. The activists held candles in commemoration of all those who fell in defence of Ukraine's honour and freedom.

TERNOPIL, Jan. 22 — On this day the entire square in the centre of the city was filled with people, who came here to take part in the commemorative rally of Ukrainian independence and unity. The municipal soviet had earlier proclaimed that January 22 was to be a holiday, so that people were off from work. Many hundreds of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Latvian national banners were raised over the heads of the the rally participants. Several municipal and provincial deputies, as well as leaders of the national-liberation movement addressed the crowd. All the speakers stated that the Kremlin had terminated all movement towards democratic reform and that Moscow is now attempting to impose its totalitarian rule through the use of military force.

In a series of resolutions passed during the rally, the participants demanded that January 22 be proclaimed a national holiday by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR; that the communist leaders be brought to trial; that the Council of Federation dissolve the Soviet Union; the immediate release of Yaroslav Demydas — the chairman of the provincial branch of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church — of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara and of all the other individuals who were arrested in connection with the Khmara case.

Similar rallies commemorating Ukrainian Independence and Unity Day were held throughout most of the towns and villages of the province of Halychyna.

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

CHERNIVTSI, January 26 — The local Rukh (Popular Movement of Ukraine) branch organized a rally here in support of Lithuania. Regardless of the city council's ban on the rally, some 500 people gathered on the central Radyanska Square. A resolution expressing support for the parliaments of the three Baltic republics, condemning the activity of the pro-communist committees of national salvation, calling for the dismissal of Soviet Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov and Interior Minister Boris Pugo, and protesting against the signing of a new Union Treaty was approved by the participants of the rally.

January 27 — The Green movement of the Bukovyna region of Ukraine held its fifth conference in this city. The participants approved a resolution condemning Moscow's imperialist policy in the Near East and the military aggression in Lithuania, and expressing their protest against the signing of a new Union Treaty.

KRYVYI RIH, January 27 — Several local independent organizations staged a rally to inform residents about the Act of Union of Ukrainian lands in 1919 and in support of independent Lithuania. Close to 2,000 people attended the rally.

LUTSK, January 27 — A public rally was held on the city's castle square to discuss the situation in the Baltics and the possibility of the imposition of martial law in Ukraine.

DONETSK, January 27 — The provincial branch of the Democratic Party of Ukraine held its founding conference in this mining city. The delegates elected physicist Kyrylo Tolpyha as chairman of the provincial council of the DPU.

UKRAINIAN YOUTH SENTENCED FOR DAMAGING LENIN MONUMENT IN CHERNIVTSI

CHERNIVTSI — On December 25, 1990, the provincial court sentenced 19-year-old former student and Komsomol (Communist Youth League) leader, Valeriy Malyk, to two-and-a-half years of forced labour for three attempts to damage the city's Lenin monument.

He was accused of "malicious hooliganism and disrespect for society" (Art. 206-2 of the Ukrainian SSR criminal code).

Mr. Kolotiy, a Lviv lawyer provided by the Ukrainian Republican Party, described the verdict as unlawful.

While in Moscow in 1989 Malyk came into contact with democratic youth activists and began to read a great deal. He realized the truth about communism and reoriented his life. The attempts on June 6, July 23 and August 6 to damage the Lenin monument represented his symbolic break with communism. At the trial he explained his action as a political act not hooliganism.

Malyk's parents were fined 5,000 karbovantsi (roubles) for the destruction of public property by their son. Activists have begun a fund-raising campaign to help pay the fine.

The trial lasted only 10 minutes. Malyk's lawyer is continuing to fight the verdict.

PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS IS CONTINUING IN TERNOPIL

TERNOPOIL — Repressions against Ukrainian Catholics are continuing in the Ternopil region. On December 21, the children of arrested chairman of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Yaroslav Demydas, were permitted to visit their father after one-and-a-half months in prison.

Religious activist Olha Lisko went to trial for participation in an unsanctioned picket in support of Yaroslav Demydas outside the provincial prosecutor's office.

TERNOPIL, January 26 — Representatives of the city and provincial democratic parties and intelligentsia held a rally in the textile workers' palace of culture. The speakers underscored the importance of not dispersing the pro-democracy forces, of rising above party interests, and of abandoning inter-confessional conflict. A resolution calling for the elimination of Communist Party control of soviets on all levels, security services and armed forces was approved, and protests were made against the signing of a new Union Treaty. A telegram to the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet condemning the military intervention in the Baltic republics was also approved. The chairman of the provincial soviet, Vasyl Oliynyk, and his deputies, Bohdan Boyko and Yaroslav Karpiak, attended the rally, together with representatives of the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Party, the Ukrainian Peasant-Democratic Party and the Memorial Society.



A poignant commentary on the new Union treaty. An anonymous protester, chained and shackled, at last month's student demonstration and hunger strikes had this to say about the new union treaty: (translated from Ukrainian) "This is what the new union treaty means for Ukraine."

URP, RUKH PROTEST COMMUNIST RALLY TO MARK FORMATION OF USSR

LVIV, December 22 — Some 200 members of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) and Rukh (People's Movement of Ukraine) gathered outside the sports stadium to protest against a Communist Party rally making the formation of the Soviet Union.

URP members People's Deputies Putko, Hora, Hukovskyi entered the stadium and met the various performing artists who, it turned out, had not been informed of the occasion and did not know who had invited them to take part. Once they realized they had been deceived, some of the artists refused to go on stage while others returned home.

UKRAINIAN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS UNIFY

(UCIS) The newspaper "Youth of Ukraine" informs of an extraordinary conference of representatives from various student organizations of Ukraine, which took place the other day in Lviv. Participants of this conference resolved to unify the Ukrainian student organizations with student brotherhoods from Lviv and Volyn. There is a scheduled meeting at the beginning of February of delegates from the above mentioned organizations for the campaign of this constitutive student convention.

RENAMING OF STREETS IN LVIV

(UCIS) A news program on the central television service informed about the intention of the Lviv Council to rename 144 streets. It was announced, especially pointing out, that Lenin's street be renamed to Liberty street, and, also, Suvorov street changed to George Washington street.

ACTIVISTS SUBJECTED TO PERSECUTIONS

KYIV, December 21 — The Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) met in the Ukrainian capital to discuss a number of current problems.

The URP leaders learned that their party's central newspaper, "Samostiyna Ukrayina" (Independent Ukraine), is already an officially-registered publication and would soon see the light of day. Mr Holoborodko, a writer and satirist by profession, was appointed its editor.

The Dnipropetrovsk URP journal "Porohy" (Rapids), edited by Ivan Sokulskyi, was also discussed.

The Secretariat received information that democratic activists in Poltava have recently been subjected to searches, detentions and confinements in psychiatric hospitals, and in Sumy, a woman named Yanchenko, who spoke at a meeting about her imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital and the cruel treatment she suffered there, was arrested.

Various other issues were also discussed at the meeting.

CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC FUTURE OF UKRAINE

KYIV, December 22-23 — An academic conference on the “Problems of dealing with economic colonialism in Ukraine” was held in the hall of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine. The conference was organized by the Ukrainian Republican Party.

Economists, cooperative officials and public activists from URP branches in Kyiv, Odessa, Zaporizhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, Lviv and other cities attended the conference.

Associate in Economy Ivan Rozputenko spoke on “Economic neo-colonialism”, Associate in Economy Oleksander Shandruk — “Programme for the privatization of public ownership for Ukraine”; Prof. Veniamin Sikora — “Privatization and nationalization of public ownership in Ukraine”; academician Ihor Pohorilyi — “The perspectives of the development of agricultural technology and related changes in the agrarian complex”; Mykola Dyvak — “The problems of privatization in agriculture” and many other professors and associates in economy addressed the participants.

The speakers described the economic situation in Ukraine, pointing out that one of the wealthiest countries of Europe in material resources is at the same time one of the poorest republics of the Soviet Union. They also described the mechanism and methods of exploiting the land in Ukraine, as well as intellectual and labour potential. Several proposals to bring Ukraine out of the economic crisis were discussed. Every speaker pointed out that this would only be possible in an independent Ukraine. People’s Deputy Mykhailo Shvayko pointed out that the present measures undertaken by both the Moscow and Ukrainian governments are leading to a worsening of Ukraine’s material situation.

The delegates adopted a resolution to draft their own economic programme.

UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE SOCIETY HOLDS CONFERENCE

DNIPROPETROVSK — More than 200 delegates from southern and eastern regional branches of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society (TUM) attended a conference in this mining city’s theatre on December 22-23, 1990.

Although the chairmen of the provincial and district soviets and administrations of eastern and southern Ukraine were invited, they failed to attend.

The speakers pointed out that current measures to implement a law establishing Ukrainian as the official state language in the republic are completely inadequate. The Ukrainian government is taking no steps to rectify the situation in eastern and southern Ukraine. The Russian and russified Ukrainian population in these regions as well as Party officials are resisting the implementation of this law.

One of the speakers, Yuriy Badzio — chairman of the National Council of

the Democratic Party of Ukraine — pointed out that today the “revolution from above” has turned into a “counter-revolution from above”.

In its final resolution the conference condemned the communist authorities' plans to establish a separate “Kryvyi Rih-Donetsk republic” (major industrial regions of Ukraine), the unlawful referendum on the future of the Crimea, scheduled for January 20, 1991, as well as the signing of a new Union treaty.

VETERANS' ORGANIZATION FOUNDED

(UCIS) Last autumn (1990), the founding Conference of the Carpathian Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was held in Ivano-Frankivsk.

Former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the UPA, as well as representatives of various civic-political organizations, attended the event.

Since the Conference, the Brotherhood has established district branches throughout the Ivano-Frankivsk province, mainly in the Dolyna and Nadvirna districts.

THIRD SESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN INTER-PARTY ASSEMBLY

(UCIS) The Inter-Party Assembly (UMA) held its Third Session on December 22-23, 1990, in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv.

The speakers included the chairmen of the UMA National Council, the Executive Committee and the Coordinating Council of Public Committees.

During the second day, the delegates discussed a National Council draft proposal for the election of a Constituent Assembly, which was deemed premature and rejected by a majority vote. The draft proposal, together with alternatives, is to be made available to the public committees, and will be discussed at the next UMA Session.

A second issue discussed at the Session was the formation of new UMA structures and its leading organs.

Former long-term political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the commander-in-chief of the wartime Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Gen. Roman Shukhevych, was elected chairman of the Inter-Party Assembly: chairman; Executive Council whose chairman would automatically act as the UMA vice-chairman; members of the Executive Council would chair various subcommittees.

The session ratified these proposals, adding a second vice-chairman. Yu. Mykolskyi was elected vice-chairman.

Georgia's Supreme Soviet has voted to conscript a Republican National Guard of 12,000 men which would take orders from the Georgian government. The parliament approved the plan unanimously January 29th. It requires Georgian young men to serve in the republic guard and makes no provision for them to serve in the Soviet Armed Forces. The Georgian parliament also voted unanimously to bar implementation in Georgia of President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree giving police powers to soviet soldiers.

UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST LEADER SPEAKS OUT ON CRISIS IN USSR

LVIIV — “The Soviet Russian empire is moving towards collapse”, said Yuri Shukhevych, chairman of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UMA), a militant nationalist coalition, which is gaining popular support amongst Ukrainians eager to achieve political independence.

Political statesmanship is new to Shukhevych. For more than 25 years before his 1990 release, Shukhevych was not a politician, but a prisoner of conscience. He is blind as a result of his imprisonment. His “crime”: refusal to denounce his father, who commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought the Nazi and Soviet occupation forces.

In a recent interview, Shukhevych focused on the March 17 Gorbachev-sponsored referendum on a “new union treaty” for the USSR.

Shukhevych told UCIS: “Ukrainians at the end of the 20th century need not have to vote in favour of the right to independence. In our time, we have already ‘cast our votes’ for independence with our blood... I feel that it is insulting to take part in this voting... In any event, the question is already answered. Even if 100% vote against a ‘new union treaty,’ our fate will not be decided by the referendum, but by the powers that be in Moscow.”

Shukhevych’s UMA has condemned the referendum, stating on February 1 that a fair staging is impossible “under a colonial administration and an army of occupation.” In a position that reflects that of 7 USSR republics that are boycotting the plebiscite, the UMA further pledged to “not recognize the results of the referendum.”

When asked to analyse the current situation in Ukraine, Shukhevych replied that pro-reform groups, such as the People’s Movement of Ukraine —Rukh, are “collapsing and becoming ineffectual.” He noted that “a new wave, a third force” is coming onto the political scene: the nationalist parties brought together by the UMA, which refuse to take part in parliamentary politics or enter into any dialogues with the ruling communists.

“We occupy the extreme position on the political spectrum, directly juxtaposed to the Communist Party. In time, the Inter-Party Assembly shall unite all forces, which truly stand for national independence and not federation or confederacy. Nor, can we accept some pseudo-independence, in which we will be formally given our own President and our own flag and then be like some South American ‘banana republic’ dependent on our neighbour to the North,” Shukhevych said.

In terms of its pro-independence strategy, Shukhevych’s UMA is organizing an “alternative parliament” based on the model of the Central Rada that ruled an independent Ukraine in 1918 - 1920. Millions of residents of Ukraine have been registered by the UMA as “constituents” of the new body, which is slated to meet for the first time in the coming months.

“Ukraine is an occupied territory, a colony and, therefore, we cannot take part in any occupational institutions, even multi-party ones, [such as the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR — UCIS],” said Shukhevych.

BOMB DESTROYS BANDERA MONUMENT



The monument to Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1940-1959, was blown up on December 30, 1990, in Stryi — OUN leader's birthplace. The monument was unveiled by the residents of the village on October 14, 1990.

The blast was powerful enough to destroy a chapel, which stands some 150 metres from the monument.

Eyewitnesses claim they saw a yellow "Zhiguli" car with Ivano-Frankivsk number plates at the scene of the explosion. Local activists believe the incident

is connected with a similar one in Ivano-Frankivsk where two grenades were thrown into the city council building and a series of explosions in Latvia.

On January 1, 1991, democratic communities in western Ukraine commemorated the 82nd anniversary of Bandera's birth.

In Saryi Uhryniv, where people from Kyiv, Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Odessa, Lutsk and other cities, gathered to mark the anniversary, the event took the form of a Ukrainian Catholic religious service and a commemorative public rally, with addresses by leading activists of independent organizations, People's Deputy Zinoviy Duma from Ivano-Frankivsk and deputies from the Kalush city council. The speakers emphasized Bandera's role in the formation and development of Ukraine's national-liberation movement and condemned the destruction of the monument.

The participants proposed that funds be raised for the erection of a new Bandea monument. Plans are also being made for the construction of a museum on the site of the former Bandera family home, a museum of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and a tourist centre. Wreaths were laid on the site of the destroyed monument.

The same day, several thousand people also gathered in Ivano-Frankivsk to commemorate the Bandera anniversary. The rally was held outside the provincial administration building, on which the revolutionary flag of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was raised. The rally was organized by the political association State Sovereignty of Ukraine (DSU), the Carpathian Brotherhood of UPA veterans and the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM).

Ten speakers, including Deputy Stepan Volkovetskyi, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front, the DSU, SNUM, the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP), and the "Memorial" society addressed the participants.

Later, the people marched to the site of Nazi executions of Ukrainian nationalists during the last war, where flowers were laid.

In the evening, an academic conference was held in the city's building of culture to mark the occasion.

Similar events took place in Lutsk and Ternopil.

NATIONALIST YOUTH AND WAR VETERANS HONOUR MILITARY COMMANDER

IVANO-FRANKIVSK, March 5 — The Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Brotherhood veterans' association organized a meeting here to mark the 41st anniversary of the death of General Roman Shukhevych, who commanded the UPA during and after WW2, until his death in March 1950.

Representatives of present-day political parties and veterans of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the UPA addressed the participants, describing Shukhevych's role in the Ukrainian liberation struggle and urging people to vote against a "new union treaty" during the March 17 referendum.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT URGED TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH NATIONAL REPUBLICS

The Right Hon. Brian Mulroney
Prime Minister of Canada
Office of the Prime Minister
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In this hour of international strife, we wish to express our unreserved support for Canada's role in the liberation of Kuwait. Our prayers and thoughts are with our servicemen and women in the Persian Gulf fighting a just war against a tyrannical regime so another nation can regain its freedom and independence.

We also vehemently share the belief in the principle that freedom, national sovereignty and independence, democracy and the rule of law, national, civil and human rights are indivisible and must be defended wherever they are suppressed — be it Kuwait, South Africa, the Baltic States or Ukraine. This principle constitutes the basis upon which the New World Order should be built.

In view of this premise, we also welcome our government's public disapproval of the brutal repressions in Lithuania carried out by Mikhail Gorbachev's Moscow. Repressive measures are also being implemented in Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and other republics. It has become abundantly clear that imperialist and totalitarian habits - particularly of the Soviet type - die hard indeed, and, therefore, must be just as firmly opposed and rolled back. In the so-called "post Cold War era" there must not be a place for a "Gorbachev Doctrine" based on aggression and international lawlessness.

We urge you, Mr. Prime Minister, and the Government of Canada to:

1) Apply all necessary political, economic and diplomatic pressure on the Soviet Government and its regime to immediately cease all repressive activity against the people of Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia and Armenia — where state-sponsored violence and repression have already occurred or there is an impending threat of violence and continual repression.

2) Develop full, direct bilateral relations with each and every republic, particularly with the democratically elected governments as well as with the national democratic movements of the nations in question.

3) Simultaneously begin the process of downgrading relations with the

government of the Soviet empire and its communist, totalitarian system until both finally cease to exist.

4) Channel all current and future economic and humanitarian aid directly to the people of the republics through their democratically elected governments and/or representative where applicable.

All indicators point to the fact that the USSR is no longer a viable geopolitical and economic entity. Its existence and integrity can only be prolonged for a limited period of time through massive foreign assistance and a massive use of repressive measures by the KGB, MVD and the CPSU, which, in turn, will escalate the cycle of violence to possible uprisings and revolutions in the republics against Moscow (ie. the Romanian or the Afghan variants). Such a destabilizing and tragic scenario, however, can be mitigated to a great extent by the free world through appropriate policies.

An irreversible and absolute trend to dissolution of the last empire on earth - the USSR - into independent, democratic states is currently well under way with wide popular support. It is, therefore, within Canada's power and long range interest to encourage and actively assist in this process by following the course of action suggested above, which can only strengthen the odds for a peaceful and orderly conclusion of the said process. Peace, stability and cooperation in Europe, and indeed in the entire world, hinge on a just resolution of this critical geopolitical issue.

We do hope, Mr. Prime Minister, that along with Kuwait - Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia and all the other nations under Moscow's hegemony will, with Canada's help, rejoin humanity as free nations.

Yours sincerely,

Oleh Romanyshyn
President
Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine

January 17, 1991

PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS MEET: UKRAINE, ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, ESTONIA, GEORGIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA, POLAND DELEGATIONS PRESENT

TBILISI, February 23-24 — With pro-independence groups from 7 nations in attendance, the tenth Congress of Subjugated Nations was held here. Despite taking place amid a continuing crackdown on nationalist activity by Ministry of Interior troops, the conference made moves towards creating a formal common front devoted to toppling Moscow's rule of the USSR.

In the days before the conference of allied anti-centre groupings, members of the Georgian nationalist paramilitary group "Mhedrioni" ("Saviours") were arrested by pro-centre security forces. Indeed, the conference opened with many delegates attending a public demonstration calling for the removal of Soviet armed forces from Georgia. The rally was sponsored by the National Congress of Georgia, an "opposition parliament", that views the Supreme Soviet of Georgia as a colonial institution.

Conference deliberations began with reports from each of the nations — Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania — on their respective current situations. Poland was also represented. A clear pattern emerged in the reports. Almost all the speakers were critical of the "parliamentary path" to national independence, wherein nationalist groups would vie with the Communist Party for seats in their respective republican Supreme Soviets. Hence, they urged the formation of independent, alternative legislative and administrative bodies and national armed forces.

Vasyl Barladianu, a delegate of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UMA), recommended that the pro-independence movements formally unite and coordinate their activities within a common front. He suggested the model of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which was initially created in 1943 by several nationalist partisan formations, and remains active to the present time in the West. The ABN's long-time chairman was Yaroslav Stetsko, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, who died in 1986. The organisation is now headed by his widow, Slava Stetsko.

"On the one hand, the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are gaining strength and, on the other, the pressure from Moscow to sign a "new union treaty" is growing. As never before, it is necessary to coordinate the activities of all the subjugated peoples," said Barladianu.

Among the conference participants were the following organisations: Party of National Independence of Georgia; Citizens, League of Georgia; "Ilya the Righteous" Society of Georgia; Latvian National Congress; Latvian National Committee; Union of Nationalist Youth "Young Lithuania"; League for the Freedom of Lithuania; United Republican Party of Estonia; Party of National Independence of Estonia; Anti-Bolshevik Faction of the Byelorussian national Front; Union for the National Self-Determination of Armenia; "Musavat" Party of Azerbaijan; Azerbaijani National Front; "Free Solidarity" of Poland; Forum "Warsaw 90"; Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UMA); Ukrainian Nationalist Association (UNS); "National Independence for Ukraine" Association (DSU); Ukrainian Independent Youth Association (SNUM); Committee in Defence of Human Rights in Ukraine; Committee for the Creation of Ukrainian Armed Forces.



*The Entire Staff of ABN Correspondence
Wishes Our Readers
A Happy Easter!*

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

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FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

4

JULY-AUGUST 1991

CONTENTS:

To gain Freedom, a Nation must have its Independence	1
Ukrainian-Americans astonished by Bush Speech	3
Estonian Americans decry Bush Speech as Misguided	4
Georgia's vote is for Independence	5
<i>Tomasz Mianowicz</i> : Gorbachev in Western Eyes	7
<i>Eck Spahich</i> : Disintegration of Yugoslavia Expected	13
Ukraine is an Occupied Country	15
Freedom Coalition Award	17
ABN Seminar in Hungary	21
ABN Conference in Kyiv	24
ABN Meeting in Lviv, Ukraine	25
Political Hero Commemorated in his Homeland	26
World Congress of Ukrainian Political Prisoners	28
Riot Police strikes out against Ukrainian Parliamentarian	29
Victims of Soviet Torture Unearthed	30
Ukrainian Workers' Appeal	31
Ukrainian Activist Arrested	32
News from Ukraine	33
Acts of Terrorism Continue	34
(Soviet) Georgia's Democrats	35
Western Aid prolongs Soviet Agony	36
U.S. Baltic Policy	38
The January 13 Massacre	41
Dangers of Appeasement with USSR	42
Ukrainian Republican Party Holds Second Congress	43
23d Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy	44
Solidarity with the Ukrainian Nation	47
An Appeal to the Leaders of the Free World	47

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN **CORRESPONDENCE**

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TO GAIN FREEDOM, A NATION MUST HAVE ITS INDEPENDENCE

*The following is ABN President Slava Stetsko's response to
U.S. President George Bush speech in Kyiv, Ukraine.*

Dear Mr. President,

It was with great anticipation that Ukrainians throughout the world looked forward to your visit in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. Ukrainians have always looked towards the United States as a beacon of hope for freedom-loving nations.

We were very pleased that you decided to speak to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on your very short visit to the Soviet Union. In light of the fact that Ukraine is decisively striving towards national independence, some of your remarks were bitterly disappointing.

Ukrainians are not relying on a superpower to liberate their nation. It is incomprehensible, however, that the United States proclaims its adherence to the principles of freedom and democracy, while supporting the "center" of the empire, which denies freedom and democracy to all the subjugated nations within its borders.

Mr. President, you remarked that freedom and independence are not the same. We need not remind you that your definition of freedom referred to a "people's ability to live without fear of government intrusion, and without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens". Despite Gorbachev's proclamations of greater freedom for all republics, the scenario you describe does not reflect the current situation in Ukraine. In order to gain freedom, a nation must have its independence to ensure this "inalienable, individual right bestowed upon all men and women".

This yearning for freedom and independence does not herald the desire "to replace a far-off tyranny with local despotism". Ukraine, a nation of more than 50 million people, has its own history, distinct culture and language. Since Gorbachev has loosened the grip on the empire, Ukrainians have formed numerous political parties based on democratic principles. The only despotism to be feared is already in place at the Kremlin today.

Ukrainians are striving to attain the inalienable right to choose their own government and the right for self-determination. This right is guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Accords, and the UN Resolution on Decolonisation. It is difficult to comprehend that the United States would not be familiar with Gorbachev's recent violations of national and human rights while preaching about "glasnost" and "perestroika".

You spoke about the past tyranny of the Soviet system, but one must not ignore the tyranny of the present: the massacre of peaceful Georgian demonstrators, the onslaught of Soviet tanks on peaceful civilians in Vilnius and Riga, the brutal re-arrest of Ukrainian parliamentarian Stepan Khmara, the arrest and detainment in a psychiatric asylum of political activist Anatoly Lupinis. As recently as your trip to Moscow, Lithuanian border guards were shot at their customs posts.

Mr. President, you stated that “Americans will not aid those who promote suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred”. We assure you that the motives of Ukraine to break from the Soviet Union are not based on ethnic hatred. The new political parties in Ukraine guarantee equal rights for all national minorities and of course, including Russian.

As well as ensuring minority rights, Ukraine is entering into economic agreements with different republics and is interested in closer relations with countries in Europe and overseas. Please be assured that Ukraine does not intend to follow the “course of isolation”. In fact, freed from the isolation imposed by the Soviet system with its inherent russification, physical and cultural genocide, ecological destruction and national suppression, Ukraine is only bound to flourish.

Ukraine is not interested in isolation, but in developing a free market economy. Only the transformation of Ukraine from the backward colony it has become to a productive independent state, which utilises the wealth of its natural resources, will lead Ukraine from its present situation of isolation, “degradation and want”.

Mr. President, you remarked that the United States will not meddle in Ukraine’s internal affairs. The national independence of Ukraine and other subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R. are not merely internal affairs. Ukraine was forcibly occupied in 1921 after proclaiming its independence on January 22, 1918 and defended it bravely for several years against Russian white and red armies. The Ukrainian nation tried again to restore its independence on June 30, 1941. Comparisons of Ukraine as a republic to the separate states of the United States does not take into account the fact that Ukraine is a distinct entity, which differs from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Russia and other republics because of language, culture and history.

We were very moved by your visit to Babi Yar — a monument to the innocent victims when a people’s fate is decided by a power whose only intention is to crush the will of the people. Babi Yar has special significance for Ukrainians, because of the many Ukrainians who were shot and buried there.

We are confident that a deeper analysis of events and developments in Ukraine will provide a better understanding of the complex problems pertaining to Moscow’s imperial center and nations on their path to national independence. Drastic changes in this part of Europe require commitment and strength from world leaders on the forefront of creating a new world order.

Respectfully yours,

Slava Stetsko

*ABN President
Chairman, Foreign Affairs
Ukrainian National Government*

UKRAINIAN-AMERICANS ASTONISHED BY BUSH SPEECH

*(Statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA)
on the occasion of President George Bush's address to the Supreme Soviet
of the Ukrainian SSR.)*

The UCCA on behalf of the Ukrainian American community in the United States, welcomes President Bush's visit to Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, particularly in light of the latest violent aggressions perpetrated by Moscow against Ukrainian national and human rights leaders in that city. Our member organizations had hoped that the President would use the occasion to express American support for all those who have suffered in the past and continue to suffer today as a result of Moscow's colonialist policies. Since Mr. Bush's remarks were addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, it would have been appropriate for the President to mention the brutal arrest of one of the democratic leaders of that chamber, Dr. Stepan Khmara. We were further dismayed by a number of the President's assertions before the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

While we wholeheartedly support the President's position regarding democracy and freedom, we are surprised that Mr. Bush would suggest that pursuing the just cause of Ukrainian independence means "pursuing the hopeless course of isolation." History has shown that the decolonization of empires integrates formerly exploited and isolated nations into the political, social, cultural and economic mainstream. The imposition of an artificial structure as that proposed by the 9 plus 1 agreement which the President endorsed in his speech, can only result in deepening existing crises and promoting further exploitation and isolation leading to instability and unpredictability. Furthermore, legitimate aspirations to decolonize the USSR cannot be characterized as the immature longings of states which are "too suspicious of one another." Nor is the move towards national independence a function of "local despotism" or "suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred". Despotism is the foundation upon which empires are built. Indeed, the history of the Soviet Union is replete with not only blatant ethnic hatred, but also the executions of millions of innocents through acts of genocide. Advocates of Ukrainian independence, on the other hand, have been and continue to be profoundly democratic and ethnically broadly based. In fact the reestablishment of an independent Ukrainian state will guarantee the rights of all the minorities which reside within its borders.

We were further surprised when the President concluded his assertions by stating that Ukrainian-Americans support him in these remarks. The Ukrainian American community is united in its support for the promotion of democracy and freedom in eastern Europe and throughout the world. It is precisely because of this commitment to what the president called the "challenges" of "freedom, democracy and economic liberty," that the Ukrainian-American community has been united and will continue to be united in its support for full Ukrainian independence. The President stated

ESTONIAN AMERICANS DECRY BUSH SPEECH AS MISGUIDED

While noting that President Bush seems to have made a special case of the Soviet-occupied Baltic States by listing them along with Cuba and the Kuril Islands as “differences” remaining between the USSR and the U.S., Estonian Americans are shocked by the message and the tone of his speech in Kyiv.

“Once again America is in the business of propping up a dictator against the will of the people, stated Mari-Ann Rikken, Vice-President of the Estonian American National Council. “The President’s speech shows that he has even less understanding of the significance of the nationality question than Gorbachev. Worst of all, he seems to underestimate completely the ability of the U.S. and its allies to prevent violence by encouraging and guiding the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet empire. It’s up to the West — whether we choose to prolong the agony of the Captive Nations and the Russian people or to help them become free and democratic. Mr. Bush probably means well, but, tragically, his present course will lead to the very thing he wants to avoid — bloodshed and turmoil.”

Baltic leaders have long suggested that an independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania could help the Soviet Union make the transition to democracy peacefully, but are disappointed that the Bush Administration has not helped to make their case forcefully enough with the central Soviet authorities or with other Western nations.

Balts have called for Gorbachev immediately to remove KGB-OMON

▶ that “societies that don’t trust themselves or their people cannot provide freedom. And they can guarantee only the bleak tyranny of suspicion, avarice and poverty.” However, freedom is the basis for trust, not the reverse. For trust to be established, a society must be free to rule itself, free from colonial oppression. Although we agree with the President that “freedom is not the same as independence,” the two are indivisible. Freedom cannot come to the people of Ukraine, or any of the other nations within the Soviet empire without independence. Only an independent Ukrainian state can “restore power to citizens demoralized by decades of totalitarian rule.” Only an independent Ukrainian state can give the people “hope, inspiration, determination.”

Despite our disagreements with the thrust of Mr. Bush’s remarks before the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, we are hopeful that the President’s visit to Kyiv, Ukraine’s ancient and historic capital, will help to promote a better understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Ukrainian people for the establishment of their own independent state. Unfortunately, the President chose to promote the interests of Mikhail Gorbachev rather than the aspirations of the freedom loving Ukrainian people.

New York, New York
August 1, 1991
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

GEORGIA'S VOTE IS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The following is a statement by the Government of the Republic of Georgia in response to the U.S. President's speech in Kyiv

For decades the enslaved Georgian and other peoples of the Soviet Union, which safeguarded common sense and justice, cherished one great hope that there exists in the Western world the stronghold of which is the United States of America, which has been fighting and is going to fight to establish the ideals of justice, freedom and democracy throughout the whole world. There were, of course, certain events that arose some doubts — Munich, Yalta, forcible deportation of Soviet displaced persons from German concentration camps to the Soviet ones, etc. But all this was in the past and was considered an exception or unfortunate errors of judgement.

Lately, there appeared to be reasons for some doubts about the policy of the Western governments, in particular, that of the USA, since statements and declarations suggest that it is in the interests of the USA to preserve the Soviet Union as a whole. As best as we could, we tried to explain that it would be fatal not only for the republics but also would be extremely dangerous for the whole world. The Soviet Union is not a union at all, i.e. voluntary union of republics, but it is actually an empire. In other words, it is a union, based upon the vertical structure and ruled by force, and all the other republics have been forcibly incorporated and forced to remain in it. And if this violence is to continue, it might lead to a catastrophe for these nations. We stressed that there was much positive in processes which were called “perestroika”, liberation of Eastern Europe from the Socialist enslavement, unification of Germany, etc., However, the most important event did not take place — complete dissolvment of the Soviet totalitarian imperial structure. Furthermore, there have not been sufficient changes on the new democratic legal basis. This will lead to the outmost serious political, economical or juridical crisis and it can be solved only one way — by concluding the process that has been started. All the republics, enslaved by the empire, should be given free choice. It should be mentioned that this position is not unacceptable or incomprehensible to all in the West, and in the USA, too

► units from their territory and for President Bush and other western leaders to encourage the Soviet central government to begin serious negotiations on independence. Despite violence and provocations directed against them, all three Baltic states have earned the respect of people everywhere for following a peaceful path to the restoration of their independence. Balts fear that the July 31 execution-style slaying of young Lithuanian border employees could signal a tragic change leading to escalating violence unless Western leaders take action immediately.

August 2, 1919
Estonian American National Council, Inc.

many representatives of the Congress and administration share this view. But unfortunately President Bush and his closest associates are of a completely different opinion. It is clear that their policy doesn't encourage us and doubts arise as to the sincerity of their official declarations: fight for freedom and democracy. Nonetheless, we considered that politics are politics. In reality, there is a collision of interests and it is not always possible to fulfill all that is intended.

The recent visit of President Bush in Moscow and Kyiv certainly exceeded all the unpleasant expectations we had in connection with such considerations. The President of the United States, heir of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and others, arrived in the capital of the empire and carried on propaganda in favour of the All-Union treaty, called on the enslaved republics to hang a millstone about their necks, to sign their own eternal enslavement, to give up their most sacred right — the right of freedom. We stress once again that we are not so naive as to believe that policy can be achieved only through the adherence to moral values, but one must draw a line. Mr. President praises the imperial centre which has not as yet fulfilled any actual progressive reform, which from time to time resorts to bloodbath against the struggle of the freedom-loving peoples which accuses the republics striving to achieve freedom, democracy and justice as being despotic. What is the use of speaking about morals if Georgia, one of the most ancient states of the world, is now enslaved, and its nation with its ancient culture, is refused the right to independence and free development? Georgia fought invaders for millenia, adopted Christianity in the fourth century and despite pressure, did not betray it and remained Christian. This nation's sons and daughters — the hungerstrickers were massacred on April 9th, 1989 with sapper spades and toxic gases. Georgia was the first in the Soviet Union to win the difficult struggle of holding multiparty elections in which the Communist party was defeated, and elected its Parliament and President. Georgia's referendum voted for the restoration of state independence. The Parliament passes democratic laws of citizenship, protection of foreign investments, private enterprises, private ownership, and Georgia has joined the pact of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Such direct, unceremonious disregard for independence movements was a devastating blow to those who believed that the USA was still supporting the struggle for freedom. But we do not give up and hope that there are many Americans from all walks of life for whom freedom is not a mere word.

President Bush calls the struggle for freedom and self-determination of enslaved nations of the Soviet Union "suicidal nationalism". According to the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement, every nation is guaranteed the right to be the master of its own fate, i.e., the right of self-determination. This would be similar to calling the struggle of the American people for independence against the British domination in the 18th century as dangerous nationalism and separatism. Why do the Americans celebrate Independence Day every year if nationalism is unnecessary? Why had all the Presidents of the USA supported the struggle of the enslaved peoples for their independence? Was it not President Bush who declared that his country was fighting for the liberation of

GORBACHEV IN WESTERN EYES

“For us, the return to Leninism today is the richest source for the theory and politics of perestroika and the New Thinking.

M.S. Gorbachev

No doubt Gorbachev is an extraordinary figure. It is difficult to point to any other leader, whose evaluation is based more on his ideas, his imagination and carefully selected words than on his actions. For six years the West's policy toward the Soviet Union has depended on the opinion of the General Secretary; political analysis and strategy have been yielded to the call for help to Gorbachev.

Events which took place at the beginning of this year in Vilnius and Riga seemed to disfigure the clear picture of the Soviet president. However, once again the more personal aspects such as the changes in the Soviet apparatus, were stressed. The military occupation of Lithuania delivered some attractive issues to the journalists, while in political circles, this situation only initiated a discussion about the question: how far Gorbachev was subjugated by the “conservatives”. The fact that the Soviet military intervention in the Baltic republic was the first of its kind in Europe since 1956 and was characterized by greater brutality against the civilians, but was apparently disregarded by the outside world.

The West's unquestioning opinion of Gorbachev as a freedom-loving, peace-keeper and sincere democrat only proves the unprecedented success of Soviet disinformation and propaganda. Moscow has used hopes and psychologically motivated desires — a belief that the Soviet regime was able to evolve and a postulate to transform the USSR to a state modelled on the western pattern. The greatest achievement, however, was to present the Secretary General's measures which strengthen his power, as a policy of liberal

▶ a small Kuwait to protect high moral principles? Why did he not acknowledge separatism in this case or are Kuwait or Saudi Arabia more democratic than Georgia, where the Government was elected by the people? Why did he not call on Kuwait to sign a Union Treaty with Iraq? After all, there is more in common between these two nations than between Lithuania, Georgia, Russia and Kirghiz. If the progressive part of humanity, and Georgia among them, supported the just position of the United States in the Persian Gulf War, then as a result of propaganda of the preservation of the Soviet Union, the representatives of the Ukrainian opposition refused to meet the President of the most powerful state of the world.

We would like to wish that the American people, their President and their government would not support communism, tyranny and false reforms, but true democracy, freedom and independence of nations. Only in such a cause will the USA remain true to its historical mission.

democratization and thus, a policy convenient from the point of view of the West.

From the time that Mikhail Gorbachev became the head of the Party, he has gradually and successfully moved towards expanding his power. Indeed, at the present time, he holds more legal and de facto control than Stalin had. Due to the West's hopes for change in the USSR this strengthening of the dictatorship was looked upon as a means of achieving "perestroika" and therefore approval came in the form of economic assistance and political support.

Gorbachev's spectacular moves can be analysed within the context of Soviet strategic plans. In the book "New Lies for Old", published in 1984, a former KGB officer Anatoliy Golitsyn, exposed plans for 'strategic disinformation' that was expected to follow Brezhnev's regime. The plans were to introduce a controlled, but effective liberalization in order to drastically change the image of the Soviet Union from the point of view of the West. The purpose of the strategy was to ensure constant economic and technological assistance from the West, which would result in the improvement of the Soviet Union's position and its eventual domination of Western Europe. Concurrently, the Soviet regime would adopt the superficial attributes of parliamentary democracy in order to appear to be like a Western system. As a result, there would be a 'convergence' of the two systems in Europe. The initiator of these changes would be the new Secretary General of the CPSU (in fact, "perestroika" was started by Andropov, but the implementation of the idea was hindered because of his death and then also by the short leadership of Chernenko). Golitsyn had even predicted such events as the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the coming to power of Solidarity in Poland, the return of Dubček to the political arena, and the retreat of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan. The striking accuracy of Golitsyn's predictions can lead us to believe that the strategic plans really did exist, especially since the author based his theses on secret KGB information.

Long-range political scenarios contrived by the KGB contain the danger of provoking the processes unforeseen by the authors. Soviet strategists built solid structures in Romania and to a large extent in Bulgaria and Poland. However, the events which occurred in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and, to a certain degree in Georgia, Armenia and Moldavia, went beyond the scenario written by Soviet leadership.

Moscow's reaction to events in the Baltics is the result of a threat to Soviet strategic plans as well as the accumulation of absolute power in the hands of the President-General Secretary as well as convenient international situation (the Persian Gulf crisis for example). The reaction, from some Western circles could have led one to believe that the massacre in Vilnius and the occupation of Lithuania showed the weakness of Gorbachev's position, and therefore, he should be backed even more. Most westerners were concerned, not about the Lithuanians and their situation, but about the uncertain future of perestroika. Everybody seemed to be worried about political manoeuvres possible for the Soviet President. However, there is no reason for concern, since his position is that of a man, who has absolute power in his hands.

During frequent visits to the West, even Gorbachev's advisors constantly reiterated that all political decisions in the USSR depend on him. The Soviet department of disinformation successfully induced western mass media to allege that Gorbachev is only a "prisoner of generals". In reality, he is the chief of the generals, because the army is under his direct control. But in politics, as everybody knows, the truth often looks different from what is believed.

The Soviet leadership, conscious of the West's favorable attitude, made incredulous commentaries on the events in Lithuania. Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo assured, that the army participated upon Lithuania's request. Defence Minister Yazov insisted that Lithuanians attacked first and that Soviet soldiers had to defend themselves. Later, he added that the soldiers did not have any weapons. In the West, news coverage showed Soviet tanks attacking the Lithuanian TV station and crushing civilians. Gorbachev claimed that he learned about the action of the Interior Ministry's special troops (i.e. 'Black Berets' brought into being by him) only post factum. After Gorbachev's pronouncements, the same troops were involved in a similar operation in Riga, but that event still did not change anything. During this operation, Yazov was called upon, but he insisted that this was not his problem. An endless number of other such examples could be found, but it seems to be useless since the Soviets knew even before the events in Lithuania and Latvia that 'glasnost' did not threaten their objectives, because the former Soviet censorship was replaced to a large extent by the West's selective perception. After the events in Vilnius, as after the massacre in Baku, U.S. President George Bush wished Gorbachev "further success with the reform policy".

Gorbachev saw that the attempt to restore Communist order in the Baltics would not cause any serious reaction from the West, which had already announced the end of the Cold War. This defines the new political doctrine of the USA and of Western Europe. The Soviets assumed a lack of consequences from Washington judging from the reaction to events in China and — first of all — from the lack of recognition of Lithuania's declaration of independence in March 1990. There is no need to add, that after Gorbachev had introduced an economic blockade, Lithuania did not get any help from the West. As well, the present aid to the USSR, which, with approval of the West, is distributed by the KGB, does not reach republics demanding their independence.

