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FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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SUBJUGATED NATIONS STEADILY MOVING ON THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

It was surely not Mikhail Gorbachev's intention to strip the Communist Party of its leading force in the empire or its monopoly of power but it came to this on his initiative and the Central Committee agreed to do this. Authoritarian features of the regime are losing their grip on society, which is no longer paralysed by fear as in Stalin's time or his successors'. The Soviet empire is under pressure from centrifugal forces released by glasnost. The Communist regime in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in satellite states had survived only because of the assumption that any attempt to overthrow them would result in military intervention by Moscow. When this assumption was proved to be wrong then those regimes collapsed. Some journalists are afraid that it is quite different in the Soviet Union because in Russia "communism was not imposed by foreigners" and "drew its strength from Russian nationalism rather than opposing it". This is true about Russia but the Soviet Union is not Russia. The Soviet Union is an empire encompassing a score of forcibly incorporated non-Russian nations; the Baltic countries (after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and others — countries which lost their restored independence after the First World War. Communism was forcibly imposed together with Russian domination. These countries are now steadily and decisively moving on the road to independence from the Moscow centre. Hundreds of thousands of people in the different republics, from the Baltic Sea, through Ukraine and Caucasus, to Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan, are raising ever bolder demands for the official status of their national languages, for freedom of religion, for the introduction of a multi-party system and market economies, for the creation of their own army in their republic, for free trade unions etc.

If Moscow blames the national republics for clashes between some of them as in the case of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, then the question has to be asked who instigated it. It was the Russian policy of "divide et impera", divide and rule, which has caused the fighting between some nations. Russia tore Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia and included it into Azerbaijan which is the cause of the current conflict. The Baltic Republics are engaged in finding a peaceful solution to end this conflict but Russia's answer to ending the dispute was to send in military units to quell the fighting and not try and find a peaceful means of settling the dispute.

We were greatly disappointed and astonished that the United States government supported the military intervention in Azerbaijan and that President Bush made a statement that the aim of American policy is to safeguard the "territorial integrity" of the Soviet Union. America has always symbolized to all nations and peoples, the ideals of freedom and democracy and national independence. Many Americans laid down their lives in defence of these ideals for other nations. Therefore such a policy contradicts these ideals and also the statements of previous Presidents, especially President Reagan who bluntly called the Soviet Russian empire "the evil empire" in which many subjugated peoples are subjected to persecution, Russification and are denied their national and human rights. Such a policy also contradicts the spirit and essence of the Congressional Captive Nations resolution and the law to annually observe the Captive Nations Week passed in July 1959 under President Dwight Eisenhower. It reads:

"...Whereas the imperialist policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct

and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossakia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others... therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that the President is authorised and requested to issue a proclamation on the Fourth of July, 1959, declaring the week following such a day as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such a week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation on each succeeding Fourth of July until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world."

It is difficult to perceive that in a time when subjugated nations in Eastern and Central Europe, also in the Soviet Union, are striving to rid themselves of communist Russian domination, American government not only does not sustain them in their efforts, but supports the policy of Gorbachev, designed to preserve the Soviet Russian colonial empire and deny the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union the right to build a new life based on freedom, democracy and national independence. The subjugated nations in the Soviet Union count millions of victims in the struggle to rid themselves of Russian domination and live as free nations.

Therefore, the free world should help them morally and politically to achieve their goal and not support the imperialist interests of Moscow. The downfall and dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire from within by the strength of the subjugated nations can only be to the benefit, not only to the oppressed nations, but also to the free world. It will abolish forever Moscow's imperialist urge to conquer new territories and peoples in the world. The newly reestablished nations, with democratic regimes, will turn all their attention to rebuilding their devastated countries and will try and establish as close a cooperation with the free nations as possible.



Demonstrators in Dushanbe, the capital of Tadzhikistan, demanding the resignation of the Communist leader of the republic.

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS JOIN HUMAN CHAIN ACROSS UKRAINE TO COMMEMORATE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY

(UCIS), January 21, 1990 — Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians today turned out for a day of national solidarity to commemorate the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence and Unity on January 22, 1919, in a human chain organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine “Rukh”. The chain, which stretched from the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, through Zhytomyr and Rivne to Lviv, was a success, according to Ukrainian activist Serhiy Naboka and Anatoliy Dotsenko of the Ukrainian Independent Publishing and Information Association (UNVIS).

In Kyiv, reports Naboka, people began to gather in the square outside the Cathedral of St. Sophia at 9:00 a.m. The commemoration began at 11:00 a.m., when members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, formed at a meeting of representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) on December 9, 1989, arrived together with priests of the UAOC from Kyiv, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. Before the closed gates of St. Sophia they celebrated a *moleben* (a religious service) for Ukraine and in commemoration of the union, on 1919, of western and eastern Ukraine. During the service, the large crowd of people, who gathered in the square with many Ukrainian flags and slogans, swelled in numbers.

When the human chain began to form, the people stood three and then five deep on St. Sophia Square. Thousands of Ukrainian flags lined the streets of Kyiv, from St. Sophia to the Cathedral of St. Volodymyr, along Shevchenko Boulevard, Peremoha (Victory) Prospect and on to the city limits, Naboka said.

The atmosphere in the Ukrainian capital was festive. The Kyivites, both participants of the action and observers, were in high spirits. Even the police were in a jubilant mood and made no attempt to break up the chain, allowing cars displaying Ukrainian flags and banners to pass through the crowds.

The majority of slogans explained the purpose of the chain. Others stated “Away with party dictatorship!”, that there can only be an independent and sovereign Ukraine, that Ukraine has the highest rate of illnesses in the Soviet Union, called for the national, cultural and religious unity of Ukraine, or condemned the ecological destruction of Ukraine. One boy held a slogan which stated: “We are the people!”, in reply to party leaders’ claims that only certain individuals constitute the people.

The arrival of a car with youths dressed in the uniforms of the Sich Rifle Corps¹ shouting “Glory to Ukraine!”, “Glory to the heroes!” made a great impression on the people of Kyiv.

In addition to the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags, two red-and-black flags of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were also raised. Naboka believes they were displayed by members of a group called “Diya” (Action).

Although it is difficult to give an accurate figure for the number of participants in the human chain, according to Naboka it was obvious that hundreds of thousands of people took part in the event.

According to Anatoliy Dotsenko, the human chain was solid throughout its entire route, from Kyiv to Lviv, where hundreds of thousands of people also took part in the chain with thousands of flags. Many blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags were displayed on various buildings throughout the city. In Zhytomyr and Rivne tens of thousands of

people came out into the streets in support of “Rukh’s” national initiative. There were also meetings in Vilnius, Lithuania, and Moscow, by the monument to Taras Shevchenko, 19th century Ukrainian poet and political thinker.

* * *

At noon several thousand people, who were unable to join the chain through a lack of transport, held a meeting in Zhytomyr. Although busses had been booked and paid for in advance, on Friday and Saturday certain transport companies pulled out on the grounds that they had no petrol, or that their busses had broken down. This, says Naboka, was a result of the “telephone law”, according to which KGB officials telephone directors of transport companies and dissuade them from providing demonstrators with transportation. It is interesting, notes Naboka, that busses were available for all destinations other than Zhytomyr, which lay on the route of the human chain.

* * *

At 4:00 p.m. a meeting to commemorate this historic anniversary was scheduled to take place in Kyiv on St. Sophia Square. The speakers included the leaders of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, Ivan Drach, Volodymyr Yavorivskyi and Mykhailo Horyn.

* * *

ZHYTOMYR — According to Valery Kolosivskyi, a representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), tens of thousands of Zhytomyr residents participated in this human chain to commemorate Ukrainian independence and unity. Hundreds of national, blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags dotted the route of the chain. The atmosphere in the city was one of elation. The chain was fully intact throughout the entire route through the city, according to Kolosivskyi. An assembly took place at the “Spartacus” city stadium in conjunction with this commemoration. The city police behaved with restraint. The route of the chain went through the city, down Lenin Street, Karl Liebknecht Street and on to the city of Rivne. A national Ukrainian flag was placed every 30-40 metres along the route of the chain, which itself consisted of a solid wall of participants.

* * *

RIVNE — According to Stepan Soroka, a member of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, thousands of people participated in the human chain in the city of Rivne. Hundreds of Ukrainian national flags were displayed throughout the route of the chain. Spontaneous discussions and meetings were held in various places on the route of the chain. The chain was completely intact in the city of Rivne, going through Liebknecht, Lenin and Paris Commune Streets. The people began chanting “Freedom for Ukraine” and other slogans. Eyewitnesses stated that the chain was fully intact from Zhytomyr to the city of Ternopil. At 3:00 p.m. a mass assembly was held at the city’s “Slava” (Glory) Hill.

* * *

TERNOPIL — According to Roman Ivanyshuk, the chain was completely intact in the city of Ternopil and along its entire route from the city to Lviv. The chain's route through the city went along April 15, Lenin and Lviv Streets. Thousands of people participated in the chain, while many more looked on. There were many national, blue-and-yellow, Ukrainian flags strewn throughout the entire route of the chain. People were chanting: "Freedom for Ukraine" and other slogans. The commemoration was punctuated by an atmosphere of unity.

* * *

LVIV — On January 21 the streets of Lviv were filled with people who came out to commemorate January 22 as Ukraine's historical and traditional day of independence and unity. By the Taras Shevchenko Stone, which has become a popular monument to Ukraine's national poet in the city of Lviv, a Greek-Catholic *moleben* was held, ending at noon. From that time on for an hour church bells rang out throughout the city. The chain began by the Stone of Shevchenko and stretched towards the city of Ternopil, going through the *Rynok* (Market) Square, Rus' and Lenin Streets, and out of the city. Tens of thousands of the residents of the city and many people from the surrounding provinces participated in this commemoration. Thousands of Lviv residents also travelled to other cities to join the chain, particularly in Zhytomyr and Kyiv. Thousands of national Ukrainian flags were displayed throughout the route of the chain. Hundreds of automobiles also joined in the chain.

Prior to the start of the commemorative activities by the Stone of Shevchenko, Vyacheslav Chronovil, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian national-democratic movement, addressed the people. He pointed out that the Act of Union of January 22, 1919, which united all Ukrainian territories into a single state — the Ukrainian National Republic — took place not in the days of bloody September, 1939, when the Soviet forces occupied western Ukraine, but already in 1919, seventy-one years ago. He also pointed out that January 22 is the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1918. According to Taras Chornovil, Vyacheslav's son, the chain stretched out from Lviv to the west, towards the city of Ivano-Frankivsk. The chain between Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk was complete, being formed by many thousands of people from both cities and the surrounding countryside. This extension of the chain to Ivano-Frankivsk was a spontaneous initiative, that was not originally planned by the organizers of this national commemoration.

* * *

IVANO-FRANKIVSK — According to Taras Chornovil from Lviv, thousands of residents of the Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv provinces, on their own initiative, formed a human chain from Lviv to Ivano-Frankivsk. This branch of the chain was not originally planned. Later 17,000 people gathered for a public meeting to commemorate the historic anniversary.

* * *

KYIV — The commemoration of Ukrainian independence and unity began on Sunday, Jan. 21 at 12:00 noon with a *moleben* for Ukraine, which was led by Revs. Metodiy, Tadey, Ihor, and Yuriy of the UAOC from Kyiv, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. At noon the human chain began from the Cathedral of St. Sophia and stretched out through this capital city. People from outside Kyiv began arriving by busses already at

8:00 a.m., making their way to the designated route of the chain. At 9:00 a.m. several busses with UHU members went to a point 108 km. outside the capital to take their place on the chain for 14 km.

Ivan Drach — the head of the Popular Movement — was the first to stand in the chain at St. Sophia Square with members of the leadership of the Movement following. Priests of the UAOC and members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood took their places in the chain opposite the closed gate of the Cathedral. Next in line of the chain were members of the local “Rukh” branches and independent public organizations from Poltava, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, the Crimea, Mykolayiv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Kharkiv.

According to Anatolyi Dotsenko, the organizers of the national commemoration estimate that over 400,000 people actively took part in the human chain, which remained intact from 12:00 noon until 1:00 p.m. Afterwards a public assembly took place in St. Sophia Square. Prior to the assembly, several thousand people marched from the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv down Khreshchatyk Boulevard (the main street of the capital) to the Square. They were carrying Ukrainian national flags and chanting: “Glory to the Heroes of the UPA² — who fought against the occupying forces of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia!”.

At 4:00 p.m. nearly 80,000 people had already gathered at the square, with many more people joining the crowds. Tens of thousands of Ukrainian national flags were being displayed. The assembly began with a speech by Dmytro Pavlychko — a poet and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He was followed by the Ukrainian writer Borys Tymoshenko, who read the Fourth Universal of the Central “Rada” (Government of Ukraine in 1918) of January 22, 1918, which proclaimed Ukrainian independence, the Act of Union of January 22, 1919, and the petition of the Western Ukrainian National Republic to join in union with eastern Ukraine. Thirty prominent Ukrainians addressed the assembly, including representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, Oles Honchar, Volodymyr Yavorivskyi, Serhiy Konev, Volodymyr Shynkaruk — the head of the Institute of Philosophy — and Yuriy Badzio. The most striking speeches were delivered by Levko Lukianenko, the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), and by Oleh Vitovych — head of the Lviv youth organization SNUM (Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth). Vitovych expressed the hope that if the need arose to fight for an independent Ukraine, the Ukrainian people would be led in battle by new Petluras and Shukhevyches³. He ended his address by stating that he believes that the Ukrainian nation will soon be commemorating an even greater event — the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet empire.

Lukianenko pointed out that one of the reasons for the destruction of the Ukrainian National Republic was due to the pacifist position taken by the Ukrainian leadership and its decision to demobilize the Ukrainian army. He underscored the harm of adopting socialist utopias and pointed out the tragic consequences for Ukraine of Russian occupation, and then proceeded to state that the empire is now crumbling and that on its ruins an independent Ukrainian state will arise.

After the assembly, Petro Sichko of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front addressed the participants, urging them to commemorate the fallen heroes of Ukraine with a moment’s silence. This was followed by a choir singing Sich Rifleman songs.

The assembled participants, which by that point numbered over 120,000 people, joined in the singing.

After the assembly most of the participants went to the Shevchenko monument. As they marched past the KGB headquarters in Kyiv, the people began whistling and shouting — “Shame!” Many people put up lit candles around the building and someone put up a placard reading — “For an independent Ukraine”. From the monument, approximately 500 people marched to the building of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR shouting — “Away with Article 6”, and expressing their lack of confidence in the “government” and particularly Valentyna Shevchenko — the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Some of the placards displayed throughout this commemoration read: “Kharkiv and Donetsk are Ukrainian cities”, “For the rebirth of the Ukrainian National Republic”, “Our strength lies in unity and independence”, “1919 — voluntary union, 1939 — forced ‘liberation’”; other placards dealt with ecological issues, while others condemned the Communist Party of Ukraine and the CPSU dictatorship.

In Lviv the chain was three columns deep. People were carrying placards which read: “Freedom for Ukraine” and others. Everyone held a national Ukrainian flag. According to eyewitness reports, close to 200,000 people gathered on the route from Ternopil to Lviv. At 5:00 p.m. an assembly took place in Lviv, which was attended by 50,000 people. Among those addressing the assembly were the following: Vyacheslav Chornovil of UHU, Vlokh — the head of the Lviv branch of “Rukh”, the Ukrainian writer Roman Lubkivskyi, representatives of the regional branches of “Rukh”, guests from Lithuania and heads of the Societies of Armenian and Jewish culture.

DONETSK — According to Valeriy Sardak, head of the Donetsk branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), at 11:00 a.m. activists of the Popular Movement (“Rukh”), the Association of Ukrainian Youth, the UHU and Ukrainian anarcho-syndicalists, holding Ukrainian national flags, gathered by the monument to Taras Shevchenko in the centre of the city for a public meeting to mark the proclamation of Ukrainian unity and independence on January 22, 1919. They were stopped by police, led by the head of the municipal department of internal affairs Colonel Varaka, who threatened the activists with criminal charges for displaying national symbols.

MOSCOW — On January 21 an assembly was held in the centre of Moscow by the monument to Taras Shevchenko from 4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. (Kyiv time) to commemorate Ukrainian independence and unity. This assembly was sanctioned by the local authorities and was organized by the Moscow branch of UHU, the Popular Movement, the Association of Ukrainians in Moscow “Slavutych”, and the Ukrainian youth club.

Moscow — In the centre of Moscow, at the site of the Taras Shevchenko monument, in the vicinity of the Ukrayina Hotel, representatives of “Rukh”, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian youth organization of the local Komsomol and the “Slavutych” Society of Ukrainians in Moscow gathered at 4:00 p.m. (Kyiv time) for a commemorative assembly. Representatives of the Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Estonian and other communities also attended. Addresses were delivered in the Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian languages. Two dozen Ukrainian national blue-



Part of the Kyiv-Lviv Human Chain

and-yellow flags were displayed in Moscow on that day. The crowd numbered about 500 people. A wreath was laid at the foot of the Shevchenko monument.

MUKACHEVE (Transcarpathia) — On January 20 a meeting dedicated to the anniversary of Ukrainian sovereignty was held outside the city hall. The unsanctioned meeting, attended by some 1,000 people, was organized by “Rukh”, the UHU and the Dmytrakh Society.

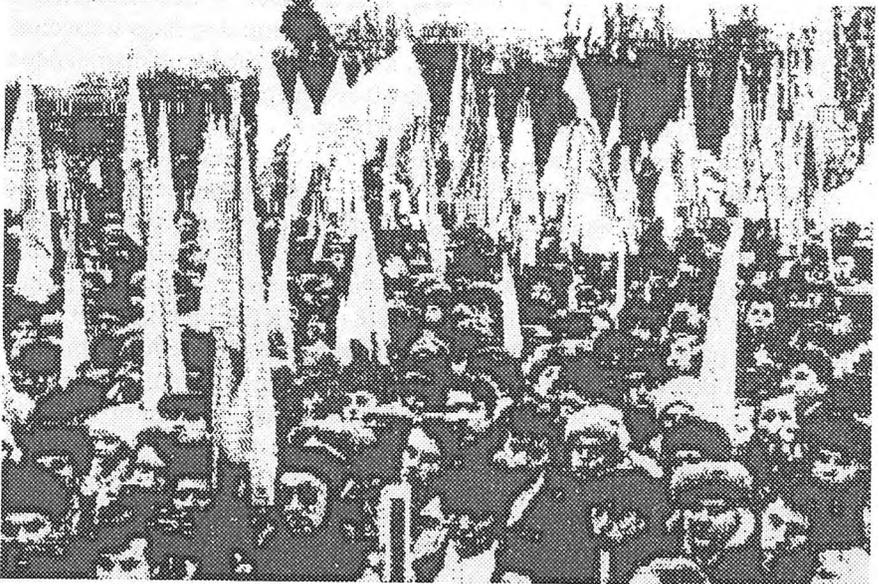
ODESSA — The meeting in Odessa began at 3:00 p.m. (Kyiv time) in Sobor Square in the centre of the city. According to a report by UHU representative Ihor Stolarov, dozens of activists of the Odessa branch of the Association of Ukrainian Youth “Pivdenna Hromada” (Southern Community), the UHU and the Ukrainian National-Democratic League gathered in the square to demonstrate their solidarity with the participants of the human chain. Many Ukrainian blue-and-yellow flags and a Russian national flag were displayed by the 300 or so participants of the meeting. Attempts by police to tear down a Ukrainian flag ended in failure due to popular resistance.

RIVNE — More than 20,000 people participated in the public meeting in Rivne. Throughout the day, despite the cold and rain, about 50 members of the youth organization Plast marched with national flags through the city. The meeting began at 3:00 p.m. (Kyiv time) at Slava Hill. In the course of the assembly a Russian Orthodox moleben service for Ukrainian freedom was offered in the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian Catholic priests participated. The participants sang the religious hymn “Almighty God, protect our Ukraine”. Members of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth laid a wreath of flowers at the grave of Colonel Vasyl Tiutiunyk of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic. Assemblies were also held in Dubno,



*Thousands of blue-and-yellow flags
throughout all Ukraine*

During a meeting in Kyiv



Korsh and Hosh, Rivne province. Attempts by local officials to disrupt the assemblies and requiems were unsuccessful.

TERNOPIL — In Ternopil the meeting took place on Spivochyi Square. The more than 20,000 participants were addressed by representatives of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, the UHU, “Memorial” and other independent public organizations.

VILNIUS (Lithuania) — A human chain and public meeting near Vilnius cathedral high-lightened the day’s activities.

At 11:30 a.m. Ukrainians from Vilnius and the surrounding towns, as well as Ukrainians from Lviv and representatives of the Byelorussian “Tsiabryna” Society, Moldavians and Lithuanians marched to the university, where a memorial plaque to Taras Shevchenko was erected. The chain began to form about 1:00 p.m. (Kyiv time) from the site of the plaque to the cathedral. The people held hands for 15 minutes. Many Ukrainian flags along with those of Lithuania, Byelorussia and Moldavia-Rumania were displayed during the chain. Many of the banners, written in Ukrainian, Lithuanian and English, read: “Independence for Ukraine”, “January 22 — Day of Ukrainian Sovereignty” and “Independent Lithuania — Independent Ukraine”.

On this occasion the “Rukh” office in Kyiv received a telegram from the legislative body of the Lithuanian organization Sajudis. Similar commemorations were organized by Ukrainians in other Lithuanian cities.

Cities and towns in Latvia and Estonia also held January 22 observances. In Riga, Ukrainians marched with Ukrainian flags to the Freedom monument, where they sang patriotic songs and spoke about current events in Ukraine.

VINNYTSKIA — In Vinnytsia, the meeting began at 4:00 p.m. on Lenin Square. Prior to the meeting, police detained UHU activists Viktor Ivasiuk and Vasyl Pidpiahorshchuk, the representative of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) Chaplyhin, and Oleksander Kalisher, a passer-by not associated with the informal organizations. At the police station four Ukrainian flags were confiscated from the arrested persons. Major Kryvda, an official of the Lenin district department of internal affairs, was in charge of this unlawful police action with the tacit support of Procurator Bordeyko. The meeting, attended by up to 3,000 people, lasted two hours. The resolution adopted by the participants included a demand for the immediate dismissal of the officials of the provincial and city party committees, the provincial and municipal government, as well as the head of the provincial department of internal affairs Tiazhlov, the head of the provincial KGB Davydenko, the editor of the newspaper “Vinnytska Pravda” Bolkun, and the editor of the provincial radio station Fedoruk. The resolution also demanded that the new KGB building and the building of the district party committee should be handed over to different institutions. Other demands included a halt to the repression against the informal organisations, the renaming of Voroshilov Street after Vasyl Stus and the abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution.

