

ABN

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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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A word from the editor...

March 5th marks the 45th anniversary of the heroic death of Roman Shukhevych while fighting against the Soviet occupying forces in Ukraine in 1950. He was more widely-known as General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who fought against totalitarianism (both anti-Soviet and anti-Nazi). The principles, which General Shukhevych-Chuprynka fought and died for, have remained the mainstay of the Ukrainian national movement to this day. These ideas were not only the principles of the armed struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for the independence of the Ukrainian nation, but they were the basic human rights recognised by international treaties and agreements which comprise the fundamental values of our civilisation. The basic principle of freedom for the individual is not separable from the right to self-determination within a national group.

General Shukhevych-Chuprynka believed that materialism, which is foreign to the European mentality should be rejected in favour of spiritualism by respecting human dignity as the fundamental value embodied in social laws. Human dignity and freedom for the individual can only be safeguarded in a democratic system, where the individual is responsible for his/her actions and has the capability of self-expression within a just society. This free individual will move toward solidarity with the unfortunate who require help from another or from society.

The ideas of the Ukrainian national movement were never of an aggressive nature, only of a defensive one. The movement always sought alliances with other captive nations. In fact, many non-Ukrainians fought among the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The idea of an alliance of all nations subjugated or threatened by Russian imperialism was also the motivating force behind the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the death of General Shukhevych-Chuprynka is a sad reminder that the struggle of Shukhevych has unfortunately been continued by another nation today – Chechnya. As was the case 45 years ago when the most brutal methods were used to suppress the independence movement of Ukraine, today, occupying armed forces are destroying what is left of Chechnya's capital city of Grozny. The only crime of the Chechens is their desire and will for self-determination and independence.

We believe in the ethical evolution of humankind. The three monotheistic religions including the Muslim faith to which the Chechens belong believe that tears shed because of injustice are never in vain.

In the last editorial, we once again returned to the fact the "Moscow does not believe in tears". And we don't believe in Moscow's crocodile tears... But we do know that the ideas that Shukhevych-Chuprynka fought for were realised in Ukraine, and we hope that the struggle for independence of Chechnya will also be victorious!

APPEAL

to the Governments of the Free World

The Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations brings to your attention its gravest concern at the tragic events that have overtaken the Chechen people in recent weeks, and request that you assert your pressure on the Russian Government to end its terrorism in Chechnya.

In the 1940s Stalin chose to deport en masse to Kazakhstan the whole of the Chechen people. This action was taken to discourage them once and for all from their centuries old struggle for independence and self-determination. However, it did not work as the Chechen people managed to survive this uprooting and subsequently returned to live their life as a nation intact on their native soil once again. Three years ago when the Soviet Union fell apart, Chechnya declared itself independent of the Russian Federation. Unfortunately, Russia shows itself incapable once again of coping in a civilized and reasonable manner with the Chechen people's on-going legitimate demands for it has decided to "save the Chechen people from themselves" by use of armed force.

In the past weeks the world has witnessed how readily Russia – a founding member of the United Nations Organisation, a member of the United Nations Security Council, a cosignatory of the Charter of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accord, a co-founder of the CSCE – renewed its reliance on armed might to impose its will on peoples, who refuse to submit to its rule.

The Russian military assault on Chechnya constitutes a direct threat to the national security of the nations of the region, and, by extension, to European stability in general.

We particularly feel that now, in the Chechen people's hour of need, that European, and Western Governments generally, should publicly declare in a clear and unequivocal manner their contempt and abhorrence for what Russia is doing

to the Chechen nation. We strongly urge all governments to condemn Russia's outrageous behaviour in Chechnya for it breaks the letter and spirit of all relevant and national agreements and is completely alien to civilized standards of behaviour. Furthermore, we urge governments to demand that Russian troops be ordered to stand down and withdraw from Chechnya under the supervision of a UN peacekeeping force. Any demands of a lesser nature can only encourage Russian state terrorism in the Caucasus to continue. Once Russia is finally made to realize by the international community that its appallingly inhumane treatment of the Chechen people is completely unacceptable in the civilized democratic world, we feel that only then will the major disaster that is awaiting Chechnya be averted.

We feel that the countries of the free world must act concertedly to save the Chechen people from an imminent tragedy.

For the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations:

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Munich, 19th January 1995

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January 17th, 1995

PROTEST AGAINST MOSCOW'S WAR ON CHECHNYA

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev voiced again Moscow's traditional contempt for international conventions of civilised behaviour when he recently defended this neocolonial war by stating that the path to national unity "sometimes leads through tragedy and bloodshed. We are not the first or the only ones to spill blood to keep our state in tact."

We condemn this callous and cynical attempt to justify the preservation of what remains of the Russian empire and the establishment of a precedent for possible overt acts of aggression against the newly independent nations of the so-called "near abroad".

Civilised states preserve their national unity through a democratic political process not through genocidal practices against an entire nation which refuses to be part of a murderous empire. In that respect, Moscow's military assault on Chechnya is neither a "civil war" nor an "internal matter" of the Russian Federation, but yet another brutal attempt in Moscow's almost 200-year long campaign to crush the Chechen people into submission.

Russia's current war on Chechnya poses a direct threat to the security of all other nations in the region, undermines stability both in Europe and Asia and is already adversely affecting international relations.

A protest demonstration against Moscow's war on Chechnya in front of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Ottawa on January 28th has demanded:

1. cessation of hostilities in Chechnya;
2. Russian withdrawal from Chechnya;
3. resolution of the conflict under UN supervision; and
4. national, human and self-determination rights for the Chechen nation.

Sponsoring organisations: League of Ukrainian Canadians, League of Ukrainian Women in Canada, Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada, Society of Veterans of UPA, University of Toronto Ukrainian Students' Club, Croatian Liberation Movement, Bosnian Canadian Community Association, Bosnian Canadian Relief Association, Bulgarian National Front, Lithuanian Canadian Community, Estonian Central Council, Latvian National Federation of Canada, Latvian Relief Society, Slovenian National Federation of Canada, Romanian World Congress.

**UKRAINIAN WORLD CONGRESS
CONGRES MONDIAL UKRAINIEN
CONGRESSO MUNDIAL UCRAINO**

December 21, 1994

His Excellency Dr. Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations
United Nations
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary General,

The Ukrainian World Congress considers Moscow's decision to solve by force of arms its political differences with Chechnya as a threat to regional and European security and an ominous reversal to Russian imperialist policies of the past.

The plight of the Chechen people, who fell victim to Russia's colonial expansion in the XIX century and have been persecuted much of the XX century, must be resolved justly and peacefully. The national and human rights of the Chechen people must be restored – including their right to self-determination.

We appeal to you, Mr. Secretary General, to use your good offices to help resolve the Russian-Chechen conflict, in accordance with the United Nations mandate in the area of defense of human rights and colonial peoples.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. O. Cipywnyk
President

cc. His Excellency Anatoly Zlenko,
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN, Ambassador.

**LEAGUE OF UKRAINIAN CANADIANS
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE**

21 December 1994

The Right Hon. Jean Chretien
Prime Minister of Canada
Office of the Prime Minister
Langevin Block, Suite 102
OTTAWA, ON K1A 0A2

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

We are alarmed at Russia's renewed reliance on armed might to impose its will on peoples who refuse to submit to its rule.

The Russian military assault on Chechnya constitutes a direct threat to national security of the nations of the region and, by extension, to European stability in general.

After more than 130 years of Russian colonialism and oppression the Chechen people deserve that their national, human and self-determination rights be at least restored and respected by Moscow.

We appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to urge the Russian Government to resolve its historical dispute with Chechnya through just and peaceful means.

Sincerely yours,

Oleh Romanyshyn
President

New Group Monitors Chechen Events

KYIV (Ukrinform) — An international commission has been set up on January 10, to handle humanitarian assistance to Chechnya and investigate reports of human rights violations in the republic and the Caucasian region as a whole. This was revealed at a press conference in Kyiv, by the commission's chairman, Oleksiy Sitenko, a member of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences. The commission will organize activities to raise funds, to buy and transport medicine, warm clothes and food to Chechnya, to look for ways to bring the conflict to an early end and monitor observance of human rights, as well as the right of every nation to self-determination, Sitenko said.

Appeal

of People's Deputies of Ukraine

to the Secretary General

of the United Nations Organisation

Dear Mr. Boutros Ghali,

We, the Deputies of the Supreme Rada [Parliament] of Ukraine, are deeply concerned about the events in the [Chechen] Republic of Ichkeria.

In implementing its imperialist policies, the Government of the Russian Federation is resorting to measures inadmissible in the civilised world – the physical destruction of the Chechen people.

The modern military might of a great power has been unleashed against a small people with the utmost cruelty: bombing raids and rocket attacks are being carried out against the civilian population, which has already resulted in widescale casualties.

Russia's punitive military operation in Ichkeria is tantamount to a policy of genocide against the Chechen people. This is being implemented simply because this small freedom-loving people expressed the desire to exercise its right to self-determination and statehood.

Russia's savage action against the Chechen people became possible only because the world community adopted the shameful position of passive observer on the grounds that this is allegedly an internal problem of Russia.

This attitude discredits the world community, inasmuch as a whole series of legal acts, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is being violated.

The events in the North Caucasus have not only destabilised this area; they may well have dangerous repercussions for international security.

We urge you, Mr. Secretary General, to use all the means at your disposal to halt the bloodshed in Ichkeria, and to this end make the following proposals:

1. that UN observers be sent to the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria;
2. that an extraordinary session of the UN be convened on halting the bloodshed in the North Caucasus.

Peoples Deputies of Ukraine

World Muslim Congress Appeal: STOP WAR AND SUPPORT CHECHENS

Senator Raja Mohammad Zafarul Haq, the Secretary-General, in a press release issued on 4th January, 1995, urges:

“While we salute the valour and commitment to their independence and their faith in their Creator, the people of the Republic of Chechnya, deserve our full support. I have already written to the Member States of O.I.C. through the Secretary-General Dr. Hamid Algabid. I also appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the High Commissioner for Human Rights as well as to the NGOs and the people of conscience who care for human rights, to raise their voice against the brutal attacks by the Russian army against the freedom loving people of the Chechen Republic. Indiscriminate bombing of the civil areas is causing the loss of countless lives. The atmosphere of acceptability of the Russian Republic as a civilised democratic entity which for a time tried to delink itself from the colonial past, is fast vanishing in the world in general, and in the minds of Muslims in particular. Their brutal venture in the Chechen Republic is brewing a bigger disaster for them than what they had to face after several years of killings in Afghanistan. It is a matter of satisfaction that there are people of conscience within the Russian Republic who have raised their voices against this genocide.

I appeal to the President of Russia to immediately order a ceasefire and to withdraw their forces in order to avoid further bloodshed and to restore the democratic image of the Russian Federation.”

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, No. 29.

Call to Support Chechens

Muslim countries were urged on 18 Dec to help Chechnya in a comment in a daily newspaper in Abu Dhabi which said they had a duty to give the breakaway republic financial and moral support.

“The Chechens, faced with the Russian aggression, need the support of the Muslim world,’ the daily *Al-Wadha*, which is close to the United Arab Emirates government, said in an editorial.

‘Having pledged to resist until death after declaring their independence from Russia and their commitment to the Islamic faith, it is the Muslim world’s duty to help them financially and morally.’

The Abu Dhabi newspaper called on ‘Islamic states to adopt a firm stance to protect the Muslim Chechen people from Russian aggression,’ condemning the international community’s silence on the conflict.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, Nos. 26 & 27.

Appeal on behalf of the Chechens and other enslaved peoples of the Russian Federation

AN OPEN LETTER TO
The President of the United States
William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington DC

Mr. President,

From the graveside of butchered Chechen men, women and children, on behalf of their not yet butchered kinsmen we appeal to You, Mr. President, as the foremost political leader of the Free World, asking you to do everything in your power to stop the senseless Russian barbarism in Chechnya.

As a human rights organisation we should speak about human rights and the right to self-determination of even small nations and especially of the colonial peoples. Seeing the proud record of the defense of Western values in Bosnia and elsewhere so far by your government and the governments of your allies we deem it useless to speak of the principles for which so many Americans have given their lives in past times. Besides, others have already appealed to them. May we speak about historical realities and political interests instead, and of the picture you will leave in the history books of your short-lived presidency, Mr. President.

Even the most inept member of the pro-Moscow lobby of your State Department (Alger, Hiss, Talbott et al.) probably would not say today that Finns or Poles are Russians. Alas, less than 80 years ago we were enslaved (Poland being a heap of Russian provinces, the autonomy of the Grand-Duchy of Finland severely curtailed) by the Russian Empire, rightly considered by your esteemed predecessors as "a prison of nations". Poland has been forcibly annexed by Russia in 1772-1815, Finland in 1808 (Estonia and Latvia in 1721, Lithuania in 1775, Georgia in 1801, Chechnya among the last Russian colonial annexations finally in 1859 – and actively revolting at least once in every generation since then).

The ravages of the Soviet period finished off almost 50% of almost 200 ethnic entities of Czarist Russia. Whole populations, among them the Chechens, Ingushetians, Crimean Tartars, Finnish-speaking Ingrians from the surroundings of St. Petersburg, were deported from their ancestral homelands for many decenniums.

In those times the words 'Soviet' and 'Russian' were wrongly used as synonyms in the West. Now of the 'Russian' colonial provinces those which during the Soviet era rose to the status of 'Soviet republics' have established themselves as certainly non-Russian independent nations. There is no logical reason why other peoples, living in their ancestral homelands in the mock 'autonomous' republics or regions in the Russian Federation, should not have the same right to self-determination if they so wish – and the Chechens have most certainly shown their desire at least ten times since 1859. There is a good method to determine the extent of their wish: an internationally supervised referendum.

Only after 22 years of Finnish independence the Soviets tried to bring us back into the 'Russian' fold, as they succeeded in doing i.e. in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. As you must know from your history books, the Finns fought back ferociously, wanting rather to die than be enslaved by Russians again. Five years later a second effort was made, but the only Soviet Army troop which did not reach its targets was the one targeted to Helsinki. The bones of those soldiers lie in the Karelian woods. So we know the mood of the Chechens and the Afghans under Soviet occupation – and it would be wise for you and your administration not to underestimate that feeling if you really wish to contribute to peaceful development among the debris of the Russian empire.

In the first human rights conference on Russian soil ever, in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) in 1990, the representative of Yakutia (Saha) in his official speech said (approximately): "We have not got from the Russians anything but alcohol, venereal diseases and industrial pollution, but they have taken our gold and diamonds for their imperial needs in Moscow." If you do send your representative to the other end of the Russian Federation, to the Karelian 'autonomous' republic, he or she would hear exactly the same thought in Petrozavodsk as cited here from Yakutsk. Even in ethnically Russian provinces dissatisfaction with the neglect and arrogance shown by the central authorities and with the economic slavery imposed by them is quite common.

Mr. President, your declaration that the Chechen war is an internal Russian affair, and the continuation of "business as usual" in your dealings with Moscow, are felt like a slap in the face of Europeans east of the former Berlin Wall. By 'backing' President Yeltsin in this affair, do you know whom you are really backing? And how far can you go on supporting new transgressions of the new neo-imperialists behind the unstable Russian throne? Your predecessor let down the independent Republic of Georgia in favour of the usurper Shevardnadze who has welcomed a Russian occupation and accepted a CIS membership on his own, without the consent of even his specially-elected 'parliament'. Now your administration has let down the courageous Russian democrats, Mr. Gaidar, Mr. Javlinski, and many of the academic community, who have tried to break with the Russian tradition of knout rule, and the human rights leaders like Mr. Kovalev who personally try to prevent Russian atrocities in Grozny. And you have sown the seeds of

deep distrust of Western intentions – again! – in all the borderlands of Russia from Estonia to Kirgisia. You have given great encouragement to the Red-Brown neo-imperialists, who even have Finland and Poland on their new maps of “Russia reborn”.

“A big nation should not be humiliated.” That is a very curious argument we have heard in favour of condoning the policies of Moscow. Everybody can see the havoc and destruction wrought upon their beautiful, sparsely inhabited and potentially rich country by Russians themselves, and their need of every sort of help and assistance so that the country can be made habitable again. Would it not be consistent with their situation that they should have a bit of humility?

As an excuse for his Chechen campaign Mr. Yeltsin and his disinformation network do use the time-honored Soviet trick of accusing the Chechens and their elected President Mr. Dudaev of almost every kind of crime. You should remember that everybody who made a successful escape over the Berlin Wall or over the Finnish border was according to official Soviet (or East German) statements either a criminal or a pervert. May we assure that even if all members of the tiny Chechen minority who live outside Chechnya proper should be shot or deported to the Gulag (time-honored Russian traditions) the rampant criminality in very bestial forms (also a time-honored Russian tradition) would not diminish recognizably. Everybody knows that the Russians should look in the mirror first before accusing anybody else of wrongdoings.

Mr. President, since the Helsinki Agreements of the CSCE in 1975 and especially since the Paris Charter of 1990, violence against its own citizens is not an internal affair of any signatory state, and all the others have the right, and even the moral duty, to interfere at least with words of advice and censure, and even with sanctions. A colonial rule against the will of the subject people is even against the accepted universal policies of the United Nations.

Mr. President, the backing of a centralised power structure in Russia is not in the interest of the Free World. We should not feed the now weak Russian Bear until it grows strong again and gets its old bad habits of knout rule and imperialism in tact again. A centralised power structure in Russia is not in the interest of the Russian or non-Russian populations of the present Russian Federation. The only peaceful and lasting solution of the Russian problem is to make the present mock ‘federation’ a real one, where small ethnic units and the ethnically Russian provinces all have real autonomy in their own affairs – and give the nations that want to go their own way, like the Finns and the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Kirgizians and many other before, to do so.

And, Mr. President, looking at the treatment meted to the Moslem Bosnians and to the Moslem Chechens with the help of your administration and of its allies, you are bringing about a severe confrontation between the Christian West and the Moslem East, a mess which your successors may have difficulty in coping with.

Mr. President, what will future historians write of you? A weakling, missing the point in foreign policy, misled by latter day Alger-Hissians?

Hoping for a leadership of the Free World worthy of the memory of your great predecessors Woodrow Wilson, (we don't mention the man of the sell out to Russians in the 1940's), Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan, we remain

Respectfully yours,

SUOMEN HELSINKI-RYHMÄ ry
THE HELSINKI GROUP OF FINLAND

Heimo Rantala
Chairman

Heikki Eskelinen
Vice-Chairman

Sisko Vienonen
Secretary

Oil, Key to Russian Attack

The conflict in Chechnya has huge implications for both Russia's domestic oil industry and the growing number of Western exploration companies seeking to expand in the former Soviet Union, observed *Guardian* columnist Patrick Donovan.

Despite its tiny size, Chechnya is a vital staging post in Russia's main oil-pipeline system. Just outside the worn-torn capital of Grozny is the junction of two major pipelines. One transports crude oil from the huge offshore oil fields in Baku, Azerbaijan, while another takes it to Novorossisk on the Black Sea. Grozny was once an important refining center, although its output has been slashed in the past five years.

Western analysts warn that Russia's oil industry would be dealt a severe blow if either of these pipelines was blocked. It could greatly reduced petroleum refining capacity, as the network carries feedstock to the main Azerbaijani refineries in Baku – the third most important refining center is in the former Soviet Union.

Disruption of the pipelines could also result in shortages of oil, particularly among heavy industrial users in Siberia and the Russian Far East. In the longer term the hostilities could damage Russia's hopes of attracting Western investment to its capital-starved oil industry.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, Nos. 26 & 27.

Moscow's Accomplice; Official U.S. spokesmen vilify Chechen Victims

Chechnya could become the graveyard of America's moral reputation. Ever since its birth, America, more than anything else, has stood for freedom and human rights. The world knew that even if unable to help directly, America at least was sympathetic to the cause of others' freedom. Tibetans, Kurds and others sense that today, just as Hungarians, Poles and others knew it yesterday. That is what made America, in the eyes of the world's oppressed, the land of liberty. It had precious little to do with America's willingness or ability to become engaged in the struggle against the oppression as such. It had everything to do with the sense of identification – with the feeling of a shared cause. Yet today, when helpless Chechens are being blasted to smithereens because they dared to reach out for independence, America is not only indifferent but its official spokesmen have joined the oppressors in actually vilifying the victims and justifying the oppression. This has never happened before, in the entire history of this country. This is not only wrong, but unwise from a *Realpolitik* point of view.

Last December *The Washington Post* reported a briefing by a senior State Department official in which the Chechens were portrayed almost in racist terms as troublemakers and as the villains of the unfolding tragedy. Their leader, Gen. Dzhokhar Dudayev, who has put his life on the line, was personally maligned by the anonymous briefer. Yet Dudayev is the man who Estonians gratefully recall commanded the Soviet Air Force in Tallinn in the final months of the Soviet Union – and refused to join in the suppression of the national movement for Estonia's independence before returning to his homeland.

The line out of the State Department and the White House has basically corresponded to the official Russian version. According to it, at stake is law and order, which needs to be restored, and the preservation of Russia. No reference to the failed Russian efforts to destabilize Chechnya through hired thugs and disguised Russian mercenaries; no mention of the tragic history of the Chechens, of their prolonged struggle for independence and of their Kremlin-mandated near-genocide fifty years ago. Similarly, no admission that perhaps some of their complaints might have some moral or historical legitimacy.

The vicious vilification of the Chechens has been buttressed by a legitimization of the use of force that is similarly wrongheaded and distorted.

Both the administration and the Kremlin officials addressing Americans have drawn analogies to the American Civil War. (The State Department briefing of January 3 made that point explicitly.) Yet that ridiculous comparison overlooks the fundamental difference. Northern

Americans fought southern Americans in the Civil War; but this is not northern Russians who are fighting southern Russians in Chechnya. Chechens are not Russians and do not wish to be Russians, to put it mildly. They are a conquered people, ethnically and religiously different from the Russians. If an analogy is needed to put Chechnya in the American context, then it is not the American Civil War that is helpful to our understanding but the case of Puerto Rico. A society similarly on the territorial fringe of the United States, culturally and historically distinctive, Puerto Rico was given the choice of statehood, independence or commonwealth – and it exercised that choice in a free vote. Might that example not offer a more civilized solution for the dilemmas posed by Chechnya than the heavy bombing of its capital and the mass killings of its people?

The failure to make some of these points – while also urging Moscow to exercise patience and to focus on negotiations – is not only morally reprehensible, it is not even good foreign policy.

One might suspect that the administration thinks it is being realistic in supporting Boris Yeltsin in Chechnya. But it surely is in the American interest to identify itself with the democratic forces in Russia today, which overwhelmingly condemn the military action – just as the United States did in the recent past when it supported Andrei Sakharov against Leonid Brezhnev on human rights and when it sympathised with Yeltsin's repudiation of Mikhail Gorbachev's use of force against the freedom-seeking Lithuanians.

There is shameful irony in a situation in which the United States is backing a Russian policy that is most strongly endorsed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The true friends of Russia are not those in the administration who shed crocodile tears over Moscow's allegedly painful dilemmas regarding Chechnya. The true friends are the ones who are willing to support the people in Russia who speak out against brutality that can be neither hidden nor justified – and that augurs badly for the future of democracy in Russia. American-Russian relations would not have been hurt if the administration had simply stated that while in a formal sense Chechnya may be an internal issue of the Russian Federation, how Russia conducts itself is a matter of true concern to the global community of democratic states.

To their credit, America's European friends have not hesitated to speak up. The Swedish foreign minister said simply: "What is now happening in Chechnya is unacceptable." the German foreign minister, among others, similarly deplored the disproportionate excess of the Russian action, while Chancellor Helmut Kohl's foreign policy expert condemned Russia's abuse of human rights in Chechnya and warned that Russia could wreck its relations with the West. Even vulnerable Ukraine went on record in expressing concern. The administration shames America by not speaking up.

Zbigniew Brzezinski was President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser.

Does the Russian Constitution Justify an Offence against Chechnya?

The Chechen War in the Light of the Constitution of the Russian Federation

In connection with the Chechen war Boris Yeltsin, the President of Russia has constantly referred to the Russian constitution adopted after the referendum of the 12th of December 1993. We, Finnish lawyers, were able to hear from Dr. Mitchenko, representative of the Institution of the U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, at a Conference of Legal Science in the town of Vaasa on the 13th of December 1994 that the Russian Constitution; "this one year old child is having it's first birthday and is well". At the same time Russian airplanes were bombarding Grozny to put an end to the independence of the Chechen Republic – Ichkeria. Yet, it has to be mentioned that he was the only representative of the Russian delegation of six persons to accept such actions against Chechnya.

Russian Constitution Emphasizes Human Rights

The constitution of the Russian Federation is "beautiful like a small child." Drafted by specialists, it is considered modern. It connects the traditional western freedoms of citizens to the citizen's economical, social and cultural rights, which were crucial in the socialist tradition. It declares Russia to follow the rule of law, to be a social state (art. 7,1) and lists rights to dwelling, employment, minimum wage (art. 7,2) and explains important rights of an individual in criminal law (art. 47-51). Human rights are specially emphasized. They are under special protection of the president (art. 80,2). A conflict is evident because the unity of the federation is under the same protection. Chechnya shows that unity is more important for the president than protection of human rights.

Human rights have been protected also by imposing that "universally recognised norms of international law and international agreements of the Russian Federation are an integral part of it's legal system. If an international agreement of the Russian Federation fixes other rules than those envisaged by law, the rules of the international agreement are used". (art. 15,4)

Securing constitutionality of Russian laws and international agreements is a duty of the Constitutional Court of the Federation. It has

not declared invalid the numerous treaties on human rights adopted by Russia, neither the treaty prohibiting the use of chemical weapons. Still it is not that unusual that a president could interpret the constitution in his own personal way. But, in the case of Russia there has been a long tradition of this. It does not matter how excellent the constitution is if laws and agreements are supposed to tie the state only when the state leaders find it convenient for them.

Russian Constitution Prohibits Propaganda

According to article 29 propaganda or agitation "instigating social, racial, national or religious hatred and strife are not allowed". The Yeltsin administration's information machinery has called all the Chechen people "bandits" and criminals and explained that the Russian mafia is an ethnic problem to be abolished by eliminating the "criminal leader of the Chechen mafia" Dzhokhar Dudayev. In reality, the mafia in Russia is a huge problem lurking in the structures of the society. Those who are responsible for that problem are most likely the Kremlin communist leaders. Since the declaration of independence of Chechnya-Ichkeria, official Russian information concerning "Chechens" has resembled the well-known propaganda of Josef Goebbels about the Jewish conspiracy, during Hitler's regime aimed at the elimination of a complete people.

Russian Constitution gives a lot of Power to the President

The main bodies of federal state authority are the President, the Federal Assembly consisting of the State Duma and the Council of the Federation, the Government of the Federation, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court of the Federation and the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Federation (art. 11).

The president determines the basic guidelines of both internal and foreign policy (art. 80,3) and governs foreign policy (art. 86). He has a lot of power of nomination (art. 83) and the right of veto to federal laws (art.107). If the State Duma casts a no-confidence vote to the Government, the President can either announce the resignation of the government or dissolve the Duma, when there has been a no-confidence vote for a second time within three months (art. 117,3). The president also solves disputes between bodies of both the state authority of the federation and the subjects of the federation (art. 85). The president also approves the military doctrine (art. 83 h) and is the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (art. 87,1). The constitution also gives the president the power to form additional state authorities determined by federal law like the Security Council (art. 83 g).

During the Chechen war the Security Council headed and formed by the President has decided on everything concerning the war. The President has neither declared a state of war (art. 87,2 and 102, 1b) nor state of emergency (art. 88 and 102, 1c) according to the constitution. Constant refusal to negotiate with Chechen state leadership ever since the declaration of independence does not correspond to the role of negotiator defined by the constitution (art. 80,2 and 85). On the contrary, President Yeltsin has given the intelligence service a free hand to act in all possible ways including terrorism against Chechnya. Several times he has also sent troops there to "help the opposition". When this has not been of any help he started a large-scale war.

There has not been any armed rebellion started by Chechnya as the western leaders claim in their own statements. For some political or commercial reasons western politicians tend to believe Russian explanations which in Finland are called "the Mainila shots" – explanations. Also Stalin when he started the Winter War against Finland in 1939 claimed that this smaller country with a population smaller than the number of armed soldiers on the attackers side would have started the war. Even a fanatic muslim fundamentalist would not do such lunatic things. Why then would Chechens, who are tolerant in religious and ethnic aspects do anything so futile. Josef Goebbels is told to have said that when a lie is great enough it finally becomes the truth. Unfortunately, there also seems to be a strong need among the western leaders to believe totally absurd lies.

Chechnya is not a Constitutional Question

The structure of the Russian Federation is defined in Chapter 3 of the Constitution. All republics and other areas which are called the subjects of the federation are listed in Article 65. The list contains also those areas like Chechnya which had refused to take part in the referendum. Chechnya gave its declaration of independence as early as the 1st of November 1991. Free presidential elections took place on the 19th October 1991, and parliamentary elections on 27th October 1991. All this happened before the new Russian constitution was brought into force. President Dudayev has not declared himself a president nor seized power by arms like *Itar-Tass* and other "information" released by the Russian government had claimed. So, there is no need to arrange "democratic" elections by the Russians to find out who the Chechen people support. Western leaders should not suggest or even approve such a grotesque game.

Chechnya-Ichkeria has given a declaration of independence just like Finland did in 1917. Like Finland, Chechnya has been forced to be part of Russia. Any constitution enacted outside Chechnya cannot impose the duty to stay "an essential part" of Russia. The international status of Chechnya fulfills all the elements of *de facto* independence. Only the

recognition of Russia and Western countries is lacking. This makes the Chechnya question a subject of international law. It is also a subject of international law because of the grave violations of human rights committed by Russia.

The European Security Process has adopted the doctrine according to which human rights violations cannot be an internal question of the member countries. Even earlier, at least such grave violations as genocide have not been treated as an internal question by western international law.

Genocide is genocide even when the people under the aggression try to defend themselves with arms.

Unfortunately international politics governs international law and commercial advantages, even potential ones, have priority over human rights. The stronger the attacker is the more passive the international community becomes. No wonder the credibility of international law is seriously suffering. This causes both depression and cynicism and raises hatred against rich western countries in the area of the former Soviet Union. In the long run this is very dangerous policy.

Cruelty towards Chechens is not anything new in Russian history. Russia conquered Chechnya in 1859 after decades of warfare, astonishingly similar to Yeltsin's latest aggression.

During 1918-20 Chechnya was independent. In 1944 Stalin deported the whole Chechen people extremely violently to Central Asia. They could return in 1957 only to find their country russified and their property confiscated.

President Yeltsin has now risen to the same level as Stalin, at least when it comes to the Chechens.

It is surprising that colonialism is recognised in Africa, even in its neocolonial form, but not in Caucasia ruled by Russia. Western countries are reluctant to risk their potential Russian market even when a whole nation is being destroyed.

The events in Caucasia, in a broader extent, force one to draw the conclusion that western leaders do not consider former Soviet citizens humans at all, since they think that human rights do not apply to them. The struggle for human rights has been defined as an internal question of Russia

Not only Chechens but also the Russian people have been left alone once again.

Soili Nysten-Haarla has specialized in Russian and Caucasian affairs. She has also visited Chechnya last September. She works as a senior assistant in the law faculty of the University of Lapland. Her main specialities are foreign trade law, contract law and comparative law.

ODFFU Acts in Defense of Chechnya

The following is the text of a letter in defense of embattled Chechnya sent to President Clinton by the National Executive Board of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine. The board urges its branches, branches of the organizations of the Ukrainian State Front and all Ukrainian American civic organizations to send similar letters to the White House.

Dear President Clinton,

The Ukrainian American community is deeply concerned by the continuing tragedy in Chechnya. Since the initiation of direct military operations, Russia has laid waste the capital city of Grozny and many other towns and villages in the country. Thousands of innocent men, women and children have been killed or wounded by indiscriminate bombing by Russian forces. Thousands of refugees, with little food, clothing, shelter and medicine, have fled the Russian onslaught. There are reports that the country may now face a major epidemic.

The Chechens have always been a proud, fervently independent people. They fought a 30-year war against tsarist Russia in the last century. During communist Russian rule they were mercilessly oppressed and all 800,000 of them were deported to Kazakhstan and other regions of the Soviet Russian empire. Since declaring its independence in 1991, the Chechen nation has been subjected to covert and overt attempts to force them back into what remains of the Russian empire. Since December 1994, Russian forces invaded and have been conducting a war of total annihilation against the Chechen nation.

The heroic Chechen freedom fighters are outmanned, outgunned and their capital is in ruins as is most of the rest of their country. They face a huge military machine, which was to crush them in a matter of days but has yet, more than a month later, even to drive them out of the capital of Grozny. Today there should be no doubt that the Chechen nation is united in its determination to live free or die.

It is also beyond doubt that Russia has no humanitarian regard whatsoever for a nation, the members of which it claims are its citizens. Beyond the consideration of even the internationally recognized right of the Chechen nation to self-determination, independence and national self-defense, are the human rights of the Chechens to life itself, to life free of genocidal aggression.

It is high time for the United States and its allies to cease their perfunctory declarations of concern and lame appeals for greater restraint. Indeed, it is high time for the adoption of a clear policy which

recognizes Russia as the aggressor, which establishes that Russia's military campaign is a crime against humanity and which places the United States on the side of the heroic Chechen nation in its resistance to the reimposition of colonial rule over their country.

Therefore, the Ukrainian American community calls upon you, Mr. President, to recognize that the United States cannot continue to conduct relations with Russia in an atmosphere of business as usual. We call upon you, Mr. President, to condemn Russia's genocidal war, to withhold support for Russia and to impose sanctions against Russia until it ceases all military operations and withdraws its military forces from Chechnya, until it ceases impeding the entry into Chechnya of international relief, until it agrees to a resolution of the conflict under United Nations supervision and until it respects the right of the Chechen people to national self-determination.

Russian Aggression Chechnya Imperils Loan Prospects

WASHINGTON – An International Monetary Fund mission returned to Moscow for talks on a 6.25 billion dollar (U.S.) loan, but the spiralling costs of the Chechnya conflict raise doubts about its chances for success.

“Chechnya possibly represents a danger to economic reform” said a U.S. official. “The longer it goes on the more expensive it will be,”

Russia is counting on the 6.25 billion dollar IMF loan to slash inflation. That will be more and more difficult to do if the Chechnya conflict blows a hole in the Russian budget.

Russia sent troops and tanks into separatist Chechnya on December 11, 1994, to crush the Caucasus region's bid for independence. The bloody battles, which have cost the lives of over 24,000 civilian lives, have been sharply criticised inside and outside Russia, have also fanned fears that increasingly influential military hard-liners in the government might grab control of economic policy, frustrating reform.

This will be the third time an IMF mission has gone to Moscow in the past months for negotiations on the 6.25 billion dollar “stand-by” loan.

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Marta KOLOMAYETS

Ukraine calls for political settlement in Chechnya

KYIV – The Ukrainian government has expressed hope that the conflicting sides in the war in Chechnya will be able to reach an understanding before the hostilities escalate, according to a statement issued on Monday December 12.

“Unfortunately, both sides did not find sufficient agreement and did not find the good will to be able to sit down at the negotiating table and reach a decision concerning their existing problems,” said First Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk at a briefing on December 13.

The Ukrainian Parliament also passed a brief four-sentence statement the same day, appealing to the feuding sides to resolve their problems by political, peaceful means.

Delicate situation

Observing that the *“Chechen question is very delicate,”* Mr. Tarasiuk noted that *“neighboring countries behave with restraint.”*

The diplomat added that Ukraine’s citizens and organisations have been warned against becoming involved in the conflict. *“But the government of Ukraine is not indifferent to the fate of its citizens who may have – for any number of reasons – ended up in Chechnya. We have a developed mechanism that will defend the rights of our citizens, and we discussed this matter with our ministry and Russia as soon as the situation turned into military conflict.”*

Chechnya needs only moral support from Ukraine, said Rusland Badayev, a representative of the Chechen government, speaking at a news conference on December 13.

According to Mr. Badayev, the developments in Chechnya virtually imply the beginning of a Caucasus war. “Dagestan has already declared war against Russia, Ingushetia has already become involved in action with Ossetian volunteers trying to break through Chechnya.”

Down in the Crimea, in Symferopil, more than 500 people gathered on December 12, for a rally and demanded an immediate halt to military actions against the Chechen people and the withdrawal of Russian troops.

Members of the Mejlis, the Crimean Tartar council, organised the meeting. They were supported by the Crimean branches of *Rukh*, the Popular Movement of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Republican Party.

Refat Chubarov, deputy chairman of the Crimean Mejlis, said the Russian leadership’s decision to draw troops into Chechnya is “absurd.”

Ten volunteers from the Crimea’s Muslim Party left for Chechnya to assist Dzhokhar Dudayev, reported Interfax-Ukraine.

"Crimea's Muslim Party members will not stand idly by when dangers threatens the state of Ichkeria because of the bloodthirsty Russian empire," said a statement issued by the party,

On December 11, in Ukraine's capital city, Kyiv, democratic forces organised a rally near the Russian Embassy to protest the introduction of Russian troops into Chechnya. The rally, attended by 100 people, was organised by the Ukrainian Democratic coalition comprising 40 political organisations. Organisers of the rally characterised the recent developments in Chechnya as "the beginning of a second stage in the break up of the empire."

"This can be considered a dress rehearsal for an attack on Ukraine," said political analyst Vadym Halynovsky, writing for the Hotline press service.

"Unleashing an armed conflict with a nation that has a right to struggle for its independence proves that the imperialists will stop at nothing if their absolute power is in danger," said Oleksander Lavrynovych, one of Rukh's leaders.

Mr. Lavrynovych said developments in that region reveal Russia's true face to the world, as a state that cannot be considered democratic.

"We cannot watch silently the destruction of Chechen statehood and the Chechen nation," he said. *"It was exactly on Human Rights Day that Russia decided to lead its troops onto the territory of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria... Russia demonstrated to the world its inability to renounce forceful dictatorship and armed intervention in deciding political problems,"* said Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of Rukh.

"We feel that the aggression against the Chechen republic nullifies any declarations from the Russian leadership about principles of democracy and should be condemned by the world community," he added.

Mr. Chornovil added that Rukh will turn to the United Nations, parliaments, governments, human rights organisations and the world community to appeal to the Russians to stop this aggression. *"We also hope that the Supreme Council and the President of Ukraine will not remain silent concerning the bloody events near the borders of Ukraine,"* said Mr. Chornovil.

"The Russian democrats are reaping the fruits of their own anti-national on the Soviet Union's collapse," said a statement issued by the Socialist Party's Kyiv branch.

Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz has suggested that a group of deputies and journalists travel to Chechnya to explore the situation, adding that direct contacts with the conflicting sides would help Ukrainian parliamentarians to form an opinion about the events. *"Such a delegation might promote the peaceful settlement of the conflict,"* said Mr. Moroz.

The Nationalism of the Caucasian Nations

The Caucasus was one of the birthplaces of the human race and a centre of ancient civilisation, notably in the Bronze Age. Christianity became the official state religion at the beginning of the 4th century in Armenia and Georgia.

Strategically it has always been a formidable barrier between Europe and Asia Minor. Today it remains a key position in the struggle for the Middle East.

The traditional trade route between the West and India or China passed through Georgia since ancient times. Today the Caucasus is economically a self-contained unit, with immense and untapped mineral wealth.

Its four nations (Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian and North Caucasian) have nothing in common with the Russians either racially, ethnically or linguistically, and least of all historically.

They each had their own past powerful states and brilliant military commanders, renowned throughout the Middle East and Europe, such as: Tigranus the Great, King of Armenia, 1st century B.C.; David the Builder, King of Georgia, 11th century; Heraclius the Second, King of Georgia, 18th century; Shamil, Imam of North Caucasus, 19th century.

Each of these four nations has repeatedly proven in its history that its nationalism remains totally unaffected not only by a mere fifty years of foreign occupation and repression, but even by one or more centuries. It has remained untouched today.

In particular, in the Soviet Russian empire, Soviet Georgia and Soviet Armenia represented two countries where an intense fire of nationalism burned unabated throughout their entire population! These four nations produced in this century responsible statesmen and independent governments with a Western outlook. They are friendly to the West, and more so to all former captive nations and satellites.

The strong spirit of nationalism evident in the four Caucasian nations is a guarantee that, together with the liberation movements of other enslaved nations, they will regain independence and thus guarantee the human rights for their peoples.

WESTERN UKRAINE DISPLAYS PORTRAIT OF CAUCASIAN REBEL LEADER

LVIV JANUARY 17 – An art gallery in the West Ukrainian city of Lviv displayed the only existing portrait of Shamil who led the Holy Caucasian War for 25 years against the Russian conquest in the 19th century.

Sources in the gallery told TASS on Tuesday that they plan to display the portrait in the Caucasus. The move is surely connected with the latest Chechen developments.

The portrait is unique as Muslim religious rules forbid the depiction of people and it remains a mystery how artist Stanislav Khlebovsky from Lviv managed to draw it. It is only known that in the middle of the 19th century he left for Turkey and adopted Islam. Shamil has reportedly visited his home there. Later Khlebovsky returned to Lviv and presented the portrait of the Caucasian rebel to the local art gallery.

ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova



The portrait of Imam Shamil painted by Stanislav Khlebovsky

Shamyl's Struggle Against Russian Colonialism

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 theatre of operations was 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 engagement with Catherine's troops. Despite these heavy losses, resistance to the Russian armies continued, assisted for a while by Bonaparte's invasion of Russia.

But as soon as she was free from the burden of the Napoleonic Wars, Russia once more resumed her policy of terrorisation 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 religious movement Muridism, which was based on the principles of Islam and 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, Shamyl. He was elected Imam in 1834. On the subject of Shamyl there exists a considerable literature written in many different languages, in which even his enemies emphasise his remarkable qualities as a military and political leader. It was these qualities that enabled him to carry on for twenty-five years the defensive war against the numerically superior and better equipped Russian army.

Shamyl succeeded in uniting the inhabitants of the Caucasian mountains and in founding a North Caucasian state, based on the principles of Islam. But when, after the conquest of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, Russia established itself as ruler of the Southern Caucasus, Shamyl was cut off from the outside world. Forced to rely on his own resources, he organised the country's finances, the exploitation of mineral reserves, the production of gunpowder and the manufacture of weapons. By his democratic reforms he strengthened the bond between himself and the people. The morale of Shamyl'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 Shamyl'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 more years. But the forces were unequal. The Russian army was now better armed and equipped, whereas the Caucasians, wearied by the protracted struggle, could no longer put up an effective resistance. Retreating little by little, Shamil decided to take a last stand in the fortress of Gunib, where after a prolonged 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.

Appeal to the U.S. Government Regarding Events in Chechnya

The latest events in Chechnya evoke much anxiety and alarm. Under the pretext of defending its territorial integrity, Russia grossly violates the human rights of the Chechen population. International agreements prescribe that neither side involved in a police action or war may cause intentional physical harm to civilian populations. In Chechnya, however, innocent civilians have suffered physical harm and even death, not as a result of cross fire, but directly victimized by Russian aggression. Even orphanages have become targets of Russian bombs.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America refrains from commenting on the issue of the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, in light of bilateral and trilateral agreements signed by Russia with both Ukraine and the United States. Nevertheless, we are cognizant of the fact that the Chechens are a distinct nation, which finds itself within the borders of the Russian Federation as a result of enslavement by Russian imperialism. While not addressing the issue of Chechen independence, as human beings, we dare not remain silent while Russian troops murder innocents, including women and children.

Therefore, we appeal to our government to act in concert with the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations in demanding that Russia allow international monitoring of the conflict in Chechnya. The U.S. government should make abundantly clear to President Yeltsin and other Russian leaders that U.S. and worldwide economic support is contingent upon respect for human rights on the territory of the Russian Federation.

With profound concern we request that President Clinton and the House and Senate leaderships demonstrate to Russia our total commitment to the defense of human rights, wherever they may be violated.

*January 10, 1995
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America*

Helsinki Commission Holds Hearings on Chechen Conflict

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UNIS). — The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission, held a hearing on Chechnya on January 27. Rep. Christopher Smith, newly-appointed chairman of the commission, presided over the hearings.

In his opening remarks, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato said there could be no victory in Chechnya only an occupation and that there would be spreading of fights for freedom across the Caucus region. D'Amato added that "there will come a point when I and other will say enough is enough" regarding Russian aggression.

Congressman Wolf remarked that the American people are interested in bringing an end to the fighting in Chechnya. He said "Russian is a major recipient of aid and Congress is considering if they are deserving of this aid."

Rep. Steny Hoyer was "struck by a consistent Russian campaign to control the natural resources and outlets to transportation routes of neighboring countries." He noted that "perhaps things in Russia can yet work out well, but, frankly, I am hard-pressed to find reasons for optimism."

Congressman Smith described what the situation was like in Chechnya, saying that although "Moscow has declared the military operation over," most analysts in the West and the East believe that a guerrilla war will break out, pulling in other Caucasian peoples as well and possibly stifling democratization in Russian altogether." He continued, "In these circumstances, it is critical for the Congress to hear a clear explanation of the Administration's view of the war and its likely impact of Russia's future domestic and foreign policies."

Ambassador Collins, which is in charge of the State Department's policy in the newly-independent states, was the main witness and spoke of U.S. policy toward Chechnya. U.S. policy has three components, he said, "The preservation of the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, our belief that all involved have an obligation to observe OSCE principles and to pursue peaceful solutions to disputes and our fundamental belief that it is in the interest of Russia and all of the parties concerned to engage OSCE and other humanitarian institutions to assist in promoting observance of human rights."

Responding to questions about who is responsible for Russia's invasion of Chechnya, Collins answered that Yeltsin was in charge and ultimately he is responsible for the conduct of this operation because he was democratically elected.