The image of Gorbachev and of his politics is the achievement of Soviet disinformation and positive feed-back from the West. The accessible information on the acceleration of arms and the expansion of the military budget by the Soviets, their continuing espionage activity against the West, Moscow's violation of the Paris Disarmement Agreements do not appear as front page news and do not worry the leading western circles, which are busily creating a "new world order". This "new world order" seems to be a correlation for Gorbachev's "common European home". When receiving his Nobel Peace prize in Oslo, he stated that only with the success of perestroika, there will be a real opportunity for the creation of a new world order.¹

For the historian critically analysing the events in the Baltics, the most interesting fact would be that Moscow's policy and its perception by the West

are as old as Soviet rule itself. The categorization of political perception as a conflict between “dogmatics” (“conservatives” “hard-liners”) and “reformers” (“liberals”, “pragmatics”) had been first formulated in 1921. While in exile, Boris Savinkov, who was considered to be the biggest enemy of the Bolsheviks, secretly met with Lenin’s emissary Leonid Krasin. As a result of the talks, Savinkov tried to convince government officials in Great Britain and France that in order to bring Russia to liberalism and to rebuild capitalism, it was necessary to support the “right” faction of Bolsheviks (with Lenin as leader), to recognize Sovnarkom and to give him economic aid. London and Paris acknowledged Sovnarkom and gave aid and assistance. Based on Savinkov’s confidential letter to Marshall Pilsudski, (discovered in 1982), and the return of the “Enemy no. 1” of the Bolsheviks in 1923 to Russia, the thesis, that he was in fact acting as a Soviet agent of influence, seems to be valid.²

A spurious conflict between the “conservatives” and “liberals” is not the only classical method of Soviet politics used by Gorbachev. His spectacular measures which do not have real influence on the political system, hide the fact that Gorbachev is leading the USSR in the same way as previous leaders. The new General Secretary has explained away the present crisis by blaming past leaders. The new General Secretary has explained away the present crisis by blaming past leaders. According to him, the current problems are the result of the period of stagnation under Brezhnev and the policies of Chernenko (although no one dares to criticize Gorbachev’s mentor, Andropov, who initiated “perestroika”). To overcome the crisis, Gorbachev has declared the need for reforms, but in order to implement them, he demands more power. The adoption of these “reforms” leads to the expansion of the Secretary General’s power.³ Reforms in the Soviet Union are the biggest demand as well as desire of the West. President Bush’s wishes were therefore neither accidental nor merely slips of the tongue; Gorbachev will still get his support regardless of the methods that the Nobel Peace Prize winner might use to quell the opposition in the USSR. Less logical is Polish leader Lech Walesa’s support for aid to Gorbachev that he expressed during his visit to the USA. The Polish president’s distancing from Lithuania’s declaration of independence is also surprising considering the fact that Poland’s national epic poem written by Adam Mickiewicz begins with the words: “Lithuania, my homeland!”. Nobody in the West seemed to notice that Poland was the first ‘testing ground’ for “perestroika” and “glasnost”. Even after many consecutive changes in the presidential and prime ministerial hierarchies, Poland from all the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, is the main ally of the USSR.

The West’s interpretation of changes in Soviet policies at the end of 1990 suggest that they are the result of the elevated position of the “conservatives”, who are supposedly acting against Gorbachev and the “liberals”.

Not that long ago, the German press was fond of General Yazov and saw him as a representative of the “new style”... Boris Pugo, nowadays recognized as a “conservative” has been promoted quite often thanks to Gorbachev; in 1986, he became the secretary of the Central Committee; two years later, he

became head of the Party Control Committee and in 1990, member of the Politburo. Eduard Shevardnadze, when resigning from his position as Foreign Minister gave the warning that “the dictatorship is coming”. This was interpreted by the West as a personal critique of Gorbachev.

A few months later, Shevardnadze assured American journalists that the military actions in the Baltic republics were not approved by Gorbachev, but by what he described as a “shadow cabinet”. Nowadays, it looks as if Shevardnadze will candidate for the position of Secretary General in the United Nations.

Alexander Yakovlev, recognised as the brain behind perestroika and one of the main “liberals”, lost his position. After many years as the Soviet ambassador to Canada, Yakovlev was the author of the book “On the Edge of an Abyss” — an aggressive, propagandistic attack against the United States and former President Reagan. The English translation of this book appeared in Moscow under Gorbachev, who then appointed Yakovlev as the head of the Propaganda Department and Secretary of the Central Committee. It is worth mentioning that Yakovlev came back from Canada in 1983 during Andropov’s rule. The very same year, he became the head of the prestigious Institute for World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO) — the most important advisory on foreign affairs to the CPSU.⁴ When the West began to worry about the future of perestroika after the military altercation in Vilnius, Gorbachev appeared for his first official speech in the presence of Yakovlev, since he, in spite of his loss of position, personifies for the West, the “policy of reforms”.

Igor Ligachev has been treated as a symbol of “conservatives” allegedly representing a menace to Gorbachev. However, Ligachev confirmed in an interview for “Le Monde” (Dec. 4, 1987) that he acts in excellent harmony with Gorbachev and that he is an enthusiast of “perestroika”, which he described as “democracy plus economic reforms”. Within the adopted changes, Valentin Pavlov became Prime Minister in January of this year. He began his term with drastic changes in the monetary system (the liquidation of the 50 and 100 ruble notes). As the former Finance Minister, Pavlov was responsible for introducing inflationary currency without reserve. The former prime Minister Ryzhkov was first associated with Gorbachev, but is now considered on the forefront of the “conservatives”.

In the beginning Yeltsin’s politics were quite unpopular from the West’s point of view. There was no logical explanation for this since Yeltsin advocated quicker reforms and on the other hand, Gorbachev’s presumed intention to adopt reforms has been given as a justification to grant him assistance. The more radical reformer Yeltsin should have been backed. But the latter’s unpopularity came from the fact that he was seen in the West as an opponent of the Soviet President, and the call to help Gorbachev is still a base of Western policies towards the Soviet Union. It was not surprising that a change of attitude towards Yeltsin came after his visit to the United States in June 1991, when he declared his support for Gorbachev and his politics and described him as a “true democrat devoted to perestroika”.

There is much confusion in the West about the Soviet security service. On

the one hand, it is known that the KGB implements the “new policy”. On the other hand, interpretation of recent events suggest that one of the problems threatening Gorbachev may be the strengthening of “organs”, even though they supported the General Secretary from the very beginning. Gorbachev himself, with the expansion of his power (“reforms”) introduced a direct dependence of the KGB on the President. The prominent members of the leadership, who were initiating the “new policy” without paying much attention to which group they belonged to — “conservative” or “liberal” (Gorbachev, Ligachev, Ryzkov, Zakovlev, Vorotnikov, Chebrikov), were members of the team formed during Andropov’s time⁵ (the KGB chief, who became General Secretary).

The misunderstanding surrounding the politics of the USSR is shown as well by a semantic confusion: terms such as “conservatives”, “right-wing” mean the dogmatic communists. On the other hand Gorbachev, who describes himself as a Leninist, is considered to be a democrat and liberal. The quote at the beginning is a classic example of Leninist dialectic — which shows that the “new thinking” is quite old. It seems that more of glasnost brings even less understanding of Soviet politics among Western observers. its interpretation as a conflict between “conservatives” and “liberals” leads to an inextricable contradiction. The mutation from “dogmatics” to “reformers” and vice versa, changes within Gorbachev’s policies, as well as the duality in the Soviet press (glasnost in the newspapers which were left free by the government, and on the other hand, a Stalinist line in magazines considered to be “conservative”) could suggest that the conflict between the two supposedly opposite political factions is a tactic play directed from the top (which does not exclude authentic personality clashes between their members).

As mentioned earlier, this is a classical method of communist rule. It was also adopted in Poland, which was a useful testing ground for Soviet-style politics. Even in the 1970’s, members of the Politburo changed from “liberals” to “hard-liners” depending on which position they held. “Liberal” party Chief Kania (who was against the idea of fighting ‘Solidarity’ with military power, but ready to destroy it using political methods) was previously the Head of Internal Affairs in the Central Committee. Development of events in the USSR is reminiscent in many ways of the situation in Poland in the beginning of the 1980’s. A wave of walk-outs and protests of workers in Poland were restrained by representatives of the so-called “realistic” wing in Solidarity, whose active members joined the government in 1990. In the Soviet Union today, strikes are tempered by Yeltsin. The economic crisis in the USSR is partially manipulated by the government⁶ — higher prices and rapid inflation, and finally, inspections and controls by the KGB and army. In Poland in 1981, the same role was played by “Operation groups of the Polish Army”.

Changes in the USSR aim to give credibility to both political lines: “reform” and “conservative”. The attention paid to the personnel changes in the government apparatus hides the fact that the main goal of Gorbachev’s policy is still the same and in order to continue it, the military actions in Lithuania and Armenia were justified. To give the impression that these decisions which appear to be against perestroika were the result of the

DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA EXPECTED

The current dramatic events taking place in my homeland were brought about by a range of factors, including Yugoslavia's inability to solve deep ethnic, political and economic problems.

Once Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Yugoslavia, the initial U.S. Department's reaction was that of non-recognition. Last year, the two newly-born nations held their first democratic elections after 45 years of Communist tyranny, and voted to join other nations in renouncing communism.

It has not been a secret that Yugoslavia is splitting up. While the world focused on events in the Persian Gulf, major changes have been taking place in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe. The U.S. intelligence predicted as early as November of 1990 that federated Yugoslavia would break apart within months, and that a war was probable.

The predictions of the Central Intelligence Agency were unusually strong and poignant. The two basic findings were that "the Yugoslav experiment has failed and that the country will break up" and that "this is likely to be accompanied by ethnic violence and unrest which could lead to civil war."

I personally welcome the proclamations of independence by my homeland, Croatia, and its neighbor, Slovenia, but I am disappointed with the U.S. State



offensive of the "conservatives", it was necessary to remove from the frontlines, some of the players identified by the West with "political reforms". Only the top ruler stays on the scene as aptly portrayed in the poster by Faldins with the conductor's wand directing from the works of Lenin on a music stand. The fact that Soviet policy is still perceived as a conflict between "conservatives" and "liberals" proves that the essence of communism has not changed at all.

June 1991

- 1) Gorbachev: la perestroika, condition du nouvel ordre mondiale. *Le Figaro*, 6 June 1991.
- 2) see: M. Heller, *Obozrieniye* No. 18, January 1986, p. 40 ff.
- 3) see M. Heller: Čego khočet Gorbachev?
- 4) see: Shake-Up in Top Soviet Active Measures Personnel. *Disinformation* No. 3., Summer 1986, p.6.
- 5) see: S. Schemann, *International Herald Tribune*, 25 February 1986.
- 6) A. Shifrin in his article "A Performance: 'Glasnost and Perestroika'" (*ABN Correspondence* No. 2, March-April 1990) pointed out, that even items that had been always in abundance, e.g. soap, tooth-paste, low-quality foot-wear and clothes, disappeared from the Soviet Shops. At the same time the plants and factories that produce such things, continue to make them in the same amount. Similar situation existed in Poland in 1981: after the introduction of "martial law", the provision of goods improved markedly, since the government delivered items, which had been kept away from shops before.

Department's initial decision to back the old guard Communist regime in Belgrade, and not to recognize their independence.

The United States government should support the newborn democracies in Croatia, Slovenia, the Baltic nations of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, and other nations in Eastern Europe, and assist them in their social, political and economic development as they convert from a totalitarian society, to a democratic, free market economy.

By refusing to recognize the freely-elected democratic governments of Croatia and Slovenia, the Bush administration shows its obsession with the idea of instability in the disintegrating country. The administration fears that the two nations are given recognition, a precedent would be set for dealing with similar situations with the republics which are attempting to secede from the Soviet Union.

The people of Croatia and Slovenia are tired of Communist oppression, and simply want to be independent as the English colonies in the United States chose to be on July 4, 1776. I am optimistic that the European Community (EC) and the U.S. will realize that the Yugoslav hard-line Communist authorities are attempting to brutally destroy democracy in Yugoslavia. This is evident from their deeds in the days following the declaration of independence of the two nations. The EC and the U.S. should not expect Croatia and Slovenia and any other nation within the Yugoslav federation to remain in Yugoslavia, or to suspend their independence declarations. Both Croatia and Slovenia have been waving the flags of free choice and free enterprise. They are counting on our support in their struggle for freedom and independence.

In its conspiracy against the two democratic nations the Communist-controlled Yugoslav regime is using the country's armed forces and its dreaded secret police, UDBA, to squash the newly-elected democratic governments in the Yugoslav republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and Macedonia.

There are strong indication that the communist hard-liners are making every effort to turn back the clock of freedom in the South Slavic republics. This resembles retrogressive actions of the Soviet Union towards the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

It is befitting to paraphrase Pope John Paul II's statement in conjunction with the Yugoslav Army's brutal attack on small Slovenia "Legitimate aspirations of the people can not be crushed by force."

Croatia's non-Communist president, Franjo Tudjman, stated that Croations want democracy. "We have set the goal of a Croatian society that, like the U.S., is based on political and economic freedom, respect for human rights, the protection of individual liberties, and independent judiciary and a government that is truly of the people, by the people, and for the people," Tudjman said.

The battle in Yugoslavia is between pro-Russian Serbia, lead by its Communist president, Slobodan Milosheвич, and the pro-Western republics of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

Serbia's leader Milosheвич is the principal instigator of Yugoslavia's troubles, both for initiating the recent repression of the Kosovo Albanians,

UKRAINE IS AN OCCUPIED COUNTRY

(Printed below are excerpts from Yuriy Shukhevych's address at the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party. Mr. Shukhevych is the chairman of the ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly, which does not recognise the legitimacy of Soviet rule in Ukraine).

I would like to thank the leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party for inviting me to this congress and giving me the opportunity to speak. As you know, I am representing here our Ukrainian "ultras". Who are these "ultras" — a lot has been recently said and written about them, but I want to tell you that we stand on principled positions. We recognise that Ukraine is an occupied territory. We were deprived of our statehood in 1920. Bolshevik Russia occupied Ukraine, depriving us of our statehood. And as an occupied territory, we cannot participate in the occupational structure that is the Supreme Soviet. We do not recognise the laws of Stalin and Brezhnev. And on the basis of these principled positions, we always conduct our political actions and prepare our statements.

It is specifically because Ukraine is occupied that we could not participate in the referendum, because the occupant has no right to conduct a referendum on an occupied territory. Recognising this referendum would have meant

▶ and for stirring Serbian nationalist passions. Following last December's elections in Serbia, Miloshevich renamed his Communists, the Socialists, and the victory set the stage for the showdown and attempt to crackdown on fledgling democracies in other parts of Yugoslavia, making Croatia and Slovenia more determined to change the country.

Serbia's Communist leadership is adamant about maintaining the current shape of Yugoslavia with central control concentrated in Belgrade, which is also the Serbian capital. The Serbs are using the Yugoslav Army as the last ditch effort to save the evil empire they have dominated since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918.

I realize Croatia and Slovenia are not major oil-producing nations like Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, and I don't expect the U.S. administration of President George Bush to spend billions of dollars in defending the two newborn nations from their Communist aggressors.

America stood up to Iraq against its aggression on Kuwait, and sent a clear message to the world. The U.S. should send the same message to the old guard Communist regime in Belgrade, and it should be consistent in defense of democracy and human rights and recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, who have waited for generations to be free. America and the world must not remain silent as the Serbian Communists attempt to crush the newborn democracies.

(Editor's Note: Eck Spahich, journalist and realtor in Borger, Texas, grew up in Tuzla, Bosnia, in Yugoslavia. He joined his father in Dumas, Texas as a teenager in the 1960's).

legitimizing Moscow's rule in Ukraine. And it is not our intention to legitimate that rule, thereby removing Ukraine from consideration by the UN declaration on decolonisation. Because by recognising the regime in Ukraine as legitimate, we would consequently lose our right to decolonisation. This is the essence of our "ultra-radicalism" and we do not and will not ever reject it.

We support strikes because we recognise that strikes can be the fulcrum which can displace the imperial structure, displace the empire's rule. And for that reason we welcomed that Donbas strikers, helped them in every way possible. And in the future, it is our intention to support such strikes. Look at what the empire controls on the territory of Ukraine, look at how much industry is in its hands; and could not strikes be that force against Moscow, that demand to transfer these industries to Ukraine's hands, temporarily into the hands of Soviet Ukraine. You must appreciate that it is incumbent upon us to develop an appropriate privatisation concept because it may come to pass that tomorrow, after having been lulled asleep in a "union republic", we will awake as a "banana" republic of the likes of Costa Rica or Panama. Having attributes that resemble independence, but controlled by God-knows whom; and things are heading in that direction. The empire is selling our goods, selling our land, selling everything that it can. However, we are convinced that in Ukraine all priorities should be in the hands of the Ukrainian industry, the Ukrainian worker, the Ukrainian soldier.

Esteemed delegates, it is my wish that the Republican Party also set out on this course — a course of not recognising this occupational rule and a course of fighting, truly fighting for an independent, indivisible Ukrainian state. And if they accuse us of calling for violence, then I tell you: No, and once again no. We support all possible methods of fighting. Today, if necessary, this could mean civil disobedience, this could mean strikes; however, if tomorrow it becomes necessary to take arms, then we are prepared even for that. And we will not be caught by Moscow's democratic illusions, because we understand that tomorrow Yeltsin could become an enemy worse than Gorbachev is today. Yeltsin also is in favour of the Union.

Let us remember our history. At one time our socialists believed the socialist Lenin and he showed us what kind of peace-loving person he was. This could happen even today and let us never forget what history has taught us.

Again, I wish you, delegates, all the best, I wish you fruitful deliberations and hope that in the future we will be on the same side of the barricades.

Glory to Ukraine!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONS PROCLAIMING INDEPENDENCE FROM THE USSR!

FREEDOM COALITION AWARD

(The International Valiant for Freedom Award was given to ABN President Slava Stetsko by the Freedom Coalition in Melbourne, Australia. The following is the acceptance speech by Mr. M. Moravski, who accepted the award on Mrs. Stetsko's behalf)

Mr. President, distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed an honour to be able to receive this award on behalf of Mrs. Slava Stetsko, whose heavy schedule of commitments prevents her from accepting this award personally. The Ukrainian community is proud, because Mrs. Stetsko, together with her deceased husband, the Honourable Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations until he passed away, have dedicated their lives completely to work for the attainment of freedom for all nations. Because of their origins they naturally focused their attention on the Bolshevik's who in 1922 forceably incorporated Ukraine into the USSR.

It must be acknowledged that the Russian revolution of 1917 changed the course of world history. It created the USSR, the communist satellite countries, and began to influence political thought on every continent. These achievements are in line with Lenin's teachings of promoting revolution until the whole world becomes socialist. In opposition to this, the Ukrainian people along with many others, have fought for decades and indeed centuries for the cause of world freedom and democracy. We should not ignore that today's leaders of the Soviet Empire, with Gorbachev at the helm, have placed their trust clearly in the teachings of Lenin. It is therefore relevant to highlight some of Lenin's teachings so that we can better understand the current situation in Eastern Europe:

1. Upon attaining power in 1917, Lenin gave a clear outline of the political direction of the Bolsheviks which paralleled the theory expounded by Karl Marx 50 years earlier, viz., "...that the political direction of Russia remains unchanged, that its methods, tactics and manoeuvres may change, but the polar star of their politics is unchangeable, i.e., their striving for world domination".

2. Lenin gave a clear message to the western world, that the world is divided into two camps which cannot co-exist, viz., socialism and capitalism, and the socialism will win.

3. Lenin also taught that there is nothing wrong with retreating or even suffering a loss, and that they must always be prepared to go one step back to go two steps forward.

4. Lenin believed that the bloody revolution must continue until socialism became the victor. He said it did not matter if two thirds of the population of the world was eliminated, so long as the one third that remained was socialist.

The remarkable thing about all of this is that Lenin and his successors have made these statements publicly, emphasising that the Bolsheviks will use all means at their disposal to achieve the objectives set by Karl Marx.

Keeping all of the above in mind, it is unfortunate for the world that the Western allies who were in a position to stop the Bolshevik threat, did not. They were always happy to win the war and then return home to live in peace, leaving behind a monster. In the case of the Soviet Union, a monster responsible for butchering 20 million or maybe more innocent human beings. A parallel can be drawn from the recent Gulf War, where Saddam Husein's military might has been severely damaged. However, Saddam lives on to fight another day, to crush innocent people, to plan more treachery and terrorism. Yes, the allies have won the war, but have also allowed a maniac dictator of the calibre of Hitler and Stalin to pursue his usual style of leadership. Perhaps people are right when they say, "...if only the Kurds had a couple of oilfields".

It is ironic that all of the Soviet Union's dictators have given clear public messages of their intention to crush Western democracy and that they perceive the United States to be "Public Enemy No. 1." However, when the USSR is in trouble, the leadership resorts to wooing the Western dollar and technology by admitting to the mistakes of past leaders, by promising to change, by showing signs of the introduction of "democracy", by advocating their belief in peaceful co-existence and by their readiness to participate in negotiations to reduce nuclear weapons, etc, etc, etc.

Of course, when the danger has passed America again becomes Public Enemy No. 1. The lesson we must learn from history is that we cannot trust a regime which uses terror and genocide to stay in power because its ideology is totally against ours. I believe Ronald Reagan was correct in saying that the Soviet Union is an evil empire. I also believe that Nikita Khrushchev removed his missiles from Cuba because President John Kennedy clearly stated that he would retaliate not by launching missiles against Cuba but at Moscow. Khrushchev's stance would have been different if it was Cuba that was threatened and not Moscow.

Does the Western world really understand the current situation? We have witnessed in recent years massive changes in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan. Most people believe that the changes are irreversible. But are they? Let us cast our memories back to 1975 and the signing of the Helsinki Accord on Human Rights. The President of the United States stated that the Accord was a big step towards the achievement of permanent peace and freedom for the peoples of the world. He categorically dismissed that the Accord gave approval to Russian domination over Eastern Europe. However, Brezhnev admitted with great satisfaction that the Accord legalised Moscow's domination over the subjugated nations. In the ensuing 10 years, Moscow introduced communist dictatorships in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua. At the same time the West was giving Moscow assurances that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. In other words, it would not assist the captive nations in their aspirations for independence.

We should reflect briefly on the current situation in the USSR. Gorbachev's tactics in dealing with the massive problems facing the Empire are similar to those used by his predecessors i.e., blame previous leaders for creating stagnation and promise massive reforms both political and economic. Under no circumstances will they blame their ideology for the total disaster

ACT of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine

— Stemming from a deadly threat which impended over Ukraine as a result of coup d'état in the USSR of 19th August 1991;

— Continuing a thousand-year old tradition of state creation in Ukraine;

— Proceeding from the right to self-determination, envisaged by the UN Charter and other international legal documents;

— Executing Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic solemnly

DECLARES

Independence of Ukraine and a Creation of an
Independent Ukrainian State —

UKRAINE

The territory of Ukraine is indivisible and inviolable. From now on exclusively the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine are valid in the territory of Ukraine.

This Act is in force from the moment of its approval.

*The Supreme Soviet of Ukraine
August 24, 1991*

that it constantly creates. Gorbachev even introduced so-called “democratic elections”, which were engineered to ensure the dominance of the Communist Party. I won’t bother with details about how the “democratically elected” Supreme Soviet bestowed all those additional powers on Gorbachev to make him the most powerful of all Soviet Dictators. Gorbachev recognises that the Constitution provided for secession from the Soviet Union, but insists that it be done legally. “Let’s have a referendum”, he says. But prior to the March 17th referendum, he made it known that even if the republics voted to secede, the results of the referendum would be invalid. During this week he also threatened to ban strikes and public meetings.

Mr. Gorbachev has been named man of the decade, man of the century and has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Who then is responsible for the deaths of innocent people, at the hands of the Soviet Army, in Georgia and the Baltic States in recent times? Who was responsible for making threats of military intervention into those Republics and also in Ukraine and Moldavia? Are we to condone these actions of a Nobel Peace prize winner? Let us compare democracy as we know it with the “democracy” introduced by Gorbachev. On November 7th last year (1990) pro-democracy People’s Deputy to the Ukrainian Parliament Dr. Stepan Khmara (a former political prisoner) attended a demonstration against the commemoration of the Bolshevik revolution and intervened in an incident. Later, it was discovered that the man was, in fact, a KGB colonel. Subsequently, a parliamentary motion was put forth in order to strip Khmara of his parliamentary immunity to allow for his arrest on the charge of assaulting a KGB Officer. The motion was passed by Parliament without a quorum being present. Khmara is currently awaiting trial. In an incident this year, (1991) two pro-democracy members of Parliament — Lev Lukianenko (former political prisoner of 26 years and currently the President of the Ukrainian Republican Party, who incidentally visited Australia in January this year) and Oles Shevchenko attended an unsanctioned peaceful demonstration in support of an arrested colleague. On March 26th, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Parliament voted 16 to 8 to strip them of their parliamentary immunity to pave the way for their arrest. The parliamentarians I have mentioned were all elected by the people. These incidents depict the style of Gorbachev’s “democracy”. However, we should not be surprised, — after all, — when nominating Gorbachev for the position of Party Secretary, Gromyko stated the following to the Politburo “... behind this man’s lovely smile are teeth of steel”. This man with teeth of steel made public his support for the doctrines of Lenin, for the preservation of the Communist Party, and the preservation of the Empire.

A proper understanding of the history of the Soviet Union reveals the following:

1. The Bolshevik revolution created an evil empire not by the will of the people, but by a group of fanatics whose sights were set on world domination.
2. The USSR has existed for over 70 years only because the rulers of the regime used methods of mass terror and genocide.
3. Whilst concentrating their efforts towards building a Superpower capable of controlling the world the Leaders of the regime stifled the normal

ABN SEMINAR IN HUNGARY

Less than two years ago, Vác, Hungary would seem a most unlikely place to hold an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations seminar. As late as June 30th, 1990, the last of the Soviet army troops were to leave Hungary. Even today, there are many reminders of the Soviet Union's occupation of many decades.

There are many for whom this occupation will not be a distant memory, but a miserable nightmare, which must be confronted and not forgotten. Such is the case with the host of the seminar prominent political dissident, Professor Tibor Rusvay, who was arrested by the Soviets in 1957. The irony of the event was unmistakable. It is in this charming, episcopalian town that Rusvay served time for "anti-Soviet activities" in the now defunct prison.

On May 25, 1991 in the historic city hall of Vác, Professor Rusvay greeted the many guests including representatives from Poland, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania, and Uzbekistan and introduced ABN President Slava Stetsko. Mrs. Stetsko greeted the participants of this first seminar behind what was once

► development of the population. They killed initiative, creativity and knowledge of the truth which would improve the quality of their lives. Through this strategy they caused general stagnation and fell far behind the Free World in all spheres, except perhaps in:

- a. Military might
- b. Expertise in propaganda
- c. Espionage (internal and external)
- d. Expertise in terrorism and genocide
- e. Space exploration for military purposes
- f. Infiltration of left wing politics into democratic countries of this world.

At the same time as the Empire bragged about its military might, space expeditions, the sporting and cultural achievements of "Russia", the plight of the people worsened. In the end, we are witnessing an Empire teetering on the brink of collapse. This empire has de-valued human life and provided a standard of living below that of a Third World country.

The Soviet Union is now disintegrating and the Free World can help this process, not by military intervention, but by not helping communist dictators.

Only total independence for the 15 Republics can guarantee world peace. We should aim to achieve this not only for the millions who have lost their lives for the cause of freedom, but also for those who are continuing the struggle today.

Mrs. Stetsko is proud to accept this award in the name of all the captive nations. The moral support of Australians will give these nations strength to continue to defend the highest of values. She promises to continue her fight for freedom for all to become worthy of the award you have bestowed on her.

Thank you,

M. Moravski,

President, Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organisations.

April, 1991.



*Dr. Tamas Katona, Political State
Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

called the “iron curtain”, which brings together representatives from former Soviet satellites and from nations still under Soviet oppression. Mrs. Stetsko noted the recent cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary, most evident when Hungary aided the Ukrainian Insurgent Army by providing weapons. There were also many prominent Hungarians who were members of ABN, such as former U.S. President Richard Nixon’s advisor on nationalities, Laszlo Pastor. Mrs. Stetsko explained the new role of ABN and that is to strengthen contacts between the freed nations and those still oppressed. The mutual task is to rebuild all nations destroyed by decades of communist oppression. Mrs. Stetsko told participants that ABN has contacts all over the world, and this will facilitate the mobilising of aid to the subjugated nations, and initiate a new phase of mutual cooperation. Mrs. Stetsko stressed the need for creating new ties, as well as strengthening relations with Western Europe. There are many indications that the Soviet Russian empire is crumbling. It would be in the interest of the West that the subjugated nations be freed. In light of this, the West should not support the Soviet Union economically. Central and Eastern Europe must join forces to overcome communism and become equal partners in Europe. Mrs. Stetsko believes that Ukraine and other nations are on the road to freedom and recovery.

Political State Secretary Dr. Tamas Katona said that the time has come for practical goals. These goals should be focused on finding solutions to the

problems facing all of the nations now. Dr. Katona believes that we are experiencing a new kind of restructuring of Europe. After World War II, Europe was restructured because of the division of Germany, and the present time is also marked by the formation of a new Europe.

This current situation also marks the need to carefully watch Soviet foreign policy. Dr. Katona believes that independence for Ukraine and the other republics is viable, but a difficult task. When Ukraine becomes autonomous, Hungary would want to establish economic, political and diplomatic ties.

Political scientist Dr. Gyorgi Gyarmati spoke about the current political situation in Europe concerning the changing of borders, and polarities. Johann Ulrich spoke about his experience in Soviet prisons where he met with political prisoners of many nationalities. Tomasz Mianowicz told seminar participants about the present situation in Poland, and its road to political and economic recovery from communism.

Due to the shortage of time, discussions had to be cut short. However, discussions of a different sort took place when a small delegation visited Political State Secretary Dr. Gergely Ferenc at Hungary's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 27th, 1991. At this meeting, the Deputy Foreign Minister heard from other national representatives, who stated their position on their country's willingness to enter into political and economic co-operation with Hungary. Mrs. Slava Stetsko spoke about ABN's history of lobbying work with Western governments on behalf of the subjugated nations of the Soviet



Prof. Tibor Rusvay, ABN President Slava Stetsko and Political State Secretary Dr. Ferenc Gergely at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ABN CONFERENCE IN KYIV

KYIV — The 11th conference of representatives from subjugated nations was held in Kyiv on June 1, 1991. The preparatory conference committee was formed by the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UMA), headed by long-time political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych, son of General Roman Shukhevych — the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army until his death in battle in 1950. The Conference was held in the building of the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

The national representations included: from Georgia — the Society of "St. Illia the Righteous", the Citizens' League of Georgia; from Azerbaijan — the National Party "Musafat", the People's Freedom Party; from Lithuania — the Union of National Lithuanian Youth, "Young Lithuania"; from the Crimea — the Organisation of the Crimean Tatar Movement; and from Ukraine — the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly, the Ukrainian Nationalist Association, the All-Ukrainian Brotherhood of Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The main purpose of the conference was to revive and strengthen ABN activities and objectives among the subjugated nations of the Soviet Union.

Representatives of various nationalities reported on the current situation in their homelands. Many noted that the Communist Party still has a strong hold on power and that there are insurmountable difficulties in achieving independence by parliamentary methods. The democratic opposition movements are trying to peacefully recapture their rights from Moscow. It was noted, however, that Moscow has often instigated conflicts between nationalists in order to pit one group against another. This was evident in Azerbaijan, where three hundred peaceful citizens were crushed by Soviet tanks, reported Niyaz Ibrahimov from the National Party "Musafat" (Azerbaijan).

From the Baltic nations, Dajnius Varnas ("Young Lithuania") reported that intensive russification is continuing. The KGB has tried to penetrate the infrastructure from within and the "fifth column" is very strong.

The conference participants also raised the issue of cooperation between the subjugated nations with the national groups within the Russian



Union. The meeting at the Foreign Ministry marked another positive moment to a most successful seminar.

Seminar participants also had the opportunity to meet with some of the key figures in Hungary's leading political circles. One of the most poignant observations of some of the seminar participants was how interaction among nationalities united by a common cause — the fight against the Soviet empire — leads to affirmation of conviction, cooperation and goodwill among peoples.

Another aspect which not only fostered goodwill, but also a very pleasant atmosphere, was the particular brand of thoughtful and generous Hungarian hospitality expressed by the most gracious hosts — Professor Tibor Rusvay, Vác Mayors Ferenc Bartos, Dr. Gabor Somorjai and Deputy Mayor Csaba Moys, along with their families.

ABN MEETING IN LVIV, UKRAINE

A special meeting of ABN took place in Lviv, Ukraine on June 30th, 1991 and was marked by the presence of ABN President Slava Stetsko. Mrs. Stetsko had the opportunity to relay the history of ABN since its inception, to describe the activities of ABN in lobbying with Western governments and international organizations for support of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union. The participants of the meeting, who were representatives of various political parties and organisations, were inspired by Mrs. Stetsko's words of encouragement and the plans to strengthen ABN activities within the borders



ABN President Slava Stetsko meets with Georgian delegation

► Federation. Such cooperation would strengthen the process towards the dissolution of the USSR.

After the reports from the various representatives, greetings from the ABN's Central Committee were read out.

The conference participants passed a declaration on the revival of ABN activities on Soviet-occupied territories, as well as various statutes on political aims and objectives. Special messages from the conference were sent to the ABN headquarters and the World League for Freedom and Democracy. An Appeal to the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union was ratified.

One of the resolutions of the conference called for the publication of an ABN bulletin within the Soviet Union.

It was decided that the next ABN conference will be held in Georgia. The previous conference was held in the Georgian capital — Tbilisi.

POLITICAL HERO COMMEMORATED IN HIS HOMELAND

Several thousand gather to mark Col. Yevhen Konovalts' birth

ZASHKIV, June 14 — Thousands of people, including representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, gathered in Zashkiv (Lviv oblast) to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Col. Yevhen Konovalts (1891-1938; founder of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists).

Last year, during the first open commemoration of the Konovalts anniversary, Zashkiv residents declared that they would rebuild the house where the Colonel was born and erect a monument to mark the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

With the help of neighbouring villages, the house was restored and converted into a museum and a monument was erected outside.

The event opened with a commemorative service beside the monument, conducted by Ukrainian Catholic clergy from Zashkiv and other nearby villages. The requiem service was followed by a moleben (a dedicational service) and a consecration of the monument and the museum. The monument was unveiled by a relative of Konovalts, by Volodymyr Mandziak — the chairman of the "Prosvita" society in the village, who spoke about the life of Yevhen Konovalts, Ivan Hel, Slava Stetsko — the president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, who resides in Munich, Germany, and People's Deputy Roman Ivanychuk.

The speakers recounted Konovalts's significance and contribution to the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

People's Deputy Stepan Khmara stated, that Ukrainian independence

▶ of the Soviet Union. ABN President Slava Stetsko reminded the participants that they are not alone in their struggle and can rely on the support of the network of associations and organizations in the West, which have tirelessly carried on the fight for freedom on behalf of the captive nations.

ABN President Slava Stetsko met separately with a Georgian delegation following the ABN meeting in Lviv.

ABN PRESIDENT HOLDS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE IN LVIV

On June 27, 1991, ABN President Slava Stetsko held a press conference in the Lviv headquarters of RUKH. Responding to the many queries of the press, Mrs. Stetsko stated that Ukraine requires radical changes. The fight for an independent Ukraine must be strengthened through the use of such methods of opposition as strikes. Mrs. Stetsko noted that it was unfortunate that members of the democratic bloc in western Ukraine did not support strikes as a viable action of protest last April. This could be considered a political error.

Mrs. Stetsko stressed the need for utilising peaceful means in continuing the fight for independence. However, Ukrainians should be ready to defend themselves in the event that Moscow uses armed force to halt the struggle towards democracy and national independence.

cannot be achieved through parliamentary means and stressed the need for a Ukrainian army.

Major Nedelskyi from Kharkiv, who was dismissed from the army for membership in the Ukrainian Republican Party and his attempts to build a Ukrainian army, swore an oath to concentrate all his efforts on creating a national army.



At the monument to Yevhen Konovalets on the 100th anniversary of his birth date in Zashkiv, Ukraine

Photo: Bohdan Svidruk



*World Congress of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in Kyiv. Second from the left:
ABN President Slava Stetsko*

WORLD CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

KYIV, June 23-24 — A world congress of Ukrainian political prisoners was held in the Ukrainian capital city. The theme of the congress was: “Repressive regimes in Ukraine: past and present”. The congress was sponsored by the All-Ukrainian Society of the Repressed with the participation of the World League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners (based in Winnipeg, Canada) and the Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

Delegations of political prisoners from Magadan, Vorkuta, Kazakhstan, Arkhangelsk, Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv regions, as well as from Canada, the USA, Great Britain, Israel, Armenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and many other countries of the world attended the congress.

Among the participants of the congress were Slava Stetsko, President of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, based in Munich, who greeted the participants; Oksana Bandera — the youngest sister of Stepan Bandera — head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (1940-1959); Mykhailo Marunchak — chairman of the World League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; and Yevhen Stakhiv — chairman of the Ukrainian-Jewish Society in New York.

Written greeting were received from People’s Deputies Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn.

The congress ratified a number of documents, among the most significant of which are: an appeal to the Ukrainian people, a statement on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, an appeal to USSR president Gorbachev concerning the aggression against the Armenian people, a congressional declaration, and an appeal to all those who suffered repression for their defence of human and national rights.

RIOT POLICE STRIKES OUT AGAINST UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENTARIAN

KYIV — Ukrainian parliamentarian Stepan Khmara has been re-arrested once again. Khmara was first detained on fabricated charges of accosting a MVD officer last November. Parliamentary immunity was removed when a quorum was not present, and this paved the way for his first arrest. Only six days after his release while still awaiting trial for these charges, Khmara was arrested once again on April 12, 1991, while he was in the Donbas area to support the striking mine workers there. Later he was released again after a short stay in prison.

On July 18th, fifty riot police in full gear, two squads of army personnel and two busloads of militia arrived en masse to arrest Stepan Khmara at his room in hotel "Ukrayina" in Kyiv, Ukraine. Thirty of Khmara's supporters were keeping vigil in the corridor outside Khmara's quarters, and another twenty people were keeping his company inside.

Using anti-personnel "Cheryomukha" gas, rubber truncheons and wielding axes for forcible entry, the riot police smashed into the hotel room arrested Khmara and the others were brutalised and eventually taken away to be arrested. Many of Khmara's supporters were physically beaten. A Canadian journalist was also severely beaten and she was physically ejected from the room. The incident lasted 40 minutes.



Ukrainian parliamentarian Stepan Khmara

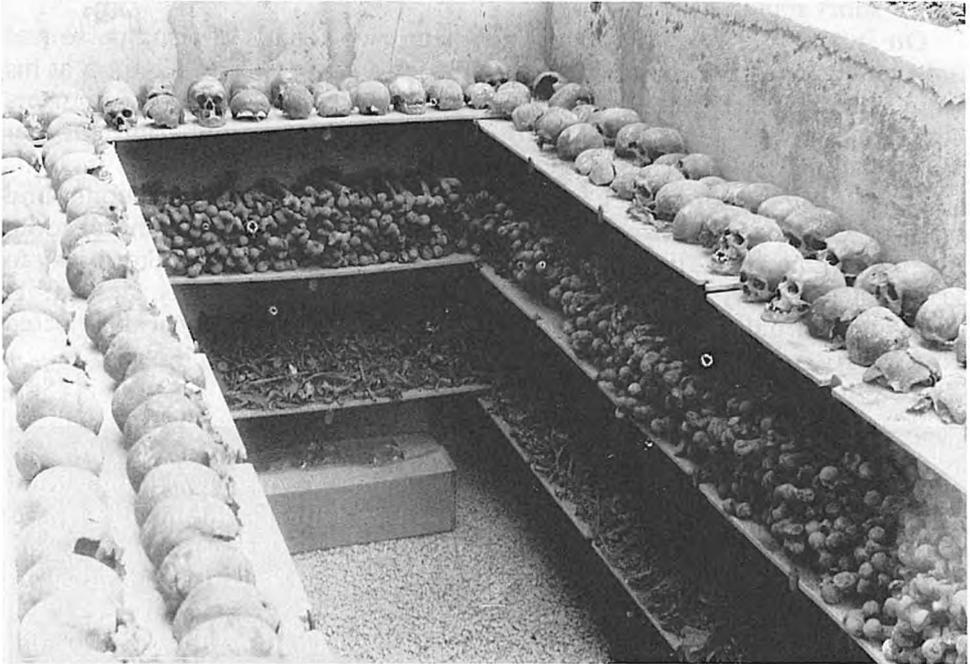


Photo by M. Kuziw

VICTIMS OF SOVIET TORTURE UNEARTHED

STRYJ, Ukraine —After the withdrawal of the Soviet army in June of 1941, corpses of the victims of Soviet terror were found on the site of a former prison.

Last June, excavations began at this former prison. The remains of 255 bodies were found in holes covered with lime, in the sewage hatchways and cells. Experts established that the remains of the bodies were between 17 and 70 years of age, and 48 of the skeletons belonged to women. Only 159 skulls were unearthed.

The excavations are continuing. The remains of 255 people have been buried at the site. There are plans for the erection of a monument in memory of the victims of Soviet torture and torment.

UKRAINIAN WORKERS' APPEAL

(The following is an Appeal by the Co-ordinating Council's Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Solidarity of Labourers' Union (VOST) to the Community and Political Organisations and to all the people of Ukraine)

The current political situation in Ukraine is marked by a deepening crisis of the political powers of the republic, because of the economic crisis and the catastrophic growth of misery among the majority of the people of Ukraine, as well as the uncertainty of the future and the social and legal insecurity.

The Communist regime, in its incompetence, has led the people to a total crisis and has shown a complete inability to solve these problems. As a result of the privileged status of the Communist party (CPSU-CPU) in society, its monopoly on all government structures, and its abuse of the system during elections, this criminal Communist mafia has unfairly and illegally gained control of the majority of municipal and regional (oblast) councils. A look at one year's activities of the Supreme Soviet has shown that it is not capable of forming a competent government and decreeing democratic, progressive laws, which would protect the interests of the Ukrainian people.

Under strong pressure from the people of Ukraine, the Communist majority voted on a declaration on Ukraine's sovereignty put forth by a group of democratic People's Deputies. However, the Communist majority in the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and the outmoded structures of this colonial government do not want to bring into action the principles proclaimed in the declaration of state sovereignty.

Hindering the formation of new democratic governmental structures and the required laws is the Communist colonial administration in the form of the CPSU-CPU apparat and its marionette Soviets, who are attempting to preserve the old totalitarian regime, its privileges and the colonial position of Ukraine in order to keep its people in unjust servility and to shamelessly exploit them.

VOST believes that the protection of the social, economic and community rights of the people of Ukraine will only become possible upon the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet empire and with changes to all of the superstructures, beginning with the Supreme Soviet.

Only a newly-elected parliament can form a competent government, and stop the attempts to enslave Ukraine into a new imperialist yoke. It is necessary to break old, reactionary government structures in order to form new, democratic ones, such as: a Ukrainian Republican Army, new state organs for social security, a free market economy independent from the Soviet empire, where the true leaders of these collective and private enterprises are labourers: workers, peasants, intelligentsia; where there will be laws to protect private ownership and implicit guarantees for personal freedom and individuality.

VOST believes that the formation of presidencies upon the old structures of power and the Supreme Soviet are premature and pave the way for a more ruthless, authoritarian-totalitarian Communist regime.