VOLCHANSK (Kharkiv province) — The commemorative assembly in Volchansk took place in the centre of town. More than 500 people participated. The national blue-yellow flag was raised. Representatives of the local party issued an

ultimatum to the people, saying: “Who is with us, remain with the red flag; those who are with them, go to the blue-and-yellow flag”. Everyone sided with the blue-and-yellow flag, leaving a few party officials with the red flag. The meeting was described as a success.

ZAPORIZHIA — Up to 3,000 Zaporizhia residents took part in a meeting on October Square, organized by the UHU. Four Ukrainian blue-and-yellow flags were displayed during the meeting. Representatives of the UHU, the Popular Movement and other informal organizations addressed the participants.

On January 21 similar assemblies were held in all the cities and towns along the entire length of the human chain and in every major city of Ukraine.

¹ Ukrainian military formation, which fought for Ukrainian independence in 1917-1921.

² Ukrainian Insurgent Army. It fought for the independence of Ukraine against the Germans and then Soviet Russia up to the early 1950s.

³ Symon Petlura was Head of the Ukrainian Government in 1918 and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army. Roman Shukhevych was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

“**RUKH**” COUNCIL OF NATIONS HOLDS FOUNDING CONFERENCE, KYIV, FEBRUARY 11

The founding conference of the Council of Nations of the Popular Movement of Ukraine was held on February 11. It was opened by V. Kulynych. The Ukrainian poet Dmytro Pavlychko was the first to speak, greeting the participants. He stated his belief that the convening of this conference also marks the beginning of probably the most important work of “Rukh”, and greeted the participants with the registration of the Popular Movement in the Council of Ministers of Ukraine. “Rukh” is now an officially registered organization, although the Movement was registered only after it was no longer able to nominate electoral candidates from within its own ranks (official registration ended on February 4). The next to speak was the head of the organizational committee Josyf Zisils. He informed the participants about the work carried out by the organizational committee, the composition of the committee, and the nationality of the members of the Council of Nations. It was announced that the Council of Nations is a part of “Rukh”, that the position of the Council was worked out on the basis of the “Rukh” statute, and that the decisions of the Council of Nations are to be ratified by the Supreme Council of “Rukh”. A mandate commission was elected consisting of three persons: Svitlana Lee, Fedir (?) and Andriy Kulynov. An accounts commission was elected, composed of guest-members of was elected, composed of guest-members of “Rukh”: Volodymyr Konfederatenko, Ola Borysenko and Vadym Dykhtych. The conference also established the work of the leading organs of the Council of Nations and elected a chairman (the position of chairman will be filled on a rotational basis). Dmytro Pavlachko was elected chairman. Vice-chairmen are Josyf Zisils, Mykola Serhehev and Oleksander Burakivskiy.

The following resolution was approved during the conference:

1) To create the Council of Nations of the Popular Movement of Ukraine as a composite part of the Supreme Council.

2) To appeal to the Supreme Council with the proposition to ratify the documents of the founding conference.

3) To appeal to the Secretariat of “Rukh” with the proposition to assign one of its members, or a new person, to direct the affairs of the Council of Nations.

THE LITHUANIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Lithuanian Democratic Party, which I represent, was founded on February 5th 1989. This was the first party in Lithuania formed under the occupation. The LDP was founded despite the fact that any party other than the Communist Party is considered illegal. That is why the founding of the LDP can be regarded as a challenge to the totalitarian system. Continuing the traditions of the former LDP acting in 1905-20, the LDP aims to re-establish the Independent Lithuanian State; this constitutes the heart of its programme. We hope to achieve this in a peaceful parliamentary way.

No doubt Gorbachev's policy of glasnost and the activities of the Sajudis and the Lithuanian Freedom League were the conditions under which it became possible to found the LDP. However, from the very first days of the party's existence we have felt the pressure and interference from the ruling Communist Party. The LDP was the first of all the other political forces in Lithuania to demand the abolition of article 6 of the Constitution which provides for the leading role of the Communist Party. We called for this measure even before the LDP Congress. Later, other political parties took up and supported this demand until finally in late 1989 Article 6 was altered. This is the first step towards establishing a democratic law-governed sovereign state with a multi-party system.

The founding Congress of the LDP took place on 29-30 July 1989 in Vilnius with approximately 300 delegates participating. It adopted the Party Council and the presidium of the Council (15 people). After the Congress the Party documents were submitted to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR together with the demand to have the party registered. However, the party was registered only after the alteration of Article 6 of the Constitution, in fact on the same day as the Independent LCP was registered.

The LDP was the first to demand the secession of the LCP from the CPSU (on 16th Feb. 1989). At present there are two officially registered parties in Lithuania: LDP and LCP — not only de facto but also de jure. Unfortunately the multi-party system exists ONLY de jure while equal rights for every party are non-existent.

The Communist Party is in fact the ruling party. Hopefully the situation will change after the coming elections to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania due to be held on 24th February 1990. Our chances in these elections are minimal for the following reasons:

1. We were registered as an independent party too late.
2. All the opposition parties are taking part in the elections under the banner of the Sajudis which oppose the nomination of our candidates.
3. The Sajudis supports the candidates of the Communist Party and thus it no longer presents an opposition to the ruling party.

Thus the organisation of the election and the distribution of forces is not favourable to the LDP and other radical parties.

One of the main tasks of the LDP is holding a referendum. The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania has adopted an anti-democratic election law which gives the occupation

army the right to vote. In protest to this, LDP availed itself of the newly adopted law on Referendum and collected 400,000 signatures demanding to hold a referendum on the question of the servicemen's right to participate in the elections.

The signatures have been submitted to the Supreme Soviet and acknowledged as valid. This question will be considered at the next session on 15th January 1990.

In my opinion after the elections the LDP will present a strong opposition to governmental bodies.

It should be noted that the LDP which had started its activity by nation consolidating actions — such as organising rallies, arranging demonstrations to mark Georgian events — established itself as a considerable political force which does not declare socialism as the system acceptable for social development and which resolutely calls for a truly democratic state.

Yet at present the LDP, like all other parties, is undergoing a crisis. There is a deliberate attempt to divide the party into fractions by infiltrating people into it who oppose its programme. On the other hand it must be stated that it is very difficult to adhere to the democratic principles within the party in a totalitarian state. There always exist objective conditions which obstruct the freedom of thoughts and actions within the party.

However we have every reason to believe that under the multi-party system the LDP will enjoy the support and sympathy of a considerable part of the nation.

Freedom of Europe is impossible without the freedom of the Baltic States.

We hope for your active help in our fight for Independence.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR ESTONIA

Feb. 2, 1990 — A joint convention of Estonian People's Deputies (to local soviets and to Moscow's People's Deputies Congress and Supreme Soviet) and the Supreme Soviet of Estonia today, Feb. 2, in Tallin, approved a Declaration of Independence on the terms of the Feb. 2, 1920 ("Tartu") Peace Treaty between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia. It also decided to form a Special Committee to start negotiations with the Government of the USSR, on the basis of said Peace Treaty, to regulate the relations between Estonia and the USSR, primarily in order to achieve DE FACTO recognition of the Republic of Estonia from the Soviet Government.

In speeches preceding the vote it was emphasized that DE JURE recognition of the Republic already exists under international law, a reference to the Western non-recognition of the 1940 Baltic annexations by the Soviet Union. The continuing validity of the Tartu Peace Treaty was underscored by many speakers. Others called for evacuation of Soviet forces, repatriation of Estonian youth serving in Soviet armed forces outside of Estonia, and formation of indigenous army units.

A counterproposal condemning the Resolution was read by a deputy from Kohtla Järve, in the name of his, Narva's and Sillamäe's constituents (all belonging to the North East of the most russified district of Estonia). The counterproposal was not discussed.

Of the participating 2191 deputies, 2073 votes were cast in favor of the Resolution, 101 were against (mostly members of the pro-Russian Interfront), and 17 abstained.

President Arnold Rüütel made a preliminary proposal as to the composition of the negotiating Special Committee. It appears that the proposed list includes representatives of most (or all) of the various political groupings and both the registered and as yet non-registered parties such as the Estonian National Independence Party.

NO WAY TO TURN THE CLOCK BACK IN BULGARIA

Although with perhaps some delay Bulgaria also became the stage for a strong movement of reforms, for religious freedom and human rights. The delay was due not to the so-called loyalty of the Bulgarian people to Moscow but only because they had paid a heavy price in blood and persecutions in resisting the Communist regime. According to conservative appraisals the number of victims of the installation of Communism in Bulgaria until 1952 goes well over 150,000. This includes the liquidation of the political, spiritual and cultural elites, of the Parliamentary opposition as well as the victims of the farmers collectivisation. Since then with certain exceptions the opposition of the Bulgarian people against Communist oppression became rather passive by mainly boycotting and paralysing the economic plans of the Communist Party. Plans which were anyway doomed to failure.

As time passed the dissatisfaction and resentment of the population with the policy of Russification and with the worsening economic and political situation started to grow and look for articulation. This became obvious after the Helsinki Conference and especially during the last two years which saw the birth of numerous independent groups, organisations, clubs, movements etc.

This article does not pretend to present the history of the opposition movement in Bulgaria but rather to analyse the latest developments. The fact is that after many mass meetings in the capital as well as in the provinces, on December 7th, 1989, in Sofia the founding of the Union of Democratic Forces took place. It consists of:

1. The Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria
2. The Independent Union "Ecoglasnost"
3. The Independent Labour Federation "Podkrepa"
4. The Committee for Defense of Religious Freedom and Spiritual Values
5. The Club of All Oppressed and Politically Persecuted After 1945
6. The Independent Students Association
7. The Movement for Citizens Initiative
8. The United Bulgarian Labour Social Democratic Party
9. The Bulgarian Agrarian Union Nikola Petkoff

The founding organisations stated that they will maintain their independence but will unite and co-ordinate their efforts to speed the process of democratisation of the country. Besides the demands for the installment of political pluralism, market economy, a multi-party system and a state based on legality for everybody, they will fight for the introduction of new labour and social laws guaranteeing the right to strike and the defense of the weak in society, equality for all kinds of property, a new democratic constitution, depolitisation of the army and police, democratic elections for a new parliament, rehabilitation of all the persecuted in the period of totalitarianism, autonomy for the educational system, independence for the mass communication media, full freedom of speech, meetings and associations, freedom for religious activity and the guarantee for the treatment of ethnic minorities in accordance with the Charter of Human Rights. The Union of Democratic Forces functions through its coordinating council with President — Dr. Phil. Jelu Jelleff, Secretary — the biologist P. Beron, and speakers — G. Spasoff and R. Wodenitscharoff.

Following a tactic of protraction, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the new

government agreed finally to negotiations with representatives from the opposition and with the different organisations and groups at the round table. Only under pressure from mass demonstrations and the threat of strikes did the government and Bulgarian Communist Party make several concessions: they agreed to negotiations instead of consultations, they showed willingness to abandon their monopoly of state power, they offered the opposition representatives to participate in the government, they are speaking of pluralism and market economy and last but not least they spoke about elections not later than May 1990. All this is going on not without certain resistance on the part of the Party nomenclatura and many of those enjoying the privileges of the regime. They try by all possible means to disturb or even to make impossible the activities of the independent groups and organisations by refusing them equal opportunity in using public building and facilities, communications, media, the press and television.

Until now this resistance has not brought the situation to the point where the peoples' anger could explode and provoke tragic developments of the kind which happened in Rumania. Everything depends on the ability and willingness of the so-called reformers in the party to adjust to the peoples desire for freedom and democracy, and to make the necessary concessions. One thing is clear: there is no way for turning the clock back. The last personnel changes in the party and government show that the Communist leaders are trying to comply with this fact. By clearing the party apparatus from the prominent Zhivkoff supporters and by making some small concessions they are trying to create the impression that fundamental changes are on the way. But this will hardly settle the peoples desire for true democracy, for political and economic reforms, and if decisive steps are not taken soon in this direction we will certainly witness an increase of tension and pressure from below.

January 1990

OPEN LETTER

**To the Head of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU
Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev**

We appeal to you as Head of State, on whose position the fate of restructuring, the natural process of the affirmation of democratic reconstruction, the institution of social and national justice, to a large extent depends. The peoples of the Soviet Union expect fundamental changes in international relations from restructuring, the full realization of the principles of national sovereignty, introduced consistently into all spheres of political, economic and cultural-spiritual life.

We would like to stress the urgency with which you should regard this problem, as international conflicts, particularly in the Transcaucasian republics, can escalate into civil war. The reasons for the conflict were created by the flawed nationality policy of the period of stagnation. The all-union government and the Central Committee of the Party have so far not employed decisive measures for the just resolution of the nationality question. Delay in its resolution brings unforeseen consequences. It can be

resolved not with the aid of military force, which leads to the escalation of oppression, but only through negotiations, and by taking into consideration the just aspirations and demands of the peoples. Great power attitudes in government and party policy regarding the “periferal” nations is the burden of old stereotypes, formed in the conditions of the totalitarian Stalin-Brezhnev political system, which even today obstructs the establishment of new and just international relations, the realization of the national state sovereignty of the republics.

Taking into consideration the urgent resolution of this question and the dramatic conflict in the Transcaucasus, we regard the following steps as indispensable:

1) The central and republican governments should focus their attention on creating the most favourable conditions for negotiations between representatives of the democratic forces of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

2) Institute the constitutional principle of the self-determination of nations, granting them the right to resolve their own fate, and to determine administrative control over territories and provinces, in the spirit of international laws adopted by the United Nations, including the Declaration of Human Rights.

3) Halt the redeployment of divisions from Ukraine to “hot spots”, which gives rise to popular indignation and creates preconditions for the intensification of international conflicts. The deployment of reservists and soldiers of the Soviet army in the role of repressive organs to suppress hostile areas is inadmissible. In extreme cases, only units of the MVD and KGB should be used for such purposes.

4) Secure for the peoples the right to national self-determination in political, economic and cultural-spiritual life, with the right to national armed forces as a guarantee of sovereignty.

5) Bring to the attention of the Soviet government the expedience of deploying UN observers in Iran and Turkey, on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

6) Create effective conditions for the temporary evacuation of the Armenian and other non-Muslim population from Azerbaijan to places where they can live in safety.

7) Provide full and objective coverage of events in Transcaucasia, thereby putting an end to popular indignation regarding disinformation or lack of information.

8) Regard as inadmissible national hostility between Armenians and Azerbaijanis and acts of oppression in Ukraine. Deprive all hostile individuals of the right of residence in Ukraine.

9) Propose that leaders of the Azerbaijani and Armenian fronts conduct negotiations through the mediation of a neutral organization, “Rukh” (Popular Movement of Ukraine), if relations between both fronts make direct negotiations impossible.

Lviv Regional Council of “Rukh”

“Memorial”

Ukrainian Language Society of Taras Shevchenko

Lev Society

Ukrainian Helsinki Union

Armenian Society “Akhpiur”

Jewish Society of Sholom Aleykhem

Pushkin Society of Friends of Ukrainian and Russian Culture

Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Lviv, January 25, 1990

“ROMANIA...YESTERDAY...TODAY...TOMORROW!”

“I don’t want to live the humiliating shameful life my father did!” said a 16-year-old girl who fought in the security catacombs in Bucharest.

Romania yesterday

45 years during which a group of people, a very small group of people supported by Soviet bayonets, applied a method often used by the most notorious murderers of our history. “Who does not do what I am telling him to do, will be arrested, tortured, sent to camps — labor camps or extermination camps — and eventually will be liquidated.”

These tyrants, 1,000 at the beginning, 1 million after 45 years called themselves communists, or Marxists, or Leninists.

I suppose many analysts and researchers of Marxism would be shocked by my definition. But actually this is how life was under so-called communism in Romania.

Why am I saying so about communism?

Because during these 45 years the problem was not how to implement an ideology, but how to stick to a strategy. A strategy with one aim! Only one! **How to maintain power!**

For this aim, no means was forbidden.

And all of a sudden, on December 16 in Timisoara, a town near Romania’s south-east frontier — a revolution broke out...

Was there a revolution supported from abroad? No! Was there an organized revolution? Surely NOT!

Obviously Glasnost and Perestroika played an important role.

Certainly, the losses suffered by communists in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and even Bulgaria, had their contribution in creating a tense atmosphere.

General Ion Pacepa, chief of the secret service in Romania, who fled to the United States, described recently how the communist regime had the adult population under control. Already in 1978, 10 million telephone calls could be listened to and recorded simultaneously.

As far back as 1978, Security had one page handwritten by every adult citizen. A computer, supplied by IBM, model nr. 360, was processing and centralizing the data. A beautiful capitalist help to control the adults.

But what about the children? What about the teenagers?

The tyrants from Bucharest were not afraid of children, were not afraid of teenagers!

Gentlemen... a deadly mistake!

Well, these children from Romania stopped thinking about themselves. They filled the streets demonstrating! Without guns! Hundreds of thousands went out in the streets!

Not the adults! Not the intellectuals! Not the technocrats! Not the peasants!

The Romanian kids fought without weapons against security troops. Troops

equipped with the most sophisticated arms. 10,000 of these kids were killed! Over 80,000 were wounded.

What was it for that these young people fought? For more food? No!

They fought for freedom, for ideals, for their ideals!

I am quoting now some of these youngsters:

“I don’t want any more to talk one language with my parents at home, and another one at school.”

“I want to have the right to read any music magazine. Because I was caught with ‘Melody Maker’, security people beat me up and I was jailed for 3 months.”

“I want to have the right for my own opinion, I want to have the right to make mistakes!”

“I want to be able to travel and meet young people from other countries!”

“I do not want to live the life my father did, full of shame and humiliation...”

“I want a life without communism!”

People from other East European communist countries learned that they could have also been killed by communist bullets.

All because the communist thirst for power has no limit.

The Romanian youth revolution was not a revolution against one tyrant! It was a revolution against communist tyranny which was exposed to the whole world.

Therefore, the Western world has the moral and material duty towards Romania. Without Romania, maybe ten more years of losses would have passed until the world would have understood what is understood now — the total failure of communism!

Romania Today...

Not even one month went by since the tyrants were executed. Now, the terrorists, security troops, who shot wildly at the young demonstrators will be tried in military courts.

A Front of National Salvation was set up — made up of former communist functionaries — the second line of communist leaders — who had some anti-Ceausescu attitudes, but not anti-communists.

The pupils and students who fought in the streets were again ignored. A new mistake!

“They are too young and who has heard of a country run by students?” said one of the former activists from the Central Committee.

Students are a power in Romania today. A well organized, intelligent power.

Their point of view and that of the entire population?

“We do not want to see communists in the leadership!”

The former profiteers swear now that they are no longer communists. Perhaps you can believe them!

The atmosphere, especially in Bucharest, is still confusing. The people of the Front of National Salvation maintain that the opposition does not have suitable leaders. However, the old political parties have reorganized and ask for their rights. The National Peasant Party became more active and more popular. The Front of National Salvation gets one or two non-communist intellectuals, but not in the vital functions.

Anyway, the laws passed by the Front in their few weeks of existence are all democratic. Almost all the old undemocratic laws have been abolished.

Romania Tomorrow

In another opinion poll done in Romania 87% of respondents said the most serious problem at present and in the future is the economy.

Certain structures are destroyed. The industrial development was forced, heavy industry does not have raw materials and energy. The agriculture is planned on false premises. Communism tried to ignore the peasants love for their own land. Reprivatization must be made on a new, modern basis.

What are Romania's economic advantages?

Firstly, it is the only East European country which paid all external debts. Romania will easily get from the Western banks a loan of 10 - 15 billion dollars.

Besides, the Romanian soil is excellent. Between the two world wars, Romania was considered the grain source of Europe.

Some other economic branches have a good basis due to trade schools and specialized faculties, such as aviation, electronics, information and the car industry.

But, without foreign help, nothing is going.

Japanese businessmen have understood this reality and flooded Hungary.

Soon Romania will get stable and that economic power which helps her will harvest a lot of fruits.

In conclusion, let us think of those who through their fight and sacrifice made it possible for us to look to the future of Romania with optimism.

Taipei, January 23, 1990

1990 World Freedom Day Rally

LITHUANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

The Communist Party of Lithuania voted on December 20 to become independent from Moscow, in defiance of warnings by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Politburo. 855 delegates voted in favor of independence, 160 for autonomy within a reformed Soviet party, and 12 abstained.

Most of the speakers at the conference called for Lithuanian independence. Following the vote, the Lithuanian CP declared that its primary goal was the creation of "an independent democratic Lithuanian state."

In a resolution adopted that same night the Lithuanian CP put the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on equal footing with other political and social groups. The Lithuanians also called for Communists in other republics to declare independence. (Latvia, Estonia, Georgia and Armenia are considered likely to take up the challenge.)

"The Lithuanian nation wants independence and statehood," said Vytautas Stakvilevicius a communist and a member of Sajudis. "This is where they see their future, and they are not going to give up this hope... whether our party is independent or not will decide whether Lithuania will be independent or not."

Stakvilevicius was echoing the opening speech of the Lithuanian CP leader Algirdas Brazauskas on December 19, who said although Lithuania's experience with independence was brief, "it left a deep mark in our people's consciousness." Therefore,

*General Robert Close
President EIPS, Brussels*

EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND GLOBAL STRATEGY

Whenever historical events precipitate and radical changes take place, it is quite difficult to take stock of the situation, especially when there are new developments every day.

This sudden acceleration has broken the hour-glass of History with which we have measured 40 years of dichotomy.

In the West were the democracies, grouped around the strongest, the United States, defending freedom. In the East, we found the totalitarian system of Soviet Russia and its satellites, which had been subjugated at the end of World War II. Between the two, there stood a hermetically closed iron curtain whose brutal disappearance not even the greatest optimists could have foreseen.

But today freedom triumphs, Communism is disintegrating and we have lived through an historical autumn.

Let us examine the profound reasons for this upheaval before we consider any future trends concerning the survival of the Gorbachev regime, the future structure of the European Communities, the viability of the Atlantic Alliance, and, last but not least, the destiny of Humanity in a nuclear era.

In the context of global strategy, we cannot limit ourselves only to the purely



he said, restoring Lithuanian statehood was the top priority of the party. The way to independence, according to Brazauskas, "is a process with its own sequence and strategy, its own stages and immediate and long-term goals."

"We are in favor of a sovereign Lithuanian state," said Brazauskas. "I would like to remind you that according to international law, sovereignty means political independence and the independence of the state in its domestic and foreign policy."

Speaking before the vote of December 20, Raimondas Kasauskas, a writer, reminded the delegates that Mr. Gorbachev had thus described the changes in Eastern Europe, "Every nation has the right to choose its own way to develop its social structure." "All European nations includes us," Mr. Kasauskas said. "We are no worse than anyone else in Eastern Europe."