When asked about humanitarian aid to the Chechens, Collins noted that at first the Red Cross had difficulties but now it has access but not as much as it would like. It can deliver services, food and medical care but

not to Grozny, and it is not allowed to visit Chechen prisoners of war.

Addressing aid to Russia, Collins pointed out that monies are going to businesses and not to the government, and consequently economic sanctions would not work, while possibly destabilizing Russia. In response to this, one congressman asked for a comprehensive review of how effective U.S. assistance is.

Smith brought up the subject of the early categorization by many countries of the conflict as “an internal Russian affair.” He asked if this label had given Russia a “green light.” Collins replied that he believed that this was not the case and that “internal affair” was based on the principles mentioned in his testimony. “Russian decision makers were aware of the U.S. position,” he said.

In Congressional Testimony, Lozynskyj Says USAID Is Not Fulfilling Assistance Mandate

WASHINGTON DC — In a testimony scathingly critical of the U.S. Agency for International Development, Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), accused the agency of ignoring the needs of non-Russian countries.

Addressing the subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Committee on Appropriations on January 26, Lozynskyj told the panel that the embattled agency must prove to Congress that it is fulfilling its mandate in order to justify its existence.

Expressing doubt about the agency’s “commitment to providing meaningful assistance to the non-Russian nations,” Lozynskyj said, “Congress has an opportunity to regain America’s role in the foreign assistance field. This opportunity must not be squandered. USAID was given a mandate to reform less than two years ago. The results of its reform efforts are unconvincing. We believe the burden of proof should now shift to USAID to justify its continued congressional mandate.”

While foreign aid reform is important, Lozynskyj said Ukraine is not benefiting from the U.S. government’s overseas assistance programs. “How well did USAID carry out its mandate? Poorly, as regards programs for Ukraine,” he charged.

“Employing subcontractors and grantees with no previous experience in Ukraine, USAID squandered resources on lavish offices and salaries for U.S. consultants. One USAID grantee took six months to formulate an action plan which had no discernible impact on reform. Small wonder that some observers view the USAID contracting process as little more than an elaborate system of patronage,” Lozynskyj declared.

While the UCCA's efforts to receive USAID grants for programs in Ukraine have been met with meager accomplishments, Lozynskyj said Russia has been given lavish financial assistance.

Lozynskyj illustrated the USAID's "continued shortcomings" with two examples:

"During 1994, the UCCA joined with a network of privately owned TV and radio stations in Ukraine to produce a series of electronic media ads and minifilms promoting public awareness of the need for market reforms," he recounted. "the financial contribution of the U.S. funding agency, the National Endowment for Democracy, was \$25,000, while the UCCA contributed in excess of \$200,000. The program was so highly acclaimed in Ukraine that the UCCA received many requests from reform-minded civic leaders to continue the program. The UCCA applied for funding from USAID to continue the project as an institutional partnership with the TV network, UNICA-TV. In December, UCCA's application was denied by USAID without explanation."

Lozynskyj pointed out that at the same time Deputy Administrator of the USAID Thomas Dine said that fiscal year 1995 would include independent media development programs through U.S.-Russian media partnerships. While Dine did not announce any similar programs for Ukraine, Lozynskyj said he "criticized the government of Ukraine for failure to commit itself to systemic change and for sending 'mixed policy signals' about its readiness for reform."

"The UCCA's Commercial Law Project for Ukraine has expended only \$30,790 in U.S. government funding, despite being the most advanced program of commercial law reform in the former Soviet Union. It has gone forward only because of generous pro bono contributions of law firms and lawyers who have, in effect, done the world of USAID gratis."

Lozynskyj continued, "the Commercial Law Project, which was begun in November 1992 with an emergency grant from the Center for International Private Enterprise, has been halted since December 1993 because of USAID's delays in addressing Ukraine's needs for commercial law. During the summer of 1994, a request from the Ukrainian government to USAID for \$25,000 to provide copies of the commercial laws to members of the Ukrainian parliament was denied on the grounds that USAID was incapable of administering such a small grant."

According to the UCCA president, "The Ukrainian government's request to USAID grantee ARD/Checchi for \$50,000 in computer equipment for use in connection with commercial law reform was denied in January of 1995. Another request by the Ukrainian government for \$100,000 to continue the commercial reform effort is pending before ARD/Checchi grantee and no action has been taken on it."

Concurrently, USAID's Dine announced comprehensive legal reform programs for Russia, including development of new commercial and civil codes, Lozynskyj said. No similar programs exist for Ukraine.

Human Rights deteriorate in China

BEIJING U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs. Winston Lord said recently that human rights have deteriorated. "They're rounding up dissidents, harassing them more," Lord said. In recent months, a number of prominent Shanghai dissidents have been arrested and sent to labour camps, while some members of the Beijing Fifteen activist group have received prison sentences of up to 20 years. Another official Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, John Shattuck was making his first visit to China since last March, when he infuriated Chinese authorities by meeting with the country's most prominent dissident, Wei Jingsheng, in a Beijing hotel coffee shop.

Mr. Wei, just free after spending 14 1/2 years in prison, was arrested shortly after meeting with Mr. Shattuck and has not been heard from since.

We did not receive any information on his status," he said. "We do not know his whereabouts. We know his status is 'under detention' but we also know that he has not been charged. We continue to appeal for his release". The United States has failed to make any headway in its efforts in China, Mr. Shattuck acknowledged. He is the Government's leading Human Rights official.

After several days of discussion with Chinese government representatives, he told reporters that serious problems remain in human rights in China. "In the core areas – freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of religion – there has been no improvement over the past year," he said. Mr. Shattuck spoke only days before U.S. and Chinese officials were scheduled to begin last-ditch talks to avert a bitter, all-out trade war over the lack of copyright enforcement in China.

The United States is prepared to target more than one billion dollars (US) in Chinese products for possible trade sanctions because China was refusing to halt the theft of American computer software, movies and tapes, U.S. sources said.

The United States was virtually the only nation in the world willing to confront Communist-ruled China vigorously on trade and human rights matters. Other countries, while voicing private support for the United States, have been loath to raise their voices in public for fear China will restrict their access to its booming economy.

Mr. Shattuck said he also raised such matters as the treatment of prisoners, "unconfirmed reports" that China sells organs of executed criminals for transplant operations, the harshness of sentences handed out to the Beijing Fifteen, and lack of freedom of religion in Tibet.

A move by President Bill Clinton in May to drop U.S. insistence that China improve its human rights record in order to receive favourable trade status had had no impact on the situation.

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NPT Memorandum Doesn't Do It

Whether Ukraine should have held onto its nuclear arsenal or not could have been argued one way or another. On the one hand Ukraine, a country existing in the shadows of the belligerent Russian behemoth, needs a deterrence to safeguard its independent sovereignty and territorial integrity; but on the other hand, according to specialists in Ukraine and elsewhere around the world, those weapons have deteriorated to a point, where they could self-detonate, at worst, or spew toxic chemicals into the ground, at best.

Maybe under these conditions it was indeed best to agree to get rid of the faulty missiles today and then, depending on the duration of the current Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and other agreements, begin anew to build another, modern nuclear deterrence. On the pages of *The National Tribune* President Kuchma, a former rocket scientist, boasted that if he weren't optimistic he wouldn't have been able to build nuclear missiles in the past and, by implication, he can do it again.

What is disturbing in this quest by the United States and the nuclear club is their attitude toward Ukraine. They have treated Ukraine like a criminal, an outlaw, a pariah for stalling so long before the Verkhovna Rada acquiesced and signed the law authorizing accession to the NPT. They forgot that in the fall of 1991, a couple of months after declaring its independence, Ukraine became the first nuclear country to declare its willingness to eliminate its nuclear missiles and called on America and Russia to do so as well. Its offer was greeted with cold silence.

This treatment today is reflected in the Memorandum on Security Assurances in Connection with Ukraine's Accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed in Budapest on December 5, 1994, by Leonid Kuchma for Ukraine, Bill Clinton for the United States, Boris Yeltsin for Russia and John Major for Great Britain.

In the first point the three countries "reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine ... to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine" and in the second point they "reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

The first point is nothing more than a diplomatic courtesy which any civilized country without reservation extends to a neighbor. Hitler and Stalin did it. Yet despite this nicety, history, and Russian history specifically, is replete with examples of one country violating a neighboring country. The second point pledges that they won't attack Ukraine, unless Ukraine attacks them.

Article three states that America, Russia and Great Britain will “refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.” Washington and London will probably adhere to this tenet, however, Russia, with its oil as an ace in the hole, has turned the spigot left and right and will do so again to ensure that Kyiv’s fuel check is in the mail as well as to implicitly and explicitly force Ukraine to heed its will. Kyiv officials of all colorations have realized this and now argue that Ukraine must maintain good relations with Moscow.

In the next point, the three nuclear chaperones of Ukraine declare they will “seek immediate United Nations Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.” And in the fifth point they “reaffirm, in the case of Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear weapon state party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state.”

This is the closest — which is pretty distant — the nuclear club came to providing security guarantees to Ukraine, without promising anything. Furthermore, the transformation of the concrete “guarantee” to the jelly “assurance,” as was expected since the Kuchma-Clinton summit in Washington, is not even reflected in this language.

Looking at recent regional conventional wars should be proof enough that reporting a nuclear attack on Ukraine to the Security Council will not save Ukraine. The Security Council is hard pressed to rescue countries engaged in mere non-nuclear conflicts. But what if Ukraine is not attacked by nuclear weapons? We discount the use of nuclear weapons by even the craziest of imperialists and believe that a conventional attack on Ukraine is more probable than a thermonuclear one. What will be Ukraine’s recourse then? Russia did a remarkable job of obliterating Grozny with conventional weapons and nobody intervened on behalf of the Chechens. Can Ukraine await the same fate when Kyiv, Lviv or Sevastopol is razed to the ground?

However, article six tries to offer solace to Ukrainians everywhere — “Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America will consult in the event a situation arises which raises a question concerning these commitments.” — while the body count grows. The expectations of this or the previous government of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada, the people of Ukraine and the Diaspora were not fulfilled by this memorandum. Ukraine’s accession to the NPT brings to mind the scene

from the film "Godfather," in which Don Corleone memorably remarks to a reluctant business associate that if his signature doesn't appear on the contract then his brains surely will. The Washington summit offered hope that finally Ukraine was being accepted as an equal partner by the United States and the international community. Unfortunately, genuine examples of an equitable acceptance that would justify such a hope have not yet emerged. Ukraine is still being treated as a second-class member of the international community, somewhere, for example, in front of Iran and Iraq but far behind Israel.

The NPT is coming up for renewal this year and countries are lining up on one or the other side of the debate. Among those who refuse to accede to the treaty is Israel. Its reasons are obvious and justified, an Israeli journalist explained to us — in an Arab ocean, it needs its deterrence against the more radical and hostile of its neighbors: Iran and Iraq. The United States understands this and additionally wants someone in the Middle East to serve as a buffer against Teheran and Baghdad, he continued. Israel, America's closest ally in the region and the benefactor of the greatest share of America's foreign aid, is the one to do it. Consequently, Washington will publicly huff and puff about Israel's recalcitrance but privately it will support Israel's continued development of nuclear weapons.

When Ukraine, whose predicament is not that much different than the Jewish state's, moves closer to Israel's level of acceptance by Washington, then we will have tangible proof that the world respects Ukraine.

Ministry Denounces Russian Meddling

WASHINGTON – The Foreign Ministry of Ukraine issued a statement on December 26, 1994, condemning the remarks of Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov while on a visit to Sevastopol in the Crimea. Mr. Luzhkov, according to the ministry statement, called the city a "second prefecture of Moscow" and "Russia's outpost on its borders".

"This constitutes an attempt to undermine the territorial integrity of a friendly neighbouring country," said the ministry statement, and runs counter to the Memorandum on Security Guarantees for Ukraine, signed by the United States, the Russian Federation, Great Britain and Ukraine on December 5, 1994, the Helsinki Final Act and the United Nations Security Council resolutions on the inviolability of Ukraine's borders.

Finally, the ministry statement allowed Ukraine may have to review its future foreign policy positions towards Russia, in light of declarations such as Mr. Luzhkov's.

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Ukraine Favors Establishing International Rapid Deployment Force

Zlenko Lauds Deterrence Factor of Military Units

UNITED NATIONS — The delegation of Ukraine to the United Nations supports the concept of the U.N. Secretary General of establishing an international rapid deployment force in order to avert regional or other conflicts.

Speaking before the U.N. Security Council on January 18, Ambassador Anatolii Zlenko said, "The Secretary General's proposal for the creation of a rapid reaction force is in our view worthy of our attention. This would be a strategic reserve for the Security Council, prepared for deployment in case of urgent need for the dispatch of a peacekeeping force. "We believe that the availability to the United Nations of such units would in itself exercise a restraining effect on the actions of potential parties to a conflict."

Zlenko pointed out to the Security Council members that the "dramatic changes" in the world that have occurred since the demise of the East-West conflict "have not justified the hopes of the people of the world for peaceful, safe and stable development." The current "post confrontational system of international relations," Zlenko continued, have been poisoned by ethnic and religious intolerance.

"How can we not be concerned at the fact that such conflicts are so often accompanied by unprecedented violations of human rights and are marked by considerable casualties among peaceful civilians," asked Zlenko, adding that this environment is a "challenge to the very basis of their rights — that is, the right to life."

The Ukrainian diplomat emphasized that the defense of human rights cannot any longer "be considered as the exclusively domestic affair of a state." Promoting human rights and cooperating with the United Nations "should be a moral injunction, incumbent upon all states without exceptions." Consequently, alluding to one of the four freedoms of President Roosevelt, incorporated into the Atlantic Charter, Zlenko said, "Such missions will, in our view, promote the creation of a climate of freedom from fear, which, as Dag Hammarskjold said, is the quintessence of the whole philosophy of human rights."

The basis of Ukraine's policy on rapid deployment forces, which Ukrainian diplomats have frequently proposed in the General Assembly is prevention. "I should like to draw the Council's attention to a truth which is as old as the world itself but which, unfortunately, is often disregarded: an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Zlenko believes that preventive diplomacy "would make it possible to avert new conflicts." In addition to a military force, Zlenko said the United Nations must step up its persuasive powers in resolving

regional conflicts and to establish a "standing institution of international mediators." He said this body should "include the most authoritative and eminent politicians and statesmen, representing all continents."

Expounding on Ukraine's notion of preventive diplomacy, Zlenko pointed out, "An analysis of recent successes and failures in peacekeeping operations shows that an imperative in producing the mandate for operations and in laying down their fundamental principles is clear-cut observance of universally accepted norms of international, in particular respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers."

Zlenko further indicated the U.N. Military Staff Committee should establish regional sub-committees that would include representatives of appropriate countries that are contributing troops to peacekeeping operations, deployed in a given region.

"In the final analysis, success of peacekeeping operations depends to a large extent on swift deployment of national contingents provided by states to the United Nations," he said, noting that Ukraine also favors the creation of a U.N. reserve force as a back up to the rapid deployment force.

In Poland, Kuchma Meets With Regional President

KRAKOW (Ukrinform) — Almost immediately upon his arrival at the Balice Airport on Thursday, January 26, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, who headed an official delegation to attend ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of liberation of the Auschwitz death camp, met with President Lech Walesa at his residence in Krakow.

As presidential administration chief Dmytro Tabachnyk disclosed, during the meeting a wide range of issues were discussed, basically those involving strengthening Ukrainian-Polish economic relations by extending them to the enterprise-to-enterprise level.

Some problems of European security and cooperation were also discussed, including Polish-Ukrainian collaboration in the so-called "Bug" Euroregional project.

Later in the day Kuchma met with Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko to exchange opinions about Ukrainian-Belarusian economic cooperation. President Kuchma met in the evening with Polish businessmen and managers at the Krakow Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The following day Kuchma had meetings with Bulgarian President Zhelev, Albanian President Berisch, and Latvian President Ulmanis, during which European security and other issues of mutual interest were discussed, primarily those of bilateral economic cooperation.

Reflections on the First State Visit by a Ukrainian President

Now that the echoes of the majestic fanfare, the 21-gun salute and the strains of the Ukrainian national anthem over the South Lawn have faded in the distance, it is time to return to the historic state visit by a Ukrainian president to the United States and examine what happened in the talks between Kyiv and Washington.

Without a doubt and without exaggerations, the November 22 welcoming ceremony for President Leonid Kuchma and his wife, Liudmyla, was a sight to be seen. Ukrainian and American flags lined Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House and along the South Portico, awash in a classic autumnal Washingtonian eye-squinting sunshine. The Administration arranged for so many Ukrainian and American flags that miniature ones were available for the guests attending the international pageant.

The program was slated to begin at 11 a.m. but it was quite obvious that the crowds began forming hours earlier. In addition to Administration officials, Ukrainian government dignitaries, Washington insiders, Ukrainian American civic leaders, print and broadcast press from here, there and everywhere.

The main attraction was still a few minutes away but watching the preliminary enticement — the arrival of the rows upon rows of Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines, as well as the Coast Guard, everyone smartly holding the Old Glory and the not-yet nicknamed Ukrainian flag, their service colors and the flags of each state of the Union — made those minutes melt into seconds. For Americans, Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainians, it was a proud moment, one overflowing with more than two centuries of the American experience. It was also one filled with the hope that such an extravaganza would soon be duplicated in Kyiv.

With the White House ceremonial guard intoning “Hail to the Chief,” President Clinton and Hillary Clinton emerged from their residence to greet the throng. Even before the First Couple was able to complete their perfunctory waves, the black limousine, bearing the Ukrainian First Couple pulled up in front of the Clintons.

The two Presidents walked up to the rostrum while the two First Ladies, attended by their aides, stood on the grass to their right. The Star Spangled Banner was first. With strained nerves anticipating the Ukrainian national anthem, the American anthem probably sounded as fast as the previous sentence was read.

A quick drum roll, the first volley from the howitzer and then came the opening sounds of the Ukrainian anthem *Shche Ne Vmerla Ukrayina*, echoing over Washington’s reflecting pools. Too many generations never dreamed of hearing such a sound or seeing such a vista, a few incredulously

dreamed of the day but were not allowed to see it. As the 21st salvo penetrated the air, the last notes of the Ukrainian national anthem reverberated across the South Lawn. Truly inspiring. Regrettably more so than the subsequent welcoming remarks by the leaders of the United States of America and Ukraine. The commander of the honor guard then invited both Presidents to review the troops. President Clinton, as the host, spoke first, congratulating his Ukrainian counterpart and Ukraine, for struggling, enduring, persevering, ultimately overcoming and striving to succeed. The speech was filled with gazes toward the future and appropriate accolades to the past. "Despite efforts to create an independent Ukraine, dictators, terrible famines and relentless oppression combined to deny your people the right to shape their fate. Despite these ordeals, the Ukrainian people have endured, preserving hope and their identity and contributing greatly to the glories of European civilization. Now, finally, Ukraine has reclaimed its independence and its place as a pivotal state in the new Europe."

Noting that Ukraine's contemporary independence is a "rebirth," Clinton also reminded Kuchma that Ukraine was subjugated by "competing empires" and "tsars and commissars." He succinctly pointed out that Ukraine's history does not merely consist of the Millennium of Christianity and then the "SSR" legacy, with a three-hundred-year hole somewhere in between. Those three centuries was Ukraine's colonization by Russia and other red or brown empires. Not bad for an American President to finally admit that from the steps of the White House for all the world to hear.

Clinton managed to score points by recognizing the Diaspora: "The flame of that commitment to freedom was kept burning during the Cold War by nearly a million Ukrainian Americans, some of whom are with us here today, who never forgot Ukraine and who are today contributing to its reawakening."

Kuchma spoke shorter than Clinton and in political generalizations, devoid of the buzz words that his constituents in Ukraine and admirers in America have come to expect and listen for. Kuchma justifiably did praise America as a country that served as a model for Ukraine. "Today, they say Ukraine is a poor country. We are not a poor country, we are a young country and an experienced one. That is why we are ready to learn in the sphere of economics, politics, humanism, the best examples of other countries."

The entire ceremony, with simultaneous translations, was meticulously choreographed and rivaled Hollywood; no detail was left to chance. From start to finish, the historic welcoming ceremony of the first state visit by a President of Ukraine to the United States was over in 30 minutes.

The next point on the agenda — the afternoon press conference. At the appropriate hour the Blue Room in the Executive Office Building filled up with journalists. It was the same room, where the late Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the OUN, met President Reagan, who declared then that the struggle and dreams of the Ukrainian people are the same as America's.

Without offering an explanation, the press conference began more than 30 minutes late and then lasted for less than the expected 45 minutes. No one said anything about the delay, leaving the press to speculate whether something was said or done that might have disturbed one or the other President. The half dozen off-the-shelf treaties and agreements, filled with the requisite amount of friendship and cooperation, that were signed by Kuchma and Clinton and other functionaries do not warrant a commentary.

The theme of the press conference and that of the entire state visit was Ukrainian nuclear missiles for something. The mutual adoration society between Clinton and Kuchma was prompted by the Ukrainian Parliament's ratification of a law allowing Ukraine to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In the final analysis, the United States pledged to provide Ukraine \$900 million in assistance — \$200 million more than was expected a couple of days earlier. All Ukraine did to earn the money was to pledge to turn over its nuclear arsenal to Russia, a country which settles legislative disputes by blasting its parliament and one that today is bombing to hell Chechnya's civilians and ragtag freedom fighters. Logical.

Did Ukraine sell itself short? The mood in Ukraine was that in exchange for Kyiv's signature on the NPT's dotted line, the West, the nuclear club and the United States would provide Ukraine with security guarantees, "guarantees." The mood in Washington was: "security assurances."

Standing next to the visibly fidgeting Kuchma, Clinton said Ukraine's decision to sign the NPT "will permit the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom to extend formal security assurances to Ukraine."

There is a world of difference between "guarantees" and "assurances." Having failed to monitor the simultaneous translations, we can't say what was the Ukrainian version of "guarantees" but it must have been inaccurate because no one picked up on it during the press conference. Not even Kuchma. Ukraine gave away its nuclear arsenal in exchange for assurances.

In the aftermath of the visit, the American press began to address this issue, writing that at the CSCE meeting in Budapest, where Ukraine was to formally sign the NPT treaty, Kyiv would only receive assurances, not guarantees.

Former *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis, writing in her syndicated column of December 12, said, "He (Kuchma) is trim, red-haired and straight-spoken, capable of sharp, no-nonsense argument which he used to drive a reluctant, divided parliament to overwhelming endorsement of the Nonproliferation Treaty renouncing nuclear arms.

"It was signed at the Budapest meeting, with President Clinton and President Yeltsin. But there is still ambiguity about the security 'assurances' (not guarantees) he was promised in return. That makes expansion of NATO a critical question."

At a Kyiv press conference, after returning from Hungary, Kuchma, responding to a question by our correspondent, didn't seem to appreciate the difference between "guarantees" and "assurances" or didn't care about it. The

impression was now that the NPT is behind us and assistance will be forthcoming, let's turn to the economy, stupid. A cavalier attitude.

As for expanding NATO, there is also a difference in policies between the two Presidents. At the press conference, Clinton said he "would not say or do anything that would exclude the possibility of Ukrainian membership." That's a hopeful sign for Ukraine's security interests. However, Kuchma negated that by stating, "The security of the European continent is a very important issue and it shouldn't be solved by the revolutionary way but by the evolutionary method. It is not important who enters where, but it is very important that we do not have a new Berlin Wall in Europe."

Kuchma's subsequent comments about Ukraine's membership in NATO also dampened expectations of its swift entrance.

Talking with Ukrainian government insiders about Kuchma's behavior during the press conference, we were told that he was upset because of the American press corps' irrelevant questions. Indeed, of the six questions posed, three from each side, the American journalists did not address the issue at hand but asked Clinton about the Democratic debacle during November's elections, Sen. Jesse Helms' remark that Clinton should bring an extra bodyguard with himself when he visits North Carolina, and school prayer. It happened at previous joint presidential press conferences with President Kravchuk: at the first the issue was the riots in Los Angeles and at the second — Whitewatergate. What happened this time was to be expected.

At a meeting of the Deadline Club, the NYC chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, a week before the press conference, we begged the issue with a group of White House correspondents. Why does the White House press corps focus on the menial issue of the day rather than the big issue of the millennium: the third largest nuclear power agrees to give up its nuclear arsenal?

Gwen Ifill of NBC News both defended and criticized this behavior. Ifill admitted that she and her colleagues are less interested in what is the theme of the press conference than what Bill Clinton is doing. If she covers the issue — nuclear weapons — and not the person of the President, whether he is up or down, and her competitive colleagues do, she explained, she'll get in trouble with her boss. White House journalists are generalists, she said, who don't "deviate from the story of the day or a few stories of the day." It is a herd mentality that drives the journalists in the White House, she noted. Ifill added that people often ask her what Bill Clinton is really like rather than what he's doing or why he's doing it. "I feed into that," she reluctantly admitted.

Be assured that this scenario will pay itself out again the next time a Ukrainian President visits the White House.

The four-day whirlwind tour, which began in New York City and concluded in Washington, proved hectic but it gave Americans and the Ukrainian American community a chance to meet the President. If anything else, Kuchma had the opportunity to hear the boisterous applause in New

York City, when he pledged to do everything he possibly can to defend Ukraine, its nation and its language.

Without being overly optimistic, the summit did seem to cement U.S.-Ukraine friendship. This is important development now that Russia is being severely tainted by its killings in Chechnya.

Nuclear weapons, financial assistance and back-slapping friendship notwithstanding, the meaning of the first state visit can be summed up by the lyrics from a Jerome Kern song that was sung by Nancy Lamott during the star-studded state dinner at the White House: "Pick yourself up, dust yourself off, and start all over again."

Ukraine, your turn.

Rights of Georgian Political Prisoner Violated

I was born in 1941. In 1961, together with my adherents, we created an illegal Anti-Soviet Organisation UCN (The Union of Caucasian Nations). We distributed proclamations and called the people to struggle for their freedom. In 1963 we were arrested and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in accordance with the clauses 71-73 of the USSR Criminal Code. Having served my sentence in the well-known Siberian concentration camps of Potma I came back home in 1968. Until 1978 I had a "Passport Limitation", i.e. domiciliary arrest.

On October 28, 1990, I was elected as a Deputy Member of the Georgian Parliament (which at the beginning was called "Supreme Soviet"). There I worked in the Law and Order Committee, and later was elected as chairman of the Human Rights Constant Committee. After the tragic events which followed the *putsch* of January 2, 1992, I was a member of the Committee of the Civilian Disobedience of Georgia. In August 1992 I was elected the Chairman of this committee. On January 28, 1993, the illegal Government of Georgia arrested me under the falsified accusations, in accordance with clause 65 of the Criminal Code.

Soon it will be two years that I am imprisoned, but no inquest is going on. I am refused even the right to have a barrister. Since May of 1994 nobody has shown me any decision of the Public Prosecutor about the prolongation of the arrest. The international standards of Human Rights have been violated in my case – I was not even shown the sanction of the Public Prosecutor for my arrest. All the members of my family and our relatives are being oppressed and persecuted. I have a wife and three children. My son, David Kobalia, was expelled from Tbilisi University in 1992 for his political views. He has been constantly persecuted since.

The conditions in jail for political prisoners are unbearable!

Zauri KOBALIA

**SUOMEN HELSINKI – RYHMÄ
HELSINGFORS – GRUPPEN I FINLAND
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SHR

Yhteistyöjäsen Kansainvälisen Ihmisoikeusjärjestön (ISHR) kanssa
Associated with the International Society for Human Rights

Helsinki, 20th February 1995

General Eduard Shevardnadze

Tbilisi
Georgia

The whole world knows that your regime plans the murder of your political opponents now imprisoned. General, you know the economical and ecological situation in your country as well as in Russia and in the other CIS states. The havoc wrought by violence in Georgia as well as in Chechnya can never be repaired or the distress or backwardness of the CIS countries relieved without Western aid and investments. You can see that the situation is worsening for Russia and the CIS. Don't underestimate the effects of the Chechian crimes by Russia on the opinion of the voting people in the West or of the investors. If you, when the eyes of the world are focused on Grozny, intend to perform crimes against the human rights of your political prisoners – even by Stalin-Vyshinsky type quasi-judicial procedure – you will perpetually uglify your personal historical record and forfeit many possibilities of your state and people to get the much needed assistance from the increasingly irritated Western countries. Don't trust your "Western friends" – they are NOT immune to the popular pressures of the voting citizenry.

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Guess Who Has His Finger on the Button?

A drunkard, alcoholic, sot, drunk, tippler, toper, boozehound, wino, barfly, lush, sponge, soak, rummy, inebriate, dipsomaniac, imbiber, boozer. In other words, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation.

After three-and-a-half years of his presidency the world is beginning to pay attention to Yeltsin's behavior. What was once a public secret, whispered about at cocktail parties or in the corridors outside press rooms, has become public knowledge. Yeltsin, the leader of America's partner in the new world order, reaches for vodka more often than he would like us to know.

The meeting of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Almaty, Kazakhstan, on February 10, would not have received the American network television attention it did had it not been for the Russian president virtually falling over himself. Associated Press Television caught his command performance and while it was not shown in Russia, ABC's World News Tonight with Peter Jennings did.

On the few occasions that reporters were allowed to be in his presence during the summit, they reported that Yeltsin's speech was slurred and he displayed difficulty moving. He declined to attend the final press conference in the Kazakh capital. Earlier, an aid had to carry him up a flight of stairs to the meeting room. Yeltsin arrived by plane on Thursday evening, following a flight which boasted of a birthday party for his chief of staff. Agence France Presse said he almost stumbled down the stairs of his aircraft. Some rip-roaring party. Nursultan Nazarbayev, the Kazakh president, had to help him to his car. The traditional airport press conference was canceled.

For the record, his behavior in Almaty was the third time in six months that Yeltsin's public drunkenness caught the attention of the world. Last August, he repeatedly upset protocol during a visit to Berlin to mark the departure of Russian troops from Germany by making unscheduled speeches and once even grabbing a conductor's baton to conduct the orchestra himself as he twirled and bounced to the music. Apparently the contraction of Russia's military might was reason enough for the Russian chief executive to get loaded.

A month later, returning from the United States, Yeltsin remained on his plane during a stopover in Shannon, Ireland, leaving the Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds waiting on the tarmac. His staff offered explanations ranging from he was asleep to he wasn't feeling well. They probably were not lying because hangovers do have that effect on people.

To these examples of Yeltsin's loss of control over himself we can add the story told to us by staffers at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Kyiv. During one meeting between the Russian president and former

President Leonid Kravchuk, a drunken Yeltsin, attempting to bear hug his Ukrainian counterpart, fell on top of him.

The latest spectacle was the one that finally broke even The New York Times' back. In an editorial on February 14, the newspaper, while desperately holding out hope that everyone is sober in the Kremlin, wrote that the transition from a heroic Yeltsin standing on top of a tank to undercut the putsch of August 1991 to today's drunken bumpkin is "shocking and puzzling."

"After years of dodging questions about his health and his drinking, Mr. Yeltsin owes his country and the world a candid accounting. The performance in Almaty moves the issue beyond the discreet conversation of diplomats, because Mr. Yeltsin's ability to govern Russia is now in question," The New York Times stated. "Whatever the problem, or combination of problems, Mr. Yeltsin cannot expect to retain authority when he seems incapacitated and offers no explanation."

"If Mr. Yeltsin remains committed to untangling Russia from his authoritarian past, he and his doctors must quickly come clean." Yeltsin's drinking binge also comes at bad time for him and Russia what with Moscow's laying waste the Chechen capital of Grozny. "But his unsteady performance in Almaty made a particularly bad impression at a time when Russian troops are embroiled in a conflict in the Republic of Chechnya and Russian pro-democrats say Yeltsin had fallen under the influence of hardliners feeding him selective information on the brutal two-month war," wrote Boris Bachorz of the Agence France Presse.

And the nuclear club, fearing instability in Ukraine, forced Kyiv to turn over its nuclear arsenal to Yeltsin's Russia. We can surely sleep securely, knowing that a drunk has his finger on the nuclear button.

Faced with an inebriated partner who is killing and maiming the freedom-loving Chechen people, President Clinton would be wise to begin looking for other options. Washington's policy of treating Russia as the primary country in the region and second after itself on the worldwide scene has obviously been repudiated. The International Monetary Fund has appropriately put on hold extending any additional credits to Russia. The European Union is also reconsidering Moscow's application for membership.

These steps are all right but they are not enough. While putting expanding relations with Russia on the backburner, the United States et al should not suspend developing stronger relations with the non-Russian countries in the region, notably Ukraine. It should be Washington's policy to support the quick incorporation of Ukraine into as many European and international organizations as possible: the European Union, NATO, GATT, etc. This far-sighted policy will ensure Ukraine's continued economic and democratic development and transform it into an anchor of stability and security in the region.

Ukraine should also cease entering into new treaty arrangements with Russia until its leadership changes or at least sobers up. With the

situation topsy-turvy in the Kremlin, Ukraine will not benefit from any proposals emanating from its northern neighbor. On the contrary, it could suffer.

As for Yeltsin, his drunken buffoonery has irritated many of his supporters and opponents in the Russian establishment. Considering the absence of a legacy of peaceful and democratic transfer of executive power in the Kremlin, it would behoove Yeltsin to be careful with whom he drinks and to develop a habit of looking over his shoulder. We'll go out on the limb and say that his weeks are numbered.

Which brings us to the following dilemma. What is better, a drunk with his finger on the nuclear button or, in the eventuality that a democratic reformer (like Yavlinsky or Gaidar) does not succeed Yeltsin, an imperialistic extremist (such as Rutskoï or Zhirinovskiy) with his finger on the button? Unfortunately, this is the historical tragedy that is called Russia.

Ukraine to Join Euro Parliament by Year's end

KYIV (Ukrinform) — Ukraine may become a member of the European Parliament by the end of the year, according to a statement by Irzi Vogl, who arrived in Kyiv on January 27 to head the European Council Directorate's permanent mission through weeklong monthly visits. The mission's task in Ukraine is to co-ordinate activities of individual experts and institutions during the final stage of Ukraine's accedence to the EuroCouncil as a full-fledged member. The EuroCouncil's emissary met with a Ukrainian parliamentary delegation to leave for Strasbourg to attend the EuroCouncil's Parliamentary Assembly there. A EuroCouncil's expert delegation attended a conference on adjusting Ukraine's legislation to European standards. The delegation is led by Britain's representative in the EuroCommission and European Court for Human Rights Martin Eton. The conference, which is chaired by Ukrainian Deputy Justice Minister Suzanna Stanik, lasted two days.

Hungary to Renew Visas for X-USSR

BUDAPEST — Hungary started talks on January 25 to reinstate visa obligations with certain east European countries following European Union requests.

The talks are related to recent requests from the European Union that Hungary, with regard to its intentions to join the union, restore visa obligations with Russia and the former captive nations.

Hungary has started talks with the Ukraine and Russia on the matter and has initiated talks with Belarus. Hungary's government also decided to tighten controls along its border with Ukraine. The decree prescribes tighter controls for visitors arriving from Ukraine, and that their entry be marked in their passports.

Call it deja vu – Soviet style

27 Jan MOSCOW (AP) In a jarring throwback to the Communist era, a secretive panel of men who hold forth around a long rectangular table in the Kremlin is emerging as the true power behind some major Russian policy decisions.

Alarmed reformers see the Security Council as Russia's new Politburo, quietly usurping power from an increasingly withdrawn Boris Yeltsin. Some accuse the hawkish council of pushing Russia into the war in Chechnya. Whether the charge is true or not, the war has clearly enhanced the power of an institution that had been expanding its role and membership for more than a year under the aggressive stewardship of one of Yeltsin's hometown pals.

Recently, after a closed-door meeting, it demonstrated its clout by announcing a shake up in the military command in Chechnya and declaring the offensive virtually wrapped up. "Recent events show that it's a second government," said Andrei Piontkovsky, director of the Strategic Studies Center, a Moscow think tank. "The Chernomyrdin government deals mainly with economic issues, and the Security Council with political and military problems," he said.

Yeltsin designated the council as an advisory group when he created it by decree three years ago. It has met at least once a month – and sometimes daily, as it has during the Chechen crisis – since then. But the council was seen to have amassed significant power only after Yeltsin installed a long-term comrade from his hometown in Siberia, Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg), as its chairman in September 1993.

Oleg Lobov, a 57-year-old construction engineer, held various Communist Party positions and even tried unsuccessfully to become Russia's Communist Party chief in 1990. He was a member of the Soviet Parliament before becoming a conservative economics minister and first deputy prime minister under Yeltsin. Now he is one of a handful of voting members on the 14-man Security Council, which he oversees in administrative offices located, tellingly, in the former Communist Party headquarters. The council, chaired by Yeltsin, includes: the prime minister; the defence, foreign and interior ministers; the chief of counterintelligence; and the speakers of both houses. Its decisions do not have to be approved by parliament.

A prominent liberal lawmaker, Sergei Yushenkov, suspects that under the ambitious Lobov's leadership the council has consolidated its own power and is overturning Yeltsin's decisions. Another, Ella Pamfilova, has called the council a "collective maniac" responsible for the Chechnya war.

Former Justice Minister Yuri Kalmykov's resignation from the council in December 1994 lent some weight to that accusation. Kalmykov told the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* daily that the council had used an old Soviet tactic to drum through a plan for military intervention in Chechnya. He said

the members were asked to vote their approval at the start of the meeting; then they were allowed to give their opinions.

"Everyone voted yes. And then we began to discuss it," Kalmykov said. He admitted voting his assent, and said he quit after being the sole member to argue against the use of force.

Yeltsin announced the start of the offensive shortly after that meeting. But who knows whether he was acting on his own, on the council's decision or at the urging of his innermost circle of associates?

Piontkowsky attributes the council's rise in influence to Yeltsin's inclination to create a system of checks and balances, and try to remain in the middle. "Yeltsin may forget about the Security Council tomorrow", he said. But with the Chechnya conflict far from finished, others fear the council is a strong base for the "party of war" swaying Russia's strategic decisions.

"Nobody knows how much power it has," said Alexander Konovalov of Moscow's USA and Canada Institute. "The question of who rules Russia at the moment can't be answered, and the Security Council is part of that question."

CSCE Briefing Analyses Media in the Former Communist States

Washington DC – The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) held a public briefing on September 9 of last year about the status of media freedom in the new democracies of Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The moderator of the briefing was Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck, who is also an executive branch member of the Helsinki Commission. Shattuck, who led the U.S. delegation to the CSCE Seminar on Free Media, which took place in Warsaw in November, 1993, saluted in his introduction the CSCE for its extraordinary role in supporting the people of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. He said there were two different models for the new democracies which were at the heart of the debates in Warsaw.

One model was similar to that of the U.S. model of broad constitutional guarantees, and the other was similar to that of the model used in Western Europe – extensive legislation to define the rights and freedoms of the media.

Many practical issues were discussed there, too, said Shattuck, such as the difficulties of starting and maintaining media business. The reasons for this are the high prices of newsprint and printing facilities. In conclusion, he said that the United States was committed to elevate issues to advance democracy and freedom of media in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

David Webster, the next speaker, is Chairman of the Transatlantic Dialogue on European Broadcasting. He said that “many (former Communist countries) have moved toward freedom of the press” but progress has been slow. “These countries regard freedom of the broadcast media as some kind of luxury to be enjoyed in better times, rather than as a necessity which will help bring about those better times.”

He emphasized the need for diversity and multiplicity in the media because in time the public sector will “benefit from sensible competition.”

“One of the dangers of looking to Western models of media is that these models are imperfect,” Webster stated. Using France as an example, he said, there laws prohibit individuals from insulting the President adding that the law is rarely applied.

He said, “In countries new to freedom and the ambiguities of democracy, it can be used as an excuse for repression.”

Webster suggested that the emerging democracies should not copy laws of “well-established democracies” for this would be a serious error. However, the media should “continue to press for national legal safeguards for freedom of expression” as well as international ones. Education and training are also very important, he said.

One other solution, according to Webster, is multiplicity, “for it is the multiplication of voices and institutions that diffuses the pressure.” However, this often is not enough, as the next speaker showed.

Sandra Pralong, executive director of Democracy Works, was the final speaker at the briefing. She emphasised that the media is a business and that it is necessary to convince people that it is a serious business not the same mass media that Leninist regimes used to manipulate.

Pralong spoke of the problems of the independent media. Everything, she said, is still based on state-owned infrastructure. Economics play a large role in the establishment of free media as well. She gave an example of the lack of investment in capital where the media has a hard time getting credit on financial markets because they have no assets, and there is little or no foreign aid.

Pralong indicated that the media should be encouraged to promote democracy and respect for the law. She said that what Eastern Europe needs is more people who are trained in managing so that the media could be built as businesses.

Pralong also spoke of the hardships of independent media, giving the example of Rumania, where in 1992, on the eve of the first local elections, the government decided to abolish newsprint subsidies, doubling overnight the prices of the newspapers. This left only the government-sponsored press to cover the election.

While Webster had spoken about the value of multiplicity, one can see that without independent funding, independent media is difficult to achieve.

General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka 1907-1950

The Ukrainian liberation movement of recent period bears the deep and indestructible imprint of the personality of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who for seven years (1943-1950) held political and military posts within the Ukrainian underground. Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which numbered up to 200,000 soldiers, Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), and leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.).

It was after the re-establishment of the independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed on June 30th, 1941, that an armed fight against Nazi Germany and later on against Russia began and still is going on by means and methods appropriate to given circumstances.

March 5th, 1950, is the 45th anniversary of the day when General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka fell in the battle against Soviet Russian troops in the Ukrainian village Bilohorshcha near Lviv. His death was hailed by the Soviet authorities as the end of Ukrainian resistance against the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine. Shortly after this fateful battle in Bilohorshcha on March 5th, 1950, a statement was issued boasting that "the armed opposition in Western Ukraine has been liquidated".

It is obvious that the Soviet regime expected the collapse of the Ukrainian liberation struggle with the death of its leader. Further events in Ukraine, however, proved that the expectations of the Soviet regime would not materialise. The Ukrainian liberation movement was prepared for such eventuality by Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka himself and immediately after his death necessary changes and adjustments were made to secure the continuance of the resistance.

It is still premature to evaluate fully the deeds of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and the importance of his contribution to the cause of freedom. Leaving aside the details we would like to indicate the most significant facts:

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was successful for creating inside the Soviet Union a very important and well-organised political nucleus of anti-Soviet resistance which, notwithstanding all Soviet attempts, was not only preserved but became a focal point for all anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian forces and tendencies within the Russian empire.

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka formulated the principles of liberation struggle under specific conditions of the totalitarian state. It was his belief that the resistance against the police regime in a totalitarian state is not only possible but necessary of a nation is willing to regain its freedom.

Accordingly, the following goals were set by Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka for the Ukrainian underground:

Preventing the enemy from blunting the morale of the people and supporting its confidence in the cause of freedom;

Spreading of the revolutionary ideas and helping to gain new followers among all enslaved nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia with the aim of creating a common front of all enslaved peoples against the oppressors;

Concentrating on the struggle along well-defined political ideas and certain actions which help to preserve human national resources from destruction by the enemy;

Resisting deportations, economic plundering, collectivisation;

Terrorising the most hated representatives of the Soviet regime and forcing them to be more lenient in dealing with the population.

Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was convinced that the dynamic law of terror has its fatal inverse. If its rhythm will be broken, if the opponents will be determined and ready to respond to terroristic measures of the enemy in their own proper way, then the current of terror could be reversed, and with the same impetus would sweep back through the whole structure of the totalitarian state. The late General acted to initiate the beginning of this reverse process. He ignited a spark which, as we can observe now, the Soviet regime had no power to extinguish.

Ukrainians throughout the world recall the Proclamation issued by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine under the leadership of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka shortly after the end of the Second World War in May 1945:

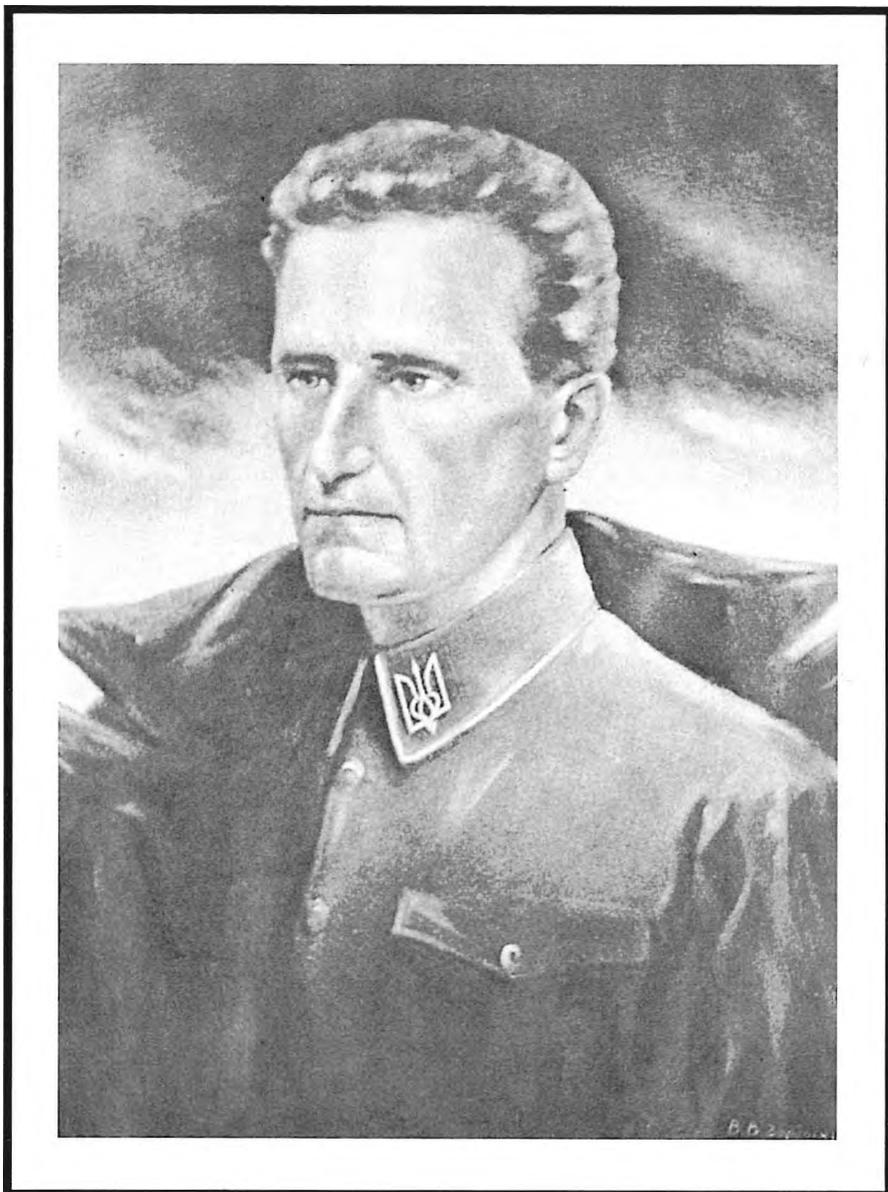
“We are conscious of the fact that our liberation struggle has entered its most difficult stage. It is true that the road toward liberation of a subjugated nation is not an easy one and there are always days of triumph and days of sorrow but our activities cannot be stipulated by the future possibilities and outlooks.”