VOST appeals to all democratic organisations to immediately begin a

campaign to collect signatures with the aim of ensuring that the following three questions are asked during the next referendum set for September of 1991.

1. Do you want to live in an independent, democratic Ukrainian state, with its own internal and foreign policies, that guarantees the rights and freedoms for all citizens irrespective of nationality and religion; and for the accomplishment of rebuilding such a Ukraine, will not enter into any unions with other states? (yes/no)

2. Do you think that the current members of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Republic have not fulfilled your aspirations, are unable to protect the interests of the Ukrainian people and are subject to abuse of the system; and that new elections of the Supreme Soviet should be held urgently by the end of this year? (yes/no)

3. Do you believe that the CPSU-CPU which has for over 70 years governed the republic using villainous methods, and which has led our society to a deep crisis because of constant abuse — should all of its wealth be confiscated and given to the newly-elected organs of power to be used for the common good of all of the people? (yes/no)

When signing the petition, it is necessary to write the full name, passport number, date of birth and signature.

When a large number of signatures are gathered, the laws governing referendums require that the authorities fulfill the request of the people and change the referendum questions.

VOST calls upon all democratic organisations and informed citizens to respond favourably to our appeal and to carry out their public duty. The present and future of Ukraine depends on your civic commitment.

Let's get to work, dear friends!

July 6th, 1991

Kyiv, Ukraine

UKRAINIAN ACTIVIST ARRESTED

KYIV, Ukraine — On July 6th, 1991 Mr. Anatoly Lupinic, the head of the political council of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly disappeared. Only two days later the Assembly was informed that Mr. Lupinic was brutally forced into a car by a group of people dressed in civilian clothing and taken to the Lenin Regional Militia Headquarters. This was to meet with the People's Deputy, Stepan Khmara. These "civilians" took Mr. Lupinic without presenting any official documents and held him without giving any explanation of their actions. Mr. Lupinic is charged with organizing, leading and taking an active part in demonstrations and other political actions which stood in protest of Gorbachev's meeting with Chancellor Kohl in Kyiv. Mr. Lupinic is seen as violating article 187 paragraph 4 of the Criminal Code of the UkrSSR, for which a sentence of 2-3 years may be served. The investigation of this case was performed by Svitlana Semenetz.

On July 9th a decision was to be made at 12:30 as to the holding of Mr. Lupinic, but this was not done until 7 P.M. The lawyers presiding over the case

were Victor Nikazakov and Jurij Ayvazjan while Petro Kahui, vice-president of the Executive Board of UMA stood in his defense. When word got out that Mr. Lupinic was held illegally for 5 hours, a group of his defenders made their way to the room where he was being held, but were stopped by the militia. Approximately two hours later, Oleksander Ivashchenko (president of VOST), a representative of VOST and Ivan Makar — “National Tribune” correspondent and member of the Ukrainian Students Association from New York were admitted to see Mr. Lupinic. Within 15 minutes the militia prepared a car to take Mr. Lupinic to Lukianivka prison on the orders of the procurator. When the militia came to take Mr. Lupinic away, Mr. Kahui opposed this action, demanded to meet with the procurator and refused to leave the room until this was done. A brawl broke out between the militia men and Mr. Kahui. Men in civilian clothing grabbed Mr. Kahui by the neck and forcefully took him into seclusion. As Mr. Lupinic was leaving the building to be driven to Lukianivka, he greeted a crowd of his defenders with the words “Glory to Ukraine”, only to receive an inspiring response: “Glory to her heroes”. Mr. Kahui was released the following afternoon, while Mr. Lupinic is bravely sitting behind iron bars.

Ivan Makar
Freedom Corps

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

SNUM ACTIVIST BURNS DOWN SOVIET ARMY MONUMENT

LVIV, July 22 — At 2:00 pm, SNUM (Independent Ukrainian Youth Association) activist Viktor Levytskyi burnt down a Soviet army monument — a military vehicle, on the city’s Bozhenko Street.

The action was undertaken in retaliation for the destruction of statues of two Ukrainian nationalist leaders (Yevhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera) in the early hours of July 10. Masked soldiers attacked and blew up both monuments, shooting and wounding Vasyl Maksymchuk — one of the unarmed youths guarding the Bandera monument in the village of Staryi Uhryniv (Ivano-Frankivsk oblast).

Levytskyi was arrested by the Lviv militia, who are now investigating the incident.

CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN OFFICERS

KYIV — Rukh has convened a congress of Ukrainian military officers, scheduled for July 27-28.

The military representatives are to discuss the political situation in Ukraine and problems concerning the re-establishment of a national army, state-legal issues; the social security of servicemen, and the formation of a Ukrainian officers committee.

ACTS OF TERRORISM CONTINUE

Masked Gunmen Blow Up Statues of Nationalist Leaders Young Activist Shot and Seriously Wounded

KYIV (UIC) — Armed soldiers attacked and destroyed monuments to two Ukrainian nationalist leaders, severely injuring a guard at one of the sites.

In Zashkiv, near Lviv, in a nighttime raid on July 10, armed soldiers blew up the statue of Col. Yevhen Konovalts, founder and first leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The statue was unveiled on June 14 to mark the hundredth anniversary of the nationalist leader's birth.

Witnesses say the perpetrators, who concealed themselves in a nearby forest, arrived in a military vehicle. Around 3:00 am, four masked soldiers with automatic rifles assaulted the statue firing into the air. They forced the guards to lie on the ground, laid the charges and fled.

The blast completely destroyed the statue. The force of the explosion smashed the windows of nearby houses, injuring several people. The museum in the house where Konovalts lived, was badly damaged.

Several empty cases, parts of the explosive device and a mask were found at the scene. According to Associated Press, one of the guards was beaten with rifle butts.

Saryi Uhryniv in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast was the scene of a second explosion on the same night, reported UIS correspondent Vasyl Sikach. A group of masked soldiers blew up the rebuilt statue of OUN leader Stepan Bandera.

That night Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM) activists were taking turns guarding the monument. At around 3:00 am, six soldiers attacked the statue. When Vasyl Maksymchuk, one of the district SNUM leaders, began to flee, calling out for help, the soldiers shot and seriously wounded him. He remains in critical condition. The second guard, Yaroslav Turchyniak, a local Rukh activist, was knocked to the ground by a rifle butt. The assailants then lit the fuse and fled.

The explosion destroyed the statue and several surrounding buildings, sending debris for hundreds of metres. The villagers called for medical help and informed the militia. Several people, including a child, were injured by the blast.

“The attackers acted boldly and unceremoniously, openly, certain of full impunity, not even bothering to cover their tracks”, said a militia man, who wished to remain anonymous.

The statue was previously blown up on December 30, 1990, and had been repaired for the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Ukrainian independence on June 30.

On June 30, local residents of this Ivano-Frankivsk town, unveiled the second monument to Bandera. Representatives of many unofficial opposition organisations and democratic members of regional councils addressed the gathering.

In the wake of the first attack, the organising committee decided to post

(SOVIET) GEORGIA'S DEMOCRATS

Reprinted from *Washington Post*, — Sunday, June 9, 1991

The Caucasian republic of Georgia is getting very bad press these days. It is depicted as a country torn by social and ethnic violence, ruled by a clique of radical nationalists who persecute minorities and resort to totalitarian practices.

None of these charges bears scrutiny. Their principal source seems to be disinformation spread by the Soviet government in a desperate effort to discredit in the eyes of foreigners the Georgian striving for independence and to maintain its grip on Transcaucasia.

Having recently returned from Georgia, where I witnessed the presidential election of May 26 — the first on Soviet territory to offer voters a choice of candidates — I can attest that the republic is calm and orderly. The only danger to the traveler occurs during the two-hour flight on Aeroflot from Moscow to Tbilisi in the course of which, due to the extreme tightness of the seating, he must assume a fetal position and suffer the knee of the person behind being wedged in the small of his back.

The country of 5.5 million is in the grip of a patriotic fervor that is difficult to convey. It reminds one of Israel at the time of its birth. Georgia is an ancient country with a history that antedates the Christian era and an alphabet and literature that go back to the fourth century. For the past 2,000 years, despite periodic occupation by more powerful neighbors, it has been a sovereign nation. Incorporated into Russia in 1801, it declared independence in 1918 but lost it three years later following invasion by the Red Army. As in the case of Lithuania, once a powerful commonwealth, the antiquity of Georgian statehood and culture furnishes a powerful impetus to nationalist sentiments.

I observed the election in the provincial town of Telavi and found it proceeding much as one would in this country: Voters were checked against lists, given ballots containing the names of the candidates, invited to mark them in screened booths and then to drop them into urns. No one has raised questions about the honesty of the election.

The fact that the successful candidate, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, won over 80 percent of the ballots is explainable in part by his unimpeachable record of resistance to Communism. Should Georgia succeed in making good its claim to independence, political fragmentation will be certain to follow.

It is unreasonable to expect that a society liberating itself from 70 years of



civilian guards next to the monument. Members of the Ivano-Frankivsk SNUM and other organisations undertook this assignment.

Late last month, another monument, this one to the soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army, was blown up near Brody, the site of their bloody battle with the Soviet Army 47 years ago, during World War II.

totalitarian lawlessness will make a perfectly smooth transition to democracy. Gamsakhurdia complained to me about hostile demonstrators encamped in front of his office building "Of course, this would not be tolerated by the White House?" he said. I explained to him that it was a fact of democratic life. The next day he lost his temper and expelled two correspondents from his press conference, for which he was rightly criticized. But surely these are minor transgressions given that the government respects the right of hostile publication to be distributed.

There is no basis to the accusation that some 70 percent of Gamsakhurdia's political opponents have been arrested; this would mean tens of thousands of political prisoners languishing in jail. In reality, according to the Georgian authorities, only 70 persons have been detained for trial on charges of criminal violence.

The most serious political problem confronting the Georgians is Southern Ossetia. The Ossetians, who number some 280,000 are divided into two administrative entities: the northern one of which is in Russia and the southern in Georgia. Moscow has been exploiting Ossetian desire for reunification to gain a military base on Georgian territory. It has taken control of Southern Ossetia's border with Georgia and incites antagonism between the two nations. Both sides have engaged in terrorism, and passions run strong. The issue is not unlike that dividing Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland and equally difficult to resolve, especially given Moscow's interest in exacerbating it.

The hostility of the West to Georgia's national aspirations compared with the widespread sympathy for the Baltic republics can be explained either by ignorance or by a bias that favors Northern Europeans. In either event, it is misplaced. Nothing short of a full-scale Soviet invasion can stop Georgia's drive for independence, since it is supported by nine-tenths of the population. And Soviet intervention, should it occur, is likely to lead to another Afghanistan.

The quest for sovereignty of the six Soviet republics that have refused to take part in Gorbachev's efforts to redesign the Soviet Union, Georgia among them, incontrovertibly expresses the wishes of their inhabitants. Even if it does not always assume ideal democratic forms, it is democratic in its nature. As such, it deserves the West's generous support.

Richard Pipes
Professor of history

WESTERN AID PROLONGS SOVIET AGONY

Letter to the Editor, reprinted from the Evening Standard from July 23, 1991

Last Thursday President Gorbachev, apparently in good faith, approached the leading Western democracies with an application for economic aid to support his crumbling totalitarian state, while promising in return to transform the Soviet Union into a land of greater democracy and economic freedom. Everything seemed sweetness and light.

A few hours later, Stepan Khmara, a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (Parliament), who already faces unfounded criminal charges by the Soviet authorities, was arrested following an attack by riot police (Omonivtsi) on his bedroom in his Kyiv hotel.

Fifty riot police in full gear, two squads of Ministry of Interior police and two busloads of militia arrived. using tear gas and rubber truncheons against all those present — there were 30 people outside the door and a dozen in the room — they forcibly entered Khmara's hotel room. Twenty people were arrested and many of Khmara's supporters were beaten up in the process.

Oleg Serhiyenko, a former political prisoner and member of the Ukrainian Republican Party, received a head injury. The room itself was practically destroyed. later, local militia made efforts to erase all trace of the incident by washing away the blood and debris.

So much for the good intentions of President Gorbachev and his reformist Soviet empire. Blatant cynicism would be a more appropriate description. Is the Soviet Union's communist leadership to be trusted, when it would appear that the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing?

Aid by the West to the crumbling Soviet state is but one way of prolonging the agony of those oppressed victims of the empire, who never even volunteered to belong to it.

The West should remove its rose-tinted spectacles and recognise that human and political rights and the right to self-determination are still being ignored and abused in the Soviet Union, regardless of what is being publicly said at the topmost government levels. It would be a tragedy if there were to be any more victims of the West's short-sightedness.

*Lubomyr Mazur, President,
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain,
Linden Gardens, W2*



At the gravesite of former ABN President and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, the late honourable Yaroslav Stetsko, during commemorations of the 50th anniversary of Ukraine's restoration of independence on June 30th, 1941 and the 5th anniversary of Mr. Stetsko's death.

July 6, 1991, Munich, Germany

U.S. BALTIC POLICY

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION CALLS FOR “DE FACTO”

RECOGNITION OF LITHUANIA

Blend of Pragmatism and Principle

U.S. Representative Don Ritter (R-PA) has introduced on May 2 in the House of Representatives a resolution (HR 142) urging the U.S. Government to “immediately recognize the government of the Republic of Lithuania de facto.” Cosponsored by Reps Cox, Feighan, Hertel, McCollum, Rohrbacher, and others, the non-binding resolution, representing a blend of pragmatism and principle, calls on the U.S. Government to begin:

— negotiations with representatives of the Lithuanian Government “with a view to the establishment of an official United States Representative Office in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius... to be headed by a citizen of the United States, not a member of the diplomatic corps, with the title of Commissioner.”

— negotiations with Lithuania and private American corporate and philanthropic organizations “with a view to the establishment and funding of a United States Foundation for Lithuania” which would be located in major cities of the republic and would “assist the population of Lithuania with respect to a peaceful and orderly transition to a free market economy and democracy.”

— negotiations with Lithuania and “interested third-party states” for the provision of direct assistance to the Lithuanian Government and the creation of a “Baltic Bank for Reconstruction and Development” which would assist “private entrepreneurs and farmers in the three Baltic states” in the transition to a free market economy.

— discussions with the Lithuanian Charge D’Affaires in Washington “with a view to the upgrading of the status of the Lithuanian Legation in Washington to that of an embassy.”

The Ritter resolution also addresses several arguments offered by U.S. officials as to why Washington has not recognized the Vilnius government. U.S. officials have said that while the Bush Administration does not challenge the legitimacy of the Lithuanian government, it cannot extend de-facto recognition because the latter is not in total control of its territory and does not have control of its borders.

HR 142 states that the U.S. Government “has as a matter of diplomatic practice recognized numerous governments that have exercised less than full control over their state territory including the governments of Poland, Norway, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia (1940-1945), the government of the Republic of China (1913-1979), the government of the Republic of Panama (1988-1989), and the government of Kuwait (1990-1991).” It also states that “de-facto” recognition is a provisional form of governmental recognition which does not necessarily imply the establishment of full state-to-state diplomatic relations.”

The resolution also notes that before the United States recognized Lithuania de jure in 1922, it “maintained a Commissioner in the Baltic states from 1919 to 1922 with the title of Minister.” It says that in 1919 and 1920 the statehood and government of Lithuania “were recognized de facto by Germany, Norway, Finland, France and Poland... at a time when Lithuanian territory was effectively occupied by hostile foreign military forces.”

According to the resolution, “the state continuity and identity” of Lithuania “has not been affected by the Soviet occupation of Lithuanian territory”, a fact that the U.S. recognizes “by the continued accreditation of the Legation and Consulates General of the Republic of Lithuania in the United States as well as U.S. Department of State declarations that Lithuanian state treaties with the United States remain ‘in force’.”

The resolution notes that “there is no international legal impediment to the granting of de facto recognition... in that recognition of a government constitutes primarily a political act.”

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN LITHUANIA — “DISCRIMINATION” OR DISINFORMATION

European Parliamentarians discover that “Discrimination” does not exist

To justify its continued occupation of Lithuania, the Kremlin has raised the specter of “discrimination” and “persecution”. Lithuania’s independence, Gorbachev’s emissaries claim, would doom Russians, Poles, and other minorities to the status of second-grade citizens. This transparent disinformation is sometimes given serious consideration in the West. It was also on the agenda of a delegation of the European Parliament that recently visited Lithuania. The following comment appeared in the March 9 issue of the weekly *Literatura ir Menas* (Vilnius).

At the Supreme Council, the national communities of Lithuania met with a delegation of the European Parliament.

“Are we being oppressed in the independent Republic of Lithuania? Such a question provokes a forgiving smile among us. If the Kremlin said a thing like that, we would understand...,” this is how the representatives of the communities living in Lithuania responded to the question of David Atkinson, Daniel Tarchise and Guy Dufour.

Not even the tendentious ideologists of the Kremlin were able to find any examples of national discrimination, except for the fact that the names of the trolley and bus stations in Vilnius are in Lithuanian — Natalya Kasatkina, the representative of the Russian intelligentsia in Lithuania responds in beautiful, correct Lithuanian language.

The chairman of the Polish Scholars and Scientists Association in Lithuania, Romualdas Brazas, regrets the fact that the Polish community is suffering from a shortage of educated people...

Does the Polish minority in Lithuania lack Polish kindergartens, schools, newspapers? This question was answered by the general director of the De-

partment of Nationalities, Halina Kobeckaite: "In Lithuania there are 141 Polish kindergartens, 123 Polish schools, 12 associations, 7 newspapers, one magazine..." These figures, it appears, were a pleasant surprise to the members of the European Parliament.

The Jewish representative noted that not a single anti-Semitic organization has been established in Lithuania, which, unfortunately, is not the case in Russia. In his view, such organizations as **Pamyat** will not exist in Lithuania in the future as well. He respects the Lithuanians for this...

LITHUANIANS & NATIONAL MINORITIES

— A COMMON CAUSE

... More and more frequently we hear the indignation of the Russians who live in Lithuania, of Lithuania's Poles, and of the people of other nationalities about the actions of the Soviet army and of those who are hiding behind the commandos' backs. They are joining us — Jews, Poles, Russians, Karaites, Ukrainians... We embrace them. They are supporting not only us, they are backing liberty, justice, democracy...

Justinas Marcinkevicius, Lithuanian poet, "**To Survive! To Prevail!**" *Gimtasis Krastas*, Vilnius, January 17, 1991

IT IS UP TO EACH OF THE NATIONS

We are, then, at a critical moment in history. The period of the Russian empire built on a common ideology — monarchical, Christian Russia, or totalitarian, Marxist communism — is over. The USSR was the last empire of this type, which gave it considerable force but also condemned it to turn its back on true modernization. Once the empire has gone, it is up to each of the nations to determine how best to attempt this currently elusive modernization...

Helene Carrère D'Encausse, Professor at the Institut des Sciences Politiques in Paris, "Springtime of Nations", *The New Republic*, January 21, 1991.

Bertil Häggman — MOSCOW AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT
Assassination, Kidnapping and Terror
Published by Ukrainian Central Information Service, U.K. 1989

THE JANUARY 13 MASSACRE

Soviet CP Documents reveal Kremlin planned January 13 Assault

The Soviet military assault in Vilnius on January 13 was an attempt to put into effect the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat's position paper drafted last year. Following is a comment by the Moscow newspaper Nezavisimaya Gazeta (January 29, 1991), which printed the paper, and excerpts from it.

The confrontation between various political forces in the republics had been attracting the ruling party's attention from the very beginning. As recently as half a year ago, the CPSU, protecting its interests in the Baltics, mostly acted illegally — the evidence of which is the “secret” stamp on the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat's resolution. Also, despite the abolition of Article 6 of the USSR constitution, the CPSU retained command over the state structures through intraparty links, as is clear from point 7 of the paper attached to the document we are publishing. Now the CPSU also uses parliamentary methods that are available to other parties. The proof of that is the draft resolution “on the political situation in the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)” presented by a group of communist deputies for consideration by the Russian parliament and published on 24 January 1991 in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*.

It is expedient...

2. For the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to support the request of the working people of Lithuania and to present to the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to discuss the progress in implementing the decisions of the USSR Third Congress of Peoples Deputies on Lithuanian issues, directed at the restoration in Lithuania of supremacy of the USSR and Lithuanian SSR constitutions. It is recommended that a group of the USSR peoples deputies visit Lithuania in the nearest future on a fact-finding mission.

3. To ask the USSR Council of Ministers to:

— In the course of negotiations with the Lithuanian leadership, discuss on a priority basis the issue of draft to the Soviet army, the desertions of Lithuanian youths from it, and the problems related to creation of a national army.

— To reaffirm the all-union property rights of certain organizations and enterprises in the Lithuanian SSR, and to speed up the planned transformations in accordance with demands of the economic reform. To bring to the special attention of Union Ministry and department leaderships the necessity of working with the cadres at said enterprises.

4. For the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to systematically provide orientation for the leadership of the mass media, taking into account the development of the situation in the Baltic Republics, with the purpose of forming objective public opinion in the country...

5. For the State and Legal Department of the CPSU Central Committee to organize — through communists in leadership positions in the law enforcement organs — the work directed at criminal and administrative prosecution of the leaders of various nationalistic and anti-Soviet political formations, and of extremists and deserters, who violate Soviet laws. For this purpose to bring

DANGERS OF APPEASEMENT WITH USSR

From Baroness Park of Monmouth

Sir. In our current relations with the USSR, we are in danger, not for the first time, of confusing sympathy for a people with support for the very regime that many of them wish to end and would like us to reject. If President Gorbachev sincerely intends to create a free democracy, the best way we can help him and his people is to refuse absolutely to condone the repression and the tyranny which continue to flourish under his government.

There has been, in the last two years, well attested and repeated violent repression in the Baltic states, in Georgia, in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and in Nagorno-Karabakh, some of it observed as recently as this month by members of the House of Lords (report, July 18).

The "Omon" and "Speznast" special troops, equipped by the Ministry of the Interior, are allowed by Mr. Gorbachev and by his government to kill, beat and burn, and as usual it is the victims who are accused of provoking the trouble. The KGB flourishes (as you reported on July 22, Mr. Yeltsin has now set up his own KGB in the Russian republic), the defence budget is larger, not smaller.

Mr. Gorbachev and his regime need us, not the other way round. We are negotiating from strength and that is the only negotiating posture that communist establishments understand and respect.

It will of course be claimed that to say "stop the repression" is to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. Yesterday's agreement between the Union and some, but not all republics (report, July 25), quite apart from the special status of the Baltic states, tends to invalidate this.

The Balts, the Ukrainians, the Georgians and probably many Russians would applaud if we stood firm and refused to attend the next Helsinki Round in Moscow while such flagrant violations of human rights continue. To attend is to send a very dangerous signal for appeasement which can only encourage our enemies and dishearten our friends.

To refuse to attend is to make it clear that we mean what we say, and to indicate that we are under no obligation to give aid and comfort, or even tacit support to the enemies of our friends. The Group of Seven did not weaken with Gorbachev over the embargo on technical and strategic exports it should not do so over human rights.

Yours sincerely,
Park of Monmouth,
House of Lords.

▶ into accord the activities of the USSR procuracy, USSR MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), USSR KGB, and the USSR Supreme court, and to send a quick-response operational-investigative group to Lithuania.

Together with the USSR KGB, to consider the Communist Party of Lithuanian Central Committee request (Comrade Burokevicius) to make a military detachment formed from the Republic KGB officers a part of Republic party organization....

(Signed: O. Shenin, CPSU Politburo Member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary)

UKRAINIAN REPUBLICAN PARTY HOLDS SECOND CONGRESS

**Levko Lukyanenko Re-Elected Chairman amidst Rumours of Impending Rift
Stepan Khmara Re-Elected Vice-Chairman in Concession to "Radical Faction"**

KYIV, May 31-June 2 — 483 delegates gathered in the capital city to attend the second congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) — the largest democratic-opposition party in Ukraine. The large number of people attending the congress, including many delegates, foreign guests, and numerous journalists, was only partially a reflection of the URP's significant role in present day Ukrainian politics.

Several weeks prior to the congress, rumours were afoot of an impending rift between the more moderate faction in the ranks of the URP and the radical faction, titularly headed by Stepan Khmara.

Prior to the opening of the congress, a press conference was held on May 31 at 5:00 p.m. at the Ukrainian Writers' Union offices.

At 10:00 a.m. on June 1 the Congress was officially opened. This was followed by introductory remarks by the chairman of the organisational committee of the congress and the election of a congressional presidium. Afterwards, URP chairman — Levko Lukyanenko, delivered his reports of various commissions.

The congress began amidst rumours that Stepan Khmara was a candidate for URP chairman. Mr. Khmara, however, refused to run and in an attempt to maintain party unity, Mr. Lukyanenko, following his re-election as URP chairman, proposed Mr. Khmara as one of the vice-chairmen, together with Oleh Pavlyshyn. A party Programme was also ratified at this session.

Near the end of the session Mr. Khmara forwarded a resolution that incorporated some of the primary demands of the more radical elements in the URP: the immediate dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR and the holding of new elections; the withdrawal of democratic deputies from soviets in which Communists are in a majority; and an emphasis on extraparliamentary methods of struggle, such as strikes, demonstrations, campaigns of civil disobedience. This resolution led to a heated debate that may have led to a rift within the ranks of the URP. Mr. Khmara decided to withdraw his proposal so as to avoid such a rift.

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

Edited by John Kolasky, M.A., B.Ped.

Available from the Organisation for the Defence of Four Freedoms for
Ukraine, 136 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10003, USA. Priced at \$49.50

23rd CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD LEAGUE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

A historic meeting of the 23rd Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy (WFLD) held in San José, Costa Rica, August 21-25, 1991, was addressed by H.E. President Calderon Fournier of the Republic of Costa Rica and the Vice-Presidents of six nations. The conference adopted a new charter and elected Dr. Tze-Chi Chao of R.O.C., its first President under the charter.

Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto of Costa Rica, the host country, was inducted as Council Conference Chairman, succeeding General Robert Close of Belgium, hosts of the 22nd Conference in Brussels.

In his address to the Conference Opening, H.E. President Calderon Fournier stressed that Costa Rica had enjoyed 100 years of freedom and democracy and that spiritual power had been the guiding light in ensuring human rights and democratic values.

President Calderon Fournier said that the problems of democracy could only be solved by more democracy. Dictatorships were crumbling everywhere and being replaced by political, social and economic pluralism.

H.E. Li Yuan-Zu, Vice-President of the Republic of China, acknowledged the proud democratic history of Costa Rica and stressed that R.O.C. is advancing towards full democracy and is prepared to share its successful economic and political experience with developing countries.

Vice-President Li said "The struggle between the forces of freedom and democracy against communist enslavement will ultimately be decided by the firmness of our own belief in freedom and democracy and our resolution to put it into practice".

H.E. Merino Lopez, Vice-President of the Republic of El Salvador, said Communism was still a continuing enemy and the Salvadoran people had experienced a decade of communist aggression. Cuba continues to be a center of communist oppression and subversion.

H.E. Professor Espina Salguero, Vice-President of the Republic of Guatemala, proudly pointed to the changeover from one civilian government to another for the first time in Guatemala's history. He said this Year of Democracy must be reinforced as the roots of violence were deep. The recent Central American Summit meeting held in El Salvador had shown that peace and harmony between nations could be achieved.

H.E. Lic. Jacobo Hernandez Cruz, Vice-President of the Republic of Honduras, said that the 21st century would be the century for the progress of nations towards building a beautiful world for all mankind.

H.E. Virgilio Reyes, Vice-President of the Republic of Nicaragua, emphasized the importance of justice and social welfare in countries in Central America. He said "governments had a duty to establish a new international economic order and WFLD could assist in this process".

H.E. Guillermo Ford, Vice-President of the Republic of Panama, said that his country as a free nation relied on honesty and integrity in government. He cited the Republic of China as a shining example of freedom and democracy.

In his opening address as the new President of the WLFD, Dr. Tze-chi Chao emphasized that the World League for Freedom and Democracy is a worldwide civic organization whose members, without regard to race, creed or national origin, have for many years devoted their wisdom and energy to the struggle against communist tyranny and the fight for human freedom.

“Under our new title as the World League for Freedom and Democracy our members have been instilled with a new sense of mission and a new direction for our struggle, which will enable us to enjoy the benefits of liberty, equality and prosperity for all”, said Dr. Chao.

On assuming office as Conference Chairman, Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto gave an inspiring address. Dr. Woo Jae-Seung was re-elected Secretary General of WLFD for a four year term. The WLFD also elected Australia as a member of the Executive Board.

Under the theme “Freedom Above All” the thrust of the 23rd Conference was directed towards the promotion of democracy and economic development.

The Conference expressed satisfaction that the Persian Gulf Crisis had been partially resolved and that Kuwait had been liberated from Iraqi domination, although it noted that many problems still needed to be resolved in the region.

Delegates expressed support for the national independence movements of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia and for Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, Armenia and the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the Soviet Union.

The Conference is convinced that a new world order based on freedom, democracy, liberty and justice can only succeed where the sovereign rights of the people of all nations are respected and observed.

In this respect it is vital that the political balance of the post Cold War period be evaluated in both global economic and military terms, that peace and security in Asia and the Pacific be achieved and that the serious problems of ethnic minorities be addressed. A more orderly world will be achieved if democracies unite to promote democracy for all.

Central American and South American countries have moved with increasing success in enshrining the ideals of freedom and democracy. Their growing significance among the Third World nations warrants increasing co-operation from developed countries.

The conference notes with satisfaction that the Republic of Nicaragua has terminated diplomatic ties with the communist regime of mainland China and established diplomatic relations with the Republic of China. Governments of other free nations are encouraged to upgrade their relations with the Republic of China. The conference, however, regrets the continuing influence of the Sandinists in Nicaragua.

The erosion of communist ideology and the Third World’s disenchantment with protectionism make possible a truly global market leading to one world united in trade. The framework for trade advances has been the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Republic of China is a leading participant in the world economy and major powers should support entry of the

R.O.C. into GATT and involve them in international economic and security consultations. We note with concern the decision of the United States to accord mainland China's Communist Government "Most Favored Nation" trading status and declare that any attempt to isolate the Republic of China in the international community should be resisted and steps taken for their positive recognition and the participatory status.

The conference is seriously concerned with the repression of freedom and abuse of human rights in mainland China. Two years after the Tienanmen massacre the authoritarian rule of the communist regimen has continued unabated. Human rights violations have intensified and hundreds of political prisoners are still in custody for participating in the 1989 pro-democracy movement. We call for the release of all political prisoners and the launch of political reforms in mainland China with the goal of achieving political pluralism and the renunciation of the use of force across the Taiwan Strait.

Although communism is disintegrating as an ideology in Europe, more than one billion people in mainland China, and hundreds of millions more in Vietnam, Tibet, Cuba, North Korea and other countries continue to suffer under communist oppression. The tide of democratic reforms that have transformed Eastern Europe have altered the political landscape in South America and that have evolved along a thorny path in Africa, remain unwelcome to the totalitarian regimes in some Asian countries. Burma's military regime continues to deny power to an elected government and the Cambodian regime oppresses the Khmer people. The implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to Hashmir and Cambodia also deserves attention.

North Korea should also abandon its Cold War isolationism and move towards peace and reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula.

The many peoples of the Soviet Union face severe trials in their quest to embrace the democratic process and contain hardline communists from disrupting proposed reforms. They are confronted with decentralization of power and the demands of many nations and national groups for freedom and independence.

However, we would emphasise that attributing the failure and evils of the old Soviet system to Stalinism is too simplistic and may obscure the historic fact that Stalinism flowed from the doctrines of Marxism and Leninism which are inherently a threat to human liberty and prosperity.

The World League for Freedom and Democracy has more than 90 nations and international organizations amongst its members. The task ahead will be to build democratic political systems that can accommodate growing demands for pluralism and to continue supporting the democratic process of Eastern European countries and the struggle against those autocratic regimes that ignore human rights and freedom.

In this respect the Conference urges all nations to convince the Kremlin to terminate military and economic aid to the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba, a continuing threat to the democracies of the Americas.

The 23rd Conference will go down in the annals of world freedom as an achievement in unity of democratic countries entering a new era of global coordination in promoting democracy. The Conference expresses its sincere appreciation to the host country of Costa Rica and to FEDAL for the warm hospitality and effective organization that have produced a milestone in the cause of freedom and democracy and for human rights.

August 24, 1991

SOLIDARITY WITH THE UKRAINIAN NATION

Where as, on August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Supreme assembly is debating secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, proclamation of independence, abolition of the Communist Party including the confiscation of its property on Ukrainian soil and the creation of a Ukrainian national army on Ukrainian soil,

Where as, yesterday, there were large demonstrations in support of Ukraine's national independence in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Odessa, and, today, in front of Soviet embassies throughout the world,

Where as, on this date, the people from all corners of Ukraine are gathering in Kyiv to participate in large demonstrations supporting the independence of Ukraine.

Therefore be it resolved, that the participants of the 23rd World League for Freedom and Democracy Conference do hereby express their support for and solidarity with the Ukrainian nation.

Approved by the General Assembly of Delegates 23rd World League for Freedom and Democracy Conference, San Jose, Costa Rica on August 24, 1991.

AN APPEAL TO THE LEADERS OF THE FREE WORLD

The Sunday, August 18, 1991, coup d'etat showed the world the lack of respect for freedom and democracy that the KGB, MVD and the leadership of the Soviet military exemplify. The military-political takeover by the central Soviet powers was NOT supported by the general population as evidenced by spontaneous demonstrations, organized strikes and general civil disobedience in various republics throughout the Soviet Union.

The world is at a turning point in its ability to influence the destruction of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Empire. We appeal to the leaders of the Free World to seize this opportunity to support the democratic movements of the subjugated nations for national independence as the only viable course of action towards world peace.

The return to power of Mikhail Gorbachev will only serve to further the political and economic chaos and social instability in the Soviet Union. This empire cannot be rescued because the subjugated nations are determined to proceed on their path to freedom, democracy and national independence.

We appeal to the leaders of the Free World to develop full and direct bilateral relations with each and every subjugated nation, particularly with the democratically-elected governments as well as with the national democratic movements of the subjugated nations. We also appeal to the leaders of the G-7 (Group of Seven) nations to use this opportunity to provide economic assistance to these republics so that they can begin to develop within a free market economy.

This appeal was signed by participants of the 23rd World League for Free-

dom and Democracy Conference held in San Jose, Costa Rica, in August 21 to 25, 1991;

Ukraine, ABN, AF-ABN, Free Vietnam, Switzerland, European Freedom Council, Canada, Cambodia, Khmer League for Freedom, Germany, Italy, North American Four Freedoms and Democracy, Palau, Swaziland, Costa Rica, Australia, Croatia, Phillipines, Romania, Costa Rica, Poland, Portugal, Pakistan, St. Kitts, Grenada, West Indies, Korea, Japan, United States, Great Britain, Argentina, New Zealand, Turkey, Belgium, Finland, Luxembourg, Dominican Republic, Netherlands, Bangedesh, Armenia, Denmark, and France.

LIBERATED NATIONS — A REPOSITORY FOR PLURALITY AND DEMOCRACY

... Western industrial tycoons and political leaders would do well to keep in mind that the current wave of transformations resulting from the 1989 revolutions involve about 200 million people who live between Germany and Russia — Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians and — let us think ahead of the events for a change — Ukrainians are a repository of plurality for the Europe of the future. Having experienced both Russian and German domination, they will not line up as client states when given a chance — and material assistance — to build their own sovereign existence. Much as our foreign-policy planners (who are they and where have they been anyway?) might feel tempted to do otherwise, they should not focus attention exclusively on the events in the Soviet Union and in Germany. We must remind them to look in between, on the center, over the middle ground; and to cultivate the diversity of East Central Europe. Diversity is rarely a threat to democratic politics; indeed, frequently they thrive on a steady diet of diversity.

(Jan T. Gross, director of Soviet and East European Studies at Emory University, **The New York Times Book Review**, July 22, 1990)

SHOULD LIBERALS LAMENT THE DECLINE OF EMPIRES?

... The attempt to rescue the collapsing Union will simply intensify the power vacuum rather than fill it... What we are witnessing is the end of two enormous modern wrongs — the ideology of communism and the hegemony of Russia. Those who are truly concerned about the soul and future of Russia, as well as those concerned for the liberty of the peoples throughout its empire, should exchange their handwringing for celebration. Liberals are not usually in the vanguard of those lamenting the decline of empires. Indeed, there is something grotesque about liberals who rejoice at the decline of every empire save this one, and who celebrate the emergence of any pseudonationalism in the Third World but balk at the real thing when it arises in the Soviet Union. (“Let the Peoples Go”, Editorial, **The New Republic**, January 21, 1991)



The Freedom Coalition
Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

*International Valiant for
Freedom Award*

This is to Certify that
Madam Slava Stetsko
is the recipient of this Award
at the Eleventh Annual Celebration in
Melbourne of World Freedom Day
on April 14, 1991.

*This award recognises the outstanding leadership
and courage in the cause of freedom exemplified by*
Madam Slava Stetsko, Director of the Central
Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

*Her determination and resolve to continue the
work of her late husband as the last freely elected*
Prime Minister of Ukraine has served as an
inspiration to Ukrainian people around the world.

Through her remarkable strength of character and
eloquence of speech and writing Madam Stetsko has
been a constant and articulate voice for freedom
through the international forums of the world.

PRESIDENT
Hon. Bruce Skeggs,
K.C.S.J., J.P., M.L.C.

SECRETARY/TREASURER
Rhys Watson

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN
CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

5

September — October 1991

CONTENTS:

EFC calls for Recognition of Croatia and Slovenia	4
<i>Bertil Hägmann: Don't Trust Foreign Minister Boris Pankin — a Swedish Warning</i>	5
<i>Lubomyr Luciuk: Will the West Betray Ukraine Again?</i>	6
<i>Askold Krushelnycky: My Tour of Bombs and Brandy</i>	9
Lithuania, USSR Agree on Withdrawal of Troops	11
Azerbaijan to "Nationalise" Military Hardware	12
<i>Chrystia Freeland: Economists Plot Go-It-Alone Strategy for Ukraine</i>	13
Suggestion to Open KGB Archives Touches off Anxiety	15
U.S. Peace Corps Enters Ukraine	17
New Currency for a New State	18
Joint Control Over Soviet Nukes	19
<i>Mikhail Alexseev: Seeing USSR Through New Eyes</i>	20
<i>Kinga Borondy: Bulgarian Refugee Returns to Homeland to Foster Democracy</i>	22
WLFD Conference	23
Freedom is not Negotiable!	27
Estonia's Path to Independence and Democracy	30
Helsinki Movement in Georgia Continues Struggle for Democracy	34
News Briefs	38
Book Reviews	40
Statement to the Community of Independent States	43
Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia	47

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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FOR THE RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE

and other newly-established states

(A memorandum to the governments of the Free World)

At this crucial juncture in world history, freedom-loving peoples are presented with the unique opportunity to build a new world order, based on the universal ideals of freedom and justice for all nations and individuals. This historic opportunity to restructure the global political order into a community of free nations is now a reality. The dramatic events that unfolded in the Soviet Union following the abortive coup on August 19, 1991 clearly indicate that the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire has become a historical fact. Almost all of the fifteen “republics” have declared independence, thereby breaking away from the colonial “union” into which they were forcibly annexed.

It is imperative that the world community of free and independent nation-states welcomes into its ranks the formerly-subjugated nations as equal partners and co-architects in the building of a new, free and just world order. Such immediate recognition will be a powerful political bulwark that will not only help secure these nations’ rights to independent statehood, but also help preclude any further expansionist ambitions towards the newly-established, democratic states on the part of the destabilising forces emerging in Moscow and elsewhere in Russia. Democracy will take root in Russia only when the Russian people will discard their traditional, condescending “big brother” attitude and by renouncing any latent, imperialist ambitions towards the newly-independent states.

The need for international stability

The West fears the destabilising effect of the Soviet Russian empire’s dissolution. The roots of such possible destabilisation, the potential casus belli as it were, unilaterally lie in the latent, but increasingly manifest, imperialist desires expressed by many of Russia’s present leaders, even those who are considered to be “liberal-minded”. A truly stable and peaceful world order can only be founded on the principle of mutual respect towards each nation’s independence and sovereignty. The further existence of the Soviet Russian empire, i.e. the USSR or any other Council of Republics, is a dangerous historical anachronism and will only promote the continued festering of repressed national self-determination, which may erupt in armed upheaval.

Ukrainian independence

On August 24, 1991, Ukraine — the largest of the subjugated nations in the USSR, a country with vast economic potential, both industrially and agriculturally — declared its independence. With this Act of Independence, the former Ukrainian SSR, ceased to exist as a juridical entity in international law and was supplanted by a new sovereign state called UKRAINE.

Now, Ukraine may or may not decide to enter into economic, political and/or military agreements with any other sovereign state, according to its

own, inherently Ukrainian, national interests. Furthermore, Ukraine's national interests are fully concomitant with the peaceful and democratic interests of Western industrialised democracies.

The leaders of Ukraine's political parties, civic and religious organisations have frequently reiterated their democratic commitment to treating all members of the national minorities of Ukraine, including the Russian minority, as fully-enfranchised citizens on an equal footing with Ukrainians. The future democratic Ukrainian government will undoubtedly do everything in its power to fully implement the provisions of the "Third Basket" of the Helsinki Accords (1976) regarding the human rights of minorities, irrespective of race, creed or national affiliation, regarding the freedom of travel and reunification of families.

The question of Soviet occupational forces

On August 24, Ukraine also declared that all the military units of the Soviet army, stationed on sovereign Ukrainian soil, come under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian government, until such time that Ukrainian armed forces can be effectively established. The creation of such Ukrainian Armed Forces is not to be viewed as a belligerent act on the part of the newly-declared Ukrainian state, but should be treated as a necessary step in establishing full sovereignty over Ukrainian soil. In effect, the Soviet army, Moscow's military occupational force, is *de jure* (but not *de facto*) disbanded in Ukraine. There is a considerable number of non-Ukrainian soldiers on Ukrainian soil at the present time, as there are many Ukrainians serving outside of Ukraine's borders. Military stability could be facilitated with the regulated and incremental transfer of soldiers back to their original homeland, where they would be able to fulfill their military commitment in their own national army.

The question of strategic weapons

The issue of strategic nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Russian arsenal presently deployed on sovereign Ukrainian soil, also needs to be resolved. Itself a victim of a major nuclear catastrophe in Chernobyl, the full effects of which have yet to be gauged and which itself was the result of what may now be termed as Moscow's "planned negligence", Ukraine is fully committed to becoming a nuclear-free zone.

Not able to pursue a course of deterrence on its own, a policy that Western leaders considered the cornerstone of world peace and security, Ukraine should be treated as part of the West's security blanket of deterrence, since the newly-independent Ukrainian state will be dependent on Western powers to curb any irresponsible actions on the part of Moscow.