Most Lithuanian political leaders said they did not believe that Kremlin would use force against their country. "It is difficult to imagine, and I would say highly improbable, that while Gorbachev is talking about non-interference in Eastern Europe that he would send tanks into Vilnius," said Arvydas Juozaitis of Sajudis. "Maybe they will be smart and decide to recognize the Lithuanian party."

"No one in the party is worried," said a high-ranking Lithuanian CP official, who asked not to be named. "Everyone thinks that an outside party has no right to interfere in the affairs of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and as of yesterday (Dec. 20., Ed.), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an outside party to us."

*Based on Associated Press, Reuters, Newsday and
The New York Times dispatches*



Seminar on Political Development in Eastern Europe and Mainland China. At the Presidium table are the speakers. Dr Tze-Chi Chao opening the Seminar. Gen. Robert Close is second from the left.

military aspects of the balance of power, however important they may be. It seems to me that the key to the events we are witnessing at the moment lies in the ideological and economic breakdown of Communism and therefore my presentation will be in three parts:

I. The Internal Situation of the USSR — Internal Problems

- Decline of the economy
- Disintegration of the Communist ideology
- Resurgence of nationalist feelings and demographic imbalances

II. Foreign Policies: Planetary and European

- The peripheral withdrawal
- The new European situation

III. The Position of the Free World

in general and Europe in particular within a system in constant evolution

The Internal Situation of the USSR

Glasnost and Perestroika have been the key words that marked the arrival to power of the man who could be compared to Peter the Great: Mikhail Gorbachev. Thus a dogmatic period was followed by pragmatism. Nevertheless, the recent reforms

have been rather a consequence of profound necessities: to overcome the incredible economic backwardness and to respond to the urgent needs of the consumer market.

It is almost impossible to paint an exhaustive picture, in such a short time-lapse, of the **ruinous conditions of an economy in complete disarray**, just before catastrophe may occur.

Some figurative examples may make it easier to understand the extent of this economic disintegration. It will be a type of catalogue listing some disasters of which I shall only mention the most significant ones:

First of all, the **agriculture**. The 24 million farmers in the USSR are by far more numerous in proportion than the farmers in Western nations (including Japan), but their output consists only of 22% of the agricultural yield in the Western World. A Soviet farmer feeds 7 persons whereas his Dutch counterpart delivers food for 112 persons. One year ago a kilo of carrots cost 25 kopeks in the Soviet Union and has now risen to 2 rubles. The price of onions, for example, has quadrupled in one year. On the other hand, one hundred thousand square miles of individual plots (about 4% of the total cultivated land) supplies 25% of the agricultural produce.

At the **budgetary planning level** the Soviet deficit amounts to 100 billion rubles and some economists, as for example Jan Vanous, estimate it to represent 13% of the Gross National Product (GNP) (The US deficit was 3% of the GNP).

Soviet bank deposits have reached the enormous sum of 460 billion rubles, representing approximately the equivalent of one year of consumer goods expenses. The answer to why this is so is very simple: there is nothing available on the market and there is a tragic lack of even the most current staple goods. The food products situation is worse now than it had been under Tzar Nicolas II in 1913 and it can easily be calculated that about 40 million Soviet citizens live in poverty.

Another example can be found in the social domain where one out of six hospital beds is located in a building without running water; one out of three beds is located in a building without inside toilets; half of the schools have no central heating systems, running water or inside toilets.

Since the beginning of 1989, the coal production has decreased by 25 million tons (of which 7 million tons are due to the strikes in Kuzbass), a situation which has further been aggravated by the state of disrepair of the transportation system.

Finally, the exchange value of the tourist ruble has been readjusted to 9/10 of its value. The new exchange rate is now 6,26 rubles for one dollar instead of the former 0,62. As to the commercial convertible ruble, it is being devaluated by 50% this month.

One of the most tragic examples of this disarray can be found in Armenia where 400,000 victims, inhabitants of Semnakan, are still waiting for lodgings after the earthquake on 7th December 1988. Francois Heisbourg, Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London, summarised the situation perfectly with the following description: "Soviet economy is a locomotive that has been launched at great speed on battered railroads, with unreliable switches and without any traffic signs!"

To this very somber picture we must add the **problem of a resurgence of nationalist aspirations**. There are fifteen republics and one hundred different ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. As General de Gaulle already stated very prophetically many years ago: "The Soviet Union has its Algeria inside its frontiers!"

For it is beyond doubt that the USSR is the last colonial empire that begins to

show its cracks under the onslaught of nationalist aspirations for greater autonomy and for the assertion of their own culture as well as national consciousness. (Not only for greater autonomy, but for complete national independence. — *The Editor*).

The nationalist agitations started in December 1986 at Alma-Ata where the Kazakhs protested in two days of riots against the nomination of a Byelorussian First Secretary as head of the Communist party of Kazakhstan. The events in Alma-Ata marked the breaking point between the past and the present and since then the situation in the peripheral areas of the USSR has deteriorated considerably. The most striking example is that of the three Baltic republics, but they are by no means an exception as we have seen similar problems in Azerbaijan.

What will happen when the Ukrainian Republic, with 52 million inhabitants, of whom 74% are Ukrainians, falls into dissidence? Let us not forget the mass demonstrations of April 1989 in Tbilissi, supporting independence in Georgia, which were savagely repressed by the Army.

The nationalist problem will certainly play a crucial role for the future of Gorbachev and, subsequently, for that of the Soviet empire itself.

In addition to the resurgence of nationalist feelings, there exists the problem of demographic imbalances, eloquently described by Helene Carrere d'Encausse in her book "L'Empire eclate".

Although the Russians control the Army (97 out of 100 generals are Slavs, the others Ukrainians), the Politbureau (90%), the teaching profession, the mass media and the police, their population declines continuously while the population in the central Asian republics triples at the same time.

The rate of demographic growth, for example, is 29/1000 in Uzbekistan, 26/1000 in Kirghistan against 7/1000 in Byelorussia, 8/1000 in Russia and 10/1000 in Georgia.

Soon the 50 million Muslims in the USSR will have become 80 million. It is clear that the excitement seething in the various nationalities is an irreversible movement and makes the central power confronted with it quite impotent.

The Death of Communism

I believe it is needless to insist on this fact as the international news media have informed us complacently about the crumbling Communist parties in nearly all satellite countries: Poland, Hungary the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and, most recently, the last bastion of Stalinist dictatorship, Rumania.

It is only the Italian Communist Party (PCI) which repudiates its name as if the mere mention of the word Communist would engender a feeling of rejection or revulsion. The Secretary General himself, Achille Occhetto, said that the name has been "dishonoured" by those who built totalitarian systems in their countries.

Quite frankly, let us admit that the extent and speed of these developments is just too fast for us.

It is certain that the storming of the "East European Bastille" will result in consequences of enormous proportions, to which I shall return later, not least of which is the problem of a reunification of Germany. Gorbachev had the following comment on that subject: "The day the reunification of Germany is announced, a communique of two lines will publish the fact that a Soviet marshal is sitting in my chair." The

greatest danger lies in the problem that Russian nationalism, hostile to foreigners and militaristic, might become the position of withdrawal of a diminished Communist ideology.

What a spectacle to see the ancient idols fall from their pedestals! The formerly all powerful Communist parties have lost their supremacy and, what is most remarkable, it fills the masses with hate and resentment who are exasperated by the heavy weight of an oppression that has hung over their freedom; governments are swept away like straw figures and replaced by opposition leaders and the promise of free elections in 1990 galvanises the masses in Hungary, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania and even in Yugoslavia significant cracks in the system can clearly be heard, not to mention Rumania and the bloody uprisings that have led to the elimination of Ceausescu.

I wrote thirteen years ago in my book “**Europe without defence**”¹:

“But since the Soviet Union has extended its area of influence to Eastern Europe, the problem of internal security has taken on new dimensions and it is significant that the Soviet Union’s only direct armed interventions have been against satellite states. **Any attempts at secession, liberalization, or excessive independence are liable to spread throughout the whole.** Such a possibility would fundamentally compromise the defensive strategy of the Soviet Union and the security represented by the barrier of satellite states. **Furthermore, the contagion of liberalization might spread through the Soviet Union and shake the structure of the regime.**”

And I returned to the theme in 1981, “in illo tempore non suspecto”²:

“In the East similar symptoms have been perceptible for some years. One cannot indefinitely exert pressure on people’s aspirations towards more autonomy and more freedom. Force and constraint are certainly powerful aids to the maintenance of, by violent repression if necessary, an association sprung from military occupation and the suppression of all forms of national independence. **But without these two elements, the whole artificial construction would collapse like a house of cards, and free elections would make this abundantly clear.**”

You must admit that the author of these words had a certain sense of premonition, even one decade before the events.

Within our organization, we can only congratulate ourselves on the continuity of our activities, based on legitimate foundations, in our long struggle against Communism and its inherent oppression as well as totalitarian constraints.

We are being reproached of being **anti-Communist**, we have been attacked, slandered, insulted, accused of being fascists or even neo-nazis, by the very people whom we wanted to defend and make aware of the dangers of an ideology which we have for innumerable years denounced the abuses of.

And now events have finally precipitated and proven that we have been right! Communism and Marxism-Leninism have been swept away like straw dolls by the rightful anger of the people who were expected to serve these ideologies. We have been right all along and the last nail has been driven into the coffin of Communism. Is this not the greatest reward for our organization whose aims, repeated a hundred times over, have always been the struggle for freedom and democratic values, self-determination of the peoples and the defence of human rights?

Certainly, there are still some indomitable pockets of neo-stalinism and the Chinese bastion in Asia has not yet witnessed the Spring of Peking. However, the great

breath of freedom has shaken the structures of gloomy fortresses and the contagiousness of this example will succeed in totally eliminating the remains of a perverse ideology whose main reason for existing was to keep millions of human beings in chains. Therefore, the first fall of a totalitarian Communist regime represents above all a symbolical value to the world, i.e. the inevitable evolution towards freedom.

Foreign Policies: Planetary and European

The following historical axiom is quite well-known: "That which is gained in space, is lost in intensity." This is still true and could be applied to Alexander the Great, who drove into the heart of the Kingdom of Porrrhus, via Susa, Persepolis and Ecbatana, but was unable to hellenise in depth the immenseness of his conquests, as it could also be applied to Napoleon and Hitler who surged eastwards on the Russian plains. In the near future, this may apply equally to the United States, "policeman of the world", or to the Soviets who are still dangerously adventurous in all corners of the planet, but increasingly incapable of producing the resources for supporting a policy that reached too far.

The economic breakdown, about which we spoke at length, explains thus their leaving in abeyance certain projects or withdrawing from enterprises launched in Africa and Asia.

Necessity rather than virtue is at the origin of this sudden lull along a frontline where turbulence and confrontation were the order of the day. Afghanistan, Angola and the Cuban retreat, South-East Asia, normalization of relations with Peking, attempts of a rapprochement with Japan, less obvious support to Central America, all these are stages of a process which seems less surprising when we recall a sentence by Louis XV: "When the house is on fire, one does not worry about the stables!".

What good is it to maintain external conquests painfully when the central building is crumbling on all sides?

However, it is above all in Europe where the new situation reveals the most astonishing aspects: the end of an era created in Yalta and sustained by the Cold War. We must bear in mind that Gorbachev is undoubtedly not the primary cause of these events recently witnessed, although they most likely would not have taken place without the tacit agreement of the Kremlin Master, as much as the revolution of 1989 did not occur just because Mr. Gorbachev wanted it so.

The following words by Jean Cocteau are quite apt: "And as these mysteries are beyond us, let us pretend we have been the organisers!".

The change of this precarious order, under which the Europeans slumbered peacefully for so long, will not take place without raising a great number of problems.

How are we going to explain to the already feeble European public opinion that the USSR is perhaps not at all a threat for tomorrow morning but that a risk remains for the day after?

And if the Soviet threat no longer exists, would the United States isolationist tendency not emerge inevitably, decoupling Europe from the United States and leaving Europe under medium or long-term influence?

Central Europe is apparently irreversibly engaged in a pluralistic and democratic "post-Communism" movement, but are we going to exchange the Yalta system of 1945 with the problems of the Balkan of 1914? And even if democracy has for several

years developed in a historical sense, she has never been save from being violated or turned upside down.

Finally, let me quote the old cliché: “NATO is there to keep the Soviets out, the Americans in and the Germans down”, which seems to have lost all meaning. Geography being what it is, a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and United States troops from the old continent would not be beneficial for the security of Europe.

There remains the central problem, the pet theme of all editorials written over the last months, subject of summits, of meetings of the Twelve, bone of contention for some, immense hope for others: the question of German reunification.

The Soviets do not mince their words in this respect. According to Gherasimov, spokesman of the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs, “public opinion is not ready for an immediate fusion of the two states. The reunification of Germany constitutes at this time a purely intellectual exercise.” For Moscow it is the reaffirmation of the intangibility of the frontiers established at the end of the last war and not a question of changing the present order.

If there is consensus on the Western side about the right to self-determination, it is generally felt that an eventual reunification should be in the context of the Europe of the Twelve. This became particularly apparent after the summit in Strasbourg on 10th December 1989.

In short, Europe would adopt the vocation of faith of the young Saint Augustine who, when confronted with the question of chastity, said: “An excellent idea but please, oh Lord, not now.” A reunification would immediately create a series of apparently insolvable questions, at least in the near future. Where exactly would the enlarged new Federal Republic stand? As part of the Atlantic Alliance or in the Warsaw Pact? And if not there, would the price of reunification mean neutrality? The USSR would never permit a reunified Germany within the Western fortress of the Atlantic Alliance.

What will happen to the 400,000 Soviet soldiers stationed in the GDR? Are they going to envisage a simultaneous Soviet and United States withdrawal? But where to? No appropriate infrastructure exists for this in the area of Kyiv or Byelorussia. Three specialists of this question, Mr. von Thadden, an historian at the University of Göttingen, Thierry de Montbrial, Director of the French Institute for International Relations, and Helmut Sonnenfeld, former counsellor to Kissinger, share the view that a reunification is not desirable in the immediate future.

It seems that the rebirth of the German **nation** — which, by the way, has never been questioned as a whole — is inevitable and could very well take place in the form of the existence of the two German **states** living in harmony but with two different political systems.

I hope you will forgive me for taking the liberty of raising the problem of Taiwan in this context, even though I realise that it is rather delicate. I believe there are many similarities and similar possible solutions. Between Mainland China and Taiwan, the history, tradition, culture, customs, the race, the language all form a common bond which makes up the Chinese **NATION**, just as there exists a German nation.

However, the two political systems are diametrically opposed to each other, but recognition of the Republic of China as an independent state would enable Taiwan to break out of its diplomatic isolation and devote its autonomous status to maintaining its incredibly dynamic economy, financial prosperity without equal and a democracy

which just affirmed itself during the last elections.

It is nevertheless quite obvious that my speculation is purely an internal problem which I have only raised as an example of the similarities in the case of the two Germanys and in view of the exceptional events we have been witnessing.

The Free World in General and Europe in Particular

Part III of my presentation deals with the **Free World in general**, the United States and **Europe in particular** who are faced with upheavals of an unprecedented nature.

A new condominium of the superpowers, a second Yalta, is neither feasible nor desirable, in spite of the Malta summit and the next one this year.

Europe, regularly informed but never consulted, can no longer be absent from future discussions on its own destiny. Furthermore, there cannot be any formal contacts between the two Germanys without the participation of the Four Powers who had divided the territory at the end of World War II.

Let us not forget that the German Democratic Republic, proclaimed in October 1949, has been admitted to the United Nations in 1973 and was recognised as de facto at the Final Act of Helsinki in 1975, which was signed by the United States, Canada, the USSR and all European nations — except Albania — with a total of 35 signatories.

This represents a dilemma to the European Communities: should they opt for a club of Western democracies or for a weaker union including the Eastern as well as Western nations? But in that case, are we not going into the direction of a social-democratic order in Central Europe, in the “Spanish” fashion, thus encountering the views of Gorbachev on the “European common house”?

It is clear that neither haste nor improvisation are in place.

Concluding, just a few words on the **strategic situation** in general and the **security of Europe** in particular. Is the viability of the Atlantic Alliance assured within the framework of conventional forces reductions, which Sir Geoffrey Howard ironically named “competitive striptease”?

This leads us to four established facts:

The **first one** is the **widening of the gap between the United States and Europe**. The defence expenditure reductions of 180 billions dollars over a period of five years, announced by the Secretary of Defense Cheney, as well as the withdrawal of 60,000 US soldiers from Europe, only underline a trend that had been apparent for several years and emphasise the fact that 64% of all NATO expenses are sustained by the United States.

These trends are worrisome because in the rather long term, the decoupling between the United States and Europe would leave Europe under Soviet influence, which has been the constant objective of the USSR.

The **second factor** is the obvious **reluctance of public opinion and national parliaments** to approve defence expenditures compatible with a minimum of security. This attitude is only reinforcing itself when confronted with spectacular USSR proposals and the basic wave sweeping away Communist parties in Eastern Europe will weaken the conventional forces of the Atlantic Alliance even more.

The **third factor** is the pronounced **erosion of nuclear credibility**, initiated with the elimination of the INF, which most probably will be followed by a triple zero option concerning the so-called short-range weapons (of a range of less than 500 km). It will

be almost impossible to persuade the West Germans to accept the modernization of the LANCE missiles. What would be their target? Warsaw? East Berlin? Or Budapest? The determined opposition of Minister Genscher to any modernization whatsoever is increasingly being taken seriously and makes the replacement of short-range missiles rather illusory.

The **fourth** and last **factor**, but not the least important one, concerns the **mood of public opinion**, which has been seized by Gorbymania and submitted to a psychological offensive without equal that has led to the demobilisation of the minds.

To what extent can we still have confidence in a strategy which is dependent on a nuclear dimension and which is more and more deprived of its means, based on a flexible response without intermediary phases and a forward defence without conventional forces?

We are certainly living in times of great hopes but also in times of great, potential dangers. What would happen if Gorbachev, creator of the new current of liberalization, would suddenly disappear, eliminated by surges of exasperated nationalist feelings and victim of the disintegration of the Soviet empire?

In the case of total denuclearisation, thus disappearance of deterrance, the Euro-Asian continent would be ruled by that nation which is in possession of a definite superiority in conventional forces. In spite of a visible reduction of Soviet forces, they still maintain a considerable advantage in almost all areas.

It will take about five to six years to destroy the 38,000 tanks of the USSR that have been promised to be demolished, whereas the production of new devices is two to three times that of the United States. Deployment of the SS-25 carrying one mobile nuclear head continues and 170 of them are already in place. Modernization of the SS-18 also pursues its course, bringing them to a total of 308 from 154, and two new ballistic missile submarines have just left the docks.

What does this mean? While the psychological threat seems to diminish, the reality of the Soviet military potential should make us think twice, even if the risk of a surprise attack appears less plausible now and the slow demise of the Warsaw Pact could have been foreseen.

We are in the process of witnessing an historical drama which has seen the breakdown in blood and tears of the Communist regimes and which announces an uncertain future that could still be determined by us. Will it consecrate the advent of pluralistic democracies, the triumph of freedom, the blossoming of human rights, or will it mean a return to nationalistic feelings, (it would be more proper to use here "excessive nationalist" or "chauvinist feelings" — *Editor*), the resurgence of conservative forces and the reverse of socialism in a Europe that had refused to assume its responsibilities?

The last decade of this millenium will certainly be fraught with replies to these fundamental questions.

¹ Page 21. "Europe Without Defence?", January 1977

² Page 21. "Time for Action", November 1981

OUR HELP IS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN THE COURAGE TO FIGHT

Mr. Chairman of the WACL/APACL and ROC's chapter, Mr. General Secretary,
Dear Delegates,

Once more I have the great pleasure in meeting you, here in Taipei, at the WACL Pre-Conference Executive Board Committee meeting. On behalf of you all, I thank the ROC Host Chapter for its hospitality and organization. It is always with happiness that we come to Taiwan and participate in the 1990 World Freedom-Day Activities.

There is action in all the Eastern European countries and we are following with great attention the development of the breakdown of the communist ideology. The WACL, after years of strong fight against the communists, after advice and warnings against this ideology, this form of government with a unique party, with corrupt heads in all communist countries, with the gulags, and the death of millions and millions of people, is very happy to note to the whole world, that WACL was on the right side. But it is not the moment to have illusions about the opening of the Eastern European countries. Communism cannot be reformed, it can only be destroyed. The democratic system is not yet adopted. What all Eastern European countries need at this moment is food, new technology, private manufacturing, private economy. After 40 years of communist party rule and government, it is a real difficulty to adopt a free economic system. The US and the Western countries have now given billions and billions of dollars to help the population and the new small industries. We have the hope, that involving our financial and free economic system will bring a new form of political thought and democracy to them.

But our free world has to resolve other problems. Firstly there is the situation of the two Germanys. Not only Great Britain or France, but all the other countries in Europe are afraid about the new strong power of a united Germany in economic and political terms. Nobody can forget the two World Wars which destroyed all European countries. German politics is, and always was the domination of all countries in Europe. After we defeated the communist ideology, we don't agree to begin a new era with another dangerous and strong power. With our enthusiasm for the disappearance of communism we may forget the other dangers.

In my eyes US foreign politics is not acceptable. The new flirtation and contacts with Red China after the Tianamen killing, the military intervention in Panama and the speech in Berlin by the State of Secretary James Baker asking that both Germanys become one and including it in NATO are very dangerous. Does he mean it is a very serious friend of the free world? We are disappointed about such a political speech and position. We cannot say: communism is dead. If we look at the World map, in the direction of Latin-America, we see Cuba and Nicaragua. In Asia; North Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Mainland China, Vietnam. In Africa, how many governments are depending on arms from the Soviet Union; for example Angola, Ethiopia, Lybia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are all friends of Moscow. Old Europe is giving food to African countries and the Soviet Union offers and sells arms. It is a difference! And we

are giving the same help to Vietnam without asking them to remove the Soviet Navy war bases. The Soviet Union pays 10 million dollars every day to help Cuba's economy. And do not forget the 40,000 Cuban soldiers who are still living in Angola. In Cuba they would be without jobs.

Since our extraordinary Conference in Brisbane, we can be happy with the new situation in the communist countries, but we deplore that about 20,000 people died in Rumania fighting for their liberty against a tyrant. I ask you in their memory for a minute of silence. We cannot say: communism is dead. Communist ideology yes, but not all communist forces. All freedom movements in East European countries are accepted by the Soviet Union under the condition to stay in the Warsaw pact. And the participation of a communist minority in all Eastern European governments is an obligation. It will always be a professional influence and a strong power inside Eastern European countries. Do not forget the statement of Lenin: denounce one day the affirmations of the day before. Gorbachev is no different, he delivered the same speech. We need to pay attention and to try to analyse the new situations in many parts of the world. Hidden behind a smile, there are perhaps dangerous unknown projects against the freedom of our countries.