“We, the acting generation of our people, are ready to fulfill our honourable obligations regardless of what our personal fate will be. We believe in the strength and the future of the Ukrainian nation and we know that by our deeds we are bringing nearer the day of national and social freedom for our people. Even if we die in the struggle, then new fighters will arise who will continue our work as we are continuing the great work of our fathers.”

The struggle for a free and independent Ukrainian state continued notwithstanding the heavy losses in the past. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were constantly active in Ukraine. The murder by KGB agents on October 15th, 1959, of Stepan Bandera, the leader of Ukrainian Nationalists who became a banner and watchword of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, did not stop the fight for the independence of the Ukrainian people. There is no such power that can break up the will of a nation which craves and fights for its freedom.

Eternal glory to the hero of the great Ukrainian liberation struggle!

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**General Shukhevych-Chuprynka
1907-1950**

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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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A word from the Editor...

In May 1995, the world commemorated the end of the Second World War in Europe. Alongside the joyous festivities celebrating the rightful victory over one of two intolerable totalitarianisms of this century, we were again confronted with the revival of images of Nazi death camps, the death toll of soldiers, the suffering of civilians, and destroyed cities.

The revival of images from the demagogic propaganda speeches of Nazi leaders were a reminder to the Western world of the drastic cataclysms, which can occur as a result of a weak political position both internally within one country and externally in the outside world.

Fifty years is a mere moment in the span of the history of mankind. Within the last fifty years of so-called peace in Europe, our world has witnessed over two hundred wars, not taking into account the armed struggles of nations fighting in defense of their freedom and dignity. The Second World War ended in 1945, but the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the Soviet occupying forces continued for the next decade; East Germans revolted against Soviet occupation and were forced to live apart from their countrymen; the Hungarians were crushed by the Soviets and experienced the abandonment of the West during their uprising in 1956; and the Prague Spring of 1968 was chilled by a cold Siberian winter.

The last fifty years have also seen the evolution of mankind in terms of progress on moral and ethical grounds. The Nuernberg Trials took place and the crimes against humanity were judicially-penalised. To this day, war criminals of the Nazi period are subject to prosecution.

One could say that Europe has come to know peace in the last fifty years. But to look at the Augustine definition of peace – order within justice – is to realise that only one part of Europe has experienced fifty years of peace. The other part was forced to exist in a totalitarian system created and based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism coupled with the old tradition of Russian imperialism. For the greater part of Europe and Asia, concentration camps, political exile, forced resettlement and the suppression of any move or thought which represented a small yearning for freedom were the reality.

And as one observed the commemoration of the end of the war in Europe, one saw not only the tragic and unforgettable war images in Western Europe, but in Moscow, the glorification of the war and victory with parades and once again a feeble attempt to show strength and might.

The bombed and destroyed appearance of the Chechen capital of Grosny today is very reminiscent of the look of European cities after World War II fifty years ago. The extent of evil which mankind is capable of inflicting has not changed.

This is why perhaps we do not hear “No war anymore!”. Better that we cry out “Justice for everyone – everywhere in the world!” because without justice we cannot wish for or expect peace.

The “Internal” Empire of the Russian Federation

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the next imperial structure to undergo a similar process will be the former RSFSR or what is today known as the Russian Federation. There are 21 “republics” in the Federation, which constitute in varying degrees distinct and separate nations with their own historical-national territory, ethnic and cultural distinctions. In April this year a new federation treaty was signed by the republics. However, two refused and opted for independence. They are Chechnya and Tatarstan. As to the former, it seceded in 1991, and as to the latter, 61% voted for independence in a referendum. There are also independence movements in virtually all of the republics as well as many of the autonomous regions, of which there are 55, and even in various regions and smaller administrative units.

However, the question of how much independence the non-Russian nations want from Moscow also varies from republic to republic. For example, while Chechnya has opted for a total break with Russia, Tatarstan does not want a divorce from Russia, but rather a special bilateral separation treaty and not to be party to the multilateral Federation Treaty. This approach is reflected in other areas which may have signed the Federation Treaty, such as Bashkiriya, but are also demanding special treaties with Russia. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Federation Treaty is to be part of a new constitution for the Federation, which is a major point of contention in the Parliament.

These republics and autonomous regions, some of which have their own parliaments and some lawmaking powers, have been encouraged by the collapse of the USSR. They have demanded more sovereign power and have unilaterally taken measures to nullify Moscow's authority in their areas. Just as former Soviet republics declared that the Soviet constitution had no force on their territories, so several Russian Federation republics have said that Russian laws do not apply to them.

While, later in my statement, I will make a brief reference to other nations in the Russian Federation, I would like to spend a bit more time looking at Tatarstan and Chechnya. I have selected these two republics because they have not signed the federal treaty in Moscow and have declared themselves sovereign states.

As to Tatarstan, its assets are its size, the largest republic with nearly 4 million citizens, although only about 50% are ethnic Tartars, and its economic potential as it is an important oil producing area.

Tatarstan was conquered by Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century. It has been part of the Russian Empire for the last 400 years. In November 1992 Tatarstan passed a constitution declaring itself a sovereign state. The sovereignty move was precipitated by a referendum held earlier in the year, when a majority of Tatarstan's voters said they favoured sovereignty.

Significantly the majority which favoured sovereignty included many Russians who make up over 40% of the population. With regard to the all important question of its relationship with Moscow, the Tatarstan parliament vaguely states that it will be associated with Moscow on bilateral terms that would be determined in a treaty to be negotiated in the future. The new constitution states: "Tatarstan is a sovereign state and a subject of international law associated to Russia on the basis of a treaty providing for mutual delegation of powers." Tatarstan is now seeking to enter into negotiations with Moscow with a view to achieving a special agreement on its status with reference to the Russian Federation.

In response to Tatarstan's moves towards independence, Moscow has indicated that it may impose sanctions to enforce the republic into submission. Economic retaliation in the form of withholding commercial trade and to undercut the military production sector of Tatarstan's economy have been threatened. Moscow has also instigated a portion of the large Russian minority in Tatarstan to organise a formidable opposition to sovereignty and rather to resubmit the republic to Russia's domination. It has supported the establishment of so-called federalist parties and movements. Under the umbrella movement Citizens of the Russian Federation, the anti-sovereignty forces have been appealing to the President and to the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet to nullify the Tatarstan sovereignty move.

Therefore, Tatarstan's leaders, especially its President Mentimir Shaimiyev, are moving carefully in asserting Tatarstan's sovereignty, so as not to frustrate the growing nationalist movement, while at the same time not provoking the strong pro-Russian lobby. "I am satisfied with the wisdom parliament manifested in tackling a difficult political question," said President Saimiyev after the parliamentary vote for sovereignty.

After the Soviet Union disintegrated last December, the Trans-Caucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were recognised as independent states. Russia was left with a number of "autonomous republics" on the northern part of the Caucasus mountains, places with much animosity towards Moscow.

Among these nations in the region are Chechens, Ossetians, Ingushi and Adygs. To keep them under Russian control is a constant problem for Moscow. But to let them go independent would constitute a major signal of the coming apart of the internal Russian empire itself.

Having already been forced to accept independence for the nations of its outer empire: Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the other Asian states of the former USSR, Moscow is more determined than ever not to allow the same in its internal empire – the Russian Federation.

The principle nation opposing further Russian domination is Chechnya. Under the dynamic leadership of a former strategic bomber pilot, Dzhokhar Dudayev, who is a native Chechen, the nearly one million

Chechens split away from the Russian Federation in November 1994 and established their own independent state. Chechnya's oil production has enabled the government to withstand an economic blockade by Russia. "The Russian government is trying to strangle our independence through various kinds of pressure, including armed actions, and we are determined to resist." In fact, Dudayev has threatened to send elite Chechen forces to blow up nuclear power stations in Russia if Moscow attempts to crush Chechen independence. Since independence the Chechen government has moved quickly to establish links with other countries, including state visits to Saudi Arabia and Turkey and recently to western Europe and North America.

The independence of Chechnya resulted in the succession of Ingushetia from what was formerly Chechen-Ingushetia and a territorial dispute with its neighbour Ossetia. Many observers claim that these ethnic clashes are the result of Russian provocations and covert agents seeking to instigate unrest in the secessionist Caucasus region. To counter the divide and conquer tactics of Moscow, the peoples in the region established the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus.

The Confederation was first established in 1989 under the name, the Assembly of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, which was converted into a confederation in November 1991. The Confederation's legislative and administrative structure includes its parliament, executive structures and its own armed formations. In October 1992, the congress of the confederation, called for the total rejection of the Russian Federal Treaty as not corresponding to the national interests of the peoples of the Caucasus. It further recommended that all social and political organisations and movements demand that the leadership of their republic seek real independence, conclude among them a political, economic and cultural cooperation treaty, and recognise the independence of Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. To withstand Russian designs on their independence, Chechnya is also seeking to establish a common policy and to coordinate actions with Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Tatarstan and Bakhkorstan.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the two examples of Tatarstan and Chechnya offer two different approaches to achieving independence from Russia's internal empire. The former, mindful of the economic and demographic realities it faces, has opted for a gradual approach to total independence. While the latter has moved openly and swiftly to assert sovereignty and to establish coalitions with other like-minded nations, as well as relations with the outside world.

Another important republic in the Russian Federation that is seeking greater freedom from Moscow is Bashkorstan. Its demographics, over 4 million citizens, is similar to that of Tatarstan. Moreover it is contiguous to Tatarstan and creates a link with the potentially unstable area of western Kazakhstan. While Bashkorstan did sign the Federation Treaty, it did so after winning considerable concessions from Moscow. For example, Moscow

conceded to Bashkorstan exclusive control over its land and natural resources and the right to set its own judicial and legal system. Its representatives are pushing for sovereign status in all areas except defense, aspects of foreign affairs and monetary policy. Recently, Bashkorstan, Tatarstan and Yakutia made a joint declaration that they intend to promote their sovereignty further.

The independence drive has spread even to autonomous districts. In this case the Yamalo-Nenetskiy autonomous district, which is part of the Tyumen region in West Siberia, approved a draft bill declaring that the district secedes from the region and constitutes an independent administrative-territorial unit of Russia.

There has also been a resurgence of political action in the Far East of the Russian Federation, where a new political movement has sprung up calling for the restoration of the Far Eastern Republic. The Far Eastern Republic existed as an independent state from 1920 to 1922 when it was forcibly annexed to the Soviet Union. In this regard the Far Eastern Republican Party issued a declaration in October 1992 that demands that the President and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation recall from the Far Eastern region all presidential vice-gerents and representatives of the Russian Federation and that a referendum on the re-establishment of the Far Eastern Republic as well as elections to all of the Republic's legislative and executive bodies be held. The declaration goes on to call on the citizens residing in the Far East to disobey the laws of the Russian Federation and not to serve in the CIS armed forces. Furthermore, the Far Eastern Republican Party stated that it has formed a provisional government of the FER which will act as plaintive of FER interests at the United Nations and the International Court in The Hague. In concluding its declaration the Far Eastern republicans warned the Russian government that unless the entire package of questions raised by them is examined in the immediate future, they will regard this as a declaration of hostilities against the FER.

The idea of a Far Eastern Republic received new impetus, with the emergence of the North Pacific Forum (NPF). It has declared that it will fight for the merger of the territories and regions of the Pacific area in a North Pacific Federative Republic, for uniting the citizens of this territory into a Pacific nation, and for the integration of the Pacific states. The NPF has also called for the creation of the republic's armed forces by uniting the commands of the Pacific Fleet and the Far Eastern and Transbaikal Military Districts. The NPF recognises that the Pacific region and Siberia are part of Europe (New Europe), whereas China, Japan, Korea, Indochina, the Philippines and Taiwan are a different part of the world. The NPF also intends to issue its own monetary unit – North Pacific Crown.

All of the foregoing, is a matter of growing concern to Moscow. It has also created alarm in the capitals of the industrial democracies. For example, following a trip to Moscow in October 1994 by Michael Mandelbaum, a key foreign policy adviser to the Government of President Bill Clinton, he expressed his shock at unmistakable signs of coming disintegration of the

Russian Federation. On his part, Henry Kissinger, who was in Moscow at the same time, also related that resurgent Russian nationalism and a return to hegemony over much of the ancient empire is Moscow's real goal.

It is my considered view as well, that the historical progressive forces in the internal Russian Empire are moving forward to reassert their national right to sovereignty and independence. This process will continue to build in momentum, just as was the case in the former satellite countries and subsequently in the republics of the former USSR. It can also be expected that Moscow will not quietly accept this turn of events and will resort to all means at its disposal, including use of force, to prevent the total disintegration of its Internal Empire. The question that remains is what if anything the West will be prepared to do if such developments come to pass. Regrettably, based on past actions, I cannot hold out hope that the industrialised democracies will stand with the subjugated nations of the Internal Russian Empire. This is yet another convincing argument as to the need for a dynamic organisation, which the ABN is, to speak out forcefully in defense of the national rights of the countries in the Internal Russian Empire struggling to achieve their independence.



Chechen soldiers in Grozny

Stefan TERLETZKI

Russia Barred From Council Of Europe

Stefan Terlezki, a Ukrainian, born in the village of Antoniowka in the county of Ivano-Frankivsk, is a former member of the British Parliament. He is a member of the Council of Europe representing Great Britain on the Convention for the Prevention of Torture, Degrading and Inhuman Treatment.

In December 1992, Stefan Terlezki was awarded and presented by H.M.The Queen the Order of Commander of the British Empire for his political and public services. It was a first in the history of Great Britain, a Ukrainian born person being awarded one of the country's highest honours.

A plan to admit Russia to the Council of Europe on May 5th – the 50th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe – has been abandoned because of Russia's military action in Chechnya.

The secretary general of the council Mr. Daniel Tarschys, speaking at its headquarters in Strasburg, described Russia's use of force in Chechnya as "disproportionate and indiscriminate" and "a blatant violation of elementary human rights".

The council was formed by the western European powers soon after the war to uphold democratic standards, human rights and the rule of law. It now has 33 member countries, including a number of former communist states. The postponement of Russia's entry follows decisions at meetings of the council's political committee in Paris and the "Enlargement Group" in Strasburg to suspend negotiations with the Russian government on its pledges to meet the council's requirements.

The major western European countries, including Britain, had previously advocated Russia's speedy entry to the council as a way of encouraging its democratic process. However, it is understood that Britain was the main instigator in formulating the council's protest at the action in Chechnya.

At the beginning of the year, the council sent a questionnaire to Moscow asking if the government was prepared, among other things, to protect national minorities and to settle disputes by peaceful means. The initial replies were evidently regarded as too vague to be acceptable.

The Council of Europe was formed 5th May 1949, and has grown from the ten founder countries to the present 33 countries. There are 8 special status countries with no voting power – Albania, Belarus, Croatia, Latvia, former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldava, Russia and Ukraine.

I hope that Ukraine will soon become a full member of the Council of Europe, and I am not convinced that Russia represents the Human Rights code of conduct. Russia has so brutally demonstrated this by blatantly and indiscriminately using its military might to kill and massacre innocent men, women and children in Chechnya.

Russian brutality in Chechnya only demonstrated that foxes do not become vegetarians. It is illogical to assume that the West can appease Moscow by any amount of money supply without any accountability.

It is quite conceivable, that some of the leaders of the Russian Federation were hard-core communists, KGB commissars and *nomenclature apparatchiks*. It is also right to assume that it will take generations before Moscow can claim a rightful place in partnership with Europe. Therefore, the West must stand firm, be pragmatic, and spell out what it expects of Moscow.

The West must not neglect, or ignore, or leave behind independent states such as Ukraine which is peaceful, cooperative, and asks for no more and no less, only to be treated as an equal among equals.

Russia must accept unreservedly that its internal and external affairs and behaviour will not be tolerated, and Russia will not be and cannot be recognised by the West as an equal partner, or a full member of the Council of Europe, as long as it manifests and fully accepts the principle of the rule of law, and guarantees everyone under its jurisdiction the enjoyment of human rights and the fundamental freedom to protect and strengthen pluralistic democracy to promote the emergence of genuine European cultural identity.

I know that Ukraine is well ahead of Russia in the field of genuine European cultural identity. It is for the West to note.

Forty days after Russian troops invaded Chechnya for what was supposed to be a two-hour operation, according to some Russian Generals, President Yeltsin proclaimed that the military stage of the Chechen campaign was effectively over. But not in two hours and not in two months, it is still continuing. Mr Yeltsin wants to allay fears in the West of endless war in the Caucasus. But fifty-one states have accused Moscow of breaking international law.

In what appears to be a warning to other parts of the Russian Federation which might be thinking of separating from Moscow, Yeltsin said: "May this tragedy suffered by Russia, the Russians and the Chechen people serve as a lesson for all peoples and politicians." Despite Mr. Yeltsin's words, Chechnya remains conquered territory and is unlikely ever to be a willing subject of Russian rule. The most the Russians can hope for is to establish their rule over the northern plains leaving the mountains to the Chechen freedom fighters.

This assault by the world's second largest army on the tiny Caucasian mountain republic began on December 11, but immediately became bogged down in civilian protests. The heroism, patriotism, dedication, loyalty and the fight for freedom of their country

demonstrates the spirit of resilience of the Chechen freedom fighters in the defence of human rights.

Newspapers reported that Mr. Douglas Hurd, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs told Moscow that ties are in jeopardy. Mr. Hurd telephoned Mr. Kozyrev, the Russian Foreign Minister, to warn him of growing concern in the West over the brutality of the fighting in Grozny, and urged Russia to allow Western humanitarian aid through. Britain also promised £1 million in humanitarian aid to Chechnya, and said it was ready to offer more. The money will be channelled through the International Committee of the Red Cross. Mr. Hurd also issued one of his most outspoken public warnings that Russia was jeopardising its relations with the West by its onslaught on the Chechen capital.

Mr Hurd said in a lecture to the London Business School that Russia was entitled to expect from its Western partners a serious effort to understand its difficulties – “But our own public, and Russians too, are equally entitled to expect Western Governments consistently to uphold accepted standards of human rights, and internationally agreed principles governing the use of armed force must be commensurate with the security threat posed.”

Mr. Douglas Hurd warned Andrei Kozyrev, that British public opinion was becoming disgusted with Moscow’s onslaught on Grozny. The West is looking at the toll the war is taking on the Russian leader and on their relations with him. Russia’s most popular political figure rebuked the West for not taking a tougher and more principled stand against President Yeltsin over the conflict in Chechnya.

Although western governments have called for a halt to hostilities, their protests have already been muted. Almost every western power still supports Mr. Yeltsin, and in the words of one senior diplomat, the only question remaining is “whether to slap him once on the wrist, or twice”.

Russian bombers have bombarded apartment blocks indiscriminately, strafed cars and buses fleeing the capital, Grozny, and devastated markets in towns, villages, and massacred the people – Chechens and Russians. The cluster bombs that Moscow authorised to bomb men, women and children killing, maiming, crippling, leaving lasting body scars, is a crime of international concern. Those responsible should be brought to justice under the International Law of Human Rights.

These are terror tactics that Stalin and his successors would recognise and approve of. The reaction of today’s world has been curiously muted. It is most horrifying that the manner in which Russia handles the crisis must be a legitimate one the world over. There is nothing in international law which allows a government to slaughter civilians in the pursuit of public order. It is not an internal matter when a government kills its own citizens indiscriminately.

Russia is a signatory to numerous pious declarations about the sanctity of human rights. Only last December at the Budapest OSCE

summit, it committed itself to the principles that when engaged in internal security operations, "the armed forces will take due care to avoid injury to civilians or their property".

The Siberian bear does not care how he savages his victim.

The West's mealy-mouthed response to Russian excesses in Chechnya reflects its strategic internats in Russia. Europe and America are no doubt sincere in their desire for democracy and human rights to flourish in Russia. But for this to happen requires stability, human understanding, respect for democracy and freedom for the nation.

The Chechens – unlike the Palestinians or the Kurds – have no powerful friends to add a few human tints to this demonic picture. Like the European Gypsies, who in many ways they resemble, they are hopeless in presenting their own case for recognition and independence. The longer Chechen resistance continues, the harder it will be for the West to dismiss them as criminal subversives and to wink at Yeltsin's Stalinist methods in supporting them.

President Yeltsin must be told that he cannot and must not deal with Chechnya with the same brutality shown by the Russian Empire towards Hungary or Czechoslovakia because Russia is an Empire NO longer. Or do old memories die hard. Russia must heed opposition to the war. The West must oppose any signs of Russian revanchism in parts of the former Russian Empire which have now achieved independence. Russia must learn to live within its own borders.



Chechnya's Cry 'We are not secessionists.'

On October 27, 1991, after an honorable career as a Soviet air force general, I was elected president of Chechnya with a margin of 84 percent from among six candidates in our first democratic elections. Elections were held for parliament, a cabinet was put into place and a constitution was adopted based on U.S. principles. The mandate handed to me by the National Chechen Congress, which met in Grozny in November 1990, was to negotiate Chechen sovereignty. We never signed the March 1992 Federation Treaty, nor have we participated in the new Russian constitution or the Russian parliamentary elections of 1993. Now the Soviet Union does not exist, and we are ready for a new political agreement.

The Chechen government, under my leadership, has always been willing to negotiate a mutually beneficial relationship with the Russian Federation based on international law. Yet we have found the Russians unwilling and obstructive. In fact, I have been the target of seven assassination attempts. Five unsuccessful attempts at a military coup have been mounted against us. Moscow has unleashed a major disinformation campaign, falsely accusing us of being a criminal state and major center of mafia activities. Attempts by Russian and Chechen authorities to negotiate during this war have been consistently undermined by Russian military and security services.

Chechnya's tragedy is her location. In the 18th and 19th centuries, we stood in the way of the czars' expansionist designs on Persia and India. Today the real issue is oil. Chechnya's premium crude oil and natural gas reserves, as well as the existing pipeline between our country and the Black Sea, are critically important to Russia, the Middle East and the West.

Everyone seems to jockey for control over the resources of the Caucasus. Russia's recent energy deals with Iran, including Iran's new membership in the Azerbaijan international oil consortium, have already alarmed U.S. officials. The lure and importance of the Chechen oil and pipeline have prompted Moscow to use brutal force, including needle and cluster bombs, to seize control of our capital, Grozny, and the outlying areas. In doing so, 500,000 of our 1.2 million people have been made homeless. Thirty thousand innocent civilians have been killed, both Russian and Chechen.

To stop this terrible bloodshed, we call upon the leaders of the world's democracies, especially the United States and Germany, to intervene. We propose:

A real cease-fire without preconditions, monitored by international observers.

Creation of safe havens in nonoccupied territories where people

can receive medical treatment and food directly from international humanitarian groups.

Direct negotiations at any mutually agreed level between the legitimately elected Chechen government and representatives of Russia under the auspices of international mediators.

The holding of presidential and parliamentary elections in 1995, under international supervision, as foreseen in our American-style constitution. I would like to declare to the world: We are not secessionists. We are not demanding complete independence. We are not criminals. Nor did we start this war. We have worked hard to seek out peaceful economic and political relations with the Russian Federation, consistently meeting with members of the Russian government during the past three years.

We are a peaceful, ancient, ethnically and religiously diverse people who wish to resolve this crisis through negotiations before the cost becomes so great that democracy and reform will be lost forever in Russia and our people will be senselessly decimated.

The natural resources of our area could bring prosperity to all the countries of this region. We beg the international community to facilitate immediate action to preserve my people and culture, to create stability in a volatile part of the world and to promote democratic reform both in Chechnya and in Russia. We should not let the struggle for control of oil hamper progress in promoting human rights and democracy.



Dzhohar Dudayev, the writer, is a former Soviet air force general, and was elected President of the Chechen Republic in 1991.

Chechnya War, A Colonial Conflict

The war in Chechnya is a colonial war, former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said. "Chechnya is not a part of Russia proper, but an area conquered by Czarist Russia in the middle of the last century," he said at a lecture in Oslo.

"It is difficult to regard Chechnya as Russian territory when you witness the way Russian forces bomb their own cities," he said. Kissinger said he favoured the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) eastwards as soon as possible.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, No. 30.

Clinton: Chechnya is Proof Of Russian Reform Setbacks

NEW YORK — Responding to a letter from the national executive board of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, President Bill Clinton said the Chechen conflict is a reminder that transformations in Russia "will encounter setbacks."

Clinton said in his March 17 correspondence:

Thank you for sharing your concerns about the Chechnya conflict.

The violence in Chechnya is a tragedy of all involved. While we have stated that Chechnya is part of Russia, we have also made clear our views on the unacceptable toll of death and suffering that the military action has inflicted on innocent civilians. The events in Chechnya are a reminder that the processes of transformation under way in Russia — and throughout the former Soviet Union — will encounter setbacks. While no one can predict the outcome, it would be a mistake to write off reform in Russia. Indeed, our policy aims to maximize the chance that reform will be sustained and will succeed. It is important during these periods of uncertainty to recall the profound stake the United States has in promoting Russia's progress on the path to reform.

Chechens Fast and Fight

Chechnya's Muslim defenders continued to fight despite the strict regulations of the holy month of Ramazan, which is a time of fasting and abstinence and pious meditation.

"If we lay down our weapons, the Russians will kill our women and children, and that would be unforgivable, an even greater sin," explained Makhmout Salamov. He and his companions in arms spent the nights in a cellar near Minutka Square in the city centre, which was under constant Russian artillery fire. There were a score of them, aged 20 to 40, labourers in civilian life. They fasted during the day until sunset, said Umalat Salaudi, a commanding officer who is close to the Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

But the war simply had to go on, he said, adding: "In any case, the Chechens are not waging war, they are defending themselves." They were huddled in the dilapidated cellar, with hardly any heat emerging from the shattered gas fitting.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, Nos. 36 & 37.

U.N. — the Savior of Ukraine? Not without Ukrainian Oil, It Isn't

Having been forced or bribed with promised but yet-unseen money to surrender its nuclear arsenal to Russia for dismantling and storage, Ukraine today is looking to the United Nations as the guarantor of its independence, sovereignty, territorial inviolability — ultimately its statehood.

That was the upshot of a historic briefing by Ambassador Anatoliy Zlenko, permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations, with the Ukrainian American press. It was historic because after some three and a half years of Ukrainian independence a high-ranking Ukrainian diplomat finally convened such a meeting on March 7.

The theme, underlined by Zlenko, is one that is seen in many addresses by Ukrainian government leaders, and rightfully so. For Ukraine, tucked in the shadow of the Russian behemoth, security is tantamount to existence.

In agreeing to liquidate its nuclear missiles, Ukraine expected security guarantees from the United States, the nuclear club, the West, NATO, anyone willing to listen to its case. However, the security guarantees turned into security assurances and the Budapest document, signed by Ukraine, the United States, Russia and Great Britain after Kyiv inked the NPT accord, turned out to be a fairy tale of unlikely eventualities.

Zlenko's predecessor at the United Nations, Viktor Batiuk, now Ukrainian ambassador to Canada, had said in an interview that if the United States and the West insist that Ukraine "perform a nuclear striptease," then they will have to pay for watching this performance. As payment he meant that one or all Western powers would have to guarantee Ukraine's security.

In his statement to the Ukrainian American journalists, Zlenko spoke of Ukraine's precarious situation as it straddles the fence between Russia on the one side and Western Europe, which it earnestly claims to be part of, on the other.

Emphasizing that the intention of Ukraine's open foreign policy is to cooperate with all countries and regions of the world, Zlenko further indicated that Ukraine seeks to become a serious European country. In a geopolitical context, he noted, the continued unification of Europe will help regulate bilateral and regional conflicts. This, he declared, is the most realistic guarantee of the statehood of Ukraine and the other emerging democratic countries.

Inasmuch as national security is a many faceted concept, Zlenko continued, the United Nations is also a guarantor of the national security, territorial inviolability and statehood of Ukraine.

When we asked Zlenko whether this accent on the United Nations means that Ukraine is fearing imminent Russian intrusion on its territory and acknowledging the West's lack of interest in this regard, the Ukrainian diplomat said, no. Every sovereign country, in its thought out foreign policy, he explained, must constantly explore and reexamine its security and defense requirements. As for Western ambivalence, Zlenko expressed his conviction that the United States and Canada, specifically, and others are committed in their support of Ukraine.

Since then we had the opportunity to pose this scenario to a third-party United Nations expert during a conference on March 16-18 marking the 50th anniversary of the international body at Hofstra University. Responding to our question whether it is realistic for Ukraine to expect the United Nations to guarantee Ukraine's statehood or is it, to borrow Foreign Minister's Hennadiy Udovenko's charming, yet appropriate, adage, "Great Expectations, Gone with the Wind," the political scientist said, the expectation was unrealistic.

Richard A. Falk, an Albert G. Milbank professor of international law and practice at the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, opined that the Russian invasion of Chechnya is an example of radical limits of what the United Nations wants to do or can do. Using also the example of Kuwait, Falk said that it is one thing for the United Nations to protect that Persian Gulf country and another thing to protect Ukraine. Another country is Tibet. "There is no interest, nor capability," he said.

"It is important to recognize that in a world that is structured as it is, it is difficult to provide guarantees that are meaningful, unless they (the target countries) have oil," Falk pointed out.

In other words, Ukraine has two key problems with its expectations: it is tucked in the shadow of the Russian behemoth, a country that is armed with nuclear weapons, and Ukraine does not have oil. Faced with such odds against Ukraine, the United Nations collectively nor any individual national White Knight will be hard pressed to guarantee Ukraine's statehood.

Realistically, Ukraine's only two alternatives are to develop its own convincing national defensive system, which will deter any invader, or to make sure it is on permanently friendly terms with every near or distant country.

UN Told of Russia's Violation of Human Rights

Human Rights campaigner Yelena Bonner of Russia, told the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on 7 February that Russia had been guilty of gross human rights violations in its military campaign to end Chechnya's bid for independence.

'From the moment Russian troops were sent into the territory of Chechnya and the war unfolded, serious violations of international (human rights) covenants can be observed on that territory,' she declared.

She said the Russian army, which went into Chechnya in December and began a conflict in which hundreds, perhaps thousands of soldiers, fighters and civilians have died, had used weapons of mass destruction in civilian areas. The air force had attacked markets, columns of cars carrying refugees and funeral processions, she added.

There were many testimonies by eye-witnesses 'of arbitrary executions (of captured Chechens) by firing squads, of an unpublished order not to take prisoners and to shoot them on the spot instead,' Bonner told the commission.

Bonner's condemnation of Russian actions follows criticism by the Vienna based Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) of what it said was the disproportionate use of force by Moscow in Chechnya.

Speaking on behalf of the New York based International League for Human Rights and the Andrei Sakharov Foundation named after her Nobel Peace laureate (late) husband, she called on the United Nation Commission to demand an account from the Russian government.

She called for an end to all financial aid to the Russian government until it halts the fighting and agrees to a peace deal through talks with the Chechen leader Dzhohar Dudayev.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, No. 35.

Israel offers aid to Chechnya

Israel proposed on 16 January to send humanitarian aid to Chechnya and voiced deep concern about the loss of life, a foreign ministry spokesman said. "Israel calls on the Russian government to make all efforts to solve the crisis in peaceful ways" and "Israel is ready to offer humanitarian aid to the civilian population in Chechnya", the Israeli foreign ministry spokesman said.

Reports from Moscow said hundreds of bodies have been lying in the streets of the capital Grozny for days raising fears of epidemics.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, Vol. 30.

ON DECOLONIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

**The Special Committee on the
Implementation of the Declaration
on Decolonization**

United Nations
General Assembly
United Nations Plaza
NEW YORK NY 10017 USA

3 February 1995

Dear Sirs/Madams,

The 19th century saw an explosive extension of the Russian colonial empire in the Caucasus, in Central Asia and in Siberia. In the aftermath of World War II the colonial empire was extended with nations occupied by Soviet military forces. While western colonial powers after the war dismantled their colonial empires the Russian colonial rule in the occupied areas continued unhindered with no objection from the United Nations.

The 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was a great and welcome step towards complete decolonization. But the then Soviet government refused to discuss the colonial status of countries like Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and others. The United Nations accepted this without protest. Ironically the former Soviet Union, former Soviet Ukraine and former Soviet Byelorussia were among the most anticolonialist regimes in regard to western colonies in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 took place without the decolonization effort of the United Nations. The Baltic countries were leading the freedom struggle without the aid of your committee.

The Russian Federation then took over the seat of the Soviet Union at the world organisation in New York. At the same time the United Nations accepted the colonial rule in the "internal" Russian empire. A number of republics and regions of the Russian Federation seek freedom and independence among them Chechnya, Tartarstan, Bashkortostan and Tuva. But the United Nations continues to refuse to accept the anticolonial struggle of these non-Russian peoples of these nations. The General Secretary has recently gone so far as to claim that the bloody, brutal and inhumane Russian colonial war in Chechnya is "an internal Russian affair".

When will the United Nations demand decolonialization of the countries and peoples presently oppressed by the heavy colonial hand of Moscow?

Sincerely yours,

Bertil Haggman

Bertil Haggman, is an author and member of the Swedish Authors Association and has been writing and publishing articles on the subject of Soviet politics since the 1960s.

Death Sentences will be carried out— A Mother Pleads for her Son's Life

Tbilisi – Two political prisoners were sentenced to death on March 6th and were to be executed within the week, reported Georgian Human Rights activists, quoting Georgian court officials. They also told the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) that the Head of State, Eduard Shevardnadze, apparently pressed for a quick execution of the sentences: "The sooner they will be shot, the sooner the Western clamour will stop".

Judge Mirza Dolidze, the court President, sentenced to death Dr. Petre Gelbakhiani, a physician, and Irakli Dokvadze, a scientist. Fifteen more political prisoners were given prison terms of between three and fifteen years.

Dr. Petre Gelbakhiani's mother pleads again for a Western intercession to save her son's life. She repeated again in a telephone conversation with the ISHR that neither her son, nor the other sixteen political prisoners sentenced, have had anything to do with an attempted coup d'etat, the charge for which they were tried.

In April 1993, the Georgian KGB abducted Petre Gelbakhiani and Viktor Domukhovsky, a member of the free elected Georgian Parliament (overthrown by a military coup d'etat in January 1992), from their exile in Baku, Azerbaijan. Petre Gelbakhiani's father, the well known physician, Professor Gedevan Gelbakhiani was arrested in September 1992. Together with Domukhovsky, Professor Gelbakhiani was sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude (hard labour camp) on March 6th.

The fate of the Gelbakhiani family is an example among many of the family responsibility system which has been routinely used against dissidents in Georgia during the Soviet rule and after January 1992. Petre Gelbakhiani's grandfather was also in detention. In 1973, he was arrested on the orders of the of the Communist Party Leader, Eduard Shevardnadze. After three years in detention while under investigation, Professor Gelbakhiani senior, Dean of the Medical School, was sentenced to a prison term of fifteen years. Years before, he was the chairman of the State Examination Board, which was responsible for turning down Eduard Shevardnadze's application for admission to medical studies following his failure of the entrance examination.

ISHR Press Release – Frankfurt/M, 8th March 1995.

Political Prisoners Sentenced to Death – Judicial Murder of Critics says Human Rights Group

On 6th March 1995, the sentences were announced in the trials of 17 political prisoners who have been detained in Georgia since 1992.

As requested by the Prosecutors Office the death sentence has been imposed in two of the cases, those of **Dr. Petre Gelbachiani** and **Mr. Irakli Dokvadse** and the 15 other prisoners have been sentenced to long terms of forced labour, after trials marked by the use of “torture, beatings and profound irregularities”.

In a statement, released March 7, the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR/IGFM) called the results of the trials “utterly unacceptable” claiming that trial process “completely failed to reach adequate standards of procedure at all stages” and accused the authorities of “sanctioning judicial murder of critics and opponents”.

In a letter sent after the Prosecutor had called for these sentences, the ISHR requested the urgent attention of Mr. Shevardnadze, but he later appeared on Georgian TV to claim he had received no protests or letters about the trial.

Defence lawyers were “violently intimidated and threatened causing several to withdraw their services, and the families of the detainees have been put under sustained pressure”.

The trial has also been marked by a “prolonged disinformation and smear campaign against the detainees by organs of the state”. For a period of weeks, several of the accused were not allowed to appear in the court and were on hunger-strike. The prisoners were accused of participating in, planning and engaging in an act of rebellion and in planning the overthrow of the Government, which had itself come to power after a military coup in the country early in 1992.

After the announcement of the sentences several hundred protestors gathered by the Parliament building in Tbilisi calling for the release of all political prisoners. Paramilitaries quickly dispersed protestors using rifles as clubs.

Later in the day the Government Minister, Jaba Iosseliani, appeared on Georgian State TV to warn against the holding of unauthorised protest actions and threatening that recriminations against any persons involved would follow. A demonstration has been planned for that day starting at 13:00 in Tbilisi.

In a letter sent by fax to the Danish Foreign Minister the ISHR requested the host Government of Denmark to urgently raise the whole matter with Mr. Shevardnadze during his visit to the country to attend the UN World Social Summit in Copenhagen.

The following is a full list of prisoners whose sentences were announced on March 5th, in Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia.

1. Dr. Petre Gelbachiani (Doctor, born 1961) – Death Penalty
2. Irakli Dokvadse (Physicist, born 1961) – Death Penalty
3. Victor Domuchowski (Former MP, born 1948) – 15 years
4. Professor Gedevan Gelbachiani (Doctor, born 1937) – 15 years
5. Sutab Gogitscaischwilli (Farmer, born 1956) – 15 years

6. Tempar Kapanadse (born 1960) – 15 years
7. Gischa Machwiladse (Economist, born 1958) – 15 years
8. Tamas Ziklauri (Economist, born 1954) – 15 years
9. Gela Mtschedlischvili (former Militiaman, born 1968) – 13 years
10. Givi Kalmascheldisc (Technician, born 1952) – 12 years
11. Zaza Ziklauri (Physician, born 1961) – 10 years
12. Gia Chachwiaschvili (Carpenter, born 1966) – 10 years
13. Mamu Apziami (Labourer, born 1971) – 8 years
14. Ivan Laschkaraschvili (Driver, born 1960) – 6 years
15. Ramas Tscharigogdischvili (Driver, born 1960) – 5 years
16. Beso Botschoradese (Labourer, born 1961) – 4 years
17. Mamuka Daniela (Student, born 1959) – 3 years

IGFM

– Deutsche Sektion e.V. –

**Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte
International Society for Human Rights**

NGO Forum '95
c/o DIS congress Service Copenhagen

Frankfurt, March 8th, 1995

Re: Visit of Parliament Head Shevardnadze on 10.03.1995 to the World Summit for Social Development.

Dear Sirs,

On March 6th, two political prisoners, Dr. Petre Gelbakhiani and Irakli Dokvadze, were given death sentences in Georgia. Fifteen other political prisoners were sentenced to various prison terms at the same time. The death sentences might be carried out this week. Petre Galbakhiani's mother pleads before the free world for her son's life.

Mr. Shevardnadze intends to visit the World Summit for Social Development. Please help us make our point: protest against this visit, and demand the immediate cancellation of the sentences and a new, constitutionally proper trial.

**Death sentences for political prisoners
are a block for social progress!**

With many thanks for your assistance,
Respectfully,
Karl Hafen
Managing Director

**To Mrs. Slava Stetsko
The President of ABN**

Dear Mrs. Stetsko,

I hope you will help us in this case, as you and your organisation always have. By the way, one of those convicted, MP Victor Domukhovski is a member of ABN (he got 14 years), Mr. Goulbani in Kyiv, in 1994, was appointed as General Secretary of ABN.

With great respect,

Merab Kiznadze

MP, former Chairman of the Georgian Parliament in exile,
now a political refugee in Finland.

On the 6th March 1995 the illegal regime, presently ruling over the Republic of Georgia sentenced two political detainees – Peter Gelbakhiani and Irakli Dokvadze to the death penalty. Another 16 detainees were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment – mostly from 10 to 15 years.

The Supreme Court trial, directed personally by E. Shevardnadze, was held with the rudest due process violations. Detainees had been permanently brutally tortured and mistreated. This is the usual practice of Shevardnadze – the KGB General and the former communist apparatchik – while fighting his political opponents. It's necessary to admit, that the alarming situation in Georgia is the direct result of the military coup d'etat committed in 1992. Unfortunately, neither the coup nor the following full scale Russian military assault on the legally elected Georgian authorities' troops, were condemned by the other democratic states' powers, according to International Law and consequently, International Obligations.

I appeal to You to save the innocent people from execution.

I daresay, that resisting the alarming trend of sloping the OSCE into a political shield, covering the crimes committed by the Kremlin and their puppet regimes, without a doubt seems to prove the most appropriate way to efficient Security and Cooperation in Europe.

George Goulbani

March 12th, 1995. Kronoby, Finland.

P.S. From now on I'm succeeding Mr. Merab Kiknadze in the hunger strike, kept since March 3rd, 1995.

Debate on Russian Threat to Sweden

A secret military seminar in Stockholm made it clear that there is great insecurity among Swedish experts as to where Russia is heading. No clear answers were given and one officer with intelligence background said that it would be dishonest to judge Russian development even in the timeframe of five years.

One Soviet expert, an historian, called for the comparison between the Weimar republic and the present Russian republic. When Hitler took power in 1933 the German economy was in ruins and a catastrophe, but Hitler still managed to set the world on fire in 1939.

In 1992 parliament warned that there might be quick changes in Russia. And in 1994 President Yeltsin decided to solve the problem of Chechnya with uncontrolled military violence.

Norway's former Foreign Minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg, underlined that a NATO expansion to the east might be of great importance to Scandinavia's security.

A nightmare scenario for Sweden would be a United States withdrawing from Europe, a European Union that failed and a new, authoritarian Russia putting pressure on Sweden.

DESTA, Vol. III, No. 2.

Questions in Moscow on Lost Swedish Sailors

Sweden's Foreign Ministry is pressuring Moscow for answers on Swedes lost in the Baltic Sea and Russia. On the list are 19 Swedish ships that have disappeared under circumstances that have not yet been explained.

A Swedish-Russian Working Group has been created and is working to find material in the now opened Soviet archives. The group is led by Mr. Victor Tatarintsev, responsible for Scandinavia in the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Moscow has admitted that the Swedish ship *Bengt Sture* carrying iron ore was torpedoed by the Soviet submarine SC 406 in 1942. According to a Russian historian the crew members were shot by NKVD in a Soviet prison camp.

According to group members, there is still one third of the archive material to go through.

The ship *Kinnekulle* is another mystery. It was found, damaged by fire and abandoned, by Danish fishermen in February 1948. The crew members had disappeared. The ship was on its way from a Polish harbour to Helsingborg in southern Sweden. Russian deny all knowledge of the fate of *Kunnekulle*.

DESTA, Vol. 13, No. 1.

The Real Story of U.S. Assistance

During the past few years, I have written a number of columns regarding U.S. foreign assistance to Ukraine. In those articles, I tried to paint an accurate picture of how much assistance the United States was really providing to Ukraine versus the amounts claimed by the Administration.

For the past year we have been hearing that Ukraine is the fourth largest recipient of U.S. foreign assistance, after Israel, Egypt and Russia. Those claims have even been printed in our community newspapers. We have heard big sums quoted such as, \$700 million of assistance in the fiscal year 1994 and \$200 million in the fiscal year 1995. I have continually challenged the accuracy of these figures.

Analyzing the Administration's claims of assistance is like looking for the proverbial needle in the haystack.

The data is almost impossible to find, and different people, often in the same agency, will give you different information. In addition, one must sort the apples from the oranges, which are often mixed together in the Administration's announcements of "assistance" to Ukraine. The apples are the actual assistance programs, while the oranges are credits or loans, which must be repaid.

I have continually been challenged by representatives of the U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) on my data. When I have written about this in Ukrainian publications, I have been accused of misrepresentation.

The U.S. Department of State has now set the record straight. In January, it published "U.S. Assistance and Related Programs for the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union, 1994 Annual Report."

The report was submitted to Congress "pursuant to Section 104 of the Freedom Support Act (Public Law 102-511)." The 249 page-report assesses the effectiveness of U.S. assistance, outlines the programs of the various U.S. departments and agencies, itemizes assistance programs by country, discusses the progress of countries meeting the standards in the Freedom Support Act, and provides charts.

The charts at the end of the Report are what caught my eye. The first chart lists the "cumulative obligations of major assistance programs by country to December 31, 1994." The second chart list the actual expenditures for these programs. The last chart lists the "cumulative USG (U.S. Government) commercial financing and insurance to December 31, 1994."