Economic restructuring within the parameters of national statehood

Despite the over-bureaucratized, entangled web of the integrated Soviet economy, Ukraine's underutilised economic potential is vast. Given its rich

mineral resources, broad industrial base and agricultural wealth (Ukraine accounted for 46% of the USSR's agricultural output), Ukraine can certainly establish a solid independent economic base. A recent Deutsche Bank study concluded that Ukraine has the greatest capacity of all the former Soviet "republics" to succeed economically as an independent nation. The transition to a market economy, which is possible only within independent statehood and with the incremental disentanglement of the former Soviet economy, will undoubtedly be a difficult task. The democratic West, particularly the member states of the European Economic Community, may play a decisive role in accelerating this process with massive infusions of capital and other forms of economic and technological assistance to the recently-established states. Such economic aid will not only help stabilise the socio-political situation in these countries, but will also hasten their subsequent integration in the EEC's economic infrastructure. Ukraine's economic potential should not be ignored.

An historic opportunity

Historical processes in the 20th century have been punctuated by the desire of colonised nations to break away from all forms of imperialist tyranny and to exercise the right to organise their own affairs in sovereign, independent nation-states. International agreements and covenants, most notably U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, the United Nations Covenant and the UN Declaration on Decolonisation, have clearly established the right of every nation to national self-determination, i.e. national independence, sovereignty and statehood.

Now, the last empire is about to fall together with its long and bloody legacy of military expansionism, artificial famines, concentration camps, psychiatric prisons, genocide, repression and torture. The long-repressed national liberation movements can now prove that the millions who died in the name of freedom, did not die in vain. In light of this, can there be any question whether the newly-established states should be officially recognised?

As a founding member of the United Nations, Ukraine has de facto recognition by the world's highest political body. As a peace-loving nation which has at no point in its history conducted any foreign adventurist war, Ukraine appeals to all the governments of the world for full diplomatic and political recognition.

Ukraine also asks that the other recently-established independent states also be recognised by the world community and that pressure be brought to bear on Moscow to allow the process of the Soviet Union's decolonisation to continue unabated, in order to build a just, free, new world order.

As we stand on this historic crossroad, on the threshold of the dawn of a new era, the choice that needs to be made boils down to choosing between justice and injustice, between freedom and tyranny. The choice should be clear.

*Slava Stetsko, Chairman
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, ABN President,
October 8, 1991, Munich Germany*

EFC CALLS FOR RECOGNITION OF CROATIA AND SLOVENIA

The federal communist "Yugoslav" army is attacking independent Croatia with growing ferocity. On October 7th, the government buildings in Zagreb were attacked. President Tudjman has asked for international help to stop the armed forces of the regime in Belgrade.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) supports the struggle for independence of the Croat and Slovenian peoples. The EC countries along with EFTA member countries should recognise the independence of the two republics as soon as possible. They must also support the aspirations of the Albanians in Kosovo to free themselves from communist Serbian oppressive rule and look favourably upon the recent Macedonian massive popular vote for independence.

Just now, however, EFC underlines the urgent necessity of the European nations to recognise Croatia as an independent nation. All peoples under totalitarian oppression have the right to self-determination. Let the European countries extend a welcoming hand to the new republics in the crumbling communist "Yugoslavian" empire.

If the Serbian communist troops do not stop their attacks in independent Croatia, the EFC calls for the intervention of the United Nations in order to stop the invaders. Croatia has the right to receive international support to stop invasion to create peace in nations which want to live peacefully with their neighbours.



Croatians and Slovenians demonstrating in the United States

Bertil Häggman

DON'T TRUST FOREIGN MINISTER BORIS PANKIN — A SWEDISH WARNING

New Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin was the Soviet ambassador in Stockholm since 1982 and then moved to Czechoslovakia. Before becoming a diplomat, Pankin was heading the Soviet Copyright Organisation, Vaap, with close ties to the KGB. Informed Swedish observers believe that Pankin was and is a KGB General. During his Vaap time, Pankin was involved in a disinformation scandal in Greece. Pankin is not a "liberal" or "democrat". Some of his statements in Stockholm show him as a loyal servant of Marxism-Leninism and the CPSU.

1. He felt sorry for those who demonstrated against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (Newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* — November 24, 1985).

2. "There are no Soviet submarines and have never been in Swedish waters, except that time in Kariskrona" (Newspaper — *Dagens Nyheter* May 13, 1990).

3. "We do not eavesdrop or bud and we have not installed any microphones" (Pankin commenting on the discovery of microphones in the Swedish embassy in Moscow in *Svenska Dagbladet* — September 1, 1989).

4. "Agapov has betrayed his country and broken Soviet laws. I have no pity for him. The activities of Soviet authorities have nothing to do with human rights." (Pankin on Soviet defector Valentin Agapov, who since 1974 has tried to have his family join him in Sweden in *Svenska Dagbladet* — November 24, 1985).

5. "The Soviet troops are in Afghanistan on request of the legal government of Afghanistan, which represents the people" (Pankin in *Svenska Dagbladet* — November 24, 1985).

6. In 1986, Pankin attacked a group of Swedish members of parliament which had brought up the plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union. One of the reasons they could not leave the Soviet Union was, according to Pankin, that some of them had access to state secrets.

SOVIET SPY IGOR NIKIFOROV, KGB GENERAL, ORDERED TO LEAVE SWEDEN

In September the Swedish government ordered Soviet spy Igor Nikiforov to leave Sweden. He was allowed diplomatic status at the Soviet embassy in 1987 over the protests of the Swedish Security Police (Säpo). The reason was the ongoing struggle between Sweden's Social Democratic Party (SAP) former secretary Sten Anderson, Foreign Minister in the now deposed socialist government. Säpo had been accused by Andersson of being too "anti-Soviet" and hurting Soviet-Swedish relations.

Lubomyr Luciuk

WILL THE WEST BETRAY UKRAINE AGAIN?

In Kyiv this summer, U.S. President George Bush lectured Ukrainians against independence, a performance insightfully tagged by New York Times columnist William Safire as “the Chicken Kyiv” speech.

Soon afterward Canada’s Minister for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, was embroiled in controversy for committing the apparently unspeakable error of calling Ukraine a “country”. It was hurriedly explained that this did not mean Canada accepted Ukraine as an independent state, in case anyone misunderstood.

Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk’s direct appeal to Western nations, “who can think ahead, to be brave now and recognize Ukraine,” has fallen on deaf ears. He fared no better last week on his state visits to Ottawa and Washington.

Ukrainians may well wonder why Western governments, avowed champions of democracy and self-determination, side with forces in Moscow, including Boris Yeltsin, who oppose the dismantling of the empire (beyond a few peripheral adjuncts such as the Baltics).

The answer is disarmingly simple. neither Britain, the U.S. nor Canada have ever wanted or felt they needed a free Ukraine. Isolated for decades behind the Iron Curtain, however, most Ukrainians have always believed exactly the opposite. They could not be more naive.

Once-secret foreign policy documents gleaned from the archives of the three Anglo-American powers reveal how ignorant, indifferent and sometimes outwardly hostile they were to Ukrainian independence before and after World War II.

For example, the British were so intent on preserving the international status quo that, even after the Foreign Office learned a politically engineered famine had taken millions of lives in Ukraine in 1932-33, it covered up this genocide. “We do not want to make it public... because the Soviet government would resent it and our relations with them would be prejudiced.”

More than a touch of racism also colored attitudes on the “Ukrainian Question.” Paternalistically, it was explained Ukrainians were unfit for self-rule because no British bureaucrat could define exactly what a Ukrainian was. “Some authorities... assert... Ukrainians are of artificial origin without any real claim to race distinction and are in fact a collection of magnificent crossbred scallywags.”

Once war began, another observer derided Ukrainian hopes by reminding Whitehall that “most, even of the Ukrainian leaders, are only just emerging from the status of ‘semi-intellectual’ and have a decidedly oriental kink in their brains.”

Exploiting Ukrainians as a spoiler force for undermining the Nazi-Soviet alliance was considered, but nothing came of this for Britain did not want to alienate its fallen ally, Poland or anger its potential partner, Stalinist Russia.

American officials got into the recognition game later but were no better disposed toward Ukrainian independence than their cousins. In May 1945, an

American-Ukrainian delegation attending the San Francisco meetings that led to creation of the U.N., was told that even if the public felt some sympathy for the world's oppressed, "it would not serve anybody's interest to create an impression that... the (U.S.) government was the unreasoning champion of the discontented."

Then, and ever since, a "friendly accomodation" was being sought with Moscow. America's Ukrainians were warned not to do anything to disturb those efforts.

Even during the Cold War, the Ukrainian liberation movement was all but shunned. A 1948 "top secret" National Security Council note may be viewed as a harbinger of the advice proffered to the Ukrainian government recently.

The memorandum recognized Ukrainians as "the most advanced of the people... under Russian rule in modern times," but recommended America's interests would be better served if they remained in a "federal relationship" with the "Great Russians," allowed cultural but not economic or military autonomy.

Should the "unlikely" happen and independence be achieved, Washington was not even prepared to immediately come out in favor of the new state. It would wait and see. Having concluded that only the Baltic nations deserved their freedom, the state department effectively abandoned Ukraine and other captive nations.

Why? Because a free Ukraine would mean an enfeebled Russia. That remains true to this day. Has the West really wanted that? No. Before the coup, Gorbachev's "new union treaty," was a preferred option of Western commentators contemplating the future of the Soviet Union.

Now Yeltsin enjoys international favor.

He is not particularly sympathetic to Ukrainian independence. Why should he be? Ukraine has historically been the "breadbasket" of the empire. Its rich natural resources have fueled the industrial development of the Soviet heartland.

But some Western pundits now insist this nation of 52 million cannot exist as an independent economy. Ukraine should remain in federal association with Russia. That sounds familiar.

Like their British and American counterparts, Ottawa's men have consistently maintained that the Canadian government should not commit itself, directly or indirectly, to the liberation of Ukraine.

The Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Jules Leger, decreed in July, 1956 that, "even in the unlikely event that the Communist regime in Russia should disappear," it was doubtful whether an independent Ukraine would be "a practical possibility." And advocating Ukrainian independence would "seriously offend all Great Russians."

What could be hoped for, he wrote, was some future "liberalization" of the Soviet regime and the emergence of "a more genuinely federal relationship." Leger suggested Moscow might be encouraged in that direction by "subtle reference to Canada's solution" of its own "bi-national problem," a foretaste of the specious comparisons made recently between Quebec's situation and that of Ukraine.

Because Ottawa has faced “a certain amount of pressure by members of the Ukrainian Canadian community... who would like to see government policy statements... take a more forthright attitude toward the ‘liberation’ of the Ukraine,” Leger went on to recommend the government continue “to avoid this issue,” and deflect Ukrainian-Canadian lobbying by proclaiming “expressions of sympathy with Ukrainian cultural survival.”

The government did just that. For decades, Canada’s Ukrainian community wallowed in the luxury of believing that it received sympathetic hearings in Ottawa.

In fact, as a self-congratulatory External Affairs memorandum of 1957 noted, ministers had simply learned how to make Ukrainian-Canadian delegations feel they had Ottawa’s ear. When petitioners submitted a brief entitled *The Policy of Liberation as an Aspect of Canadian Foreign Policy*, the minister dealt with them by inquiring about his friends in the community and made them “all feel important, which as far as I could judge, was the main object of their visit.” A surviving member of that delegation was shocked to tears when he read that cynical External Affairs’ assessment.

But the world is changing. Once “unlikely” events have happened. The Communist regime has all but disappeared and a “liberalization” has come to the U.S.S.R.

Ukraine has declared its independence and asked for international recognition. Will Canada recognize Ukraine after a referendum this December confirms its people’s desire for independence?

In August, Brian Mulroney promised to do just that. Will our foreign policy mandarins support that decision? The historical record leaves me skeptical.

Lubomyr Luciuk is a professor in the department of politics and economics at the Royal Military College of Canada.



Celebrations in Kyiv after Ukraine declares independence

MY TOUR OF BOMBS AND BRANDY

I met Mira as I was lying flat on my stomach in a park in the Croatian frontline town of Vinkovci. She bent over me thinking I was dead. There were plenty of corpses in the town that morning. Mira, a doctor, had every reason to think I was just another victim of the savage aerial bombardment that ripped the town apart on the third day of the supposed ceasefire.

I had foolishly ventured out of the hotel shelter after a heavy air raid to inspect the carnage wrought by the planes.

A brief tour of this graceful town of 30,000 proved a stomach-turning experience. A partly burned-out car strafed by the planes had skewed to a halt at a crazy angle across a road in the town centre.

The driver's brains were smeared over the dashboard and windscreen. Graceful three-storey buildings and ornate 18th century churches had been sliced open by powerful 500kg bombs.

But the lull on the bombing was over quicker than anyone expected and cluster bombs began showering their deadly cargo over the park as the jets returned. Dropping flares to deflect heat-seeking missiles from the Croatian national guard, they dropped canisters containing about 20 bombs which exploded with a deafening and chilling violence among the buildings in the town.

Mira, a matronly-looking woman clutching a bag as if returning from a shopping trip, helped me to my feet and suggested we went to a friend's home for a cognac. "I need it," she said, "I have seen so many dead."

When we got to the apartment block there was no one around to share Mira's bottle of local brandy. The nearby militia headquarters had been reduced to rubble in the morning raid and everyone was in the shelter.

Mira and I had a brandy anyway. It turned out that she needed the drink more than I did. She worked as a surgeon in the town's hospital and said: "I don't know how many people I've operated on today. We have had maybe 50 or 60 wounded and many dead."

She knew that before nightfall she would see more of the townspeople — many of them friends or acquaintances — dead or dying from horrible wounds.

Vinkovci, which is being attacked from two sides by Serbian guerrillas and Yugoslav army forces, has been bombed and shelled daily since the ceasefire.

I felt ridiculous asking those sheltering below their homes whether they had any faith at all in international efforts to halt the war. Their bitter laughter was answer enough to a ludicrous question.

As funeral preparations were being made for the nine who died in Tuesday's bombing, the Croatian National Guard rushed around in a frenzy preparing defences for the next round of fighting.

In nearby Vukovar, another town at the cutting edge of the conflict, bombing miraculously produced no casualties. But the bodies of people killed by snipers were stacked up in makeshift chipboard coffins near the hospital. A husband and wife lay beside each other, both killed by single shots to the head as they drove home in their car.

The town is completely encircled by Serbian guerrillas and their Yugoslav Army allies. Supplies of food and ammunition reach the population by trucks braving shell-fire and bullets.

But most vicious fighting has been at the Croatian stronghold of Borovo Naselje, in a bend of the river Danube just north of Vukovar. It is reached by a mad dash in a car through a cornfield under constant sniper fire.

Bullets from snipers whistled past as the Croatian National Guard commander, a Canadian citizen called John, showed us the wreckage of about 30 Yugoslav army tanks and armoured personnel carriers, destroyed in a major battle at Borovo last week. He said: "I think we are going to see much heavier fighting soon."

He believes that an alliance of Croats and Moslems from Bosnia Herzegovina, now forming into a formidable fighting force, will soon enter the fray against the Yugoslav Army. "Then," he predicts, "the Serbs are going to get burned. They will be destroyed."



Croats demonstrating in Canada

LITHUANIA, USSR AGREE ON WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

The Soviet Union and Lithuania have agreed on a pullout of Soviet interior ministry troops from the Baltic nation, Baltfax news agency reported.

Lithuanian deputy prime minister Zigmas Vaisvila said the accord provided for the withdrawal to begin in March next year. The agreement in principal which was reached at the beginning of October approved by the two governments. Lithuanian authorities would like the withdrawal to be complete within two years but the Soviet side has said that it will take at least five years. Four regiments of Interior ministry troops, or 10,000 men, are stationed in the Lithuanian cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Siaulai and Sneczkus.

In talks with the Soviet Union Lithuania has also been pressing for a faster pullout of defense ministry troops. The so-called Baltic council which groups the presidents of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia said it wanted all Soviet troops out of the three newly independent Baltic nations by December 1.

The Soviet military commander in the Baltics, General Valey Mironov, said it would be impossible to meet the demand two years ahead of Moscow's target date for withdrawal. Mironov said it was "unrealistic to believe that troops could leave within one week", stressing that it would leave "more than 11,000 people" without apartments. A Soviet housing shortage has been a major problem for returning troops from the old eastern bloc states.



Crowds at Hirvepark in Tallin demanded an end to Soviet control of the 52nd anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

AZERBAIJAN TO “NATIONALISE” MILITARY HARDWARE

Azerbaijan's parliament voted to “nationalise” Soviet military hardware on its territory to equip a new republican army. Radical deputies said they would organise blockades to stop the Kremlin removing arms from the volatile southern republic. Deputies said a resolution, approved at a special closed session, included the recall of the 140,000 Azerbaijani conscripts now serving in the Soviet army and invitations to Azeris in the officer corps to join the new force. It also subordinated all army and auxiliary units, including civil defence, to the Azerbaijani president, they said. Final details were kept secret but an earlier draft provided for the dispatch of the new units to the explosive border with rival Armenia and other points of possible conflict.

The decision marked the first direct challenge to the integrity of the Soviet Armed Forces in the republics. It may tempt others including powerful Ukraine to follow suit. “An army is one of the attributes of an independent state. For us it is also a vital necessity,” said opposition deputy Isa Gambarev. “We are in the fourth year of war and Moscow doesn't care,” said deputy Dzhumshut Nuryev. Already more than 800 people have been killed in clashes between Azeris and Armenians battling for control of Nagarno-Karabakh, a remote Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan.

Parliament's decision, long an opposition demand, was certain to aggravate tensions with Armenia. At the same time it underscored the Kremlin's growing helplessness in the face of an onslaught of republican demands for autonomy. Deputies demanded immediate negotiations with the Soviet military on an orderly handover of bases and hardware destined to form the core of an independent fighting force.

Reports from around the republic suggested that Moscow, facing the threat of nationalisation since parliament opened three days ago, had already started loading military equipment onto trains to remove it from Azerbaijan. A member of Azerbaijan's new defence council said large-scale shipments of Soviet weaponry were under way and local journalists said reports from other points indicated significant movements of hardware.

The commander of local anti-aircraft forces dismissed the reports as a “provocation”. General Vladimir Timoshenko said plans for nationalisation remained sketchy despite the vote, adding any movements of troops or material were simply routine. Opposition deputy Gambarev, chairman of the Popular Front Executive Committee, said Azerbaijan was ready to prevent the Soviet forces from removing their weaponry. “Without talks we will organise blockades and pickets to stop any pullout,” he said.

The creation of an Azerbaijani army has long been a distant goal of the nationalist opposition. The bungled coup attempt in Moscow in August reinvigorated the Azeri Popular Front, threw the ruling Communist Party into disarray and opened the way for a new alliance of political forces. What emerged was an alliance between President Ayaz Mütalibov, a communist chieftain who disbanded the party, and the nationalist opposition. Key components of the new arrangement include military reform and the creation of a new temporary parliament made up of 50 deputies — half chosen by Mütalibov, half by the opposition.

ECONOMISTS PLOT GO-IT-ALONE STRATEGY FOR UKRAINE

In contrast with the prevailing western view that it makes economic sense for the Soviet Union to stay together, a group of eminent foreign advisers is arguing that independence will give former Soviet republics the best shot at radical economic reform.

On that premise, a high-powered western team, including Sir Geoffrey Howe, the former British chancellor of the exchequer, Mr George Soros, the Hungarian-born financier and philanthropist, and Mr Rudiger Dornbusch, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology economist, met Ukrainian leaders last week to begin drafting an economic reform programme.

Working with a group of Ukrainian economists, led by Mr Volodymyr Pylypchuk, head of the parliamentary commission on economic reform, they hope to produce a plan by the beginning of next year.

The idea is to introduce a separate currency backed by price reform, a balanced budget and tougher budget constraints on enterprises. A massive privatisation campaign, with favourable conditions for foreign investors, would follow for an economy which accounts for one-third of Soviet agricultural production and a quarter of industrial output.

Mr Soros, who made a fortune playing the capitalist game, says: "I think it is easier to guide Ukraine into a democratic, market-oriented economy than it is to reform Russia because there is a unifying force here: they all want to break with Moscow. It is very difficult to break with Moscow in Moscow."

Paradoxically, Moscow's own policies are creating an economic rationale for what was already a powerful emotional desire to cut ties with the centre by creating a separate currency. "Yeltsin has discovered the printing press. He may well be setting a world record for the creation of money," said Prof Dornbusch. Most of those new banknotes stay in Russia: Ukrainian banks have received only 19 percent of their cash needs this month and are paying wages with up to 12 days' delay.

But new-found independence can bring its own economic perils. The Ukrainian cabinet is more intent on bringing the economy under its own control than on leaving it to the market.

Enterprises ranging from Donbass coalmines to collective farms have been forbidden to make barter deals with partners outside the republic, while the Ukrainian National Bank, which has long complained about the Kremlin's monopoly on hard currency, is trying to take over all hard currency accounts held in Ukrainian commercial banks.

"Kyiv wants to replace Moscow," complains Mr Volodymyr Slednev, director of a mammoth metallurgical complex in eastern Ukraine.

The parliament is a poor counterweight to a reactionary cabinet. Its chairman, Mr Leonid Kravchuk, is a sort of Ukrainian Gorbachev — a brilliant compromiser and mediator. But, like the Soviet president, he is unable to provide the decisive leadership needed in the aftermath of the failed coup.

The nationalist opposition which controls parliament is reluctant to attack Mr Kravchuk. It does not want to antagonise him or the Ukraine's 3.5m other ex-Communists because it needs their co-operation to guarantee a "yes" vote in the December 1 referendum on independence.

On the campaign trail, Mr Kravchuk has demonstrated a firmer grasp of what the public wants to hear than what it should be told about economic reform. He is persuading voters to cast their ballots for independence with the promise that in a sovereign Ukraine prices will be lowered.

That is a very different scenario from the radical reforms planned by Mr Pylypchuk and his western advisers, which would mean belt-tightening, fiscal discipline and higher prices.



Ukrainian protestors in Kyiv

**LONG LIVE THE NATIONS
PROCLAIMING INDEPENDENCE
FROM THE USSR!**

SUGGESTION TO OPEN KGB ARCHIVES TOUCHES OFF ANXIETY

Radio Free Europe's director suggested that the KGB archives be opened to researchers, touching off protests at a conference in September on the role of the free press in a democracy.

"Current and future generations must learn the whole truth about the dark periods of 20th-century history," said Eugene Pell, Director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which has broadcast uncensored news to the Soviet Union for decades.

But journalists at the conference defended the KGB chief's decision to keep the files closed, saying millions of informers could be exposed to retribution if the documents were made available.

"I think it would mean tragedy for millions," said Sergei Parkhomenko, a columnist for the newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*.

"Approximately a dozen of those present in this room would probably be interested in never seeing the archives opened," Parkhomenko said as a ripple of nervous laughter erupted among the 60 Soviets and foreigners attending the conference.

The lingering uneasiness about the KGB is just one of the difficulties facing Soviet media during the current transition from communism to democracy.

The topic was raised during the opening session of a two-day conference sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee.

Pell urged a 38-nation human rights conference meeting here to ask Europe's former communist nations to preserve the archives of their state, party, and secret police and open them to all researchers.

But Parkhomenko and other journalists defended the decision of the new KGB chief, Vadim Bakatin, to keep the KGB files shut.

Swedish journalist Mika Larsen recalled that when the same question was raised in Poland, President Lech Walesa said the country had no time or energy to waste on revenge.

"We demand so much more of Eastern Europe and communist countries than we would ever demand in our own countries," she said. "There are so many doors closed in our own countries. I think we demand too much."

Her response received the only round of applause during the session.

After several other protests, Pell returned to the microphone to explain that his proposal would not give journalists access to KGB files and his key proposal was to have the archives preserved.

But as the session broke up, several Soviet journalists said the problem was opening the files at all, not who had access.

Anatoly Krasikov, Deputy Director of the news agency TASS, noted that for 70 years, the Soviet government opposed a free press and the media was still coming to grips with freedom of information.

The two-day conference was held in parallel with the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which monitors the 1975 Helsinki Final Act on human rights.

DID KGB DESTROY EVIDENCE OF COUP?

The state commission investigating KGB activities has discovered data about preparations for detaining leaders of the democratic movement, the new Chief of the KGB Analytical Department, Vladimir Rubanov, told *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, October 1. But, he added, many documents containing evidence against the plotters were destroyed at the time Dzerzhinsky's monument was destroyed. The main evidence, the list of potential detainees, was not found, while that published by *Nezavisimaya gazeta* was recognized as fake. Former KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov's lawyer, Yurii Ivanov, told the conservative weekly *Den'*, No. 19 that he does not exclude the possibility that investigation will find witnesses to the list's existence. Indeed, *Argumenty i fakty*, No. 38 has published the list reconstituted from memory by the KGB officers involved.

KGB SELLS DOCUMENTS ABROAD

At a time when researchers are starting to study dossiers from the Party and KGB organizations, the KGB itself has begun to sell abroad secret documents from the Stalin era, TSN reported October 8. The first cache included seven reports about Soviet intelligence activity in England in 1941. TSN commented that the price charged by the KGB is too high by Western standards, while the coded documents are difficult for research. The campaign to sell the KGB treasure trove began last year, when the agency and the Union of Soviet Writers created a joint commission headed by poet Vitalii Shetalinsky. The commission dealt with confiscated literary works of repressed writers and transcripts of interrogations of Isaak Babel, Anna Akhmatova, and Mikhail Bulgakov; it was sponsored by British Signals International Trust in Oxford.

UKRAINE WANTS AN INDEPENDENT OLYMPIC TEAM

A row is brewing here between Ukrainian athletes and the Soviet Olympic Committee over their wish to use the republic's flag and anthem at medal ceremonies during next year's Barcelona games.

The plans, which were revealed in the beginning of October, are the work of the Ukrainian Olympic Committee, whose president is former Olympic spring champion Valeri Borzov.

Alexandre Kozlovski, vice-president of the Soviet Olympic Committee, personally thought the plans were "unacceptable" and a "farce".

He added that the Ukrainians' wishes were the international Olympic committee's affair "but what the international sporting committee wants is a common USSR team.

"On September 12, the republics' sports organisations met in Moscow and confirmed their wish to compete in a National Soviet team", he said.

The Soviet committee would however be willing to discuss the use of small republican flags or inscriptions on the Ukrainians' sportswear.

After readmitting the three Baltic states, following the United Nations' recognition of their independence, the IOC is unlikely to admit the 12 remaining Soviet republics as separate teams to next year's games.

U.S. PEACE CORPS ENTERS UKRAINE

The announcement on September 27, that the Peace Corps will establish its first USSR program in the Ukraine answers Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk's request to president George Bush to consider the idea.

Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell says establishing programs in the Soviet Union was the initial goal of President John F. Kennedy when he founded the Peace Corps in 1961. He says Ukraine's announcement will be remembered as an "historic event."

He says now that Ukraine and the Baltic republics have programs, he expects other republics to make formal requests.

Jon Keeton, the Peace Corps Director of International development, said that in the past two years the Baltic republics, Ukraine, Russia, and Armenia have made inquiries about establishing Peace Corps in Eastern Europe when Bush announced in July 1989 that Peace Corps programs were going to be established in Hungary. Formal inquiries then came immediately from Poland and other East European countries about beginning programs in their countries too. Keeton says he thinks the same thing could occur in the Soviet Union now that Ukraine has a program. There are currently 120 Peace Corps volunteers in Hungary. The 200 volunteers in Poland make it the Peace Corps largest program in the world. Bush announced recently that the Peace Corps would expand into the Baltic Republics. The Peace Corps has more than 6,000 volunteers in 87 countries around the world.

Ukrainian officials made a plea for Peace Corps assistance several months ago. Coverdell says anywhere from 30 to 120 volunteers could be working there by June 1992. Coverdell says a programming team could be sent to Ukraine by November. The team will evaluate the greatest needs of Ukraine and determine how the Peace Corps can provide help in those areas.

The Peace Corps provides aid in six areas: agriculture, health care, education, the environment, business development and urban planning. Coverdell says that based on talks with a Ukrainian delegation several months ago, he expects Ukrainian officials to request aid in health care and the environment because of the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster. He says they may also want an English teacher.

The Ukrainian delegation made an "impassioned plea" for aid. Coverdell says it was one of the most emotional, "from-the-heart" presentations ever made to the Peace Corps. Discussions between Peace Corps and Ukrainian officials will take place at the ministry level and then with local communities in Ukraine.

Peace Corps volunteers are usually recent college graduates, although older professionals also volunteer. Volunteers are paid a salary equal to what workers of the same professions in the native country earn. When they finish the two-years of service they receive 5,400 dollars.

Coverdell says an "enormous good" can come out of having Peace Corps programs in the Soviet Union — good for Soviets and for Americans. He says when people work side-by-side they can dispel many of the misconceptions that have been built up between the two countries over the last 70 years.

NEW CURRENCY FOR A NEW STATE

Ukraine plans to introduce its own currency next year and launch radical economic reforms.

“We must free prices completely and introduce our own currency,” said Vladimir Pylypchuk, head of the Ukrainian Parliament’s commission on economic reform.

Privatisation of enterprises and land and the creation of a stock exchange were on the crowded agenda of a parliamentary session that began on October 8th with hundreds of nationalist demonstrators waving flags and singing patriotic hymns outside.

“An independent Ukraine has risen from the ruins,” read one placard among a sea of blue-and-yellow nationalist flags outside parliament.

Inside, opposition deputies accused the government of delaying reform and letting the republic slide deeper into economic crisis.

“We have to discuss how our people will survive this cold and hungry winter,” said one deputy, Vladimir Kolinets.

Others accused highly-placed members of the former communist establishment of carrying out economic sabotage and illegally grabbing state property for themselves.

“It is the Communist Party Mafia that is blocking progressive laws on economic reform and grabbing more and more wealth,” said radical Stepan Khmara.

Prime Minister Vitold Fokin said the national budget was being delayed while negotiations went on between the Ukraine and the other republics, locked in talks on looser economic and political unions after the collapse of the old Soviet state.

Nationalist deputies fiercely oppose Ukrainian membership, calling it an attempt to reimpose Kremlin dictatorship. They pledged to move a resolution on Wednesday blocking Ukrainian participation in a reformed Soviet Parliament.

Pylypchuk said the Ukraine should sign only those points of the proposed new economic agreement that suited it.

He said it was currently happy with 12 of 27 proposed items and should sign only these.

Ukraine would refuse to allow any central monopoly on foreign economic activity, a single central bank or any control by the centre over foreign credits.

He predicted eight to 10 months of recession after the introduction of market reforms. The new currency, the “grivna” — used in ancient Kyivan Rus — should be introduced in the middle of next year.

***HAVE YOU ORDERED AND PRE-PAID
YOUR ABN-CORRESPONDENCE?***

JOINT CONTROL OVER SOVIET NUKES

Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk said no single republic should have a monopoly on Soviet nuclear weapons and demanded a say for his republic in their control. Kravchuk told a news conference nuclear arms should come under the control of a single authority in which the Ukraine should participate. "It is important to preserve the status quo on the siting of nuclear weapons so that no single republic can take over the entire nuclear potential of the union," a local journalist quoted Kravchuk as saying in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. "There must be unified control over nuclear weapons, and the Ukraine should take part in it." Kravchuk said the Ukraine would only enter agreements with other republics "in which it does not lose a drop of its statehood". He added bluntly: "I am against any political union".

This appeared to slam the door on participation in the planned union of sovereign states which Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is trying to persuade the fractious republics to join. He also showed little enthusiasm for the economic union on which 12 republics, including the Ukraine, agreed in principle at the beginning of October. "Inter-republican agreements already exist. They have been signed by Ukraine with nearly all the republics," Kravchuk said.

Ukraine is a political and economic giant ranking second only to Russia among the republics of the crumbling Soviet Union. A Ukrainian decision to opt out would severely undermine attempts to replace the union with a looser federation whose structure is so far unclear. Kravchuk said the Ukraine, which with Russia and Kazakhstan is one of three Soviet republics to house nuclear weapons was still insistent on making itself a nuclear-free state.

"The Ukraine, as the country that suffered from Chornobyl, is for destroying all nuclear weapons," he said in reference to the atomic power plant explosion 130 km (80 miles) north of Kyiv in April 1986. Until steps to eliminate the weapons were taken, Ukraine would demand a say in their control. Kravchuk said Ukraine backed the recent U.S.-Soviet START agreement reducing strategic nuclear weapons and would seek a role for itself in future arms reduction accords. As a state where nuclear weapons are stationed, Ukraine will demand participation in all future agreements."

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

Edited by John Kolasky, M.A., B.Ped.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Mikhail Alexseev

SEEING USSR THROUGH NEW EYES

Do you remember Monty Python's dead parrot sketch? An irate customer marches into a pet shop to complain that the "Norwegian blue" he was sold is "deceased." The owner disagrees, claiming the bird is "just resting". The customer reacts by whacking the parrot on the counter to make his point.

Two things are obvious: The parrot is as dead as a doornail and the shop owner will refuse to acknowledge it, come hell or high water.

Last month, I rejoiced as protesters in my home city of Kyiv stormed the parliament building and replaced the red-and-blue, hammer-and-sickle banner with the blue-and-yellow national colours of Ukraine. But when I looked back at my life in Kyiv, I realized that I — like so many other people for so many years — used to be just as blind to reality as Monty Python's pet-shop owner.

Why? Two stories come to mind.

The first goes back to the autumn of 1980, a month or two after I had enrolled in university. The school bears the name of Taras Shevchenko, a poet some consider the Walt Whitman of Ukraine. Shevchenko's monument is across the road from the university's main building — a dangerous place, a police major told us one day. "Bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists are holding gatherings here," he said. "If you see any of those gatherings — they usually take place under cover of the night, call this number."

Classes were held from 2 to 7 p.m., but in five years at the university, I never saw anything like what the major had described. In fact, I didn't think anybody in his right mind would hold such a meeting.

To me, the idea of Ukrainian independence sounded especially bizarre because, although I didn't realize it then, I was part of the Soviet occupation force. I am a descendant of Russian peasants brought from Siberia after the war to rebuild Kyiv from its ruins. For me, it was only natural to live in one big house called the Soviet Union.

By 1984, however, my thinking began to change. First, I came to realize that nationalists were indeed holding clandestine meetings — not under the Shevchenko monument, but in the quiet corners of the Kyiv-Pecherska Lavra, an ancient cave monastery. The police soon uncovered the participants, called Group of 14, and three students from my department were involved. One of them stood right next to me when we lined up in military class.

I was shocked. I never suspected that someone with whom I literally rubbed shoulders and who played nuclear war games against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would plan to fight for "the statehood of Ukraine, possibly with arms," and to hang the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag atop the parliament building.

In Joseph Stalin's time, my fellow students would have been shot or sentenced to 10 years in Siberian quarries. But in the Soviet Union under Konstantin Chernenko, they were simply expelled from the Komsomol, the Communist youth organization. The one who stood next to me in military class was expelled from the university as well.

Still, it took three more years — during which I became a journalist, learned to speak fluent Ukrainian and got in touch with the lives of hundreds of people in different parts of Ukraine — for me to understand what the Group of 14 really stood for.

I brought a six-volume collection of Taras Shevchenko poems. I also got to read some real Ukrainian history: Peter the Great grabbing the banners of Ukraine and disbanding the Cossack army, Vladimir Lenin signing the decree authorizing the shooting of “persons involved in undermining the historic unity of Russians and Ukrainians,” Stalin starving several million Ukrainian farmers to death, Leonid Brezhnev ruining the Ukrainian environment with rapacious industrial projects that included Chernobyl.

Soon I started to see things through new eyes I realized that the Soviet Union has never been alive. It has always been like Monty Python’s stuffed parrot, except that no one was allowed to acknowledge it. Even the elite Ukrainian representative to the Soviet council of ministers complained to me in private that they were not always invited when the cabinet discussed the Ukrainian economy.

It was, of course, Mikhail Gorbachev’s policy of *glasnost* that opened my eyes. The trouble was, could we believe Mr. Gorbachev’s argument that he could bring the Soviet parrot back to life.

Last month’s failed *coup d’etat* settled the issue once and for all. Not surprisingly, the world gasped when two-thirds of the Soviet Republics proclaimed their independence: It heard the rumblings of breakup, collapse, the end. In reality, it was only the thump of the dead parrot falling off its perch.

It was a dear sound to my Russian ears. And sharing my joy, according to various opinion polls, are almost three-quarter of the other ethnic Russians who live in Ukraine.

Like me, many of them are proud to carry a small piece of paper that the Movement of Ukrainian Independence started to issue last year. It states that I am a citizen of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in accordance with the law on citizenship passed by the central council on March 2, 1918. That was when Ukraine had its own money, courts, government and other trappings of an independent state.

This piece of paper has no stamps, no signatures and no international validity so far. But bears the date Aug. 22, 1990 — exactly a year before the Moscow coup collapsed. The coincidence is purely symbolic, but it means the world to me.

So when you hear someone say the 60 million Russians represent a huge powder keg, don’t take it at face value. They can explode only if the remnants of the central government in Moscow, and especially the Soviet army, somehow sneak back into power.

Instead, think of us, the Russians in Ukraine holding those little pieces of paper. And remember Monty Python. The idea that the parrot is alive is just a joke.

Mikhail Alexseev is a journalist from Ukraine and currently a visiting scholar at the University of Washington.

Kinga Borondy

BULGARIAN REFUGEE RETURNS TO HOMELAND TO FOSTER DEMOCRACY

Putting his life on the line, an 86-year-old freedom fighter who fled Bulgaria with three death sentences over his head in 1944 announced that he is returning to help his people fight for democracy in the upcoming October elections.

"I have had no answer from the Bulgarian government as to whether the death sentences for crimes against humanity have been commuted," said Ivan Docheff, a resident of Stafford Township who has been fighting the Communists for more than 47 years.

He started his struggle against the Communists several years before they gained power as head of the Farmer's Union, and continued even in exile as president of the Bulgarian National Front, which he founded.

Docheff is returning to his homeland in the wake of the failed Soviet coup as an observer and agitator to ensure that the hard-liners who failed in the U.S.S.R. do not succeed in Bulgaria.

While the changes that have come to many of the East Bloc countries have touched Bulgaria, he believes they are just cosmetic.

"They have allowed the opposition parties to exist, and the opposition papers to be published, but there have been no changes in the law," Docheff said. He explained that the Communist Party is still in power.

The June 1990 assembly was called to adopt a new constitution, Docheff said, adding that the document called for elections for the General Assembly this year.

"They were called for Sept. 29, but postponed after the Soviet coup," Docheff said, adding that the new elections were just called for Oct. 13.

He has received hundreds of letters from supporters, calling him to Bulgaria as an observer.

"I believe in God, and I believe I was spared to help the Bulgarian people to restore freedom and democracy," Docheff said. He said he has survived at least two attempts on his life since he left Bulgaria, once in Austria and a second time in New York City.

He is scheduled to leave for his homeland Sept. 18 and stay through the 30-day period allowed U.S. citizens without applying for a visa.

"I did not apply for one because if they refused me a visa I could not go," Docheff said. He will be traveling with about 100 people, many members of the Bulgarian National Front.

He does not know if he will be met by cheering crowds or an armed government contingent when his group's plane lands in Sofia.

While friends have told him that the Bulgaria he knew and loved is gone, he believes that while the Communists have destroyed many things, the country is still there.

"Nature is still there, the mountains, the Black Sea, the coast," Docheff said, adding that the land is fertile and beautiful.

While ethnic tensions have wracked many East Bloc countries since the

WLFD CONFERENCE

The 23rd WLFD Annual Conference was held at Hotel Cariari in San Jose, Costa Rica from August 20th to 25th, 1991 under the theme, "Freedom Above All", attended by some 200 delegates and observers from more than 75 national and international member units of the League around the world. The Conference was organized by the Federation of Democratic Entities in Latin America (FEDAL) under the leadership of Conference Chairman Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto, President of FEDAL and of WLFD Costa Rica Chapter, and Sr. Lic. Juan Antonio Sanchez Alonso, Secretary-General.

The entire program began when the members of the Executive Board arrived in San Jose on Monday, August 19th and attended the wreath laying ceremony at the 1856 monument of the heroes in the National Park of San Jose downtown, led by Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi, the League President, accompanied by the outgoing and incoming Council Chairmen, Gen. Robert Close and Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto.

The business meetings of the League, such as those of the Membership Committee, Executive Board, and Extraordinary Conferences were called on August 21st and 22nd to address on the administrative and pending issues, such as membership, adoption of the new League Charter, elections of the new League Presidium, Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi, President of the League, and Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto, the League Council Chairman, etc., while the four plenary sessions and meetings of the regional organizations were held to reformulate the future courses of the League movement in facing the changes and challenges of the new international order.

The atmosphere of the conference was heightened by the new development of the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union and all the participants were deeply concerned with the totalitarian forces in Moscow, but fortunately it turned out to be a happy ending.

Following the adoption of the revised Charter of the League and the elections of the League Presidium including that of WLFD Secretary-General, there was a motion from Dr. Robert Thompson, Mme. Slava Stetsko and Mr. Walter Chopiowskyj, the Charter members of the League, to resolve that Dr. Ku Cheng-kang be invited to continue in his high office as the Honorary Chairman of WLFD for life in recognition of his lifelong great service,

► decline and fall of communism, Docheff believes Bulgaria will be spared. "The Bulgarians make up 90 percent of the population," Docheff said.

Several opposition parties are presenting a slate for the October elections. He plans to work with the parties to present a united front against the Communists.

But while he plans to speak around the country in an effort to spark democracy in his homeland, he believes the time for him to accept a government position has passed.

"There are people who struggled in Bulgaria, who have fought against the Communists. They have to take over, it is their duty," Docheff said.

contribution and leadership for the noble movement of freedom and democracy.

It was also resolved by the Executive Board that Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto be the League Council Chairman for 1991-92 as well as the Conference Chairman until the time of the next Conference under the provision of the former Charter.

On Thursday, August 22nd, 1991 at 09:30 a.m., His Excellency Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier, President of Costa Rica and six vice presidents of such countries as Guatemala, Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua in Central America and the Republic of China in Asia were escorted as the guests of honors along with three honorable past presidents of Costa Rica at the grand opening ceremony, highlighted by national flags and the national anthem of each Republic.

Following the national anthem of Costa Rica Gen. Robert Close, outgoing WLFDC Council Chairman delivered his opening speech and views on the situation in Soviet Russia and the Eastern countries, and thanked all the leaders of the League and the Preparatory Committee for their good work. And then he handed over the chairmanship of the conference first to Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi, President of the conference, who in turn gave the gavel of chairmanship to Hon. Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto. Incoming WLFDC Council Chairman. Hon. Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto delivered his welcome and opening speech before the assembly, followed by the inauguration speech of the new President Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi.

There were speeches of encouragement and inspiration by 11 of the six vice presidents who were present at the opening ceremony and a keynote speech at the end of the ceremony by H.E. Lic. Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier, President of Republic of Costa Rica.