I hope that you understand that WACL is not at the end. We will have to find a new strategy, new words, new ideas to fight for freedom and liberty in the world. Many people need our help to maintain the courage to fight, especially the people on the Chinese Mainland, in North Korea, in Indochina and in the nations still enslaved in this GULAG of the peoples called the Soviet Union, such as the Baltic States, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, etc.

I hope we will have a very good Executive Board meeting with a new approach, permitting to resolve the present questions submitted to the WACL: the two big communist superpowers are badly hurt, they are still there, and perhaps even more dangerous now that they feel their end.

Taipei, January 19th, 1990

Hon. G. Aubry, WACL Chairman



Members of the Executive Board Meeting. In the Centre, Council Chairperson Mme. Genevieve Aubry, to the right, Dr Tze-Chi Chao, WACL ROC Chairman

NO FORCE CAN STOP THE BOILING SURGE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

Madame Chairlady, Distinguished Executives, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I started taking charge of the ROC Chapter last July and this is the first WACL/APACL Executive Meeting I am attending in person. I am very happy being with you for discussions on matters concerning the Leagues. On behalf of the host chapter, I would like first to express our warmest welcome to all the participants.

Because major details of the 22nd WACL and 36th APACL Conferences are to be worked out during the scheduled sessions as the agenda calls for, I will at this point limit myself to a presentation of the general world situation and my humble opinion about WACL/APACL endeavors hereafter.

Many momentous changes took place on the international stage in the past year. In Asia was the bloody Tienanmen Incident of June 4. Hundreds of thousands of young intellectuals and others on the Chinese Mainland stood up for freedom and democracy. Although their demonstrations were ruthlessly put down by the Communists, the impact they generated reached far and wide. Changes followed in quick succession in Eastern Europe — Poland, Hungary Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, and Rumania. Communism got discarded and non-Communist governments emerged one after another. The most dramatic was the case of Rumania where the totalitarian regime of Nicolae Ceausescu got overthrown overnight. A week ago, on the 12th of this month, the new government in Bucharest outlawed the Communist Party.



1990 World Freedom Day Reception

Other latest developments include the pro-democracy demonstrations in Outer Mongolia and the Bulgarian decision to abolish the Communist Party's guaranteed monopoly on power. We see clearly that Communism is doomed to fall apart.

In Moscow, the very center of International Communism, Mikhail Gorbachev is in a distressing predicament. The whole Soviet Union is in danger of dissolution because the three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — have been loudly clamoring for independence, because similar national liberation movements keep mounting in the other non-Russian republics, and because ethnic clashes are growingly alarming.

What I have briefly said leads to one conclusion: No force whatsoever can stop the boiling surge of this age for freedom and democracy, and Communism, now at the end of its tether, certainly will be engulfed.

This being the situation, I submit that WACL and APACL ought to strive as follows:

Firstly, we must enhance the organizational foundation. Unity and cooperation must be strengthened so that WACL will be leading the march for freedom and democracy in all regions, countries, and areas.

Secondly, liaison and cooperation ought to be stepped up in every country and region with other anti-Communist and freedom-loving groups and individuals, including those organized abroad by democracy-fighters from the Chinese mainland. All means of communication have to be used for the widest possible dissemination of messages so that anti-Communist campaigns will produce substantive results.

Thirdly, the WACL/APACL Movement should grow in the direction of the youth. Young people should be educated and organized as fresh troops of anti-Communism.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Anti-Communism is the Republic of China's fundamental national policy, but the target is not just the Chinese Communist Party. We are opposed to all the Communists of the World, and we will fight on so long as Communism and Communists remain somewhere. The WACL/APACL goal is freedom for all mankind and peace for the entire world. Let us march on together resolutely for the soonest overall victory of freedom and democracy.

Thank you very much.

Taipei, January 19, 1990

Dr. Tze-Chi Chao
President, ROC Chapter
at Joint WACL/APACL Executive Meeting

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

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

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

MESSAGE TO THE 1990 WORLD FREEDOM DAY RALLY

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today, as people of all walks of life in the ROC cooperate to hold this World Freedom Day Rally, it is a great honor and pleasure for me to be here and to add my voice to your resolute expression of anti-communism, and to your vow to support the valiant actions of the enslaved peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom. I would first like to express my highest admiration for your contributions, and also to extend a warm welcome to our international guests from all parts the globe, who have traveled such great distances to be here today.

Thirty-six years ago today, over 14,000 anti-communist freedom fighters rejected the Chinese communist tyranny on the battlefields of Korea, and returned to the



*Premier Lee Huan with ABN President
S. Stetsko*

Republic of China's bastion of national revival, Taiwan. It is truly moving that this kind of staunch insistence on what was right could occur at a time when international appeasement was at its peak, and the Chinese Communists were particularly bellicose. Thus people worldwide all know that in the minds of the Chinese people, there is only one China, the Republic of China. The Chinese people are by nature a peace-and-democracy-loving people who cannot be destroyed by any tyranny. The laudable sentiments of these anti-communist freedom fighters further strengthened the convictions of fighters for

justice around the world, and stirred up the vigorous determination of the people, military and civilian alike, on our bastion of national revival to plunge ahead to win the victory of reuniting and reconstructing the nation.

The world situation has experienced many twists and turns over the part decades. The confrontation between free countries and the Communist Bloc has been constantly evolving. However, we in the Republic of China have always remained in the democratic camp, implemented a policy of anti-communism, and struggled through hardship without slackening. Our national power is growing stronger by the day. Politically, we are vigorously implementing constitutional democracy; people have the legal rights to organize political parties and to conduct public demonstrations; they enjoy full personal freedom and freedom of speech; and elections for public officials at all levels are held regularly. Economically, our people now enjoy a high standard of living that is unprecedented in Chinese history; under the thrust of our policies of

liberalization and internationalization, the ROC has risen to be one of the brightest new stars in the international economic community. Diplomatically, we are actively and pragmatically involving ourselves in matters of international concern, and carrying out our international responsibilities; we are making friends with many different nations; and our horizons for participating in activities in the international community are constantly broadening. Education has made significant strides, both in quality and quantity, and we are currently in the process of planning for the extension of compulsory education to 12 years. We have also invested solid efforts and made notable progress in the areas of cultural renaissance and scientific and technological development. Taken together, these achievements combine to form the world-acclaimed “Taiwan experience.”

China has over the past century been searching for a “path to modernization.” This path has now been created for all Chinese people to see. Using the “Taiwan experience” as a blueprint, China will certainly be able to achieve its objective of modernization in the shortest possible amount of time.

In their forty years of totalitarian rule, the Chinese Communists committed many crimes against our nation and the Chinese people. Most disheartening is their deprivation of the people’s basic freedoms, their stifling of the people’s creativity, and their negation of the people’s inborn good nature. The entire mainland subsequently became a closed society — poor and chaotic, cold and alienated. It is thus unconscionable that when our mainland countrymen requested their Chinese Communist leaders, through rational and peaceful means, to institute reform and liberalization measures, the reaction of the Chinese Communist authorities was massacre and suppression, unabashedly taking a hostile stand toward the entire Chinese people.



General View from the Freedom Rally

It is particularly tragic that, just as the communist countries of Eastern Europe were responding to popular will and making a clean break with the heresies of Marxism, the Chinese Communists not only did not go with the tide and learn from the example of Eastern Europe, but hardened their totalitarian attitude, muffing the calls for freedom. Using even more totalitarian means, they destroyed the ideal of democracy, and revealed their benighted and cruel nature to the whole world. We Chinese, both at home and abroad, must all arise together to condemn and take punitive action against these atrocities!

In the forty years that they have occupied the mainland, the Chinese communists have inflicted deep wounds on the Chinese people, forcing 1.1 billion mainland compatriots to contend with backwards production methods, a closed society, and spiritual suffering, even as the rest of humanity enjoyed the benefits of twentieth-century democracy and scientific development. How can the Chinese Communists ever expect to succeed in shirking their responsibilities, and continue to cow the people into submission? Should they not return the power to the people immediately and allow them to decide what kind of life they want to live and which path they wish to take? The facts are obvious. The ruling faction of the Chinese Communist party, in order to protect the vested interests of their party or faction, the special privileges and private interests of a very small minority, are willing to cast aside any concern for the people, their countrymen, and are unwilling to change their hostile attitude toward them. They are unwilling to relegate Marxist-Leninist theory to the ash-heap of history, even though it has been proven a failure after more than 70 years of implementation in the Soviet Union, and more than 40 years in Eastern Europe and the Chinese mainland. They still cling to their "four cardinal principles," and prefer to follow communism to the grave. Thus the only way to rescue our mainland compatriots from the tyranny of communism, and to enable them, like the people of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu, to live under a system founded in the Three Principles of the People, and enjoy political democracy, economic freedom, social equality, and freedom of speech, is to rally overseas Chinese, using our bastion of national revival as a base, and summon our mainland compatriots to unite in good faith and join in our struggle. This is the most reliable and rapid way to success; of this we are thoroughly confident. We approach this task with a bold sense of mission.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The rays of the victory of China's reunification have already appeared on the horizon. At this critical juncture, we should contribute our greatest efforts to advance our national development and lay a firm foundation to oppose communism and restore the nation. At the same time, we should use unofficial, peaceful, active, safe, and gradual means to conduct our mainland work; expand the guiding influence of the Taiwan experience on our mainland compatriots; and accelerate the fall of the Chinese Communist totalitarian regime, to build a free and democratic new China with an equitable distribution of wealth.

I thank you and wish each of you good health and happiness.

HUNGARIAN FREE DEMOCRATS

(Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz Alliance of Free Democrats)

WE ARE THE PARTY OF FREEDOM AND SOLIDARITY. Following the traditions of European and Hungarian liberalism, we fight for the freedom of the individual, for human and civil rights, for the restriction of state power and for a modern market economy. We also connect ourselves to the traditions of social democracy. We fight for the right of the workers to form independent organizations to defend their interests and for a society which seeks to secure a dignified life for every individual.

WE ARE UNYIELDING OPPONENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY-STATE. The communist system that was introduced after 1947 is not to be reformed, but must be replaced. We are radicals but not extremists. We reject all violence, threats of political blackmail and any attempt to create confusion and chaos. In the interest of this peaceful revolution, we remain ready to negotiate with those in possession of power. But we are not ready to accept an agreement that helps the survival of communist power.

WE OPPOSE ANY FORM OF DICTATORSHIP, be it the totalitarian regime of the left or the right, or an authoritarian regime. We stand opposed not only to a dictator whose power is based on the army, but also to a dictator whose power rests on popular acclaim. We stand equally opposed to any continuation of forty years of communist dictatorship, and also to any revival of the rigidly hierarchical Hungary of interwar authoritarianism. We want instead a modern liberal democracy in which majority rights are guaranteed by the rule of law.

WE WANT HUNGARY TO JOIN WITH EUROPE COMPLETELY. We challenge the idea that our backwardness by Western standards is anything to be preserved. We reject the illusion that the particular Hungarian past points to a “third road” that makes no connection to “Western” liberalism or “Eastern” socialism. We want to proceed along the path of the worthiest Hungarian traditions established by the great 1848 reformers. Along with Eötvös and Deák, Széchenyi and Kossuth we believe that progress in Hungary is possible only by rising to Western standards.

WE FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL. The very word freedom is defined by individual rights: The rights of the individual versus state power, the rights of the worker versus the employer, the rights of the entrepreneur versus bureaucracy, and the rights of the minority versus the majority. Only individuals guaranteed these rights can form a free society. It is this principle that sets us apart from socialist or communist collectivism to the left of us and national-Christian-conservative collectivism to the right of us.

WE SEE OURSELVES AS PART OF THE ENTIRE HUNGARIAN NATION. We feel strong solidarity with Hungarians outside Hungary’s borders. We reject the dangerous illusion that those borders can be revised. We fight instead for a future in which borders do not separate Hungarian minorities in other countries from Hungarians at home. We fight for the individual and collective rights of minority Hungarians abroad, we fight for their rights to cultivate freely their language, culture and historical traditions.

WE HOLD THE CONVICTION THAT THE DOMESTIC MINORITIES ARE ENTITLED TO THESE SAME RIGHTS. We have a moral obligation to raise our

voices for their rights as well. We defend Hungarian democracy and civil liberties when we condemn any public expression of anti-Gypsy and anti-Semitic sentiments. We seek to spread awareness that the Gypsy minority can free itself from its present position on the margin of Hungarian society only with the material and moral help of the majority. We also support the guarantee of full minority rights of Germans, Rumanians, South Slavs, and Slovaks in Hungary.

WE STAND FOR THE FULL SEPARATION OF STATE AND CHURCH. All forms of state supervision over any religious institution is to be abolished. The practice of religion, both individually and collectively, is the exclusive province of the believers themselves. At the same time, the convictions of non-believers are to be respected as their private affairs. We favour the reopening of church schools and more generally, we favour free access to religious education. At the same time, we oppose the teaching of religion as a compulsory subject in secular schools. Churches should be free to participate in political life, but they should not be able to act as part of the state.

WE AFFIRM TOLERANCE IN POLITICS, CULTURE, EDUCATION AND IN THE CONDUCT OF EVERDAY LIFE. As everywhere in the modern world, a great variety of views and lifestyles exist side by side in Hungarian society. The state has no right to force any one of these views or styles on its citizens. But citizens themselves are also obliged to respect this variety, in particular, views and styles they do not share. We resist any attempt by any group, even the majority, to force its own moral convictions on others by law.

WE WANT A MODERN MARKET ECONOMY. The crisis and the continuing decline of the Hungarian economy cannot be countered with limited reforms. The economy based on state ownership and direction from above has proved to be a failure. It is essential to recognize and allow the development of private property, in its widest variety ranging from individually owned enterprises to cooperatives and shareholding corporations, and to companies and banks operating according to the rule of the market. The market mechanism should be allowed to decide which enterprises and forms of organizations will predominate. The state should not take upon itself any more supervision of economic affairs than in any developed market economy.

WE WANT AN ECONOMY OPEN TO THE WORLD MARKET. Further isolation would only lead us to further decline. The reason for our indebtedness lies not in our having opened up to the world economy, but in the incapacity of the communist system to adapt to international competition, and in the fact that the communist leaders prolonged the agony by irresponsibly negotiating further loans. We should not fear foreign capital, but rather the inability of our state economy to revive.

WE ADVOCATE FREE TRADE UNIONS AND A WELL-ESTABLISHED SYSTEM OF SOCIAL WELFARE. Even the best market economy cannot automatically eliminate the vulnerability of wage-earners and old-age pensioners. Therefore we support the creation of strong organizations to represent these interests, the idea of workers' participation, and a system of social insurance operating on market principles, as well as state assistance to those most in need. Any economy based on the principle of performance can achieve balanced development only if market standards are combined with an effective social policy based on the principle of solidarity.

WE WANT A HEALTHY HUNGARY. Freedom should also mean freedom for life. We are fighting for a country in which neither state power nor market forces are allowed to damage a healthy natural environment. Technology or the market must not

become our masters. We want to harness them, and not to become their slaves. Development should not be measured in kilowatts and profits only, but in quality of life, ecological sanity, freedom of thought, cultural richness.

WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT AND NEUTRAL HUNGARY. We realize that it would be unwise to declare our neutrality in a unilateral fashion. But we believe that Hungary will be able to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact by means of multilateral negotiations before the two military blocs are actually dissolved and Soviet troops will be withdrawn. As a political party, we seek correct relations with the representatives of the Soviet Union and other East-European states. But the allies of our party are the democratic movements of the region. The founders of the SZDSZ, the Democratic Opposition, have been fighting alongside these movements for freedom, independence, human rights and peaceful international relations for more than a decade.

WE SEEK ALLIANCE WITH EVERY POLITICAL ELEMENT THAT FAVOURS LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND A MODERN MARKET ECONOMY. We see FIDESZ as such a movement, and find similar trends in other parties as well. Until democracy has been completed, we seek cooperation with every element in the opposition, even those with whom we might, in the future disagree. We value highly and wish to enhance further the good relations between the local organizations of the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum. We will make every effort to normalize relations between the leaders of the two organizations.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SUCCESSOR TO THE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY WILL DEPEND ON THE UNAMBIGUOUS SEPARATION OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY FROM THE PRIVILEGES OF THE PARTY-STATE. We are in no case prepared to participate in a coalition with the HSP in the first government after the elections. In our judgement, both the integrity and the stability of the transformation demand that the HSP retreat into opposition. We emphasize that we do not demand the HSP's withdrawal from political life, but only from the positions previously held by the communists within the state. Therefore, whether in a governing majority, or in opposition, the Free Democrats will always raise their voice against any kind of political exclusion and witch-hunt. Those rights which we have now achieved will serve to protect the access of all parties to the democratic process.

The October 1989 convention of SzDSz elected an eleven member Executive Board: Gábor Demszky, Miklós Haraszti, János Kis, Ferenc Kőszeg, Bálint Magyar, Imre Mécs, Iván Pető, László Rajk, Miklós Szabó, Gáspár Miklós Tamás, Péter Tölgyessy.

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WHAT DOES THE HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM WANT?

1. A free and independent, constitutionally governed country.
2. To close the gap between Hungary and Europe; a democratic constitution.
3. Guarantees for human and political rights.
4. Free elections and a democratically elected parliament.
5. A government responsible to the Parliament, and public control over power.
6. Popular representation, independent trade unions and chambers.
7. Radical renewal of the economy; a market economy.
8. The abolishment of state monopolies; a variety of public, corporate and private ownership.
9. Reform of ownership forms; security of property.
10. Freedom of enterprise; equality of opportunity.
11. Solid economic policy under social control.
12. Tax cuts (earners are not to pay for wasting resources, losses, inflation and irresponsible investments).
13. Respect of knowledge, expertise, labour, and performance.
14. Sound livelihood, old-age pensions, proper housing and equitable distribution of goods.
15. A society that builds on the family.
16. A society of “cultivated heads”, autonomy of education, strong and realistic national identity.
17. A new attitude to the environment, publicity for environment protection.
18. Humanistic settlement policy, local self-government.
19. Mutual respect and tolerance.
20. A realistic appraisal of the past, the rehabilitation of the victims of dictatorship.
21. Representation for Hungarians all over the world.

INDEPENDENT YOUTH — HUNGARY

The Independent Youth is an organization for young people and has connections with the programme of the Smallholders Party. Both the Independent Youth and Smallholders Party have been renewed during the historic period of middle Europe in 1989. The Independent Youth is ready to follow the traditional line disrupted in 1948.

Our mission is to build up a democratic society in an independent country, to have higher living conditions based on a free market, and to take particular care in re-establishing the morals of our nation which were of high standard during past centuries, as it is well known.

The Independent Youth is starting to build a bridge to Europe now. We believe in taking part successfully in the essential functions regarding peace, human rights, the rights of nations and national minorities to self-determination and the unity of Europe. To carry out this programme it is essential to learn languages and the Independent Youth attributes great importance to organising the teaching of foreign languages (West European in particular) to the whole country.

The Independent Youth is not a political organisation but accepts the general programme of the Smallholders Party. We agree with the historic slogan: “GOD, HOMELAND, FAMILY”.

Aniko Kenez
Secretary

Levente A. Ravasz
Co-President

UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX HOLD SOBOR IN LVIV

A Sobor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) was held on Dec. 14, 1989, in Lviv in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul.

Present were clergy of the UAOC, representatives of the Lviv and Ternopil diocese and members of the Church Brotherhood, whose goal is to revive, rehabilitate and spread the UAOC in Ukraine, specifically in the cities of Dnipropetrovsk — Vasyl Herusov, Kyiv — Oleksander Pikachuk, one of the editors of the newspapers “Nasha Vira” (Our Faith), and Lviv — Bohdan Rozhyk.

At the beginning of the Sobor, Archbishop Ioan read his response to the ruling of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, in which he convincingly stated that the decision is not legal and canonically directed personally against Archbishop Ioan and other priests who seceded from the Russian Orthodox Church and firmly sided with the UAOC.

The Sobor analyzed the issue of information about the UAOC, its status and potential for development. In order to improve high-quality and operational information, a three-member information group was appointed.

The Rev. Volodymyr Yarema reported on the efforts to legalize the UAOC. It was noted that nearly 100 parishes with open churches, as well as church communities with no churches, have submitted applications to register as faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. However, the authorities have not yet definitively responded to their petition.

They also filed an application for the construction of a UAOC cathedral in Lviv as well as for an office for the diocesan administration. No response has been forthcoming on this matter, as well.

It was reported that three churches in Lviv remain under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Archbishop Ioan declared that only the people have the right to decide the fate of those churches.

The participants of the meeting also voiced their desire that the radio station Voice of America and Radio Liberty report in detail about the life, development and activity of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The matter of ordinations to the priesthood was hotly discussed. A great need for UAOC priests exists in the eastern regions of Ukraine.

The Sobor in Lviv was attended by parishioners from the village of Khorosno in the Pustomytiv district of the Lviv province, whose priest converted to the Ukrainian Catholic faith. They requested to be assigned a priest from the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

During the Sobor, Archbishop Ioan, on behalf of the UAOC community in the town of Lutsk, expressed his deep gratitude to the Rev. Stepan Zhyhalo for his missionary work in offering requiems in memory of the fallen fighters for Ukraine’s freedom.

The participants of the Sobor enthusiastically welcomed the news that Metropolitan Mstyslav, Primate of the worldwide Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, named Archbishop Ioan the Archbishop of Halych and Volyn in Ukraine, and elevated the Rev. Volodymyr Yarema to the designation of protopresbyter.

UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS HOLD FIRST SYNOD AFTER FORCED LIQUIDATION IN 1946

Yesterday, January 23, the first Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church since its forced liquidation in 1946 was convened in the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv. Discussions centred around the nullification of the Lviv Synod of 1946, which was without canonical or legal effect. The participants included Metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk, Archbishop of Lviv, Bishops Yulian Voronovskyi, Vicar of the Lviv diocese; Sofron Dmyterko of the Ivano-Frankivsk diocese; Pavlo Vasylyk, Coadjutor of Ivano-Frankivsk; and Ivan Semedyi from the Transcarpathian diocese. More than 200 priests, as well as lay representatives, including Ivan Hel, Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Hrechko from the Popular Movement of Ukraine, and Myroslav Soltys, head of the parish council of the Church of the Transfiguration, were also present.

The Synod passed a resolution condemning the pseudoSynod of 1946, convoked by the NKVD, which purportedly dissolved the Ukrainian Catholic Church and incorporated it into the Russian Orthodox Church, and demanded the full rehabilitation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the return of all properties which belonged to the Church prior to 1939.