While all the charts are fascinating, let me focus on the chart of actual expenditures of all U.S. programs. These include all the 13 initiatives or programs conducted by the U.S. Agency for International Development, the activities of the Department of Commerce, U.S.

Information Agency, Department of Energy, Nuclear Regulator Agency, Peace Corps, Department of Treasury, the Trade and Development Agency, State Department, Congressional Research Service, Department of Defense, Department of Agriculture and humanitarian shipments.

The assistance is broken down country by country. It should be kept in mind that the assistance of the Department of Defense is the Nunn-Lugar program for denuclearization, and only Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan are eligible.

In terms of total dollar amounts, Ukraine ranks third after Russia and Armenia. However, this is deceiving. How does one compare the total dollar amounts, when you have a country as large as Russia with 150 million people and a country as small as Armenia with 3.4 million people. The only solution is to analyze the amount on a per capita basis, which is what I did.

Rather than ranking third, Ukraine ranks eleventh out of the 12 former Soviet republics. Only Uzbekistan ranks behind Ukraine. Even Azerbaijan, a nation prohibited from receiving U.S. assistance because of its war with Armenia, comes out ahead of Ukraine.

When Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) confronted the Assistant Administrator of the USAID Tom Dine with these figures, Dine stated that per capita expenditures is not a proper measure of assistance. The USAID assistant administrator should be reminded that distribution of federal money to states is done on a per capita basis.

Dine then argued that Ukraine has received so little assistance because it has not pursued economic reforms. While, until recently, that was the case, the argument does not really hold water in light of the assistance provided other former Soviet Union republics. For example, Belarus has yet to begin economic reforms but already received three and a half times as much assistance than has Ukraine. Tajikistan, an avowedly communist country at war with its democratic elements, received two and a half times the assistance provided Ukraine.

The bottom line is that USAID does not really have an acceptable explanation of the dearth of assistance to Ukraine, at least not one that they can vocalize. The reality is that the Administration has not pursued a "Russocentric" policy as much as it has pursued an "anti-Ukrainian" policy, no doubt to please the Kremlin.

Eugene M. Iwanciw is director of the Ukrainian National Association's Washington Office.

UCCA Project on Commercial Law Reforms in Ukraine Awarded Funds

USAID Provides \$100,000 to Three-year UCCA Effort

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) has been awarded a U.S. government grant to coordinate U.S. based assistance to the Ukrainian government in commercial law reform, according to a UCCA announcement issued here.

Under the terms of the grant, the Rule of Law Consortium, a Washington-based consulting group which administers U.S. Agency for International Development assistance to the former Soviet Union, will award \$100,000 to fund the Commercial Law Project for Ukraine, a reform effort which has been under way in the U.S. and Ukraine for the past three years under the leadership of the UCCA, the law firm of Fennemore Craig and free-market reform advocates in Ukraine.

The project was initiated in 1992 by Phoenix, Arizona, lawyer James R. Huntwork and members of his law firm, Fennemore Craig, with the consultation and guidance of UCCA President Askold Lozynskyj.

Under the terms of the grant, the project director will be Lviv lawyer Yuriy Demkiv, who has served as coordinator of the Commercial Law Project for Ukraine for the past three years. In addition to his degree from the Lviv University Law School, Demkiv studied international and comparative law at the Southern Methodist University School of Law in Dallas on a Ukrainian American Bar Association scholarship. Orest Jejna will serve as UABA liaison to the Commercial Law Project for Ukraine and Phoenix attorney Patience Huntwork will service as technical assistance coordinator.

In 1993 the Commercial Law Project won high marks in pro-reform circles in Ukraine for its achievement of translating a comprehensive system of more than 50 modern commercial laws into the Ukrainian language, for use as the basis of Ukraine's future commercial code.

The laws, which are primarily of U.S. origin, provide legal infrastructure for commercial transactions, banking, secured transactions, business entities, real property, intellectual property, contracts, business torts, antitrust, securities regulations, regulation of the credit industry, insurance and bankruptcy.

The cooperating entity in Ukraine for the six-month program will be the Ukrainian government's Legal Reform Task Force, a 16-member, blue-ribbon panel of Ukrainian economists and legal experts, headed by Dr. Ivan Tymchenko, chief legal advisor to President Leonid Kuchma. The Task Force's mission is to coordinate virtually all legal aspects of the process of economic reform in Ukraine.

US President in Kyiv

The following is from U.S. President Bill Clinton's speech at the Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv, Ukraine on Friday, May 12th, 1995.

I am deeply honored to be the first American President to appear before the people of a free and independent Ukraine.

Today we celebrate the alliance of our peoples, who defeated fascism 50 years ago. We shared victory then, but the cost to your people of that victory was almost unimaginable. More than 5 million Ukrainians died in the conflict. I am pleased that now after all these years we can pay tribute to the extraordinary sacrifice here in the Ukrainian homeland.

Ukraine is rising to the historic challenge of its reemergence as a nation on the world's stage. Already your nation can claim responsibility for a major contribution to global peace. Your wise decision to eliminate nuclear weapons on your territory has earned your nation respect and gratitude everywhere in the world.

Your accession to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty has sent an unmistakable message for peace and against weapons of mass destruction. Without those farsighted acts, the historic vote yesterday by the world's nations — to extend the nonproliferation treaty indefinitely and unconditionally — would not have been possible. This will make the people of the world for generations to come safer and more secure.

For 25 years this treaty has been the cornerstone of the world's efforts to reduce the dangers of nuclear weapons. I am proud of the leadership of the United States in securing the extension of the treaty. But I am also proud of the role Ukraine played, and you should be proud as well.

In the short period of your independence, you have helped make the world a safer, more hopeful place and I thank you for that.

Holding free, fair and frequent elections, protecting the rights of minorities, building bridges to other democracies — these mark the way to a "new birth of freedom," in the phrase of our great President, Abraham Lincoln.

Already you have held a landmark election that produced the first transfer of power from one democratic government to another in any of the nations that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. You have put tolerance at the heart of your law, and law at the heart of your state. You have claimed your place in the ranks of the world's great democracies as demonstrated by the sight of your flag flying next to the American flag at the White House during President Kuchma's historic visit last November.

You have earned the admiration of the free world by setting on a course of economic reform and staying on that course despite the pain of

adjustment. President Kuchma's decision to launch ambitious economic reforms and to press ahead with them was truly bold. We know that after so many decades of command-and-control economy, reform carries real human cost in the short-term — in lost jobs, lower wages, lost personal security.

But your efforts will not be in vain, because the course is right even if the path is difficult. The toil is bitter but the harvest is sweet, as the old proverb says. In time your transformation will deliver better, more prosperous lives and the chance for you and your children to realize your God-given potential. You and your children will reap the harvest of today's sacrifices.

In the pursuit of peace and prosperity, you have been well-served by President Kuchma and his government's bold and farsighted leadership. You should know this. As you build your future, the United States will stand with you.

For America, support for an independent Ukraine, secure in its recognized borders, is not only a matter of sympathy, it is a matter of our national interest as well. We look to the day when a democratic and prosperous Ukraine is America's full political and economic partner in a bulwark of stability in Europe.

Fifty years ago, Americans and Ukrainians engaged in a common struggle against fascism and together we won. When U.S. troops met a Soviet force at the Elbe for the first time and made that legendary handshake across liberated Europe, the unit they met was the 1st Ukrainian Army.

Cruel events made that embrace brief. During the decades of East-West separation, it was left to a million Ukrainian Americans to keep alive the ties between our people. They fought hard to ensure that the hope for freedom for you never died out. Today, their dreams are being fulfilled by you. And on behalf of all Ukrainian Americans, I rejoice in standing here with you.

In the months and years ahead, our partnership will grow stronger. Together we will help design the architecture of security in an undivided Europe so that Ukraine's security is strengthened.

We will increase defense contacts between our nations, consult with one another as NATO prepares to expand, and foster ties between Ukraine and the West. Ukraine has already taken a strong leadership role in forming the Partnership for Peace, which is uniting Europe's democracies in military cooperation and creating a more secure future.

We will work with one another as Ukraine becomes a full partner in the new Europe, and we will deepen the friendship between our peoples in concrete economic ways.

The United States has shown its support for Ukraine in deeds, not just words — in the commitment of more than a billion dollars in assistance over three and a half years for political and economic reform, another \$350 million to help eliminate nuclear weapons; in leading the

world's financial institutions to commit \$2.7 million for Ukraine's future, and urging our partners in the G-7 to do even more. We will continue to work to assist you to build a brighter future.

Our nations have established vigorous trade and investment ties, and a group of American and Ukrainian business people are promoting these ties here in Ukraine this year and next year in their meeting in the United States. Together we will enter into exciting new ventures, such as commercial space launch cooperation.

All these efforts will help to build a Ukraine that is sovereign and democratic, confident and successful — a Ukraine that will fulfill the hopes of your 52 million citizens and provide an essential anchor of stability and freedom in a part of the world still reeling from rapid change, still finding its way toward the 21st century.

Of course, in the end it is you who will make your own future. The people of Ukraine have it in their power to fulfill their oldest wishes and shape a very new destiny. To live up to the promise, to make the most of your role in this global economy in the information age, your ability to learn and learn and learn will be essential.



**President Clinton shakes hands
with students at Taras Shevchenko
University in Kyiv**

And so I urge you to take to heart the words of Shevchenko, "Study my brothers, study and read, learn of foreign things, but don't forget that which is yours."

Our two nations are bound together by a common vision of freedom and prosperity. Together we shall make that vision real.

As the great poet of our democracy, Walt Whitman, wrote a century ago, "The strongest and sweetest songs yet remain to be sung." Those strong, sweet songs are of a free people fulfilling their hopes and dreams; they are the songs of Ukraine's tomorrow.

God bless America. Slava Ukrayini.

World War II in Ukraine

World War II ended in Europe fifty years ago on V-E Day (Victory in Europe) May 8, 1945. The USSR celebrated the end of the war, which it called the “Great Patriotic War”, one day later on May 9th. Ukraine was the greatest victim of World War II, suffering the greatest material damage and the greatest human losses of any country in the war.

How is it possible that Ukraine was even more devastated than Germany? One reason was that Ukraine suffered twice from a “scorched earth” policy conducted by the two greatest totalitarian powers of this century, first Stalin’s Soviet Russia and then by Hitler’s Nazi Germany.

An American foreign correspondent, Edgar Snow, who visited Ukraine in 1943 and at the end of the war in 1945 was so astonished at the enormous losses that he wrote an article for *Saturday Evening Post* titled “Ukraine Pays the Bill”. It could be said that “The Allies won the war but Ukraine paid the bill.”

The story of Ukraine’s role and suffering in World War II is generally unknown to the world because it was in the interest of the Soviet Union and Moscow to emphasize the sacrifice and struggle of the “Russian people”, of whom inaccurate statistics said twenty million died. This statistic, first quoted by Krushchev, included 16 million civilians and actually applied to all the citizens of the USSR. In fact the majority of these victims were non-Russians, mostly Ukrainians. Ukraine was entirely occupied by the German Army for three years but only a small part of Russia was briefly under German occupation during the war.

Prof. Norman Davies, criticizing western historians, wrote:

“... the overwhelming brunt of the Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1944, as of the devastating Soviet reoccupation, was borne not by Russia but by the Baltic States, by Belarus, by Poland, and above all by Ukraine... nowhere is it made clear that the largest number of civilian casualties in Europe were inflicted on the Ukrainians, millions of whom were killed both by the Nazis and by the Soviets. Thanks to persistent wartime prejudices, many British and Americans still harbour the illusion that most Ukrainians spent the war either as auxiliaries in the concentration camps or in the *Waffen-SS Galizien*... [but] the *Waffen-SS* recruited three times as many Dutchmen as Ukrainians.” (*New York Review of Books* June 9, 1994, p.23).

When Hitler on June 22, 1941 launched his *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) *Operation Barbarossa* invasion plan by attacking the borders of Ukraine and Belarus in the USSR he was starting a war of annihilation. The German *Blitzkrieg*, or “lightning war” involved new concepts of warfare, highly mechanised and supported by airpower. It also involved the racist ideas of Hitler, Himmler and Goering which called for the destruction of the *Untermensch*, or sub-humans, including the Jews and the Ukrainians, classed as sub-human. Some 40 million Ukrainians were in the way because they were occupying the rich, black earth of Ukraine which Hitler had decided was to be *Lebensraum*, or living space, of the German nation.

Carpatho-Ukraine 1938-39

The fate of the Carpatho-Ukraine before World War II revealed that Ukrainians could not expect any goodwill from Hitler's Germany. Carpatho-Ukraine was the official name of the country in Law No. 1 when it declared its independence. It was also called Ruthenia, Carpatho-Rus, Transcarpathia and, erroneously, Carpatho-Russia. The eastern part of Czechoslovakia was inhabited by Ukrainians who had been completely deprived of education under previous Hungarian rule. In 1928 The Czechoslovakian government established Podkarpatska Rus as a province and it became autonomous on October 11, 1938. In 1939, when Hitler took Prague, he approved the Hungarian takeover of the cities of Uzhhorod and Mukachevo and Carpatho-Ukraine. Carpatho-Ukraine, under President Augustin Voloshyn, declared the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine on March 15, 1939. This "Republic for a day" was quickly invaded by a powerful Hungarian Army which decimated the small under-equipped army of the Carpatho-Ukraine.

September 1, 1939: World War II Starts

It was on August 23, 1939 that Hitler and Stalin through their representatives Ribbentrop and Molotov signed the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of friendship. It guaranteed Hitler that an invasion of Poland would not result in a war with the USSR. In fact, Stalin took the opportunity in secret provisions to insure that the Soviet Army could occupy the territories of Galicia in the eastern part of the Polish state where over 5 million Ukrainians lived. Stalin also agreed to supply Germany with essential war supplies and did so right up until the day Germany invaded the USSR.

On September 1, 1939 Germany invaded Poland and started World War II. From the first day of the war Ukrainians suffered because German bombs killed many Ukrainian civilians and there were Ukrainians serving in the Polish armed forces. The USSR took this opportunity to add the Ukrainian populated territory of Bukovina from Romania. Although the Ukrainian Lemkos were left in German occupied Poland, which was renamed the *Generalgouvernement*, most of the Ukrainian nation finally was united into one country. This is one of the few positive aspects of the war for Ukraine. The Ukrainian Church was also allowed to function under the Germans. It also brought together Ukrainians from the western and eastern areas of Ukraine for over a year and a half under Soviet Russian rule until the German invasion of 1941. By the end of 1941 almost all Ukraine was under German occupation with the exception of Sevastopol.

June 22, 1941

On June 22, 1941 Hitler's *Wehrmacht*, the German Army, attacked the border of Ukraine and the USSR. On the first day such Ukrainian cities as Kyiv, Odessa and Lviv were bombed. As the powerful German forces swept eastward they captured huge territories of Ukraine because there was little resistance. In fact, a few of the villages and cities of Ukraine welcomed the German Army with flowers or the traditional bread and salt of hospitality and friendship. These German soldiers were pleasantly surprised that they were welcomed and regarded as liberators from the Communist Russian yoke of Moscow.

The reason for Ukrainian disenchantment with the USSR were clear. First of all the Soviet collectivization of all private farms took away the landstock of all the farmers. (The Germans maintained the collectivization.) In 1933 Ukraine suffered a man-made famine. About 7,000,000 Ukrainians died of starvation. Later in the 1930s thousands of Ukrainians were arrested and started disappearing including intelligentsia, writers and even musicians whose patriotism was suspected by the NKVD Soviet secret police. Both the Ukrainian churches, Orthodox and Catholic, were banned and only the Russian Orthodox Church was allowed to function in Ukraine. The Soviet terror of the 1930's convinced the Ukrainians that there was nothing worse than Communist Russian slavery. But only six weeks after the invasion the Germans started the open persecution of the Ukrainian nation.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainians were unaware that in Nazi-German ideology the Ukrainians were classed as *Untermensch* (sub-humans) and that their land, Ukraine, the "Breadbasket of Europe" was the *Lebensraum* that Hitler wanted to colonise with German population. Germany in fact had in mind a war of total annihilation against the Ukrainians because they occupied one of the richest lands in the world. Hitler apparently planned that one year after the end of the war the bulk of the population of Ukraine would "disappear" or serve as slaves to the new German colonists. On December 16, 1942 Hitler ordered that the "most brutal means" be used by the German Army against guerrillas in Ukraine "even against women and children". It took only a few weeks before the enormous crimes Adolf Hitler was perpetrating in Ukraine were realised by the Ukrainians who suffered three years under German occupation.

Proof of the Ukrainian disenchantment with Stalin is the fact that the largest army to surrender in the history of the world was in the 1941 Battle of Kyiv when a total of 665,000 soldiers were captured by the Germans out of a Soviet Red Army of 667,085. Unfortunately for these men, who surrendered so willingly, Nazi German racist plans at this time called for their destruction so they were intentionally starved to death or died of exposure in open air concentration camps in the winter of 1941-42. Germany had sufficient food stockpiled so this was not the problem at the time.

Stalin's Scorched Earth Policy

Stalin was so paralysed by fear of Hitler that there was not a word from him for a full 12 days after the German invasion on June 22. Finally on July 3, 1941 Stalin spoke on the radio and condemned the actions of "such fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop" who had broken their pact of friendship. Stalin also announced on the radio a "scorched earth" policy for Ukraine: "In case of a forced retreat... all rolling stock must be evacuated, the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or gallon of fuel. The collective farmers must drive off all their cattle and turn over their grain to the safe keeping of the state authorities. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel that cannot be withdrawn must be destroyed without fail. In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units... must set fires to forests, stores and transports."

The retreating Soviet officials, for examples, shipped 6 million cattle from Ukraine east to Russia, 550 large factories, thousands of small factories and 300,000 tractors. The USSR also evacuated 3.5 skilled workers from Ukraine to the Russian

Republic. In the battle for Ukraine Soviet sources say the partisans blew up nearly 5,000 enemy trains, blasted 607 railway bridges, 915 warehouses, damaged over 1,500 tanks and armoured carriers.

As the Soviet authorities and army retreated from Ukraine Stalin's scorched earth policy left a trail of destruction including the Dniprohes Dam on the Dnieper River, which was the largest hydro power dam in Europe, countless mines and major industrial factories, Khreshchatik Street in Kyiv, and on November 3, 1941 the Dorminution Cathedral in the Pecharska Lavra built 1073-8, a famous achitectural monument, was destroyed. Moscow tried to blame the Germans for destroying this priceless example of medieval Ukrainian architecture but it was proven to be the work of a Soviet bomb squad who had mined it before their retreat and later set it off.

Moscow also ordered the evacuation of the east of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, all Kyiv, Kharkiv and other university personnel, scientists, skilled technicians, Soviet bureaucrats, and most NKVD secret police. The Ukrainian Government and Academy of Sciences were relocated in Ufa, Bashkiria, Siberia.

Since the Government of the Ukrainian SSR fled the country there was no Ukrainian government on the territory of Ukraine during the war. As a result Ukraine was not a collaborator nation of Germany like Italy, Vichy France, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. It should be mentioned that an attempt was made to establish a Ukrainian government. On June 30, 1941 the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) headed by Stepan Bandera announced the establishment of a new independent Government of Ukraine with Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister. About one week later the Germans disbanded this government and arrested the members. Bandera and Stetsko were sent to Sachsenhausen Prison in Germany where they spent the war until late 1944.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) supported the idea of an independent Ukraine. Moscow saw the Ukrainian nationalists as a dire threat and produced much Soviet propaganda blackening them especially Bandera who was accused of crimes against Ukrainians and Jews.

UPA – Ukrainian Insurgent Army

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya* – UPA) – which was founded in 1942 and recognised the leadership of Bandera – numbered about 200,000 men and women in the war. UPA and other Ukrainian guerilla groups, fought against both the totalitarian armies of Germany and Soviet Russia in the hope of winning and maintaining an independent Ukraine. A German document of November 25, 1941 (Nuremburg Trial O14-USSR) ordered: “It has been ascertained that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichskommissariat and has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement must be arrested at once and, after thorough interrogation, are to be liquidated... “ General Roman Shukhevych, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, and Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) established in 1944, was killed in action against the USSR in 1950.

Early in the war Moscow discovered that its troops were often sympathetic to the Ukrainian insurgents. Not only did the Soviet soldiers supply them with guns and

ammunition they also often joined them. So it later fought the Ukrainian nationalist guerillas only with special troops such as the NKVD and Soviet partisans.

Ostarbeiter Slave Labour

Germany faced a crisis at the end of 1941 because after it had mobilised its massive armies, a shortage of workers developed in Germany to support the war industry. Hermann Goering at first thought "the best thing would be to kill all men in Ukraine over fifteen years of age" but then realised working them to death was more useful for the German Reich. He decided to bring people from Ukraine, called *Ostarbeiter* (east workers), to work in German war industries. A recruiting campaign in Ukraine was carried out in January 1942 by Fritz Sauckel for workers to go to Germany. "On January 28th the first special train will leave for Germany" with hot meals in Kyiv, Zdolbunov and Peremeshl offered in the announcement and indeed the first train was full on January 22.

"Germany calls you! Go to beautiful Germany! 100,000 Ukrainians are already working in free Germany What about you?" ran a Kyiv newspaper ad on March 3, 1942. But in the end word got back of the slave conditions for Ukrainians in Germany and it failed to attract sufficient volunteers so forced recruitment and forced labour were needed. Because the Germans considered the Ukrainians *Untermensch* (sub-humans) they were inferior humans who had to be kicked, beaten, terrorised and killed at their least transgression. Starvation rations, starvation wages and primitive accomodation were given to these unfortunate Ukrainian slaves in Germany. Only a few were able to get released and return to Ukraine to tell their story. One girl chopped off her fingers in a machine to get back home.

Hitler was intent on destroying education and culture in Ukraine. During a visit to Ukraine in 1942 Hitler said Ukrainians "should be given only the crudest kind of education necessary for communication between them and their German masters." Gauleiter Erich Koch ordered: "I expect the General Commissars to close all schools and colleges with students over 15 years of age and send all teachers and students, to Germany for work... I require that no school except 4-grade elementary schools should function." All schools above grade four were closed in January 1942 and also all universities were closed. SS leader Himmler recommended that the "entire Ukrainian intelligentsia must be decimated."

Reichskommissar Erich Koch, who called himself "a brutal dog", was put in charge of *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine by Hitler. Koch once said "If I find a Ukrainian that is worthy of sitting at the same table with me, I must have him shot." He condemned Kyiv to a slow death by famine and made his "capital" Rivne which was a small town of 40,000 about 100 miles NE of Lviv. Koch was ordered to provide 450,000 workers a year from Ukraine for the German armaments industry by "ruthless" means, according to Reitlinger. German documents said that the Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter* would be *worked to death*. Although 40,000 Ukrainians a month were being sent to Germany as *Ostarbeiter*, armaments minister Albert Speer complained that his work force was dwindling. This would mean that more than 40,000 were dying every month.

In one memorandum from Fritz Sauckel to Alfred Rosenberg there was a demand for one million men and women in four months at the rate of 10,000 a day and

more than two-thirds were to come from Ukraine. Reitlinger says that about 2.8 million eastern workers were recruited from the territory of the USSR. In all the major Ukrainian cities the German army kidnapped young adults off the streets and shipped them to Germany as slave labourers to work in the worst and most dangerous conditions. Ukrainian cities were to be permanently depopulated on the orders of the German administration. About three-quarters of the over 3,000,000 *Ostarbeiters* were Ukrainian. Prof. Kondufor's statistic is that 2,244,000 Ukrainians were forced into slave labour in Germany during WW II.

For example, on September 3, 1942 Hitler demanded that half a million Ukrainian women be brought to Germany to free German women from housekeeping. Hitler thought there was a Germanic strain in Ukraine because the Ostr-Goths and the Visi-Goths had lived there 1,800 years earlier and the "chaste peasants virtues of Ukrainian women" appealed to him. In the end only about 15,000 girls were taken to Germany to work as domestics. The other 2 million worked mostly in the armaments factories including the V-2 rocket factory at Peenemunde.

At the end of the war some 120,000 Ukrainians registered themselves as displaced persons (DPs). Most Ukrainians who survived the war in Germany were forcibly repatriated to the USSR because of the Yalta agreement.

Dynamo versus Germany: Soccer Match of Death

The incredible story of the Dynamo soccer club of Kyiv, one of Europe's finest, is one of the legendary events of WW II. After Kyiv was occupied members of the Dynamo team found work in Kyiv Bakery No.1 and started to play soccer in an empty lot. The Germans offered them the opportunity train in the Zenith Stadium and then suggested a "friendly" game with a team picked from the German army.

The Ukrainians accepted the offer, named their team Start and posters on June 12, 1942 announced: "Soccer [Football]. Armed Forces of Germany vesus Kyiv city Start." The Germans in good physical shape, scored the first goal. Then Dymano gained its strength and scored a goal. The old talent of Dynamo started to grow and they scored a second goal to the enthusiastic cheers of the Ukrainian spectators. The Germans were furious.

At half time a German officer came from the Commandant's box to the Dynamo dressing room and ordered them "not to play so keenly" and threatened that they would be shot. The fans, completely aware that the lives of Dynamo were threatened cheered them on to a score of 4-1 when the German Commandant and his staff abruptly left, and the referee's whistle ended the game.

The Germans then fielded a stronger team on July 17 but it lost 6-0. Two days later Dynamo had a match with a Hungarian team MSG Wal and Start defeated them 5-1 and in a rematch on the 26th the score ended 3-2 for Dynamo. The German Administration was outraged and decided that they had to teach Dymano a lesson. The powerful and "ever victorious" German Flakelf team was invited. But this German team also lost to Dynamo and not a word about it appeared in the newspapers.

The Ukrainian team was given three days to think about their position and on August 9th there was a "friendly" rematch. In spite of the pressure Dynamo again defeated the German team – for the last time. Most of the Ukrainian team members were

arrested and executed in Babyn Yar, but they are not forgotten. There is a monument to them in Kyiv and their heroism inspired the film *Victory* starring Sylvester Stallone and Pele.

Kyiv's Naked Waitresses and the Gasenwagon

Although most of the executions in Ukraine were carried out by shooting the victims (because all the death camps like Auschwitz were in Poland) some people were killed in trucks by gas. The Ukrainian author Kuznetsov writes:

“On one occasion a gas-van arrived full of women. When the usual procedure was over and the shouting and banging had died down the door was opened. After the fumes had cleared, the van was seen to be packed full of naked girls.

“There were more than a hundred of them, pressed tightly together, sitting on each other's knees. They all had their hair done up in scarves, as women do when they take a bath. They had probably been told when they were put into the van that they were on their way to the baths. Many were found to have rings and watches, lipsticks and other small things hidden in their headscarves. The drunken Germans hooted with laughter, explaining they were waitresses from the Kyiv night-clubs... When Davydov lifted them and laid them on the stack... still warm, the breath would come out of their mouths with a faint noise, and he got the impression again that they were alive but had simply lost consciousness. They were all bent on the fire [in Babyn Yar.]” (Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar*. Penguin Books, 1982, p.377-8)

Katyn and Vinnytsia

World War II, itself a source of immense crimes, revealed two Soviet crimes of hideous mass murder which might never have been discovered without German intervention. Ironically, the methodical Germans fully documented these two crimes perpetrated by Stalin's Soviet Union.

The better known one is the forest near Katyn, a Russian village, where the Germans in 1943 reported finding the graves of 4,250 Polish army officers. They had been captured by the Soviet Army in 1939-40 during the occupation of Galicia and shot in 1940. Another 8,000 were killed elsewhere by the Russians. In 1898 the USSR formed a Commission to investigate and admitted this war crime was committed by the Soviet NKVD.

Vinnytsia is a Ukrainian city 120 miles south-west of Kyiv which had a population of about 100,000 in 1939. On May 25, 1943 a large German team of professors of forensic science and experts started excavating three mass murder sites of 1937 and 1938 in Vinnytsia. The local population thought that about 20,000 people who had disappeared had probably been murdered there by the Soviet NKVD secret police on orders from Moscow.

Procedures were systematically followed by the German investigators and everything was carefully documented. The victims had their hands tied behind their backs and were shot in the back of the head. From May to October 1943 there were 9,432 corpses, including 169 women, found in three burial places. Of these 679 were identified from their documents and garments by relatives. The Soviet Government had

hidden the graves in a pear orchard and by building a Public Park on top of the mass graves with swings and playground equipment.

**Ukraine's Population Losses in WW II:
5.5 million or 13,614,000?**

Ukraine lost more people in WW II than any other European country. Let us review some of the estimates from the largest to the smallest. According to *A Short History of Ukraine* published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv in 1986, as a result of WW II: "The population [of Ukraine contracted by 13,614,000." (p. 239). This statistic is not explained.

In 1977 Stephan G. Prociuk estimated in a detailed analysis that Ukraine's WW II loss of population was 11 million. (*Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, New York 1977, vol. 13 no. 35-36, p. 23-50.

The American journalist Edgar Snow, who visited Ukraine in 1943 during the war and at the end of the war in 1945, reported in his notable book *The Pattern of Soviet Power* (New York 1945) that "no fewer than 10,000,000 people had been lost to... Ukraine since 1941" according to a "high Ukrainian official" and this statistic excluded "men and women mobilised in the armed forces." (p. 73).

Ukraine Lost 10,000,000 People

"Yet it was not until I went on a sobering journey into this twilight of war that I fully realised the price which 40,000,000 Ukrainians paid for Soviet – and Allied – victory. The whole titanic struggle, which some are apt to dismiss as "the Russian glory," was first of all a Ukrainian war.

A relatively small part of the Russian Soviet Republic itself was actually invaded, but the whole Ukraine, whose people were economically the most advanced and numerically the second largest in the Soviet Union, was devastated from the Carpathian frontier to the Donets and Don rivers, where Russia proper begins. No single European country suffered deeper wounds to its cities, its industry, its farmland and its humanity."

The Pattern of Soviet Power by Edgar Snow, New York: Random House, 1945. p. 73.

V. Trembitsky gives a total of war losses to Ukraine in 1941-45 of 8,545,000 (*Za Vilnu Ukrainu*, 24 serpnia, 1994 p.3). Ukrainian leader V. Scherbitsky in 1974 gave a statistic of 6,750,000 as Ukraine's WW II losses. (*Radyanska Ukraina*, 18 October, 1974).

Academician Yuri Kondufor, Director of the Institute of History, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, in September 1984 gave for the first time precise statistics of Ukrainian population losses in WW II. He stated that there was a total loss of 7.5 million (7,509,045) including the dead and those taken as slave labourers to Germany. The German occupation and WW II resulted in the extermination and death in Ukraine of 3,898,457 civilians and 1,366,588 military including prisoners-of-war for a total of

5,265,045. To this should be added the loss of 250,159 in Carpatho-Ukraine and Crimea giving a total of 5,515,204.

According to Professor Kondufor there were 2,244,000 Ukrainian citizens taken to Germany for slave labour in the German war industry. Most of these probably perished in Allied bombing raids. According to these statistics provided by Professor Kondufor, Ukraine's total WW II loss was 7.5 million or 7,759,204 including Zakarpathia and Crimea. This includes about 500,000 to 750,000 Ukrainian Jews. Kundufor's statistics, perhaps the most accurate of all, probably cover the period from June 1941 rather than September 1939.

The Encyclopedia of Ukraine (University of Toronto Press, vol. 5, p. 727) states: "An estimated 6.8 million Ukrainians were killed... About 200,000 Ukrainian displaced persons [DPs] ended up in the emigration to the West; the vast majority were returned to Soviet rule through forced repatriation." Bohdan Krawchenko states that "In the course of the conflict 6.8 million people were killed, of whom 600,000 were Jews and 1.4 million were military personnel who perished at the front or died as prisoners of war (POWs)." (*Ukraine during WW II*, ed. by Y. Boshyk, p. 15).

Historian Orest Subtelny in his *Ukraine: A History* (University of Toronto Press, 1994) states: "Even a cursory listing of losses reflects the terrible impact that WW II had on Ukraine and its inhabitants. About 5.3 million, or one out of six inhabitants of Ukraine, perished in the conflict. An additional 2.3 million had been shipped to Germany to perform forced labour." (p.479).

Even if we accept the conservative figure offered by Prof. Kondufor (during Soviet rule it should be mentioned), Ukraine's loss of about 7.5 million people is greater than the total military loss of the USA, Canada, British Commonwealth, France, Germany and Italy all put together. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* the total military losses of these countries in WW II was 4,305,214. The statistics are: USA 292,100; British Commonwealth 544,596 (including 39,139 Canadians); France 210,671 (+ 107,847 civilians); Germany 2,850,000, and Italy 300,000.

Razed Villages

The German war on the civilian population in Ukraine was ruthless. The entire world heard about the destruction of the Czech village of Lidice (June 1942) and the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane (June 10, 1944). But the world never heard about the Ukrainian village of Kortelisy which the Germans burned to the ground on September 23, 1942, and killed all of its 2,892 population of men women and children. There were 250 villages in Ukraine completely destroyed by the German Army with 97 in the Volhynia province, 32 in the Zhytomyr province, 21 in the Chernihiv province, 17 in the Kyiv province and elsewhere. (*Ukrainska RSR u Velykyi Vitchyzniy Viyini*, vol. 3, p. 150).

According to the official German records there were 4,192,000 German war dead. If Germany itself, according to the *World Book Encyclopedia*, lost only 2,196,000 military dead and 1,858,000 missing or a total of 4,054,000 why were Ukraine's losses so huge? There are several possible explanations. It is known that the Germans intentionally starved Ukrainian cities; that Ukrainian prisoners of war in concentration camps were starved to death; that disease was rampant; and that at least 10,000,000

Ukrainians were left homeless in the war because their houses were burned exposing them to freezing in the winter.

Wilhelm Keitel gave an order to the German Army in the East: “for the killing of a single German soldier we should retaliate by the execution of 50-100 persons” (Kamenetsky, *Secret Nazi Plans*, p. 166). The death penalty was applied to Ukrainian hostages: up to 200 innocent Ukrainians were executed for one German attacked by guerillas. Major-General Eberhardt, the German Commandant of Kyiv, on November 2, 1941 announced that: “Cases of arson and sabotage are becoming more frequent in Kyiv and oblige me to take firm action. For this reason 300 Kyiv citizens have been shot today.” It seemed to do no good because Eberhardt on November 29, 1941 again announced: “400 men have been executed in the city [of Kyiv. This should serve as a warning to the population.”

The death penalty was applied by the Germans to any Ukrainian who gave aid or merely information or directions to the UPA or Ukrainian guerillas. If you owned a pigeon the penalty was death. The penalty was death for anyone who sheltered or aided a Jew to escape. Death was the penalty for listening to a Soviet radio program or reading anti-German leaflets. For example, on March 28, 1943 three women in Kherson, Maria and Vera Alexandrovskaya and Klavdia Tselhelnyk were executed because they had “read an anti-German leaflet, said they agreed with its contents and passed it on.” Early in the war Germany had a policy of annihilation of Ukrainians because it planned to establish a German population in the *Lebensraum* of Ukraine.

The USSR also sacrificed countless Ukrainian lives in its military procedures. Soldiers were marched across minefields by foot to clear them by their deaths. When the USSR retreated in June 1941 it executed about 10,000 political prisoners in Lviv and other west Ukrainian cities. Stalin was not interested in preserving Ukrainian lives. But does all this account for Ukraine’s population loss of 7.5 to 11 million? Unfortunately the Government of Ukraine since independence in 1991 has not released any official figure for Ukraine’s population loss in WW II.

One astounding theory is that Stalin used the war as a pretext to destroy Ukrainians. This theory was proposed by an Englishman of Russian origin, Nicholas Tolstoy, in his book *Stalin’s Secret War*. Nikita Krushchev in his secret speech to the 20th Congress said Stalin wanted to exile all the Ukrainians to Siberia so this theory is not completely far-fetched. According to Robert Conquest, Stalin destroyed up to one million people of the USSR every year during the war.

Ukrainian Division Galicia

In WW II, although the Soviet or Red Army had 2.5 million Ukrainians (or 4.5 million according to other sources) there were no completely Ukrainian units. As the tide turned against Germany there was a decision to establish *Waffen SS* units of Eastern Europeans which were regular military units completely distinct from the German SS. In the Summer of 1943 the *Waffen SS* volunteer Division Galicia (*Diviziya Halychyna*) was established. The initiative came from the Ukrainian Central Committee of Prof. V. Kubiiovych.

As Germany found growing pressure on its armies it established the *Waffen-Grenadier Division der SS ‘Galizien’* later renamed the 1st Ukrainian Division. The

Galicia Division was trained in late 1943 and early 1944 and was designated to fight only against the USSR and not the Allies. About 40,000 Ukrainians were enlisted and the Division was sent to fight the Battle of Brody July 13-22, 1944 where it was largely destroyed by the Soviet Army leaving only 3,000 survivors but was increased to 10,000 with new recruits.

Eventually the Division was surrendered by General Shandruk to the Allies in Austria, was interned in Rimini in Italy, then transferred to England and finally emigrated to Canada. The British and Canadian authorities carefully reviewed the Division Galicia and cleared it of any war crimes.

Jewish Holocaust in Ukraine

In 1939 the Jewish population of Ukraine was 1.5 million (1,532,776) or 5% of the total population of Ukraine. When the war started on June 22, 1941 the Soviet Government first of all ordered the execution of all Ukrainian political prisoners in western Ukraine and then the evacuation of all key personnel to the East.

These evacuees included many Jews who were highly educated, and were scientists, skilled workers, Communist bureaucrats, and NKVD secret police. The total evacuated was estimated to be about one-half to two-thirds of the total Jewish population of Ukraine (Reitlinger p. 251).

As the German Army swept east across Ukraine it included German *Einsatzgruppen* which were special killing squads ordered to "carry out "The Final Solution" of killing all Jews.

Ukraine had been the major part of the Jewish Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire and in the 19th century probably had the most Jews of any country in the world.

Within a few days of capturing Ukrainian cities like Lutsk, Zhitomir and Berdichev in 1941 thousands of Jews were killed. Most of these executions were carried out by the *SS Standartfuehrer* Paul Blobel who was the officer of the *Sonderkommando 4a, Einsatzgruppe C*. Only German personnel, no Ukrainians, were members of the *Einsatzgruppe C* and *D* which were assigned to Ukraine.

Blobel commanded the killing of the Ukrainian Jews of Kyiv at Babyn Yar (Babi Yar) on September 29-30, 1941, Blobel's unit killed 33,771 Jews in less than two days which was not equaled in Auschwitz or any other death camp.

Babyn Yar was commemorated on its 50th Anniversary in 1991 by the Government of Ukraine which has also built two monuments for the victims of Babyn Yar. Blobel was tried at Nuremberg and hanged June 8, 1951 in Landsberg Prison in Bavaria, Germany.

In many countries of Europe the Nazis found collaborators willing to help in their crimes and Ukraine was no exception. These collaborators were criminal elements who constituted only a tiny fraction of of a few thousand in a total population of 40 million.

Ukrainians had proportionately the smallest number of collaborators of all 14 East European countries. However, Moscow saw an opportunity to sow discord in Ukraine and its propaganda accused the UPA, the "Ukrainian" police and other Ukrainians of anti-Jewish crimes. But the "Ukrainian" police, (*Ukrainische*

Hilfspolizei – Ukrainian Auxiliary Police) were often not Ukrainians by origin at all, but represented many nationalities. For instance, Poles, Volksdeutsche (local Germans) and Russians were often called “Ukrainian” Police.

Ukraine’s Property Losses in World War II

Stalin’s scorched earth policy in Ukraine called first for the evacuation of industries, factories, machinery, skilled workers and live stock east to Russia. From Kyiv itself some 197 major industrial plants were evacuated east to Russia in two months. Everything that could not be moved was to be destroyed and burned. The rapid advance of the German Wehrmacht did not allow the Soviet officials to completely empty Ukraine. However, huge amounts of Ukrainian machinery did go to Magnitogorsk and other Russian cities. Wholesale destruction was wreaked on Ukraine by the retreating Soviet officials and armies.

Plunder of Ukraine:

Report by SS-Obersturmfuehrer Ferster November 10, 1942:

“Expropriate everything of value.”

“Co. 4 in which I was employed seized in Kyiv the library of the medical research institute. All equipment, scientific staff, documentation and books were shipped out to Germany.

“We appropriated rich trophies in the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which possessed singular manuscripts of Persian Abyssinian and Chinese writings, Russian and Ukrainian chronicles, incunabula by the first printer Ivan Fedorov, and rare editions of Shevchenko, Mickiewicz, Ivan Franko.

“Expropriated and sent to Berlin were many exhibits from Kyiv’s Museums of Ukrainian Art, Russian, Western and Oriental Art and the Taras Shevchenko Museum...

“As soon as the troops seize a big city, there in their wake arrive team leaders with all kinds of specialists to scan museums, art galleries, exhibitions, cultural and art institutions, evaluate their state and expropriate everything of value.” (*History Teaches a Lesson*, p. 176).

Three years later, when Hitler’s Germany started its retreat from Ukraine, orders were given to loot and remove to Germany all art works (including a Rembrandt self-portrait), folk art collections, rare books, engravings, libraries, sculptures, and museum collections. These treasures totaled in the hundreds of thousands of items. The cultural wealth of Ukraine was nearly stripped from the country. A total of 151 museums, 62 drama theaters and 600 movie theaters were destroyed by the Germans. Himmler on September 7, 1943 ordered *SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Prutzmann* “to leave behind in Ukraine not a single person, no cattle, not a ton of grain, not a railroad track.” (Bezymanski p. 38) The German Army was ordered to leave complete destruction in its wake so again railroads were ripped up, mines were flooded, industries that the Soviets missed were dynamited, wells were poisoned, and millions of houses and buildings were burned and destroyed.

What the Soviets missed the Germans destroyed. According to *Soviet Ukraine*:

The retreating Germans “razed and burned over 28,000 villages and 714 cities and towns, leaving 10,000,000 people without shelter. More than 16,000 industrial enterprises, more than 200,000 industrial production sites, 27,910 collective and 872 state farms, 1,300 machine and tractor stations, and 32,930 general schools, vocational secondary schools and higher educational institutions of Ukraine had been destroyed. The direct damage to the Ukrainian national economy caused by the fascist [German] occupation came to 285,000,000,000 rubles...” (p. 155). This was about \$60,000,000,000 US pre-war dollars for Ukraine or trillions of dollars today.

Dedication

This article is dedicated to the memory of three relatives in Ukraine I never saw. Ivan Andreyevich Hryhorovich and Vasyl Fedorovich Fedoruk of Orelets, Sniatyn raion of Ivano Frankivsk, were arrested November 1940, tried by the Military Tribunal of the 12th Army, Kiev, on March 27, 1941 and executed by the Soviet government. They were rehabilitated March 13, 1993. The third victim, whose name is unknown to me, was shot by the German Gestapo during the German occupation of Ukraine. – A.G.

Orest STECIW

ABN – Canada

An ABN–Canada meeting was held on March 28th, 1995, in Toronto, Canada. Twenty people representing Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria were present at the meeting. The meeting also received extensive press and television coverage due to the fact Mrs. Slava Stetsko, President of ABN, was the keynote speaker at the meeting.

A number of important issues were discussed including the war in Chechnya, further actions to be initiated to help the Chechen people, and the upcoming World League for Freedom and Democracy Conference scheduled for July 27-30, 1995, in New York. Mrs. Stetsko gave a lot of valuable information at the meeting and the participants were enthusiastic about their meeting with the President of ABN.

It is clear that there exists renewed interest in Canada in ABN, an organisation which is over 50 years old and which continues to struggle against Russian imperialism.

Russian Aggression Deplored

At a meeting of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, the Pakistan Branch deplored the Russian aggression on Chechnya. The participants at the meeting, held in Karachi on 13th January with Mr. Mir Nawaz Khan Marwat in the chair, urged the UN Secretary General and other international organisations to force the Russians to stop the massacre and decide the issue through negotiations and mutual understanding to bring peace to the area.

The Muslim World, Vol. 32, No. 30.

Meeting of the ABN Central Committee

At the beginning of July this year, on her way to New York for the World League of Freedom and Democracy Conference, Slava Stetsko, the President of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, spent a few days in Munich. Members of the ABN Central Committee who were also in Munich at the time gathered together for a meeting that took place on Friday, 14th July. Representatives from the following countries took part: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Poland, Croatia, Ukraine and others.

The first topic to be discussed concerned the World League of Freedom and Democracy whose conference is due to take place in New York at the end of July in the United Nations building. Last year the conference took place in Moscow, despite the fact that a number of the member-nations were against this and the actual Russian reception took place beyond the procedures of the already well-established World League system. It was decided to put these affairs before the leading organ of the League. ABN, the Ukrainian, Romanian and other delegations boycotted the conference in Moscow.

Slava Stetsko – ABN President – began the meeting by informing those present of developments that had taken place since March 1995, when the previous ABN meeting took place in Munich, firstly about the situation in Ukraine, the condemnation of the Russian invasion of Chechnya along with the massive destruction of towns and villages in Chechnya. Indicating that Ukraine sympathises with the freedom-loving Chechen nation in its fight for independence and self-determination, where all matters could be settled in favour of the Chechen nation and the population of Chechnya. The representatives of individual nations reported on the developments of economic and political life in their respective countries, pointing out that many Communists are trying to regain possession of dominant positions that they lost in 1988-1991.

A greater length of time was spent on the situation in the former Yugoslavian Republic and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovnia, where many towns and villages have been destroyed and the population has incurred heavy losses. During the discussion it was pointed out that Russia supports this state of war.

It was decided to continue appealing to the democratic world, in order that individual countries demand the end of genocide of the Chechen nation, end hostilities, help to establish a democratic state and rebuild the Chechen economy destroyed by the Russian barbarians. In addition, influence must be exerted to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovnia, where a large number of the population have perished during this conflict.

It was also decided to strengthen the ties between the countries that lie within the ABN system, through mutual exchange of information and also meetings with individual national representatives, because at the present time, it is necessary to know more about those countries that are united by a common front against communism.