The prominent participants of the conference included freedom-loving political leaders, parliamentarians, retired military generals, lawyers, university professors, writers, journalists, and businessmen, etc. from the world over. A number of important guest speakers were invited to give informative speeches on the democratization in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Mainland China. All the speeches were followed by lively discussions throughout the entire Conference.

The first session of the Conference chaired by Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto, the league council Chairman, began with the announcement and reading of congratulatory messages from the Heads of States, such as those of President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia and President Lee, Teng-hui from the Republic of China, and those from Vice President Salvador H. Laurel of Philippines and Vice President Mrs. Maureen Eardley Wilmot of the New Zealand National Party.

Following the congratulatory messages, Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung, WLFDC Secretary-General made his report and emphasized that it was time to draw out new directions for a harmonious world based on the goals and principles of the new League Charter, and that our historical mission was to expand the new frontier and horizon of freedom and democracy and to participate and contribute towards the well-being of humanity in the cooperative efforts of the

world forum. In this regard, Dr. Woo reported on the international symposium, co-sponsored by the Claremont Institute and the League ROC Chapter during the 1991 Captive Nations Week Conference in Los Angeles last July. He also commended the outstanding work and steadfast determination and contribution made by the past leaders of the League and the outgoing Council Chairman in particular, in view of the final disintegration and fall of the Communist Soviet Empire.

Before calling upon the regional representatives to make their activity reports, the Chairman thanked Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung for the brilliant work as summarized in the report of the Secretariat.

Mme. Slava Stetsko, President of ABN, warned in the ABN annual activity report that the West reconsider its policies regarding aid to the Soviet Empire, and that the West must not be lured into overlooking the national and human rights violations still taking place in the Soviet Union. Mme. Stetsko made it clear that ABN would continue not only to step up national independence movements and decolonization efforts in the Soviet Union but also to give full support to the former satellite countries trying to achieve complete freedom and democracy.

During the past year, ABN had a number of seminars and conferences in Estonia (9th Conference of the USSR Captive Nations in January 1991, Maardu), Georgia (10th Congress of Subjugated Nations in February 1991, Tbilisi), Hungary (ABN Seminar in May 1991, Vac and Budapest), Ukraine (11th Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference in June 1991, Kyiv), etc., and also Mme. Stetsko as ABN President, attended many international conferences and meetings held in USA, Germany, Canada, Taiwan, etc.

New ABN Chapters in Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria are part of the ABN movement eastward. And for nearly fifty years, the ABN office in Munich has been publishing its bi-monthly magazine, "ABN Correspondence" as well as various information leaflets, and brochures, the report said.

On the second day of the Conference, August 23rd, the second session began, and was chaired by Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi, President of the League, who invited the distinguished speakers such as H.E. Prof. Gustavo Adolfo Espina Salguero, Vice President of the Republic of Guatemala, Hon. Lic. Miguel Angel Rodriguez Echeverria, President of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Costa Rica, H.E. Gyula Kiss, Minister of Labour from Hungary, and Prof. Dr. Kuan, Wei-Yan from Munich, Germany.

As recommended by the Presidium, Dr. Chao made the session open for discussion on the current situation in Mainland China following the speakers remarks. Prof. Dr. Kuan, Wei-Yan, former university dean, who took active part in the June 4th democratization movement at Tienanmen Square in 1989, now residing in Munich, Germany, made his presentation, followed by the question and answer period.

The next session was opened by Hon. Dr. Robert Thompson from Canada. This session was specially geared to the current situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Since the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union turned out to be a grand failure, the atmosphere of the session was heightened with enthusiasm

and all the participants were deeply inspired by the informative speakers, such as Hon. John Collinge, President of New Zealand National Party, Hon. Eldon Rudd, former U.S. Congressman from Arizona, and Mme. Slava Stetsko, President of ABN.

The fourth plenary session was opened by Hon. Gen. Luis A. Villa-Real of Philippines, Council Chairman of APLFD, in the afternoon of August 23rd. This session was to deal with the questions of Latin America, and the participants had the privilege of listening to outstanding presentations from three speakers, H.E. Guillermo Ford, Vice President of the Republic of Panama, Lic. Fernando Volio Jimenez, former Minister of Public Education and of Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica, and Chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, and Lic. Juan Antonio Sanchez Alonso, Secretary-General of FEDAL which was followed by active discussions among the participants.

At the ECWF Meeting chaired by Mr. P.J.G.A. Ego, the participants discussed the question of ECWF representation in the WLFD Executive Board as provided by the new League Charter, and elected Gen. Robert Close and Sen. Jose Desmarests from Belgium and Hon. Mme. Genevieve Aubry and Hon. Pierre Schifferli from Switzerland to be represented respectively in the Executive Board.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) Meeting was chaired by ABN President Mme. Slava Stetsko and the delegates attending were from Ukraine, Croatia, Poland and Romania, etc. Mme. Slava Stetsko made brief remarks as to the guidelines for discussions of the meeting, such as what ABN should accomplish at the 23rd WLFD Conference, what ABN should do to expand its influence in Eastern Europe and what can be done to bring about closer cooperation between ABN and other regions in WLFD. After careful examination and deliberation, the participants had agreed on the following directives.

Appeal to the leaders of the Free World urging their support for freedom, democracy, and national independence of the subjugated nations; appeal to the leaders of the Free World to propose to the United States and other governments to give support to the republics and not to Moscow. Mr. Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federation, has already made such a proposal; appeal to the republics, in particular Ukraine, not to sign the All-Union Treaty; and appeal to the West, in particular the European Community, to give support to Croatia and Slovenia by recognizing their independence.

Organizing a conference in Poland, sponsored by ABN, ECWF (European Council for World Freedom) and KPN (Conference for and Independent Poland) was discussed in order to expand ABN's influence in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. One of the areas of discussion was to take a further look at the national minorities problem in that region; prepare initial plans for an ABN Conference in Bulgaria in 1992; and continue to organize the ABN Conference in the Free World in Washington, D.C.

It was proposed that there be closer cooperation among the regions of WLFD, in particular between ABN and ECWF, and ABN and FEDAL (Federation of Democratic Entities in Latin America) in order to give practical help to liberation movements within the subjugated nations; and propose that

FREEDOM IS NOT NEGOTIABLE!

**(The following is a speech by the Hon. Eldon Rudd, at the WLFD
Conference in Costa Rica.)**

We are gathered here to bear witness to the eternal truth that man's thirst for freedom is unquenchable. It was Thomas Jefferson, an American patriot, writer of the U.S. constitution, shaper of the new Republic, and third president of the U.S. who said, "Let us swear upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

In January 1979, we gathered in Taiwan, in Free China, to mark the 25th anniversary of a remarkable demonstration of the power of freedom.

The occasion was the 25th anniversary of that moment when more than 14,000 Communist soldiers of the North Korean and Communist Chinese armies who had been taken prisoner in that war in the south — prisoners who when released by their South Korean captors refused to go home because there could be no compromise with communism in their native homeland, where slavery and death existed. — They chose freedom.

▶ the 1992 WLFD Conference be held in Washington, D.C. under the sponsorship of ABN and the American Heritage Foundation.

The closing session included an open forum for discussions by the participants on a wide range of issues. All of the remarks and recommendations were very constructive and the League Executive Board would take up problems for further consideration, such as organizing a full session of the conference devoted solely to the question of promoting activities and programs of World Youth Freedom League (WYFL).

At its closing, the conference unanimously adopted a Joint Communique and the Conference resolutions on the various regional topics of importance as drafted and proposed by the Joint Communique Committee. The Chair thanked the outstanding work of the Committee under the competent leadership of the Committee Chairman, Amb. Dr. Chen, Tai-chu of the Republic of China assisted by its Co-Chairman Lic. Juan Antonia Sanchez Alonso of FEDAL, Rappateur Hon. Bruce Skeggs of Australia, and other members.

There were a number of suggestions as to the site for the 1992 WLFD Annual Conference, such as Washington, D.C., Budapest, Prague and Berlin as well as Bangkok or Pukhet, Thailand. The WLFD Presidium was requested to study the issue and to make its recommendation to the next Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting, after consulting with all the parties concerned in order to make the formal announcement in due course. As resolved by the Executive Board, the 1992 WLFD Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting will be held in Taipei, Republic of China during the week of World Freedom Day in January 1992.

All the participants were deeply grateful for the warm hospitality extended to them by the hosting Committee to which we send our congratulations and admiration.

At a time in history when the communist tyranny was being extended all across the face of the earth, these 14,000 North Koreans, who had known communism — who had lived under communism — freely and spontaneously rejected communism.

They may never have heard of Thomas Jefferson, but by that action they identified in motive and belief with him, who said, “Let us swear upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.”

When we met in Taiwan, we were suffering in the aftermath of President Carter’s announcement of his decision to unilaterally abrogate the Mutual Defense Treaty between Taiwan and the United States. I told you then I believed the President’s action was the result of a tragic error of judgement. I had joined with Republican Senator Barry Goldwater in a lawsuit to challenge the American President’s authority to unilaterally abrogate that defense treaty. The court ruled in our favour.

Since 1979 in Taiwan, your constant unwavering dedication to freedom for mankind has begun to bear fruit. The peoples from within the Soviet empire have been attempting to unshackle the chains by which they are bound: in the Baltics, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, in the Black Sea area, the Russian State, and in Ukraine, Germany and Poland, Czechoslovakia, the disruption in Yugoslavia. The thirst for liberty is now apparent.

Let us not forget, however, that the largest most powerful military force in the world is still under command of the USSR, the Communist party, its generals and the MGB. Gorbachev fell so freedom-seeking people must be careful of their path in pursuing that which they so desperately wish.

There are, unfortunately, those who say the West should not aid in the breaking up of the established empire. They do not understand that we are dealing with nations which only wish once again to achieve sovereignty and freedom, which was brutally and murderously snatched from them. Only through continued change for independence can the revolution erase the repression imposed by Stalin, Lenin and their successors, who assumed power behind the barrel of a gun.

Though we may not intervene in the sovereign affairs of a state, we will never forget nor fail to support liberty, democracy, self-determination and freedom. Why not withhold all support of the moribund and failed empire which can tolerate none of these ideals and allow it to die through its own liquidation? We must be present when nations, such as Ukraine are reborn. We must not be a part of any effort to prop up the old, failed empire of the Soviet — Communist state. A state whose communist leaders continue to squander their substance on weapons of war secure in the knowledge that the humanitarian West and Uncle Sam will not permit their people to starve.

Boris Yeltsin of the Russian State has declared a ban of the Communist party in the workplace. It may take a while to achieve, but this eventually will break the back of the party and the control of the nomenclatura over free actions of the workers and the people.

In our lifetime, there have been three mammoth experiments in socialism: 1) The first was the Marxist socialist experiment of Lenin and Stalin, of Mao Tse-Tung, Pol Pot, of Ho Chi Min and Fidel Castro. What did it produce?

Tens of millions of corpses, hundreds of millions lives lived in terror, suffering and misery.

2) The second is the authoritarian/democratic socialism of the third world — from India to Africa and even in Latin America. Sustained by trillions of dollars in Western aid and loans and credits. This socialism has also proved a ghastly failure. This experiment resulted in monolithic bureaucracies, in turn causing zero growth rates, and squandered the resources of these countries. Basic industries were ruined. Malnutrition and starvation occurred.

3) A third socialistic experiment occurred in the U.S. with the imposition of the great society of President Lyndon Johnson with a promise of model cities and the disappearance of poverty and crime. Two trillion was poured into this effort. What we have to show for this is more poverty — not less, and higher crime rates and greater failure in the educational processes for our youth. Socialism is hard to stop, because it provides a security blanket for those who do not want to work or earn a living and who are willing to work. For Western intelligentsia, who support socialism, it has become a faith or religion which they wish to continue, blinded in spite of failure by the welfare state dream. If the U.S. electorate would force Congress to cut off foreign aid and guaranteed loans to socialist countries, they would collapse.

Some of the apologies for communism/socialism say that perhaps this system will work well for some of the peoples of the earth. As a counter to this, one only needs to look at three nations — one divided, one communist and one free. East and West Germany is a glaring example of Communist failure and democratic success: East Germany, where people lived in fear, and had a sub-standard living without hope; in the West, the German people achieved prosperity and a position of leadership among the family of nations.

North and South Korea, where the North attempted to swallow the South and, in the 45 years since that tragedy, South Korea has become one of the world's leading industrial nations. Across the demilitarized zone in North Korea, on the other hand, we find a population struggling to maintain even a subsistence standard of living. This difference is as striking as day and night.

Communist China and Taiwan: ever since Mao Tse Tung and his vengeful communist gang wrestled Red China from Chiang Kai-Shek, the millions in that unhappy nation have learned all too painfully what a communist take-over means to the little people of a communist-conquered land: property confiscated, families separated, millions murdered, more millions imprisoned for the so-called political crimes, all basic freedoms ground into bloody earth, the people in poverty with total subservience to the state. A little more than a stone's throw off Chinese mainland is Taiwan, a triumphant model of capitalist achievement in communism's backyard. It is already one of the world's most productive economies. This has been achieved by nineteen million people with a GNP nearly three times that of the billion people on the mainland. This was done with the one ingredient foreign to communism — FREEDOM. The new Red China that we see emerging is supported by the industrial nations where freedom is accepted, is visited by Western businessmen, who enjoy a facade of attention to the arts, golf and other Western amenities of a hedonistic nature. It is also still the country where a

ESTONIA'S PATH TO INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY

An Address to the Twenty-third Conference of the World League
for Freedom and Democracy in Costa Rica — August, 1991

In August, 1991, despite dramatic progress in some limited areas, Estonia remains a nation under foreign military occupation. Seventy-three years after its declaration of independence and more than fifty years after the onslaught of Soviet tanks, Estonia's future and the very survival of the Estonian people is still threatened by the on-going Red Army occupation, by outright colonization achieved by continuous immigration into Estonia from the Soviet Union, and by the Soviet-installed bureaucracy in Estonia.

It has become clear that for Estonians, the three most important issues to be resolved are: negotiating the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Estonian soil, achieving Estonian control of borders and territory, and dismantling the still intact Soviet bureaucracy in Estonia. As events throughout newly-liberated Eastern Europe have shown, the third issue — which could be called the de-Sovietization of society — may prove to be the most difficult.

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murmur of independent thought will bring years in dank dungeons, that is, if you are fortunate enough to be a member of the intelligentsia. If not, you are likely to be put to death in a remote field where your departure from this life will go unnoticed. We must never forget the tragedy of Tiennamin Square.

Some believe peace can be obtained through surrender. But, my friends, peace comes only to the strong — not the weak. If we are to survive, we must commit our minds and hearts and our treasure in defense of freedom. It is not given to us to know the future, but to look to the future without reading the past is childish nonsense. The lessons to be learned from the events of the past few decades are clear. The communists do not share our commitment to peace. They will lie, cheat, steal and murder to obtain their objective. They can be restrained only if the Free World remains strong and committed and willing to use the measure of force our enemies have employed against us.

We must build the defenses of the Free World. We must modernize the Western arsenal of defensive weapons. We must use our economic power to defeat communist continuation and expansion. But above all, we must recapture the courage, the spirit, and the will, which is the property of all free men and women. For if we do not unite in freedom, we will be divided by slavery.

Let us then put aside timidity and uncertainty and fear. Let us proclaim to all men and women everywhere, that only by uniting in freedom, can we improve the quality of life for all, and liberate enslaved peoples from communist aggression. Let us now, with one mind and one voice and one purpose, in concert with those who have gone before and those who will come after, swear upon the altar of God eternal, hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. There can be no compromise with international communism. You see, freedom is NOT NEGOTIABLE!!

Hon. Eldon Rudd, Attorney at Law

Vaclav Havel has eloquently explained why a clean break with Czechoslovakia's Communist past is needed in order to build a viable future and a democratic government for that former captive nation. Similarly, the restoration of independence and democracy to Estonia cannot be brought about by merely re-naming and modifying the political and economic structures forced upon Estonia by Soviet occupation. The Soviet-imposed Communist system has negatively affected every aspect of life in Estonia, from the economy to people's souls. To begin the healing process, a definite split with this Communist legacy must be made.

A brief look into history may help put the Estonian and Baltic question into perspective. Estonians have made their home on the shores of the Baltic Sea for at least five thousand years — perhaps the oldest continuous settlement in Europe. Despite invasions and occupations by Danes, Swedes, Germans and Russians, the Estonian people have managed to preserve their identity, their unique culture and language.

Estonia was always clearly part of Europe. Her major cities — Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu and Viljandi — were members of the Hanseatic League in the 14-16th centuries, filling a role as active mediators in the economic and political relations between Western Europe and Russia. Tallinn, particularly, was an important link on the route followed by traders from Lübeck and Hamburg to Novgorod and other Russian centers, promoting the growth of Russia's economy and the establishment of contacts with the West.

The idea of modern independent nationhood for Estonia began in the latter half of the 1800's. A great national re-awakening was brought about through song and poetry — it was during this time that the Estonian tradition of mass song fests was established. The thinking and activities became more and more political, culminating in Estonia's declaration of independence on February 24, 1918. In the War of Independence that followed, Estonians had to fight against both the Germans and the Russians, finally securing their independence with the Peace Treaty of Tartu, signed on February 2, 1920 with Soviet Russia. Recognition of Estonian independence by the other nations of the world followed, along with membership in the League of Nations and other international organizations.

Estonians began to build a nation based upon democratic principles and ideals. By 1938, the young country was at least on par with her neighbor, Finland. Her people were hard-working and enthusiastic, the nation's future looked bright.

But two dictators — Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin — conspired to rob Estonia and her Baltic neighbors of their independence. Under terms of the Soviet-Nazi Pact signed 52 years ago this month, thousands of Soviet troops occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. 140 000 Red Army troops marched into Estonia — one thousand soldiers to back up each Communist Party member in Estonia in 1940. Over 16 000 Estonian organizations were banned, their leaders arrested and killed or deported to Siberia, effectively destroying the nation's infrastructure. Phony elections were staged and Estonia 'asked' to join the Soviet Union. Soviets still attempt to portray what happened as a 'marriage', but Balts know it was rape at gun-point.

Resistance to the Soviet take-over began immediately, with armed guerilla resistance continuing until the mid-fifties — one of the longest and least known partisan struggles in the world. The “Estonian Forest Brothers”, as they were known, placed their hopes on the West, specifically upon the Atlantic Charter. But, after seeing the West abandon the Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956, the people of Estonia, along with those in all Communist-occupied countries, entered a period of quiet, passive resistance.

With the signing of the Helsinki Accords in 1975, a new phase began. Brave dissidents started challenging the Soviet system. As many of these were harassed and arrested by Soviet authorities and as the number of new political prisoners in the Gulag grew, Western attention focused on the lack of basic human rights in the Soviet Union and occupied Baltic States. Throughout this period, Western moral support was extremely important for the growing human rights or ‘Helsinki’ movement.

Likewise, Western public opinion did begin to affect Soviet behavior. In fact it can be said that glasnost and perestroika came about, in part, as a response to strong Western pressure for Soviet compliance with internationally recognized norms of human rights. Beginning in 1986, the Soviets had begun releasing most well-known political prisoners from Siberian labor camps. Most of these individuals returned home to continue their political and human rights work more and more openly, reaching more and more people as well as continuing to network with their former fellow prisoners of conscience.

And, on August 23, 1987, when thousands of ordinary people joined the dissidents and long-time human rights activists in demonstrations in the three Baltic capitals of Riga, Vilnius and Tallinn, it was clear that the genie was out of the bottle. Western warnings prevented a bloody Soviet crackdown on the peaceful demonstrators, world-wide public attention was focused upon Baltic demands for independence, the Baltic peoples felt their own potential power, and there was no going back. A modern period of national reawakening, similar to that of the previous century with song and poetry playing a major role, took place in the Baltic states.

Since the ‘singing revolution’ of 1988-9, each of the Baltic States has followed a slightly different path in its attempts to restore independence. This is due, in part, to demographic and national differences. Lithuanians have a solid majority of the population and have felt able, as a result, to follow the approach of taking over and democratizing existing Soviet institutions. Due to active Soviet policies of colonization and russification, Estonians and Latvians are in a very precarious situation demographically, fearing they will become minorities in their ancient homelands by the end of the century. Nationalism in the Baltic States is a positive and normal force, as columnist George Will recently described, ‘a sense of shared destiny based upon a common history and civic culture within a particular territory, involving wholesome pride, a preference for ancestral traditions and local particularities’. As Noel Malcolm writes, democracy is rule by the people, and nationalism is a precondition for the formation of a people. Balts are genuinely concerned that they not become extinct.

In February 1989, a unique grassroots movement began in Estonia — the

Citizens' Committees. Based upon the fact that the Soviet occupation of Estonia or the other two Baltic States has never been accepted by Western democracies as legal or permanent, the concept of registering the legal citizens of the Republic of Estonia was developed. Local committees formed, these merged into county level arrangements, and finally a nation-wide General Citizens' Committee was elected. At first ignored, then ridiculed by the Soviet authorities, the idea nevertheless gained popularity and support among the people until by the end of 1989, the Citizens' Committee movement had the support of nearly 900 000 people. By registering, each of these individuals said, in effect, 'I am not a Soviet citizen, I am an Estonian citizen'. Over 600 000 Estonian citizens elected 500 delegates out of 1200 candidates to the Congress of Estonia, which met for the first time on March 11, 1990. A non-Soviet parliamentary-type body had been democratically elected and convened.

The Congress of Estonia, which has met five times, represents the continuity of the Republic of Estonia and its citizenry. Its goal is restoration of independence and of a legal democratic government in Estonia. Three weeks after the election of the Congress of Estonia, all residents of Estonia as well as 100 000 occupation soldiers proceeded to elect a new 104-member Estonian Supreme Soviet as well.

As a result, Estonia currently has two parliamentary-type bodies — one with moral and legal authority and a democratic background, the other with practical power, but a Soviet heritage. Democratic movements and parties in Estonia are advocating the election of a reconstituent assembly in Estonia as a means of ending the current schizophrenic arrangement. As conditions worsen economically and since Moscow shows no inclination to negotiate seriously with the Estonian or other Baltic governments, more and more acceptance is being found in Estonia for the need for such new elections.

Despite continuing control by communists and reform communists of the media and the state apparatus in Estonia, more and more people are coming to understand that it will be much more difficult, if not impossible, to achieve complete independence and democracy by attempting to democratize Soviet structures and institutions. Mere name changes are not enough. Perestroika and glasnost offer no protection against a police state. Unconditional human rights, the rule of law, a truly free market economy with protection for contracts and other private property rights, can only exist after a clean break with the 50 year communist heritage. At the same time, there is also growing understanding that in order to be taken seriously, the Estonians and all the Balts must present a united front to the West as well as to the East.

The Soviet communist wall surrounding the Baltic States has been riddled with holes, allowing some fresh air and fresh ideas to enter. It is time finally to knock down this wall of Sovietism and allow the Balts to return to Europe and to democracy. Soviet institutions cannot be reformed, they must be replaced. Western nations must no longer make the mistake of under-rating their ability to affect Soviet behavior. Likewise, they should not under-rate the positive role that a free Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania could play in bringing about peace and stability in Europe.

Due to their history and geography, the Baltic nations are unique and

HELSINKI MOVEMENT IN GEORGIA CONTINUES STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The following is a statement to the 23rd Costa Rica Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia

Dear participants of the conference!

I'd like to address you on behalf of the Helsinki Union of the Republic of Georgia as the chairman of this Union and the President of the Republic. Our Union was established in 1976 when Helsinki groups were created in the Soviet Union. Since then it has covered years of horrible oppression and persecution. Although its members have repeatedly been subjects of repression, the Union still continued the struggle for human rights, national liberation, and for establishing democratic elections. In October 1990, we achieved democratic elections in Georgia, the abolishment of the Communist regime and the election of the first multiparty parliament in the Soviet Union. In March 31, 1991 the first referendum on the issue of independence of Georgia was carried out and on May 26, 1991 — the first free presidential elections were held, where I was elected with 87 percent of the votes.

I hope I can share with you my opinion about the prospects of the Helsinki movement, about its tasks, as I have been engaged in it since the first day of signing the agreement. While under arrest in 1978, I together with the other members of Helsinki group was nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

First of all, I'd like to emphasize that the main concern of the Helsinki movement should be an inspection as to what extent the Soviet Union fulfils the responsibilities undertaken in Helsinki in 1975, and to what extent its current practical politics correspond to international law, to the Declaration of Human Rights, to the universally-acknowledged principles of humanism and democracy.

It is also necessary to study how real the prospects of the reforms in the

▶ pivotal. As free and democratic nations, the Balts could once again become intermediaries in normalizing East-West relations, just as they were in the 14-16th centuries. Serving as a bridge between East and West, the three independent Baltic states could help to democratize what remains of the USSR — whether there are 9 republics or only one republic — and to help integrate whatever confederation or other arrangement is achieved there into Europe. Four free and prosperous 'Finlands' could help to carry out this huge task in the northern sector much more effectively than just one Finland and three restive, economically depressed Soviet-occupied Baltic republics.

Tallinn 13th of August 1991
Council of Estonia
Tunne Kelam, Chairman

Soviet Union are and what should be done by western countries to accomplish them.

Since 1985, when the new Soviet government declared “perestroika”, foreign policy became the major focus of its activity. For the sake of justice, it should be noted that such historical changes in the world as the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, etc, to a considerable extent are due to “perestroika” and the result of Western policy, mainly of the United States, towards the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did not change voluntarily but was compelled to begin “new thinking” in foreign politics. As far as internal policy is concerned, there are only negligible changes taking place. Attempts to retain the Soviet Union by force have been intensified by strengthening the empire from within by ceding the “outer” part. In our opinion, the main objective of the Helsinki movement today should be an inspection of how the Soviet Union has met its engagements as stipulated in the final documents of Helsinki and Vienna.

The fundamental principles of the above-mentioned documents are the recognition of personal and national freedom. Below we’ll try to prove that implementation of these principles in the Soviet Union is not even worth talking about.

National freedom means the right of nations to self-determination, and their right to decide their own fate. But Soviet leaders divide the subjugated nations living on the territory of the Soviet Union into two groups: those faithful to the government and those which are insecure, i.e. riotous. For example, the most discriminated in the Caucasus are Georgians, Chechens and Ingushs, while the most privileged are Abkhazians and Ossets as they wish to sign “the Union Treaty”.

The attitude of the Soviet government is such that undeclared war is underway against the riotous “disobedient” nations, using every method. The arsenal of these methods is wide:

a) “Interfronts” incited by communists are created in the republics. They try to provoke ethnic conflicts, thus to give the Kremlin the opportunity for armed intervention. Of course, the latter wears the mask of a peacemaker. Unfortunately, such intervention has caused only bloodshed in many republics. There is evidence for this: in Moldova — the creation of Gagauz and Prednestrovia republics; additional troops deployed in the Baltic republics at the request of the “Russian speaking” population; direct armed support of Abkhazian and Ossetian separatists in Georgia; the “regulation” of the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict and many others.

b) Economic blockade of disobedient republics by unilateral denunciation of treaties, hindering the transportation of goods into republics or imposing a ban on them, the reduction or cessation of delivery of oil, gas and other supplies, etc.

c) Disinformation about the events and processes taking place in the “disobedient” republics as well as hampering the democratically-elected governments of the republics wanting to obtain control over the “launching buttons of the nuclear weapon”, slandering them with fascism and

dictatorship, restricting human rights and so on. This is done by a regime for which class hatred and manslaughter is an ideological target, by using TASS—the enormous lie mechanism of the empire. At the same time, the accused peoples have no possibility to respond to the provocation directed against them. Georgia is in the unenviable position, of being a target for the TASS-paid journalists.

If we add the law on the secession from the Soviet Union, which in fact, turned out to be a law on non-secession, we'll clearly see the Soviet model on the right of nations to self-determination.

The progress in the sphere of human rights since 1986 is more illusive than real. This is forced liberalisation and not gradual democratisation, because there are not real legislative changes on which basic rights and freedoms should be based.

What is the situation in the republics fighting for their independence, namely in Georgia? In spite of the terrible legacy left by over 70 years of communist rule, to the new democratic governments have made some important steps. The law on civil rights (citizenship) adopted by Parliament in the first reading of the Bill admits all people living in Georgia by the adoption of citizenship (zero version). There are also legislative guarantees of the rights of national minorities and of their national and cultural autonomies; the foundation of a new economic system establishing private enterprise and free market, protecting foreign investments, as well as guarantees of personal freedom. The laws on the freedom of the press and parties have also been prepared. Georgia initiated a peaceful solution of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which in spite of the Kremlin's opposition gave initial results. Of course, we are not insisting that nowadays we have democracy in Georgia as it is in Western Europe — obviously it can not be the same, there are mistakes, but the course has been taken towards democracy and freedom.

If we proceed from the abovesaid about the Soviet Union and take into account the fact that without deep and wide-scale reforms we can never think about triumph of Helsinki principles. The following problems should be given more attention at conferences in 1991, namely:

1. The creation of constitutional, legislative bases for democratic reforms including:

a) full guarantees of the rights of nations to self-determination; eradication of imperialism and neocolonialism;

b) legislative establishment of principles for implementing free market and private enterprise;

c) solution of problems on migration and family reunion according to the standards of international law (contact of Georgians living in Iran with their relatives in Georgia: besides travelling they have no right to send correspondence to each other);

d) democratisation of religious legislation; the church is still discriminated and restricted in its rights.

2. To stop ecological war against the conquered peoples, i.e. to stop barbarian exploitation and pollution of their land, air, water and minerals.

3. To end terroristic acts against the national independence movements. To prosecute and hold public trials of all initiators of these terroristic acts.

4. To officially recognise the groups implementing Helsinki and Vienna documents, as well as the guarantee for their personal immunity, defence and support.

1) To institute permanent control of the United Nations, Europarliament and international judicial organizations over the processes in the Soviet Union, especially over ethnic conflicts.

2) To establish diplomatic relations between Western countries and former republics of the Soviet Union.

3) To open information centres in the capitals of the Western countries and republics.

4) To investigate the cases of suppression of peaceful demonstrations in Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia and other republics and, other anti-humane acts including so-called ethnic conflicts.

Conclusion

The Soviet Union has not changed and will never become a democratic, law-abiding country without real legislative, administrative and economic reforms. Implementation of these reforms is impossible until the leaders abolish Marxism-Leninism, and bring an end to this repressive regime and neo-colonialism. While the Soviet Union is ruled by the corrupt communist Mafia and not by democratic laws, it is not worth talking about legal regulations, market economy, human rights or democracy. That is why the only way out is to dismantle completely the imperial structure of the Soviet Union and to create independent democratic countries.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia
The President of the Republic of Georgia
August, 1991

“The Croatian and Slovenian peoples, by majorities in excess of 90 percent, have indicated their wish to withdraw their republics from the Yugoslavian state... As Americans, who believe in government by consent, our sympathies lie naturally with the breakaway republics. It is for the people, not the state, to determine where the boundaries of civil society shall fall. This same principle of self-determination applies to the Soviet Union’s many republics. I am not speaking here of the Baltic States. (They) were illegally occupied by the Soviet Union at the opening of World War II. They are sovereign states by right and should be freed immediately. I am speaking of the Soviet Union’s other republics. If the people of Armenia, of Georgia, and even Ukraine, in free plebiscites, should vote to leave the Soviet Empire, then they should be allowed to do so. America should not get into the business of preserving the artificial state structures established by monarchs and dictators.”

Ronald Reagan, Former U.S. President
Los Angeles — July 15, 1991

NEWS BRIEFS

CPSU SAID TO GO UNDERGROUND

According to *Komsomol'skaya pravda* of October 1, elite CPSU and KGB officials have formed a "Party of Proletarian Dictatorship" — an underground network aimed at establishing communist control over the currently anti-Communist labor movement. *Komsomol'skaya pravda* said that the Party elite started to work out this illegal network as early as 1987, when the first signs of the future banning of the CPSU became evident. The underground, the newspaper claimed, is very well organized and has an excellent financial basis, secret meeting places, safe houses, and other trappings of urban guerilladom. However, the communist moles reportedly do not plan to engage in any terrorist activities.

UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT PASSES LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP LAW

After a two-week break, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on October 8 resumed its work and passed, on its second reading, what appears to be a liberal law on citizenship. According to a report from Kyiv from the Ukrainian Information Agency Ukrinform and TASS October 8, the Ukrainian citizenship law had generated considerable controversy and a compromise had to be worked out which permits dual citizenship on the basis of bilateral agreements with other states.

LANDSBERGIS RENEWS CALLS FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM BALTICS

While visiting England, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis issued a new call for a swift withdrawal of the USSR's troops from his country, according to Western agency reports of October 8. He said that there was danger of a new coup in Moscow and that it was imperative completely to remove the Soviet Army from Lithuania before that happened. He said that British Prime Minister John Major supports Lithuanians' desire for a quick withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from their territory and would press the Soviet Union on the issue.

LATVIAIAN PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES CITIZENSHIP

On October 8 the Latvian Supreme Council started to discuss legislations concerning citizenship of the Republic of Latvia. The discussions were heated. Two sets of proposals — one prepared by a working group headed by Juris Bojars and the other by Janis Lagzdins — were considered. Many Latvians feel that the Supreme Council does not have the legal authority to deal with these issues since the deputies were elected to the Supreme Council when Latvia was still a part of the USSR. Many non-Latvians are concerned about how such legislations will affect their lives in the restored Republic of Latvia.

LATVIA WILL NOT JOIN SOVIET ECONOMIC UNION

Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis told the press in Riga that "Latvia does not intend to sign a new treaty on an economic union" with the USSR, but will aim to join the EC. Godmanis stressed that economic ties with the East are important and that Latvia would therefore continue to establish treaty relations with each republic. Godmanis added: "If economic cooperation in the East assumes the form of an economic union, it would be advisable for the Baltics as a whole to join a new economic community and conclude a special treaty," reported TASS on October 9.

LITHUANIA SUPPORTS CROATIAN INDEPENDENCE

On October 9 the Lithuanian Supreme Council's Presidium adopted a statement calling for international recognition of Croatia. The statement said that the fighting in Yugoslavia is a threat to peace in Europe and urged the CSCE process to provide political support to Croatia by recognizing its independence.

CROATIA AND SLOVENIA INDEPENDENCE UPDATE

Radios Slovenia and Croatia reported on October 8 that the two republics continue to move toward full statehood after declaring independence from federal Yugoslavia. The Croatian assembly declared null and void all federal laws, endorsed several new government ministers, and formally recognized Estonian and Lithuanian independence. Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric told the assembly that war damages would soon reach \$15 billion. Slovenia's assembly introduced the republic's own currency called the "tolar" (a Slavicized name for "taler" the currency used in Slovenia during the Hapsburg period). Slovenes will be until Friday to exchange dinars for bonds until new money is printed for exchange at a rate of 1:1. President Milan Kucan told reporters in Bonn that any unity in Yugoslavia is "out of the question." Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic said in a letter to Lord Carrington that the latest decisions by the two republics is a "gross violation of the Yugoslav constitution... and an escalation of secessionist behavior."

TAJIK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Ten candidates are formally registered as candidates for the presidential election on November 24, according to a Tadzhik TA-TASS report of October 9. An earlier report had said that there were 17 candidates. The republican daily *Narodnaya gazeta* has listed several nominations apiece for former Communist Party chief Rakhman Nabiev and former chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Kadridin Aslonov, who was forced to resign his post after banning the republican CP. The report says that Nabiev and Davlat Khudonazarov, liberal head of the USSR Cinematographers' Union, have the best chances of winning. This prognosis might change should the Muslim clergy persuade *Kazi Akbar Turadzhonzoda* to be a candidate.

THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION

by *Wolodymyr Kosyk*

(Published by the Ukrainian Central Information Service; London, England 1991)

There are very few publications in the West dealing with the attitude of the government of the Third Reich towards the Ukrainian question. Apart from that, finding itself in the camp of the anti-Nazi coalition, the Soviet Russian government made every effort to falsify the true history of the struggle of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement against Nazism and the German occupation. The sole reason for this propaganda campaign was that the Ukrainian national-liberation movement was not only fighting against the Nazi German occupational forces in Ukraine, but was also waging war against the Stalinist dictatorship and Soviet Russian occupation.

The documents published in this comprehensive collection exclusively relate the attitude of the Nazi German government towards the Ukrainian question in international relations. They shed light on Hitler's policy towards Ukraine and show the true position of the Ukrainian liberation movement towards Nazi Germany during the German occupation of Ukraine.

Wolodymyr Kosyk, a historian, publicist and journalist, was born in Ukraine in 1924. He holds a doctorate in international relations from the

▶ TAJIK AGREEMENT PUBLICIZED

The text of the agreement worked out by representatives of the Tajik Supreme Soviet and the three opposition groups that have been staging demonstrations since late August was read on Radio Dushanbe on October 7. In addition to reimposing a ban on the Communist Party, the agreement added a referendum on the Supreme Soviet to the presidential election on November 24. It also recommended that representatives of the opposition Islamic Renaissance Party, Democratic Party and *Rastokhez* Movement be added to election commissions, and promised that all parties would have equal access to TV and radio time.

NEW PARTY IN KAZAKSTAN

Radio Mayak reported on October 9 that a new party, the Popular Congress of Kazakhstan, has held its founding congress in Alma-Ata. The objective of the new group is apparently to unite progressives who have been scattered in a number of movements and groups. According to Mayak, representatives of the anti-nuclear movement Nevada-Semipalatinsk, the Kazakh Azat Party — the largest non-Communist political party, the Russian Edinstvo group, the Kazakh Language Society and others attended the congress, which elected Nevada cahriman (and Writers' Union head) Olzhas Suleimenov and poet and political activist Mukhtar Shakhanov cochairmen of the new party. Kazakh President Nazarbaev gave the new party his blessing.

Sorbonne (Paris) and a doctorate in history from the Ukrainian Free University (Munich). He is a professor at the Ukrainian Free University and a lecturer at the National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilisations in Paris, as well as a former member of the Centre for Ukrainian Studies at the Sorbonne (1979-1984). Kosyk is the author of two major works on Ukraine in international relations: *La politique de la France a l'egard de l'Ukraine, mars 1917-fevrier 1918* (1981) and *L'Allemagne national-socialiste et l'Ukraine* (1986), as well as various smaller monographs and articles: *Concentration Camps in the USSR, The Trampling of Human Rights in Ukraine, La Famine-Genocide en Ukraine, 1932-1933, The Millennium of the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine*, and others, several of which have been translated into other languages.

Bertil Häggmann

ENGLUND: SWEDISH DEVELOPMENT AID FOR SOCIALIST DICTATORSHIPS

Swedish leading economist and development aid expert Rolf Englund recently published a revealing book on how Swedish foreign aid has been used to prop up Marxist-Leninist regimes in the developing world. **Till vänster om marknaden — bistånd med slagsida** (To the Left of the Market — Aid with a Slant, Timbro, Stockholm 261 p, 1991). He carefully in this excellent critical analysis concentrates on Swedish aid to Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Somalia and Vietnam, all marxist-leninist totalitarian regimes. Swedish aid is supposed to foster democracy. Instead the concentration of aid to socialist dictatorships has helped prop up these. No military aid has been given but the aid from Sweden has freed the regimes to use other financial resources to keep up repression and civil war.

Englund's book is very timely. Swedish foreign aid will come under scrutiny by the new Conservative government that was elected on September 15, 1991. The author deserves great praise for his book. It ought to be the basic text for the new government. In 1990 the Swedish socialist government was forced to retreat somewhat in its aid policy. Englund's book points the way towards a full reversal.

SWEDISH GEORGETOWN SCHOLAR NILSSON: "SWEDISH SOCIALIST ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY A FAILURE

Swedish socialist activism in the global field has been analysed and catalogued by scholar Ann-Sofie Nilsson at Georgetown University in a new book. **Den moraliska stormakten** (The Moral Superpower), Timbro, Stockholm 1991). It is a myth, she writes, that Olof Palme was the end of Swedish socialist activism in the field of foreign policy. It can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. And the now fallen government of Prime

Minister Ingvar Karlsson has continued the policy. Spearhead has been Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, a socialist diehard and former party secretary. An important role has also been played by Pierre Schori, an admirer of Cuba's Fidel Castro and state secretary in the Foreign Ministry.

What made possible the activism of Sweden's socialists was the neutral position between the two superpowers. With the role of the Soviet Union diminishing with great speed the activist role is harder to play. An important aspect of the role of the socialist party has been the near neglect of what was and is happening in Eastern and Central Europe. While Swedish socialists travelled to Cuba and Tanzania the Conservatives closely followed the development closer to home. This has paid off handsomely as the favorite regimes of Palme, Andersson and Schori fell deeper and deeper into chaos. For years and years the Swedish socialists claimed that the national liberation movements of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were only minorities not reflecting the people's will has severely diminished the credibility of the socialists in the 1990's.

Miss Nilsson's book is a scholarly work but it is also a mine of the most fantastic quotes by the Swedish moral activists that so angered many Western statesmen. The book ought to be a bestseller.

SWEDEN'S NEUTRALITY A MYTH —NEW BOOK REVEALS

Before the recent elections, Swedish journalist and author Tommy Hansson published a critical work on Swedish foreign policy called **Neutralitetsmyten** (The Myth of Neutrality, Contra, Stockholm, 1991). He claims Sweden's policy of neutrality was a deception. Swedish socialist governments sided time and time again with communist governments. Vietnam and Angola are the best examples. Hansson is an expert of Angola, so he knows his subject well. For years he has led an organisation in Sweden supporting UNITA against heavy odds. He has made important contributions towards a slow and steady change in the governments attitude towards UNITA. The socialist government started out by calling UNITA rebel "bandits" but has during the 1990's been talking about "the two parties in the civil war". But Hansson also brings up Swedish - concession towards National Socialist Germany during World War II.

When Sweden joins the European Community it is time, according to the author, that the doctrine of neutrality is abandoned. Sweden should openly side with the Western democracies. The myth of neutrality is dead in 1991. It has been a policy of shame and has never existed in reality.

Hansson's book should be read by everyone wanting to study a failed doctrine made redundant by the collapse of the Soviet empire. It should also be a primer for any country which is considering a neutral stand.

STATEMENT TO THE COMMUNITY OF INDEPENDENT STATES

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists was formed in 1929 in the aftermath of the invasion and occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia. Its solemn obligation to free Ukraine from foreign enslavement evolves from the will of countless martyrs who selflessly sacrificed their lives in the noble defense of Ukrainian independence and the on-going struggle of the heroic Ukrainian people who, despite great odds, are approaching final victory over the usurpers of the inalienable rights of the Ukrainian nation to freedom and independence.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) is concerned with the West's ambivalent views about the national-liberation movements emerging in the Soviet Russian empire and its complacent acceptance of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The OUN regards the present course charted by the industrialised democracies in their relations with the USSR to be ill conceived and counterproductive to the fundamental rights of the Ukrainian people, as well as the aspirations of the other captive nations of the Soviet Russian empire. This policy is wholly at odds with the cherished values of political liberty and social justice and undermines international peace and security.