The resolution read:

- 1) The so-called "Lviv Synod" of 1946 is without canonical and legal effect.
- 2) The 1946 Synod was conducted under the threat of death to its participants.
- 3) The decision of the 1946 Synod was invalid from the beginning.
- 4) The Synod of January 23, 1990 is an act of the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
- 5) Representatives of the lay authorities should rehabilitate the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a social institution, pay compensation and return all the churches and church properties, including the archive and library of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi.

The Synod concluded with a memorial service for Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and Patriarch Josyf Slipyi.



Mass Religious Procession in Lviv.

STATEMENT

of the Lviv Committee for the Defence of Citizens' Rights (Strike Committee)

Blood has again been spilt. This time in Baku.

The latest tragic events in Azerbaijan again demonstrate that the imperialist Moscow leadership is incapable of resolving the bitter conflict situation by peaceful means.

The events in Azerbaijan and other nearby areas is a regional manifestation of the unresolved imperialist nationality problem.

Moscow's decision not to provide a timely and just resolution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh provoked terrible bloodshed.

Now the reactionary imperialist forces want to use the conflict to strike a blow against the democratic organizations of the peoples of Transcaucasia and the whole empire, and to suppress the popular movements for self-determination.

The desire for freedom is inherent in human nature and can be achieved through guarantees of basic human rights, which are impossible without the implementation of the right of nations to self-determination.

The Moscow leaders should realize that the time has come to dismantle the world's last empire. This process is objective and irreversible.

Attempts to preserve the empire through harsh oppression can provoke an undesired "Rumanian variant" with terrible consequences.

The only true, civilized way to resolve the problem is political dialogue between the leadership and representatives of the democratic community.

Reviewing the current situation in Azerbaijan we cannot remain indifferent to the events, which occurred there. We express our distress and anxiety concerning the international hostility and bloodletting.

At the same time we are convinced that the security of citizens can be guaranteed without the introduction of martial law.

In solidarity with the democratic forces of the peoples of Transcaucasia and genuine internationalism, the Lviv Committee for the Defence of Citizens' Rights (Strike Committee) regards it as its duty to state the following:

1) We demand that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR end the martial law in Baku and other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia and begin immediate negotiations with representatives of the republican government and National Front of Azerbaijan.

We demand that it support the appeal of the Council of the Authorized Representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh on the admission of United Nations troops onto the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

2) We urge the National Front of Azerbaijan and the democratic organizations of Armenia to sit down behind the negotiating table and do everything possible to bring an end to the national-level hostilities and oppression, which only benefit the enemies of the freedom and independence of the Azerbaijani, Armenian and all the peoples of the empire.

3) We express our protest against the deployment of Ukrainians in the shameful imperialist action in Azerbaijan, and demand an immediate halt to the mobilization of reservists for service in Transcaucasia, and beyond the borders of Ukraine in general.

4) We urge all those involved in military service to refuse to serve outside Ukraine,

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY COMMEMORATED IN CONGRESS

The 15th annual commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on Capitol Hill took place on January 31, 1990. The event attracted some 200 people, including senators and congressmen. The observance was co-sponsored by Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Paul Simon (D-IL), Steve Symms (R-ID) and Representatives Frank Annunzio (D-IL), William S. Broomfield (R-MI), Bernard J. Dwyer (D-NJ), Dennis M. Hertel (D-MI), Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), Don Ritter (R-PA) and Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA). The following members of Congress attended the reception: Senators Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), Paul Simon, Paul Sarbanes (D-Md) and Representatives Frank Annunzio (D-ILL), James Bilbray (D-Nev), Christopher Cox (R-CA), Dean Gallo (R-NJ), Benjamin Gillman (R-NY), Bill Green (R-NY), Mel Hancock (R-Mo), Steny Hoyer (D-Md), Donald Lukens (R-Ohio), Don Ritter (R-PA), Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), and James Walsh (R-NY). Numerous congressional staffers also attended the observance.

In his introductory remarks, George Nesterzuk, UCCA Executive Vice President pointed out that this observance, which has been highly symbolic in the past, has taken on a different light today in the light of developments in Eastern Europe and the USSR. These observances which have been held through various periods of East-West relations have served as a reminder of the toll taken by despotism and tyranny and have paid tribute to the indomitable will of the Ukrainian people to achieve independence and freedom, he remarked. With the Soviet empire crumbling, the Bush administration has been faced with a difficult public policy agenda and has not been able to reassert itself and take a leadership role. We must question why. It is the responsibility of the US to stand on principle and speak for those who can't freely express their aspirations for freedom and independence. This, he underscored, should be the guiding principle behind foreign policy, a principle that he hopes, the Bush administration will reassert in the near future.

▶ particularly not to carry out the present criminal imperialist police duties in Azerbaijan.

5) We appeal to all citizens of Ukraine, especially to mothers, wives and girl friends to begin a wide scale campaign (meetings, demonstrations, picketing, collective petitions) to protest against the posting of our countrymen for service outside of Ukraine, and their deployment to suppress national independence movements.

The Lviv Strike Committee is making preparations for a general political strike if the authorities ignore the voice of the people.

January 24, 1990

This statement was adopted as a resolution of the 10,000 participants of a public meeting in Lviv on January 25, 1990.

Next to address the gathering was Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA), ranking minority member in the House, whom George Nesterchuk introduced as a friend of the Ukrainian community for many years, who had just received the "Man of the Year" award from the UCCA branch in Chicago. Mr. Ritter greeted those present in Ukrainian and stated that before he went on with his remarks, he wanted to read a letter from a friend and proceeded to read the presidential message to the observance. In his remarks, Mr. Ritter underscored that the Ukrainian community in the US had been right all along about communism and today we are seeing proof of that. He stated that the human chain in Ukraine on January 21 commemorating Ukrainian independence and unity was certainly proof of a changing world. However, he cautioned, it is important for us and members of Congress to keep up the pressure now because not all has yet been taken care of: "Now the iron (in the Iron Curtain) is hot, we must keep striking." Mr. Ritter announced that he will be leading a CSCE delegation to observe the upcoming elections in Ukraine which are to be held in March. He stated that he looks forward to supporting the Ukrainian movement for freedom and independence, and hopes that other members of Congress will be joining the delegation.

In his remarks Senator Paul Simon thanked the Ukrainian community for "standing up for freedom so vigorously". He reminisced about attending a Ukrainian church in Chicago which he said left him very inspired, despite the fact that he didn't understand the language. He said that "freedom is gaining ground all over Eastern Europe because we were willing to dream impossible dreams" and that is a tribute to the Ukrainian community in the US and the people in Ukraine.

Rep. Steny Hoyer, Chairman of the Democratic Caucus, followed and reiterated a point in Mr. Ritter's address when he said that many Americans think that things in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are better, but they are not yet where they need to be and it is time for all of us to re-double our efforts. He stated that Congressman Ritter is going to Ukraine to carry the message that the freedoms that are assured by the Helsinki Final Act are freedoms that all people are entitled to enjoy. He underscored the critical importance of Ukrainian non-governmental organizations and activists in urging Congress to move on the issues of freedom and independence of the Captive Nations. Only freedom, he concluded, will lead to stability, justice and a lessening of tensions in the world.

Rep. Dana Rohrabacher addressed the gathering by noting that this is a "terrific time we live in because we are witnessing the demise of communism. He predicted that in 24 months there will be a Ukraine but there will be no Soviet Union. The last 40 years, he noted, have proven that Soviet tyranny could not overcome people's love for their country. He avowed that he will do his best to see that freedom triumphs in all the countries in the USSR, because the goal of America is not to help Gorbachev survive, but to support freedom throughout the world. Gorbachev, said Congressman Rohrabacher, "is gone, he's history and the rest of those gangsters who have occupied the Kremlin are history too!" He expressed hope that as the USSR falls apart, the Ukrainian American community will "play an increasing role in Ukraine to make sure that the foundation of lasting liberty takes place."

A special surprise at the observance reception was the presence of Dr. Volodymyr Mokryj, a Ukrainian member of the Polish Sejm. Dr. Mokryj expressed joy that senators and congressmen were present at the function. He said that the American

Statue of Liberty has warmed the Captive Nations for a long time. As a member of Solidarity, he explained that for him, solidarity means empathy and support for people who are oppressed and Ukrainians have been particularly oppressed, their leaders, poets and intelligentsia persecuted and destroyed. Solidarity, he said, is developing direct contacts with her neighbors Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, all of whom "are kept warm at night by the flame of liberty." He ended by quoting Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish national poet, "He who thinks of only the interests of one nation is not a friend of freedom." He thanked the United States, because, he said, "the US has always thought about the freedom of other nations."

In his remarks, Senator Paul Sarbanes stated that he has been at every Ukrainian Independence Day observance in Congress since 1975. He noted that "our dedication, perseverance and commitment is showing some signs of bringing results and now we must do all we can to move the winds of freedom in Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union." He expressed respect and admiration for the Ukrainian community and pledged continuing support "as we continue to strive for the freedom to which all people are entitled."

Rep. Mel Hancock also greeted the reception participants.

George Nesterczuk ended the program by expressing hope that perhaps next year, we will see the blue and yellow national flag of Ukraine flying over Kyiv and the bells of St. Sophia ringing out in celebration of the liberation of Ukraine.

US PRESS COMMENTS ON LITHUANIAN PLURALISM

"Moment of Truth" for Gorbachev

The Soviet Union we have known for more than seven decades is disappearing. That is the meaning of Lithuania's rebellious decision to abolish the Communist party's guaranteed leading role.

Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia have never forgiven or forgotten how they were forcefully merged into the Soviet Union in 1940 as a result of Stalin's pact with Hitler. They have seized "perestroika" and "glasnost" as a chance to use the letter of the Soviet constitution to divorce themselves from the unwanted union.

As the Soviet Union begins to show signs of unraveling, Mr. Gorbachev finds himself a helpless bystander. Events are overtaking him even before he has had time to disclose his detailed blueprint for changing the current union arrangement into a new type of federation or confederation. He wants his cake, but wants to eat it too. Thus he favors "a strong center and strong republics", but insists that "the guarantee of the durability of our federation is the completely voluntary nature of the association of Soviet republics in a single union state within which each republic retains its independence and has the right to participate in the adoption of common decisions."

Those are nice-sounding principles. But if they are adopted and fully practiced, Mr. Gorbachev must be prepared to realize the likelihood that one or more republics might want to use such constitutional guarantees to exit from the Soviet Union. The moment of truth is approaching.

*"Soviet Future," Editorial, The Sun, Baltimore
December 9, 1989*

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVENES IN VILNIUS

The first Congress of the restored Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) was held on December 2-3 in Vilnius. The party's program emphasizes "equal rights and opportunities to all" and rejects Communist leveling and a rule by privileged classes.

In an interview, published in the December 5 issue of the CP daily, *Tiesa*, the chairman of the LSDP, professor **Kazimieras Antanavicius**, said that in the February 1990 elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, his party would support the Sajudis candidates. He believes that the LSDP will be able to cooperate with the "radical wing" of the Lithuanian Communist Party, whose program is closely related to the Social Democratic goals. "The Communist Party, however, has inflicted many wrongs on the Social Democrats, and therefore we will have to be in opposition to it," the LSDP leader said.

DECLARATION (May 18, 1989) of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on State Sovereignty of Lithuania

From time immemorial the Lithuanian people have lived here, on the Baltic coast. In the 13th century they formed their own state, and for centuries have defended their freedom and independence. In 1918 they re-established their statehood which was recognized by many states of the world. In 1920 it was also recognized by Soviet Russia which in a treaty with the Lithuanian Republic renounced for all times any territorial and political claims to the Lithuanian State. Though this treaty has not been denounced up till now, yet in 1940, on the basis of the German-Soviet Pact of 1939 and its secret protocols, the sovereign Lithuanian state was forcibly and illegally annexed to the Soviet Union and lost its political and cultural independence. Today the Government of the Soviet Union continues to ignore the aspirations of Lithuanians for economic independence.

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR sees a way out of the present situation only in the restoration of state sovereignty which today is a clearly manifest aspiration of the Lithuanian people and their inalienable right which can be implemented only under the conditions of free self-determination. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR declares that as from today, after the adoption of the amendments of Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, only the laws adopted or approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, are valid on the territory of the Republic. Future relations with the Soviet Union and other states shall be established only by mutual agreements. These aspirations of the Lithuanian people are not directed against the rights of any nations and their lawful interests.

ONCE DOCILE COLONY RISES UP

Baku, USSR — Four weeks after Soviet troops swarmed into this seaside city to suppress a nationalist uprising, the most popular excursion for classes at local schools is the hilltop park where the city has buried its dead.

Each day, the schoolchildren come by the busload from around Azerbaijan to study the graves heaped with red carnations, to honor those who died under Soviet tanks and gunfire and to absorb new lessons about their country.

“The soldiers came and killed them,” said Ali, a 10-year-old boy from School No. 27 in the nearby industrial center of Sumgait. “They wanted our Azerbaijanis to die. Because the said we were savages.”

“Gorbachev is to blame,” added his 13-year-old schoolmate, a soft-spoken girl named Rukhangiz. Teachers and children murmured their agreement. As if reciting a lesson, she added: “It will not happen again. The blood of the victims will not remain on the earth. Those who did it will pay for it.”

The acute mourning is over and a veneer of normalcy prevails in Baku, which was reopened to foreign reporters two weeks ago for the first time since mid-January. Stores are open. Buses are running. The soldiers who occupy the city keep a low profile.

But since the taking of Baku, a resentful loathing of Moscow and of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev has penetrated the culture of Azerbaijan, completing the alienation of this once docile colony.

Moscow says the soldiers were sent into Baku on the morning of Jan. 20 to prevent the violent overthrow of the local authorities and a fresh outbreak of violence against ethnic minorities in the city.

About 60 Armenians had been killed in pogroms that broke out a week earlier in Baku.

The violence was the latest spasm in two years of hostility between the Islamic Azerbaijanis and their Christian Armenian neighbours, an ancient feud revived by a bitter territorial conflict.

In Baku, everyone from shop clerks to government officials insists that Moscow dispatched soldiers because the Kremlin could not abide Azerbaijan’s demands for greater independence.

They say the ethnic violence was provoked and the specter of an armed uprising was fabricated to justify the use of force.

Moscow’s anti-Azerbaijani prejudice, Mr. Gorbachev’s duplicity, the imperial nature of communism, the sly intrigues and insolent territorial demands of neighboring Armenia — these are now the daily themes in classrooms where children once memorized the doctrines of their loving Grandpa Lenin.

“I do not believe in the party any longer,” declared Niyar Nezarova, 16, the leader of her 11th-grade Communist Youth League at Baku School No. 83.

“Nobody does,” her classmates say, chiming in.

“The party cannot lead our people,” the girl continued, her light brown eyes blazing with the fervor of a convert. “The party led us to this tragedy.”

An inattentive tourist could visit Baku without realizing it is a city under armed occupation, a city recently touched by great violence.

By day, the 17,000 troops assigned to enforce the state of emergency keep largely out of the outskirts or to their temporary barracks in high schools and sporting clubs.

Four armored troop carriers hold the corners of Freedom Square, formerly Lenin Square, where tens of thousands used to meet in protests organized by the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

Five-man foot patrols armed with automatic rifles are seen occasionally in the central residential neighborhoods, and troops have secured strategic buildings like the television studio, power plant, and party headquarters.

Lieutenant General Vladimir S. Dubinyak, the military commandant of Baku, said his early optimism about removing the troops by mid-February had given way to a gloomier outlook.

He now indicates the the troops will not leave until a "normal working rythm" has been restored, meaning some easing of the strikes that have paralyzed much of the city's industry.

Newspapers, except for those published by the Popular Front, have resumed publication.

Television broadcasts have been restored after a long blackout brought by a mysterious explosion at the central transmitting station.

Local programming ends each night with a uniformed Interior Ministry colonel reading the day's report of incidents, along with the commandant's appeal for order.

Black flags are draped from some buildings, and some cars fly black strips of cloth from their antennas. Red carnations carpet the places where bodies were found after the sun came up on Jan. 20.

Occasionally, a stroller spots a building facade pocked with bullet holes from the predawn storming of the city.

Here and there, boarded windows or soot-blackened walls mark an apartment where Armenians were driven out by mobs and their belongings set afire on the balcony.

The Armenian Orthodox Church, whose congregation has been depleted over the past two years by an emigration based on fear, is now a charred ruin.

Baku has developed a whole set of social rituals around the "January events".

Photographs circulate in the city, reinforcing the sense of grievance. They show the bullet-riddled bodies of bare-chested Azerbaijani men laid out on a hospital floor, an ambulance crushed by tanks, a bus strafed by machine-gun fire.

In his apartment, one middle-class resident flipped through a stack of videotapes, offering a visitor a choice of carnage, interviews with anguished witnesses or highlights from the Azerbaijani parliament during the months of political confrontation between the Popular Front and the Communist Party.

Every day, thousands of people stream past the hilltop grave site. Women press handkerchiefs to their faces, and an occasional wail interrupts Islamic prayers for the dead from a public address system.

On Tuesday, the 77th body was buried in the park, an Azerbaijani man who had been shot through the throat and lingered in a hospital for 26 days. The official death count has crept up to 142.

*Bill Keller
New York Times Service*

DR. JIHAT FETHI TEVETOGLU

(31.01.1916 — 27.11.1989)



The Almighty God called to his kingdom Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, member of the World Anti-Communist League Executive Board, member of the honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council and great friend of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.

He was born in Istanbul and after his education he practiced as a military doctor until the end of 1952 when he left with the rank of major. From 1953-1957 he worked at Taylor University in Texas. From 1957-1961 he was a paediatrician in the town of Samsun on the Black Sea. It is at this time that his political career began. Dr. Tevetoglu became one of the leading personalities in the Justice Party of Turkey and in 1961-1973 he was a senator of the

Turkish Republic and was active in shaping Turkish Foreign policy. Simultaneously from 1969-1973 he was Chairman of the Editorial Board of the "Encyclopedia of Turks". In 1973-75 he came to Germany and worked as a medical doctor in Rhineland/Pfalz. From 1976-1980 he was deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries (Jeddah, Saudi Arabia). Then in 1980-1983 he chaired the Department of Muslim Refugees of the World Islamic League in Mecca. In 1984-86 he was a consultant for the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah.

In 1986 Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu returned to Turkey. He researched the history of the Turkish Republic, in particular the period of national liberation struggle and Turkish modern literature. During this time he also held numerous lectures. He was a medical doctor, poet, politician, historian, literary researcher and publicist. He was also an active anti-Communist and a known anti-Imperialist. He knew all the important personalities of Islamic countries.

It is difficult to give a clear picture of the scope of Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu's activities in short terms. But when we think of him we remember that he was never a pessimist. He believed in freedom for the nations incarcerated in the Soviet Union and demanded national self-determination. He participated in numerous International conferences and was a splendid orator.

He wrote 25 books and brochures of which 5 are collections of his poetry. He wrote 7 books and brochures on the struggle against Communism. These are:

- "There are no more Fascists but the Communists are at work"
- "Two declarations of moonshine for nations" (about the United Nations declaration on Decolonisation and the American law on Captive Nations Week.)
- "I explain"
- "The World of Shame" (on the erection of the East German Wall.)
- "Cyprus and Communism"
- "Socialist and Communist activities in Turkey"
- "Today's Russia", and others.

In works mentioned above Dr. Tevetoglu rejected Communism and Soviet-Russian imperialism. He also wrote numerous articles. Up until now his works have not been bibliographically collected.

Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu was a sincere friend of ABN and we lost a true freedom champion, from Turkey and the Islamic world. His empathy for the subjugated nations' struggle for freedom from the Soviet-Russian empire, his service to these nations on the road to freedom and his sincere attachment to his friends, will remain forever in our hearts and he will live in our memory.

The Central Committee of ABN



*The reburial of Ukrainian political prisoners — Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn and Oleksiy Tykhy.
Kyiv, 19 November 1989. 30,000 people march in the funeral procession.*

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

A B N
CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

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MARCH-APRIL 1990

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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INDEPENDENCE IS THE CRY OF TODAY

Developments in the national republics in the USSR bear witness that the national liberation forces in these republics are every day more conscious that the only way to independence is for the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire and the attainment of sovereignty for each independent state. The tactics in the struggle for independence are different in the various republics.

In the Baltic countries the popular movements were able to mobilise almost the whole indigenous population and even part of the Russian population who had settled in these republics during the period "of the mixture of nations". In addition to this the Baltic peoples exploited the pact between Stalin and Hitler and the incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the USSR, which was not recognised by the West; they proclaimed this pact illegal and Soviet power as an occupying power and they now demand the removal of the Soviet army from their countries and the restoration of their independence. They want to achieve this using peaceful means by negotiations with Moscow.

In the Caucasus, and lately in the Turkestani republics, the situation is much more complicated, particularly in connection with the various conflicts between the nations as a result of the imperial rule by Moscow over these territories. But even here, particularly in Azerbaijan, there is strong movement for independence and for the unification of the two areas of Azerbaijani territory into one independent state, which are at present under the rule of Soviet-Russia and Iran. The Azerbaijani Popular Front particularly emphasises this. Similar processes are at work in Tadzhikistan, and in other Turkestani republics, where relations between nations play a large role, as do the rule by Russians and other "whites", the low standard of living and poor social conditions in general. In addition, hatred towards Russians and the non-native population is growing. The consequences are such that lately a mass exodus of Russians and others from Tadzhikistan, Azerbaijan and the other Turkestani republics is under way.

In Moldavia, struggle is waged not only against Russification methods, defense of the Moldavian language and culture, but now also for the reunification of Moldavia with Rumania. This has become increasingly popular after the Rumanians deposed the tyrannic Ceausescu regime and started moves towards democracy. There are poor relations between the native population and the Russians settled there because they aid the Russification process and today view the process of an national Moldavian renaissance with enmity. Relations became more acute after the majority Russian populated region of Tyraspilia proclaimed independence from Moldavia. This caused Russians to exodus rapidly from Moldavia fearing the repressions.

There is no question about the growing desires for independence in Ukraine. This is not just in Western Ukraine where the tradition of OUN/UPA struggle (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists/Ukrainian Insurgent Army)

is very much alive but also in Eastern Ukraine. Not only the Human Chain, from Kyiv to Lviv, which commemorated the independence and reunification of Western and Eastern Ukraine, but also many demonstrations taking place in Kyiv and other cities in Eastern Ukraine are witness to this fact. Ukrainians are conscious that only an independent Ukrainian state liberated from Moscow's "care" will bring about the end of appalling national and economic relations which exist today in Ukraine as a direct consequence of the long imperial Russian occupation. Despite many statements made by the bureaucratic apparatus in Ukraine about their support for Ukrainian language and culture, in practice nothing has changed or improved with the regards to the school system, science or culture. The Russification process, particularly in Eastern Ukraine continues. The Ukrainian language has in theory become the state language but there has been no mass reorganisation of the education system and Russification goes on by order from Moscow.