Mentally Sick Nation or Analysis of Russian Imperialism

A great deal has been written in the past and present about the political phenomenon of imperialism. Perhaps, Holy Providence will protect humanity from any new forms of imperialism. However, this is doubtful. The phenomenon of imperialism was interpreted by many schools of thought – psychological, historical, sociological, economical, to the subconscious and instinct. Aristocratic rulers and nationalists alike were standard-bearers of imperialism.

During antiquity and in the early Middle Ages, when individual peoples were not yet nationally formed in the modern sense of the term, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman imperialisms were identified with emperors, rulers, kings and pharaohs. Yet when Roman imperialism is under consideration, then one must agree that it had outdone previous forms of imperialism by its nature and development. It was also represented by the Roman aristocratic class and had already adopted nationalistic features and characteristics.

In the late Middle Ages and early modern times nationally identified imperialisms, such as the Spanish, English, French, Portuguese involved. Individual nations were taking over from their rapacious rulers the traditions of conquest, suppression and exploitation; nationally and culturally destroying other nationalities, with feelings of superiority and the irrational assumption that they had the right to rule over others. In this way the imperialist peoples became international highway robbers and pirates who could not be stopped or punished. The national ambitions to conquer and rule over other nationalities, to insult others with their imperialist ambitions, manias of grandeur and paranoias of superiority, fully evolved.

Imperialistic people can be compared with individual criminals, robbers and gangsters within various societies, who mistreat, rob and exploit other people; take away their properties and appropriate them for themselves. Individual criminals, however, in most cases can be arrested, jailed or even punished by execution in some countries. Yet, there has not been any punishment for imperialist nations. They were honoured and negotiated with, because of their power and strength, and only quietly and underhandedly criticized. Only, after hundreds of years do the empires weaken, falling apart and disappearing according to natural laws of social evolution.

Consequently, many different imperialist powers at different times disintegrated and disappeared. They featured different degrees of social-mental deficiencies, such as paranoias, megalomaniacs, sadisms with their unmerciful attitude toward the subjugated victims and their thirst to conquer and rule, their ability to confuse truth with lies; their complete lack of objectivity in estimating and judging various social, cultural, economic, political and other processes. These imperialist drives were above-all characterised by egoism and denial of any rights to other peoples.

Subsequently, with the accumulation of such complexes by one nation over the course of hundreds of years, at the time of the fall of the empire, the national community finds itself at a complete loss, and it continues to exist for a long time in a world of illusion based on an imaginary sense of superiority and might. Only after a lengthy

duration of time and through an evolutionary process can it finally achieve mental, social and political adjustment and balance. Such a development could be seen after the collapse of the Spanish, English, French and extremely insane German-Nazi imperialisms. In fact, the judgement of the inhumane Nazi imperialism at the Nürnberg trials was actually the only case of international sentencing of imperialist cruelties.

With respect to a nation at a loss after having forfeited its imperial status, an interesting detail was noted by Ukrainian politician Mykhailo Horyn. While attending an international conference he made some remarks on Russian imperialism, and pointed out that it would take a long time until the Russians would be able to get rid of their imperial paranoic complex. After all, he said, it took the English fifty years to overcome their tragedy of losing the empire and to get adjusted to the new situation. After Horyn's remarks, the English representative said with a broad smile, that actually the English, even today, have not fully lost the imperialistic and megalomaniac complex.

Finally, a few years ago the last of the empires, the Russian Empire, though under the misleading name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collapsed in 1991. It happened as a consequence of Mikhael Gorbachev's miscalculations and political anticipations. Gorbachev thought, that a new type of citizen had developed in the USSR, the so-called "Soviet man", who had totally forgotten his national-ethnic, non-Russian descent and began to feel and think in terms of a unified society from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. He thought, that as a result of "glasnost" and "perestroika", the multinational country would only liberalise and change the constitutional structure of the Soviet Union, but not collapse from within. With a light breeze of liberty and freedom the Soviet Russian Empire quickly disintegrated because of the existing national independence movements of the long enslaved and suppressed non-Russian nationalities, the Ukrainians, Belarussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and many others. The empire fell apart after some 600 years of existence as the last empire of the 20th century. It was a creation of the psychologically unbalanced nation and its paranoic, megalomaniac and sadistic Tsars and Soviet or Bolshevik leaders.

It would be acceptable to assume, that the psychologically sick Rostov-Suzdal, was the first stage of Russian imperialism without boundaries, which began in the 12th century with the invasion and destruction of the capital city of Kyiv in Rus-Ukraine in the year 1169. Suzdal Prince Andrei Bogolubsy was envious of the cultural, commercial and financial wealth and achievements of Kyiv in the south, and decided to ruin it completely and transfer its greatness to the Russian North, where already it was forming and crystalising itself as a separate national entity by fusion of the Finno-Mongolian prevailing ethnic groups with the sparse Slavic tribes, at that time already different from the Southern Slavic-Ukrainian nationality. At that time there were not yet separate names for these two nationally and ethnically diverse groups known as the Russians and the Ukrainians; belonging to Muscovy versus Kyivan-Rus. Truly it was Muscovy, because the term Russia was a result of a certain historical falsification, first introduced by Tsar Peter The Great in 1713.

The Muscovite or Russian nation as a separate ethnic entity formed itself on the northern territories, borderlands of the Rus'-Ukrainian state. The barren northern wooded and swampy territories, low productivity of the land, absence of any other resources, and extremely cold and severe climatic conditions were responsible for the

poor economy and poverty of the people. All these factors pushed the northern rulers of Rostov, Suzdal and Moscow on the road to international expansionism and armed aggressions, conquests and exploitation of neighbouring lands and peoples, which in scholarly historical literature received the name imperialism. It soon became the nature of the future nation called the Muscovites – Russians, to develop their imperialism to extreme measures surpassing all other imperialisms of the past. The real zenith of the Russian paranoic complex incorporated itself in the Russian saying: “Moscow is the head of the whole world (*Moskva tsielemu miru golova*). Yet Moscow never possessed, does not and probably will never possess any moral, spiritual, cultural or other qualities of world leadership except power and aggression.

The fact that this Muscovite imperialist paranoia and mania of grandeur with its sadism and mercilessness, has been attested by millions of innocent victims, seas of bloodshed and the unspeakable suffering of numerous nationalities under Russian domination. The inhumane treatment of the incarcerated millions concentration camps throughout the Soviet Union, was described by A. Solzhenitsyn, Rev. W. Cishek, W. Hrushko, V. Moroz, A. Radygin, M. Dolot, P. Kekish, A. Kniazhytsky, and by hundreds of others.

In 1947 Yuri Kuzhil wrote an article entitled “The Roads of Russian Imperialism”, printed in the journal *Vyzvolna Politika* (Liberation Politics, No. 3, pp. 12-23) where he gave the following characteristics of Muscovite aggressiveness: “The road of the foreign policy of Russia during the historical past was always featured by aggression, promoted by geopolitical conditions and rapacious psychology of that nation.”

In the American Congressional Records from 16 January 1956, the following remarks by Mr. Smith of Wisconsin appear: “*The Russian Empire, with its centuries-old desire to spread beyond the confines of its national-state limits gave birth to Bolshevism and gave to it a spiritual facet...*” Then M. Danilevsky, in his “*Yevropa i Rossiya*” (Europe and Russia) wrote: “*The Messianism, according to which the Russian people are chosen to realise truth in the world, is an integral part of contemporary Bolshevism and it was born of the historical process and is peculiar to the imperialist mentality.*”

Having originated in the second half of the 12th century, without a national identification, Rostov-Suzdal-Muscovite imperialism was silenced by the Tartar-Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe in the 13th century. Yet, later on, as a result of the evolution of historical events, a huge percentage of the Tartar-Mongol ethnic elements became part of the Muscovite nation, as has been written by foreign and Russian historians themselves including W. Kluchevsky, G. Vernadsky, M. Florinsky and others.

Nevertheless, the Tartar-Mongols did not bring to the Russian nation any spiritual or cultural values, but only rapacity of a nomadic population, with its aggressiveness against more sedate peoples.

Those qualities of the Mongols, which entered the psychology and mentality of the developing Muscovite society in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, fully crystallised the very Muscovite-Russian imperialist drive to conquer, and fully annihilate the victims of its international brigandage, which could not be halted for about four centuries. This was marked by genocidal extermination of the Kalmyks, Tartars, Volga Germans and almost 40 million Ukrainians in the first half of the 20th century.

In order to mislead and deceive other peoples, Moscow changed its slogans

several times to cover up its true imperialist intentions. At first, having mendaciously used their blood relationship with the Kyivan-Ukrainian ruling house of Rurik, from which Moscow distanced itself long ago, but raised a slogan “of uniting all the Rus’lands” under its banners to confuse the political issue. And really some Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories joined Moscow, pushing its rule westwards and southwards.

After the previous manoeuvre lost its power of attraction, Moscow called itself the “third Rome” the true and faithful leader of all Orthodox Christians. According to the Russian interpretation, the “First Rome” lost its favour with God because it became Catholic. The “Second Rome” – Constantinople – lost its leading position, because it came under the rule of the Turks of the Mohammedan faith, and could not exert its leadership over the Orthodox anymore. Hence, powerful Moscow became the “Third Rome”, the true and only defender and leader of the faithful Orthodox. All Orthodox nations, therefore, should unite under the banners of Moscow to resist the onslaught of Catholicism and Mohammedanism, and, there will be no “Fourth Rome”.

Soon Moscow created its own Orthodox Patriarchy, which has constantly attempted to push aside the Constantinople Patriarchy in order to take first place in the world of the Orthodox Faith. From its very beginning the Moscow Patriarchy was a tool in the hands of the imperialist Muscovite or Russian Government and helped that government to suppress other Orthodox non-Russian nationalities within the borders of the empire.

It completed the formation of the aggressive Muscovite Messianism; of Moscow or the Russian people as the chosen ones to lead all Christian nations of the world and Moscow as the capital city of the world; “Moscow being the head of the world.”

After the religious and pseudo-mystical slogan of the “Third Rome” lost its appeal and usefulness in the political sphere, Moscow raised the banner of panslavism, calling all Slavs to unite themselves under the leadership of the Russians to resist and defeat German and Chinese threats. Again the domination of all Slavic nations in Central and Southern Europe was the very aim of the imperialist version of Muscovite Panslavism. Only Poles and Ukrainians did not allow themselves to be deceived by the new political manoeuvre of Moscow, but other Slavic peoples, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians and others trusted the Russians for a long time, until they learned the bitter lesson of harsh Muscovite imperialist rule in the 20th century under domination by the USSR.

By the end of the First World War the Russian Empire collapsed as a dungeon of the non-Russian peoples. Yet, the Muscovites under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks succeeded in saving the empire once more and restored it for some 70 years, having used a fourth slogan of deception – Marxist Bolshevism, a new pseudo religion of worldwide brotherhood of the working proletariat with an element of communist, but this time, atheistic messianism of an only righteous Muscovite leadership of the communists of the world.

Millions and millions of naive people were completely deceived by Marxism-Leninism and its theories and slogans. During the course of 70 years the monstrous Soviet social-economic system, while preaching justice, equality and well-being, had in reality created lack of justice by sentencing millions for many years to concentration camps or executions without proper trials; drastic inequalities in the state, through

millions of different levels of material and social inequalities creating classes up to the privileged *nomenclatura* and the highest class of Soviet aristocracy. The Soviet-Muscovite system was based on theft, exploitation, purgery and alcoholism.

That symbiosis of Marxism-Leninism with Russian imperialism created a psychologically twisted system, which had to collapse, sooner or later, as a result of the material poverty of the people. Behind that ideological cover-up, Muscovite imperialism was a prime driving force to dominate, to exploit, to appropriate the properties and resources of the non-Russian peoples and ethnic communities, to russify them, or to annihilate them physically using genocide.

The author of an article published in 1957 in a book called *The Economic Factors in the Growth of Russia* writes that, the initial motives for the ruthless aggression of the rulers of the Rostov-Suzdal-Muscovite regions was due to the primitive economy and poverty of the aforementioned regions. He pointed out the economic reasons for Moscow's imperialistic conquests in the Baltic regions, the domination of Ukraine by forging the so-called Pereyaslav Treaty in 1654 and its violations, the domination of Belarus, and parts of Poland, in its drive towards the Mediterranean Sea, in the Caucasus regions, in the Balkans, towards Siberia and the Far East and Central Asia. By opening "the window to Europe through the Baltic Sea", the avenue for aggression in Western Europe was paved. The Muscovite imperialist plans did not omit America, and, in particular the Aleutian Islands, Kuril Islands, Alaska and California, and collided with the United States of America. Peter I, the so-called Great, looked for ways to conquer Afghanistan and reach the shores of the Indian Ocean by means of the Russian borders. The Muscovite imperialist drives did not have any limits.

Yet, the Soviet Empire collapsed and fell apart in 1991. On its ruins, independent states of non-Russian peoples were formed, for example, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and others. The Commonwealth of Independent States, without much political meaning and significance, was agreed upon. Yet, also, the so-called Russian Federation, with Moscow as the capital was created where the traditions of Muscovite imperialism, with all its ugly faces of paranoia, megalomania, superiority complexes and untempered thirst for aggression, survived as one can witness at the present time.

However, it is unfortunate for Russians today that Moscow has no new attractive slogan by which it can deceive the naive, as it did in the past. With such a slogan missing, the Russian leadership raised the banner of restoring the Russian Empire within the borders of the former USSR. Yet, that slogan, though attractive for Russian chauvinists, is definitely unacceptable to non-Russian nations, which are not attracted to a future vision of a new "prison of nations". Nevertheless, the Russians are totally confused and their fervour is not abated but on the rise. The following is an example. Engineer M. from Hollywood, Florida, was sent by the Motorola Company first to Moscow and then to a Siberian city to work there. Recently, he came back for a vacation and at a meeting in Hollywood he delivered a short account of his experience. He said, among other things, that without even mentioning the Russian chauvinists, 90% of the so-called "good Russians" are convinced that Ukraine is a part of Russia and must be a part of Russia, irrelevant of the fact that in the referendum in Ukraine on December 1, 1991, almost 92% voted for an independent Ukrainian state.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, supposedly a true Christian and defender of human

rights, does not recognise the right of Ukraine to be free and independent, and wants her to be a part of a Slavic empire with Moscow at the helm. He detests the fact that Ukrainians want national state independence.

Vladimir Wolfovich Eidelstein-Zhirinovskiy is the embodiment of Russian chauvinism. He also denies any right for Ukraine or any other former Soviet republic to be independent. As if this was not enough he wants to add Poland, Alaska, Finland and the Balkan Peninsula to the Russian empire and even expand it to the Indian Ocean, along the unrealised blue print of Peter the Great.

Zhirinovskiy's political party is called a liberal-democratic one, but is in fact an outright imperialist and fascist one. It is unfortunate, that his party became rather influential and strong in the Russian Federation, and foreign and political analysts admit the possibility of its victory in future elections, and the danger if an unbalanced Zhirinovskiy should become the president of the Russian Federation.

An interesting parallel comes to mind. Hitler came to power on the ruins of Germany after the First World War, and brought the world to a catastrophe. If it happens that Zhirinovskiy comes to power it would be on the ruins of the USSR and on the verge of Russian chauvinistic despair. A twisted mind in such a situation is a dangerous thing.

Zhirinovskiy may talk nonsense, however, it is unfortunate that millions of Muscovites think like him. Even Boris Yeltsin thinks that way, as his irresponsible aggression in Chechnya shows.

Chechnya declared independence three years ago. Yeltsin waited and did not react to Chechnya's move. In 1994, he attacked the small nation and turned its towns literally into ruins and murdered its men, women and children. Chechnya did not threaten Russia, nor was it a danger to Moscow in any way.

Chechnya is an example of the continuation of traditional Russian aggressiveness of the Tsars and Bolshevik leaders. It reminds one of the destruction of the Ukrainian Cossack Sich, Baturyn, the Caucasian lands, the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1921-22 engineered by Lenin, the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 engineered by Stalin and Kaganovich in which over 10 million people died.

There may be enemies and hostile states in the world but it is frightening to have enemies led by mentally unbalanced leaders like Temudzjin, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mao-Tsetung or Zhirinovskiy.

The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists Blasts Zhirinovskiy

KYIV (Ukrinform) — Russian Liberal-Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's interview to the *Vseukrainskie Vedomosti* newspaper, in which one of Russia's most odious political figures and likely contender for presidency, said that the Russian Army would invade Ukraine to station its garrisons in all locations which could offer resistance to the (Moscow) central authority, triggered a strongly-worded statement on February 28 by the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, which urged Ukraine's immediate withdrawal from the CIS, suspension of Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament and called for talks with the Russians aimed at dividing the Black Sea Fleet and signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and Russia.

Let Us Heal the Wounds and Dry the Tears

"Aid for the Children of Chechnya"

This is the name of a new charity fund which has been established with the aim of helping to ensure the survival of the Chechen nation, at present experiencing its third genocide. The immoral policies pursued by the West and the indifference and selfishness of Europe serve only to deprive the brave and proud Chechen people of their nation's right to self-determination; by force it is being bereft of its independence.

There are many sick, wounded, orphaned, starving children who desperately need food, clothing and medicine. We consider that anyone who is in a position to provide at least some material and moral support to these children has a duty to do so.

The Lithuanian-Chechnian Interparliamentary Relations Group initiated this fund. Among those who established the fund are members of the Seimas Ms. V. Aleknaite, Mr. R. Ozolas and Mr. A. Endriukaitis, Prof. A. Marcinkevicius and Prof. P. Kaltenis, Dr. R. Trakymiene and teacher E. Zaidiene.

We are appealing to you personally, and we would also ask you to inform other persons and organisations of our activities and to encourage them to support us.

Our address is:
Vilnius,
Gediminas Ave. 53
Tel: 61 86 82
Fax: 61 45 44

Our account is held at the Litimpex Bank of Vilnius
Name: Lithuanian litas account
No.: 2700002 (code 290101395)

hard currency account:
No.: 700070500 (SWIFT: LBASLT2X)

Algirdas Endriukaitis
President of the Fund



**Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine,
and Slava Stetsko, ABN President,
in Munich on 6th July 1995**

Photo: Nikolaus Zykaluk

ABN

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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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A word from the editor...

November 1995. A typical autumn day. Through the window of ABN's headquarters, the first rays of sunshine are trying to break through the morning fog. The outcome of the struggle between sunshine and fog will decide the fate of the weather for the rest of the day. The morning papers and the news received via the latest technological means from international press agencies suggest a similar unfolding of events. Like the weather outside, the various developments around the world are similar to the struggle between sunlight and clarity with fog and cold.

In Nigeria – political murder by means of execution of a death sentence. In Cuba's tropical "paradise", the determination to create an utopian classless society has only resulted in extreme class differences. The only factor of egalitarianism is the extreme poverty and desperation among the "have nots".

Intolerance and the negation of basic civic principles in its newest form, i.e., fundamentalism, is hindering those searching for a peaceful solution to the problems in the Middle East.

In Central Europe the increase of attacks must be understood as the absence of rational ways for political expression. War refugees and the civilian population in the Balkans face yet another cold, cruel winter. The effects and aftermath of the old Soviet regime can be seen in the Polish elections.

As a prelude to the elections in the Russian Federation, Moscow's Bolshoi Theatre is showing Mussorgsky's work depicting political cataclysm's in Czarist Russia in the 17th century.

The uncertainty and instability of the current situation which is so much like today's autumnal weather is most evident in Georgia (see the articles in this issue on the torture and persecution of political prisoners).

One searches for some indicators for a renewed belief in mankind. How paradoxical that violations of human rights persist when the long evolutionary development of civilisation has strived for the protection of human rights as a fundamental value.

These have always been the values and principles, which ABN has embodied and sought to protect – human rights and dignity of the individual and freedom and rights for nations. These convictions and the belief in the ethical resolution of the evolving political processes in the world is our inspiration on this particular fall day.

"For the great majority of mankind are satisfied with appearances as though they were realities... and are often more influenced by things" that seem than by those that are", - Machiavelli, 'The Prince'.

RESEARCH CENTRE
for Prisons, Psychprisons and
Forced Labour Concentration Camps of the USSR

KAL 007 Crash Reexamined

**An Open Letter to the Present Leadership of the
John Birch Society and to all those connected
with the investigation of the fate of
KAL 007 of September 1, 1983**

We decided to write this letter to all those concerned because the investigation that we had conducted since 1989 of this tragedy was basically finished. As a result of our investigation, the following facts have been established beyond any reasonable doubt.

After having been hit unexpectedly by the Soviet missile, Boeing 747 (Flight KAL 007) did not crash in the sea. Its pilots, who continued to control the plane managed to turn it around into the direction of Sakhalin Island and made an emergency landing on shallow waters in the Tatarsky Strait between the islands of Sakhalin and Moneron. The 269 passengers and crew were removed from the plane by the KGB-commanded coast guard, transferred to the mainland, and there separated into groups and sent: Larry McDonald to Moscow, children to orphanages in various places, and men and women separately to secret concentration camps. The plane was then towed to a deeper place and then sunk – after which, divers were sent to “look for it”. The above conclusions have been supported by numerous facts obtained by our Research Centre via our own channels, as well as by other sources, among them the CIA and the Soviets themselves.

These facts can be roughly divided into two groups, one being technical information and the other eye witness testimonies. The first group includes:

1. The radar information received from two different sources (the U.S. radar on Hokaido and the Soviet radar in Zaviet Iliycha) showing that after having been hit and damaged, the plane continued flying for another 12 minutes, during which time, it made a 180-degree turn in its course and started moving in the direction of Sakhalin Island (instead of flying away from it as it had been doing prior to the attack). KAL 007 changed the speed of its descent from higher to lower (which would have been absolutely impossible had the plane been plunging uncontrollably into the sea), and it circled the island Moneron twice and lowered gradually until reaching the “zero” mark on the radar screens.

2. The radar communications of the Soviet pilots before, during and after the attack, both intercepted by US Intelligence and taped by the

Soviets and later submitted and included in the ICOA 1993 report; from these communications, it becomes absolutely clear that the plane was aloft for quite a while after the attack, that the Soviet Air Defense lost sight contact with the plane and only managed to regain it when it was too late to resume the attack and when the coastal guard vessels and fishing boats were speeding to the plane which was executing an emergency water landing. It also became clear from these communications that the passengers were being taken from the plane alive. Soviet pilots even stated that there were American citizens among the passengers.

3. The radio communications of the KAL 007 Commander Chon Bu-In with the flight controller of the Narita airfield 40 minutes after the attack and following the landing.

4. The Soviet coastal guard commander, KGB General Romanenko, reported to Japan that the plane had landed safely and that Congressman McDonald had been among the passengers and was well. This information was picked up by the world Teletype service and was transmitted in the morning news of September 1 worldwide.

5. All the electronic equipment was stripped from the plane (including the "black boxes") and transferred to the ERAT Military Aviation Research Institute located in the town of Lubertsy near Moscow. It was clear since the moment we received this information that the Soviets were lying when they insisted they had never recovered the "black boxes" and had not even known the precise sight of the alleged crash, because among the other numerous facts concerning the electronic equipment, we had received the name printed on the label tag affixed on the inner side of the black box lid (Hamilton Aids). This information was received by our Research Centre as far back as May 1990 and checked to be confirmed as authentic by the Boeing Company. After having denied this for almost ten years, the Soviets finally broke under pressure, admitted having "found" and recovered the boxes to South Korea – though (in complete accordance with our predictions) the tapes were almost entirely erased. However, the remaining part of the black box information proves (as stated in the ICOA 1993 report) that only one out of the two fired missiles actually hit the plane and that in the tail area which resulted in minor fuselage damage (there were one or more holes whose combined area was no more than 1.75 sq. ft.) and consequently causing the cabin decompression that was reported by the pilots over the radio. It is quite apparent from the black box data that is presently at the disposal of the ICOA that the plane was gradually descending under control of the pilots.

6. Musical tapes that had been on board KAL 007 were later used by the army radio station on Sakhalin which was registered by the US Intelligence.

These are just a few of the numerous facts belonging to the group of technical facts.

The second group of facts, including eye witness information

referring both to the time of the tragedy and to later periods and to the fates of the victims:

1. The Soviet divers who were sent to examine the plane under water were given no instructions to look for human bodies and were quite surprised to find none. Neither did they find luggage; but they did find hundreds of pairs of shoes.

2. The divers were given a plan of the plane with marks and clear instructions on where and how to find the "black boxes" and they did find them there, indeed. They reported on their findings in a special report to the State Investigation Commission headed by the GRU General Varennikov.

3. There are two Soviet fishermen who saw the plane land and witnessed the rescue operations of the Soviet coastal guard.

4. There are two Soviet specialists on "black boxes" – M. Antipov and V. Shatylo – who were personally involved in the recovery of the black boxes from the KAL 007 from the Far East to Lubersty near Moscow. Names of all the people who had to do with the black boxes and other electronic equipment from KAL 007, as well as the addresses of all the institutions where different parts of that equipment could be found, were published by our Research Centre as far back as July 11, 1991.

We want to stress again that the above enumerated facts are but a small part of all the material available. Those who wish to study the issue at greater length must read our press release dated July 11, 1991, as well as other memorandums on the development of our investigation which were published within the last three years. However, the purpose of this letter is not to give a full account of our investigation, but rather, to draw the attention of the John Birch Society leadership and membership to the refusal of the (JBS) leadership of 1990 and later to support our investigation.

When we started our investigation in 1989, we took it for granted that the JBS would be our natural ally and supporter in this endeavour. Therefore, as soon as we received the first results in 1990, we informed the JBS, after which, Joe Ferguson – an expert pilot and a co-author of the JBS published technical expertise material of the KAL 007 tragedy – was sent to Israel to receive the information from us and to evaluate it. Mr. Ferguson was impressed with the information and, as for the piece concerning the Hamilton Aids name tag on one of the black boxes, he personally undertook to verify it with the Boeing Company. He was pleased to inform us and the JBS leadership a few weeks later that, not only was the name correct, but it could be solely known to somebody who had seen it on the inside of the black box. In other words, it could serve as a proof of the authenticity of the information provided us by our Russian source. We had no doubts that it would motivate the JBS leadership to continue the backing of this investigation (until then, the JBS and Mr. Ferguson personally participated in covering the costs of sending three couriers to Moscow who delivered our questions and smuggled out the

answers from our people in Moscow.) Unexpectedly enough, following this initial success, the JBS leadership – specifically Mr. Alan Bubolz (then President of the JBS) and Mr. Don Fotheringham informed us that the organisation was terminating its support for our investigation on the grounds that it would be too expensive and that the JBS was in financial strain as it was. This was shocking enough, but what was even more shocking, was their refusal to help even with little things that would not demand financial expense at all.

The JBS withdrawal from the project was not going to stop us, as we realised at that point that we had just touched the tip of an iceberg. We continued on our own and information continued to arrive.

In 1991, we informed Senator Jesse Helms of our efforts and he first sent Dr. David Sullivan to us and a few months later, his three top aides – Dr. James Lucier, Dr. D. Sullivan, and the late Mr. Victor Fedai. The three spent a whole week with us debriefing us and our two men who had arrived from Moscow with the relevant information. The three left fully convinced that the investigation must be carried out and that there was certainly enough information already to allow Senator Helms to initiate special Senate hearings on the subject. A few weeks later, we received word from Senator Helms office that our information had been checked through the CIA and found authentic, and that a special report of the United States President was being prepared on the basis of our information. The promises sounded very encouraging until everything came to a sudden halt. Senator Helms became sick and he was replaced in his office with Admiral Nance who began by firing all Senator Helms' top aides who were involved in the investigation of the KAL 007 and the POWs issues. The work in this direction ceased and, to the best of our knowledge, has never been resumed. Even after Senator Helms recovered and returned to work, his old aides have been fired and he never bothered to explain to us what happened with the information (partially confidential) which we had entrusted to him through his aides.

However, unexpected "support" was received from the CIA. Somehow, a top secret report was smuggled from the CIA and we obtained a copy of this report. It became immediately clear that those who had compiled the report used our information which could only be obtained by the CIA through Senator Helms. Moreover, the arrival of our information to the CIA served as a reason for the reopening of the file that had been closed for eight years. And finally – and most astoundingly – our information was almost no news, as it only supported what had been known to the CIA from the very beginning! Let us say it again and think it over slowly:

The CIA knew since 1983 that the plane had not crashed and that the people were alive – and yet closed the file!

In 1992, we published our *Analysis of the CIA Report* and sent it out widely to all those who might be interested. There has been an overwhelming reaction from numerous individuals, some of them

members of the JBS, asking what might be done to rescue all those who are still alive. However, there has been no reaction on the part of the JBS leadership, except for one small paragraph in their article in the *New American* dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the tragedy in 1993.

We were able to continue our research due to some help we had received from a few concerned individuals. Thanks to their financial assistance, we could check some of the addresses where, according to our information, some of the plane passengers could be found. The results of this check have been described at length in our "Memorandum on the Undercover Search Operations in 1993-1994 in the Territories of Siberia (Russia) and Kazakhstan for the Survivors of KAL 007", dated February 1995.

It should be said here, however, that wherever our people went, they realised that the KGB managed to appear there before and removed the persons we had hoped to find. In other words, the direction of our search was correct but too slow and too late. It could have been successful had we received that same money in 1991 when we received the addresses, rather than in 1993. Who is to blame?

Many people, some of them members of the JBS, write to us, "We appreciate your concern and dedication to the cause of looking for Larry McDonald." We think it would only be natural to expect this concern and dedication to the cause from Larry McDonald's friends and comrades-in-arms from the JBS.

Today our possibilities – both moral and financial – have been exhausted. We still have some addresses we have not been able to check where, we deeply believe, some of the passengers from KAL 007 must be kept. Who will pick up the baton of the search from us? There is no hope for any action on the part of officialdom. In 1993, we were visited by Pentagon officials who said they were looking for POWs from the Korean and Vietnam wars. We gave them part of our information about POWs to be used for photographing from satellites various unreachable places. They promised to organise such photographing and then, they disappeared forever.

Senator J. Helms recovered and returned to his office, but apparently "cooled down" for the cause. Why? Who is influencing – or intimidating – him? Everybody seems to have buried the poor KAL 007 victims alive. There were 63 Americans on board. Are we the only ones to be concerned with their fate?

A. and E. Shifrin

Ukraine and the Council of Europe

On September 26 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (CE) heard a report by Ukraine on its readiness to join this 34-member organisation, arguably the most authoritative and representative organisation on the European continent.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the CE has decided to recommend Ukraine for admission to it after Hans-Peter Furrer, a senior CE political officer, stated on September 1 that Ukraine basically qualifies for admission.

Ukraine applied for membership in the Council of Europe over three years ago in June 1992, and has had special observer status in the CE's Parliamentary Assembly since September of that same year. Ukraine has ratified the European Cultural Convention on Basic Principles of Cross-Border Cooperation, and has stated its willingness to ratify the Convention on the Struggle Against Crime. During the last three years since Ukraine's initial application to join the CE, nine other Central and Eastern European countries have been admitted into the CE, including the three Baltic republics and Moldova, the only member-state from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Moldova was admitted into the CE despite the unresolved ethnic conflict in its separatist Transdnister region and the presence of the unwelcome Russian 14th Army on its territory.

Three conditions for accession to the CE – legislation to safeguard national minorities, free elections and a new post Soviet constitution – have all been raised at various times as serious obstacles preventing Ukraine's membership.

Ukraine introduced national minority legislation and created a ministry to deal with this question as long ago as 1991-1992. Its policies towards national minorities are regarded as some of the most progressive, not only in the former Soviet bloc, but throughout Europe. Ukraine finances out of its own budget, for example, the repatriation of Tartars to their Crimean homeland.

Parliamentary and presidential elections were held in Ukraine last year and were deemed to be fair and free by the CE, as well as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union. Ukraine also has no territory claims on any neighbouring country and has been a strong proponent of the territorial status quo in Central and Eastern Europe. Permanent missions of the United Nations and the Council of Europe have been allowed to open in Kyiv. Ukraine has still to adopt a post-Soviet constitution. But, in the words of Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko, "The constitution we now use contains 140 amendments. There is nothing left from the former constitution."

The Foreign Ministry and Parliament have done much work to bring Ukrainian laws into compliance with international standards. Indeed, during a May visit to Kyiv, Miguel Angel Martinez, chairman of the CE's

Parliamentary Assembly, admitted that the amended Soviet-era constitution would not be a hindrance because it no longer contradicts international standards.

The adoption of an interim petit constitution in early June in the form of a constitutional agreement between Parliament and the president has further removed this obstacle from Ukraine's admittance to the Council of Europe. Ukraine has stated its clear intention to ratify the European Convention on Human Rights and accompanying protocols immediately after it is admitted to the CE.

The reason for the CE's foot-dragging on Ukraine's membership, therefore, have to be sought elsewhere: in the realm of geopolitics, rather than concern for Ukraine's alleged lack of democratic transformation.

Minister Udovenko pointed out earlier this year that, "We have fulfilled all the conditions of the Council of Europe, and I think we could have been accepted a long time ago. We don't know where the delays are originating. We keep hearing from Strasbourg that this isn't so, that isn't so." Mr. Udovenko lamented that, "The Council of Europe is not in a hurry to admit Ukraine."

The CE has slowed down Ukraine's accession because it could "irritate other candidates waiting a long time for admission," Mr. Martinez admitted. Mr. Martinez's oblique reference to Russia's insistence that Ukraine not be allowed to join before it had – a concession to Moscow that defines logic. After all, in contrast to Russia, Ukraine has not experienced political violence and has dealt with its separatist Crimean region in a peaceful manner. (Russian membership in the CE has been frozen until next year in response to its military intervention in Chechnya.)

Nevertheless, the majority view within the Council of Europe is to bring Ukraine and Russia in at the same time, despite the fact that no arguments exist to keep Ukraine out.

As Borys Tarasiuk, the first deputy foreign minister of Ukraine, bemoaned recently, "In the West Ukraine is widely misunderstood. Some people confuse Ukraine with Russia, which indicates a kind of indoctrination of the Western population. The Soviet Union is Russia, and Russia is the Soviet Union. Nobody was concerned with Ukraine, and suddenly Ukraine appeared on the map. Many Westerners say, 'Oh! It's a part of Russia.' That's how Ukraine was viewed in the West for decades."

Zsolt Nemeth, a Hungarian rapporteur for the Committee of Legal Affairs and Human Rights of the CE who visited Kyiv and the Crimea on April 10-14 of this year, has argued that, "each country should be judged on its own merits." He added, Ukraine has proved that, unlike Russia, it is able to settle its conflicts peacefully and is able to abide by the principles of international legal norms." In exchange for CE membership, Ukraine should be asked, he believed, to drop the death penalty, introduce a new constitution within its own agreed time-frame of one year and adopt a new criminal code.

In a speech in Kyiv Malcolm Rifkind, British defense secretary, stated that, "The United Kingdom welcomes and supports the prospect of

your early membership (in the CE),” reflecting growing Western recognition of Ukraine’s strategic role in the new post-Cold War Europe.

In the view of the Hungarian CE rapporteur, Ukraine should be admitted to the CE because, “it is in the interests of Europe and that of the democratic forces of Europe.”

Ukraine has fulfilled all of the conditions for membership and the Council of Europe, therefore, should finally do the only honorable thing at its September 26 meeting: vote in favour of allowing Ukraine to join.

Taras Kuzio is a research fellow at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham (England).

The Ukrainian Weekly, Vol. LXIII, No. 39.

Ed: Ukraine joined the Council of Europe on 9th November this year, taking the organisation’s membership to 38.

Yeltsin Outlines Russian CIS Strategy

MOSCOW – Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on September 14 outlining Russia’s strategy towards the countries of the CIS, ITAR-TASS reported on 16 September. The decree states that Russia’s goal is the “creation of an integrated political and economic community of states which can aspire to a respected position in the world,” and argues that the CIS is a priority area for Russia because of “important vital interests” in the areas of “security, economics and the defense of the Russians living abroad.” The decree calls for closer economic ties and underlines the importance of forming a military alliance in order to create an effective “collective defense” system. Russian officials and commentators have often warned that such a CIS military pact might be one of Russia’s responses to NATO expansion.

In Kyiv, Ukrainian First Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk sharply criticised the Yeltsin decree, saying it highlighted the diplomatic chasm between the United States and Russia and its allies in the Commonwealth of Independent States. “Any international grouping can only develop with the consent of its members,” Mr. Tarasiuk told a press conference on September 19. “It is difficult to imagine an organisation which would take actions and integrate on the basis of decrees issued by one of its states.”

From the very inception of the CIS on the ashes of the Soviet Union, Russia has tried to set up concrete power structures with enforcement powers within the 12-nation group. Russia has also used the CIS to pressure such states as Belarus and Kazakhstan into close economic and political integration with it.

(OMRI Daily Digest / Reuters)

The Ukrainian Weekly, Vol. LXIII, No. 39.

**Meeting of the Presidents of
Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania
Tallinn, 7 September 1995**

Joint Communiqué

According to the Agreement on the summits of the Baltic Presidents, signed on the 25 March 1994 in Palanga, the President of Estonia, Lennart Meri, the President of Latvia, Guntis Ulmanis, and the President of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas met in Tallinn on 7 September 1995.

During the meeting the Presidents discussed the intensification of Baltic cooperation, as well as strengthening relations between the European Union and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. They also paid substantial attention to questions related to security and stability in the Baltic Sea region, in particular NATO enlargement and the role of other relevant international organisations and structures. In addition, the Presidents exchanged views on ways and means of improving their States' relations with all neighbouring countries, with whom some issues remain unresolved.

With regard to Baltic co-operation, the Presidents agreed to work toward more effective transit across their mutual borders and greater control over their Eastern frontiers. They stressed the need for further liberalisation of trade among the three Baltic States, in anticipation of joining the WTO. The Presidents also discussed perspectives for further military co-operation among their states.

The Presidents welcomed the conclusion of Europe Agreements and expressed their common desire for early ratification and implementation by all States concerned. They noted with satisfaction the strategic importance accorded by the European Union to further expanding political and economic ties with the Baltic States and pledged to do all in their power to ensure steady development in this direction. The Presidents also expressed their full support for the idea to convene a special summit, as proposed by Poland, which would bring together leaders of the EU member states and the associated countries to discuss the specific matters of the Union's enlargement.

The Presidents once more reaffirmed the strong conviction of their states to join NATO. The Presidents expressed their conviction that NATO remains the primary guarantor of security and stability in Europe. They welcomed their States' ongoing co-operation with NATO and called for further intensification of the relationship, especially in practical matters. With regard to NATO enlargement, the Presidents expressed clearly that those democratic Central European countries that aspire to and are ready for NATO membership be given the opportunity to join. The Baltic States consider their integration processes towards the EU, NATO and the WEU to be mutually reinforcing.

The Presidents noted with satisfaction the expanding development of relations between the Baltic and Nordic states, particularly stressing the significance of co-operation on all levels.

The Presidents had an open and frank discussion of their States' relations with Russia and concluded that on fundamental questions their positions are shared and expressed their hope that Russia would follow the democratic way in its future development.

The Presidents discussed the importance of Ukraine in the European architecture and expressed their belief that Ukraine's membership in the Council of Europe would be considered in the nearest future as an important guarantor for its democratic changes.

Lennart Meri
President
Republic of Estonia

Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

Algirdas Brazauskas
President
Republic of Lithuania

Ed: Ukraine became the 37th member of the Council of Europe. The decision was made on September 26, 1995, after a lively discussion by participants in a session of the CE Parliamentary Assembly.

Landsbergis Protest

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Homeland Union, said on September 5 that Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Krylov was speaking "like the ruler of the world when he forbade the West to even consider the possibility of admitting Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to NATO."

He warned that Russia would try to use all possible means to prevent the move and had intentions of taking economic, political or military measures against the three Baltic countries.

"According to Krylov's way of thinking, security and stability within NATO would cause incidents such as disturbances from persons of undefined citizenship status," said Mr. Landsbergis.

He added that some recent statements and inconsistencies by Western politicians may have prompted Russia to increase its pressure and regretted that they did not prevent aspirations by Russia to become a special partner of NATO.

- Russian forces began widescale military exercises along part of its northwestern border on September 4. Border guard commander-in-chief General Andrei Nikolayev said the manoeuvres, which are the first since the Baltics regained independence, involved about 10,000 men.

Social and Cultural Dimensions of Independence in the Caucasus and Central Asia

The social and cultural independence gained by the Caucasian and Central Asian republics after the demise of the Soviet Union are themes that have understandably only begun being paralysed and about which much remains to be said. I propose to pinpoint some present and potential social and cultural issues of significance, at the risk of making generalisations. (The first one I will make is that the area covered is so vast that no generalisation can be made, each republic having its own specific problems). I shall end with a discussion of what I consider to be the fundamental element of socio-cultural identity.

Throughout the long years of the Soviet regime, we in the so-called free world had been made to believe, both by USSR leaders, as well as the Western sovietologists, whom we love to hate today for not having known better, that “homo sovieticus” had been successfully created, and was indeed alive and well throughout the territory of the Union. So much so that, with hindsight today, we realise that we did not grasp the size and importance of some of the events in the 1980s, especially in the periphery, during the initial stages of *perestroika* and *glasnost*; with reason, since the apparatus had remained intact, and Gorbachev appeared to attempt to achieve, on a much larger scale of course, what Dubcek had been prevented from doing in 1968.

I suggest that, in parallel fashion, but not in an extensively greater scope, a social and cultural revolution of major amplitude is taking place at present in the former Soviet Union, a process the magnitude of which eludes us at the moment. Stuck with facts and figures, too close to the actors in time, we lack the perspective with which to judge the exact nature of the mutation. Yet it is in the periphery that, more than anywhere else, the change is taking place. Although a true assessment can only be effected retrospectively, societies in the Caucasus and Central Asia are undergoing currently and concurrently three phenomena: one, the rejection of socialist ideals and the dismantling of the Communist apparatus, however slowly; two, the introduction and growth of market relations, and the connotations of liberalism underlying this; three, the decolonisation and derussification processes.

That a transformation of this scale and magnitude should be accompanied by tension and conflict of various sorts is only to be expected. The most salient feature of the tension that is felt in those republics is one that is almost never expressed and that is perhaps not tangible. It is a certain *malais* felt at not having the political leaders of the Soviet regime made accountable for their crimes. It is a lack of catharsis which I feel may find an outlet in violent fashion. In addition, there is tension and conflict between the colonized and the colonist – that is, the problem of the ethnic Russians. I suggest that much ink will be spilt, especially in the Western press, on the plight of these people, whether they decide to “stay on”, in the words of the English novelist Paul Scott, or whether they migrate, or the government of the Russian Federation decides to resettle them, as has been the case so often before. It must be said this is an area of conflict where there is and will be more and more mutual resentment, the Russian population being over-represented in white collar jobs and the indigenous population, so to speak, under-represented in such jobs.

Then, some Western observers point to the return of tribalism of the clans. Time will show whether this is, as they believe, an ossified and anachronistic medieval tribalism suppressed and dismissed out of the public domain during the Soviet period, now reasserting itself, bound to create social problems in the long run, or more of a clique formation by people coming from the same locality, for mafia-type affiliations.

Whatever social structure is reemerging or newly forming in these societies, it is a fact that these are societies whose growth as societies was arrested. It is only to be expected to be pressurized, by the West and by well meaning friends as well as by their own well-meaning administrators, to be quick to catch up. This will create tension.

As the economies are being overhauled, in the best of circumstances, unemployment will create tensions. As the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, with the pensioners, for example, having to live on their mere "pensia", there is bound to be tension. In short, social upheavals that will come with the changes will have to be anticipated. Obviously there will be those who want to "escape from freedom" and resist change. However, the most important social problems will emerge as, with time, migration from the rural areas to urban centres takes place. This is a phenomenon social scientists predict is bound to happen, once Western types of capitalism and industrialisation take root, even if, due to a myriad of factors specific to the region, it may be only in the very long run. It may be said that we are already familiar with the social problems that will arise then, London and Chicago as well as Istanbul have experienced them. But then, every observer of Central Asia especially, finds, at some point, ready-made formulae just not functioning in certain cases, so it may be that the outcome may turn out to be unpredictable and dissimilar.

Yet, this migration will bring about cultural problems as well because instead of the Russian-speaking, russified urbanised elite and bureaucrats, an urbanized but also unrussified group of people will come to the city, possibly eventually elbowing out the others and becoming dominant. Their arrival may parallel and even affect the dismissal of the neo-communist leadership. These people will know their native Turkish language and will conceivably have different demands and aspirations. They may be culturally irredentist, at least for a time; and they may consciously or not, thus lay the ground for new cultural icons and symbols replacing the lingering Communist ones. Furthermore, it is very likely that they will start a struggle with the "mankurts", found in every republic, who appear to impede derussification, to say the least. ("Mankurt" is a Chinese word that was taken up by Tchingiz Aytmatov, meaning a person so brainwashed that he can only repeat what his master has instructed him.) Thus the issue of culture makes itself felt.

The subject of culture is a very complex one. It is a fact that in matters of culture, the Soviet regime pursued even more relentlessly the imperialist policies of the Czarist regime. Consequently, these people had to break with their "culture: in the everyday sense of the word, and they had to break with their culture in the terms of "heritage" that sense and significance to the life of a society. Their cultural heritage was desacralized and desymbolized when not hidden altogether. However, something else also happened. There was throughout the Czarist and Soviet regimes ethnic cleansing of the worst kind, but more important for culture was eliticide. The best-educated and the most cultured non-Russians, the whole *intelligentsia* in fact, were eliminated either by execution or by being sent to the *gulag*, when and if these had not been able or willing to flee the country. For example, Turkey's gain, in the early years of the Republic, by the

arrival of such intellectuals as Paris-educated Yusuf Akcura was the loss of the Turkics within the Soviet Union. Moreover, it must be said that ever since the sixteenth century, when the Kazan Khanate fell to its former vassal Ivan the Terrible, there has been disinformation concerning the Turkics, who have always been portrayed as uncouth, uncultured second-class citizens of the world. I suggest that the challenge for students of the Caucasus and Central Asia is to do today for those regions what Edward Said did for the Middle East with his Orientalism.