Resistance to foreign domination in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations is intensifying and the goal of restoring Ukraine's independence is near attainment. The OUN's fervent hope is that this will come about through peaceful means rather than in the wake of an upheaval.

In light of this, Moscow must be compelled to accept the restoration of Ukrainian independence and that of the other captive nations of the USSR. On both moral and strategic grounds, the free world should not acquiesce to their further subjugation. An imperialist regime, bent on retaining its domination, even one which, seemingly, is benevolent at home and cooperative abroad, cannot in the long run create the necessary conditions for lasting regional stability and international security. On the contrary, it can only lead to further strife and turmoil inside the empire and heightened tensions worldwide.

Moscow must recognize the futility and consequences of attempting to sustain the Soviet Russian empire. Recent political differences between Gorbachev and other members of the Politburo of the Communist Party reflect more a concern with the viability of the "union" rather than an ideological break with the concept of the Soviet system. Gorbachev has on many occasions reiterated that the unity and territorial integrity of the USSR will be preserved through any political offer to the republics. In fact, the policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika" are officially proclaimed as vehicles for achieving a legitimate, reinvigorated and more powerful Soviet Union.

But can a legitimate government be built on unjust and immoral foundations? The Soviet Union never enjoyed the consent of the people, it never had any claim to legitimacy, its constitution is based on the rule of the elite. The only way to build democracy is by really listening to the will of the people, who want national independence and not a union, who want the

restoration of their independent countries with their own democratic governments. That is the litmus test for legitimacy. The plan for political reform is rooted in the maintenance of a powerful, centralised structure which allowing for limited local authority in the areas of administration and certain cultural and economic spheres. The Kremlin's "reform" plan does not even grant genuine and irreversible social and economic freedoms to the non-Russian nations, much less fulfill the yearning for the right to sovereign independence.

Today, Ukraine and other subjugated nations hang like the sword of Damocles over the Kremlin rulers. Moscow should take immediate and meaningful steps toward fundamental disengagement from Ukraine and other republics of the USSR, which will lead to the peaceful dismantling of the empire and the restoration of sovereign, independent and democratic states, including Russia. Only with the establishment of independent states can a structure be built for cooperation among the republics and their former oppressor in accordance with the relevant norms and precepts of international laws, government relations among sovereign and independent states.

At this critical juncture, there can be no room for hesitation or inaction. Western governments must use their economic power and political influence to convince Gorbachev and the Kremlin that the era of the empire has passed and that the time for national freedom of Ukraine and the nations held captive in the Soviet Russian empire has come. Moscow must be persuaded to relinquish its colonial rule over Ukraine.

Western governments have two options: they can continue their economic and political support for Mr. Gorbachev, thus maintaining a lifeline to the imperial system and allowing Mr. Gorbachev to proceed with the repression of pro-independence movements while seeking to rebuild a more powerful empire; or they can step up the pressure by adopting a policy of firm solidarity with the aspirations of the pro-independence movements in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations and by making all further relations with the Kremlin conditional upon its initiation of a genuine non-interference in their affairs, especially as this pertains to ending military and KGB presence on the territories of the independence-seeking countries.

The restoration of independent states leaves the door open for bilateral or multilateral economic and political treaties among the former Soviet colonies. Granted, initially the smaller, poorer ones would suffer on account of the interdependence imposed on the republics by decades of central planning under the old system. It will be needed to finance imports. Politically, the present Soviet republics can exercise their inalienable right to independence, political freedom and the freedom of choice. The smaller peoples can freely determine their future: whether they wish to remain autonomous enclaves within larger republics or opt for total secession. Differences can then be settled amicably. Cooperation and coordination among the independence movements of the subjugated nations has been spurred by the recent reestablishment of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations in the Occupied Territories (ABN-OT).

Since 1985, the industrialized democracies have been beguiled by Gorbachev's pronouncements about a "single European home" and the "right of all nations to self-determination" as well as the right of the republics of the USSR to "economic sovereignty" and "political independence." Despite the initiation of a limited Soviet political disengagement from Central and part of Eastern Europe, the tide of freedom in Eastern Europe has stalled at the border of the USSR.

The Kremlin's attempt to halt this process at the western frontier of the USSR, especially in Ukraine, constitutes one of the greatest sources of instability in Europe. However, the repressive means and coercive policies and practices used by the authorities have not proven successful in uprooting the pro-independence opposition. All opposition to Moscow's rule is undermined through intimidation, detention, arrest. Recently there have been stepped up attacks against the pro-independence leadership; the suspension of local and regional legislative bodies and the administration of government agencies as well as the mass media, police and local militias through direct, central rule by decree and a massive militarization of the country including large-scale military exercises and manoeuvres.

Likewise, economic conditions for stirring resistance persist. Moscow has yet to begin dealing with the structural economic problems incumbent in a colonial, explosive system. One of the most widely-cited statistics in Ukraine today is that 95 percent of all industrial production is taken out of Ukraine, leaving 5 percent for the Ukrainian population. The data is only slightly better in the agricultural sector, where the exploitation is so great that what remains for local consumption can barely stave off severe malnutrition in some of the worst affected areas. Likewise, in the energy sector it is now widely discussed that Ukraine uses less than 10 percent of the electricity generated by nuclear power stations in the country, while Moscow exports the remainder to its clients for 1 kopek per kilowatt. The consequences of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster include neurological and physical disorders in 33 percent of all births since the disaster and the spread of diseases never experienced before among children in Ukraine. Medical experts predict that adult susceptibility to devastating diseases will increase radically this year following the completion of a five-year incubation period. This critical health situation confronts a society that at best has a medical infrastructure comparable to a third world nation.

The situation in Ukraine remains grim. The prospect of a popular uprising is more likely than ever before. The pro-independence and anti-Soviet movement has gained strength within the last five years. It has become clear that the Kremlin is facing a crisis situation that is rapidly getting out of control. The pro-independence movement has enlisted the support of an increasingly larger portion of the population — from the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the industrial and agricultural sectors of society and even reform-minded communists. The process is characterised by the rebuilding and strengthening of nationalist and nationally-conscious community organizations. These organizations and groups are successfully undermining the communists' domination of society and in some areas even replacing them.

The broad and loosely defined alliance of reform and radical organisations under the umbrella group “Rukh”, which has not been able to forge a political consensus, is being supplanted by the emergence of pro-independence political parties, including the Association for Ukrainian Statehood and Independence, the Ukrainian National Party, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Republican Party, formerly the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, “Unity”, the national network of workers’ committees, the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth, Heritage Organisation and others. The parties with explicit independence planks in their political platforms are building an alliance among themselves within the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly, which is seen as a short-term strategy to rebuild the grass roots pro-independence civic organisations and as a long-term strategy to mobilize and coordinate all of the popular independence forces for the transition to an independent and democratic Ukrainian state. This does not preclude joint actions on specific matters with other parties and groups, as was the case in “Rukh”. However, as the organisational infrastructure is galvanized among the independence parties and as their strategic and tactical approaches crystallize, it will be this alliance, under the leadership of the UIPA, which will constitute the critical political mass for direct, decisive action in challenging the communist regime and undermining its capacity to rule.

The quest for independence and the love for one’s nation — or patria, which is the basis for the word patriot — are among the noblest of virtues. There are no negative sides to nationalism. This is the driving force behind the pro-independence movement in Ukraine and the other captive nations. As history has shown, imperial centers are rarely ever able to permanently quash an anti-colonial, independence movement. It is hardly likely that Moscow will succeed as well.

The world order referred to by President Bush will not be a just one if the subjugated nations are coerced into staying in the union, i.e. empire. That order will only prolong the old order. A truly new world order can only be based on decolonisation of the subjugated nations and the restoration of their national independence.

*Adopted by the Eighth Extra-ordinary Supreme Assembly of the
Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists
July, 1991*

***ABN President Slava Stetsko was elected the
Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at the Extra-ordinary Supreme Assembly held in July of 1991.***

DECLARATION

of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia

A year ago, Georgia's population democratically elected the Supreme council — the country's legislative body. During the short period of its duration, the Parliament of the Republic had to work under critical situations and constant obstructions: the blockade organized by the Centre and natural calamities; the destruction of the former social and economic structures and many problems caused by them hampered the normal course of life. The situation is very difficult today. Assessing the public and political situation, The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia, which expresses the will of the population, feels the great responsibility before the people and declares the following:

1. It will fully realize its authority to defend human rights and freedom. The freedom of the mass media will be a significant step in this direction.

2. It will ensure the development of private enterprises and free industry.

3. It will accelerate land reform and the process of privatization, which will help to establish the free democratic mode of life.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia will constantly look to establishing civil peace in the republic and will take advantage of the political dialogue to this end. Thus, the Supreme Council of the republic of Georgia will be ready to listen to the opposition and make decisions after discussing problems with them.

4. Supporting the President, the Supreme Council will always follow the Constitution and the acting legislation and will defend its supremacy.

The Supreme Council recognizing the rights of the associated fractional groups declares, that it will take into account views of the minority and will never allow the violation of democratic principles.

The Supreme Council considers that the process of the restoration of Georgia's state independence should be based on the global democratization of life in the republic.

In order to achieve the above mentioned aims, it is necessary to establish civil peace and national consent. The Parliament appeals to the whole population to support the Government.

October 8, 1991

THE SITUATION IN SAMACHABLO

According to the information given by the commandant of Tskhinvali, the situation in Samachablo is extremely tense. The Ossetian extremists with the help of 20 armored carriers delivered several attacks on the local peaceful population of Georgian origin.

For the last two days, they have been attacking 7 Georgian villages, burning houses, destroying vineyards, and shooting at the people. As a result, about 20 were killed, dozens were wounded, mostly children and older people.

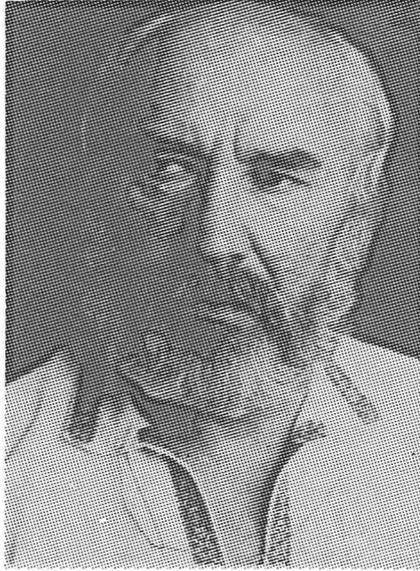
Not long before 5 Georgians had been shot dead in Akhalsheni village.

Instead of keeping law and order, the Soviet Interior troops often exceed the bounds of the State of Emergency area, spread about the neighboring Georgian villages, illegally stop the cars and shoot at the people inside.

Thousands of Georgians have left their homes. Thus, the number of Georgian refugees from Samachablo increases day after day.

Tbilisi, October 14, 1991

ZINOVIJ KRASIVSKY



On September 20, 1991 the well-known Ukrainian poet, political prisoner of Soviet gulags and national activist Zinovij Krasivsky passed away in his home in the Ivano-Frankivsk area of Ukraine.

Zinovij Krasivsky was born November 12, 1929 in the village of Vitvitsi in Ivano-Frankivsk. His school years spanned Polish, German and Soviet occupations. After completing secondary school, Krasivsky lived in hiding in Lviv. During and in the years following the Second World War, when Ukraine was fighting against two opponents - Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, Krasivsky became a committed nationalist and fighter for the cause of national liberation. For these reasons, Krasivsky was arrested in 1949 and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment. He was re-arrested in 1953 and sentenced to hard labour in the coal mines in Kazakhstan, where he was seriously injured in an accident in the mines.

Overcoming many obstacles, Krasivsky studied philosophy at the Lviv University from 1957 to 1962. In 1964, he

became a member of the underground organisation called the Ukrainian National Front (UNF) and co-authored documents detailing strategies for national liberation, and also edited the underground magazine "Volya i Batkivshchyna" (Freedom and Homeland). During this period, Krasivsky wrote his first collection of poetry "Mesnyk" and an historical novel titled "Bayda".

In 1967, Krasivsky was arrested once again along with others for participation in the Ukrainian National Front and was sentenced to 17 years of imprisonment. Because of his collection of poetry titled "Nevolnytski platchi" and the poem "The triumph of Satan" which he wrote while in the Vladimirs'kyj prison, he was transferred to a psychiatric prison, first in Smolensk and then to Lviv and Berezhnys'i, where he remained until his release in 1978.

On March 12, 1980, Krasivsky was re-arrested and sent to Siberia without a trial to serve the remainder of his sentence from 1967.

After his return to Ukraine in 1987, Krasivsky was again politically active in the national liberation movement until his sudden illness in August. As Ukraine's underground leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Krasivsky laid the foundations for the process which led to the declaration of Ukraine's independence on August 24th, 1991.

Zinovij Krasivsky survived the tyranny and oppression of Soviet prisons, and countless tragedies in his personal life. Life's trials made Krasivsky's resolve that much stronger. His spirit was never broken. May His memory live forever, because heroes never die.....



*ABN President Slava Stetsko with other participants of the WLF
Conference in Costa Rica*

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

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FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

6

November-December 1991

CONTENTS:

Ukraine Wants Bi-Lateral Relations with United States	2
The Struggle Against Russian Colonialism in the North Caucasus	4
Yeltsin Emergency Decree Against Chechen-Ingush Independence Repealed	6
<i>Jüri Estam</i> : Questions to the Estonian Government	7
Bulgaria Elects Non-Communist Parliament	10
Ukrainian Supreme Council in Last Session before Referendum	11
Estonian Activists... ..	16
Business Training a Priority in Ukraine	17
<i>Taras Korpalo</i> : The Ukrainian Student Movement	19
TV Debate on Nationalism	25
Chornobyl Report	26
History of Moscow's Colonial Conquests	42
<i>William Safire</i> : Ukraine Marches Out	47

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN **CORRESPONDENCE**

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ABN APPEAL FOR RECOGNITION OF CROATIA

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) believes that freedom, national sovereignty and independence, democracy and the rule of law, national, civil and human rights are indivisible and must be defended wherever they are suppressed. In view of this premise, we strongly disapprove of the brutal destruction of Croatia. It is clear that imperialist and totalitarian habits die hard indeed, and therefore must be firmly opposed.

We urge all Western Governments to:

1. apply all necessary political, economic and diplomatic pressure on the Communist-controlled Serbian government and its regime to immediately cease all repressive actions and military attacks against the Croatian people,
2. encourage the European Community to immediately recognise Croatia as a fully independent state, and apply diplomatic pressure against Communist-controlled Serbia to stop its aggression.

It is in the interests of the international community to follow the course of action suggested above, which would ensure the peaceful and orderly dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Peace, stability and cooperation in Europe, and indeed in the entire world, hinge on a just resolution of the war waged against Croatia.

ABN Central Committee ,October, 1991



ABN Central Committee member Dr. S. Psenicnik from Canada with Croatian soldiers in Osijek

UKRAINE WANTS BI-LATERAL RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES

(ABN President Slava Stetsko's letter to U.S. President George Bush)

Dear Mr. President,

On August 24, 1991, Ukraine proclaimed its independence from the Soviet-Russian empire, which was already partially dissolved long before the aborted coup attempt. The national-liberation processes, that had been unfolding since the Soviet Union's inception, if not long before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, had reached a critical point this past summer. The events of this past August clearly indicate that the various non-Russian peoples, heretofore subjugated by Moscow in the USSR, would no longer yield in their desire for freedom, independence and statehood before any kind of terror or intimidation tactics. The coup attempt represented a last-ditch effort on the part of Soviet-Russian imperialist forces in Moscow to salvage what was clearly a historical anachronism and an aberration in this era of liberation.

With the Declaration of Independence of August 24, the former Ukrainian SSR ceased to exist, being supplanted by a new juridical person in international law, a new state entity called — UKRAINE. This date marks the partial culmination of the dreams and struggles of many generations of Ukrainians, who have lived under Tsarist-Russian and the Soviet-Russian colonial tyranny for many long decades, if not centuries, and whose yearning for freedom and national independence actually grew in fervor, despite various attempts to physically destroy the Ukrainian people (e.g., the artificial famine of 1932-33). Despite the many political differences in Ukraine today, which is normal for a incipient, or even fully developed democracy, most of the Ukrainian people are firmly united in one respect: in their determination to reestablish Ukrainian independence, sovereignty and statehood, which is the only guarantee, or at least a precondition, that the Ukrainian people can enjoy the full array of individual rights and liberties. Democracy is incompatible with colonialism. We are confident that sooner or later the United States will recognize Ukrainian independence, and thus support the Ukrainian nation in this determination to live in freedom in its own national state, which also is a basic human right and cannot be denied, or obfuscated.

Having declared its independence, the Ukrainian people have naturally embarked on a course to solidify this historical declaration by building all the necessary structures, necessary for a sovereign political entity to function as such. One of these preconditions is the need to establish one's own national armed forces, a right that no one can deny, since without its own armed forces no country would be able to effectually defend itself from external threats, or —what is more important — effectuate sovereignty over its own national territory. This right of states to maintain their own armies has been one of the cornerstones of international law long before the emergence of the modern nation-state system. In accordance with this basic juridical precept, the United States reminded the government of Lithuania following its declaration of independence in March, 1990, that US recognition can only be forthcoming

when Lithuania was able to demonstrate that it can exercise sovereignty over its territory, which implies the existence of a national armed forces. The government of Ukraine is also asking for recognition, in full cognizance that such recognition can only be extended, when Ukraine also demonstrates its capability to exercise national sovereignty by establishing its own armed forces.

For these reasons, we feel that current US policy vis-a-vis Ukraine is somewhat inconsistent in this regard. Recently, Mr. Richard Boucher, a US State Department spokesman, took a very negative position regarding the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's decision to form a national armed forces, stating that "the plans to create a large Ukrainian army appears to run counter to the efforts of all the nations of Europe and North America to reduce military forces and enhance stability..."

We take the liberty to submit, Mr. President, that regional peace and security will not by any means be endangered, but in fact enhanced with the formation of a Ukrainian armed forces. Firstly, in light of the fact that Ukraine had just declared its independence, it never had its own armed forces to be able to "reduce" them. For that matter, the Ukrainian government's intention to establish an army of over 400,000 would in fact constitute a considerable reduction of military forces, since presently there are nearly one million soldiers stationed in Ukraine. A 400,000 strong armed force is a rather modest proposal, considering that the Ukrainian population is over 52 million people.

Secondly, the government of Ukraine has made it eminently clear that the formation of such armed forces was strictly defensive in nature and that it has no offensive aims in mind. On no occasion in modern history has Ukraine or its people engaged in any form of external aggression, expansionism or military adventurism. On the contrary, the Ukrainian people have always been victimized by the aggressive, essentially imperialist, ambitions of its neighbors, particularly Russia.

Thirdly, with the catastrophe of Chernobyl still fresh in the minds of all Ukrainians, the Ukrainian people have time and time again enunciated their intent to have Ukraine become a nuclear-free zone. With regard to the instruments of death that are presently deployed on sovereign Ukrainian territory, the Ukrainian government has clearly indicated its unequivocal intention to destroy these missiles, and under no circumstances will it use such weapons to launch a first, or even a pre-emptive strike against any other state or nation in the world. Given the long and well-documented history of Russian aggression against the Ukrainian people, however, we feel that it would be more prudent for the United States to ensure the Ukrainian people of the US government's willingness to incorporate Ukraine into the West's nuclear deterrent umbrella and cease to castigate the Ukrainian government for wanting to defend itself and for wanting to exercise sovereignty over its own territory.

Presently, the Ukrainian government is doing all it can to establish relations with the other sovereign states, that were formerly a part of the no longer existent USSR. We felt that the United States can nurture this peaceful process by encouraging such a dialogue, instead of trying to isolate Ukraine

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS

(An historical perspective)

Obsessed by the desire for colonial expansion and for an outlet to the “warm seas”, the Russian tsarist government was determined to continue its aggression until the Northern Caucasus accepted a Russian protectorate.

The beginnings of this war go back to the year 1763, when Catherine II's troops, without any provocation, attacked the Northern Caucasus and crossed the frontiers fixed by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), according to the terms of which both the tsarist and the Ottoman Empire undertook to respect the independence of this country.

During the first phase of the war, the focus was on the Kabarda region, north of the Great Caucasian range. In one day alone, five thousand North Caucasians, who on account of their attire became known as the “knights in armour”, met their death in a celebrated confrontation with Catherine's troops. Despite these heavy losses, resistance to the Russian armies continued, assisted for a while by Bonaparte's invasion of Russia.

Freed from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars, Russia once again resumed the policy of terrorization against the Caucasus with renewed vigour. The new Russian commander-in-chief was General Yermolov, whose watchword was, “My sword is law for the Caucasus”. The second phase of the Caucasian war now began and it engulfed the territory of Chechnya and Daghestan.

As a result of the events of war the leaders of the religious movement Muridism (based on the principles of Islam) which until that time had been more or less a religious fraternity of pious Moslems, decided to resist the invaders.

Popular religious leaders known as imams emerged; the first of them was Ghazi Mohammed, who was killed in battle in 1832; then came Hamzat Bek, who was assassinated, and, finally, Shamil. He was elected Imam in 1834. A considerable amount of literature written in many languages exists on the subject of Shamil. Even his enemies emphasize his remarkable qualities as a military and political leader. These qualities enabled him to carry on the defensive war against the numerically superior and better equipped Russian army for 25 years.

▶ from the world community. We encourage you, Mr. President, to at least enter into bilateral relations with the newly-independent Ukrainian state and to help the Ukrainian people and the other peoples that were once brutalized as colonies in the USSR. Such a policy would undoubtedly serve US interests, as the champion of freedom in the world, and pave the way towards the establishment of a new, truly just and free, world order — a vision that the Ukrainian people certainly share with you and the American freedom-loving people.

*Slava Stetsko, Chairman
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*



*Imam Shamil,
the national hero
of North Caucasus*

Shamil succeeded in uniting the inhabitants of the Caucasian mountains and in founding a North Caucasian state, based on the principles of Islam. But when Russia established herself as ruler of the Southern Caucasus, after the conquest of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, Shamil was cut off from the outside world. Forced to rely on his own resources, he organized the country's finances, the exploitation of mineral reserves, the production of gunpowder and the manufacture of weapons. Through his democratic reforms he strengthened the bond between himself and the people. The morale of Shamil's army, which included many volunteers, among them several Polish officers, was very high.

In 1845 the Russian armies under the commander-in-chief Vorontsov suffered a complete defeat and under the pressure of Shamil's troops were obliged to withdraw completely from Daghestan. These military setbacks enraged Nicholas I, who ordered the Caucasian rebels to be "put down or else destroyed". The execution of this order was, however, for a time, at least, suspended owing to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853.

After the Treaty of Paris, however, Russia renewed her final campaign against the North Caucasus. An army of 280,000 men was sent to fight Shamil, who resisted for another three years. But the forces were unequal. The Russian army was now better armed and equipped, whereas the Caucasians, wearied by the prolonged struggle, could no longer put up effective resistance. Retreating little by little, Shamil decided to take a last stand in the fortress of Gunib, where, after a lengthy siege, he finally surrendered. The struggle for national liberation which Shamil had led did not, in fact, come to an end immediately after his fall. The war continued until May 1864, when the resistance of the Circassians was finally broken by the Russian troops.

But to this day Shamil still lives on in the memory of his fellow-countrymen as the hero of this struggle, which, indeed, is still being waged against Russian colonialism.

YELTSIN EMERGENCY DECREE AGAINST CHECHEN — INGUSH INDEPENDENCE REPEALED

On November 2nd, Chechen-Ingush leaders declared the independence of their country from the Russian Federation. On the 8th of November, the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin declared a state of emergency and sent Russian troops to the region to stifle the secession drive. However, on November 11th, the Russian parliament overruled his decision and criticised his judgement.

Earlier this year, Mr. Yeltsin tried his own divide-and-rule tactics, supporting the Ingush against the Chechens. The Russian nightmare — that the conflict in Chechen Ingushetia might set off a domino reaction among the 16 autonomous republics and over 30 autonomous areas of the mammoth Russian federation — could be coming true. Chechen Ingushetia is an oil producer and the main road from Russia to southern republics, including oil rich Azerbaijan.

The Federation's problem is not confined to the Chechens, nor even the highly-explosive Caucasus, all nationalities living in Russia (about 100 of them) are watching developments in the south and comparing Yeltsin's deeds with his election promises. He promised to recognise sovereignty and now he is trying to hold the federation together by force.

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, was an outspoken critic of the authoritarian behaviour used by President Mikhail Gorbachev in dealing with independence-seeking republics in the Soviet Union, but in the eyes of the western press, Yeltsin now seems set to repeat the mistakes for which he criticised Gorbachev. Examining the Russian parliament's decision to reverse the state of emergency decreed by Yeltsin on the autonomous republic of Chechen-Ingushetia, the newspapers say Yeltsin should take this as a timely warning that authoritarianism will not be any more successful in solving independence claims within the Russian Federation than it was within the Union.

The Chechen leader, aged 47 a career officer in the Soviet Air Force, is a skillful politician who is trying to unite 30 or so ethnic groups, all of whom have strong warrior traditions and most of whom are Muslim, in a common struggle for independence from Russia, so reversing the results of the Caucasian wars of the last century. "The Russians make mistake after mistake; they should take care of their own economy and not suppress other peoples... we will consolidate all the peoples of the Caucasus and close our borders to Russia," General Dudayev said in an interview.

The leaders of Chechen Ingushetia which was an autonomous republic within Russia, claim to have recruited an army of 300,000 ranging in age from 15 to 50, as well as a woman's battalion. If Russia tries to put on the economic squeeze, General Dudayev vows: "We will close our own borders with Russia and Russia will suffer more than we will." To cut its economic losses, Chechen Ingushetia has already signed contracts with Turkey and with Jordan, whose former prime minister is a native Chechen and frequently visits the republic.

QUESTIONS TO THE ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT

Sooner or later someone ought to phone the people up on the hill in the capital and intone: “Earth to Tallinn — It’s time to come off Automatic Pilot”. It’s been nearly two months since Estonia declared its independence for the second time this century, but the more things change, the more they apparently remain the same. On Tonismäe, just hundreds of metres removed from the Government quarter on Toompea in the center of Tallinn, a flame continues to burn brightly. Many flames of this sort have burned in the past in the oppressed vassal-states and provinces of the Soviet Empire. The Tonismäe eternal flame flickers before the sinister Stalinist-era sculpture of a Soviet Army “liberator” of Estonia, but the current left-wing government of this country seems to have been born with a chronic inability to blush. More flamboyant peoples would have charted this obscene bit of totalitarian kitsch off to a secluded place a long time ago, but most Estonians are just not very inclined to undertake any steps of significance without the permission of the father-state.

At the beginning of October in one of his radio talks (not to, but at) the Estonian people, the head of government Edgar Savisaar aptly compared the mindset of his people to that of a convict who has just burrowed beneath the prison wall and stands now, bewildered and panting, in the unfamiliar wilderness. Such confusion is understandable when it comes to the man in the street, but it is inappropriate for the leaders of a sovereign state. One gets the distinct impression that Edgar Savisaar, who has been overtaken by the events that brought independence to his country, cannot bear to part from his original concept of economic autonomy for Estonia. Komsomol veterans would seem to have a hard time cutting the umbilical cord that ties or tied them to the support structures of the Empire, even if that anachronism is growing more anemic with each passing day. Symptomatic of Mr. Savisaar’s relationship with Moscow is the fact that important bilateral documents on troop withdrawal and the status of the KGB have been drawn up only in the Russian language. There are many other examples which show that the incumbent government is unwilling or incapable of acting like a sovereign state. It is inconceivable for me to watch foreign nationals (Soviet citizens) take part in the drafting of the Constitution of newly-independent Estonia.

The comprehensive dismantling of the KGB and the de-Sovietisation of Estonia is another problem — a festering wound — that will have to be attended to sooner or later. Mr. Savisaar seems to have no appetite for the task. He and many of his supporters do not seem to find the KGB to be particularly offensive. The formal activities of this repressive organisation will not be ended in Estonia until December 1. The Estonian Government has taken upon itself the obligation to guarantee the civil, social and political rights of all KGB agents who feel the inclination to go on living in Estonia. It is also incumbent upon Estonia to help find gainful employment for these parties, possibly within her own security agencies!

It is puzzling that the city of Tallinn and the Estonian Government seem to

be incapable of finding building space for the advance teams of the many countries which would like to open embassies in Tallinn without further ado, if only they could.

Slovenia, in Southern Europe, seems much less susceptible to muddled thinking than is Estonia. On the second day of independence, Slovenian money came into circulation. The Slovenians also began to immediately require entry visas from their former countrymen, the Yugoslavians. Nowhere is the inability or lack of desire to begin acting as a sovereign state more apparent than on the Estonian borders. Soviet citizens can enter Estonia at will (particularly through the loosely-controlled eastern "economic" border, — as opposed to a political border). The eastern border leaks like a sieve, as evidenced by the unobstructed entry into Estonia from Russia of tens of Romanian nationals, who are now camped out on the steps of the Finnish Embassy in Tallinn.

For some reason, the western border is still presided over by Soviet border guards, as though there was a threat to be expected from the West. No effective control has been achieved yet over the eastern border, which poses much greater actual problems. For that matter the Estonians have not even reached a decision as to where the actual border to the East ought to be drawn.

Estonian border officials are getting on-the-job training from Soviet troops, but they are still the junior members of the "team". A Western diplomat said in Tallinn recently, that his country would have gladly helped the Estonians to set up effective border crossing points, but that the Estonian government had not followed up on the suggestion with a formal request for help.

At the end of September, Ingmar Elm, a young Estonian who has spent the past months in Sweden, arrived in Tallinn harbor with a passport issued by the Republic of Estonia's Consulate-General in New York. When he presented the passport to the Soviet officer-in-charge of the Harbor Border Guard Unit, the Russian laughed and said in Russian, "This isn't a passport, it's just a slip of paper". Estonian Foreign Ministry officials spent two and a half hours trying to figure out an appropriate response to Elm's case and finally allowed him entry into his homeland after stamping a Republic of Estonia visa in his Republic of Estonia passport.

Citizens of the Republic of Estonia who have fled the country and now have dual citizenship are forced to seek an invitation from someone living in Estonia and to undertake a bureaucratic procedure before they are granted permission to come home. When they arrive in the old country, the words "The USSR" in Cyrillic letters (which are totally alien to Estonia) are stamped over the Estonian coat of arms in their visa by uniformed Soviet troops.

Is Estonia a puppet state or a sovereign state? The question is completely justified. A woman of Estonian descent arrived in Tallinn recently without a visa to attend the funeral of a close relative. The death of a relative was not, however, considered adequate grounds for admission by Estonian officials. A businesswoman, who was a member of the welcoming party, then wrote an improvised invitation on the spot, which resulted in the granting of a visa.

Estonia is now a signatory of the Helsinki Treaty, but Estonian residents

are still subjected to tedious red tape when they want to go abroad. Getting an exit visa (a fine old knee-jerk habit from Soviet times) will consume an entire day and in a case described to me recently, the application takes about two weeks to process. Estonians continue to have to make do with the passports of the Soviet state which occupied their country for half a century, since there are no Estonian passports to be had.

The situation of approximately a hundred Romanians who want to emigrate to another country from Estonia is not enviable, since they are basically sleeping in the streets of Tallinn. Aside from the difficulties they are facing, the Romanians have done the Estonian public a favor by demonstrating explicitly that the eastern border of this country cannot be left practically unattended forever. Is the Estonian government at all aware that it has succeeded in creating an embarrassing situation for the Finnish government? What is curious is that Estonians and the Estonian government are capable of understanding that Romanians are foreign nationals and that as such, there are certain (even if only vaguely comprehended) procedures which should be followed in dealing with them. There is a mental block, however, which seems to prevent some Estonians from understanding that from a legal point of view, a recently-arrived Russian or Ukrainian is no less a foreign national than a newly-arrived Romanian or a German. The Estonians have been forced to cohabitate for so long with Soviet settlers that it has yet to be understood that these settlers are in fact foreign nationals. The questions remain: Will the Estonian government be able to make the distinction? Will the Estonian government be able to reach internal and external decisions required to fix the location of Estonia's eastern borders? Does it have the intent and the resolve to regulate traffic on that border?

Toomas H. Liiv wrote a damning article in *Päevaleht* on September 29 about the unwillingness of the current government to fight against dishonesty and corruption in its own ranks. My comments have only touched on part of the functional problems that the current Estonian government seems to be unwilling and/or unable to solve in a satisfactory manner. Although elections are due to be held next year, the sooner they come, the better. The Savisaar government does not seem to be up to the task of behaving in the manner expected of an authentically sovereign state. Time's awastin'.

EMIGRE ACCEPTED IN UZBEK WRITERS' UNION

Telegram received by Dr. Hayit who lives in Germany

Upon the decision of the Congress of the Writers' Union of Uzbekistan, you Dr. Hayit, the famous historian, literary critic and well-known academic, are accepted in the Writers' Union. We congratulate you on this occasion and wish you strong health. We hope for a quick reunion.

Odyl Iakubov
Chairman of the Writers' Union of Uzbekistan

BULGARIA ELECTS NON-COMMUNIST PARLIAMENT

Bulgarian emigre sees free Election in Homeland

Bulgaria has its first non-communist parliament in nearly half a century, but the legislators face a daunting economic crisis and entrenched communists, says a Bulgarian emigre who visited his homeland for the Oct. 13 national elections.

Despite the victory of an anti-communist coalition, "the situation in Bulgaria has not changed," because communists still control administrative, police and military power centers in the government, said Ivan Docheff, who lives in Stafford Township.

Docheff returned after a month in Bulgaria and learned the final vote tallies for a democratic coalition which now hold the majority in Bulgaria's National Assembly.

Despite the democrats' power in the parliament, "this will be a long procedure... There's a very big shortage of qualified people to replace the communists", simply because training and education was reserved for Communist Party members, Docheff said. "We hope they (bureaucrats) will try to change and save themselves."

Until the communist takeover of Bulgaria in 1944, Docheff was a political organizer with the Bulgarian nationalist group National Legion, and secretary-general of the country's farming union.

Docheff's brother was killed by the communists and he himself was sentenced to death in absentia, he said. Since then he has lived in the United States and kept active in emigre groups, which sent observers to watch Bulgaria's first free elections.

"This was the last duty I fulfilled to the Bulgarian people, to see the communists go out of power," said Docheff, 86.

A general amnesty had been declared for people such as Docheff, and the emigres thought the communists would not carry out death threats, and "take such a chance to compromise themselves at a time when they need help from the West," he said. But communists worked aggressively to disrupt and discredit the opposition, he said.

Communist newspapers vilified Docheff as a "murderer" when he arrived in the country Sept. 17, and accused the rightist National legion of anti-Semitism and delivering Bulgarian Jews to the German Nazis.

"Bulgaria was the only country in Europe that didn't allow its Jewish



Dr. Ivan Docheff

UKRAINIAN SUPREME COUNCIL IN LAST SESSION BEFORE REFERENDUM

Military Issues Foremost in the Deliberations

KYIV, Oct. 22 (UCIS) — The Supreme Council of Ukraine convened in its fourth plenary session. The deputies proposed to discuss throughout the week the question of the economic union of sovereign republics, to elect a chairman of Ukraine's national Security Service, to discuss the package of laws on defence and Ukrainian armed forces, and indexing of profits, as well as the social security of the population in the present market conditions and a law on trade unions.

The chairman of the parliamentary commission on international affairs — Dmytro Pavlychko, informed the deputies that Rukh, the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Democratic Party of Ukraine are convening a Congress of the Peoples of Ukraine in Odessa on November 16. Mr. Pavlychko urged a speedy discussion of the laws on national minorities.

At the morning session Maj.-Gen. Konstantyn Morozov — the newly appointed Defence Minister of Ukraine, presented a draft law on defence and the armed forces. Gen. Morozov pointed out that the August coup in Moscow showed that Ukraine is completely defenceless against the threat of a violent

▶ people to be deported," Docheff said. "It's a lie created by the Communist Party to turn Jewish people against us."

Party loyalists tried to stop opposition meetings and rallies in every town, with the police standing by until fistfights broke out, Docheff said.

As Bulgarians voted Oct. 13, early returns showed the communists losing, Docheff said. Then the government announced the polls would stay open until midnight, he added.

"In the small villages... where half the population lives... there were no foreign observers," Docheff said. Communists "used the dark of night to knock on doors, threatening the people and getting them out to work for them".

Like American machine politicians of old, communists raised the dead to vote, Docheff said. Old internal passports, carried by Bulgarians now dead, were recycled so party loyalists could use the cards to cast extra votes, "and we estimate the communists got 100,000 or more votes this way," he said.

Despite those efforts, opposition candidates pulled in about 32 percent of the vote to about 31 percent for the communists. But a third party, based mainly among Bulgaria's ethnic Turkish minority, got 8 percent and joined with the opposition to develop the National Assembly majority, Docheff said.

Bulgarian law requires parties win at least 4 percent, or 250,000 votes, to qualify for assembly seats. While the communists nearly beat their opponents, the results are significant because communist support eroded by nearly a million votes since the first nationwide balloting two years ago, he said.

The National Assembly's official term is four years — assuming some crisis does not force the coalition forces to schedule new elections.

overthrow of the government and various encroachments on its sovereignty.

“The armed forces continue to receive various orders from Moscow to halt the formation of Ukrainian armed forces in any way possible”, said Morozov.

In his opinion this is leading to uncertainties regarding the armed forces as well as a possible confrontation. “However, the tide of history cannot be stopped. Ukraine will have its own armed forces”, Morozov added.

Taking into account the direction of Ukraine’s foreign policy, which is reflected in the defence bill, Ukrainian armed forces will be built on the principles of sufficiency for defence of the state and will consist of an army, navy and air force, Gen. Morozov further stated. According to the bill the President of Ukraine will assume the post of commander-in-chief and chairman of the defence council.

Morozov also said that servicemen will swear an oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine. The law clearly regulates the rights and obligations of state and military institutions towards the armed forces. According to Maj.-Gen. Morozov, the activities of political parties and organisations will be banned in the Ukrainian army. Soldiers, however, will have the right to profess any religious belief of their choice.

National service is to be introduced in Ukraine. Temporarily the republic will maintain the status of a nuclear power until international agreements on a multilateral reduction in nuclear weapons are reached. The official language of the army will be Ukrainian. Conscripts will serve exclusively on Ukrainian territory and students will be exempt from military service for the duration of their studies.

Since the morning, more than one thousand representatives of the “Greens”, union activists and Donbas miners demonstrated outside the parliament building.

The “Greens” were demanding the shut-down of the Chornobyl power station, which continues to threaten the people of Ukraine.

The miners demanded a law on wage reform in 1991, pensions in the current year, work, security, minimum holidays of 24 days, collective agreements, a resolution of labour disputes, the establishment of miners’ trade unions, leisure facilities, as well as a forty-hour working week for all manual labourers in Ukraine. Leisure activities should be funded by local councils, the coal-miners argued.

From the Cabinet of Ministers the miners demanded a clear-cut government economic programme; the resolution of the problems in Russian coal-mines); and that ownership of the means of production in the Ukrainian coal industry should be determined by December 1.

Additional demands included the participation of workers’ collectives in the privatisation of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine, the abolition of the 5 per cent sales and service tax and the 1 per cent pension tax.

At the evening session the Supreme Council ratified in the first reading the laws on defence, the armed forces, the national guard and border troops. The laws foresee the formation of national armed forces in Ukraine throughout 1992.

Col. Volodymyr Kukharets was appointed commander of the republican guard. Major-General Valeriy Hubenko is to head Ukraine's border troops.

The deputies also adopted a law on state borders, according to which Ukraine's borders are inviolable and the territory of the republic indivisible.

Other Developments in Ukraine

KYIV — In accordance with the communique issued by the Foreign Ministers of Ukraine and Poland on September 8, 1991, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has established the position of special envoy of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers to the Polish government until diplomatic relations between the two states are formally established. The position will be filled by Mr. Starak.

— The Cabinet of Ministers resolved to set up a national museum of Ukrainian history, which will be established on the basis of the former Museum of History.

— The Cabinet of Ministers approved a decision on the creation of a national institute of economic programmes. The institute will function alongside the State Economic Council, which is being set up on the basis of the Ukrainian branch of the academic research institute of the Ministry of Economics of the USSR, which has recently passed over to the Ukrainian government.

UKRAINIAN OFFICERS WANT INDEPENDENT ARMY

(UCIS) — The Second Congress of Officers regards the creation of Ukrainian armed forces as the principal task in the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state and supports the efforts of the Supreme Rada and the Government towards this end.

However, the process of the creation of armed forces is proceeding at a slow pace, lags behind developments in the political situation both within and outside Ukraine. The laws and bills adopted and discussed by the Supreme Rada of Ukraine are, unfortunately, unclear, do not specify exact terms, and do not establish a mechanism for their realisation or provide an economic base and financial security. Statements by various political leaders that the creation of our own armed forces will take 4-5 years will not stand up to any criticism.

Basing itself on the will of the Ukrainian people to independence and the complex political situation, the congress demands the following from the Supreme Rada of Ukraine:

1. To ensure that all servicemen on the territory of Ukraine swear an oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian state before the end of 1991. Officers (ensigns and midshipmen) and servicemen on extended service should declare their wish to become citizens of Ukraine in a statement addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Rada. Servicemen who do not wish to be Ukrainian citizens should be exempt from the oath of allegiance and should, by the end of 1992, be posted to their own states to complete their military service.

2. From 1992 the Ukrainian armed forces should be funded by the republican budget. All contributions to the union budget should be terminated.
3. Throughout 1992 servicemen who are Ukrainian citizens and members of their families (with their consent) should be returned to Ukraine. Service by Ukrainian citizens in the armies of other states should be inadmissible, with the exception of instances specified in government agreements between Ukraine and other states.
4. Starting with the autumn draft of 1991 the Ukrainian armed forces should consist only of citizens of Ukraine. By the end of 1991 national servicemen who are not Ukrainian citizens should be posted outside Ukraine regardless of their service time.
5. Throughout 1992 the number of conscripts undergoing national service should be reduced by two.
6. Strategic defence forces deployed in Ukraine should be manned exclusively by servicemen who are Ukrainian citizens. The strategic forces in Ukraine should be under the control of the Ukrainian Minister of Defence.
7. Political officers should retire with a pension or appropriate financial compensation.
8. The practise of forced retirement or the posting outside Ukraine of officers, ensigns (midshipmen) who are Ukrainian citizens without their consent or the permission of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence should be prohibited.
9. Only servicemen who are Ukrainian citizens can be posted to Ukraine for military service.
10. The formation of professional Ukrainian armed forces should begin in 1993.
11. The military-industrial complex in Ukraine should be reorganised in accordance with the economic potential of Ukraine and the technological and military requirements of the Ukrainian armed forces.
12. By the end of 1991 parliamentary officials should be designated to ensure that the armed forces carry out the decisions of the Supreme Rada and Ukrainian government on military issues.
13. Through its representations abroad, the Ukrainian Ministry for Foreign Affairs should secure the rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens serving in the armed forces of other states.
14. The Cabinet of Ministers should set up a fund in 1992 to help officers, ensigns (midshipmen), who return to Ukraine.
15. The National Security Service of Ukraine should decisively serve the security interests of the Ukrainian state, prevent the destruction and export of technology, military equipment, material wealth, businesses connected with the military-industrial complex without the consent of the Ukrainian government.