In the meantime the Ukrainian economy is deteriorating. Even the last law about the economic sovereignty of Ukraine shows that Ukraine is a colonial province of Moscow and has been exploited during the decades of Soviet rule. The living standard in Ukraine is much lower than in Russia as the Ukrainian "government" controls only 5% of the industry while 95% is controlled by Moscow. Such a policy provokes anger, not only among the Ukrainian population but also by Russians living in Ukraine who understand that they suffer the consequences of colonial dependence of Ukraine by Moscow. Thus the economic and social elements became the moving forces in Ukraine's desire for sovereignty and the demand of secession from the USSR.

All these processes which can be seen in the USSR today encounter great opposition from Moscow. Naturally the Russians would like to preserve the unity of the empire; some with the help of reforms giving the republics more freedom, others by means of more repressions against the "extremists". Recently these repressive tendencies were noticeable in the Central Party publications and the call for moves against the "extremists" who, they said, are exploiting perestroika in the interest of their own aims. The last Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the CPSU raised these calls. They are in fact directed against all national liberation forces which strive for the independence of their nations and the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire. However, these processes cannot be stopped by means of repression. We saw that such efforts did not bring about the desired results in Azerbaijan, nor in Tadzhikistan, nor in Georgia, but only made the situation worse. But such action by the Russians cannot be excluded in other republics in the future. Therefore, the national liberation struggle will have to counter even greater resistance from the repressive forces in the future. However, even these will not stop the steady moves towards independence.

O. Ch.

TARAS CHUPRYNKA

On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Heroic Death of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)



40 years ago, on March 5, 1950, General Shukhevych — Tur-Taras Chuprynka — R. Lozovsky presiding the OUN leadership, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (UPA) and Chairman of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) — the revolutionary government of Ukraine — died the death of a hero in Bilohorshcha near Lviv.

40 years have already passed since that tragic date in Ukrainian history. General Roman Shukhevych is one of the most outstanding figures of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the past centuries. He was a great strategist of the Ukrainian Revolution, a political leader and statesman and is now the image of a model fighter for the heroic ideals of a nation as to character and individuality. In the pantheon of heroes of the Ukrainian

national liberation struggle he is a unique figure combining a talented strategist with the political leader of a nationwide revolutionary liberation organization, a leading warrior with a statesman in a state he was building up on the Ukrainian territories which had been freed.

General Roman Shukhevych is unique as well because as a national leader and chief he did not leave his country but died in its defense together with his soldiers. There are only few examples of such exemplary characters in world history.

General Roman Shukhevych mainly focused his attention on building up Ukraine's national power on its territory as a prerequisite for its universal development. He insisted on national power based on armed forces, i.e. Ukraine's own army, and passed this idea on to his soldiers and his staff.

As contributor to the Act of June 30, 1941 (proclaiming Ukrainian independence), Viceminister of Defense of the Ukrainian Government and commander of the troops of the Ukrainian nationalists he laid the basis for Ukraine's war in two fronts, i.e. against Germany and Russia. The stage of the Ukrainian Revolution from 1942 to 1953 (3 years after his death) can be designated as that of a nationwide insurrection.

UPA — the army of heroes as he himself called it placing it above the heroes of Thermopylae — was invincible. In 1947 three states — the USSR, Poland and the CSSR — concluded a pact for liquidating this army.

General Shukhevych-Chuprynka, a strategist of a modern — insurgent — type of liberation struggle, was constantly looking for new forms and methods, including for instance raids to the territories of other captive nations and the free countries of the world, in order to strike as many military and political blows as possible to the occupants of Ukraine. Even Stalin, the most formidable tyrant of all times and nations,

was afraid Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka would initiate an armed uprising of the captive nations when in 1943 he convened the Conference of the Captive Nations in the region of Zhytomyr, whose goals have been taken up and are continued by the ABN.

With his army of heroes General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka defended his nation against destruction, deportation, German and Russian Bolshevik robberies. Chuprynka's ingenious strategy preserved the population of western Ukraine from being deported to Siberia. UPA-OUN has become the shield for the entire nation.

OUN-UPA laid the basis for the stage of struggle from 1953 to 1959, i.e. the uprisings in concentration camps, and the next stage in the sixties and seventies, i.e. the revolutionary renaissance of national traditionalism being of exceptional importance in Ukrainian history.

The son of Roman Shukhevych, Yuriy Shukhevych, the symbol of unity of all generations of our nation in its struggle for freedom and statehood, has remained loyal to Ukraine as his great father having died the death of a hero and having become the image and symbol of our nation, i.e. its banner. For refusing to renounce his father and his ideas Yuriy Shukhevych had been detained in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps for over 40 years. He is the great son of a great father.

General Chuprynka's Order at the End of World War II

Fighting Men and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!

Hitler's Germany has found its final and irrevocable destruction. The Ukrainian people will no longer fear death in gas chambers or liquidation of their entire villages by the Gestapo. No more will the German hit the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasant in the face, nor take away his land in order to turn him into a slave for the German master. No longer will the German be able to drive thousands and tens of thousands of peasants and workers into modern slavery in Germany. Nor will the Ukrainian intellectual worker have to wait his turn to be liquidated because he could become a future menace to the invader. The barbarian from the West will no longer dominate Ukrainian land.

A great contribution toward the victory over Germany was made by you, Ukrainian Insurgents. You prevented the German from freely exploiting Ukrainian soil and using its fruits for his aggressive designs. You prohibited his pillaging of Ukrainian villages, prevented the forced deportations to Germany. Your retributed hand repaid the German for mass executions and burning of villages. Our Ukrainian Insurgent Army became organized and went through its preliminary combat training in the struggle against Germany.

However, with the defeat and collapse of Germany an even worse occupier has returned to Ukraine — Russia. For centuries it has enslaved Ukraine — and Russia, regardless of whether under a tsarist regime or the “most democratic regime in the world”, will never give up its imperialistic designs on our country. This so-called “socialistic republic”, has finally decided to put an end on the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. Having enchained all its people in a new social system of state capitalism, the ruling clique has created such unbearable economic conditions that under it the freedom-loving man has become a perpetually hungry beast with no problem on his mind but food. Having introduced a new culture, “national in form, but socialist in content”, the Soviet government with the help of

such terrorized Ukrainian slaves as Tychynas, Bazhans, Vyshnias and Vozniaks — forcibly injects Russian culture into Ukraine. To mislead the Ukrainian masses still further, the Soviet government creates Commissariats for Defence and Foreign Affairs, which have no other task or duties but to glorify Stalin. Though the most inhumane terror mankind has ever known and by insidious provocations the Ukrainian people are to be re-melted in a Russian pot, so that Ukrainians should forget that they once were free and independent, and without protest they will accept being eternal slaves of the “elder brother”— of the new and powerful Russia. For the freedom-loving people, this “most democratic republic” has the Siberian Taigas, the Solovetski Islands, mass executions, the burning of villages, artificial famines and other “modern” and “disciplinary” methods.

However, even now the Ukrainian nation has not capitulated to the aggressive enemy. In 1943 it gave you, Ukrainian Insurgents, weapons with the explicit order to defend to the last the ideal of Ukrainian freedom and independence. With superb determination and heroism, with unheard of faith and devotion, you have been fighting for this ideal for more than two years. Neither hunger nor privation, nor terror applied to your families has shaken your intrepidity and your belief in the final victory. In the face of all the deceitful approaches and addresses of the “Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic”, you have strengthened your effort. You remember only too well that by such methods Russia tried to demoralize and weaken the brave soldiers of Mazepa; the same insidious propaganda was used in the years 1920-1923 by the Soviets in order to entice those among us who were naive enough to believe them. All those who trusted the Russians were “rewarded” by being sent to slave labor camps or executed as soon as their usefulness to Russia came to an end. When you embarked upon the struggle with the Stalinist regime, you knew that we could not capitulate because the enemy that menaces the very existence of the nation, must be fought until victory or death. I am certain that the weapons given you by your people will not be covered in dishonor, and you will leave your names covered with immortal glory for posterity.

Ukrainian Insurgents!

The world has no peace as yet. The revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples as well as the antagonism between the Western democracies and the USSR will increase. People the world over will become increasingly aware of what the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, formulated in and propagated by the Kremlin, means to humanity. In the struggle against the Kremlin you are by no means alone. The brave Serbs and Croats continue to fight Tito who is nothing but a tool of Moscow; the Bulgarians also are rebelling against the bloody terror brought to the country by the “allied” USSR. The mountains of Transylvania are overcrowded with those Rumanians who have refused to submit to Russia. Even little Slovakia conducts regular guerilla warfare against the invader. The Polish patriots by constant sabotage and armed struggle fight all the attempts of Stalin to enslave them. The ranks of fighters against the Oriental satrap are increasing daily. All this, of course, creates favorable conditions for continuing our struggle and brings nearer the moment of downfall for the USSR.

To be able to survive to that moment with weapons in your hands and to give leadership to all those fighting Stalin — this is your sacred duty. I have a firm belief that you will fulfill it with honor and determination as you have fulfilled all your previous tasks and duties. By using new methods of warfare, adaptable to new conditions, you will give a resolute answer to the challenging enemy.

Forward with unshakeable faith until victory!

Long live the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Eternal glory to those who fell fighting the invader!

Glory to Ukraine!

*Taras CHUPRYNKA, General Commander-in-Chief
of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army*

Headquarters, May 1945

WE WILL NOT OBEY THE OCCUPANTS

Last year 50 years passed since the signing of the Treaty between the USSR and fascist Germany (known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) with its secret protocols on the division of a significant section of Europe into fields of influence. This treaty designated the fate of the Baltic States. The occupation, annexation and integration into the USSR of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, equal members of the League of Nations, were major violations of all elementary norms of international laws. Farce “elections” of a new “parliament” were organized under the conditions of armed occupation and bloody terror, which under Moscow’s threats “accepted resolutions” which lead to the formal annexation of these countries by the Soviet Union. This act was not recognized and is still not recognized by the USA and many other democratic countries of the world.

The outcome of the Molotov-Ribbentrop has not been rendered and dictates the life of Lithuania and two other Baltic nations. The annexation of the Baltic countries by the Soviet Union not only rid them of their sovereignty but made them disappear from the political map of the world.

The Baltic nations never accepted their illegal colonial status and never gave up their strife to renew their state sovereignty. Last year on 23 August on the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty, people built a chain, symbolically named “The Baltic road”, from Vilnius to Tallin in which more than 2 million participated. Not only Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, but also representatives of other nationalities living in these countries: Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews. All for whom the ideals of freedom are dear, the end of the Baltic nations struggle for full independence is near. The strife of the Balts for freedom and independence has today found its exposition in the mighty national freedom movements of the peoples of these countries.

On 18 May 1989, the present Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in its declaration publically and officially recognized the fact of the occupation and annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union. Later this was confirmed many times including the not too long ago declarations of the Lithuanian Communist party. Following this, as was confirmed even by the marionette administration, all political formalities disappeared

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR UPA SOLDIERS

On February 11 some 5,000 residents of the village of Dorohiv (Halych district, Ivano-Frankivsk province) convened a memorial service to pay their respects to soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (who died in battle both with the Nazi German and Soviet Russian forces in Ukraine during and after WW2). Bishop Iryney, hieromonks Nykodym and Makariy, and the village priest Rev. Viktor Slobodian officiated at the religious ceremony.

At a public meeting after the service the following speakers addressed the participants: Maria Samostayko, a Popular Movement member from Kalush; Petro and Vasyi Sichko of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front; Ukrainian Helsinki Union member Lesia Taran from Lviv; “Lev” Society member from Lviv Daria Tkach, and others. The commemoration ended with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem.

which could have hampered the clear line of relations between the citizens of occupied Lithuania and the Soviet Union — the occupier.

Today, the question of Lithuanians serving in the armed forces of the Soviet Union is especially acute.

In the light of international law the matter is quite clear. The 51-st paragraph of the Geneva Convention of 1949, also ratified in 1954 by the Soviet Union, stipulated clearly, that the occupying country cannot force citizens of the occupied territory to serve in its armed forces. To serve in the army, which occupied their country, is for Lithuanians not only unacceptable but also degrading. More so as they fall under all kinds of harassment, from the commanders as well as from their co-comrades. This terror against Lithuanian soldiers has especially escalated in the past few years in connection with the national uprisings in the Baltic region. Lithuanian youths are beaten, called “fascists”, and quite often even killed. As an example the well-known case of Arturas Sakalauskas, who, defending himself against assaulters, killed eight soldiers who were tormenting him. He fled, hid himself, was caught and arrested, then placed in a psychiatric clinic. Tens of thousands in the Baltic States, in Leningrad (where this incident occurred), and also in Moscow signed petitions to free this young Lithuanian. In Lithuania itself even leading party members held up this petition.

More and more Lithuanians are refusing to serve in the Soviet army in general. Earlier there were random cases of such refusals. Those who refused were submitted to heavy repressions. Approximately ten years ago, I also refused to serve, and as a result spent a long time in a psychiatric prison. In 1988, the young Catholic Petras Grazulis refused to take part in refresher military training, for which he received a camp sentence. In this way he became one of the political prisoners of the Gorbachev era. This form of protest became really large scale in 1989. According to latest information, around 1,300 youths declared their refusal to serve in the Soviet Army in Lithuania.

The Lithuanian group of IAHR is directly involved in organizing these protests (IAHR “MTPL” — International Association for Human Rights, — the centre of which is in Frankfurt. The Lithuanian group was founded in September 1988). The activities of the group are coordinated by the groups’ secretary — the famous Lithuanian journalist Aukse Aukstikalnė.

The first public call to boycott service in the occupying Soviet Army was made on January 10, 1989 at a mass meeting, organized by the League of Free Lithuania. On February 23, the “day of occupier” as the “commemoration” day of the Soviet Army was named by Lithuanians, a second mass youth meeting was held in Kaunas, in which the participants decided to boycott the recruitment to the army, according to the stipulations of the Geneva Convention, the General Declaration of Human Rights, and other documents on international humanitarian laws.

The movement for the protection of the rights of young Lithuanians who are being forced to serve in the Soviet Army, was split from the beginning into two parts, or groups of interests. At that time, more or less out of loyalty to the organization leaders, such movements as “Sajudis”, or the League of Lithuanian Women, kept to the decision, and still do, that it is sufficient to demand that Lithuanians serve within the borders of Lithuania or the Baltic region. They do not openly stand up against the Soviet Army as such, and are also not totally against military service. Their only anxiety is where the service is to be fulfilled. More radically tuned groups (National Youth League “Young Lithuania”, Freedom League etc.), including the IAHR,

declare that is not important where one serves, but whom. Often as an example the tragic death of Valdas Macijauskas in 1984, is presented. He was heavily beaten and then hanged by other soldiers, although he served not far from his home town of Kalvaria. The Lithuanian group IAHR continually demands from the Army officials of USSR a new investigation into his death, and further demands that those responsible for this deed be brought to court justice (they are well known).

Already in the spring of 1989, a few young Lithuanians refused to serve in the army. Kestutis Jasiulevicius, already serving in the army refused to pledge his vow. He was forcefully interned in the psychiatric ward of the military hospital, where he was mishandled with very strong acting psychopharmaca, and after his successful escape, he turned for help to the Lithuanian group of IAHR. His fate became widely public, and as a result when his case came up to court he received only a nominal sentence. Throughout Lithuania signatures for the petition demanding the stop of recruitment of youth to the army were gathered, meetings were held, army quarters were picketed. Members of the Lithuanian group of IAHR gave the legal help the youth needed.

On June 11, an activist of the group, the former political prisoner Algimantas Andreika, publicly burned a puppet, dressed up as a soldier of the Soviet forces, in this way protesting against the army that occupied Lithuania and enacted genocide upon the Lithuanian nation. For this act the KGB threatened, and is still threatening him with a court trial. The national youth league of "Young Lithuania" and the academic youth section of the Freedom League turned to Lithuanian youth appealing them to start boycotting the army, and those who had already served to return their military cards. On August 3, on Gediminas square in Vilnius, several hundreds of young people gathered with written declarations and together with their military documents handed them in to the army commissar of the republic.

On September 18, the Baltic Council, which unites representatives of the peoples' fronts of Latvia and Estonia, and the Lithuanian movement "Sajudis", accepted a joint appeal to M. Gorbachev on the matter of Balts serving in the USSR army, in which the possibility of fulfilling military service within the territories of their own republic is demanded.

In Lithuania, civil disobedience has continued and increased. On October 7, in Kaunas a meeting of young Lithuanians who refused to serve in the Soviet Army was held. The decision was taken to found a committee "Geneva — 49", which would protect those youths who refused to serve in the army according to stipulations of the Geneva Convention. On that same day, in Siauliai, the committee "Civil Disobedience" was founded, whose aims are organizing the activities of refusal to serve in the Soviet army and the boycotting of the autumn recruitment campaign. The committee did not wait for an official reply, not even from the Minister of Defense of the USSR, D. Yasov. Numerous threats followed.

On October 22, in Nahirny Park in Vilnius, a large meeting was held dedicated to the problems of Lithuanians serving in the Soviet Army. The meeting was held under the slogan "We will not serve the occupant", and representatives of the Lithuanian group IAHR — Aukse Aukstikalnė and Algimantas Andreyka participated saying: "Even in prison one can remain human. To serve in an army which has occupied your country, — that is inhuman". A. Andreyka closed his speech by saying: "Fellow Lithuanians, mothers, don't render your children to the Kremlin monster". At this mass meeting a resolution was accepted, appealing to the Supreme Soviet of

the USSR to cease the persecution of those who refuse to serve in the army. The handing back of military cards continued. After the meeting, a demonstration passed through the streets of Vilnius headed by A. Andreyko carrying a model of a black coffin with the inscription "the autumn recruitment — 89". Arriving at the military headquarters the demonstrators shouted: "Occupants out!", "We won't serve the occupants!"

From October 23 to 27, the republics recruiting headquarters, on the initiative of the Association of Women-Mothers, "Sajudis" was picketed with such posters as "Not one Lithuanian against his free will!" According to information from the womens social organizations, the first two groups of autumn conscripts were sent to Vladivostok and Middle Asia.

On October 25, at the session of the "Sajudis", the resolution to protect the rights of youth refusing to serve in the armed forces of the USSR by this organization, was accepted. On October 26, at the consultative meeting of "the round table" of all political and public organizations and parties of Lithuania, this matter was also discussed. The co-ordination of all activities connected with the protection of rights of the recruits was designated to Aukse Aushtikalnė — the responsible secretary of the Lithuanian group of IAHR.

The authorities have already begun repressions against those who refused to serve the enemy. In Klaipėda, a criminal case was started against Mindaugas Petkus, Vytautas Brundalas, Rimgas Antanavicius, Vytas Develis, Gintaras Gedminas, Darius Urbonavicius and Vytautas Krivickas. In Šiauliai cases were opened against Saulius Bulotas, Emilius Ruzgas, Rolandas Ivanivicius and Valdas Mitusas.

Upon the request of the military commissar, 14 criminal cases were opened. Criminal cases are also being fabricated against the leader of the National youth association, Stasys Buskevicius in Kaunas, and against the activist of the Freedom League of Lithuania, Zilvinas Razminas in Šiauliai, officially, on the pretext of instigating youth to refuse to serve. It is therefore absolutely possible that in the near future there will be new political prisoners of the Gorbachev era. Resolute action will have to be taken by the world-wide international public in order to protect them.

On December 4, an event which aroused indignity happened near the town of Taurage. Two military officers, Preiksaitis and Jurksaitis visited Kestutis Liekis, who refused to serve in the army, in order to force him to go along to the recruitment quarters. As K. Liekis tried to escape, lieutenant Preiksaitis shot at him, injuring him dangerously.

Lithuanian youths do not wish to serve the enemy, nor obey the oppressor in his military apparatus. It is quite plain that Lithuanians hate the enemy army, which occupied their country and converted it into a colony of the Soviet empire. The only army that would be accepted in Lithuania — could only be that of the United Nations, which would control the unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet army from a territory occupied and annexed by it 50 years ago.

**LITHUANIA BREAKS AWAY FROM THE USSR
LONG LIVE INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA!**

A PERFORMANCE: “GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA”

Travelling around the United States with lectures I had numerous opportunities to see that the vast majority of the American population of various levels has anticommunist orientation. And a wide-spread image of the American Jews as always leftist and liberal is not entirely true either: the Jews traditionally tend to think in liberal categories as they get this way of thinking along with the Bible teaching morality and justice, but at the same time the Jews are very well familiar with the bared teeth of communism, know that communism equals fascism, know about the anti-Jewish pogroms being prepared in the USSR today, under Gorbachev's rule. And if there are many Jewish names in the mass media and these people express leftist views and opinion, this does not yet mean that these few hundreds of deceived or KGB-paid journalists really express the opinion of the Jewish public in the USA.

In my further answers I analysed the present situation in the world and the motives dictating Gorbachev's present policy which is perceived all over the world as the fall of the communist system.

First of all I asked to remember that Gorbachev's so-called drive towards peace in the world and democratization is accompanied by increasing arms delivery to all the areas of the world where the USSR conducts undermining work (African countries, Central America, Asia); that there are Soviet atomic submarines all around the United States coast, the Soviet “No. 1 enemy”; that Soviet atomic bombers capable of covering the entire US territory are kept ready for action on the Nicaraguan airfields, while in Cuba there are Soviet atomic rockets; that no less than 8,000 Soviet KGB agents engaged in subversive activities are presently in the USA, according to American intelligence information; that the Soviet agents are actively working today in the United States, Europe and other areas of the still free world destroying morals, ethics and education of the young generation, supplying them with drugs, recruiting them into terrorist and pro-communist organizations getting weapons from the USSR (which has been established by a special investigation by Sen. Danton); that the USSR is to blame for the continuous military conflict in Lebanon and for the artificial setting of the Arabs on the Jews in Israel; that even today an unceasing stream of arms is going from the USSR to Jordan and Syria where Gorbachev's “peace-makers” are preparing a future military attack against Israel; that the USSR has managed to infiltrate the majority of the information organs and mass media and uses their channels for spreading misinformation; that even Christian churches, as a propaganda tool, have been used by Soviet agents of influence, and today the World Council of Christian Churches receives 63 million dollars a year from the Soviet KGB and is a champion of communist ideas; that behind the facade of glasnost and perestroika the KGB is increasing its staff and the forced-labour system is growing (in 2500 forced-labour camps, among them extermination camps where prisoners dig uranium and get killed by the radiation, there are now 7 million prisoners — the figure is confirmed by Soviet officials).