At present, the people in the republics in question are observed to be in a schizophrenic situation concerning their social and cultural identity. There are various means of overcoming this schizophrenia; retrieval of the past will certainly be one. Language of course, that was used by the Soviets to forge differences and facilitate for example the decimation of western Turkestan, is paradoxically going to be used today as an element of nation building in the various newly independent republics. However, I wish to concentrate here on what is the basic constituent of socio-cultural identity, that which shapes primarily one's outlook upon life, that is to say religion.

I suggest we stop demonizing the religion of most of the Caucasian and Central Asian Turkic republics, i.e. Islam. The fact that there may be overzealous Saudi Arabian or Iranian "missionaries" does not change the essence of the matter. Nor does the fact that as a reaction to the long Soviet ban on Islam, there will be excesses in practising Islam. A return, for a time, to rigid Orthodox Islam, what in Turkey is deprecatingly labelled Arabic Islam, may also be inevitable.

Religion is not only important because of its ethical teachings that are very much indeed needed especially at present. There is in those regions today a virtual rediscovery of Islam. This reflects a thirst for spiritual existence that had been lacking all throughout the Soviet era. And we must expect modern spiritual crises to take place, expressing themselves by various means just as much as we prepare ourselves for social upheaval. Parenthetically, I personally find crises and conflicts in both domains beneficial because it is the manifestation of human vitality, it shows that "homo sovieticus" is at last getting rid of his shackles and shaking off his torpor. Ivan Denisovich is at last free.

From the ashes of moral order in decay that is the Soviet paradigm, as a whole culminating currently in the "karupsiya"(corruption) that we are witnessing, the present transition to Islamic values signifies and heralds the reshaping and emergence of a new moral order.

Anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that Islam is for those very many born during the Soviet era, an avant-garde institution. It is novel, it is the future, as, for instance, "modern" mosques with orthodox architecture are being built, unhampered by tradition. Yet we must not forget the Soviet heritage. Islam is not going to penetrate into *tabula rasas*, but to products of rationalist thinking. The people in the Caucasus and in the Central Asian republics may come to enjoy the ceremonial aspects of Islam with the social rites that go with it, just as T. S. Elliot relished the rituals of Catholicism he had embraced late in life. However, the new Muslims, as I propose to designate them, will not be duped by simplistic preachings, while bringing along, as supplement to the "way of life" that Islam is, a Soviet way of life. To illustrate, "hicap" will remain an alien concept for many.

I suggest that out of their embracing Islam in the beginning of the twenty-first century, a new synthesis within Islam may occur. It may also act as a panacea to the reactionary Islam that is becoming more and more prevalent in the West, for very different socio-cultural reasons; in other words, what the West likes to dub "fundamentalism". When, as I had the occasion to witness, "Kurban Bavram" is celebrated by a dance spectacle with women dancers showing bare legs, something novel in Islam is happening, something I find most salutary.

In conclusion, the new-gained independence of the republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia has brought forth a number of social and cultural questions in the societies concerned. Furthermore, just as the advent of the Republic of Turkey furnished a totally new interpretation and experiencing of Islam, which is said to be theoretic in essence, so may the revival of Islam in the newly independent Turkic states bring forth a new synthesis.

Gönül Pular is a member of the Faculty of Humanities and Letters at Bilkent University in Ankara. The article is her presentation at an international conference on "The Caucasus and Central Asia after Independence, Past and Future" held at Bilkent University from May 25-27, 1995. Turkish Daily News, No. 7690.

Russian Muslims and December Polls

Russia's Muslims, angered and shocked by the wars in Bosnia and Chechnya, have joined forces to contest the December parliamentary elections, aiming to defend their interests at the highest level for the first time since 1917. The Muslims, numbering some 20 million, are divided into more than 60 ethnic groups living by the Volga river in the Russian republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, in the northern Caucasus and western Siberia. The Union of Russian Muslims, set up in June, held its first congress from September 1 to 3 in Moscow.

"We are horrified by the events in Chechnya, Bosnia and Tajikistan and have decided to unite to defend our interests in a disciplined and civilised way," said co-chairman of the Union's executive committee Abdul Vakhed Niyazov. The 256 delegates at the congress, from 62 regions of Russia, established the movement's structures and list of candidates for the December 17 polls. They rejected "reactionary ideas aimed at confrontation".

Mahmud Essambayev, a Chechen dancer who enjoyed major success in the Soviet period, holds the top post in the three-member leadership of the new movement "in recognition of his courageous protest against the war in Chechnya," the Union's leaders said. He is flanked by Rim Niyazgulov, head of the Bashkortostan Union of Muslims, and Nadir Khachilayev, head of a Muslim movement in the northern Caucasus republic of Dagestan, a neighbour of Chechnya. Ramazan Abdulatipov, a Dagestani and deputy speaker of the Russian parliament's upper house, the Federation Council, was elected honorary president of the Union of Russian Muslims. "Nobody has defended our interests since 1917," said the Union's secretary-general, Sheikh Mukkaddas Bibarsov. Khachilayev told a news conference: "We don't want to be treated as inferiors and always labour under the impression of being occupied by Russia."

The Muslim World, Vol. 33, No. 16.

Death Penalty, Torture and Fair Trial Concerns in Case 7493810

Introduction

A major political trial ended in Georgia's Supreme Court on 6 March 1995. Two of the defendants, Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Gelbakhiani, were sentenced to death. Others received prison sentences of up to 14 years.

The defendants in case 7493810 were accused of involvement in violent crimes. However, all allege that they were tortured or ill-treated during interrogation and that their statements were extracted under duress. They were in pre-trial detention for up to 17 months, and throughout the judicial proceedings they have reported numerous violations of due legal process. They were held in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in a detention facility in which tuberculosis is rife. A number of them were reported to be unwell but the provision of medical attention was described as arbitrary and inadequate, with medication mostly unavailable unless supplied by relatives.

During the trial Amnesty International called on the Georgian authorities to investigate all reports of torture and ill-treatment of these defendants, to take immediate steps to improve their conditions of detention, to provide medical attention on the basis of clinical need, and to ensure that the defendants received a fair trial in accordance with international standards. These calls went largely unheeded.

Since the end of the trial Amnesty International has called for commutation of the death sentences passed on Irakli Dovadze and Petre Gelbakhiani. It is calling for a full judicial review of case 7493810 on the grounds that violations of due process and the allegations that confessions were extracted by torture cast serious doubt on the fairness of the trial proceedings. It is continuing to urge a comprehensive, prompt and impartial investigation into all allegations of torture and ill-treatment, with the results made public and any perpetrators identified brought to justice.

The first part of this report gives the background to case 7493810. Part two places Amnesty International's concern about the death sentences passed in case 7493810 in the context of Georgia's recent return to the use of the death penalty.

Case 749810

The trial had opened in the Supreme Court in Tbilisi, on 5 October 1993, with a total of 19 defendants facing charges ranging from failure to report a crime to

– an attempt to disrupt parliamentary elections held on 11 October

1992 by distributing propaganda against head of state Eduard Shevardnadze;

- an alleged attempt on the life of the acting Procurator General Vakhtang Razmadze;

- an alleged attempt to bomb the Tbilisi-Sachkhere highway; and

- theft from a factory warehouse of 26 boxes of French perfume.

Seventeen of the defendants were arrested between May and October 1992, mostly in Tbilisi. Petre Gelbakhiani and Viktor Domukhovsky were arrested in April 1993 in the neighbouring country of Azerbaijan by Georgian security personnel working in cooperation with Azerbaijani security forces, and were flown back to Georgia.

Prior to the opening of the trial proceedings all the cases were united into one, case 749810. Originally this case also included charges of abuse of power and related crimes brought against former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who had been elected President by popular vote in May 1991 but had been deposed in January 1992. Zviad Gamsakhurdia died in disputed circumstances at the end of 1993. The case also originally included charges against three defendants in connection with the armed seizure of the television and radio station in Tbilisi on 24 June 1992, but according to an official source these charges were dropped under the terms of an amnesty proclaimed on 3 August 1992.

Allegations of torture and ill-treatment after arrest

All the defendants in case 749810 alleged that they were beaten following arrest and during interrogation. Testimony from a number of the defendants described a recurring pattern. Typically, they were arrested by armed men in civilian clothing who did not produce arrest warrants. They were beaten on the spot, on the way to the militia station and upon arrival. The beatings continued during interrogation. Questions were asked about the defendants' relationship with the former President Gamsakhurdia. Further ill-treatment and intimidation followed until the defendant signed a deposition.

None of the statements signed by the defendants were excluded from the trial proceedings despite the allegations that they were obtained under duress.

The forms of torture described by defendants included hanging upside down, scalding with hot water, and systematic beatings resulting in fractured bones and broken teeth. Threats that their family members would be tortured or murdered were also used against the defendants.

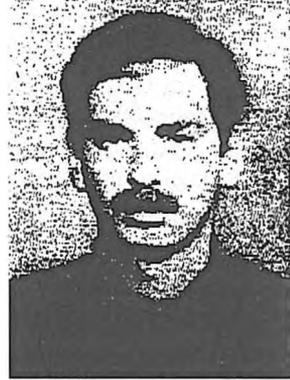
The authorities were alleged to have incited other prison inmates to torture the defendants. In a statement sent to Amnesty International in October 1994 Georgian authorities confirmed that a prisoner (whom they identified) had attacked Gedevan Gelbakhiani, but claimed that the reason for the attack was Gedevan Gelbakhiani's refusal to help this prisoner with an appeal. The statement claimed that the prisoner had been convicted and sentenced for this attack, but unofficial sources have

cast doubt on this assertion. Zaza Tsiklauri also named this prisoner as having been among the people who tortured him.

Only one of the allegations of torture made by the defendants in Case 749810 has been officially confirmed by the authorities. Shortly after his arrest Zaza Tsiklauri was hospitalised after sustaining fractures to the left leg and left arm and extensive burns from boiling inflicted during interrogation. Soon afterwards the then head of the Georgian security service, Irakli Batiashvili, stated in a television broadcast that Zaza Tsiklauri had been tortured, and that he believed that security service officers were responsible. Eduard Shevardnadze is also reported to have publicly confirmed that Zaza Tsiklauri was tortured.



Gedevan Gelbakhiani



Zaza Tsiklauri

Zaza Tsiklauri gave the following account to a delegation sent to Tbilisi by the British Helsinki Human Rights Group in February 1995:

"I was taken to the KGB building and immediately tortured. Several means of torture were used. One method was burning with boiling water. About 90 percent of prisoners are tortured in the same way: a prisoner's hands are tied behind his back and a wooden stake is then put [under] his arms; he is then suspended between two tables, head down, and beaten on the feet with a wooden stake. Although you are being beaten on the feet it feels as if you are being beaten on the head. When one man had finished beating the prisoner another one took over.

"When I seemed to have collapsed they threw water over me and the torture resumed. The pain is intolerable and, of course, they know that prisoners feign unconsciousness in the hope of bringing it to an end. From the start they tried not to harm my face but I had a broken leg, arm and rib...

"When I think about it [now] I feel it is something I read in a book. But at the time I was pleading God for them to kill me."

Former head of the Security Service Irakli Batiashvili described to the delegation from the British Helsinki Human Rights Group a visit to

Zaza Tsiklauri in prison after being informed that *“something had happened to him”*:

“What I saw was not human. He could not speak. he was just a body with broken bones, covered in burns. He had been tortured in various ways.”

A doctor with the delegation who examined Zaza Tsiklauri found a large burn scar on his arms. The bone on his upper forearm showed signs of having been broken and badly set.

Only one of the charges against Zaza Tsiklauri was placed under review in the light of the torture allegations. A criminal investigation into Zaza Tsiklauri's torture was dropped because, fearing for the safety of his family, Zaza Tsiklauri refused to give testimony. The Georgian authorities informed Amnesty International in October 1994 that no criminal charges had been brought against anyone in connection with injuries sustained by Zaza Tsiklauri. They claimed that Zaza Tsiklauri had sustained injuries by jumping out of a moving car, and that this had been confirmed by witnesses. Kakha Koberidze, the trial prosecutor, made a similar assertion to the British Helsinki Human Rights Group monitors, stating that Zaza Tsiklauri had fallen from a car at the time of his arrest.

Despite the fact that allegations of torture and ill-treatment were raised by the lawyers of other defendants in Case 749810 during the course of the trial Amnesty International knows of an investigation undertaken into such allegations in the case of only one other prisoner. An investigation is said to have been initiated into reports that Viktor Domukhovsky was beaten by special police officers in his cell on 13 August 1994 after he refused to hand over to them written notes he had been making relating to the trial. He reported that the police officers beat him to the floor of his cell with clubs and then continued to kick him where he lay. At a court session on 15 August it was reported that he was unable to stand because of his injuries. An investigation is also reported to have been initiated into reports that on 11 December 1994 Viktor Domukhovsky was beaten by drunken fellow inmates who had been given the keys to his cell. The state of progress of the investigations into these incidents is not known to Amnesty International.

Georgia is legally bound under the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (to which it acceded in October 1994) to investigate all reports and complaints of torture and ill-treatment, to bring to justice those responsible for such treatment, to compensate and rehabilitate as fully as possible those who have been tortured and to take measures to prevent torture and ill-treatment from occurring.

Conditions in the pre-trial detention centre

During investigation and trial the defendants were held in Ortchala prison (investigation-isolation prison No. 1) in Tbilisi. Conditions

within the prison are said to be appalling. On average, 45-50 people are held in each cell in the men's facility in the prison, providing less than two square metres per person. Food consists of little more than bread and water; heating in winter is irregular, as is the electricity supply. The facility is said to be vermin-ridden with rats, lice and cockroaches.

Tuberculosis is reported to be widespread amongst the inmates in the prison, but no attempts are made to control the spread of contagious disease through treatment or isolation. Medical supplies are unavailable within the facility and in cases where patients are on medication they are mostly dependant on supplies of drugs from their families. In most instances the final decision to provide medical attention is left to the judge or procuracy officials rather than doctors. Although in principle inmates may be treated in the hospital attached to the prison, authorisation is difficult to obtain and is said almost invariably to require extensive bribery.

Even after transfer to the hospital the continuation of medical care appears to be at the whim of the trial judge. Zaza Tsiklauri, who was hospitalised for treatment for the effects of torture, tuberculosis and malnourishment following a lengthy hunger strike, was returned to the prison within days of a meeting with a representative from the human rights monitoring group Human Rights/Helsinki in June 1994, reportedly on the judge's orders. Medication was also ceased at that time, and was not recommenced until Zaza Tsiklauri was transferred back to the hospital on 9 September.

III health

A number of the defendants suffered serious ill health as a result of the conditions of their detention and, in some cases, hunger strikes that they undertook to protest their treatment.



Victor Domukhovskiy

Two of the defendants, Viktor Domukhovskiy and Mamuka Danelia, were reported to have developed persistent low-grade fevers and it is feared that they have contracted tuberculosis. Mamuka Daniela also had a pre-existing medical condition, the consequence of head injuries sustained in a fall, which reportedly deteriorated while he was in pre-trial detention. Zaza Tsiklauri was diagnosed as having tuberculosis and peptic ulcers. Zurab Bardzimashvili is reported to be certified disabled: he has epilepsy and has metal rods in his right arm and leg following an automobile

accident. He has a heart condition and was dependent on medications received from his family. He is also reported to have mental health problems, having attempted to commit suicide at the time of his arrest and twice subsequently. Omari Kohclamazashvili, who is 51 years old, was reported to have suffered a "cardiac fit" in court on 13 September 1994 but for at least a week afterwards, and possibly much longer, he was not examined by a doctor.

Violations of due legal process

In addition to the ill-treatment that is said to have been inflicted on all defendants, the judicial proceedings were characterised by violations of due legal process beginning at the time of detention and continuing up to and during the trial itself. Most of the detainees report that they were not informed of the charges against them at the time of their arrest, in one case for one week, and many interrogation sessions are said to have been carried out without a lawyer being present. Access to lawyers was interrupted during the trial, and on occasions the trial judge excluded both a defendant and his lawyer simultaneously from the court. The trial judge is said to have denied some defendants access to materials connected with their cases, and in at least one case denied a defence lawyer access to such materials. In some instances defendants were denied free choice of counsel and were forced to accept representation from court appointed lawyers against their will.

All of these actions, if accurate as reported, contravene positions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which Georgia acceded in May 1994, and many were outlawed under the Criminal Procedure Code of the Republic of Georgia.

It should be noted that at some points during trial proceedings, as reported both by officials and independent observers, defendants behaved in ways that could be characterised as contempt of court, and which resulted in their exclusion from trial proceedings. For example, as a mark of protest against the trial proceedings defendants at times were reported to have turned their backs on Judge Mirza Dolidze when he addressed them, and turned their backs and smoked cigarettes to demonstrate their opinion of points made by the procurator.

The sentences

The procurator concluded his summing up on 31 January, calling for maximum prison sentences for all the defendants, and the death penalty for Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Gelbakhiani.¹

Sentencing took place on 6 March. as demanded by the procuracy Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Gelbakhiani were sentenced to death. The sentences passed on all other 15 defendants were slightly shorter than demanded by the procurator.

They received the following sentences of imprisonment:

Viktor Domukhovsky	14 years
Gedevan Gelbakhiani	13 years
Gocha Makhviladze	12 years
Tamaz Tsiklauri	12 years
Teimuraz Kapanadze	12 years
Zurab Gogichashvili	11 years
Givi Kalmakhelidze	10 years
Gela Mchedlishvili	10 years
Sergo Khakhviashvili	7 years
Mamuka Aptsiauri	7 years
Zaza Tsiklauri	5 years
Ivane Lashkarashvili	5 years
Ramazi Charigogdishvili	4 years
Bessarion Bochoridze	2 1/2 years
Mamuka Danelia	2 1/2 years

Since case 7493810 was heard in the Supreme Court as the court of first instance, the defendants have no right of appeal against their sentences. In accordance with internationally agreed human rights standards everyone sentenced to death has the right to appeal to a court of higher jurisdiction. Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Galbakhiani have been deprived of this right, and all defendants have been denied the opportunity to challenge the court's dismissal of their fair trial concerns. In the cases of Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Galbakhiani, unless a judicial review is ordered their only hope of avoiding execution is if Eduard Shevardnadze exercises his constitutional right to grant clemency and commute the sentences.

Not long after the conclusion of the trial Eduard Shevardnadze was quoted by Georgian radio as saying that he was personally opposed to the death penalty, but for as long as the law provided capital punishment the law would be enforced. Amnesty International has publicly appealed to him to act in accordance with his stated personal convictions and to commute the death sentences passed on Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Galbakhiani.

Amnesty International, May 1995.

¹ By this time the charges against the two defendants, Zurab Bardzimashvili and Omari Kochlamazashvili, had been removed from case 7493810. The reasons for this remain unclear, although it has been reported that the case against Zurab Bardzimashvili was separated out on grounds of his ill-health. Other sources report that the charges against Zurab Bardzimashvili and Omari Kochlamazashvili have been linked to another case, and that they remain in detention.

Georgia's defiant people

TBILISI, Georgia has been racked by political violence and civil war since the collapse of the Soviet Union temporarily broke Moscow's hold on the mountainous Transcaucasian land four years ago. An assassination attempt against Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze occurred on August 29th this year. Shevardnadze came to power in 1992 shortly after Georgia's first democratically elected president Zviad Gamsakhurdia was toppled in a Russian-backed armed uprising.

Gamsakhurdia was killed in 1993 after a failed attempt to come back to power. (See Spring issue).

In the same year the country teetered on the brink of disintegration when its Black Sea province of Abkhazia routed Georgian troops and declared independence. To this day it defies Tbilisi, though Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, insists it belongs to Georgia.

Facts about Georgia

POPULATION: About 5.44 million. A population breakdown from 1979, the latest available, shows 69 per cent Georgian, nine per cent Armenian, 7.4 per cent Russian and five per cent Azeri. The indigenous minorities, Ossetians, Abkhazians and Adzhars make up just a fraction of the republic's population. The Black Sea province of Abkhazia has declared independence and refuses to submit to rule from Tbilisi.

AREA: 69,700 square km (26,900 square miles). Georgia, which occupies the whole of Western Transcaucasia, is bounded by Russia to the north, Azerbaijan and Armenia to the east and southeast, and Turkey to the south. Its western border runs along the Black Sea.

CAPITAL: Tbilisi, formerly known in English as Tiflis.

LANGUAGE: Georgian - written in its unique ornate, rounded alphabet - is the republic's official language. Most scholars assign Georgian its own category within the larger family of early Iberian-Caucasian languages. The script, with 33 letters, draws on ancient Eastern Aramaic. Georgians have clung tenaciously to their language, fighting off bids by Moscow to impose use of Russian and protecting their alphabet from conversion to the Cyrillic script.

RELIGION: The Orthodox Church of Georgia is one of the oldest Christian communities in the world, dating back to 337. Restricted by the Tsars and later the Communists, it played an increasingly important role in the nationalist movement which led to independence.

ECONOMY: Georgia's three main agricultural regions produce a wide range of fruits, vegetables, oils, tobacco and spices. Industry revolves around the world's biggest manganese mines, scattered coal seams and a post-war metallurgical complex at Rustavi. There are also modern processing plants for green tea leaves, breweries, and silk and textile factories.

HISTORY: Georgia - or Sakartvelo in the local language - is the rich and ancient Colchis of Greek legend. By 65 B.C. it was part of the Roman Empire, accepting

Christianity in 337. For the next three centuries the Kingdom of Georgia was caught up in the rivalry between the Byzantine and Persian empires. Arab caliphs ruled the land from a Tiflis emirate from 654, before the golden age under the region's own Bagratid dynasty. The Mongol invasions, from 1220, undermined the kingdom and its cultural, political and economic life never recovered. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Georgia was cut off from almost the entire Christian world and invaded repeatedly over the next centuries by Turks and Persians.

In 1783, under the Treaty of Georgievsk, the Russian tsar promised protection in exchange for Russian suzerainty. By the mid-19th century Russian control was complete.

Following World War One and the Russian Revolution, the Georgian Social Democratic Republic declared independence on May 26, 1918, bringing to power Lenin's Menshevik rivals.

The Red Army invaded in February, 1921 and the short-lived republic became part of the Soviet Union.

A native son of Georgia, Josef Dzugashvili, better known as Stalin, rose to become supreme dictator of the Soviet Union. Nonetheless Georgia suffered terribly in the purges of the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1978, demonstrators forced the withdrawal of a change in the Georgian constitution making Russian the official language. Georgian Communist boss Eduard Shevardnadze played a key role in defusing the crisis. Nationalist tensions overflowed again in April 1989, when Soviet troops moved against a demonstration in the main Rustaveli Avenue killing 20.

In late 1990, despite a partial boycott and vicious in-fighting among more than 100 nationalist factions, Georgians voted overwhelmingly against the Communist party sweeping them from power in favour of a Round Table Alliance. Former political prisoner Zviad Gamsakhurdia became leader. On April 9, 1991, the republic's parliament declared independence. Gamsakhurdia, son of Georgia's best-known writer, won a landslide victory in presidential elections in May. But his opponents accused him of imposing a dictatorship on the republic and tensions mounted.

In December, 1991, National Guard commander Tengiz Kitovani and militia leader Jaba Ioseliani launched an uprising and toppled Gamsakhurdia in two weeks of fighting around his parliamentary stronghold. Only weeks later, Shevardnadze returned to the country he had ruled as Moscow's viceroy for 13 years. But those who predicted the strong hand of Shevardnadze would bring peace were disappointed.

In 1993, the province of Abkhazia fell to secessionist forces, dealing a severe blow to the country's hopes for revival. Gamsakhurdia's forces launched an attempt to win back power but were ultimately crushed by the militia.

Under Shevardnadze, Georgia entered the Commonwealth of Independent States it had shunned under Gamsakhurdia and, despite tensions over the breakaway of Abkhazia, has improved ties with Moscow. Internally, Georgian politics have remained fractious. Shevardnadze has lost the support of the allies who first helped him to power in the Russian-backed coup in 1992. The Georgian leader calculates that constitutional reforms passed by parliament will strengthen democracy. Shevardnadze, a political force in Georgia through decades of Soviet oppression, has not said yet whether he will stand for the newly-restored post of president.

**Statement of Georgian Parliament Members
on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary
of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act**

1 August 1995

The 20th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act creates contradictory feelings and thoughts: too large is the difference between the expectations and the real outcomes. The event which gave birth to CSCE, gave hope to all honest people on the other side of the Iron Curtain that since then the abuses of their Human and National Rights would not be “internal issues” of a totalitarian state. On the other hand the history of the CSCE is the history of the violation of its basic principles, often – even cynical trampling on it for the sake of dubious political profits, as it has happened in the case of Georgia.

When the “Evil Empire” was destroyed in 1991 – due to the heroic efforts of its imprisoned nations and to the deep regret of some western politicians – we, Georgians were in the vanguard. That striving for real independence, civil and democratic society caused the Russian-organised military *coup d’etat* (January 1992) resulting in the overthrow of the first freely-elected (May 26, 1991, 87% of votes, 6 rival candidates) President of Georgia in the former Soviet Union.

What was the attitude of the CSCE, which regards as intolerable even the threat of violence towards these events? In July 1992 at the Helsinki Summit Shevardnadze’s criminal regime got the membership of CSCE (some of the crimes – e.g. the shootings of the peaceful protesters – had been openly committed in the presence of the CSCE delegation, which “was studying” Georgian reality from the windows of the gorgeous banquet hall of the old communist “guest-house” and refused to meet anybody except the notorious “state council” members). A man, who has spent his life persecuting the Helsinki Movement and who has usurped state power by means of a military *coup d’etat* and has not even attempted to be elected, was invited to represent Georgia in the CSCE. On the other hand, the exiled president of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a prominent advocate of human and national rights, who had been proposed by US congress for the Nobel Prize, creator of one of the first Helsinki groups in 1975, the chairman of the Helsinki Union of Georgia, the man who sacrificed his life for Helsinki principles, was deprived the possibility of attending the summit, moreover, he was denied a visa to Finland. Since then, all appeals of the president and parliament members of Georgia, who had not resigned and who have been functioning in exile – have remained the “voice in the desert”.

Is it not appropriate to ask now, what is the share of responsibility of the OSCE in these medieval atrocities, which Shevardnadze’s regime flooded Georgia with, when only in Tbilisi about a hundred peaceful civilians have been shot dead and many hundreds have been wounded, that Western Georgia has been subjected to wide-scale punitive expeditions at least five

times, that the jails are full of political prisoners, among them many members of the legally elected parliament, that **two prisoners of conscience are awaiting execution**, that the torture, arbitrary detentions, “disappearances”, “self-accusations” and Soviet “show-trials” are today’s “democratic” reality in Georgia, as well as the collapsed economy, destroyed territorial integrity and more than a million refugees?



**The two prisoners of conscience:
Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Gelbakhiani.**

Is this anniversary the funeral of these great principles or the triumph of cynicism?

Honorable Participants!

Cynicism is harmful for it carries too. For the sake of those principles, do something, at least for those prisoners!

Giorgi Goulbani

Member of the Legally Elected Georgian Parliament
Now political refugee in Finland

Merab Kikadze

Member of the Legally Elected Georgian Parliament
Former Chairman of Parliament
Now political refugee in Finland

Rise and Fall of Democracy in Georgia (Abstract)

ICCEES V World Congress in Warsaw
the 8th August 1995,
group IX-15: Georgia Economy and Society

Georgia, one of the richest areas of the Soviet Union has sunk into poverty and chaos. The situation is due to a harsh power struggle. A group calling itself "the intelligentsija" unsatisfied with the first democratically elected but weak government, parliament and President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, seized power with arms in January 1992. The coup was carried out by several paramilitary groups and the part of the National Guard which followed its rebellious commander-in-chief Tenzig Kitovani. The coup was given both moral and military support from Russia.

The *coup d'etat* was supposed to look like a rescue of Georgia from the hands of an evil dictator. Obviously the people did not want to be rescued by Eduard Shevardnadze, who finally in the autumn of 1993 had to ask the CIS armed forces to help him stay in power.

Under Shevardnadze's rule Georgia has not advanced on the road to democracy. On the contrary, the direction has been quite the opposite. Georgia is a dictatorship, though not a well organised one. There is a chaotic situation with the constant power struggle among those who seized power. Eduard Shevardnadze's position has strengthened with the help of the occupying Russian army. He is now trying to disarm the gunmen who originally raised him to power, and has intensified arrests and violent actions against the opposition. International human rights organisations have reported serious violations of human rights. In the trial case no. 7493810 Petre Gelbahiani and Irakli Dokvadze, two supporters of the late president (Zviad Gamsakhurdia) were sentenced to death.

The real nature of the present regime in Georgia is now being revealed to the public in the western countries after the western powers had lost their struggle for influence in this strategically interesting area to Russia. Earlier it was astonishingly difficult to get any information published about the violations of human rights in Georgia. Amnesty International, which promptly reacted to the alledged violations of the 8 month long Zviad Gamsakhurdia regime, waited for two years before they reacted to the torture and ill treatment of the accused of the case no. 7493810.

Georgia is now in "the miserable condition of Warre" as Thomas Hobbs would put it. The elections of next November are not going to bring anything new as long as the supporters of the late president Gamsakhurdia are not allowed to take part. National unity cannot be restored by force.

8.9.1995

Eck SPAHICH

Veto on Arms Embargo Condemned

As a presidential candidate, Bill Clinton promised to unilaterally lift the UN-sponsored embargo against my native Bosnia. His veto was an endorsement of Serbian aggression, ethnic cleansing and genocide. Sixty-nine US senators and the majority of US congressmen voted overwhelmingly to lift the embargo. But Clinton chose to continue it, denying the Bosnians their inherent right to defend their families, their children and their communities. By keeping this embargo in place for so long, not only is Clinton denying the Bosnian people the weapons they need to defend themselves, his administration is also helping tilt the balance of war.

Our freshman congressman, Mac Thornberry, has correctly to overturn the embargo. I wish the same could be said for Rep. Larry Combest of Lubbock. In an effort to sidetrack the issue, Combest talks about “the engagement of American troops.” The Bosnian government never asked for American troops. Bosnians prefer to do their fighting themselves. Combest likes to suggest the possible danger of “engaging Americans on the soil in Bosnia,” insinuating another Vietnam. If anything, Bosnia is becoming Serbia’s Vietnam, not America’s.

People like Combest and New Mexico’s Rep. Bill Richardson should have supported the US House’s action. Time and time again, we have raised the hopes of the Bosnian people that they would be able to get the much-needed military hardware. By lifting the arms embargo, the Clinton administration had an opportunity to extend to Bosnia the right guaranteed to every other sovereign nation – the simple to right to defend themselves. Only when the aggressors are certain the Bosnians can defend themselves will the Serbs realise that further aggression will get them nowhere. And only then will there be a real chance for peace.

Drawing a map and rewarding the aggressor with 49 percent of Bosnia has not satisfied the aggressor’s appetite. The international community has sat back and watched the Serbian aggression and flagrant genocide in the Balkans.

The United States remains the only superpower in the world. Clinton needs to regain the confidence of Europe and the world. Two hundred years of American leadership have led up to this moment of opportunity to stop genocide in the heart of Europe. We can’t turn our backs any longer.

It’s time Combest and Richardson allow the Bosnian people to help themselves. These two politicians have one last opportunity to redeem themselves on the issue of genocide.

Eck Spahich, a native of Tuzla, Bosnia, has lived in the United States since 1960. He has a number of relatives living in Tuzla, a city under siege and a declared “safe haven” by the United Nations.

Has Russia Inadvertently Recognised Chechnya?

Interview to *Die Welt* by Lennart Meri, President of Estonia

1. What are your feelings, Mr. President, as you view the Chechen conflict?

From Moscow's point of view, its war against the Chechen Republic is its "internal affair", as long as Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation. Formally, the statement is true, and not only in Moscow's eyes. The international community would have acquiesced to a swift and effective police operation against a "secessionist" region, would have tried to find analogies in the secession of the southern states of the USA from the northern ones, and would have sniffed at but still accepted the Kremlin's exotic vocabulary of "bandits" and "illegal armed formations", words that last circulated during World War II.

Even today there are unsuspecting politicians who have failed to grasp the fact that Dzhokar Dudayev has seceded from Russia in the same way as the colony of George Washington's day did from Great Britain. Instead of a swift and hushed police operation, the world stands witness to a war involving the regular army of the Russian Federation: the air force, attack choppers, artillery, the missile force, tanks, the marine corps. A situation has emerged that might be described as absurd were it not causing such tragically heavy casualties on both belligerent sides and were it not so ominous to the European security system. The Russian Federation has violated two essential international norms. Under the pretext that the matter is Russia's "internal affair", it is using military force against its own citizens. In doing so the Kremlin is in breach of the 1991 Moscow Final Document of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which permits no state to regard violation of human rights as its "internal affair" and sets human rights under international control. By massing an immensely preponderant army against the Chechen Republic, the Russian Federation is breaching the equally pivotal 1992 Vienna Document of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which the Russian Federation pledged to adhere to explicit rules for the redeployment, movement and use of armed forces.

General Dzhokar Dudayev has appealed to a number of nations, including the Republic of Estonia, to recognise the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya. Paradoxically, through its declaration of war the Russian Federation proves to be the first nation to recognise Chechnya *de facto*, as a state which has taken arms to fight for its right to self-determination.

2. Can Europe recognise dangers, so as to forestall crises?

Every mountaineer knows that a stone set rolling may unleash a fateful avalanche. The lesson of the Chechen tragedy is that politicians have to learn that simple truth from mountaineers. On returning to their desks from their ever so long Christmas holidays, they found themselves in an utterly different world. The mass media had made every Christmas tree complete with appalling pictures redolent of WW II of the carpet bombing of Grozny, of housewives hit by a shrapnel in a bread queue, of a kindergarten destroyed by wild shelling, with a Chechen-featured Santa Claus drawn by a child's hand

looking reproachfully into Europe's eyes from one of its empty windows. It namely happens that journalists were not having a Christmas holiday. The merciless truth about and from Chechnya as seen by Sergei Kovalyov, the Russian Government's human rights commissioner, reached every godforsaken corner of the earth. Two conclusions transpire from this, one positive, the other negative. First, Russian democracy is stronger than Russian democratic parties. The unsuccessful attempts of conservatives to reinstate censorship prove that the time of muzzling the press in Russia is over. The more pessimistic conclusion is that rarely have Russia, Europe and the United States seen such a deep gaping chasm between the public opinion and the establishment. Political parties have come under powerful pressure to harmonise their foreign policies with the new reality, which actually is old and forgotten rather than new: before our eyes, *Realpolitik* has come into collision with the basic principles of democracy which underlie international law. *Realpolitik* will never solve problems, it will just put them off, with an avalanching amount of interest to pay which sooner or later will overtake and engulf us. The unruffled and lazy *Realpolitik* of the past is no longer fit for our altered time and space. International law requires a political will. If lacking, interstate relations will be molded by brutal force rather than law.

There you are, that's the answer to your question, Europe could recognise dangers all right if it took the trouble to recognise Russian democracy and to promote the long and painful process of democratisation.

3. The European Union has plenty of trouble with itself. Why should it sacrifice its limited resources for the benefit of Russia?

The tragedy of Chechnya is a tragedy for Europe, since it is at the same time and above all a tragedy for Russia: a desperate intrigue of Russian conservatives to arrest the democratisation of the society, to turn the country's back on Europe, to become self-contained – all in the name of preserving their feudal privileges. No doubt they will find some backing among the people whom the learned Western consultants have lured with illusions of simple reforms and a rapid rise to prosperity. The dangerous wishful thinking has been escalated by Western politicians, who have been unable to realise that today's Russia is a cocktail of the 19th and the 21st centuries, which has only been sprinkled with the 20th century democratic experience as a flavouring. I'm not sure if such a mixture is drinkable. But surely it is explosion-risky, unless it's contained in the car engine; and Chechnya is explosion-risky, if the almost 100,000 officials of international organisations turn a blind eye to the crisis. The most perilous recipes are offered by adherents of *Realpolitik*. One of them sounds like this: one must not recognise the Chechen's right to self-determination, since Russia is a nuclear power. The standpoint may look Russophile on the surface but actually reveals deep mistrust, so cynical that it would be difficult to conceive a graver insult to a great power. Moreover, it will open a real Pandora's box of evils. To make the right to self-determination dependent on nuclear arms is to create a motivation for obtaining nuclear arms. Just imagine for a moment an evening at home in front of your television where the weather forecast is followed by a map of the next day's highs and lows of nuclear extortion!?! That would no longer be Europe.

4. Where do you see a way out? Do you see any way out at all Mr. President?

Of course I do. The way out is in a better knowledge of Europe. Russian conservatives and Western politicians are united in their dislike of Griboyedov, Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy, who had great sympathy with Chechnya as they described its thirty-year struggle for the right to self-determination under the leadership of Shamil Imam before and after the Crimean War. At the time of setting up colonial empires the fight of Chechens, Circassians and other mountain peoples was doomed; as political refugees they found asylum in the Middle East; even to this day the Chechens are permanently represented in the Jordanian parliament – but even in the last century that devastating war cost Russia one-sixth of the state's revenue. Fifty years ago the Chechens were deported, on Stalin's order, to a Kazakh desert to die, and where the mountain paths were bothersome they were burned alive on the spot. That was a time ages before the media came to supplant the iron curtain, so Chechnya failed to line up with Oswiecim/Auschwitz, Lidice and Oradour-sur-Glane. Whether you like it or not, whether we are ashamed of our ignorance or not, but this is the historical experience of the Chechens from which their men, women and children – as you will have seen on TV – have derived their Davidic will to fight for accomplishing their right to self-determination. Of course politicians feel uneasy when they deny the Chechen's right to self-determination and extol democracy in the same breath. However, the issue also has its reverse side. All colonial wars in their time were "internal affairs" of the states. Algeria was legally and by all its rights a department of France when, in the time of Bidault, it embarked on anticolonial struggle led by Ben Bella. Scarlet fever can be cured effectively only when the disease is called by its proper name. France owes the recognition of Algeria's right to self-determination to de Gaulle's statesmanship, and Ben Bella owes the ambiguous titles of Hero of the Soviet Union and Lenin Peace Prize Winner to the grim humour of history. In short, both France and England have also gone through the post-colonial infant malady of "the near abroad". But instead of saturation bombing of Algiers or Nairobi, they sat down at the negotiation table with the "bandits" and "mafiosi" and found a political solution to their "internal affair". It's not too late yet, all doors are still open to Moscow. Now everything depends on Russia's political will, on whether it can take leave of the past and sit down at the negotiation table with Dzokhar Dudayev. Estonia, as a next-door neighbour of Russia, supports stability in Russia, but it will not support just any stability. A stability unsustained by democracy is inconceivable without a profound renewal of Russian moral values. So far all the bombs dropped on Grozny have hit Russia itself, in the first place the post-communist way of thinking of its conservatives. A negotiation table can redefine the tragic glow of Grozny as Purgatory.

"The point is that the Communist goal is fixed and changeless – it never varies one iota from their objective of world domination, but if we judge them only by the direction in which they seem to be going, we shall be deceived", – Yelena Bonner.

LETTER OF PROTEST

Ms. Vigdis FINNBOGADOTTIR
President of the Republic of Iceland

Mr. David ODDSON
Prime Minister of the Republic of Iceland

Mr. John BALDWIN HANNIBALSON
Foreign Minister of the Republic of Iceland

April 4, 1995
Vilnius

Let Us Cease Silently Witnessing the Annihilation of the Chechen People

The Chechen people who have fallen victim to Russia's imperial ambitions have shown to the whole world how inhuman Russian imperialism. The Chechen people deserve to be free and independent, they have demonstrated their determination in no uncertain terms.

In dealing with Russia as a large country, the world seems to be applying entirely different standards of international relations, allowing Russia to do everything it pleases. Ever since the beginning of the conflict, in an attempt to reassure the world public opinion, Russia has been making brazen lies about the political solution of the problem and, at the same time, has been killing, destroying and laying waste to the land and its people. It needed all the propaganda about the so-called peaceful solution of the problem only to gain time to complete the planned aggression.

The Chechen leaders who restored the country's independence in 1991 have remained true to their cause – with arms in their hands – have been trying to resist Russia, their longtime oppressor. The most painful thing in the present world is the fact that no demands made on Russia to take the responsibility for its actions as well as evidence that substitution of the force of power for the force of law has become an established practice.

This can be illustrated by the following:

I. In accordance with the existing Russian law:

1) The Russian President being *de facto* responsible for the present emergency situation in Chechnya, did not however declare it *de jure*. This is a gross violation of Article 88 of the Constitution, and the President bears personal responsibility for it.

2) The use of armed force not against the aggressor but against the population of the country is forbidden by Article 10 of the Law on Defence adopted on 24 September.

3) Article 3 of the Law on Conscription and General Military Service stipulates that officers have no right to issue orders and commands that contradict the law.

4) The aforementioned actions of the Russian President and other top officials can be qualified as what is described in Part 2 of Article 171 as abuse of authority and power. The Law qualifies this as a grave offence which can entail imprisonment for up to ten years. According to the article of the Russian Constitution, the President may be impeached.

II. In accordance with international law:

1) The conflict in Chechnya violates the Geneva Convention 'On the Protection of Civilians in Military Conflicts' adopted on 12 September 1949 Article 3 of which defines non-international military conflicts. Articles 146 and 148 of this Convention define liability of those who committed war crimes as well as those who ordered these crimes to be committed. In accordance with Russian law this liability is stipulated in the following articles of Part 12 ("War Crimes") of the Russian Criminal Code: Article 260 'Abuse of Authority and Power and Inactivity', Article 266 'Military Plunder', Article 267 'The Use of Force Against Civilians in the Zone of Military Actions', and Article 268 'Ill treatment of Prisoners of War'.

2) Articles 7 and 8 of the Nurnberg Tribunal define liability of country leaders and perpetrators of crimes for crimes committed.

3) Russia ignores the Code of Behaviour for the protection of political and military security which is outlined by the Second Protocol of 1977 and the declaration adopted in Budapest (OSCE, 1994).

4) Russia ignores the resolution on the situation in Chechnya adopted by the European Parliament on 19 September 1994.

In terms of civic responsibilities, the Chechen problem is a test of the European conscience and it can be solved only by way of considering the following two aspects:

1) By recognising the Chechen people's right to self-determination the basis of the United Nations resolution on decolonisation adopted on 14 December 1960.

2) By identifying the fact that Russia bears complete moral and political responsibility for its actions, documenting the fact and demanding that Russia should acknowledge it.

If we fail to do this, what is the use of all the laws, conventions and ourselves as human beings? Could you please let us know what Icelanders think about all this?

Algirdas Endriukaitis

Chairman,

Coordinative Council of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian
Interparliamentary Groups for Relations with Chechnya

Members of the Lithuanian Seimas

Appeal to the European Security and Cooperation Organisation and the Government of Lithuania

We inform you, that after proclaiming the action of gathering signatures for the appeal to the European Security and Cooperation Organisation and the Government of Lithuania, we gathered 220 thousand signatures under this text:

"We, the citizens of Lithuania, demand that the Russian military aggression in Chechnya and the genocide of the Chechen nation are stopped, the Chechen nation is defended from the mass violation of human rights, and the nation is guaranteed the right to self-determination.

We, the citizens of Lithuania, support the aspirations for freedom of the heroic Chechen nation and urge the governments of the world to recognise *de jure* the Chechen Republic which has been established in accordance with the decolonisation principles declared by the United Nations and has been existing *de facto* since 1991."

We hope that this overwhelming anxiety of the Lithuanian people about the events in Chechnya will find result in the decision taken by your organisation and that you will raise the question of Chechnya in the Decolonisation Committee of the UNO.

Lists with the signatures in the original are kept in the headquarters of the Brotherhood of the 13th of January, Gedimino str. 54, Vilnius, Lithuania.

hab. Dr. Vytaunus Kubillus
*Chairman of the headquarters
of the public organisation to
support Chechnya*

April 5th, 1995.

To the Leaders of the G7 Nations,

Seven months have past since Moscow launched its first full-scale military assault on the Chechen Republic. More than 100,000 peaceful citizens – men, women and children – have already been killed and more than 200,000 have been injured.

Russian troops have thrown into their war of aggression heavy tanks, artillery, mobile rocket launchers (“Grad”, “Uragan”, “Tienguska”), jets and helicopters, the entire arsenal of modern weaponry – including chemical and bacteriological. Every conceivable weapon of war – except nuclear – has been pressed into service to put down our struggle for survival and self determination.

As a result, dozens of cities and towns (like Grozny, Argun, Shali) and over 300 villages have been destroyed turning more than 300,000 people into refugees while the majority of the current Chechen population experience severe shortages of food and basic medical care and medicine. Russian troops in Chechnya – like the brutal occupiers that they are – engage in indiscriminate pillaging, beating, raping and widespread murder of innocent civilians.

Moreover, the Russian government engages in a cynical campaign of disinformation aimed at discrediting the struggle for freedom of the Chechen people. In days before Russian President Boris Yeltsin departed for Halifax, Canada for the G7 Meeting, the Russian Secret Service staged a series of violent and brutal provocations in the Stavropol region on the territories adjoining the Chechen’s Republic. These provocations have been staged to accuse the Chechens of acts of terrorism across the Caucasus region.

In short, the Russian leadership is currently engaged in the process of reassembling a new totalitarian regime over much of the territories of the former USSR and is bent on applying “the final solution” to the Chechen people as Hitler did to the Jewish people. But, in order to achieve this goal, the Russian leaders desperately need economic assistance and political support from the G7 nations in particular, which, we believe, will be channeled into recreating the Russian empire. To obtain your help, Gentlemen, the Russian leaders will stop at nothing.