KREMLIN THREATENS UKRAINE WITH MILITARY MIGHT

(Kyiv-Toronto) — Reports coming out of Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, indicate that the Soviet army planned to conduct military manoeuvres across

Ukraine at the end of November, according to Canadian Friends of Rukh.

Sources in the Ukrainian government said the orders originated with Gorbachev himself in consultation with the leadership of the Soviet military. The Soviet army has numerous bases scattered across Ukraine and large contingents of armed personnel carriers capable of surrounding a city such as Kyiv within short notice.

Ukraine's Minister of Defense, K. Morozov, condemned the decision as a scare tactic insisting that Moscow's military command has no jurisdictional claims over Ukrainian territory to warrant such manoeuvres.

Rukh believes that the Kremlin's decision to flex its military muscle in Ukraine was aimed at intimidating Ukraine's population on the eve of the referendum.

"It is ironic that Mr. Gorbachev travelled to Madrid as a peacemaker yet at home he dares to use military might to terrorize Ukraine's voters," Laryssa Skoryk, a deputy to Ukraine's Parliament, said in a telephone conversation from her home in Kyiv. "It's clear that Gorbachev will use every means at his disposal to try to prevent Ukraine from exercising its right to join Europe's family of free and independent nations," Skoryk said.

UKRAINIAN OFFICERS' CONGRESS

KYIV (UCIS), Nov. 2-3 — The Second Congress of the Ukrainian Officers' Association (SOU) was held in Kyiv at the former CPU Party School on Melnyk Street. Over 700 delegates — Ukrainian officers representing all branches of the armed forces*, members of the Ukrainian Parliament and foreign guests — heard two full days of speeches and discussion addressing the issues concerned with the process of creating independent Ukrainian armed forces now underway.

The head of the SOU — Col. Vilen Martyrosyan, emphasised the urgency of creating an independent armed force that will be subordinated exclusively to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence. He also warned Ukraine's political leaders that if they do not consider the advice of professional Ukrainian officers when building a Ukrainian army, the "we will be left with the same idiotic system that we are faced with now".

Also addressing the congress were Ukrainian presidential candidates Levko Lukyanenko and Vyacheslav Chornovil. The keynote address was delivered by Ukrainian Defence Minister — Maj. Gen. Konstantyn Morozov, entitled "The tasks facing the SOU in creating independent armed forces for Ukraine".

The dominant theme at the congress — reflecting the prevailing mood among Ukrainian officers — was emphasised time and again by every speaker: the irrefutable necessity of creating a completely independent Ukrainian army without any central control from Moscow. Cooperation with independent armed forces from the former Soviet republics — based on the principles of state sovereignty and independence — was held as a possibility.

The congress closed with the adoption of a resolution on the material and

ESTONIAN ACTIVIST INVESTIGATES SOVIET NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS AND MILITARY BASES

Using borrowed video equipment, Juri Liim has revealed secret Soviet nuclear installations in Estonia.

In the Soviet submarine base at Paldiski Bay outside of Tallinn, Liim has photographed two previously unknown nuclear reactors (type 72MW with turbine generators rated at 1400 kilowatts each). Although the Soviets claim these reactors are “off-line”, according to Liim and a scientist working with him, the reactors are actually “idling”, or in the lowest state of operation readiness, with the fuel rods in place. The cooling system has apparently at times discharged radioactive water into the Baltic Sea. A history of radioactive pollution and the irresponsible handling of nuclear waste by Soviet authorities has already caused much fear on the part of Estonians, who are even more alarmed by these latest revelations.

Liim has also investigated and documented the continuing Soviet military presence in Estonia. Contrary to some reports reaching the West, the Soviets have not begun pulling out an estimated 150,000 troops in Estonia. In fact, Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told reporters in Oslo on October 28 that the Baltic states must pay for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their soil, just as Germany has. Asked how the Baltics, suffering from the economic consequences of over 51 years of Soviet rule, could afford to pay for relocating the Red Army, Grachev replied that the Soviet military “will then have to wait until the Baltics become wealthy.” In addition to their intimidating political presence, Soviet military bases continue to be the source of much of the environmental pollution in Estonia.

ESTONIAN DRAFT LAW ON SECRECY “TOO SOVIET”

In an article entitled, “A Completely Secret Estonian Republic” published in *Postimees* October 29, reporter Kalle Muuli draws the conclusion that the draft law prepared by Estonian Interior Minister Olev Laanjarv theoretically allows everything in Estonia to be classified secret. He criticizes the language and style of the document as reflecting either Soviet models or too great a familiarity with Soviet bureaucratic language.

The draft law, which was sent to the other Estonian ministries on October 8, lists three kinds of information which should not be classified: that which

▶ social security of officers in the Ukrainian armed forces, as well as a resolution on dealing with political officers such as KGB or Party plants in the army. Another resolution detailed SOU membership criteria: members can be either Ukrainian citizens or Ukrainian officers serving in any armed forces around the world.

*Of the officers present: 81% are engaged in active service, 2% are ensigns and midshipmen, 1% are cadets from military schools, and 16% reserve officers.

BUSINESS TRAINING A PRIORITY IN UKRAINE

(UCIS) — The Supreme Council of Ukraine plans to adopt a law on private property that will also regulate the transfer to a free-market economy. This law, however, will still need to be implemented, something that will probably be a difficult task, considering that Ukraine's economic life was completely based on the Soviet centralised command system. The most pressing problem today is the training of qualified personnel for a free-market economy. This task has been taken up by the International Institute of Management (IIM), based in Kyiv. IIM is a joint Ukrainian-Swiss enterprise, set up several years ago by members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences with the support of the diaspora and experts from the International Centre for Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, as well as several Western companies interested in future economic cooperation with Ukraine.

IIM is a commercial institution. Its source of income is the wide educational network centred in Kyiv. The curriculum is diverse. Its task is to acquaint the graduates with all aspects of free-market business as well as its management. Additionally, the students have to learn English, following which, they attend a two-month practical training course in Switzerland. IIM also offers short-term courses in which specialists on various levels of management can study particular aspects of modern economics without having to leave their present jobs.

The director-general of IIM is O. Bilous, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. His assistant is V. Mashtabiy. The rest of the staff

▶ contains facts, the concealment of which would bring harm to the populace or to their security; that which conceals illegal acts by officials; and that which is intended to mask the true situation.

Three levels of secrecy are identified: top secret, secret and confidential. In the top secret category are national defense plans with a strategic character, fundamental issues of rescue or safety service, plans for the mobilisation of the populace and the national economy, unratified international treaties, defense preparedness systems, defense communications, location and amounts of armaments, border patrol equipment, arms, personnel, intelligence information, coding systems and equipment. In this secret category are also facts about police weaponry and bullets, police operations and methods, and diplomatic correspondence.

Items classified top secret would remain so for 30 years, those classified secret would remain so for 10 years. Muuli concludes the article by revealing that a directive on secrecy, affecting many aspects of government operations, communications and correspondence has already been put into effect by the Estonian government. Muuli does not dispute the fact that certain information should be protected under secrecy laws, but he is concerned that citizens have ready access to information which is not classified. Muuli has previously criticized a government draft law on the press, saying it is Soviet in style and content as well as completely unnecessary.

includes: the director of studies — Dr. S. Panchenko, Prof. Dr. S. Kozachenko, and M. Sydorenko — the head of the state committee to help small businesses.

IIM also has an advisory council, headed by Bohdan Havrylyshyn, an economist from the diaspora, who is also the chairman of the advisory group to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Members of the advisory council include foreign political activists, corporate directors, and academicians from Great Britain, the USA and Switzerland.

The business world of the West actively supports IIM, which is largely comprised of specialist lecturers from Ukraine and the West. Such companies as Canada's Alcan Aluminium Limited, Anowa from Switzerland, British Petroleum, Daimler-Benz and others are interested in the Institute and cooperate with it. Speaking to a correspondent of "Silski visti", Mashtabiy pointed out that it is not easy to obtain an IIM diploma. Graduates must possess a detailed business knowledge and a great deal of practical experience and must be able to defend their diploma in English, he said.

Mashtabiy stated that business training in Ukraine is now becoming widespread. Numerous management institutes are conducting or participating in various kinds of training courses, although all this is taking place hastily and with a lack of sufficient knowledge. There are many such courses in Ukraine, which are often organised for commercial reasons. The need for a school which would become a methodical centre for businessmen is becoming increasingly apparent. IIM is on the path to founding a National School of Management, as a centre of business studies and practical training. So far, however, only the first steps have been taken. IIM today is capable of training 1,500 new-style business managers every year. Ukraine, however, already needs 30-50,000 businessmen, and the needs will increase in the immediate future.

M. Sydorenko told "Silski visti" that a wide spectrum of programmes has been affectuated in Ukraine today on such issues as demonopolisation, privatisation, the development of business — all of which requires well-trained personnel.

This activity is closely linked with the state fund to support Ukrainian businesses, which is financing the training of future personnel. Sydorenko noted that today the number of small businesses in Ukraine is nearing one million, but many businesses lack practical experience.

Presently, the black market is dominant in Ukraine, as well as its various off-shoots. In the near future, Ukraine has to attain a normal "civilised market". For this transformation to occur, it will be necessary to train tens of thousands of people. This is the main task of IIM, which in the near future should become an academy for the study of the economic situation in Ukraine and should organise a school of business.

***HAVE YOU ORDERED AND PRE-PAID
YOUR ABN-CORRESPONDENCE?***

THE UKRAINIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT:

A Brief Account

The roots of the modern student movement in Ukraine do not go back very far. But the time is so precipitous that events even of the last two years already seem very distant.

This essay will attempt to present a concise overview of the development of the student movement from its inception to the present, in the hope that it will help people to understand the current situation in youth circles as well as the general political situation in Ukraine.

The student movement began with the emergence of several informal student organisations. (The term “informal” refers to those organisations which came into being without the approval of and in opposition to the Communist state structures).

The first of these organisations was probably the Lviv-based Lev Society. It was not exclusively a student organisation. It was a cultural organisation, which already at the time (late 1987) was somewhat unique, since a Ukrainian-orientated organisation formed without funding and support from official circles was unprecedented. The greatest achievement of the Lev Society was the publication of *Postup* — the first independent newspaper in this century’s third Ukrainian rebirth. The newspaper itself was on a relatively high level, when compared with all later independent *samvydav* (underground publications). *Postup* was at the height of its popularity in the first half of 1989. People would literally grab it from the newsstands when it appeared. It survived until the triumph of democracy in the Lviv *oblast* (province). Then it stopped being a *samvydav* publication and later disappeared completely from the political scene.

The first truly political student organisation was the Kyiv “Hromada”. It came into being ostensibly as a cultural organisation at the beginning of 1988 at Kyiv University. From the start it began issuing political statements and entered into an open duel with the Communist party machine. It was dealt with very quickly, but not in the classical Brezhnevite style. Initially no one was arrested or expelled from the university. The authorities had tried to win an “ideological” victory. At Communist and Komsomol (Communist Youth League) meetings, “Hromada” was denounced, the “flaws” in its thinking were exposed, and corrected. In the end it was infiltrated by KGB moles and finally split into two parts — those hostile to the ruling administration and those loyal to it. Later the more vociferous were expelled from the university on “legal” grounds after receiving unmerited failing grades. In the autumn of 1988, that is, after the liquidation of “Hromada”, a series of strikes began against the military faculty at Kyiv University, ending in a partial victory. The organisers and active participants of these strikes were yesterday’s “Hromada” members although as an organisation it was no longer in existence.

At the time when “Hromada” was being decimated in Kyiv, student brotherhoods were being formed in Lviv. The situation in the Lviv region from

the standpoint of national awareness was always better than in Kyiv, and in the middle of 1988 the authorities were no longer able to disperse these incipient student groups. In 1989 the "Student Brotherhood" (SB) of Lviv became one of the largest Ukrainian political organisations in Lviv during that time. It almost continuously organised some form of protest actions in opposition to the authorities (mainly concerning the problem of the "bolshevisation" of the educational system). One of the particularly effective methods employed by the SB was the collective hunger strikes that it organised. In retrospect they were often conducted for aims which did not warrant such efforts. In Lviv students were also expelled from higher schools, but not as quickly as in Kyiv with "Hromada". The educational administration in Lviv was slow to react to the demands of the KGB and CPU. The case of each student was protracted, which gave new impulses to the student movement. In the autumn of 1989 the idea of establishing an all-Ukrainian student organisation based on national principles became increasingly prominent.

A founding congress was convened in Kyiv in December, which was attended by more than one hundred politically active students, primarily from Lviv and Kyiv, and also from Cherkasy, Chernivtsi and Kharkiv. Only the Lviv students represented some form of organisation (naturally not yet registered), which although small, nevertheless gave the Lviv students a better sense of the significance of the student movement. Others simply wanted to fight for Ukraine and were ready to set up such an organisation. The Lviv students did not want to join the newly-formed organisation. They maintained that they already had an organisation while the others were not yet organised. They argued that the centre and leadership of the organisation should be in Lviv, which the other students did not support. The conflict soon took on the characteristics of the traditional chasm between the so-called "easterners" and "westerners". The misunderstandings revolved around whether the organisation was to be a "trade union" or a "civic-political" forum. In the end two student bodies were set up: the "Student Brotherhood" (SB) of Lviv and the Ukrainian Student Association (USS) based in Kyiv. Although formally they were united in the Confederation of Ukrainian Students (KSU), in practical terms the links between them were not particularly sturdy. Membership in the two organisations was small (at that time the Kyiv USS had around 30 active members and the SB no more than 100). Despite such limited human resources, the students began to organise an "all-Ukrainian student strike" (February-March 1990).

This strike took place only in Lviv and even then not in all of the city's colleges and institutes. The pickets outside the educational institutions of Kyiv were small in number and did not have the mass support of the general student body, which was astonished by these strikes. A group of leading USS activists in Kyiv received 15 days of administrative arrest, perhaps the most significant achievement of the action because it shook Ukraine to some degree at the time of the election campaign. The people stood on the side of the students and they were released before serving the full 15 days, but the action did not come out as planned. The weakness of the student movement was obvious as was the need for a greater degree of unity.

After the Lviv meetings during the summer of 1988, this strike became an event which blazed the next step on the path towards the rebirth of Ukraine. Later that spring Rukh (Popular Movement of Ukraine) was registered. That summer the 500th anniversary of the Kozaks was commemorated in Zaporizhia and state sovereignty was declared in Kyiv on July 16th, 1990, albeit by the Communist majority in the Supreme Soviet.

The students continued their struggle with smaller actions. In the summer, however, they had reached consent on the need to hold a wide-scale student protest in October, which was to surpass all previous actions in Ukraine of the preceding few years and was to give fresh impetus to national rebirth, which had somewhat subsided after the declaration of national sovereignty.

The leaders of the USS and SB held frequent meetings to discuss possible plans of action. The decision that the October protest action was to begin with a mass hunger strike in Kyiv was agreed on very quickly, but the mechanism of its realisation and the further development of the action was not clearly articulated. The reaction of the Communist party and KGB was not taken into account and, hence, no contingency plans were developed. Nonetheless, at the beginning of September the basic plans were ready and direct preparations began.

From the start, most of the student leaders anticipated that they would be arrested once the hunger strike began and would therefore have to continue their action from within the prison walls. A campaign in defence of the Ukrainian student prisoners would then begin. The primary role should therefore be played by those members of the USS and SB who would not take part in the first stage of the action but should be ready to begin a strike in the universities.

This scenario relied on the most decisive forms of opposition to the authorities. It later became clear that the authorities were not prepared for the strike and, therefore, events unfolded along unanticipated avenues.

In general, preparations for the action were very serious, taking the worst-case scenarios into account. In Kyiv tents, warm clothing, wooden panels and other items necessary to erect a camp in the centre of the city in one day were being secretly stockpiled. Preparations in Lviv were no less serious. Later events proved that without such careful preparation there could not be any hope of success.

Although a detailed account of the action is beyond the scope of this paper, it is, nevertheless, worth stressing some of the more pertinent aspects.

The first few days were the most difficult. Around 150 students arrived and made known their demands, which were written on placards stating that they were on hunger strike. The striking students lay down beside the Lenin monument (on October Revolution, now Independence Square). They issued demands:

1. Dismissal of Supreme Soviet chairman Masol
2. A new round of elections to the Supreme Soviet for the spring of 1991
3. Rejection of a new union treaty
4. Military service by Ukrainians on the territory of Ukraine
5. Nationalisation of the assets of the CPU and Komsomol in Ukraine.

At that time these demands frightened even many democrats. The reaction of the militia was incomprehensible. First they surrounded the students, then they walked away, warning the protesters that they would be dispersed as soon as the first tent went up.

The behaviour of the militia can to some extent be explained by the position of the Kyiv city council. The council has never been particularly Ukrainian or particularly democratic. But when it came to dealing with the student strike, it proved incompetent. Naturally, a majority of deputies wanted us off the square as soon as possible but were afraid to take responsibility for such a move. On the first day the city council met from morning till evening trying to reach a decision. The deputies finally agreed to let us erect the tents and remain on the square overnight. They thought that in the morning they would persuade the students to disperse without having to resort to force. This indecision in actual fact decided the further development of events. When the tents were erected it was possible to deliver panels, fold-up beds, mattresses and so on to the camp, which further complicated the issue for the municipal government. And when the next day the tents were surrounded by a solid circle of people and Kyiv learned about the camp, the situation began to gradually change in favour of the students. The Kyiv municipal council continued to meet, but was unable to reach any decisions, thereby, in effect, sanctioning the activities of the student strike. The number of supporters grew and the camp gradually increased in size.

It is interesting to note the reaction of the authorities in those days. In the beginning they gave the impression that nothing out of the ordinary was taking place (this was also the position of the official press). It was as though the students were not even there. Attempts by various democratic deputies to bring the issue before the Supreme Soviet were immediately shouted down by the Communist majority with demands to "restore order".

What was also baffling was the position of Rukh, the Ukrainian Republican party and other democratic parties. There was no official reaction from them in the first days of the action. It seemed as though no-one could understand what exactly was going on. No material or other help was forthcoming.

The hunger strikers were continuously subjected to surreptitious acts of provocation in the camp both in daytime and at night. Unknown youths would attempt to provoke fights. From time to time explosive packages would be thrown into the camp. Various kinds of pamphlets and leaflets appeared on the streets of Kyiv attacking the students and calling them CIA agents. All the same, public opinion in the capital remained on the side of the activists. The people of Kyiv supported the students in various ways and the organisers were faced with the problem of what to do with all the warm clothing, thermoses with hot drinks and the like provided by the Kyivites.

On the fifth day the Communists prepared a large-scale provocation. They organised a rally of WW2 veterans, which was to include a wreath-laying ceremony at the foot of the Lenin monument around which the students had set up camp.

The attempt failed. The party managed to mobilise no more than 3,000

Communist veterans. To protect the students, on the other hand, more than 50,000 Kyivites had taken to the streets. The veterans were thus compelled to march to the Lenin museum (now a civic-political centre). This was the first victory, for which much credit is due to the Rukh leadership, which helped organise the opposition to the veterans' rally. Later the students were joined by a group of deputies led by Stepan Khmara. The final upsurge, however, came when the general student body of Kyiv finally woke up.

This wave of mass support came just as suddenly as the birth of national consciousness within the student organisations earlier that spring (when the students shed their fear of the system and made ready for the struggle, even if it meant very serious consequences for them). On the twelfth day of the hunger strike, a series of strikes spread throughout Kyiv's universities and institutes and the central streets of the capital were filled with columns of youths. This seemed strange. A day earlier the Kyiv students still timidly by-passed the hunger strikers. The following day, however, they were already on the streets. There were continuous rallies beside the tent city. After October 15, as a result of the mass march to the Supreme Soviet, a tent city appeared outside the republican legislature (this demonstration was even sanctioned by the city council). That same day a column of students, who were continuously demonstrating in the streets, occupied the Red Campus of Kyiv University. By the following day seven other Kyiv campuses had been occupied. The strike began to spill over to workers' collectives (the workers began to form strike committees and gradually joined the student demonstrations). Ukraine was almost completely covered with tent cities of hunger strikers in solidarity with our demands. The principal events were in the western *oblasts* of Ukraine although the eastern Ukrainian cities of Kharkiv, Zaporizhia and Donetsk also distinguished themselves.

On October 16 the Supreme Soviet, whose Communist majority was still demanding that order be restored by force only a day before, set up a negotiating commission. The following evening, October 17, the document issued by the commission was signed.

Formally this document met all the students' demands. In practice, however, only two demands were fully met, a compromise was reached over two others, and one (concerning the assets of the CPU and Komsomol) was rejected by the Communist majority. Despite all this, the issuance of this document signified the most important victory of Ukraine's democratic forces over the colonial regime in the period of the third national rebirth. The Supreme Soviet's decree that the new union treaty could not be signed prior to the adoption of a new UkrSSR constitution blocked Moscow's attempts to force Ukraine to sign the union treaty as soon as possible. The postponement of this issue was fatal. Other points of the decree were also important. They practically determined the direction taken by the Supreme Soviet for a whole year, although ultimately became realised only after the failure of the recent Moscow coup. The main issue was naturally to postpone the signing of the new union treaty.

After the October demonstrations the student and youth movement in general found itself in a difficult situation. On the one hand everyone was

caught up in euphoria (how the students alone achieved more than all the democratic forces of Ukraine put together); on the other the student movement remained split between east (USS) and west (SB).

On November 7 the USS opposed the compromise reached between the democratic organisations and the authorities over the commemoration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Kyiv and decided to disrupt the military parade on Victory Square. Several thousand militia with the support of the Kyiv military garrison had no difficulty in clearing the square of 150 or so students. A small group of students then managed to barricade themselves in the Rukh building, voicing their protest at the passing parade. But this was no great achievement.

After November 7 the authorities launched a counter-attack. Stepan Khmara was arrested. All the criminal cases which were initiated during the hunger strike and were later delayed, were now put into motion again. New conflicts, however, arose within the student movement. One after another USS and SB actions ended in failure. They had a local character and only served to destroy the authority that the student movement had acquired earlier, which only encouraged the Communists.

In January 1991 student leader Oles Doniy was arrested. Preparations were also made for the arrest of a number of other activists. This caused the USS and SB to work together for a short while, but this new atmosphere of cooperation did not lead to fresh widespread opposition to the authorities. In a sudden volte-face the Communist leaders decided to end the assault against the students; the Khmara affair became the only case against the democratic activists. Doniy was released and the student rapprochement again sank during further negotiations. The student organisations continued to function. Ukrainian students, for instance, went to Vilnius to defend the Lithuanian parliament. Although local activities in Lviv and Kyiv continued the impasse was obvious. The idea of creating a youth party on the basis of the student organisations was being discussed in student and youth circles. However, in order to realise this idea it was first necessary for the two student organisations to unite. The leaders of the Lviv SB tried to force events. The Kyiv students, on the other hand, dragged their feet hoping to gain the same position within the new structure as their colleagues from Lviv. Finally when a joint congress of the USS and SB met in Kyiv (March 1991) the leaders of the two organisations could not reach an agreement. The congress was held in an atmosphere of confusion. Although a single organisation — the Ukrainian Student Association (SUS), was formally announced, the executive was comprised of people who had no authority in the student movement and were thus in no position to head the new organisation. This was another Kyiv-based leadership, which represented no-one and whose later activities led to the profanation of the student movement. The chain of failed actions and mutual pretensions continued. Gradually the student organisations began to concentrate more and more on infighting.

After the declaration of independence on August 24 the need for a revolutionary student movement has subsided. Although these organisations still exist they have outlived themselves. The reluctance to become involved in any less fundamental but constructive work in defence of student rights, the

TV DEBATE ON NATIONALISM

The re-emergence of nationalism as a potent force in Europe was the subject of an interesting debate on BBC's television series *Assignment*. The program titled "New Nations, Old Hatreds", which aired on Tuesday, October 29th, had as one of its participants ABN President Slava Stetsko who is the Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The program featured the following guests: Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, Croatia's Minister of Information Branko Salaj, former Irish Premier Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, Sir Ralf Dahrendorf from St. Antony's College at Oxford, American academic Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the Right Honourable Enoch Powell, Political Director of the Council of Europe Hans Peter Furrer and Dr. Galina Starovoitova — the Nationalities advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Can the proliferation of new nations do anything to quell old hatreds?" This was the question posed to the guests and the catalyst to the heated debate that followed. This issue is most timely today because of the fears surrounding the resurgence of nationalism. Furthermore, it was apparent nationalism seems to be confused with the negative concept of chauvinism. During the debate, ABN President Slava Stetsko defined nationalism as patriotism — the love for one's nation and the desire for a nation's sovereign will on its ethnographical territory.

The debate began with a discussion about the situation in Yugoslavia. The Croatian Minister of Information, Mr. Salaj explained that the situation in Yugoslavia can be best described as the invasion of the Serbian Communist federal army into Croatia. Another issue under discussion was the issue of minorities. Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky stated that this problem has been resolved by their Parliament. Slava Stetsko stated that a minorities problem exists in Western Europe as well, however, it has been managed by international agreements protecting minority rights.

It can be expected that such discussion will continue, since the process of disintegration of empires cannot be halted. New nations are bound to emerge. ABN President Slava Stetsko commented later that it is essential that international bodies see to it that ruling imperial nations acquiesce to this process.

▶ development of our higher education and the upbringing of our youth deprives existing student structures of the opportunity to find their place in the new political situation in Ukraine. If nothing changes soon they are doomed to eventual extinction, although their achievements have already become a part of the history of the struggle for Ukrainian independence.

Perhaps this essay has shattered some people's illusions about the contemporary student movement in Ukraine. It is, however, an accurate description of the situation. Although it lacked firm organisational structures and was based almost exclusively on enthusiasm, it was staunch and uncompromising in its dedication to the cause of Ukraine's liberation. In conditions of fierce struggle against the authorities it grew in strength before our eyes only to face decline in periods of relative calm. Although the student movement may never reach the same peak again, the high productive potential of Ukrainian students (still the most nationally-conscious element of Ukrainian society) remains, and one can surmise that in the near future students will form new organisations, and continue to work for the Ukrainian cause.

CHORNOBYL REPORT

1. The Chornobyl Reactor and the Accident

The nuclear reactors at Chornobyl are the RBMK-1000 water-cooled design and were riddled with such major design flaws that they should never have been allowed beyond the drawing board. They are known to be one of the most dangerous types of nuclear reactor, yet were approved by the former head of the Soviet Academy of Science, Alexandrov.

In 1986, the Soviet Communist Party passed a resolution calling for more intensive production of electricity and increased productivity from all sources of electricity generation, including nuclear reactors. This was one of the reasons for the experiment at the Chornobyl reactor which went so horribly wrong.

The experiment and explosion

At 1:23 a.m. on April 26, 1986, technicians at Chornobyl's No. 4 reactor dropped reactor power to a very low level. To allow the experiment to continue, several major safety systems were disabled so that the reactor would not be shut down automatically. Deactivation of the safety systems was illegal, but the technicians were under pressure to fulfill the planned experiment.

Four seconds before the explosion, the operators realised the mistakes they had made. They were 36 seconds too late to prevent a catastrophe. The operators tried to stop the chain reaction manually by activating the control rods, but it would have taken ten seconds for them to be dropped into the core by gravity — much longer than in any Western reactors. It was too late. Most of the control rods had been withdrawn completely from the core. The rods ruptured and uranium spurting into the cooling water. The mixture instantly produced steam and caused two or three explosions.

The explosions were so powerful they blew off the reactor's 1000 tonne concrete ceiling. Air rushed in and mixed with the reactor gases, causing a further explosion and triggering a graphite fire at the core. This shattered the reactor and hurled almost nine tonnes of radioactive into the night sky. This was about 90 times more than the radioactivity released by the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

The staff on duty barely knew what was going on. Junior staff were sent to investigate. Senior staff refused to believe that the reactor ceiling had been blown off and that they were faced with a major nuclear disaster.

Radioactive fallout

The damaged reactor continued to release highly radioactive smoke and materials into the atmosphere for 10 days. The radioactive cloud blew northwest over Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia and Lithuania. It then passed over Scandinavia and Poland. Ultimately, the accident caused raised levels of radioactivity more than 2000 kilometres from the source and in more than 20 countries.

The start of the cover-up

Prompt notification about the accident, as well as immediate medical attention and evacuation of the local population were vital. Instead, the Soviet authorities resorted to secrecy, and for several days refused to admit to the world that there had been any serious accident. The Ukrainian and Byelorussian people most affected received no information at all. The official cover-up had begun.

2. The Cover-Up

The Kremlin's immediate reaction to the Chornobyl accident was to hide it from the world. Initially, Moscow insisted that the Chornobyl explosion was an ordinary industrial accident with no major foreseeable health or environmental problems. They claimed that the main lesson to be learnt was that nuclear power personnel needed better safety training. Only when confronted with irrefutable evidence from monitoring stations in other countries did the Kremlin admit to the explosion and release of radioactivity.

In spite of intense pressure from the West, and particularly Sweden, which had monitored increased levels of radiation and had located the site of the fire, it was not until 9:02 p.m. on Monday — three days after the explosion — that the Soviet TV news programme “Vremya” (Time) announced:

“An accident has occurred at the Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant because one of the reactors was damaged. Measures are being taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident. Aid is being given to those affected. A Government Commission has been set up”.

Public statements

On Tuesday, the Soviets released a little more information. They said that two people had been killed during the accident and added that the “radiation situation... has now been stabilised”.

US Intelligence was able to use its military reconnaissance satellite, and was astonished to see that the roof had been blown off and the walls pushed out. What startled the analysts most was that on some pictures, a barge could be seen sailing peacefully down the river Prypiat and that less than a mile from the reactor, men were playing football. It was clear that the area had not been evacuated.

On Wednesday, the Soviets said that, “no chain reaction or fission of nuclear fuel is taking place. The reactor is in a smothered state”. They also said that the radiation situation was “improving” and that, “the state of the air basin over the city of Kyiv is causing no concern. The quality of the drinking water, as well as of the water in rivers and water reservoirs, corresponds to normal”.

Soviet TV showed a black and white photograph of the damaged reactor. The commentator said, “As you can see for yourself, there is no gigantic destruction or fire”. US Intelligence sources said that the photograph was accurate, except that the Soviets had brushed out a plume of smoke and heat haze rising from the reactor.

The official reaction

The Kremlin's only official statement was to accuse the Western media of creating a phoney crisis in Ukraine, by concocting lies about the accident at Chornobyl. It was not until three weeks later that President Gorbachev, the architect of "glasnost", made any comment.

If Western countries had little information, those immediately affected in Ukraine and Byelorussia had even less, which amounted to a criminal disregard for the health and safety of the population. Families in Prypiat, the now deserted town just by the reactor, watched the fire in reactor No. 4 from their bedroom windows. Few suspected the severity of the situation. They were given no information. The next day, people went out as usual and children played in the streets.

Thirty-six hours after the disaster, everyone in Prypiat was instructed to collect important documents, one set of spare clothes and one or two photographs, and to prepare for immediate evacuation. They were told there was no cause for alarm and that they would soon be allowed back to their homes. The evacuation took several hours to complete and, in the meantime, everyone waited in the open air for their place in the convoy of vehicles. The evacuation from villages around Chornobyl did not take place until 10 days after the accident.

Safety advice

As news of the accident was gradually released, the population was told by the Health Minister, Anatoliy Romanenko, to stay calm because there was no danger. Soviet authorities said that the levels of radiation were low and that everything was under control. People in the worst contaminated areas were merely instructed not to open their windows and doors, to wash their floors with a general cleaning fluid, to keep their heads covered, and to wash their hair twice a day.

Because of the lack of information and the Kremlin's reluctance to admit anything was wrong, millions of people in contaminated areas carried on life as normal, while farmers continued sowing their fields.

Radiation mapped

The Soviet meteorologist, Yuriy Israel, has said that, within a week of the explosion, a map of the most affected areas had been drawn up and presented to Prime Minister Ryzhkov. This would have shown that radiation levels in Kyiv, with its population of 2.6 million, had risen 100 times the level considered safe. Radiation levels were even higher in Narodichi, 70 km west of Chornobyl. But these areas were outside the 30km exclusion zone set up around Chornobyl.

May Day

The people of Kyiv, Narodichi and many other places highly contaminated by radiation were instructed to attend May Day parades as normal, and

television pictures of those parades were shown all around the world as proof that everything was under control.

Ukrainians in Kyiv began to suspect they truth when they noticed that the children of the “nomenklatura” (senior Communist Party officials) had not been seen for several days. These children received some protection. Ordinary children were not so lucky. Children in the Narodichi area began to be evacuated only at the end of May, when the damage to their health had already been done.

Medics silenced

The biggest peacetime nuclear disaster was accompanied by the biggest ever official cover-up. A decision by the Communist Party, passed on May 15th, 1986, classifies all information about radioactive contamination as secret. This was extended to doctors on June 27. They received instructions to “lose” Chornobyl-related illnesses and to classify them under other headings without any mention of radiation. Little wonder that Ukrainians now no longer trust any official Soviet information about the Chornobyl accident.

Rejection of international aid

Perhaps the most cynical part of the cover-up was the Kremlin’s rejection of aid from the West, apart from advice on how to attack a graphite fire. President Reagan directed the US Department of Energy to supply a list of possibilities for humanitarian and technical aid. Moscow was offered the use of a highly sophisticated computer that uses wind and terrain data to predict the path of radioactivity; a helicopter-borne system that measures and maps the speed of radioactive contamination; a team of health physicists and others to examine air, water and soil; medical specialists on radiation exposure and technical experts on decontamination. The list was rejected by Moscow within 24 hours. The only help accepted was an offer from their old friend, Armand Hammer, of the services of a specialist in bone-marrow transplants.

At a plenary sitting of the UN, Yuriy Dubinin, the USSR’s permanent representative expressed gratitude for other countries’ sympathy, but declined any foreign assistance. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the Kremlin did not want Western eyewitnesses to see the full horrors of both the accident and their own negligence in dealing with its effects.

3. The Children of Chornobyl

The main victims of the Chornobyl disaster are the children. This is because radiation is ten times more harmful to children than adults because children drink more milk and spend more time outdoors. Their accumulated dose of radiation is likely to be much higher.

No preventative medicine

In the immediate aftermath of the Chornobyl accident, there was a significant delay in providing children with any preventative medication. Radioactive iodine-131 fastens on to the cells of the thyroid gland replacing mineral iodine and preventing the gland from functioning properly. Mineral

iodine is needed to form the thyroid hormone molecule which is vital to the development of the brain, particularly in the later stages of pregnancy and the early stages of life. A shortage of mineral iodine can therefore affect mental development or, in extreme cases, lead to a complete absence of mental function. Children should have been provided with neutral iodine immediately to help block the intake of radioactive iodine into the thyroid. Children in Ukraine and Byelorussia only received neutral iodine a week after the explosion. By then, it was too late to do any good. In some Russian provinces seriously affected by radioactive fallout, there was a delay of 2 months before children received iodine. By contrast, in Poland just as soon as the authorities knew the cloud was heading their way, every child was given neutral iodine precaution.

Radiophobia

In the first three years after the disaster, all Soviet Government sources — including the USSR Health Minister, Yevgeny Yazov, and the Ukrainian Health Minister, Anatoliy Romanenko — said that there were no significant ill effects from Chornobyl, and that there were unlikely to be any in the future. Reports of illnesses from contaminated regions were due to “radiophobia” (fear of radiation) and stress from living near the 30km exclusion zone, rather than the effects of radiation.

This was a criminal lie. In the weeks and months after the disaster, at least 600,000 people, including 125,000 children, were “significantly exposed” to radiation. Soviet doctors and the Ukrainian Green Party now estimate that approximately 160,000 children under the age of 7 in the most contaminated areas received levels of radiation high enough to result in cancer of the thyroid. At least another 12,000 children were exposed to very high levels of thyroid irradiation from drinking contaminated milk and breathing polluted air.

In Kyiv, a number of children have already died of cancer, while there is a general and significant increase in the number of children suffering baldness, blood disorders and leukemia.

Children outside the exclusion zone

Until October 1989, the Ukrainian Ministry of Health denied that there was any problem in the Narodichi area, which is to the west of the the 30 km exclusion zone. However, a trip by Soviet experts found that more than 4,500 children had thyroid glands damaged by radiation, including 1,000 cases where the dose exceeded 20 rems — where 35 rems is considered the safety limit for lifetime exposure to radiation.

One of the gravest health crises in Ukraine exists in the agricultural district of Poliske — between Narodichi and the western barbed wire boundary of the 30 km Chornobyl exclusion zone. The Poliske Communist Party, led by USSR People’s Deputy M.I. Primachenko, systematically covered up all information about radiation readings and the health of the local people. A secret document dated March 1990 shows that 1,200 children aged 2-16 in 3 nurseries and 6 schools have serious blood disorders brought about by radiation.

In Poliske’s School No. 1, many of the 1,200 children are suffering from

thyroid gland abnormalities, anaemia, nose bleeds, weakened eyesight and persistent headaches. The schoolchildren spend from early morning until evening at school so that they can eat three “clean” meals a day. They are limited in the time they can spend outdoors, and are only allowed to play on the new asphalt in front of the school. They are not allowed into the woods, to the river or into the town’s park. The health authorities have refused to acknowledge that radiation is causing any problems. Teachers and parents say that they are not getting the medical help their children need.

Numbers of children affected and illnesses

It is still now known how many children have been affected by radiation. The information, if it exists, is secret. Unofficial estimates suggest that between 800,000-900,000 could have received significant doses of radiation. Illnesses suffered by children include heart disease, weakening of the nervous and immune systems, diabetes, asthma, mental and physical handicaps, eye defects and anaemia.

Thyroid cancers in children are generally extremely rare, while radiation is the only known cause of multiple myeloma and childhood leukemia. In Ukraine, there has been a 92 per cent increase in children’s cancers generally, with an 82 per cent increase in thyroid cancer. Congenital birth defects have more than doubled. Disorders of the nervous system have increased from 310.9 per 10,000 in 1988 to 619.6 in 1989. In the same period, blood disorders have increased from 99.3 per 10,000 to 260 and psychiatric illnesses have more than quadrupled, from 20.1 per 10,000 to 89.9.

Children’s thyroid cancers take between 5-7 years to develop. They will therefore peak between 1991-1993. Other cancers take longer to develop, and the effect is expected to peak in about 30 years time.

The seriousness of the situation is made worse by the lack of proper health resources. Up to the end of 1990, only 173,000 full medical checks had been carried out, of which only 37,000 were on children. At least 2 million more are needed urgently. There is a grave shortage of equipment and drugs. In Britain, 7-8 children out of 10 are cured from childhood leukemia. In the Soviet Union, the survival rate is less than 1 in 10.

Altogether, as many as 300,000 of today’s children are likely to die from the effects of the Chornobyl disaster.

4. The Story of Narodichi

Narodichi is a small town 60 km west of Chornobyl. It was one of the places that suffered most heavily from the radioactive fallout and from official secrecy and disinformation.

Here is how one doctor from the regional hospital in Narodichi described the days and weeks after the accident.

“Everyone had a strange taste in their mouth, and everyone’s throat was dry. The Head of Civilian Defence said that there were no dosimeters, that they had all been taken away, but that the radiation level was only 3 roentgens per hour. This was hard to believe. Sick people were being brought into the hospital from early in the day to 2:00 a.m. the following morning.

“On the first of May, the people were ordered to go out for the May Day parade. Everyone had a metallic taste in their mouth. On May 9, everyone was again called together for a meeting. But at no time did anyone in authority mention the Chornobyl accident.

“On May 15, we found out from the regional Communist Party secretary that the situation was serious; that a reactor was still burning and throwing out radioactivity. It surprised us that people from the Chornobyl area and from Prypiat has begun to be evacuated at the end of April. Although Narodichi is only 60 km from Chornobyl, we had no information about what was happening.

“After May 15, a brigade of doctors from Kyiv arrived in Narodichi to examine the children. People were feeling ill. They complained of sore throats and burning eyes. Many had breathing difficulties.

“On May 20, the Minister of Health Romanenko arrived. He was asked for permission to evacuate all children from the area. Romanenko said that if orders to evacuate came from higher authorities, it would be done. But Moscow did not hurry to give those orders. Why should they worry about children in their Ukrainian colony?

“Some children were finally evacuated a month after the accident, between May 28 and June 10, but not older schoolchildren because of school examinations at that time.

“Afterwards, doctors from Moscow arrived. They were frightened. They did not give out any of the results of their medical examinations. They kept telling people to keep their distance because they were all contaminated, and pushed away mothers and babies. They treated the people worse than animals. The Ukrainian doctors could not stand this and tried to defend the people”.

“When we asked them what we should do and what advice we should give, the Moscow doctors just told us not to drink milk from local farms. They did not provide any advice or any medicines, so everyone just had to do the best they could.

“When the children were being examined, it was very bad. Many fainted and had to be carried out, but the doctors did nothing to make it easier for those who were already ill.

“The Moscow doctors said that everything was all right; that the dose of radiation received was so minimal that there was no reason for any illness. The people became angry. Even after taking iodine, the older schoolchildren in the village of Khrysynivtsi had such high doses that our machines could not measure them.

“Just then, Yuriy Spizhenko (now Ukrainian Minister for Health, but then Regional Health Minister for Zhytomyr), arrived in Khrystynivtsi. Our doctors sat with him and wept over what the machines were showing for the schoolchildren”.

This is just one account from one small area of Ukraine, but the same story can be told of many other towns and villages: the lack of information, the secrecy, the delay in setting up medical examinations, the patchy and badly-organised programme of evacuation.

5. The Effects of the Chernobyl Disaster on Emergency Workers

600,000 workers, including young conscripts, spent time in the 30 km Chernobyl exclusion zone during the cleaning up process. One doctor, Andrei Arkhipov, who worked at the site, claimed that decontamination was carried out in such a way that it caused more damage to health than the initial fallout. Neutral iodine was given, but too late. The fire fighters, who were drafted in from all areas of the Soviet Union, were not provided with even basic protective clothing or boots. One commented that they were given 100 grammes of alcohol for courage.