Having been reminded of what is hidden behind the smoke-screen of “perestroika”, I explained why it had been so easy for me to predict the fall of the Berlin wall. The analysis of what is going on in the USSR and its satellite countries clearly shows that Gorbachev seeks to convince the West that the USSR and its block

have taken the path of democracy. The fact of the matter is that Gorbachev has put forward his plan of a “united European home” for European nations and... the USSR. After Europe has united, destroyed its inner borders and created a common monetary system (which, according to the plan, must happen by 1992) Gorbachev suggests to transform Europe into a sort of “common apartment” — Europe and the USSR together — in order to establish “peace all over the world”.

After the American Pershing-rockets had been installed in Europe and neutron weapons had been introduced into the European defence system, Gorbachev realized that he could no longer dream of the military occupation of Europe. Hence the Machiavellian plan of the “united home”. However, in order to realize this plan it was necessary to get the free Europeans convinced that such unification won’t mean occupation by the great neighbour! And that’s when the idea of the “glasnost and perestroika” performance was conceived. First, the Baltic republics were allowed to demonstrate and even take real steps in the direction of their separation from the USSR. This made a sensation and attracted world attention to the “perestroika”. Nobody paid attention to the fact that at the same time a demonstration in Tbilisi, very similar to those allowed and taking place in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, was drowned in blood by the iron hand of Gorbachev. Oh, yes, unlike the previous Soviet leaders the “democrat” Gorbachev ordered an investigation of the criminal bloodshed in Tbilisi, but strangely enough the investigating committee has not found who gave the command for the Tbilisi massacre...

Following the sensation in the Baltic republics Gorbachev sanctioned the sensation in Poland: a government with members of Solidarity in it.

Then the Czecho-Slovakian events... Another sensation. It was when I said in my lecture of the prolonged sensation created by Gorbachev and drew a logical conclusion that the demonstration of the Germans in Leipzig, getting rid of the former communist party head Honnecker and Krenz’s invitation to come to Gorbachev can finally result in the destruction of the Berlin wall. I also said that the chain reaction, under Gorbachev’s guidance, will certainly continue moving to Bulgaria and Rumania. At this point I asked to pay attention to the fact that all the events connected with “perestroika, both inside the USSR and outside, are happening on order from above, from Moscow, while the people of these countries play the role of puppets in a performance directed and staged by Gorbachev. For who else could give the order to open the East German borders with Czecho-Slovakia for the refugees and direct them through Czecho-Slovakia to Austria? Who else could give the order to allow demonstrations and “perestroika” in the Soviet block countries? Would any of the puppet leaders of these countries dare do this without Gorbachev’s order? Why, the Soviet troops are still located in all these countries and it would have been quite easy to crash the demonstrations had it only been in Gorbachev’s plan.

There is a legitimate question dictated by logical thinking: if Gorbachev is really “destroying communism”, as many naive people and numerous sovietologists believe, why couldn’t he do it from above and in good order that would avoid the loss of human lives; why could he not announce in a “king’s speech” that he, as well as all the nations of the Soviet empire, arrived at the conclusion that the communist system “doesn’t work”, and that he, therefore, decided to abolish the despotic rule of the communist party, dismantle the KGB and revoke the anti-democratic laws reigning in the USSR

— and that every nation is now free to conduct free elections and start a new life?.. No, he did not do this, because he did not mean this...

And therefore we witnessed the terrible development of events in Rumania — the development of Gorbachev's performance. Couldn't he invite Ceausescu to Moscow and throw him into the waste basket of history, the way he had done it a month before with the Czecho-Slovakian and East German leaders? He certainly could. But everybody in the West started being fed up with the "peaceful revolutions" in the Soviet block countries. A new sensation was needed. And so it happened that a different scenario was picked out for Rumania: a civil war, violently resisting Ceausescu, thousands of corpses... Did not Gorbachev know that Ceausescu was a dotard and senile despot? Oh yes, he did. But this did not bother him at all when just a few months prior to these events he had a meeting with Ceausescu, during which he embraced and kissed him and promised him his support. And already then did he know what kind of role was being saved for Ceausescu in the international scenario... And he was not troubled at all with the thought that he was leading Rumania to a bloodshed, to numerous casualties. Just as he had not hesitated a short while before to murder the innocent participants in the peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi and then shift the blame on the executors of his order.

Stalin's school can be noticed in every step: just remember the assassination of Kirov — initiated and directed by Stalin — millions of people arrested and killed in connection with "Kirov's case", and Stalin crying over Kirov's body...

The Rumanian performance is coming to an end: Ceausescu has been caught, "tried" and executed. While Gorbachev continues to get his profit and interests from business: he is a defender of democracy and will never admit that what has happened in Rumania was a part of his overall plan.

But there is nothing secret that doesn't eventually become evident: the KGB defectors have already disclosed for the West hundreds of crimes committed by Stalin, Brezhnev, Krushchev. The day is not so far away when another defector from the ruling or the executive circles of the USSR will bring to the West the details of how Gorbachev directed the "Rumanian events". Already now a slip of the tongue by a Rumanian general opened a very interesting little secret: the so-called "spontaneously elected" salvation committee was appointed half a year before it "spontaneously" appeared. Appointed by whom?...

But why? Who needs this whole farce with the "development of democratic freedoms", public ovations and flowers that greet Gorbachev all over the world? This is all needed in order to lull the people of Europe, to convince them that the USSR is now a democratic country that you can now cooperate with and even unite in what Gorbachev proposed as "our common European home"!

Already German Chancellor Kohl and British Prime-Minister Thatcher have made statements in favour of the "united European home" (not "right away" certainly). And President Bush has praised "perestroika" as well as Gorbachev's policy of "democratization of the regimes" and said that the day is near when the West will be able to accept the USSR into the family of free nations... God save us from a wolf in sheep's clothing, from a new Trojan Horse...

Doesn't it seem strange to you that the criminal leaders of the USSR have never tried to conceal their true aims concerning the "bourgeois world" — to destroy! — and the West has never noticed it? We remember the contempt and scorn that Lenin

expressed in his statements about the “bourgeoisie” who must be deceived and destroyed, about the capitalists who will be happy to sell the USSR the rope “on which we shall hang them”... This has been widely quoted and written about, but all in vain — those who did not want to notice did not notice.

But here is another document — the directives dated 1931 and signed by then Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of the USSR Dimitri Manuilski: “A war between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today we are not strong enough to attack. But our time will come... We need the element of unexpectedness. We must lull the bourgeoisie to sleep. And for this purpose it is necessary to organize an attractive ‘peace movement’.

The capitalist countries are stupid, they are decaying and will be glad to cooperate with us for the cause of their own destruction; they will be excited at another opportunity to become our friends. But once their defence has been destroyed we’ll crush them with our clenched fist.”

It would be hard to find a clearer description for today’s Soviet policy in the world, even though this “program” was formulated almost 60 years ago. In this light it is much easier to understand the reason and purpose of the tremendous development throughout the world of the Soviet organized and orchestrated “peace movements” undermining and causing the paralysis of the defence of the West. But if it is clear to us it is absolutely not so for those whom the Soviets are planning to enslave and bring down to their own level. The performance of perestroika and glasnost in the USSR is being staged “for export”, for foreigners who are amazed: “You can now say anything in the USSR!”

Not quite... We can see this in the example of Tbilisi, of the new arrests taking place in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Middle Asian Republics as well as among the religious believers, among them members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the unregistered Baptists, “Jehovah’s Witnesses” and Seventh Day Adventists whose church is still prohibited; the Hebrew learning groups are still being dispersed in the provinces, even though in the big cities they exist openly as a show for foreigners, along with all kinds of officially registered Jewish organizations.

The so-called informal organizations of all sorts are also under the unblinking eye of the KGB: its computers (US-made) constantly get newer and newer data on the “internal enemies” showing up on the surface, while the new laws (passed already in Gorbachev’s time) concerning the rights of the Ministry of the Interior permit (when it is necessary) to search and arrest Soviet citizens practically without any control.

The recent events in the Caucasus — the internal war between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis is an illustration of how ruthlessly Gorbachev reaches his goals. One of his primary goals is to stifle the national liberation movements in many Soviet republics. To start punitive actions against popular fronts and other national organizations would be “anti-democratic”. But after having set them onto each other, Gorbachev could quietly allow himself to send troops against them as if for the purpose of restoring public order and stopping the bloodshed. Now nobody could accuse him of being anti-democratic, and at the same time a good lesson has been given to both the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians — to make them forget the very idea of a separation from the boss — the USSR. What can be a better lesson than thousands of killed people?...

This was necessary for Gorbachev as a warning to Ukraine and other republics:

there is nothing Gorbachev fears more than a development of the national-liberation events in Ukraine, and the terrible slaughter in the Caucasus is a threatening gesture to the Ukrainians.

The widely publicized reconstruction of industry is nothing but another bluff because Soviet plants and factories continue to work with their very old and out-dated equipment and for this reason they can neither increase their output nor improve the quality of their products. As for the cooperatives that are supposed to serve as proof that freedom of business initiative has been allowed in the USSR, they are practically engaged in the illegal transfer of the state-owned food products from the state-owned meat- and milk-plants to their private restaurants at inflated prices, as well as in the illegal appropriation of spare parts necessary for the repairs of cars and all kind of domestic equipment in their private workshops. This causes justified indignation with “capitalism” on the part of the population because very few realize that this fraud has nothing to do with the capitalist forms of production. But here Gorbachev has also killed two birds with one stone: he has shown to his people that capitalism is bad and convinced the West that there exists in the USSR freedom of business initiative, i.e. another sign of real democracy...

Meanwhile, the Soviet military industry has been working at its full capacity and continues to receive new equipment and technology from the United States, Germany, Japan, etc. And all the propagandistic shrieks about the Soviet arms cuts can be easily outweighed by the shocking figures: even after the “disarmament” announced by Gorbachev the ratio between the Soviet and NATO military might remains 3 to 1 in favour of the USSR. To make it worse, the USA are going to cut their military expenditure by \$ 10,000,000,000, as they announced on Dec. 18, 1989, while the European governments suggest a 50% reduction of the American participation in NATO. It thus becomes apparent that the day is very near when Gorbachev, with his fraudulent manipulations on “disarmament” and probably with a sensational disbandment of the “Warsaw Pact”, will force the West to abolish NATO and will thus disarm Europe. This is when “peace in the world” will be established, and the Soviet Union will become the boss in Europe without a single shot, the ruler in the “united European home”...

And then, while “uniting” with Europe, the USSR will again “unite” with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries that today are getting their temporary freedom and will be swallowed again. It is worth playing the democracy game for a while if entire Europe is at stake.

The next round will be with the United States at stake. Once Europe is in Soviet hands they will be able to dictate their conditions to the USA, to blackmail them: why, isn't America already surrounded with Soviet rockets today? What else will be left for the United States but surrender?

As for the Soviet style of “glasnost” it is nothing but letting steam out of a boiling pot: go ahead, talk as much as you wish — it won't harm the KGB power. In the United States and Europe the people write and say whatever they want, however the real bosses sit quietly in their chairs. Evidently, this is what Mrs. Thatcher explained to Gorbachev when she met with him months before he was appointed the head of the USSR. And he understood...

But Gorbachev's “glasnost” is accompanied with the creation of the KGB storm-troops: the gangs of “Pamyat”, “Lyuberi”, “Afghans” (veteran Afghanistan soldiers)

and other scum of the Black Hundreds that are prepared to disperse “anti-Russian” demonstrations, to rout “those who destroyed the Russian culture”, i.e. the habitual scapegoat — the Jews, as well as anybody whom “the boss” will point out. As we have learnt, those who want become members of “Pamyat” are to present — as their entrance fee — five Jewish names with their corresponding addresses and telephone numbers... And while the question is being debated in the free world whether there will be pogroms in the USSR — the pogroms have already started, though not on a mass scale — a few Jewish families here and a few there... And the doors of their buildings are being marked with the most unambiguous sign: “Here live Jews!” — this is just for the future...

Let us now examine the economic situation in the USSR. From day to day new items disappear from the shelves of stores and shops, both food-stuffs and manufactured goods — by now out of 270 “obligatory” items 245 have disappeared. Among them soap, tooth-paste, matches, cigarettes with filters, electric light bulbs, tea and coffee; you can no longer buy even the tasteless Soviet-made shoes or the awful-looking clothes produced at the infamous Moscow clothes factory... Let alone meat and butter! However, there is an endless stream of grain, meat, butter, eggs and other food-stuffs for which the Soviets pay with hard currency going to the USSR from the USA, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand. Where are all these things? Why don’t they reach the people in the Soviet Union? Because instead of going to the shops they are being stored in trenches dug in the permafrost beyond the polar circle: this is a state reserve “for the case of war”. Although it is quite apparent that nobody threatens the USSR with war.

During the decades of constantly falling level of life the people in the Soviet Union learned to adjust: protection, kitchen-gardens and the so-called “fetchers” (i.e. people who know where and how to get the deficit goods and whom to offer them to at much higher prices). People spend hours in lines, somehow and somewhere get something and, strange as it may seem, don’t die of hunger. However they are constantly busy trying to get things and thus another Gorbachev aim is being achieved: the people have no time for politics!

But if you look more closely at the problem of shortages in the Soviet shops you will notice that within recent years and months there disappeared items that had not only been available but had always been in abundance before, among them such things as soap, tooth-paste, low-quality foot-wear and clothes. But everyone knows that the same plants and factories that used to produce these items two years ago continue to produce them now in the same amount. So who and why does not let them reach the shops? It is quite clear that the sudden disappearance of these items from the trading network is artificial and results from a command from above. It was against this background that Gorbachev declared, in December of 1989, that the political problems are not his first priority, because the task of the utmost importance for him is “to pass the economic test”: if he succeeds in providing food and manufactured goods to the population he will prove that he is a real leader. This declaration clears a lot: the West will be convinced seeing the “democratization” process in the country where, on one sunny day, the soap and long-awaited-for meat and butter will return to the shops and everybody will be happy to see the “abundance”... Just like in the old joke where the rabbi advised to the old man, that came to him with complaints concerning the tiny room the large family was living penned up in, to take in a goat... And when a week

later the old man came back wailing because it was no longer possible to live in the room at all, the rabbi told him to take out the goat, after which the old man came to thank the rabbi for helping him to make their room more spacious.

Gorbachev's methods are simple and all his deceptions become quite apparent when analytically examined. But the world media, taken in by KGB agents of influence and by the pro-communist "useful idiots" (as they are called by the KGB) sing the praises, provide daily misinformation and to such an extent distort the real picture of what is going on in the USSR and in the world, that many people can't help but be taken in by this fraud. It must be also taken into account that psychologically the people are turned to peace, they want to believe in the good principle and this is why they get so easily attracted with the fraudulent slogans and deceptive actions when Gorbachev is shouting about peace.

It should be noted here that if belief in a good principle lies in the basis of thinking of mankind as a whole, I cannot believe in good motivations and naivety of international capital and the politicians who ensure stability of the banks. I am sure that behind the politicians of the whole world, as well as behind Gorbachev himself, there stand cold and cruel personalities, so brilliantly analysed and unmasked by the American analytical writers and economists Antony C. Sutton, Gary Allen and many others.

But can it just be that only I see all this horror? Maybe Gorbachev sincerely seeks peace and good for the world? Then read Gorbachev's own words from his speech to the Politburo, November 1987 — as reported by Sir William Stephenson, head of the Combined Allied Intelligence Operations during WW II: "Gentlemen, comrades, do not be concerned about all you hear about glasnost and perestroika and democracy in the coming years. These are primarily for outward consumption. There will be no significant internal changes within the Soviet Union, other than for cosmetic purposes. Our purpose is to disarm the Americans and to let them fall asleep. We want to accomplish three things: One, we want the Americans to withdraw conventional forces from Europe. Two, we want them to withdraw nuclear forces from Europe. Three, we want the Americans to stop proceeding with Strategic Defense Initiative." (Cited from the Fall 1989 issue of the McAlvany Intelligence Advisor, PO Box 84904, Phoenix, AZ 85071, USA).

After you have read Gorbachev's revelation, let me just remind you of the above cited speech of Manuilski in 1931 that co-incides completely with Gorbachev's plan. Now look back to the events of the last few years and make your own analysis of the performance directed from the USSR, a performance in which every next act is full of satanic guile and ruse — and judge by yourself what awaits the trusty and the naive...

Another scenario is still possible too: the kind Hand from Above will interfere and stop this satanic plan.

HELP FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES

ABN has been the chief motivator for a spontaneous collection of drugs and medicines for the SUN CLINIC in Quetta, Pakistan. The clinic is run by Gul Jan Farahi, who is a mujahideen and head of the Islamic Council of the Afghan nation. In just November and December 1989 the SUN Clinic gave medical care to 880 refugees including 292 children. Gul Jan Farahi wrote in his latest appeal for help "It is very cold today in Quetta. There is a huge number of refugees who are sick. They need medicine. So that we may be helped."

YUGOSLAVIA COULD BE NEXT

The political earthquake which has swept across East Europe this year has not yet reached Yugoslavia. Even so, the deeply troubled Yugoslav federation is being badly shaken by internal crises. It's only a matter of time before revolution comes to Yugoslavia.

Like its former Marxist neighbors, Yugoslavia is suffering from a wide variety of grave economic problems: rising unemployment, soaring inflation, a huge foreign debt and shortages of goods.

The central government of Belgrade is bankrupt, but it dares not cut massive subsidies for fear of rebellion by already furious consumers and workers.

As if all this weren't bad enough, Yugoslavia has another whole set of awesome problems that are yet one more malignant legacy of the First World War.

Unstable hodge-podge

At the end of the Great War, pieces from the wreck-age of the old Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires were attached to the independent state of Serbia. The result was a chronically unstable hodge-podge of bitterly feuding ethnic and religious groups.

Orthodox Serbs make up a third of Yugoslavia and dominate the federation's central government, army and powerful secret police. Catholic Croats make the nation's second largest group. During the Second World War, the two peoples savagely butchered one another.

Add in Montenegrins, Slovenes, Bosnians, Macedonians and a sprinkling of Magyars, Turks and Vlachs. Plus two million rebellious ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo.

Beside Orthodox and Catholics, about 16 per cent of Yugoslavs are Moslems, including many Albanian Kosovars. For a supposedly communist nation, Yugos take their religion very seriously.

Worsening economic problems have rekindled a nasty collection of old ethnic hatreds. The western-oriented, relatively prosperous republics of Slovenia and Croatia have promised to hold free elections and end the communist party's monopoly on power.

They deeply resent what they claim is economic and political domination by Serbia and show signs of wanting to break away from the federation and form some sort of links to Austria and Hungary — a giant step back to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Serbs are furious at the Slovenes and Croats. Worse, they are attempting to crush a rebellion by Kosovo's Albanians, who are demanding their own federal state.

Amnesty International accuses the Yugoslav regime of widespread human rights abuses in Kosovo, including torture and massive jailings.

Ironically, Kosovo's Albanians are still freer than their fellows in Stalinist Albania.

A Serbian strongman, Slobodan Milosevic, has risen to power on a blatantly chauvinist platform, calling for "Greater Serbia" and ruthless suppression of the Albanian uprising.

VICTIMS OF STALIN TERROR REINTERRED IN BYKIVNIA, NEAR KYIV

On February 17, remains of victims of Stalinist repressions, which had been removed for examination by a special commission, were reinterred near the village of Bykivnia, near Kyiv. The remains were discovered in mass graves located in a forest outside the village.

For a long time the authorities denied the very fact that there were any victims of the communist regime, and the official version was that these were remains of victims of the German occupation from 1941-43. It was only after numerous public meetings and much hard work on the part of the "Memorial" Society that the authorities were compelled to appoint a commission. The commission worked for almost a year and finally concluded that the mass graves in Bykivnia contained the remains of victims of NKVD terror. The authorities then had no choice, but to give official approval to a competition to design a monument dedicated to the memory of these victims. The competition is being held in the republican artists' building.

The reinterment took place at that site, where the monument is to be erected. Presently, a solitary granite rock with the inscription "Eternal Memory" overlooks the graves. Until recently, it also bore an inscription about German atrocities during their occupation of Ukraine and the massive losses sustained by the Soviet people during that period.

A public assembly preceded the reinterment. Members of "Memorial", WW2 veterans, representatives of various Jewish organizations, and electoral candidates Taniuk and Teren addressed the 3-4,000 participants. Teren pointed out that Ukraine will not be able to give a firm guarantee to its people that the genocide of the Stalin era will never again be repeated, until the Ukrainian people establish an independent and sovereign state of their own.

The meeting was followed by a short memorial service, at which priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (formerly the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church) officiated.

Kyiv

At the same time some 2-3,000 people gathered by the October Palace of Culture in Kyiv, which housed the headquarters of the NKVD in the 1930s, to remember the victims of Stalinist terror. At the end of the assembly an urn containing the remains of some of the victims was interred beside the building.



YUGOSLAVIA COULD BE NEXT

Lately, there have been rumours that the Serb-dominated army may stage a coup to overthrow the independent-minded governments of Slovenia and Croatia. What this means is that Yugoslavia is edging toward what could be a very ugly civil war.

At some time soon, all of these economic and ethnic problems will reach a critical mass.

(The Edmonton Sun. December 28. 1989)

MOSCOW CONTINUES POLICY OF RUSSIFICATION IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE

(UCIS) — Vasył Barladianu — a representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) from Odessa — issued the following statement regarding Moscow's colonial policy of Russification, which it continues to implement particularly in the southern-most regions of Ukraine:

Georgiy Kryuchkov, first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, recently issued a directive to begin a campaign to destabilize the situation in the area around the Black Sea (southern Ukraine — UCIS).

According to the most recent information received from the Bilohorod-Dnister and Ovidopol regions, the campaign calls for a resettlement of a considerable number of Russian-speaking people from the Murmansk, Tyumen and Magadan regions of the Russian SFSR. Many thousands of people are to resettle in the area around the delta of the Dnister river near Odessa. This plan is being implemented in a semi-covert fashion and with considerable expediency.

In the region of Odessa, in addition to the transport deficit, a considerable amount of building machinery and materials have been put into place. The building of new housing for future migrants is proceeding at a very fast pace. In order to mollify the anxiety and dissatisfaction of the local residents, promises have been made to the effect that some of the new housing, presently under development for the new migrants, will be allocated for the residents. In the Murmansk, Tyumen and Magadan regions special organizations have been created, such as the creative-productive association — “Sybir”, which takes care of the mass resettlement of the local residents into Ukraine. In the Odessa region the implementation of this campaign has been given over to the former head of the regional administrative agency — Sychuk.

On February 20 the issue of resettlement of residents from Russia into the Odessa region was to be taken up by local authorities, who have already taken steps to ensure its positive resolution. This decision will basically legalize the scandalous campaign that has already commenced against the Ukrainians and Moldavians of the Dnister area of Ukraine.