We appeal to you, the leaders of the mightiest nations, to do everything in your power to stop the senseless Russian barbarism in Chechnya and prevent the genocide of the Chechen people.

The Chechen Republic must be restored – including the right to self-determination.

Respectfully yours,

**Yaragi Mamdaev
Prime Minister
The Chechen Republic**

The International Union of Turkish Youth

The 5th Kurultai (meeting) of the International Union of Turkish Youth was held this year between 1-10 August near Lake Issik in Kyrgyzstan. The following texts are two of the resolutions signed as a result of the conference.

The Chechen struggle for independence, which began in the first half of the 19th century with Imam Mansour and later continued with the famous Sheik Shamil, the Caucasian Lion, has been suppressed with blood.

In World War II, like many Turks and friends of Turks, Chechens were also exiled due to the claim that they were German collaborators. The aim of these exiles was to cut the relationship between Turkey and the Turkish World but the Chechens began to return to their motherland Caucasia after 1953.

Despite long exile, the Chechens protected their culture and declared their independence on September 6, 1991, under the leadership of Cahar Dudayev.

Due to a meeting in November 1994 in Budapest and relying on the green light from the West, on 11th December 1994, the Russian Army (comprising of 10,000 soldiers) began to occupy Chechnya but were confronted with Chechens (the number of soldiers of which was only 600). In spite of all the expectations of Russia and the West, the Russian army could not succeed.

We support the glorious Chechen nation, and their struggle under the leadership of Cahar Dudayev, who never conceded from independence.

We want the Russian army to immediately withdraw from the occupied Chechen land.

We announce that we accept Cahar Dudayev as today's Sheik Shamil and we do support him. His fight is our fight.

*Delegates of the 5th Kurultai of the
International Union of Turkish Youth
Lake Issik, Kyrgyzstan
6th August 1995*

DECISION

Although the USSR disintegrated and many independent Turkish Republics were established, nonetheless imperialist Russia as heir of the USSR did not give up its colonial policy.

Within these new conditions, a new wave of colonialism and imperialism is arising. This, more than elsewhere, can be seen in the so-called 'small' or 'inner' empire, the Russian Federation, where part of the land belongs to Tatar-Turks. Tatars, being a tribe of the Turkish nation, have been continuing their struggle for independence for many years under Russian colonialism.

The following are the reforms which are crucial for the restructuring of the struggle for independence:

- Acceptance of the Declaration of Independence of the State.
- Conducting the referendum in Tatarstan and further acceptance of the Constitution of the Independent State of Tatarstan.

Under the present conditions, the officers, who are followers of Communist ideology and are continuing to act in accordance with Russia's politics – with President Shaimiev at the head – could not benefit from the historical chance given by perestroika and gave up the idea of realising Tatarstan's sovereignty and signed an agreement with Moscow on February 15, 1994.

Our Kurultai calls attention to the negative effects and consequences of the articles of this agreement in the following:

- Tatar National Movement is under severe pressure from various official organs because of not recognising the puppet agreement.
- The election of the Tatarstan State Assembly was conducted under anti-democratic conditions, during which Moscow officials attempted all kinds of irregularities.
- Before restructuring activities began, national reform decreased to almost nothing. Because of this, education in the mother language – especially in universities – could not be done in Tatarstan.
- It is a big problem to reinstill the Tatar language and publish books in the Tatar language.
- Tatars, who live in other parts of the world are banned from coming back to their motherland.
- As the International Union of Turkish Youth, we call upon the Tatarstan government to fulfill its duty and to correct these negative developments.

*Delegates of the 5th Kurultai of the
International Union of Turkish Youth
Lake Issik, Kyrgyzstan
6th August 1995*

Meeting of the ABN Central Committee in Munich

In the headquarters of ABN in Munich, members of the ABN Central Committee, who were in Munich at the time, held a meeting on the 17th October 1995. ABN President, Slava Stetsko, chaired the meeting during which the following issues were discussed:

- the World League for Freedom and Democracy Conference held in New York, 27-30 July 1995
- the present political situation in countries represented in ABN
- the next ABN Conference.



Slava Stetsko (centre), Dr. Kaimur (left) and G. Lazarov.

Slava Stetsko and Dr. Kaimur informed members about the WLFD Conference in New York. Due to the fact that the WLFD Conference was held in Moscow last year, increased Russian influences had hindered the conference's ability to pass a suitable resolution which would condemn the invasion of Chechnya by the Russian Army and the brutal destruction of the civilian population. ABN, the Ukrainian delegation and many other ABN member countries did not take part in the Moscow Conference because of the pro-Russian stand taken by various leading members of the WLFD, who went so far as to recognise Meshkov (the former President of the Crimea) as a representative of a separate country – the Crimea.

ABN delegates, including Ukrainian representatives, indicated at the New York Conference that Russians were responsible for many conflicts, in Afghanistan, Georgia, the pro-Serbian direction as well as instigating conflicts in other countries and tensions between nationalities.

The Finnish delegation supported these views, but, unfortunately, the majority of politicians have believed that there have been many changes in the former USSR and that the present leaders of the Russian Federation

are trying to continue these democratic principles on their territory. It was decided that it should be brought to the attention of the leading organ of the WLFD that despite accepting the membership of Russia into the WLFD, a great many anti-statutory moves have been made that harm the democratic union.

Information about the situation in various countries was given by the following members:

Mrs. E. von Alshibaj – Georgia
E. Evdokimov and G. Lazarov – Bulgaria
Mrs. A. Hovatic – Croatia
A. Akish – Tatarstan
Prof. Dr. S. Kaimur – Afghanistan
T. Mianowicz – Poland
Mrs Slava Stetsko and Ivan Rawliuk – Ukraine.

ABN representatives indicated that communists were still active along with their left-wing allies, who are trying to regain the positions which they lost during the years 1986-1994. It was resolved to continue the opposition to the proliferation of communism and to inform the free world of the imminent threat posed by a new wave of communism which could bring about an even harsher form of barbaric enslavement than has been witnessed thus far.

ABN CC members greeted with great enthusiasm the publishing in Ukraine of the ABN journal "Freedom For Nations", in Ukrainian and partly in Russian. So far, three issues have appeared, edited by Maria Bazeliuk.

It was announced that the Finnish membership has proposed that the next ABN Conference be held in Finland, in the summer of next year. This conference will be discussed in more detail at the next ABN Central Committee meeting in January 1996.



**L-R: T.Mianowicz, I.Rawliuk, Mr.&Mrs. Evdikomov,
Mrs.E.von Alshibaj, A.Akish, Mrs. A.Horvatic.**

Munich, 18th October 1995.

We Remember

In May, there were Services to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe, the main theme being thanksgiving, reconciliation and hope. Due recognition was given to the losses, suffering and sacrifices of people throughout Europe. For people in Western Europe, 8th May 1945 was, indeed, the beginning of peace, reconstruction and the healing of wounds inflicted by World War II.

At the end of the war, in those parts of Germany occupied by the Western Allies, there were hundreds of thousands of people, many forcibly deported to work in Germany, from countries by then under the control of the Soviet Red Army. The Western officials, whose job it was to repatriate them, were perplexed about the unwillingness of these people to return to their homelands now liberated from Nazi rule by the Russians.

These officials, and most people in Western Europe, did not know of the Soviet reign of terror (17th September 1939 to 22nd June 1941) in those countries and parts of countries occupied by the Soviets when the allied predators, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, had divided Eastern Europe between themselves.

Soviet terror in Latvia began on 17th June 1940 when the Red Army occupied Latvia. This **Year of Terror** culminated in mass deportations during the night June 13/14 1941, when some 15,000 Latvian citizens were deported to the Soviet Far East, most never to survive the harsh conditions. Many babies and children died during the journey in cattle trucks, with inadequate food and water supplies. The menfolk were separated from their families. In Moscow, planning for these and subsequent mass deportations had begun even before the start of the Soviet occupation.

Thus, 8th May 1945 did not herald peace and the end of wartime suffering in Latvia. Instead, it saw the return of Soviet terror and more deportations to inhospitable regions of the Soviet Union. The resistance of Latvians to land collectivisation was broken in March 1949 with the deportation of nearly 50,000 people, young and old included.

Soviet terror in various forms continued until August 1991, and the Second World War in Latvia did not end until 31st August 1994, when the last active Russian troops left Latvia.

*Latvian National Council, Latvian Welfare Fund,
729 Queensborough Terrace, London W2 3SP*

Chronology of the Second World War in Ukraine

1939

March 15. Carpatho-Ukraine declares its independence from Czechoslovakia as German troops occupy Bohemia and Moravia.

March 16. Hungarian troops occupy Carpatho-Ukraine with Germany's approval.

August 23. Molotov and Ribbentrop sign the German-Soviet Non Aggression Pact.

September 1. Germany invades Poland and two days later Britain and France declare war on Germany.

September 10. All of Western Poland is under German occupation.

September 17. USSR invades Poland from the east and most Ukrainian populated territory to the Ukrainian SSR.

October 8. Germany incorporates western Poland into Germany and on October 12 as the *Generalgouvernement*.

November 1. USSR officially approves annexation of Western Ukraine.

November. A total of over 3.8 million Soviet soldiers surrendered to the German forces, June 22-November 30.

1940

February 10. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists divides into two wings OUN (M) led by Andrew Melnyk and a new wing, OUN (B) led by Stepan Bandera.

April 15. Ukrainian Central Committee is established in Krakow with Dr. V. Kubyovych as head to represent Ukrainians in the *Generalgouvernement*.

June 27. USSR invades Romania to incorporate the Ukrainian populated northern Bukovina and Bessarabia into the USSR.

1941

May. Germans establish *Nachtigall* and *Roland* military units with Ukrainians.

June 22. Operation Barbarossa. Germany invades the western borders of the Ukrainian SSR and the Belarussian SSR. Retreating NKVD massacres about 10,000 Ukrainian political prisoners in Lviv and other West Ukrainian cities before retreating. The German army has 5.5 million soldiers in 190 divisions.

June 30. Germans capture Lviv. Ukrainian state proclaimed in Lviv by Yaroslav Stetsko and OUN (B).

July. German *Einsatzgruppen* C and D killing units start operating on Ukrainian territory killing Jews and later Ukrainians totaling over 750,000 by the end of the year.

July 12. Germans arrest Ukrainians in Stetsko government. Bandera, Stetsko and other are taken as prisoners to Germany.

Summer. Ukrainian guerillas led by T. Borovets-Bulba start struggle against Soviet army and become nucleus of UPA.

August 20. Erich Koch is appointed *Reichskommissar* of eastern part of Ukraine.

September. Germans starts campaign to execute Ukrainian nationalists in OUN. Ukrainian guerillas start struggle against German army.

September 11. Ukrainian newspaper, *Ukrainske Slovo*, edited by Ivan Rohach, starts publishing in Kyiv and is suppressed December 12.

September 19. Germans occupy Kyiv.

September 29-30. German *Einsatzgruppen* execute 33,771 Jews in Babyn Yar, Kyiv. About 150,000 Ukrainians and others are later executed here.

September. 665,000 Soviet troops surrender to Germans.

October 16. Odessa occupied by Axis troops after 73 days.

October 24. Kharkiv captured by German troops.

1 9 4 2

January 20. Wannsee Conference confirms the "Final solution" of the Jewish question.

February 9. Poetess Olena Teliha, editor Ivan Rohach, Mayor of Kyiv and many other Ukrainians shot by Germans at Babyn Yar, Kyiv.

February. Germans start campaign to attract workers from Ukraine for German war industries but few volunteer. In the Spring Germans start to transport forcibly Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter* as slave labour for Germany totaling at least 2.3 million.

July 3. Sevastopol in Crimea finally taken by German troops after 250 day siege.

August 9. Ukrainian soccer team Kiev Dynamo (Start) defeats German Flakelf team and is executed at Babyn Yar.

October 14. UPA Ukrainian Insurgent Army established and fight against both Germany and the USSR.

1 9 4 3

January 31. German troops in Stalingrad surrender.

April 28. Galicia Division officially announced, recruited and trained in Fall and Winter.

July 5. At the Battle of Kursk, on northeastern border of Ukraine, is the site of the greatest tank battle in history where German forces are defeated.

August 12. Kharkiv captured by Soviet army.

October 14. Zaporizhia captured by USSR.

October 25. Dnipropetrovsk taken by Soviet troops.

November 6. Kyiv taken by Soviet troops.

1 9 4 4

January 24-February 17. Battle of Khorsun-Shevchenkivsky.

February. Start of Soviet army campaign to eliminate German occupation. Soviet army captures Lutsk and Rivne Feb. 5; Kherson March 13; Vinnytsia March 20; Proskuriv March 25; Mykolaiv March 28; Chernivtsi March 30; Odessa April 10; Simferopil April 13; Ternopil April 15; Sevastopol May 9; Lviv and Stanislav July 27; Drohobych August 6; Izmail August 6; Uzhhorod October 24.

July-August. Western Ukraine taken by Soviet army.

July 17-22. Galicia Division defeated at the Battle of Brody. About 3,000 retreat and 7,000 lost.

July 27. Lviv captured by Soviet troops.

October 10. Odessa abandoned by German army.

October 14. German occupation of Ukrainian territory ends.

November 1. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky dies in Lviv.

November 26. Congress in Mukachevo votes to join Carpatho-Ukrainian (Ruthenia) to Ukraine. On June 29, 1945, Czechoslovakia ceded Carpatho-Ukraine and it becomes Zakapartska Province in the Ukrainian SSR.

1 9 4 5

February 4-11. Yalta Conference in Crimea of "Big Three," Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, plan conclusion of war and post-war Europe.

March 17. Ukrainian National Committee and Ukrainian National Army under General Pavlo Shandruk is established.

April 27. Galicia Division transferred to General Shandruk's Ukrainian National Army and is renamed 1st Ukrainian Division. On May 6 it surrenders to the British.

April 30. Hitler commits suicide in his Berlin bunker.

May 8. Victory Day in Europe .

"It is our deeply held belief that the New World Order that is in the making must focus on the creation of a world of peace and democracy... for all humanity.... We should cease to treat tyranny, instability and poverty anywhere on our globe as being peripheral to our interests and to our future..." President Nelson Mandela.

Yeltsin Stands on Lenin's Tomb

When it was first reported [see *The New York Times*, 29 April 1995, page 5], President Yeltsin's 'decision' to stand on Lenin's Mausoleum for the parade of veterans and religious groups during the 50th anniversary commemorating the end of the Second World War on May 9 was presented as 'consistent with Russia's history, which cannot be obliterated'. Specifically Mr. Yeltsin's Press Secretary, Sergei K. Medvedev, told the New York newspaper that 'no-one need worry that it's the Mausoleum, and Lenin. It's history, and you cannot cross it out'. The overt Communists, of course, were in the habit of 'crossing out' plenty of history. But this was the spokesman for the leader of the 'non'-Communists speaking.

At the parade itself, Yeltsin and his fellow 'non'-Communist leaders were flanked astride Lenin's tomb – where every Communist Party chief had stood before him for state occasions and military parades – by President Clinton and some 50 other national leaders, who stood on a specifically constructed dias positioned as closely to the tomb as possible in order to ensure maximum TV coverage. Thus the strategists contrived to orchestrate, for the benefit of the world's television cameras, the spectacle of most of the top world leaders offering overt support to the leader of the 'non'-Communists as he presided over the 'weak look' proceedings from the symbolic holy shrine of Communism.

Shortly after the 'weak look' parade of veterans and religious groups attended by the leaders of the world's most important countries with the exception of France and Germany, a separate 'strong look' parade took place at Poklonaya Gora a couple of miles away. This featured some 10,000 troops, including many fresh from Chechnya, plus 250 armed vehicles, weapons of mass destruction and large numbers of warplanes. According to reports, this was the largest military parade for ten years. Under cover of the 'line' that the parade was 'portraying the Soviet victory in the Second World War', the tanks openly flew Red Flags.

Nor did the Moscow parades end with these contrasting displays. A third parade, at Manezh Square, was given extensive coverage on Moscow's Channel One TV station. This consisted of large numbers of Communists carrying portraits of Stalin amid an endless ocean of Red Flags.

It is on record that the leaders of the nations standing next to President Yeltsin and his fellow fake 'non'-Communists astride Lenin's tomb were perfectly well aware that the parade they were supposed to be watching was a sham. Indeed, they had been aware of this from the outset, because the preparations for both parades were carefully explained to them by Russian officials. According to *The New York Times* [March 17 1995], 'President Yeltsin told foreign reporters at a press conference:

“We want to arrange a program so that in Red Square there will be a military parade, but without any military equipment”.

Separately, Russian officials were reported to have told the press that the Red Square parade would consist of some 2,500 Second World War veterans, and would be preceded by religious ceremonies. A different parade, involving troops and modern armaments, was planned for Poklonnaya Hill. Mr. Clinton, explained the Russian officials, would not be asked to attend that parade’.

Obviously, Western Governments chose to ignore the dialectical ploy associated with the fact that their leaders would be watching the wrong parade. The headline in the *‘International Herald Tribune’* of 10 May 1995 said it all: “Russia Parades its Might, but the West won’t Watch. *The leaders standing next to Lenin’s tomb were aware of the reality, but collectively turned away from it.* Evidently they preferred their sweet dreams to the horrific reality which the Soviet Leninist thugs were now openly flaunting before them, indeed almost in their presence! How deep indeed is the sleep of the bourgeoisie.

Soviet Analyst, Vol. 23, No. 4. 1995.

Russia threatens Balts over NATO expansion

In another attempt to exert a Russian “veto” over NATO enlargement, Russia’s Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Krylov said that Russia is categorically against the integration of the Baltic States into NATO and may resort to “military measures” to prevent it.

“There can be no question of the entry of the Baltic States into NATO,” Mr. Krylov was quoted as saying in an interview with the Baltic News Service. “In the event that NATO is expanded to take in our nearest neighbours, the threat to our security will grow and we will have to take not only economic and political measures but also military ones,” he said.

Mr. Krylov was quoted as saying that Russia had no quarrel with the Balts’ desire to enter the EU. “This is an authoritative economic organisation, with which Russia itself works closely,” he was quoted as saying.

Mr. Krylov said his proposed military measures would mean increasing troop presence on the borders with the Baltic States.

Coming from a high-ranking Russian politician, the statement elicited much comment from Baltic politicians, although many dismissed it as part of the Russian election campaign, in which attacks against the “enemy without” would help deflect the attention of weary voters from domestic issues.

In one of the strongest reactions, Estonian Prime Minister Mr. Vāhi said Estonia should increase its defence spending next year.

“Krylov is not the only politician who has threatened Estonia.” Mr. Vāhi told a press conference on September 5. This is another indication that Estonia must deal

seriously with strengthening its security, and movement towards NATO membership is one of the most effective methods to achieve this.”

Estonia’s defence spending in 1995 was 5% of the GNP. The draft budget for 1996, due to be submitted to the parliament shortly, allocates 6% for defence, or 498.8 million kroons.

Estonian Foreign Minister Riivo Sinijärvi said it was up to any sovereign country itself which international organisations it joins. He interpreted Mr. Krylov’s comments as a threat of attack.

Regrettable

“NATO has said it will expand,” Mr. Sinijärvi said. “If Mr. Krylov says that Russia will make threats of war, it shows that Russia is trying to behave just like the Soviet Union did, which is of course highly regrettable.”

The issue of NATO expansion has stayed atop the political agenda since the visit to the Baltics of German Defence Minister Volker Rühle at the end of August.

In a departure from previous Baltic statements, Estonian Defence Minister Andrus Öövel said, after his talks with his Polish counterpart Zbigniew Okunski, that Estonia supports Poland as, the first country to join NATO.

This promoted an outcry from some Baltic politicians who saw it as deviating from the earlier position of “no lists, no echelons for new members”. Among the critics was Lithuanian Defence Minister Linas Linkevicius, who said he was sorry that some political leaders “forget about” common strategies.

The usual “Poland first” gesture of Mr. Öövel was surprisingly supported by Estonian President Lennart Meri, who may have used the political newcomer Mr. Öövel as a messenger to voice the proposal that seems increasingly realistic for many NATO leaders.

“We’ve been told by several high-ranking NATO people that Poland is likely to be the first to join NATO,” said Estonian Defence Ministry counsellor Einer Rull. “NATO wants to use it as a test case, and then it will start admitting others.”

He said the “Poland first” approach did not mean the creation of categories that would discriminate against Estonia and the other Baltic States.

“The admission of Poland as a test case would be the evolutionary expansion of NATO,” Mr. Rull told *The Baltic Independent*. “In a crisis situation, I believe NATO is prepared to take more members at a time.”

President Meri said the qualifications for NATO membership must be determined on an individual basis.

“Who is ready, is ready, who is not, must work towards readiness,” he said. But he added teamwork was necessary between the aspiring members. It seems only natural that those states that are interested in teamwork and helping others are those first in line with becoming future NATO members,” he said

General Wiktorin: Russia New Threat

Sweden's Supreme Commander, General Ove Wiktorin, is warning that Russia may well become a new threat. Another regime in Moscow could have the means to attack Sweden in three years. Within six years Moscow would have the ability to ship heavy material across the Baltic Sea. The new parliamentary defence decision will cover the period 1997 to 2002. Even if there is no direct threat 1995, when parliament will decide on defense expenditures, things might well change rapidly according to General Wiktorin.

He believes that there is, to a great extent today, chaos in the Russian units in the field. But Russia has a huge amount of modern military equipment available. The Russia military will only need two to three years to revive the capability for Scandinavian operations. A Russian attack on Sweden could be launched in the north over land from the Kola Peninsula or against Central or Southern Sweden with sea transports across the Baltic Sea. A new regime could also retake the Baltic States and use them as a launching ground for an attack. In 1994 Russia launched 40-50 military space satellites – a sign that it still has military capability.

The Kola Peninsula is growing more and more important for Russia. Earlier around 25% of the nuclear strike capability was based there (strategic submarines). But in the future that percentage will be 60. This creates a need for conventional forces to protect that capability. The Arctic and the Baltic Seas will continue to be areas of strategic importance to Russia.

General Wiktorin says it is important to ask a number of questions when determining the future: What will happen with the American presence in Europe? Where is NATO going? What will be the security dimension of the European Union? There is not yet a security pattern. There is instability in a number of areas – the Balkans is only one such area.

DESTA, Vol. III, No. 4.

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Obituary



Rt. Rev. Mitrat Izyk

Fr. Izyk was born on March 17, 1913 in the village of Vysocko-Nyzhne, Turka Pivot (Bojkivshyna), Ukraine. Following philosophy and theological studies in Peremyshel Seminary, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1940. In 1941 Fr. Izyk completed Teacher's Training program and taught in the public schools of Lemkivshyna. He was arrested by the Gestapo on November 11, 1942, was imprisoned in various concentration camps, until his release by the British Army in 1945.

Fr. Izyk arrived in Canada on October 19, 1947 served various parishes as well as organising schools at the parishes.

In addition to his dedicated parish work, Fr. Izyk was editor of the Progress Ukrainian Weekly for 36 years, host of the weekly religious radio program "Holos Ukrainy" for 45 years, and director of a weekly Television program for 20 years. From 1949, he was the publisher and editor of the children's monthly "My Friend". he wrote numerous books. His most recent work, "Smiling Through Tears", in Ukrainian and English, reveals his zeal and gratitude for life despite immense burdens.

Fr. Izyk was a member of many organisations, among them ABN where he served as President of the Winnipeg Branch for many years.

Fr. Izyk was a hard-working priest, very humble in his nature and about his own abilities. Yet, he accomplished so much for the betterment of so many. He was once quoted in a Free Press story, saying "My whole life I have spent working for things I believe in. When I work I feel so alive". His contribution to the Ukrainian church and state brought to life to the many he served. Fr. Izyk was profoundly dedicated to the struggle for freedom for Ukraine and rejoiced in Ukraine's recent freedom. He was a very charitable man, dedicating his own material resources and personal strength to accomplish the goals he worked so hard for. His friendly and genuine personality assisted him to work well with the people he served. Fr. Izyk encouraged others, by word and example, in the service and love of God.

The Challenge of Freedom

The original book "*MEMORIES*" of Dr. George Tabakoff, after an odyssey of considerable duration, had its premiere in November of 1991.

This premiere was the work of the Sofia University Press, St. Kliment of Orchid. When the Press' leaders, Dimiter Tomov, Director, and Valentin Radev, Editor-in-Chief, heard from Dr. Panayotof that he had the manuscript for the book which was then ten years old, a contract was offered, a contract assuring that the book would be published the same year – 1990. Late in the Fall of 1991 a memorable premiere took place in Sofia. Eighty copies of the book were sold on the spot, before the crowd dissipated. Three days later, the ostensible embarrassing truth became known – the manuscript, without ever being seen by any of the editors, had been mistakenly sent to a printing shop in Veliko Turnovo. The edition was discarded and a new edition was initiated. There was also a decision that an English edition would become a priority. At this time, the Editor-in-Chief was Mrs. Vassilka Shishkova who had the ambition and desire to make the English edition a truly American style product. She carried a model of such a book in her working bag. The resulting product, the English edition is indeed very close to an American publication – 250 pages, of which 50 pages are photographs. Meanwhile, the discarded edition, in Bulgarian, had fallen into the hands of the University Rector, Professor Nikolai Genchev who told the author that he and his wife had read the book in only three days. Why? "Because it contains factual thoughts of significance", the book actually being a Bulgarian story, or history.

The English edition, although never officially announced was read, over the past three months, by some hundred readers, all of whom have reported the story as "fascinating".

Dr. Christo Ognjanoff of Salzburg, Austria, after reading and rereading the pages of the book, summarized his impressions as the condensation of all the values (virtues) which create the true human. The diminishing presence, in our civilization, of these virtues, is the world lament now occupying the minds and hearts of many.

Stewart B. Steiner, President

George A. Tabakoff, Executive Vice President

To order copies send check or money order to:
The MacGahan American Bulgarian Foundation
1581 West Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44313
\$25.00 per copy
All profits go to the foundation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1995

Greetings to all those celebrating the fourth anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Today, Ukrainian Americans honor their ancestors' heroic struggle for liberty. Despite difficult conditions, Ukraine continues down a path of economic and political reforms that will strengthen its sovereignty and economic independence. Americans look forward to expanding our cooperation in support of Ukrainian democracy, security, and economic prosperity. This is a truly meaningful objective, especially for Ukrainian Americans. The fruits of this cooperation can already be seen in our historic achievements on military and nuclear security matters and in growing commercial ties.

On this day of victory and pride, let us rededicate ourselves to strengthening the bonds of friendship and partnership between the peoples of Ukraine and the United States. I join with all Ukrainian Americans in today's celebration of Ukraine's independence, and in recognition of Ukrainians the world over who have given so much for the cause of freedom and democracy.

Best wishes to all for a wonderful celebration.



Bill Clinton

ABN

WINTER
1995
NO. 4; VOL. XLVI

CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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A word from the Editor...

1995 has gone by. It is a year which now belongs to the past and this year's events will be recorded by future historians as the year when many monumental happenings were commemorated – be it the the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the founding of the United Nations, or the beginning of the Nürnberg trials. This year also saw the end of the tragic war in the former Yugoslavia. And unfortunately, it was the year of imperialist Russian aggression in Chechnya. This year was also marked by elections in East Europe, whose results indicated a latent danger to the freedom of the individual as was the case in Russia.

1995 was a year of great contradictions. On the one hand, there was an intense longing for peace and justice, which was contrasted by grotesque, extremely tragic absurdities. At the very same time that the Red Army paraded in Moscow during the 50th anniversary commemorations celebrating the victory over fascism, that same army was violating the basic human rights of the Chechen nation. The 50th anniversary of the Nürnberg trials, where crimes against humanity were brought to justice, was marred by the world's indifference to the crimes against the Chechen people, where the striving for freedom and self-determination were dismissed as mere "separatism".

Once again at the end of 1995 the growing potential for social conflicts between the "haves" and the "have nots" was noted with the traditional New Year's resolutions to improve the situation. However, the voices of those drawing attention to the great discrepancies between the "haves" and "have nots" in human rights and democracy were stifled by further injustices. Therefore, one can only sadly conclude that the old status quo may remain. This tragic fact reiterates the need for a consolidated front which fights against imperialism and violations of basic human and national rights. Such are the principles of the ABN and our New Year's resolution is to continue the fight for justice and the freedom of individuals and nations.

In the spirit of freedom for nations and freedom for the individual, we wish all of our friends and readers, a happy and indeed peaceful New Year.

Trust America? Ask East Europe! A Polish Lesson Relearned

To understand the hurt and betrayal we Poles have felt over the exclusion of Poland from the Berlin ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of Nazi Germany's fall, on May 8, you must learn a little of the history we can recite by heart.

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Poland's new foreign minister and an Auschwitz survivor, noted recently that fifty years ago, only three flags fluttered in conquered Berlin: the Soviet red flags, white flags to mark surrender, and the red-and-white flags of the Polish division that, along with the Soviets, took part in the assault on Berlin.

Allied capitals were already preparing to celebrate victory over Nazi Germany. The war was going to be over, troops would come home and normal life would resume. The only capital in Europe apart from Berlin that had nothing to celebrate was Warsaw. The city lay in ruins, destroyed in an uprising that failed because it was useful to Stalin to allow the Nazis to finish off the Polish intelligentsia. Even if there had been the will to celebrate and enough people could have been gathered in the ghostly city, there was hardly a square free of rubble on which to hold a party.

A Bitter Legacy

I am too young to remember it myself, but the bitterness at that moment was passed on to me in stories by relatives and friends. Our family counted itself lucky: My paternal grandfather died in a German hospital in my home city because the staff did not attend to an *untermensch* appendix; my maternal grandfather, a headmaster, survived slave labour in Germany; one uncle, a priest, lived through five years of Buchenwald and Dachau; another uncle, a teenager at the time, escaped a hospital where the Germans experimented on him in an effort to find artificial quinine. In all, six million Polish citizens, half of them Jewish, one-sixth of the prewar population, perished, half the nation went up in smoke. The educated elite was decimated.

And the nightmare was not over. Poland was being shifted west. Millions were being ethnically cleansed east of the Ribbontrop-Molotov line, from the half of Poland that the Soviet Union was annexing, and moved to Silesia and Pomerania, from which Germans were being cleansed. Stalin's puppets were tightening their grip on power: They would rig elections, impose censorship, and annihilate the remnants of the Home Army that had fought Hitler. The underground leadership of the

Home army would be arrested by the NKVD and tried in Moscow like criminals. Heroes of the resistance, such as Captain Witold Pilecki, who volunteered to go into Auschwitz and survived to tell the tale to a world that would not listen, were to be judicially murdered. Democracy, such as it was before the war, would be perverted. Businesses, houses and land would be confiscated and the country saddled with an idiotic economic system that would bring us to the level of the Third World.

As my relatives told it, the hardest thing for my generation to bear was the awareness that all this was happening with the knowledge and approval of our Western allies. Back in September 1939, when Hitler invaded, they had scoured the sky for the British and French planes that according to solemnly signed defense pacts, were to come to Poland's assistance. When they did not appear, Poles fought on anyway, from the Battle of Britain and Tobruk to Monte Cassino and Arnhem, even after Poland had been signed away to Stalin at Tehran and Yalta. In terms of fighting capacity, Poland's military contribution to the war was the fourth largest after Russia's, America's and Britain's.

But now, in 1945, the West was to recognise the Communist regime. Shortly, the legitimate Polish ambassadors would be ejected from their embassies in London and Washington, Polish troops would be excluded from victory parades and the Polish pilots who had helped to save the day fighting in the RAF in 1940 would be disinvited from the cenotaph ceremonies. To please the Soviets, Britain would stick for fifty years with the lie that it was the Germans who carried out the Katyn massacre of Polish officers. As late as the 1980s, under Margaret Thatcher, a monument to Katyn victims could not be erected in a public place in London because the design included the date 1940, which pointed to Soviet guilt.

For us Poles, the war only ended in 1989. I was there in Warsaw, on a sunny day in August, when the first non-Communist prime minister since the war made his inaugural speech. Only then could we make a new start and begin to build the kind of civilised Poland we aspire to. And yet, today, we have again been made to taste the bitterness my relatives felt 50 years ago.

Our president, Lech Walesa, was not invited to the anniversary of the war's end in Berlin. For once capturing the national mood, he decided to boycott all the other ceremonies – protesting that they were organised with a view not to historical truth but to current political interests.

The very fact that invitations were handed out by Helmut Kohl, chancellor of defeated Germany, shows us who has come out victorious in the end. But what really rankles is the justification he used for snubbing Poland, namely that only the four occupying powers of Germany – the US, Britain, France and Russia – deserve an invitation. Otherwise, he said, it would be difficult to know where to draw the line at who should be invited. In other words, the Yalta powers, which decreed the subjugation of Central Europe after the war, are now, with the edition of France and

Germany, usurping the right to decree the correct version of history as well.

When the war started at dawn on September 1, 1939, with salvos from the cruiser Schleswig-Holstein at the Polish garrison in Gdansk, Germany was the aggressor, Russia was the accomplice, and the US, France and Britain were either neutral or did nothing. Now they will celebrate the war's end without the participation of its first victim and most steadfast ally. Orwell's Ministry of Truth would be proud.

Cynicism like this in our supposedly new, uniting Europe does not bode well for our future. Polish media and Polish drawing rooms are again filled with talk about another Western betrayal of principle to *Realpolitik*. When you add to such insults the real grievances about Western policy toward Central Europe – the trade discrimination and the security vacuum – it is surprising that the level of paranoia in Central European politics is still so low.

No Honour, No Fairness

What kind of message is the West sending us, the new Polish democrats?

I think it is this: It doesn't matter how you behave. Everything is allowed. Whether you stand up to Hitler, or march with him; whether you embrace Communism with enthusiasm, or resist it; whether you are civilised or barbaric, decent or nasty, fascist or anti-fascist, Communist or anti-Communist, pro-Western or anti-Western – none of this matters. There is no honour, no fairness, not even memory, in dealing with the West. To the West, you are all, the heroes and swine equally, just troublesome East Europeans.

My parents' generation learned this lesson 50 years ago. My generation has just learned it afresh.

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Akcja "Wisła"

This article deals with *Akcja "Wisła"* and its lasting aftermath. This political-military code name stands for the notorious act of brutal, inhuman and forced cleansing of the Ukrainian population from its ethnic Ukrainian territory of Zakerzonia (a territory lying along the west side of the Curzon line in the southeastern part of present-day Poland)¹ carried out by the Polish-Communist Government and Polish Army between 28 April and 31 July 1947.

When we look for the causes behind *Akcja "Wisła"*, it would be irresponsible to try to find them just in the events of the years 1945-47. To achieve a proper understanding of why *Akcja "Wisła"* occurred at all, it is necessary to state that this operation was the climax of a long process of complex events on the world political stage, the policy of wiping out the Ukrainians who found themselves within Polish borders deliberately engaged in by the Polish governments between 1918 and 1939, the blind execution of a repatriation policy between 1945 and 1947, and the military activities of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) in 1943-1947.

The political scenario straight after World War I was full of important events for both of these two Slavic nations. In 1918 came the rebirth of Poland as an independent state and its appearance on the world map again. On the other hand, there was the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) on January 22 1918 in Kyiv. This was followed by a proclamation of the independence of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) on November 1 1918 in Lviv, a republic that consisted of Ukrainian territories formally ruled by Austria and Hungary.² On January 22 1919 the two republics formally united, creating one Ukrainian state.³ This unified independent state was short-lived, thanks to the ongoing battles among Poland, Ukraine and Russia in the years 1918-1921, and by the time of the Riga Peace Treaty of March 18 1921 Ukraine found itself divided among Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.⁴

¹ W.A. Serczuk, *Historia Ukrainy* (Wroclaw: Ossolinium, 1990) p. 442.

² Y. Boshyk, editor, *Ukraine during World War II: History and its aftermath* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), p. 246.

³ J. P. Nolan, "An Army without a State: The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and National Resistance during and after the Second World War", in: *The Ukrainian Review* (1987), Vol. 35, No. 1, p. 16.

⁴ W. A. Serczyk, op. cit., pp. 368-377.

Such a turn of events gave rise to the Polish government's policy of wiping out the Ukrainians. It was obvious that a great part of the Ukrainian territories that fell within the Polish borders, and were ethnic Ukrainian lands inhabited mainly by Ukrainians, would have to be ruled by Poland.⁵ Such a solution was satisfactory for the Polish government, eager to expand its own territories, but it could not satisfy the Ukrainians living there. The short-lived independence of Ukraine as a sovereign political state aroused a strong motivation in some patriots to continue to fight for that independence. It is clear that in the whirl of political events this fighting spirit of the Ukrainians never let up. Poland, which after 1926 came to be ruled by a dictator, Marshal Józef Piłsudski, began to implement his expansionist policies towards the east – the lands inhabited by the Ukrainians. In order to destroy Ukrainian self-identity the Polish Government embarked on a gradual destruction of Ukrainian national life by liquidation of Ukrainian schools, libraries, cultural institutions, and so on.⁶

In response to such a situation the Ukrainians, who as early as 30 August 1920 had established their Ukrainian Military Organisation (*Ukrainska Vijskova Orhanizacja – UVO*) in Prague, went further by meeting in Vienna 28 January – 2 February 1929, during which time they established the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*OUN – Orhanizacja Ukrainskich Nacjonalistiv*).⁷ This new organisation called for a national revolution to establish a sovereign Ukrainian state. The UVO became subsumed within the OUN as its military wing and began establishing a network of underground cells in the Ukrainian part of Poland in order to carry out underground activities,⁸ which it increased in the period 1930-1934. To counteract this move Poland established in June 1934 a concentration camp near Bereza Kartuzka to imprison Ukrainian nationalists. The OUN immediately took action against it by assassinating Bronislaw Piracki, Poland's Minister of the Interior, in Warsaw on June 15, 1934.⁹ There was a short letup in the overheated Polish-Ukrainian relations in Poland between 1935-1937, but relations worsened again in 1937¹⁰ and later to such an extent that the new Marshal of Poland, Edward Rydz-Smigly, at the beginning of 1939 explicitly asked his Council of Minister: "How are we to solve the

⁵ Ibid., p. 372.

⁶ M. Siwili, *Dzeje Konfliktów Polsko-Ukrainskich* (Warszawa: Nakładem Autora, 1994), Vol. 3, pp. 13-18.

⁷ M. Yurkevich, *Galician Ukrainians in German Military Formations and in the German Administration*, in: Y. Boshyk, op. cit., p. 68.

⁸ J. P. Nolan, op. cit., p. 17.

⁹ Y. Boshyk, op. cit., p. 251.

¹⁰ W. A. Serczyk, op. cit., pp. 424-425.

Ukrainian problem in Poland?"¹¹ The timing for a solution was already too late, because on September 1, 1939, World War II broke out, during which Poland was attacked by Nazi Germany and later became occupied by both Germany and the Soviet Union.

Another cause leading to *Akcja "Wisla"* can be found in the situation of Ukrainians in Poland at the end of and immediately after the end of World War II. With the Nazi Germany Army being gradually defeated by the Soviet Union's Red Army, Ukraine fell under the control of the Soviet Union once again. Thus on July 26, 1944, an agreement about borders (according to Stalin's desires) was signed between Poland and the Soviet Union, and this was followed by the signing of an agreement on September 9, 1944, between Poland and the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union concerning the repatriation of Poles from Ukraine to Poland and of Ukrainians from the territory of Zakerzonja in Poland to Soviet Ukraine. These repatriations were to be voluntary, which meant that those who did not want to be repatriated could live where they were. Such were the agreements on paper, but the reality was different.

The first repatriation of Ukrainians to Soviet Ukraine began on October 15, 1944.¹² Obviously the Polish Communist Government at the time had great expectations that it could finally get rid of Zakerzonja, which again fell within Polish borders as the result of the July 26 agreement. In order to eject the Ukrainians from this territory as soon as possible, an anti-Ukrainian terror campaign began to be carried out by both regular units of the Polish Army and the paramilitary Polish units. Atrocities were committed on the civilian Ukrainian population, often by both groups, in the form of cutting off people's tongues, noses, ears, women's breasts, and so on.¹³ For example, on March 13, 1945, the units of *Armija Krajowa* (AK) killed 365 inhabitants (including women, elders, and even babies) in Pawlokoma village. The most notorious were the *Narodowe Sily Zbrojne* (NSZ) units, which on March 19, 1945 killed 50 civilian inhabitants of Kulno village, on June 6, 1945 murdered 194 inhabitants of Wierzchowiny village, and on June 16, 1945 killed 400 people in Piskorowice village.¹⁴

Since the deadline for ending the repatriation was set for February 1, 1945, the Polish Communist Government realised that the deadline would simply be impossible to meet. The Ukrainians were fleeing from the villages into the mountains and forests in order to avoid being evacuated to the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union, where Stalin's ruthless dictatorial regime had already become well known to them. To speed up evacuations the Polish Communist Government sent three Polish

¹¹ M. Siwicki, op. cit., p. 16.

¹² E. Misilo, *Akcja "Wisla"* (Warszawa: Archiwum Ukrainskie, 1993), p. 12.

¹³ M. Siwicki, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁴ E. Misilo, op. cit., p. 13.

Army Divisions into the territory of Zakerzonia on September 3, 1945. They were equally ruthless in carrying out repatriations; in the village of Zawadka Morochowska, for example, on January 25, 1946, regular Polish Army units murdered 70 Ukrainian civilians.¹⁵ This, however, did not scare the Ukrainians into leaving Zakerzonia, so the Polish Communist Government went a step further on April 5, 1946 by setting up a special pacification military operation code-named *Operacja "Rzeszów"*. As a result of this long process, between October 15, 1944 and August 2, 1946 about 482,000 Ukrainians were repatriated in the manner described from their ethnic Ukrainian territory of Zakerzonia to the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union. At the same time about 742,000 Poles were repatriated from the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union to Poland.¹⁶ According to the official statistics at that time, there were still 14,325 Ukrainians left in Zakerzonia. In reality, however, the number was at least ten times higher.¹⁷

The final cause behind *Akcja "Wisła"* was the military inability of the Polish Army to defeat the units of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), which numbered 19 companies (*sotnia*) belonging to the sixth military region code-named "*San*" (*Voyenna Okruha "San"*) within the sphere of influence of the group UPA-West.¹⁸ Well-trained, well-disciplined, well-commanded, and with a high fighting morale, the UPA units in Zakerzonia¹⁹ were not only the real obstacle to repatriation, they also were above all the only Ukrainian military units to stand up to Stalin and his puppet government in Communist Poland in order to defend the Ukrainian population at the time.

The aims of *Akcja "Wisła"*

From the above it is clear that *Akcja "Wisła"* had two main aims to achieve:

1. a military one, the annihilation of the UPA units in Zakerzonia;
2. a political one, the final solution of the Ukrainian problem in Poland through the de-Ukrainianisation of Zakerzonia by ruthless pacification of the rest of the Ukrainians still left after the repatriations to Soviet Ukraine and by shipping them off to the uninhabited territories regained from Germany in the western and northern parts of Poland, the so-called *Ziemie Odzyskane*.

¹⁵ M. Siwicki, op. cit., p. 147.

¹⁶ W. A. Serczyk, op. cit., p. 445.

¹⁷ E. Misilo, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁸ *Litopys UPA* (Toronto: 1983), Vol. 6, pp. 17-23.

¹⁹ T.A. Olszanski, *Histori Ukrainy XX w.* (Warszawa: Volumen, 1994), p. 230.

To carry out this genocidal operation against Ukrainians²⁰ the Polish Communist Government needed some kind of an excuse. It came on March 28, 1947. Miroslaw Czech correctly states that, for decades afterwards, Polish governmental propaganda and all kinds of governmental historical publications pointed to that date as the direct, the only and the most serious reason for conducting *Akcja "Wisła"*.²¹ On that day the Polish Army General Karol Swierczewski, serving as the Polish Deputy Minister of Defense, was travelling in convoy from Baligrod to Cisna when the convoy was ambushed by the two UPA companies of "*Hryn*" and "*Stah*" near the village of Jablonka,²² and Swierczewski was killed. Debate goes on even now: Was Swierczewski really killed by UPA bullets or did he fall victim to a Soviet assassination plot prepared well in advance and perfectly carried out during the fortuitous UPA ambush by the Polish officers who were, with him in the same convoy? Miroslaw Truhan states that Swierczewski was killed by the Polish Communists themselves, because he was against the policies of the head of state at that time – Boleslaw Bierut.²³

The fact that his death served as the perfect excuse for the Polish Communist Government to take revenge not only on the UPA but also on the whole population of Zakerzonia. This led to *Akcja "Wisła"*.

The process of carrying out *Akcja "Wisła"*

Recent scientific research carried out by the young Polish-born Ukrainian historian Eugeniusz Mislo and published in the form of a book under the title: *Akcja "Wisła"* shows us that the death of General Swierczewski had nothing to do with *Akcja "Wisła"* itself, because this operation had already been prepared secretly by the Polish Communists in January 1947 (therefore, at least two months before Swierczewski's death). Further preparations for it were conducted at secret meetings in February and March.²⁴

After Swierczewski's death the Polish mass media prepared the ground for *Akcja "Wisła"* by conducting a psychological brainwashing of Polish society aimed at discrediting not only the UPA but also every human being regarded as a Ukrainian.

²⁰ M. Siwicki, op. cit., p. 13.

²¹ *Nasze Słowo*, January 16, 1994, Warsaw.

²² H. Piecuch, *Siedem rozmów z generałem Władysławem Pozoga*, (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1987), pp. 63-69.

²³ M. Truhan, *Akcja "Wisła"*, in: A. Pawlyszyn, *Ukraina i Polscza* (Lviv: Feniks, 1991), p. 37.

²⁴ E. Mislo, op. cit., p. 19.