Death toll

The official death toll amongst those who worked to put out the fire and clean-up remained at 31 for several years. The Moscow Evening News has recently released a figure of 252. Yuriy Shcherbak, Ukrainian deputy to the Supreme Soviet and head of the Ukrainian Green Party, says that the total stands at 5,000 dead. The Chernobyl Union, an unofficial organisation of the veterans from the clean-up operation, adds that around 35,000 could now be suffering with radiation-related illnesses. Rukh sources say they know of 300 young men who were sent into the exclusion zone without any protective clothing other than gloves and that all are now ill with radiation burns and cataracts.

Accurate information is difficult to determine. None of the 600,000 who worked within the exclusion zone has ever been diagnosed as suffering from radiation sickness. Those who have fallen ill have been dispersed to hospitals throughout the Soviet Union and their medical records do not even state that they were involved in the cleaning up process. A French doctor who visited one of the clinics said that patients received only rudimentary examinations; few dosimeters were available, and results of examinations were not recorded.

In 1990, some ill Chernobyl workers staged a hunger strike for better compensation. Their demands have been ignored.

Since August 1986, the Soviet Ministry of Health has forbidden the release of any information about the effects of the Chernobyl disaster on Chernobyl workers.

6. Radiation Safety Limits

From the drawing up of the perfectly circular 30 km "exclusion zone" around the Chernobyl plant it can only be assumed that Soviet scientists had calculated that radiation falls in a perfectly contained area. Other areas were not considered in any evacuation or clean-up plans, even though winds carried radioactive fall-out to areas well outside the zone.

"Safe" levels of radiation dosage were set by central scientists, who stated that the fallout of radiation fell into "acceptable norms of pollution". These scientists had not even visited the area.

These "norms" and "safe" levels, however, are periodically revised and new standards set, as happened at the end of 1988, when it was announced that 0.35 sieverts was the limit which any individual should receive in his lifetime.

Unsurprisingly, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and central scientists differ over

the definitions of a "safe" dosage of radiation for an individual. Ukrainian scientists claim the rate of 5 rems accumulation per year per square km, set by central scientists, is at least twice as high as it should be, and ten times greater than the rate deemed safe in the West.

Cumulative effects of low dosages of radiation

In addition, central scientists claim that low dosages of radiation are "safe". However, little is known about the cumulative effects of such small dosages over an individual's life span. And it is clear that there is no such thing as a "safe" minimum dose. A Byelorussian study in September 1990 stated:

"Today one can say with confidence that small dosages of radiation cause many infectious diseases which previously were never connected with radiation — influenza and pneumonia, as well as chronic conditions of the heart and lungs. The paradox is that the more slowly the dosage is accumulated, the greater may be the damage."

The other effects are cancer leukemia, genetic damage to unborn children and damage to the body's immune system, leading to Chornobyl Aids. Little is also known about the take-up of radioactive isotopes by plants and hence the food-chain into humans, or about the rate at which such isotopes are eliminated from the body.

7. The General Health Situation in Ukraine

Average life span

As a result of both economic and environmental factors, the average male life span in Ukraine has fallen from 67 years in 1964 to 63 years in the mid-1980s.

Since 1986, it has fallen still further. In Kyiv, the fall was 8.1 per cent in the first seven months of 1990 compared with 1989: i.e., in the space of just one year, the average life span fell by 5 years.

Birthrate and birth abnormalities

The current birthrate in Ukraine is 14.6-15 births per thousand of the population. This is three times lower than in the rest of the USSR, and for the last 20 years has been insufficient to maintain a constant population.

Twelve per cent of marriages are childless.

Miscarriages are 4-6 times more likely than in the rest of the USSR.

Over the last 10 years, the number of abnormally small babies (less than 1,500 grammes birth weight), has increased 5 times.

In environmentally contaminated areas, hereditary diseases in children have decreased 2-4 times, while blood diseases in children have increased 5-8 times.

The number of disabled children born has increased from 6 to 13 per thousand.

After Mauritius and Barbados, Ukraine has the highest child death rate in the world. In the first 9 months of 1990, the death rate amongst new-born

babies was 12.4 per thousand live births — twice as high as in Japan or Sweden and 1.5 times higher than in the USA.

Cancers and other illnesses

In the last 5-6 years, the incidence of cancers in Ukraine has increased by 32 per cent. Ukraine has the highest rate of blood cancers per thousand of population of any country in the world, the highest rate of heart disease, bronchial disorder and diabetes in the USSR.

Illnesses and cancers in children

In the last 5 years, the incidence of childhood cancers in Ukraine has increased by 92 per cent, while thyroid cancers have increased by 82 per cent.

Congenital birth defects have doubled. Between 1988 and 1989, disorders of the nervous system increased from 310.9 per 10,000 to 619.6; blood disorders more than doubled, from 99.3 per 10,000 to 260; and psychiatric illnesses more than quadrupled, from 20.1 per 10,000 to 89.9.

Heart disease, allergies, diabetes, asthma, eye defects, anaemia, physical handicaps, bone cancers and weakening of the nervous and immune systems, have all increased in contaminated areas.

8. Resources for Health Care

Expenditure per person

In Ukraine, 80 roubles per person per year is allocated to health care.

Three per cent of Ukraine's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) goes on health care. The USA equivalent is 11.9 per cent of the GDP. Ukrainian health experts believe that the amount per person needs to be increased to 280-300 roubles as an absolute minimum.

There is an acute shortage of equipment, particularly disposable syringes. In 1988, the central planners set a target of 100 million syringes to be produced, but only 7.8 million came out of Soviet factories, with 30 million imported. In 1989 the target was 500 million, with the same number imported, but only 192 million were produced, with 300 million imported. Health experts estimate that the Soviet Union needs between 3-9 billion disposable syringes each year.

Food provided for sick children in hospitals supplies only 30-60 per cent of their nutritional needs. Parents must supply the rest.

9. The Effects on Land and Agriculture

Contaminated land

Initial statements said that only 11 areas in the Soviet Union had been affected. This was then updated to 68, then 180, then 275.

In Ukraine, some 1.4 million people still inhabit 1,600 towns and villages in highly contaminated areas. Overall, 4 million people are living in contaminated zones. In Byelorussia, 127 towns and 2,697 villages, with a total population of 2.2 million, are highly contaminated.

Five million hectares of Ukrainian farmland and 1.5 million hectares of

forest land are contaminated. Some areas are considered to be unsafe for the next 1,000 years, while most will be uninhabitable for at least 100 years. In Byelorussia, 20 per cent of agricultural land and 15 per cent of forest land is contaminated.

Some of this land is still being farmed by its inhabitants because they have no other source of clean food and some food from contaminated land is still being distributed to other regions. Abnormalities have been recorded in as much as 80 per cent of wheat grown while animal abnormalities are increasing.

Deformities in livestock

The Petrovskiy collective farm is in the Narodichi region, about 60 km to the west of Chernobyl. It is a small farm, with 350 cows and 87 pigs. In the five years before the Chernobyl disaster, only 3 cases of abnormal pig births were recorded, with no recorded abnormalities among calves. In the year after the accident 64 abnormal animals were born: 37 pigs and 27 calves. In the first 9 months of 1988, the figure of abnormal births was 76: 41 pigs and 35 calves. The calves were most often born without heads and butts, or without eyes and ribs. The pigs had bulging eyes and deformed skulls.

The newly-formed Kyiv Institute of Agricultural Radiology has said that the abnormalities could be caused by hundreds of factors which have nothing to do with radiation. But farmers believe firmly that Chernobyl is the cause, particularly since the livestock feed they have is grown on contaminated land.

Between 1987-1990, a total of 194 deformed farm animals was recorded in the Narodichi district. Radiation in this district has been shown to be 148 times the normal background level. In spite of this, the area was not evacuated.

The Soviet government has now decided to extend the exclusion zone from 30 km to 80 km west of Chernobyl. In April 1990, the USSR Supreme Soviet decided that this area would be evacuated when funds became available, but the Ukrainian people doubt that the money will ever be found.

10. Remedial Measures: The Policy and the Cost

The cost of cleaning up after the Chernobyl accident has so far amounted to some 8.5 billion roubles, of which the Ukrainian national budget has borne about 2 billion. By comparison, the USA spent 130 billion dollars on the clean up operation after Three Mile Island. Though the amounts spent so far are a heavy burden on Ukrainian resources, they are a drop in the ocean compared to what is needed.

The sarcophagus

The cost of building the concrete sarcophagus which surrounds the damaged reactor No. 4 was 70 billion roubles in 1988 and a further 40 billion in 1989. The sarcophagus is a primitive structure and already needs significant repairs, which are estimated to be at least another billion roubles.

Compensation

The USSR Council of Ministers has allocated 66 billion roubles from Account Number 904, which is a Chernobyl charity account, to the Ministry of

Atomic Energy to compensate them for losses arising from the non-functioning of reactor No. 4. At the same time, the town of Slavutych, built to house the power station workers evacuated from Prypiat, has no medical laboratory and no dosimeters, even though radiation levels are almost as high as in the 30 km exclusion zone.

No compensation has been paid to those who took part in the clean-up operation — 200,000 of whom are living in Ukraine. Those living in five of the regions worst affected by radiation have received miserable levels of additional benefits to compensate. Instead of being guaranteed uncontaminated food, each person is to receive between 15-30 roubles extra a month; four days extra holiday a year; and a reduction in the pensionable age to 55 for men and 50 for women. However, all these benefits are only payable on condition that men continue to live in contaminated areas for 12.5 years, and women for 10 years.

Clean food

Ukraine asked the Soviet authorities for a special dispensation to reduce the amount of meat it had to send to central Soviet stores, so that more could be sent to inhabitants of contaminated areas. Instead of the 100,00 tonnes Ukraine asked for, Moscow allowed it to keep only an additional 30 tonnes.

Total costs

Yuriy Shcherbak, deputy to the Supreme Soviet and leader of the Ukrainian Green Party, estimates that over the next 10 years, between 380-420 billion dollars will be needed to evacuate and resettle all those still living in areas of dangerously high contamination, and to deal with the environmental and health effects of the disaster.

11. The Soviet Nuclear Industry and Safety

Construction programme

In order to avert an energy crisis, rapid expansion to develop nuclear energy in Ukraine and to double the amount of nuclear generated electricity by 1990 was started in the Brezhnev years in the 1970s.

The Chornobyl plant was already the largest in Ukraine, and it was planned that it would become the largest in the Soviet Union. There were also plans to develop other nuclear power stations in Ukraine, although almost 90 per cent of Ukraine's territory is not suitable for the construction of nuclear reactors due to geological, hydrogeological or other reasons. The Chornobyl plant is itself built on soft soil. Furthermore, the nuclear sites tend mainly to be located in densely populated areas.

The plan to expand nuclear energy so rapidly, and on schedule within five-year plans highlights just one of the reasons for the safety problems encountered by the Soviet nuclear industry. With the construction of the Chornobyl plant, one official stated that they were lagging behind the plan by one year. Thus efforts were made to raise the pace of construction by inducing workers to greater output and even to compete with other sites.

Another problem lay in the construction personnel themselves. For many

years, students have been used in this type of work during their vacations. According to “Komsomolskoye Znamia” (a Ukrainian newspaper for young Communists), bands of students were working at the Odessa, Rivne, Chornobyl, South Ukraine and Zaporizhia nuclear power plants in Ukraine in the summer of 1985.

The infrastructure for Soviet nuclear industry was barely in place when plans for its rapid expansion began. The Soviets have admitted that they have a serious shortage of specialists. Training is only in its infancy: a faculty for nuclear energy, the first in the Soviet Union, was opened in Odessa in 1975. A second was opened in Kyiv in 1985 and an institute was opened in Moscow in the same year.

Safety in Soviet nuclear plants

On March 27, 1986, just one month before the Chornobyl disaster, “Literaturna Ukraina”, a Ukrainian weekly newspaper, carried an article in which conditions at the Chornobyl plant were severely criticised. These chronic shortages of necessary materials, a demoralised workforce, and appalling organisation and management. The Soviet nuclear power industry ignored the article.

Since the 1986 accident, safety procedures throughout Soviet industry have once again been questioned. Reliable statistics are next to impossible to come by, but in 1988, for example, “Izvestia” reported approximately 200,000 industrial accidents, and the Soviet media continuously reports thousands of work place injuries due to careless practices, ancient equipment, and a lack of safety procedures when dealing with toxic materials.

After the Chornobyl disaster, Western reports raised serious doubts not only about the design faults in the Chornobyl reactor, and the Soviet Union’s emergency procedures but they also noted consistent violation of safety procedures by Soviet operators.

Safety hazards

The major shortcomings, which were reported to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) include:

- Some of the older reactors do not have key safety systems, which include emergency cooling systems containment structures — the concrete and steel reactor domes that prevent radiation leaks that are almost a universal feature in the Western world: Chornobyl’s dome was built of concrete.
- Due to inadequate analysis, Moscow does not know precisely how safe or unsafe its reactors are: in the West lengthy computer simulations of possible accidents are conducted. Few Soviet computers can handle such calculations. Even fewer Soviet engineers care.
- Many Soviet reactors have broken parts and suffer from careless workers. Because of frequent equipment failures, Soviet safety relies heavily on reactor staff to spot problems. However, many errors slip past.
- The Soviets admitted that the experiment which caused the Chornobyl disaster had undergone only a superficial safety review and had not received the full requisite approval to proceed.

— The hall containing the reactor was not built to withstand severe explosions.

— There is no continuous emergency cooling system, so if there should be a problem with the primary cooling system, the core can overheat.

— The zirconium tube, which separates the “red hot” graphite from the steam, is dangerously thin according to Western experts.

After the accident, standards were improved, but studies of Soviet nuclear plant installations show they still have a long way to go before reaching Western standards.

Leaks at Chornobyl

Due to the great secrecy practised by the Soviet central government, little is known about previous leaks at Chornobyl and other plants. However, the few reports that have come through illustrate the Kremlin’s past and current blithe attitude to safety — both of its own people, and the rest of the world.

— In February 1991, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet was informed about a disaster which took place in Chornobyl in 1982, four years before the world’s worst nuclear disaster took place. At the time, the accident was completely covered up.

— In mid-April 1990, one of the Chornobyl reactors was closed down after another emergency released a cloud of radioactive vapour into the air.

— Early in August 1990, one of the remaining three reactors at Chornobyl was shut down when its control systems failed. The Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Nuclear Safety reported that an automatic safety device failed and that the operators shut down the reactor. He claimed there was no danger of a radiation leak.

The entombed reactor is still emitting radiation, at a level higher than anticipated, but there is no publicly available information on current radiation emissions or the risk to health.

12. Prospects for the Future

The history of the Chornobyl accident and its aftermath provides a picture of human suffering and misery caused largely by unofficial negligence and incompetence. No one knows what the long-term effects will be. It is clear that the Soviet authorities are unable or unwilling to find answers to the urgent medical and environmental issues facing the Ukrainian nation and all those who continue to suffer from the Chornobyl disaster.

The Chornobyl Plant

One of the most immediate problems is the damaged No. 4 reactor itself. In 1986, the Soviet authorities vowed to keep the Chornobyl power plant open for ever. The two undamaged reactors were reconnected to the national grid at the end of 1986, and the third was back in action in 1987. A second power station, with two of the same RBMK water-cooled reactors, was under construction at the same site. Following mass protests, organised by the Ukrainian Greens, construction of the second station was halted. At the beginning of 1990,

following further mass protests, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR (controlled at that time by the Communists) decided to close the Chernobyl plant completely within 5-7 years. It was no coincidence that this decision came on the eve of the first free election to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in March 1990.

The Sarcophagus

But this does not solve the problem. The damaged reactor was encased in a concrete sarcophagus which the designers claimed would last for generations. But the walls of the sarcophagus are already beginning to crack. Ukrainian experts say that one of the causes is shoddy materials and workmanship.

A further problem is that the debris inside the reactor is unstable. There are plans to build a second casing of concrete around the sarcophagus at a cost of about 1 billion roubles, but Ukrainians say that the marshy ground is too soft to bear the weight. There are fears that there could be another accident.

Radioactive dumps

Within the 30 km exclusion zone, the clean-up operation resulted in the creation of 800 temporary radioactive dumps. There are no firm plans for dealing with this accumulation of highly contaminated waste. One possibility is that a factory could be built near Prypiat to process the waste and remove the radionuclides. But the Soviet safety record does not inspire confidence in their ability to safeguard the health of workers at any such reprocessing plant; and there will still be the problem of what to do with the resulting radioactive waste.

Outside the 30 km exclusion zone, Moscow admitted only in 1989 that several districts were so contaminated that the inhabitants will receive up to the "safe" lifetime dose of radiation. The exclusion zone has now been extended to 80 km west of Chernobyl.

"Safe" radiation doses

Then, there is the question of what is a "safe" lifetime dose of radiation.

Many Western experts believe that 35 rems is ridiculously high. It was set by the USSR Minister of Health and Nobel Peace Prize holder, Evgeny Chasov, who said in 1988 that the Chernobyl disaster would have no major effects on the health of the population. The data from areas such as Poliske and Narodichi proves this to be a lie, so there can be no confidence in his assertion that 35 rems is in any way "safe".

The Soviet authorities still refuse to acknowledge that people outside the 30 km exclusion zone are at any risk. They say that the main problem is stress from living near the closed zone. Yet women in the area have been told not to have children, and some have been asked to sign declarations to the effect. The suspicion amongst Ukrainians is that the "safe" limit was set at a level which would lead to the minimum area of land being declared closed and the minimum of resources to be spent on resettlement.

Health studies

One of the biggest health problems now surfacing is that of “Chornobyl AIDS” caused by radiation damage to the body’s immune system. One-and-a-half million people are estimated to be suffering from Chornobyl AIDS, but any studies so far undertaken have only taken into account illnesses directly attributable to exposure to high radiation doses.

Proposals to conduct comprehensive studies and to monitor the effects of radiation were rejected by Moscow as “of insufficient scientific interest”. It is doubtful whether true statistics will ever be known.

But the lack of systematic monitoring and scientific studies will enable the Soviet authorities to continue to deny that radiation is a problem, even while cancers and genetic defects in children increase at rates never seen before.

The political effects

An entirely unexpected effect of the Chornobyl disaster has been to politicise vast numbers of Ukrainians and to give a new impetus to the demands for sovereignty and independence. The Ukrainian people are discovering political power. Mass protests have led to decisions to halt construction or expansion of at least nine nuclear reactors. And calls are increasing for trials of those responsible for the cover-up.

Three of the Chornobyl plant’s top officials have already been tried and sentenced for criminal negligence, but the Ukrainian democratic opposition movement, Rukh, and numerous other groups believe that the politicians who organised and authorised the cover-up should also be charged, including Valentyna Shevchenko, who was the Communist Ukrainian President at the time.

Striking factory workers in Kyiv have gone even further, demanding the immediate conversion of party dachas and hotels into temporary accommodation and schools for families with children from the 30 km exclusion zone; they demanded that a nuclear reactor located in a Kyiv research institute be removed; compensation for families living in contaminated zones; the establishment of citizen committees to monitor the clean-up of the immediate danger zone.

Whether these moves succeed or not, Chornobyl has helped to convince millions that Ukraine’s only chance of economic, environmental and personal salvation lies in gaining control of their own lives and their own country.

*Prepared by the Chornobyl Committee —
London, England*

**Bertil Häggman — MOSCOW AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT
Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror
Published by Ukrainian Central Information Service, U.K. 1989**

HISTORY OF MOSCOW'S COLONIAL CONQUESTS

In light of the recent events causing the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire, we are reprinting the following survey of Moscow's conquests, which was compiled by CIAS Luxembourg in 1962.

During this time when many nations are struggling to put a final end to Moscow's expansionism, it is necessary to take a look back into this history of imperial conquests, covering a total area of 17 million square kilometers. The events listed are neither denied nor concealed by Soviet historians and can be read in the encyclopedia of the USSR, edited by Vasilov, Voroshilov, Vyshinski and other contributors. which was used for this compilation.

The facts, are certainly not new, however, stringing them together reproduces the quintessence of the history of the Muscovite empire. Bloody colonial wars drag on over centuries, interspersed by punitive expeditions, acts of suppression and clashes with other imperialist powers. Moscow never hesitated to go to war if its imperialistic aims, or the defence of its possessions, were at stake.

This survey ends in 1961, however Moscow's expansionism did not. One needs to look at but a few examples: the Cuban Missile Crisis, Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and the more subversive infiltration in Central America, Africa and the Middle East. One can only hope that 1991 and 1992 will be listed in future history books as a marker for the end of the empire. Let us learn the lessons of history!

1367 Erection of the Kremlin, the citadel of Moscow, with its stone walls on the north embankment of the Moskva river.

1379 Invasion of the territories of the Permyaks, the Komi-Syrians and other Finnish peoples along the rivers Kama and Pechora.

1472 Incorporation of the land of the Permyaks, Moscow's first colony.

1465-1500 Raids into the territories of the Nenets, Yamals, Khantis, Manis and other Finno-Ugric peoples in the northern Urals and beyond this mountain range.

1469 First attack on the Turco-Tatar Khanate of Kazan along the Volga river (then called Idel).

1471-87 Attacks on Moscow's rival, the city of Novgorod on Lake Ilmen. Subjugation of Novgorod and incorporation of the colonial possessions of Novgorod inhabited by Finnish peoples: Karelia, the Kola peninsula, and the districts lying along the rivers Onega and the northern Dvina, right up to the White Sea.

1487 Installation of a vassal khan in Kazan under military pressure from Moscow.

1489 Seizure of the territories inhabited by the Votyaks and other Finnish peoples along the river Vyatka.

1492 Propagation of the ideology that Moscow was the successor of the Byzantine Empire and called to spread the "true faith" in the world.

1514 Annexation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia with the city of Smolensk.

1520 Further propagation of Moscow's doctrine of being the "Third Rome" and the "navel of the world".

1547 Adoption of the title "Tsar" (Caesar-Emperor) by Moscow's Grandduke Ivan IV.

1551-58 New attack on the Kazan Khanate, capture of Kazan and annexation of the territories inhabited by the Turco-Tatars and Mordvins along the middle reaches of the Volga.

1555 Imposition of tributary payments on the Khan of Sibir (west Siberia).

1556 Subjugation and annexation of the Turco-Tatar Khanate of Astrakhan on the lower reaches of the Volga. The entire course of the Volga in the hands of Moscow.

1567 Drive to the Terek river in the northern Caucasus.

1580 Drive to the Yaik river (Urals).

1581-82 Subjugation of the Sibir Khanate and its Turkish and Mongolian peoples.

1558-83 Campaigns against Sweden, Poland and Lithuania for the purpose of conquering the Baltic countries (the so-called Livonian War), capture of Narva, Tartu (Dorpat), Marienburg, Fellin, siege of Reval, final annihilation of Novgorod, eventual defeat and rollback of Moscow.

1589 Establishment of a patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church of all-Russia in Moscow.

1598-1618 First crisis of the Muscovite empire: End of the Rurik-Rurik dynasty, struggle for the central power, uprisings of the colonial peoples, famines, counter-attacks by the Poles, Swedes and Tatars threatened by Moscow (1610-1612).

1619-33 Restoration of the central power with the ideological and organizational assistance of the Church (Patriarch Philaret Romanov). Establishment of a regular army according to foreign pattern (1632). Resumption of imperialistic policy.

1630 Invasion of the Mongolian territories of central and east Siberia, subjugation of the Buryats. Invasion and annexation of the territories inhabited by the Yakuts.

1628-38 First attempts to invade the territory of the Crimean Tatars and along the rivers Donets and Don.

1639-42 Advance to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the Far East.

1654-67 Annexation of the east Ukrainian territories, wars with Poland, Sweden and the Crimean Tatars for the possession of Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Baltic countries.

1662-83 Bloody suppression of uprisings of the Tatars, Bashkirs, Khantis, Mansis and other Turkish and Mongolian peoples along the Volga and in Siberia.

1665 Advance to the Amur river in the Far East.

1685-89 War with China and demarcation of the colonial spheres of either party along the Argun river, a tributary of the Amur.

1687-96 Advance to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea in the regions inhabited by the Crimean Tatars.

1697-99 Invasion of Kamchatka.

1700-1721 War with Sweden and insurgent Ukrainians (Hetman Mazepa). Victory of Poltava and landing of Russian troops in Sweden. Annexation of Ingermanland (Karelia) on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, as well as of Estonia and Livonia.

1703 Foundation of the fortress and city of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in Finnish Ingermanland.

1705-08 Suppression of uprisings by the Tatars, Bashkirs, and Ukrainians.

1711-13 Landing on the Kurile Islands between the Sea of Okhotsk and the Pacific Ocean.

1717-18 Advance to the upper reaches of the Irtysh in the regions populated by the Turkish Kazaks and Altaic peoples.

1721 Adoption of the title "Emperor" (Imperator) by Tsar Peter. The realm is given the official designation "Empire" (Vserossiyskaya Imperia).

1722-23 Attack on Persia. Annexation of the south and west coast of the Caspian Sea (lost in 1735).

1731 Advance in Kazakhstan.

1733-35 Military intervention in Poland to secure a succession to the throne acceptable to Moscow. Capture of Warsaw and siege of Danzig.

1737-38 Campaigns against the Crimean Tatars.

1735-41, 1755-56, 1773-74 Suppression of the Volga Tatars and Bashkirs.

1757-61 Military operations in central Europe (within the scope of the Seven Years' War). 1758, temporary annexation of East Prussia. 1759, capture of Berlin (November 28).

1761 Foundation of the citadel of St. Demetrius of Rostov (today the city of Rostov) on the lower reaches of the Don.

1764 Instalment of a vassal king in Poland.

1764 Advance across the Chuckchi peninsula to the Behring Strait.

1768-72 Attack on Poland followed by the first partition of Poland. Annexation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia.

1768-74 Attack on Turkey, landing in Greece and Montenegro, occupation of the Crimean peninsula and the crossing of the Danube.

1783 Annexation of the Crimea, foundation of the naval base of Sevastopol.

1783 Assuming the protectorate over East Georgia in Transcaucasia.

1784 Invasion of Alaska; foundation of the fortress Vladikavkaz (meaning "Ruler of the Caucasus"), today Ordzhonikidze, in the land of the Ossetes.

1787-91 New attack on Turkey. Capture of Ochakov on the Black Sea coast and of Ismail in the Danube estuary. Annexation of the south Ukrainian regions and the north-west foot-hills of the Caucasus.

- 1790** Establishment of strongholds on the north-west coast of America.
- 1792-93** New attack on Poland and second partition of this country. Annexation of the central parts of White Ruthenia and of Ukraine.
- 1794** Suppression of a Polish uprising under Kosciusko.
- 1794** Seizure of the Kurile Islands.
- 1795** Third partition of Poland. Incorporation of Kurland, Lithuania, the western part of White Ruthenia and Volhynia.
- 1796** Attack on Persia. Campaign in Daghestan and Azerbaijan.
- 1798-99** Military operation in western Europe within the scope of the Second Coalition against France (Napoleon). Landing on the Ionian Islands on the west coast of Greece, occupation of the Island of Kerkyra (Corfu), entry into Milan, Turin, Naples and Rome, invasion of Switzerland and landing in Holland.
- 1800** Turning the Ionian Islands into a protectorate.
- 1801-03** Incorporation of Georgia in Transcaucasia.
- 1805-07** Military operations in central and southern Europe within the scope of the Third and Fourth Coalition against France.
- 1803-13** Renewed attack on Persia. occupation of Baku (1806), annexation of northern Azerbaijan with its Turkish population. Russia lays claim to Daghestan.
- 1804** Suppression of an uprising in Georgia. Incorporation of Imeretia in Transcaucasia.
- 1806-12** Renewed attack on Turkey. Annexation of Bessarabia.
- 1808-09** Attack on Sweden. Invasion of Sweden across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia. Annexation of Finland.
- 1811-12** Suppression of an insurrection in Georgia.
- 1812** Establishment of a stronghold in California (abandoned in 1839).
- 1812-14** Continuation of the struggle with France for supremacy in Europe. Russian defeat. The French in Moscow (from September 2 to October 7, 1812) from where they have to withdraw owing to supply difficulties. Military operations of the Russian forces in central and western Europe. Entry into Paris on March 31, 1814.
- 1814-15** Incorporation of that part of Poland accorded to Russia at the Congress of Vienna (Congress Kingdom).
- 1815-50** Dominating position of Russia in Europe.
- 1819-20** Suppression of an uprising in Georgia.
- 1823** Military advance in Daghestan.
- 1824** Further advance in Kazakhstan and subjugation of the "Golden Horde".
- 1826-28** Attack on Persia. Capture of Yerevan and annexation of Armenia.
- 1828-29** Attack on Turkey. Annexation of the east coast of the Black Sea and of the Danube estuary. Russian troops at the gates of Constantinople.
- 1828-34** Occupation of the Balkan countries bordering on the Danube.
- 1830-31** Suppression of a Polish uprising.
- 1830-32** Suppression of an uprising in Daghestan.
- 1833** Landing of Russian forces at the Bosphorus and subjugation of Turkey (under British pressure, the Russians had to abandon their gains in 1841).
- 1834-59** Colonial war waged against the Caucasian hill tribes fighting under the leadership of Imam Shamil.
- 1838-47** Military operations to subjugate the mutinous Kazaks.
- 1839-40** First campaign against the Turkish Khiva Khanate in western Asia.
- 1846** Complete annexation of Kazakhstan.
- 1849** Military intervention against the national-democratic revolution in Hungary.
- 1850** Establishment of a foothold at the mouth of the Amur in the Far East.
- 1853** Capture of Ak-Metjed on the Syr-Darya in central Asia (today Kysyl Orda).
- 1853-56** Renewed attack on Turkey. Manifesto on the incorporation of Moldavia and Walachia (Rumania). Intervention by the European powers under the leadership of England, the Crimean War, loss of the fortress Sevastopol, defeat of Russia.
- 1854** Advance into Kirghizstan. Erection of the

fortress Vyernyi (today Alma Ata).

1856 Advance to the Altai and Tienshan Mountains in central Asia.

1860 Establishment of footholds on the Amur and the coast of the Sea of Japan. Setting up the harbour of Vladivostok ("Ruler of the East").

1862 Further retreat from North America.

1863 Suppression of a new uprising in Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia.

1864 Breaking down the last resistance of the Caucasian hill tribes.

1864-68 Attack on the Khanates of Kokand and Bokhara in central Asia, capture of the cities Turkestan, Tshimkent, Tashkent (1865), Samarkand and Bokhara (1868).

1867 Sale of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands to the United States of America for seven million dollars.

1868 Introduction of a colonial administration in Kazakhstan.

1873 Second campaign against the Khiva Khanate in central Asia and its subjugation and dismemberment.

1874 Acquisition from Japan of the southern part of the Island of Sakhalin.

1875-76 Dissolution and annexation of the Kokand Khanate in central Asia.

1872 First Russian edition of the book "Kapital" by Karl Marx.

1877-78 Attack on Turkey. Intervention by the western powers (Berlin Congress), annexation of Batum, Kars and Ardahan.

1877-84 Conquest of Turkmenia in central Asia.

1881 Russia forces China to partition the Ili territory in Turkestan and to allow Russian infiltration into Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan (Sin-Kiang).

1885 Suppression of an insurrection in Turkestan.

1892 Suppression of an uprising in Tashkent.

1894 Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) commences his political activities in Petersburg.

1896 Russia compels China to enter into a "defensive alliance" against Japan and to admit Russians into Manchuria.

1898 Obtaining a foothold on the Chinese peninsula of Liaotung and erecting the fortress of Port Arthur.

1898 Suppression of an uprising in Turkestan.

1900 Intervention in China together with the Western powers, military occupation of Manchuria.

1903 Establishment of the "Bolshevik" faction at the 2nd Party Congress of the "Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia" in London under the leadership of Lenin (Ulyanov).

1904-05 War with Japan over the domination of Manchuria and Korea. Russian defeat and loss of Port Arthur and the southern part of Sakhalin. First democratic revolution in Russia followed by a restoration of the empire in a conventional manner and by means of a conventional ideology, interspersed with liberal-democratic elements.

1907 Agreement with England on the delimitation of the colonial spheres in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet.

1907-09 Infiltration into Chinese Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

1914-17 War with Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria over the domination of the Balkan and Bosphorus. Defeat and second crisis of the empire.

1917 Second liberal-democratic revolution. Abdication of the dynasty (on February 27, according to the old calendar). Proclamation of liberty and self-determination for the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the empire and beginning disintegration of the Muscovite colonial empire. On March 12th, return of Dzugashvili-Stalin from exile and on April 3rd, return of Ulyanov-Lenin from emigration to Petersburg (Petrograd).

1917 On October 26th or November 7th¹ coup d'état by the Ulyanov group, the setting of a dictatorship, and the beginning of the Bolshevik counter-revolution and the reign of terror.

1918 March 3rd — signing of the peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany and her allies. The severing of Poland, Ukraine, Georgia and the Baltic countries from Moscow.

1918-22 (partly up to 1924 and 1926) Struggle of the colonial peoples against the new central power. Attainment of complete state sovereignty by Estonia (February 2, 1920), Finland (October 14,

¹ Depending on whether the old Moscow calendar or the new west European calendar is used.

1920), Lithuania (July 12, 1920), Latvia (August 11, 1920), Poland (March 18, 1921), and temporarily also by Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan. Bessarabia is returned to Rumania. Three quarters of the empire gain their freedom from the metropolis. Counter-offensive by the metropolis, re-conquest and subjugation of the eastern part of White Ruthenia (July 1920), Ukraine (autumn of 1920), Georgia (February 1921), Siberia and the Far East (autumn of 1920), Kazakhstan and central Asia (1918-1924) etc.

1921-24 Severance of Outer Mongolia from China and conversion of Mongolia into a satellite of Moscow. Formal conclusion of the restoration of the Muscovite colonial empire through the establishment of the so-called "Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" on December 30, 1922.

1924 Suppression of another uprising in Georgia.

1929-39 Build-up of the economic and military power of the empire by means of 5-Year Plans for preparing a further expansion.

1939 Aggressive alliance with Hitler (August 23rd) for the purpose of subjugating Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Bessarabia. Invasion of Poland (September 17th), division of Poland between Hitler and Stalin, annexation of the western parts of Ukraine and White Ruthenia through a formal resolution taken by the Supreme Soviet on November 1st and 2nd, 1939. Occupation of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia and war of aggression against Finland (November 29, 1939 to March 12, 1940). Annexation of Finnish territories.

1940 Annexation of Bessarabia and the northern part of the Bukovina (June 28th). Incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (August 3rd to 6th, 1940). Claim to the whole of Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the neutralization of Sweden, and free passage through the straits between Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

1941-45 War with Hitler's Germany because of clashing imperialist aims in eastern Europe, south-east Europe, northern Europe and the Near East. At the initial stage, defeat of the empire. The Germans at the gates of Moscow (October-December 1941). The German offensive miscarries because of Hitler's completely unappreciative and wrong attitude toward the peoples of the Muscovite empire.

1944 Seizure of Tannu Tuva in central Asia.

1944-45 Invasion of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and Germany. Renewed incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania,

Bessarabia, north Bukovina, the western parts of White Ruthenia and Ukraine, as well as of the Finnish territories with the cities Vipori (Vyborg) and Petsamo (Pechenga), the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine and the annexation of the northern part of East Prussia with the city of Königsberg. Attack on Japan (August 9th), invasion of Manchuria, capture of Port Arthur and the annexation of the southern end of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

1944-48 Conversion of Poland, occupied by Soviet forces, into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Poland, cloaked as the "United Workers' Party".

1944-48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Bulgaria into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Bulgaria, cloaked as the "Patriotic Front".

1944-48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Rumania into a satellite colony through a coup d'état carried out by a Muscovite agency in Rumania, cloaked as the "Rumanian Workers' Party" (December 30, 1947).

1945-48 Conversion of Soviet-occupied Hungary into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Hungary, cloaked as the "Party of the Working Population".

1944-48 Albania's conversion into a satellite colony by means of a Muscovite agency in Albania, cloaked as the "Albanian Labour Party".

1945 Restoration of Czecho-Slovakia as a satellite colony of Moscow.

1945-49 Conversion of the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany into a satellite through a group of agents led by Ulbricht and a Muscovite agency in Germany cloaked as a "Socialist Unity Party".¹

1948 Blockade of West Berlin miscarries because of the opposition put up by the Berlin population with the assistance of the Western powers (airlift).

1950-53 Participation in the attack on South Korea. After heavy fighting the attack fails because of the resistance of the Koreans aided by the Western powers.

1953 Suppression of an uprising in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany through the employment of Soviet tanks, on June 17th. The uprising is supported in particular by the workers of Berlin.

¹ Authentic description of the event by a former member of the Ulbricht group, Wolfgang Leonhard, in his book "The Revolution Discharges its Children", published by Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, Cologne-Berlin.

NEWS AND VIEWS:

William Safire

UKRAINE MARCHES OUT

Kyiv, Ukraine — “Unprincipled” is the word used to describe President Bush by Mykhailo Horyn, a former political prisoner and founder of Rukh, the Ukrainian independence movement. “We prefer Thomas Jefferson.”

Fighters for a Ukraine free of Russian imperial rule are still smarting at Mr. Bush’s speech in Kyiv this summer blasting “suicidal nationalism” and touting the Gorbachev center.

That misreading of the forces of history in his “chicken Kyiv” speech not only made one American President appear to be anti-liberty, but jeopardized our relations with an emerging European power.

Ukraine (the article “the” is dropped when referring to a country, not a province) is a great, hobnailed boot that will drop on Dec. 1 on top of Moscow center’s pretensions to empire. On that day of referendum, at least two out of three Ukrainians are likely to vote to assert their country’s national sovereignty. On that day, the Soviet “union” will die.

The courageous early move of the Baltic states was the key to disunion, but the departure of Ukraine is the sledgehammer blow. Imagine the United States without its southeastern quadrant; subtract the old Confederacy from our map to get an idea of what an impact on Russian colonialism the separation of Ukraine’s 52 million people and productive capacity will have.

On the overnight train from Moscow to Kyiv, the visitor gets a notion of the potential richness of the land. Black loam, intensive cultivation and a friendly climate add up to food production and economic power as soon as

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1956 Suppression of an attempt at liberation by the Polish people, in particular the working population of Posen (Polish October).

1956 Bloody suppression of the national revolution in Hungary, led by the workers and students of Budapest, through the large-scale employment of Soviet-armed forces.

1958 After overcoming the crisis a renewed stiffening of the control measures over the satellites by means of a Muscovite colonial administration, cloaked as the “Council for Mutual Economic Aid”; increasing intervention in the domestic affairs of Finland and Austria, economic and propagandistic offensive in the developing countries, particularly in India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Syria, Egypt, Irak, Afghanistan, Cuba, Mexico, Guinea,

the Congo and other countries in Africa; struggle with China for supremacy in Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet.

1959/60 Menacing West Berlin by serving an ultimatum, breaking up the Summit Conference in Paris (May 1960) and threatening to use nuclear missiles; official announcements of the aim to gain all-out world domination, and new flights into space.

1961 August 13th: Violation of the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin: The building of a Wall to separate East Berlin from West Berlin; preparing a sham treaty with Moscow’s hirelings in Pankow on a formal severance of central Germany from all-Germany.

frustrated farmers are given transportation and the incentives of private property and personal gain. This is potentially France, not Bangladesh.

We should shake free of our old question (What will independence do to the Soviet Union? How will Russia survive without its breadbasket?) and address the new: What sort of nation will Ukraine be?

Strongly nationalistic, for openers. The word “Ukraine” means “borderland”; its Catholic west faces Europe, its Greek Orthodox east faces Asia. To win the coming referendum, the Ukrainians in the west have been actively selling the Russian-speaking population in the east (including those in the Crimea, a Black Sea gift to Ukraine from Khrushchev) on the glories of nationhood.

Opportunistic, too. The candidate leading the race for the presidency is Leonid Kravchuk, a longtime Communist subservient to the Kremlin and silent during the coup who has undergone a miraculous conversion to independence. He has stolen the Rukh opposition’s platform, and if he gets away with the flip-flop, it will be a measure of the populace’s desire for freedom from Moscow without too much change at home.

And Ukraine may spell trouble. American policy makers worry about plans announced in Kyiv for a 400,000-man army, but that is a third of the Red Army troops now stationed here and may be a device for shipping the Russians home while keeping Ukrainian troops employed. The real trouble will be in enticing the new nation into giving up its nuclear weapons.

Even with milk in Kyiv still suspect after the Chernobyl meltdown, Ukrainian politicians, are not eager to give up the Soviet nuclear missiles located on their territory. Privately, some Kyivans say that these weapons are bargaining chips for Russian co-operation on oil-for-grain trade and for Western help.

The center, as the poet Yeats predicted, cannot hold. We should stop supporting the Moscow center and stop lecturing the Ukrainians on the need to ship the missiles to responsible Russia. That simplistic Bush-Gorbachev approach, typical of the offensive “chicken Kyiv” speech, won’t work.

Instead, as Russia’s Foreign Minister, Andrei Kozyrev, hints, Washington should negotiate through the center’s paper union with Russia, Ukraine and the other nuclear republics to dismantle land-based ICBM’s until a level is reached at which the only missiles remaining happen to be on the Russian Republic’s soil. The criterion need not be insultingly geographic to bring about that stabilizing result.

Complex? You bet. But with Ukraine as a player, Washington will have to stop wishing for the good old days of union dictatorship.

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FATHER YAROSLAV LESIV KILLED



The Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church reported with great sadness the death of Father Yaroslav Lesiv on October 10, 1991. Father Lesiv was killed in an automobile accident while travelling from his village of Bolekhiv to the city of Ivano-Frankivsk. Ordained a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church three years ago, Father Lesiv was dean of the Dolyna Deanery. Active in the underground movement of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church prior to his ordination, he was imprisoned for his faith and lost nearly 75 percent of his vision as a

result of these incarcerations. A prolific writer, Father Lesiv authored many poems and essays about the life of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the underground as well as the struggle for a free Ukraine.

25 Years since the death of Prince Nakashidze

A Look Back at ABN History...

Prince Niko Nakashidze had joined ABN as a representative for Georgia, and held the position of Secretary-General from 1954 until his sudden death in 1966.

Prince Nakashidze's political activism spanned throughout his lifetime. After completion of his education at the Petersburg Military Academy, he pursued the career of an officer. Upon Georgia's declaration of independence in 1918, he became politically active in the Georgian National Democratic Party. When Georgia fell under Russian rule again in 1921, Prince Nakashidze was arrested; and in 1922, he was banished from the country. He found asylum in Germany and studied law and political science at the University of Berlin. For many years, Prince Nakashidze was also the president of the Georgian colony in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Prince Nakashidze was remembered by colleagues and friends as a man of noble spirit, uncompromising love for his nation, and a tireless promoter of the cause of freedom for all nations.



Prince Niko Nakashidze
Jan. 25, 1899 — May 22, 1966

SEASON'S GREETINGS

*In this most eventful year, we thank our readers and friends
for their continued support.*



by Bobdan Soroka

*Wishing you a very Merry Christmas
and a
Happy and Joyous New Year.*

ABN CENTRAL COMMITTEE