On April 11, 1947, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party created a Strategic Headquarters headed by General Stefan Mossor for the purpose of conducting and controlling the *Akcja "Wisła"*. On April 14 a meeting of the main bodies of the government and the military was held in the Ministry of Regained Territories, at which the criteria for pacification, evacuation, transportation, and resettlement in regained territories were discussed and approved. On April 16 a more detailed document – a manual starting with the words: "Solve finally the Ukrainian problem in Poland" – was presented to those at the meeting and finally approved by them, setting the date for this operation as April 23, 1947. Owing to the delayed arrival of Polish Army units, the starting date of the operation was postponed to April 28, 1947, the execution had to begin on that day. The governments of the neighbouring countries (the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia) were notified of this operation and asked to close their borders with Poland.²⁵ Such a notification was, of course, a sheer facade, because the Soviet Union was itself involved in the process of planning, directing, and executing this operation well in advance, and even its military personnel directly participated in it.

On April 24, 1947, General Mossor ordered his military to conduct mass arrests among the civilian Ukrainian population of Zakerzonja in order to round those who were suspected of any kinds of connections with the UPA. In addition, a curfew was introduced.²⁶

Finally, on April 28, 1947, at 4 o'clock in the morning, twenty thousand Polish soldiers, backed up by a few thousand of their Soviet protectors, encircled Ukrainian villages in Zakerzonja, gave residents only up to two hours to prepare their personal belongings, gathered them in the fields, packed them into military trucks, and took them to railway stations. There at gunpoint they were loaded onto train carriages normally used to carry cattle. The first such transportation of a forcibly evacuated Ukrainian population from Zakerzonja was code-named "R-10". Leaving Szczawne Station in the administrative district (*powiat*) of Sanok on April 29, 1947 under heavy guard by Polish military units, which had their machine guns ready to shoot at any time, this group was sent to Jaworzno, a former subcamp of Auschwitz. There the Polish Security Police, the notorious UB (*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa*), searched for UPA soldiers or supporters of the UPA. This transportation reached its destination of Słupsk on May 3, 1947. The last such transportation was coded "R-509". It departed on August 8, 1947 from Zwierzyniec Station in the administrative district of Bilogaraj and reached its destination of Białogard on August 12, 1947.²⁷

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

The *Akcja "Wisła"* was conducted in three stages. In the first stage it was conducted in the southeastern part of Reszów Prefecture (*województwo*) in the administrative of Sanok, Przemyśl, Lesko and a portion of Lubaczów, with the purpose of evacuating the Ukrainian population and destroying the strongest two UPA battalions (*kuryn*), "*Bajda*" and "*Ren*". This stage lasted about six weeks. In the second stage the main operation was directed at the two troublesome administrative districts of Lubaczów and Przemyśl. During these two stages the main UPA units in Zakerzonia were almost destroyed. The third stage lasted from June to the end of July 1947 and was aimed at finishing off the regrouped UPA units, which were trying to make their way out from Poland through Czechoslovakia to Austria or Germany.²⁸

The resettlement of the deported Ukrainian population was accompanied by a reign of terror by the Polish Communist Government. The Polish Security Police (UB) imprisoned 3,873 Ukrainians, including 600 women, in Jaworzno. All of them were brutally interrogated and tortured there. Over 160 of the Ukrainians imprisoned there were slain.²⁹ In fact thousands of deported Ukrainians were imprisoned and brutally tortured in prisons all over Poland. Nobody knows the exact number of Ukrainians sentenced to death and executed in Polish prisons because often their prison records were purposely destroyed.

The Ukrainian population of Zakerzonia, pacified, evacuated by force, and treated like cattle, was sent to the so-called Regained Territories in the western and northern parts of Poland, but there the Polish Security Police (UB) was active as well. They faithfully carried out the norms laid down for the resettlement of the Ukrainians: families coming from the same place in Zakerzonia could not be resettled in the same village or town. Stalin's law of dispersing the Ukrainians as much as possible had to be obeyed. Nor were the Ukrainians allowed to resettle in the prefectural cities. As a result, a large portion of them were resettled in the country, where the State-Run Agricultural Farms (*Panstwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne-PGR*) were organised on exactly the same principles as the hated state farms in the Soviet Union. On these farms the Ukrainian evacuees were used almost as slave labour for rebuilding the agriculture of Communist Poland.

The two aims of *Akcja "Wisła"* were fully achieved by the Polish Communist Government and its military arm, with a high price being paid by the exiled Ukrainians, for whom the bitter memories of *Akcja "Wisła"* last even today.

²⁸ H. Piecuch, op. cit., p. 65.

²⁹ E. Misilo, op. cit., p. 24.

The aftermath of *Akcja "Wisła"*

Most probably neither the present Polish Government nor most Poles fully realise the extent of the barbarism performed on another Slavic nation by *Akcja "Wisła"*. Nor do they seem to realise how deeply the hurt of this operation is felt by Ukrainians even now.

First of all, the natural ethnic cultural environment of the Ukrainians deported from Zakerzonia was completely wiped out. It will never be possible to restore it again in the places of exile within Poland's Regained Territories.

Secondly, Ukrainian religious life was grievously damaged by the deaths of many Ukrainian priests at the hands of Polish soldiers or paramilitary units. Those who happened to survive and be deported found themselves in Polish prisons, where some were executed. Others, after leaving the prisons, were not allowed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Poland to function in their Uniate Ukrainian Orthodox Rite, but were forced to function as Roman Catholic priests. Very often they had to perform their Uniate rites for the Ukrainian faithful in secret. Moreover, the Uniate Seminary, churches, and the Uniate Bishop's residence was confiscated in Przemsyl and either turned over to secular use or handed over as a gift to the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. Other Uniate churches in Zakerzonia were either burned down or left uncared for and abandoned. The Roman Catholic Polish priests in Poland often were worse in dealing with the Ukrainians than even their communist counterparts. It was not until the late 1980s that the situation for the Ukrainian Uniate Church in Poland began slowly to improve. There still is a long way to go, however, the serious obstacles are still being put in the Church's way by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in order to keep the Uniate Ukrainian Orthodox Church from getting too strong. In addition, the Ukrainian cemeteries left behind in the territory of Zakerzonia are in a tragic condition. The present-day Polish Government does not grant permission for simple gravestones to be erected on the graves of UPA soldiers killed in battle and buried in those cemeteries, nor does it grant permission for 22 slain UPA soldiers, buried in a farmer's field in Bircza, to be reburied in a proper cemetery.

Thirdly, the Ukrainian educational system was completely destroyed and not allowed to be rebuilt. All Ukrainian children had to go to Polish schools in order to be forcibly assimilated as soon as possible with the Poles and to forget the fact that they were in fact Ukrainians. The damage is tremendous. Second-generation Ukrainians – those who were born in the places of exile in Poland – can hardly speak or write Ukrainian. Recently, however, a Ukrainian educational system is being partially rebuilt in Poland, mainly in such places of exile as Legnica, Biały Bor, Bartoszyce, and Górowo Iławeckie. Since the Polish authorities are not so eager to see the rebirth of Ukrainian education in the territories of Zakerzonia, the Ukrainian Elementary School functioning

in Przemyśl faces a lot more problems than Ukrainian schools in other places mentioned above. It seems that Polish authorities are still suffering from the fear that allowing Ukrainian schools to be rebuilt in Przemyśl (Zakerzonia) might lead to re-Ukrainianisation of these territories, and the fruits of the *Akcja "Wisła"* might some day be lost again.

Ukrainians in Poland have no political life at all. Not one Ukrainian political organisation or party exists. There is a kind of social organisation called the Association of Ukrainians in Poland with only 7,000 registered members (despite the fact that there are 3000,000 Ukrainians still living in Poland). This association has neither the strength nor the capacity to push forward the claims of Ukrainians. Unless they establish some kind of political party or political organisation in Poland, the Ukrainians will never be treated seriously by the Polish Government.

On the economic level, the property rights of those Ukrainians who left their properties behind in Zakerzonia when they were evacuated by force by the Polish Army, are still not solved. The Polish Government does not take any steps to rectify the wrongdoings of its predecessors, and in fact it seems most unwilling to do so.

It is obvious that *Akcja "Wisła"* looks different when seen by those who executed it and when seen by those who were deported for their ethnic lands of Zakerzonia. While for the former it may seem to be an event of the long-forgotten past, for the latter it is a bitter continuing present. Thus, if the Polish Government does not take the tragic consequences of *Akcja "Wisła"* into serious consideration and does not rectify at least some of its tragic effects, the government might one day find itself faced with a very serious outburst, either social or armed, of the Ukrainian minority living in Poland.

Chronology of conflict in former Yugoslavia

A peace agreement reached on November 21 by the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base at Dayton, Ohio is aimed at ending more than four years of war in the Balkans. More than 200,000 people are thought to have died and a million made homeless. Here is a chronology of events since the communist state disintegrated at the start of the 1990s.

1991

June 25 - Croatia and Slovenia proclaim independence.

June 27 - Yugoslav army tanks fail to crush Slovenian independence. Fighting begins in Croatia between Croats and local Serbs.

Dec 16 - After urging from Germany, European Union agrees to recognise those republics that meet conditions on human rights, democracy and ethnic minorities.

Dec 19 - Rebel Serbs declare independence in Krajina region - almost a third of Croatia.

Dec 21 - In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most ethnically mixed of Yugoslavia's republics, Serb minority holds unofficial referendum opposing separation from Yugoslavia; local Serb leaders proclaim new republic separate from Bosnia.

1992

Jan 3 - U.N. brokers ceasefire between Croatian government and rebel Serbs; after ceasefire breaches the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) puts 14,000 peacekeeping troops in Croatia.

March 3 - Bosnia's Moslems and Croats vote for independence in referendum boycotted by Serbs.

April 6 - European Union recognises Bosnia's independence; war erupts between Bosnian government and local Serbs who lay siege to the capital Sarajevo.

May - U.N. sanctions are slapped on Serbia for backing rebel Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. The sanctions are tightened in April 1993.

August - Viewers worldwide shocked by television pictures of emaciated Moslem captives in Serb-run prison camps in Bosnia, one of many atrocities in the war.

1993

January - Heavy fighting and the bitter Serb siege of the capital Sarajevo continue. EU/UN peace efforts fail and war breaks out between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia.

April 13 - NATO begins combat air patrols over Bosnia to enforce a U.N. ban on flights.

June - NATO offers close air support to U.N. troops.

1994

Feb 6 - In worst attack of the war shell kills 68 in market place in Sarajevo sparking world-wide outrage. NATO threatens air strikes if Serbs fail to pull weapons back from around the city. They do so bringing temporary respite.

Feb 28 - NATO jets shoot down four Serb light attack aircraft over central Bosnia in alliance's first use of force since it was founded in 1949.

March - U.S-brokered federation agreement ends war between Moslem and Croats.

April 10 - NATO launches first air strike against Serbs, around the eastern enclave of Gorazde, which under heavy attack. Serb forces eventually halt but keep large gains.

Aug 4 - Serbia and Montenegro, the rump of former Yugoslavia, cut economic and political ties with Bosnian Serbs because they refuse to accept international proposals for a compromise Bosnia made up of autonomous regions.

1995

January 1 - Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian government sign four-month truce, mediated by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter. Unlike many before it mainly holds.

March 20 - Bosnian army, gaining strength in spite of arms embargo, launches major offensive in northeast.

May 1 - Croatian army captures Serb enclave of Western Slavonia in first major bid to retake its occupied territories; Krajina Serbs launch rocket attack on Zagreb in reply.

May 26 - Serbs bombard Sarajevo. NATO air strikes touch off crisis in which more than 350 U.N. peacekeepers are taken hostage by Bosnian Serbs. Serbia, improving relations with the West, helps to arrange the hostages' release; Britain and France strengthen forces in Bosnia.

July 11 - Bosnian Serbs overrun Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave which had been declared a U.N. "safe area." Similar enclave at Zepa falls two weeks later. Reports emerge later of mass executions by conquering Serbs which United States says is worst war atrocity since World War Two.

Aug 1 - NATO threatens major air strikes if remaining "safe areas" are attacked.

Aug 4 - Croatia launches offensive against Krajina, capturing in days a region Serb minority held for four years.

Aug 11 - U.S. President Bill Clinton vetoes a congressional move to end the arms embargo on Bosnia and sends envoy Richard Holbrooke on new peace mission.

Aug 28 - Serb shells hit Sarajevo near main market killing 37 and wounding 85 in the worst attack in more than a year.

Aug 30/31 – NATO planes and U.N. artillery blast Serb targets in Bosnia in response to the market attack.

Aug 30 – Bosnian Serbs give Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic authority to negotiate for them.

Sept 14 – Bosnian Serbs agree to move weapons away from Sarajevo. NATO halts bombing.

Sept 15 – Moslem–Croat offensive wins 4,000 square kms (1,500 sq miles) of land; tens of thousands of Serbs flee.

Oct 5 – Clinton announces breakthrough: ceasefire agreed; combatants to attend talks in U.S.; eventual peace conference in Paris. Prospect of ceasefire spurs fighting in last-minute land grab.

Oct 12 – Ceasefire goes into effect a minute after midnight; fighting continues over contested towns in northwest Bosnia.

Oct 16/18 – U.S. envoy Holbrooke and other international mediators meet in Moscow, travel to main capitals of former Yugoslavia; U.S. names air base in Ohio as peace talks venue.

Oct 20 – Frontline meetings of military commanders end most ceasefire breaches in northwest Bosnia.

Oct 23 – Clinton and Russia's Boris Yeltsin, meeting near New York, agree to work together on Bosnian peace arrangements but leave open vexed question of how Russian peacekeepers would relate to a military command which the West insists must be under NATO, not the U.N. Croatian government negotiators meet local Serb rebels under U.N. mediation in effort to settle future of Eastern Slavonia, the last area of Croatia still held by rebels.

Nov 1 – Presidents Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia, Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia meet at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio, for open-ended U.S.-initiated peace conference.

Nov 8 – United States and Russia agree on Russian role in Bosnia peacekeeping force.

Nov 10 – Bosnian Moslems and Croats sign agreement in Dayton strengthening their federation and dividing powers between central Bosnian government and federation authorities.

Nov 12 – Croatian Serbs end four-year revolt, signing accord to hand over Eastern Slavonia to Zagreb government after transitional period under international authority.

Nov 16 – U.N. war crimes tribunal accuses Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic and Serb general Ratko Mladic of genocide for mass killings of Moslems after fall of Srebrenica enclave in July, 1995.

Nov 21 – Peace deal agreed at Dayton, Ohio, talks.

How Dangerous is Russian “Nationalism”?

There seems to be growing concern among many Ukrainian Americans that what appears to be a virulent resurgence of Russian nationalism poses a danger to the future of Ukrainian independence.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky and retired Russian Gen. Alexander Lebed, both of whom aspire to the Russian presidency, are mentioned most often by those who fear the return of an expansionist Russia.

“I will raise Russia from its knees,” Mr. Zhirinovsky has pledged. Once the darling of Russian imperialists, he lost some of his supporters last September when he punched the Rev. Gleb Yakunin, a fighter for religious rights during Soviet times, on the floor of the Parliament and then proceeded to pull the hair of a female deputy who rushed to Yakunin’s assistance. The vile hostility of this shameless bully combined with his unpredictable behaviour will cost him more votes in the future.

Gen. Lebed, a former paratrooper who fought in Afghanistan, is far smoother and potentially more dangerous. He wants to rebuild the Russian army and restore the Russian nation. Believing that Russia will not be ready for democracy for years to come, Gen. Lebed is gaining support among Russians weary of an uncertain economy, a skyrocketing crime rate, continued fumbling in Chechnya, and government corruption and turpitude.

There are other danger signals. Belarus appears headed towards reunification with Russia under the leadership of President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. Human rights violations continue in Chechnya. Moscow has threatened to use force to protect Russians residing in former Soviet republics. The KGB is still very much alive and active in Russia and the newly independent republics. Moscow is staking claim to some \$130 billion worth of former tsarist and Russian Orthodox property in over 100 countries, including sites in the Holy Land. Some Russians are even demanding that the governments of Ukraine and Kazakhstan create ethno-federal structures for the large number of Russians who reside in these two countries.

History seems to be on the side of those who believe Russia will never change because expansionism and submission to autocrats are part of the Russian national character. Muscovite Russia was little more than “a Christianised Tatar kingdom,” wrote historian Nicholas Berdyaev. “The Muscovy that emerged from the fragments of old Rus,” wrote Tibor Szamuely in *“The Russian Tradition,”* “bore hardly any resemblance to the free society of Kyiv.”

Russian history properly begins with the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, which in 1300 included the territory of only 18,500 square

miles. It was not until 1713 that the Tsardom of Muscovy, which by then had expanded to include an area of 5.6 million square miles, was renamed "*Rossiya*" (Russia) by Tsar Peter the Great. Russia continued to expand and by 1900 controlled an empire encompassing 8,571,000 square miles.

The glue that held the empire together was autocracy (inherited from the Tatars), messianic Orthodoxy (a belief in Moscow as the third and final Rome) and "*narodnichestvo*," the mystic notion that the people (*narod*) were the salt-of-the-earth core of the Russian identity and the guardians of truth and light. According to Mr. Berdyaev, the Soviets strengthened these three national pillars by substituting totalitarianism for autocracy, the Third International for the Third Rome, and the proletariat for the *narod*. Today, militant Orthodoxy is returning, and there appears to be a yearning for autocracy.

But what about *narodnichestvo*? Is it alive and well and the source of a revived Russian nationalism? In an article titled "*Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union*," Paul Goble writes that according to Soviet nationality policy, "one had language and other ethnic rights only within one's own ethnic territory... For all groups, except the Russians, nationality was completely territorialised... At the same time, nationality itself – Russians as well as non-Russian – was deracinated, that is, drained of its old content."

Soviet policy, furthermore, was such that none of the nationalities, not even the Russians, were able to develop a middle class. "As a result, the repositories of national identity and tradition were the intelligentsia, who were forced to operate within the constraints of the well-known formula of 'national in form, socialist in content.' "And, as we all know, it was the socialist that usually took precedence.

Today, according to polling data mentioned by Mr. Goble, "most Russians are very unsure of either who they are or what the proper borders of their country should be, with many seeing Russia as something bigger than the Russian Federation and others seeing it as something less... the tragedy of Russia today reflects the fact that the Russian state became an empire before the Russians became a nation." This is because "Russians were never forced to define what the proper limits of their identity or their territory should be."

Mr. Goble concludes that we must deal with three facts in our efforts to understand nationalism in the former Soviet Union. They include:

- 1) nationalism's diversity – all nationalisms in the area are not the same;
- 2) the various forms of nationalism are linked, and it is foolish to deal with them in isolation;
- 3) the current upsurge of nationalism is the product of specific social and political changes and is not self-generating.

Mr. Goble's arguments are intriguing and suggest, if I understood

them correctly, that Russian nationalism, like Ukrainian nationalism, is still in its developmental stages. Thanks to Marxism-Leninism, even the Russians, who were exalted under the Soviets, are not sure of who they are or where they are going.

Three empires came to an end after the First World War, the Austrian, the Ottoman and the German. Austro-Hungary ceased to exist. The Ottoman empire retreated to its natural Turkish borders. Germany was restored under the leadership of a messianic and maniacal dictator. Which model will the Russian empire follow?

It is clear that Russia won't disappear. Russia may indeed follow the Ottoman model, and the world could be a safer place. It is unrealistic to expect Russia to shrink to its original Muscovite borders, but it is not unrealistic to push Russia to reduce the size of the Russian federation to accommodate other nationalisms. Expanding NATO and withholding aid is a good way to begin. The alternative is a resuscitated Russian imperialism under a fascist dictator.

Ukrainian Weekly, Vol. LXIII, No. 50.

Communists win Duma elections in Russia

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation has come atop of the list of contenders in the parliamentary elections getting 22.31 per cent of the party list vote, according to final unofficial results announced by the Central Electoral Commission on Monday.

Communists gained support of 15,151,293 out of 105,409,443 voters, the commission said.

The ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy followed communists with 11.06 per cent of the vote, or 7,509,125 ayes. Two other election blocs who managed to surpass the 5-percent qualification barrier were the pro-government Our Home is Russia and the liberal Yabloko with 9.89 and 6.93 per cent of the vote, or 6,719,868 and 4,706,053 supporters, respectively.

Six parties which came closest to passing the barrier were Women of Russia with 4.6 per cent, the Communists - USSR bloc with 4.52 per cent, the Congress of Russian Communities with 4.29 per cent, the Party for Workers' Self-Rule with 4.01 per cent, the Democratic Choice of Russia — United Democrats with 3.9 per cent, and the Agrarian Party of Russia with 3.78 per cent of the vote. Out of over 105 million ballots, 1,300,958 were considered invalid, the commission said.

Close Fight in Polish Elections

Former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa suffered a bitter defeat in presidential elections on November 19, 1995 at the hands of ex-Communist Aleksander Kwasniewski, but promptly vowed to rally opposition and win back power. As founder of the Solidarity trade union Walesa, 52 did more than any to rid Poland of communist domination in the 1980s. Three percentage points separated him and his rival. Kwasniewski, who campaigned on a social democratic platform, appeared on television moments after official results were announced. He pledged loyalty to market reforms and said Poles could rely on him to continue the push for NATO and European Union membership, in remarks clearly calculated for foreign as well as domestic consumption.

Kwasniewski is well-educated and proficient in several languages, although in the last week of the campaign it was revealed that he never received a Master of Arts degree from Gdansk University as he had maintained. Kwasniewski's greatest liability is his link to the communist elite that ran the country for four decades. Walesa made a point of hammering away at his opponent for refusing to face up to the wrongs committed during one-party rule. Kwasniewski voted against lifting the parliamentary immunity of a party colleague who formerly headed the Main Customs Office and is accused of white-collar crimes. Kwasniewski also unsuccessfully voted against legislation to lift the statute of limitations on crimes not prosecuted for political reasons during communist rule from 1944 to 1989.

The head of the electoral commission announced in mid-evening that Kwasniewski had won 51.7% of the vote, while Walesa received 48.3%. The deeply fractured political centre and right descended from Solidarity desperately needs unity if it is to stand a chance in parliamentary elections. Walesa emerged from the presidential campaign as by far the strongest figure of the centre-right camp. But there is some scepticism about his political future. The constant conflict between Walesa and the leftist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) government, the vetoing of bills and delayed legislation, may have contributed to Walesa's defeat, but he has proved himself a fighter.

In a first reverberation of Walesa's defeat the three ministers of defence, foreign affairs and the interior, who owed their posts to him, resolved to stand down. Karpinski said they were offering resignations to Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

Walesa became a symbol of resistance to communist rule when he founded the Soviet Bloc's first free trade union at a Gdansk shipyard in 1980. In 1981 he was jailed in a communist crackdown. Walesa based his presidential campaign on invoking the crimes and errors of the communist past but voting trends suggested many had put the battle with communism behind them. Walesa said when campaigning that if voters gave the presidency to Kwasniewski, 41, on top of the government and

parliamentary majority his SLD captured in 1993, Poland would fall into a "Red Spider-web." Kwasniewski represents a new breed of ex-communist now being voted to power across eastern Europe. Unfortunately, in Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania and Hungary leftists have been successful. In Russia, communists dominated the December elections, though the Russian communists' likes with social democracy seem far more questionable. Walesa himself bitterly reflected that the ex-communists, presiding for 2 years over a booming economy, were reaping the benefits of tough economic reforms undertaken earlier by Solidarity-descended governments.

Vote on IPA membership for Ukraine Postponed

Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk warned parliament against a hasty decision to join the Interparliamentary Assembly (IPA) of the Commonwealth of Independent States. "The question of the Ukrainian Parliament's accession to the Interparliamentary Assembly should be considered only after the interparliamentary body has been completely formed," Kravchuk said in Kyiv on November 23.

He stressed the need to prepare normative acts and documents, primarily the Assembly's charter "based on the internationally recognised democratic principles and the experience of the operation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe." The Ukrainian parliament tried to pass a decision on joining the IPA three times, but each time it was torpedoed by the national democrats who claim that Ukraine's participation in this body "will bind Ukraine's hands" and will become a "step towards restoring the USSR."

On December 12, the Ukrainian Parliament decided to postpone debate on the issue of Ukraine's accession to the IPA until after the 1996 budget is reviewed by the legislature. The final debate and vote has now been scheduled for February.

LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS SEIMAS
SEIMAS OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

M E M O R A N D U M

Vilnius, May 26, 1995

Chechnya Can Not Be Part of Russia

a. Chechnya was conquered and annexed by imperial Russia in 1859. Since then and up to the present time, the Chechen people are engaged in a bloody resistance struggle.

b. Mass violations of human rights, manslaughter and devastation of the country emerge as a result of Russia's violations of its own Constitution, ignoring of international law and nonobservance of its legal and international commitments.

c. In recent years, the world has witnessed unprecedented nonobservance of law and morals, and the use of force in protecting its empire, by Russia, a member of the United Nations Security Council. Moreover, having experienced great shock at the beginning of the conflict, on December 11, 1994, the world community is gradually becoming used to the daily extermination of Chechens, especially in view of the fact that Russia is insidiously and deceitfully expounding about a political solution to the problem, for six months already.

d. The irresolute and selective work of the Assistance Group to the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in Grozny, causes great concern. The most obvious violations of international law by Russia are not being identified and this creates an opportunity for Russia to legalise its crimes and form the impression of the inevitability of its cruel and aggressive actions.

e. If the world community or international organisations were to justify Russia's apocalyptic actions and think that Chechnya could become a part of Russia, violence and use of force would then be accorded recognition as a model of interrelations among nations, and would amount to the programming of even greater shocks for the future.

f. Given the presence of an occupational army in the country and with human rights being ignored, Chechnya can not be a part of Russia from any political, moral, legal or economic point of view and from the practical standpoint of peace and democracy.

1. Situation of the Chechen People in Russia:

- Chechen people are labeled as "a nation of mafia" and an "ugly nation";
- Chechen people are barred from registering to live in urban areas;
- Chechen dwellings are searched without legal formalities;

- Chechen people are subject to illegal detention;
- detained Chechens are beaten, humiliated and their personal belongings are confiscated.

2. Extermination of the Chechen People in their Native Land:

- at least 30 thousand people have been killed;
- at least 2 thousand children have perished;
- at least 2.5 thousand children have become orphans;
- at least 5 thousand are local refugees;
- rendering of humanitarian assistance is being hindered and supplies are being stolen;
- patients are dying without medical assistance;
- Russian Federal Security Service has declared the principles of the extermination of the Chechen people;
- preparations are already in place to relocate over 4 thousand Chechens to remote areas of Russia.

3. Atrocities Committed by the Russian Army in Chechnya:

- OMON units are being compiled of brutalised individuals;
- soldiers wear masks in battles;
- soldiers are plundering;
- hard drinking and use of narcotics is widespread in the armed forces;
- women are being raped;
- property of the Chechen people is being taken away by lorries;
- Chechens are being thrown from flying helicopters;
- Chechen teenagers and men are rounded up and placed in filtration camps in Mozdok, Vladikavkaz, Stravropol and Astrakhan;
- Chechen people are tortured during detention;
- Russians exchange the filtration camp prisoners for Russian POWs;
- people who have been called to assemble, are shot in provocation attempts;
- long-range aviation carries out high altitude bombing raids from 6-7 km altitudes;
- air bombing raids are carried out at night;
- prohibited vacuum, cassette fragment phosphorus, pellet and needle bombs, and delayed action bombs are being deployed;
- chemical weapons are being used;
- so-called carpet bombing raids are carried out;
- aviation bombs, weighing 3 tons are being used;
- at least 84 instances of youngsters 12-20 being put to death by shooting have been recorded;
- mine-traps, like those employed in Afghanistan, are being used;
- fire-throwers using napalm and terminal grenades are being employed;
- off-centered bullets are being employed;
- scorched earth policy is being implemented.

4. Economic Destruction:

- capital city of Grozny, and towns are destroyed;
- 187 settlements are destroyed;
- infrastructure is destroyed;
- 85 percent of archives are destroyed;
- science, culture institutions, museums and art values are demolished;
- enterprises are destroyed;
- crops are destroyed.

5. Colonisation and Incorporation:

- military commandant's headquarters are being set up;
- curfew has been instituted in Grozny from 21:00-6:00 hours. starting with May 1st;
- 800 Russian security services officials have been despatched to Chechnya;
- Moscow forms a "national concord Committee";
- Moscow brings a "national revival Government";
- Moscow establishes "an executive government of the federal bodies for territorial administration", which is not provided by law;
- Document No. A-21, dated January 31, 1995, confirmed by the President, provides for backing of Russians for government and material maintenance areas – ethnic segregation;
- national division based on kinship premises, is being organised;
- reliance on former communists, corrupt individuals and KGB;
- plans regarding division of Chechnya are being discussed;
- so-called political settlement of the problem is being discussed in hypocritical fashion;
- the legally-elected President of Chechnya is being branded by Russians as a criminal;
- local legal government and parliament are being ignored;
- the 158th army with its 205 Motorised Riflemen Brigade will be deployed in Grozny with headquarters at Hankala;
- a separate border commandant's Headquarters was set up in Grozny;
- schools are preparing to conduct courses using Russian textbooks in the Russian language.

On behalf of the Interparliamentary
Groups for the Relations with Chechnya

Algirdas Endriukaitis (Lithuania)
Roman Krucik (Ukraine)
Juris Sinka (Latvia)
Enn Tarto (Estonia)

International Group of Parliamentarians on the Problem of Chechnya

S T A T E M E N T

Concerning the Disregard for the International Group of Parliamentarians on the Problem of Chechnya by Russia

The International Group of Parliamentarians on the Problem of Chechnya unites parliamentarians of 17 countries. Its objectives are to maintain contacts and cooperate with OSCE and other international institutions monitoring and maintaining observance of internationally accepted legal norms. Following these tasks and seeking exclusively peaceful settlement of the Chechenian problem members of the Group are willing to acquaint themselves as international observers with the ongoing peace negotiations, political, social and economical situation in the country, as well as with the rendering of and the distribution of humanitarian aid. Moreover, they want to meet with the members of OSCE Assistance Group in Grozny.

The members of the Group have received an invitation from the Chechenian authorities, parliamentarians and Mr. Usman Imaev, the leader of the delegation to the negotiations.

The Group intended to delegate two representatives to the negotiations. Seven members of the Group applied for visas to the Russian Embassy but they were refused visas without any argumentation. The Embassy officials informed that the rest of parliamentarians would not get visas either.

Protesting against such behaviour we declare:

1) the secrecy around the situation in Chechnya does not instill confidence of the general public;

2) the settlement of the Chechenian issue under such circumstances can be considered as unilateral and not expressing good will;

3) incomplete evaluation of the Chechenian issue does not contribute to fast, all round and stable settlement of the situation in the Caucasus;

4) rejection of the democratic request of the Chechenian delegation means unequal treatment of the parties at the negotiations;

5) such disregard for the International Group of Parliamentarians by Russia can be considered as the violation of the Human Dimension Document signed in 1994 in Budapest.

We request you to evaluate our arguments and express your opinion to the Russian authorities.

Algirdas Endriukaitis
Chairman of the Executive Committee

Albania, Bulgaria, Canada, Chechnya, Estonia, Hungary, India, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Poland, Russia (Tuwa), Tatarstan, Turkey.

A P P E A L

to the Parliamentarians and Governments of the world on the Right of the Chechen Nation to Self-determination and Independence

The Parliamentary Support Groups for Chechnya of the Parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia urgently appeal to the Parliaments and Governments of the world to demand an immediate cease-fire, withdrawal of the troops of the Russian Federation from Chechnya, to render immediate humanitarian aid and urge a peaceful solution of Chechnya's quest for independence.

Chechnya declared its independence from the USSR on November 1, 1991, on the basis of international law, having adopted a Constitution, elected a President and Parliament in the presence of international observers on October 27, 1991. The troops of the USSR were withdrawn. Chechnya did not sign the subsequent Russian Federation agreement, did not participate in either the adoption of the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation, nor in the election of the President and the two chambers of the Parliament of the Russian Federation. Therefore, Chechnya has no legal bond to the Russian Federation.

After three years of political isolation and economic blockade imposed by the Russian Federation including communications, transport and finances, the armed forces of the Russian Federation started a military aggression against Chechnya on November 26, and again on December 11, 1994, that resulted in a great loss of life, especially among the civilians, and mass devastation.

We appeal to the Parliaments and Governments and international organisations:

- 1) to stop the genocide of the people of Chechnya;
- 2) to demand an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of the troops of the Russian Federation from Chechnya;
- 3) to render immediate humanitarian aid and assistance to the people of Chechnya;
- 4) to urge a peaceful solution of Chechnya's quest for independence;
- 5) to condemn the human rights violations by the Russian Federation in Chechnya;
- 6) to insist that the Russian Federation observes principles of international law and lives up to its international obligations.

Signed by
MPs of the Parliaments of
Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Russia's Largest National Minority: Ukrainians in the Russian Federation

When the World Congress of Ukrainians (WCU) recently admitted new members from countries beyond the West, it subsequently incorporated organisations representing several million Ukrainians scattered from Prague in the heart of Europe to Vladivostok in the Asian Far East. The number of Ukrainians now represented by organisations in the WCU has more than doubled, including the 4.3 million residing in the world's largest state – Russia.

The 2,373,250 Ukrainians in Russia who, according to the last Soviet census of 1989, live in the European parts of the federation (west of the Urals), along with 600,366 in Moldova, 291,000 in Belarus and 185,161 more distributed across the Baltic States – in total, some 3.44 million persons – constitute perhaps the largest single minority in Europe, aside from the Russians in the former Soviet republics.

Reporter Michael Kesterton, in an article titled "*Rising Nationalism*" in the Social Sciences column of Toronto's *Globe and Mail* (February 10, 1993), accorded such status to the 3 million Hungarians living in neighbouring states, but it is clear that once the moderate estimates of Ukrainians in Poland (250,000), Romania (70,000), the Czech Republic and Slovakia (100,000) are also taken into account, then with nearly 4 million it is the Ukrainians, who, in Mr. Kesterton's terms, may well form Europe's largest minority after the Russians.

In Russia, the Soviet census of 1989 actually enumerated more Tatars than Ukrainians, but unofficial estimates of the latter are given more credence than the total formally reported. The Russian newspaper, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, for example, in reporting the convening of the First Congress of Ukrainians in Russia in October 1993, noted that the Federation of Ukrainians founded at that conference could "potentially represent the interests of 6 million to 8 million Russian Federation citizens".

What are the characteristics of this minority? Certainly it is one whose economic significance to the country is not matched by a corresponding political influence.

Ukrainians have historically made important contributions to the expansion of the Russian wheat frontier eastwards. Even as recently as the 1980's, tens of thousands of farmers from Ukraine were recruited to participate in colonisation schemes in the Russian Far East, causing local alarm that Ukraine's own agrarian sector would suffer with such an exodus.

They are a significant labour force in the Russian oil and gas industries. According to the Ukrainian ambassador to Moscow in 1992, Volodymyr Kryzhanivsky, one third of the oil workers in the Tyumen *oblast* in Siberia and almost half the construction workers are "transplants from Ukraine".

In spite of their economic importance, however, the political clout of Ukrainians in Russia is immeasurably more limited than that of their Russian counterparts in Ukraine. They have been on Russian territory since the days of Kyivan Rus', but habitually subjected to irrevocable assimilatory pressures in subsequent centuries.

Today's leaders of the minority now have to contend with an unevenness of national consciousness and frequently ambiguous, if not outright hostile, attitudes towards them on the part of local authorities.

However steps have been made to mobilise the Ukrainian minority as a political lobby group. Their participation in the Congress of Nationalities of Russia in April 1994 has demonstrated that ethnic blocs will potentially become a feature of Russian electoral politics. The presence of an organised "Ukrainian vote" was even credited in 1993 with the ousting of a Ukrainophobe mayor in Vladivostok and his replacement with another more sympathetic to Ukrainian needs.

One can speculate on the extent to which this was truly a decisive factor, but in exceptional cases local Ukrainian pressure on regional authorities has paid off in the occasional provisioning of cultural services. But the questioning of such provisioning – still grossly inadequate – cannot be seriously resolved, Ukrainian leaders in Russia have repeatedly emphasized, until the federal government passes a law on minorities.

Dr. Serge Cipko is the 1995-1996 Neporany Fellow and teaches the history of Ukrainians in Canada with the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, St. Andrew's College, University of Manitoba. In September he presented a paper at the "Peoples, Nations, Identities: The Russian-Ukrainian Encounter" conference at Columbia University titled, "The Second Revival: Russia's Ukrainian Minority as an Emerging Factor in Eurasian Politics," and is the author of "Ukrainians in the Former Republics of the USSR outside Ukraine," in "Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide" (ed., Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), and of "Ukrainians in Russia: A Bibliographical and Statistical Guide" (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1994).

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In Memory of Zviyad Gamsakhurdia

The late former President of Georgia, a well-known cultural figure, leader of the national-liberation movement Zviyad Gamsakhurdia, died in circumstances which are still unclear to this day. In honor of this anniversary we offer the text below which is an interview with the comrade-in-arms Zviyad Gamsakhurdia, a Member of Georgian Parliament in exile and the writer and film director Gouram Petriyashviliy.

So, Mr. Gouram, please tell us a little about Zviyad, the person, whom, without exaggeration may be called a national hero of Georgian contemporary history...

- My profession, in general terms, is that of a cultural personage, I am a writer (of children's stories), a poet, film director and even an actor (I have acted in over thirty films). I started with a run down about my feats in order to put the record straight on some false rumors that have been broadcast on "Ostankino" TV and written in alot of the Russian press, that tried to confirm that the creative intelligentsia did not support President Gamsakhurdia. It was in fact the intelligentsia that did support Zviyad, insofar as he was also part of the intelligentsia in the broadest meaning of the word. Here it is also necessary to clarify that the intelligentsia was nationalistic. The "red" or as we say the "decorated" collaborator of Moscow, as usual, was in the opposition.

And now something about Zviyad Gamsakhurdia. On the occasion of this anniversary I would like to say a few words about him not as a politician (already alot has been said on this subject and his input in the building of democracy in Georgia), but about him as a person.

I met Zviyad at a university literary group, which was led by professor Kosteleva, a professor of foreign languages. Even then Gamsakhurdia was a well known literary figure – a translator, poet, writer and critic. I remember, how I asked him to review my poems and how happy I was when I found out that he liked them, and Zviyad, took them himself to the editor of the magazine. Now alot of people say that Zviyad made it to Parnassuss thanks to the popularity and authority of his father - a well known Georgian writer. But this is a rumor - Gamsakhourdiya was a star in his own right in the Georgian art world as an extraordinary individual.

Let us focus on Zviad – the person. Many people, especially from the headquarters in Moscow, like to slander the former president of Georgia, saying that he was a ruthless dictator, inhuman and such like. Complete nonsense, pure lies! Can one imagine a dictator in a country where the borders are not closed or defended and armies and security forces continue to serve what was once the center of the empire? When there is no national currency - that is, there is no sign of sovereignty? Those blame such a person as Zviyad for a dictatorship...

Here is an example from my own life, which testifies to the "dictatorial" traits of Gamsakhourdiya. Somehow, I, as a candidate for the members of the Georgian parliament, conducting the pre-election campaign, promised the electorate at one of the meetings, that if I was elected, I would appear before them on the platform of the parliament building in the same jacket that I was wearing that day. Of course, this was in its way a promise made in jest, but, nonetheless, I decided to keep my promise. And so, when I became a member of the Georgian Parliament, I appeared at the first session in that same jacket and not in the traditional suit and tie. When the meeting came to a close, when the well known "round table" of Gamsakhurdia's companions- in-arms came together, I noticed that Zviyad was looking at me strangely - it was clear that he wanted to say something and at the same time feels embarrassed. I, of course, understood what this was all about and said: "I know that this jacket is not the standard parliamentary 'uniform', but this is one of the promises I made during the election campaign which I had to adhere to at the first session". Zviyad laughed: now, he said, everything is understood...That was the kind of "dictator" that he was.

Zviyad never tolerated swearing or vulgarities like a true Christian. I only once heard him swearing at a former party functionary when the man elbowed him at a meeting and then said something rude about him. The situation, at the time, was unusually tense, and one can understand Zviyad's discreet emotional outburst...

As a writer I often liked to observe Zviyad. I remember the students organized a party for him in the university on his fiftieth birthday, and later his friends and family gathered at his home. As is the case usually with Georgians, there was wine and greetings made with each toast... Well, and how can one sit round a table and not sing in Georgia? It was then that Zviyad amazed all the guests with a rendition of what is actually our second national anthem - a song about a Georgian national hero, "Shavlego".

Zviyad was, if one can speak this way, an unusually benevolent man to all people, he never sought to find an enemy in anyone. He liked jokes - he took the jokes aimed directly at him calmly even in extreme situations.

Did Zviyad Gamsakhourdiya feel the approach of the pro-Russian coup?

- Yes, of course, but even in that situation he did not want to be disappointed by the people who were once his brothers-in-arms, who, betraying him, ran to the other side of the barricades with guns in their hands. I remember how one of his close friends after the last session said that he was going over to the other camp and how Zviyad then asked him to stay - not as a president but as a person, who was ailing the loss of old friends (that person now realizes his mistake, but unfortunately too late). In other words, Zviyad Gamsakhourdiya personified Christian goodness, although in times of war he was decisive and hard as steel.

In a short interview it is difficult to outline the most important character traits of a person, even more so, such an extraordinary individual as Zviyad Gamsakhourdiya. I share your opinion that chauvinist-imperialistic Moscow tried to completely ruin the image of the former President.

- On a final note: those who knew Zviyad well and believed in him, and to this day think of him as alive, cannot be reconciled with his death...

Interview by Yuriy HRYTSYK

Amnesty International reports on Human Rights Violations in Chechnya

A year has passed since the Russian invasion of Chechnya. Media reports cite incidences of extreme brutality against the Chechen people, whose only crime has been the struggle for national independence. In April 1995 Amnesty International released a report on human rights violations in Chechnya entitled "Russia – Armed Conflict in the Chechen Republic: seeds of human rights violations sown in peacetime". Information for the report was gathered from a wide variety of sources including from alleged victims, journalists, other humanitarian and human rights organisations. The following is an excerpt from the report citing examples of the brutality experienced by several victims during the attack on the town of Samashki in April 1995:

"At the time of writing further reports of deliberate attacks on civilians were being received from the town of Samashki, some 35 kilometres to the west of Grozny, which fell to Russian troops on 8 April 1995. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has accused Russia of using 'disproportionate' force to capture the town, and described the operation as "an indiscriminate attack against civilians and a flagrant violation of humanitarian law". ICRC representatives have estimated that at least 250 people, mainly civilians were killed in the attack. Amnesty International is concerned at reports that some of these civilians were deliberately and arbitrarily killed by Russian forces. Survivors allege that, among other things, Russian troops burned down houses and threw grenades into basements where residents had been taking cover, without checking first who was inside.

According to the Russian human rights group Memorial, on 6 April Chechen elders from Samashki met representatives of the Russian forces, who ordered them to surrender 264 firearms before 7am the following day or face further bombardment and an attack on the town. The elders protested that there were no such quantities of arms in the town, most of the fighters having left, but managed to collect around 16 guns and obtain a two-hour extension to the deadline. However, the bombardment is said to have

begun later that same evening, around 11pm on 6 April, and to have continued the following day before Russian troops entered the town on 8 April.

Journalists and most humanitarian aid workers were denied access to Samashki for several days, making independent corroboration of events difficult, but they have reported many harrowing accounts from residents of incidents involving civilians. Bekist Abdullayeva, for example, described how her three daughters died after Russian troops threw a grenade into the basement where the family was hiding:

“When the bombardment began we hid in the cellar and when it stopped the soldiers came hunting us. Tanks and armoured vehicles closed our streets and then started shooting and shooting, destroying and then burning each house on the street as they went along. When they came to our house, we screamed at them that there were no more men with us in the cellar but they threw their lemons [hand grenades] in anyway”.

Elsa Akhmedov related how her mother and brother had died: *“The Russians came in about 4am on 9 April. We could hear them laughing and swearing outside, then they started shooting at the gate. There were five people hiding here. They thought that a concrete structure like this would be safe. First they dragged my mother out. They made her put up her arms and then they shot her in the chest. Then they splashed petrol onto my brother Abbi and set him on fire”.*

Journalists reported seeing six fresh graves dug behind the rubble of the house, which Elsa Akhmedova said had been burned down by the soldiers as they left.

Raisa Khuseynova, speaking in the nearby town of Sernovodsk, said that soldiers had thrown her seven-year-old son Albi under a moving armoured vehicle, crushing him to death:

“They forced me to pick his body up. I couldn't even bury him, he's lying outside my home now. Then they [the Russians] put a canister of petrol into the house... They tried to force me to light a match and burn it down. I couldn't do it, and finally they started shooting into the house and everything went up in flames.”

Russian military officials have denied large-scale civilian casualties, saying that they undertook the operation, in which 130 supporters of President Dudayev were killed and 124 taken prisoner, after an ultimatum to surrender was ignored (ICRC officials reported on 12 April that they had been able to visit 85 Chechens captured during the fighting around Samashki, and who were at that point held at Mozdok). According to a member of a parliamentary commission set up to investigate events in the Chechen Republic Russia's acting Prosecutor-General has instituted an investigation under his personal supervision into civilian deaths at Samashki.

There have also been reports that Russian soldiers have summarily executed Chechen men they have detained. Several residents of a house at number 38 Petropavlovskaya Street in Grozny, for example, recounted to journalists how they saw Russian special forces troops enter their courtyard on 25 January and shoot two brothers who they thought had been fighting against them. “They just took them out and shot them”, said Dagmara Ankayeva.

As of the date of the report, Amnesty International is unaware of any published results from investigations that have been announced into some of these incidents.”

THE WAR CONTINUES...



Chechen soldiers fighting for national independence against the invasion of Russian troops near the Chechen capital of Grozny.



Photos from a demonstration protesting against Russian aggression in Chechnya held in Canada in January 1995