There was a time when people and capital resources were expropriated from Ukraine and Moldavia to be utilized in Siberia and the north; now the authorities are trying to repay the debt by sending Russian migrants into Ukraine, among whom are a considerable number of chauvinists and people of imperialistic viewpoints. Clearly, such an operation cannot have been implemented without the knowledge of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and USSR, without an agreement on this issue between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — in Kyiv, Kyshinev and Moscow. So as to cover up this operation, which directly violates the sovereignty of Ukraine and Moldavia, a not-so-clever official version was contrived, i.e., only Ukrainians and Moldavians that worked in the north and in Siberia are being resettled from Russia into Ukraine. This, however, is nothing other than a fraud, because the real aim of this resettlement supersedes other aims: first, to change the demographic composition of the population of the Bilohorod-Dnister and Ovidopol regions; secondly, to artificially intensify tensions between Ukrainians and Moldavians on the one hand, and the Russians on the other;

thirdly, to nurture and support on the territory of Odessa the idea of the creation of a so-called “Dnister autonomous republic”, which will be supported by Russian chauvinists in eastern Moldavia. After the referendum and the strikes, which recently occurred in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnytzia, Dubossary, the problem of giving the Russian population an autonomous status has been artificially exacerbated and is being supported by Moscow. Taking into account the fact that the first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party in Odessa — Georgiy Kryuchkov — has supported the idea of creating a “Dnister autonomous republic” for the longest time, one should not discount the possibility that a section of the territory of the Odessa region will be integrated into this “republic”, specifically: the Bilohorod-Dnister and Ovidopol regions, which are presently being populated by migrants from Russia. Furthermore, it has been brought to the attention of the author of this statement, that with this aim in mind plans are being made to populate with migrants a section of the Chernivtsi region, specifically the Khotyn district.

The idea of creating a so-called “Dnister autonomous republic” within Ukraine and Moldavia — against the will of the Ukrainian and Moldavian peoples — is a direct crime against humanity. At a time when tens of thousands of victims of the Chornobyl catastrophe continue to live in radioactive areas, when millions of Ukrainians, who were forcibly resettled outside Ukraine, do not have the opportunity to return to their ancestral lands, the Party apparatus and the anti-democratic government of the USSR are preparing in Ukraine and in the Dnister region of Moldavia a conflagration of international strife, i.e. a Ukrainian-Moldavian Karabakh. The responsibility of all of humanity is to prevent this from happening.

LVIV INITIATIVE COMMITTEE DEMANDS UKRAINIAN DEFENCE MINISTRY AND ARMY

On February 7 an Initiative Committee for the Creation of Ukrainian Armed Forces was set up in Lviv. At its Founding Congress the Committee resolved the following:

The Ukrainian National Republic was occupied by forces of the RSFSR in 1919. From that time, Ukraine has remained a colony. This is the cause of the destructive crisis, which is leading to the complete destruction of our people.

Although the Ukrainian SSR is a member of the United Nations, and as such has the right to its own national armed forces, it does not exercise this right.

In order to guarantee the integrity of the Ukrainian people, its parliament, and the preservation of stability in Europe, the Initiative Committee is making the following demands:

1) Temporary military service for residents of Ukraine, with the right to use the Ukrainian language, in Soviet forces on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, as a transitional stage in the formation of Ukrainian Armed Forces.

2) A halt to military service on the territory of Ukraine of residents of other republics.

3) The opportunity for alternative military service on the territory of Ukraine.

4) Access to the armed forces by the press, clergy and representatives of civic organizations.

BOHDAN KLYMCHAK IN PERM CAMP 35 PLACED IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

The last news that we had from Bohdan Klymchak was that he was placed in solitary confinement on October 31st 1989. Bohdan Klymchak, a political prisoner, was punished for holding a day long hunger-strike marking October 30th, the Day of the Political Prisoner. A 50 year old technician from Western Ukraine, Mr Klymchak was also punished for failure to report to work which he did as a protest against the with-holding of his mail by prison authorities.

Mr Klymchak is serving a 15 year sentence of strict regime labour camp and 5 years exile for the "betrayl of the Motherland". He was arrested in November 1978 for escaping to Iran. He was caught and handed over to the Soviet-Russian authorities. Mr Klymchak served a previous term in 1960-1963 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".



Bohdan Klymchak

Representatives Christopher Smith (R-NJ) and Frank Wolf (R-Va), both members of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, met with Mr Klymchak along with other inmates when they visited Perm camp 35 in August 9th-10th 1989.

Bohdan Klymchak is a prisoner of conscience. He never fought with a weapon in his hands. He is still incarcerated in a very severe labour camp in spite of the loud proclamations of "glasnost and perestroika" by Mr Gorbychev.

The free World should demand his immediate release!

5) The replacement of the oath of allegiance of the Government of the USSR by on oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian Army should defend the territorial integrity of the republic against any aggression.

6) The establishment of a Ukrainian Defence Ministry.

7) The deployment of the armed forces against own people or other peoples, as well as the occupation of foreign territory, should be condemned and declared impermissible.

Our aim is the creation of professional Ukrainian Armed Forces on the territory of Ukraine, as a guarantee of universal demilitarization in the future and the establishment of peace throughout the whole world.

UKRAINIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION HOLDS CONFERENCE IN DNIPRODZHERZHINSK

UCIS — A conference of the south-eastern organization — the Ukrainian Student Association (USS) took place on February 10 in Dniprodzherzhinsk.

The Ukrainian Student Association is an independent student organization, which unites in its ranks all the student organizations of central and south-eastern Ukraine. It was created on December 8 - 10, 1989, in Kyiv. Its goal is to defend the rights of student groups by leading a political campaign in the form of a separate trade union.

The Conference was organized by the Coordinating Council of the USS and was dedicated to three pressing problems, which lie before the USS: first — the need to establish a better system of coordination between Ukrainian students, with a view towards establishing a common platform of action based on the general experience of Ukrainian students; second — the formulation of a common position of the USS for the Congress of Ukrainian Students (KSU), which is scheduled to take place on February 23 - 25, 1990, in Lviv; third — the formulation of a resolution regarding the first all-Ukrainian student strike on February 20 - 21.

The Conference was attended by six members of the Coordinating Council of the USS and representatives of regional branches of the USS from Kyiv, Dniprodzherzhinsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, a representative of the Dniprodzherzhinsk branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”) — V. Chornomaz, and the secretary of the city council of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) — O. Semenko.

The Conference was opened by its chairman — O. Barkov of the Dniprodzherzhinsk branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. He stated that it is necessary to consolidate Ukrainian student groups from southern and eastern Ukraine, taking into account that the majority of the Ukrainian technical institutes are situated in southern and eastern Ukraine. It was, therefore, necessary to seek to engage in the USS on fully active students, thereby boosting the prestige of the USS. He underscored the basic student needs (grants), which are soon to be resolved by the trade union organization, resulting in support rendered to the political demands of the USS. It is necessary to become more resolute in developing a national policy of rebirth in this area of Ukraine, incorporating into it the specific aspects of the region.

The second speaker to address the Conference was Vyacheslav Kyrylenko, a Coordinating Council member and a representative of the Kyiv branch of the USS. In his speech he talked about the situation in other regional branches of the USS. Kyrylenko pointed out that the problems raised by the USS have been continuously ignored by the official structure of higher educational institutions. He proposed to the representatives of the south-eastern region to support the initiative of the Kyiv branch of the USS regarding the staging of an all-Ukrainian student warning strike, scheduled to take place on February 20-21.

The representative of the Dnipropetrovsk branch of the USS — Oleksander Urban, spoke about the activity of the student anarchist organization — “The Left

Front of Independent Students of Ukraine of Sakharov”, and the active counteraction to this activity by party and Komsomol committees, and also about future USS activities in the Donetsk-Prydniprianskyi region.

Vyacheslav Pikhovshek — a member of the Coordinating Council of the USS, also addressed the participants. He pointed out that the USS is a link between fairly developed forms of the student movement in Halychyna (western Ukraine — specifically with regard to the present situation of the Lviv-based “Student Brotherhood”) and the movement in central and south-eastern Ukraine. He had in mind to help the radical student groups of eastern Ukraine, which work towards the revival of consciousness among the wide masses of students. He stressed that the officially unrecognized status of the student groups can only be resolved through a strike, a decisive action, which will help the students become conscious of themselves as a social force and will give them a clear vision to unite around. It is also of great significance that the trade union demands of the strikers (grants at a minimum standard of living level, halls of residence, the abolition of military training, the acceptance and effectuation of democratic statutes in the higher educational institutes) have to be clearly united with the political demands, i.e., the liquidation of party committees of the CPSU in the institutes, the elimination of the reigning communist and atheist ideology.

In a separate address, Oleksander Abruzov — a member of the Coordinating Council and a representative of the Donetsk branch of the USS, spoke about several particular aspects of the student movement in Donbas (Donets Basin), where the workers’ movement is again beginning to revive itself after last year’s strikes. Abruzov emphasized that the student movement should not only fight for its specific rights, but that it should also defend general democratic principles everywhere and stand in solidarity with such social groups. What is a particularly pressing concern is the need to create a structure, within which all problems can be resolved, those of the students and those of other strata of society.

After the speeches, a series of resolutions were adopted regarding the position that the USS was to take at the congress of the Conference of the Students of Ukraine, with particular emphasis placed on the USS’s union demands.

The organizations represented at this conference unanimously supported the propositions of the Kyiv and Kharkiv branches of the USS and the Lviv “Student Brotherhood” about a strike. The Ukrainian Ministry of Higher Education ignored the propositions of the students, expressed at the founding conference of the USS, broke their promises, made at the meeting between the leadership of the Ministry of Higher Education and USS leader, and again demonstrated their vassal dependence on Moscow.

A decision was made to begin organizing pre-strike meetings and assemblies and to take immediate steps towards preparing the strike itself.

With a view towards better operational coordination of actions, a Donetsk-Prydniprianskyi bloc of the USS was established. The Conference also adopted a series of resolutions.

“DON’T THREATEN US” — EARLY RALLY IN VILNIUS

A rally on the eve of Gorbachev’s arrival, January 10, drew between 15,000 and 30,000 people in Vilnius. Organized by the Vilnius chapter of Sajudis, the rally featured signs expressing the feelings of the majority of the Lithuanian people: “Go home with the Red Army,” “A visit of guests is a pleasant distraction, but a visit of a Czar is a real Pain,” “We didn’t join the Soviet Union, you grabbed us,” “Bolshevism No, Democracy Yes,” “Mr. Gorby, Lithuanians Love Freedom,” “Russians, have you forgotten your dear Fatherland?”

“We want Lithuania to be a free bird — not a hen in the harem of the Russian rooster,” said writer Kazys Saja.

Another speaker said that just as Mr. Gorbachev had sent congratulatory telegrams to several East European countries as they threw out old leaders and old politics, so he would soon send one to Lithuania.

Rejecting Moscow’s disinformation about the alleged mistreatment of ethnic minorities in Lithuania, Polish and Russian speakers emphasized that Lithuanians never tried to “lithuanianize” other nationalities.

“Don’t threaten us with an economic blockade,” Professor Albertas Zalatorius said. “No blockade has ever succeeded in subjugating a people, and we have resisted hunger before.”

300,000 RALLY IN VILNIUS DEMANDING INDEPENDENCE

Mass rallies were held in Lithuania on the day of Gorbachev’s arrival to support demands for independence. Sajudis sources reported that at least 300,000 had assembled in Vilnius Cathedral Square, where members of Sajudis, the Lithuanian Freedom League, the independent Lithuanian CP, and the Russian and Jewish communities addressed the throng. Radio Vilnius reported that pro-independence rallies were also taking place in Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys and several other cities. Church bells tolled throughout the republic and special masses for Lithuanian independence were held.

Gorbachev was also invited to address the Vilnius rally, but declined to attend. Flags of Estonia, Latvia, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine joined the sea of Lithuanian banners in the Cathedral Square.

“What was stolen must be returned,” Sajudis’ chairman Vytautas Landsbergis told the Vilnius rally. “The time has come for intergovernmental negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. Moscow is now acknowledging its past mistakes in Czecho-Slovakia and Afghanistan. It must acknowledge its past mistakes (in the Baltic States).”

Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Association, said: “Lithuania is Lithuania and cannot be partly Lithuania. It cannot be partly independent, it can only be independent.”

“We don’t want to live anymore in prison,” said Antanas Terleckas, chairman of the Lithuanian Freedom League. “We should not beg for our independence. We should demand it.”

“The Lithuanian Communist Party has created a small miracle on Earth by declaring its independence,” declared the LCP ideology chief Justas Paleckis. If, in the past, Lithuania was a toy in the hands of the great powers, we will never be a toy again. We will decide our own fate.”

A solidarity rally with the Lithuanians was also held in Riga, the capital of Latvia. The crowd of several thousands included not only Latvians, but also Russians.

LATVIAN SUPREME SOVIET EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH LITHUANIA

“The Latvian Supreme Soviet, as the supreme body of power of a sovereign state, expresses its support for the consistent course of its neighbor — Lithuania — toward independence,” the Latvian Radio said on January 12, “The Latvian Supreme Soviet expresses its solidarity with the people of Lithuania.”

“DON’T INTERFERE IN LITHUANIA” — US CSCE TO GORBACHEV

The Leaders of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe urged Mikhail Gorbachev on January 2 to take into account the will of the Lithuanian people and the importance of the democratic process. Their views were expressed in a statement of Commission Chairman, Senator Dennis DeConcini, and Co-Chairman Congressman Steny H. Hoyer.

The statement said that the creation of an independent Communist Party in Lithuania has been only one form of efforts to realize self-determination and reiterated the fact that the US has never recognized the USSR’s forcible incorporation of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

Asserting that progress in East-West relations has been made possible by Moscow’s resolve not to interfere in democratic processes taking place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, DeConcini and Hoyer urged Gorbachev to stick to this course. Any other strategy, they said, could lead to “profound consequences in the Soviet Union and internationally.”

OFFICE TO REGISTER COMMUNIST CRIMES IN POLAND

We have been informed by KPN (Konfederacja Polski Niepodleglej) that outside of Poland they have created an office of investigation of Communist crimes in Poland. The office will collect all facts and information concerning Communist crimes to the Polish people since 1944. The evidence has to comprise of not only about murder but about the persecution of all social groups, organisations and individual persons.

Particular accent will be put on the newest history of Poland in present times and the office will register all traces of persecution of people in Poland as well as the acts of infiltration and provocation among Polish emigration.

Bertil Häggman (Sweden)

THE CUBAN CLIENT — TERROR STALKS CENTRAL AMERICA

Prior to the communist takeover in Cuba in 1959, Soviet Russia regarded Latin America as a region inevitably under US control. Fidel Castro, however, demonstrated that “objective conditions” for revolution existed in Latin American countries. By achieving power through armed revolution in 1959, Castro also showed that he was able to defend his regime against a force of US-backed exiles. There have since been differences between Moscow and Havana regarding revolutionary methods in Latin America, but the fact remains that, in the late 1980s, Cuba still remains firmly in the Soviet bloc, receiving some \$ 3 billion a year in aid, which is five times the present level of the total US aid to all Latin American countries¹. Since 1975, Cuba has become increasingly important to Soviet Russia. Havana provides valuable proxy forces for Moscow around the world. Nicaragua and El Salvador suggest that there are revolutionary opportunities in Central America and in the Caribbean Basin. This chapter will concentrate mainly on the Cuban organisations responsible for spreading terrorism in Central America, but will also touch upon Cuba’s role as a supporter and training base for terrorists in other countries.

The main base of terrorist support in Latin America is the Cuban intelligence service. **Dirección General de Inteligencia (DGI)**, which was founded in 1961. Its first director was Manuel Pineiro Losada. The build-up of the DGI was assisted by the KGB, whose main agent in Havana at the time was Aleksandr Alexeyev (he later became the Soviet ambassador in Havana, remaining in that post until 1967). Between 1962 and 1968, there were differences of opinion between Havana and Moscow on how to revolutionise Latin America and the Soviets pressed for more influence in the DGI. Raul Castro, Fidel’s brother, supervised what has been called the “satellisation of Cuba” by which the take-over of the DGI was achieved by the KGB. In 1969, Losada was replaced as director of the DGI by Jose Mendes Cominches and the service was reorganised along the same lines as the KGB. In effect, KGB General Viktor Simenov became the “real” head of the DGI.

Manuel Pineiro was appointed head of Cuba’s other main organisation for the support of terrorism, the **Dirección de Liberación Nacional (DLN)**, also known as the American Department (DA). The importance of the DLN was not great compared to the DGI until the end of the 1970s, but since then it has grown in importance. The DLN was reorganised in 1974 into the Americas Department. Since then it has formed the Cuban communist party’s main apparatus for supporting terrorist organisations in the Western hemisphere. Nicaraguan support is also channelled through the DA. The activities include operating secret guerrilla and terrorist training camps in Cuba, networks for covert movement of personnel and material between Cuba and the targets in Latin America. The department has an extensive propaganda apparatus and is organised into four regional sections — Central America, South America, the Caribbean and North America. There are also two study centres and a number of unidentified sections². One writer³ has described the DA as “one of the smallest, most dangerous and least known” of the major intelligence agencies of the world. According to the same writer, in 1983 the DA had between 200 and 300 members. The DLN—DA has maintained contacts with North Korea to help establish terrorist training

facilities in Cuba and, in the late 1960s and 1970s, provided training for the IRA, for the terrorist FLQ (Front du Libération de Québec) in Canada and for the Weather Underground Movement in the United States. Moreover, the Cuban organisation has extended its activities across the Atlantic through its support for superterrorist “Carlos” in Paris and for the Italian Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, book publisher turned terrorist. Al Fatah terrorists have also trained at the military college in Havana⁴. Its most important role, however, is in Central America.

Nicaragua

The Sandinistas and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the Somoza government in Managua in 1979. The FSLN, founded by Carlos Fonseca Amador, a former student of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, was the first Latin American group to be trained in Cuba. In April 1979, the general staff of the FSLN is reported to have acknowledged that 300 fighters had received training in Cuba⁵.

Miguel Bolanos Hunter, a defector from the Sandinistas’ internal security and secret police organisation, the General Directorate of State Security (DGSE), has documented the close cooperation between the Sandinistas and Fidel Castro.

Eden Pastora Gomez, who has been fighting the Sandinistas since his break with them in 1981-82, has also testified to the importance of Cuban aid in building up the power of the FSLN. Cuban soldiers are responsible for training Sandinista soldiers in the use of Soviet weapons. The PLO has provided “volunteers” for the Sandinista fighting forces. Bulgarian and East German experts, along with a number of Cuban and Soviet advisers, are involved in training the Sandinista state security organisation.

The Sandinista regime publicly expressed its gratitude to Cuba. In an interview in the Colombian weekly *Cromos*, the Minister of the Interior of the Sandinista regime, Tomas Borge, revealed his deep admiration for Fidel Castro:

“Fidel is a great human being... We hold him in a very special admiration... He has won the love of all his people and ours as well. It moves me to think of him”.

Guatemala

Cuba has supported a guerilla and terrorist group in Guatemala called Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). In 1968, it was FAR that assassinated the US ambassador to Guatemala, John G. Mein. In 1975, a new Cuban-backed terrorist group emerged — the Guerilla Army of the Poor (EGP) — which soon became a serious threat to the government.

The EGP has expressed solidarity with the FSLN in Nicaragua. This spirit of cooperation has been promoted by the Cuban regime. A Cuban official, meeting with the leaders of the EGP, FAR and another group, Guatemalan Party of Labor (PGT), emphasised that what was needed was cooperation and a united front, and promised that if this could be achieved, Cuba was willing to provide greater financial and material assistance. A large number of the 2,000 guerillas active in Guatemala have been trained in Cuba. Paulino Castillo, a defector from one of the Guatemalan terrorist groups, has testified that he was trained in Cuba in 1980. In the same year, four groups — the EGP, FAR, Armed People’s Organisation (ORPA) and PGT signed a unity agreement. Pineiro Losada, the head of the Americas Department, was present⁶.

El Salvador

In El Salvador, Cuba is providing training for the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL) and the Popular Revolutionary Bloc. A defector from the FPL, Julian Ignacio Otero, has testified that many of the FPL leaders have been trained in Cuba, Nicaragua and the USSR. One of the smaller groups, Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), is also supported by Havana. Its chief strategist, Eduardo Sancho Castaneda, has been one of the main contacts with Cuba. In 1980, the five main insurgent groups in El Salvador — FPL, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), FARN, the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC) and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES) — formed the Fabarundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Honduras

In March 1985, Honduran terrorist groups created the National Unity Directorate of the Revolutionary Movement of Honduras (DNU-MRH). Defectors from this group claim that 250 Hondurans were selected for guerilla training in Nicaragua and Cuba in 1983.

Costa Rica

In 1962, Costa Rica security forces arrested a terrorist group composed of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, a Chilean, a Costa Rican and an Argentinian. A large number of weapons were also seized. The Basque terrorist group ETA has been active in Costa Rica, having links both with the FMLN and the Sandinistas⁷.

THE SPETSNAZ THREAT

During the late 1960s, Western intelligence services noted that Department 13 operations were moving away from assassination to preparations for sabotage in the belief that widespread sabotage could paralyse Western nations by halting transit systems, shutting off the electricity, disrupting the water supplies and blocking traffic arteries in the big cities. When Department 13 became Department V during the extensive reorganisation in 1968-69, the new department began stationing officers in many areas of the industrialised world to prepare for sabotage. Their task was to select targets for sabotage and recruit saboteurs and assassins locally.

In an interview in the French magazine, *Paris Match*, on August 14, 1971, the Czecho-Slovakian defector, General Jan Senja, stated that, under Soviet direction, Warsaw Pact countries had established networks of saboteurs in Western Europe and North America that were to destroy vital installations in the event of war. Secret Warsaw Pact meetings had, for instance, discussed the possibility of sabotaging London's underground system in the event of "serious political difficulties". According to the plan, communist agents would incite demonstrations and then accuse the British government of attempting to prevent public protest by halting the underground. A month after the Senja interview, a Soviet KGB defector, Oleg Adolfovich Lyalin, told a surprised public in England much the same thing — that the Soviets were planning to infiltrate agents for the purpose of sabotage. In a written reply to a question in Parliament, the British Attorney-General stated:

*Lyalin occupied an official post of importance in the KGB division whose mission 'included the organisation of sabotage within the United Kingdom'... After Mr. Lyalin sought asylum, there were substantial grounds for anxiety over his personal safety, enhanced by the fact that the duties of his department of the KGB also included the elimination of individuals judged to be enemies of the USSR*⁸.

KGB and GRU peacetime preparations include support for Spetsnaz troops or "Special Designation Troops" (Spetsialnoye Naznacheniye or Spetsnaz for short). These trained agents are of any age, occupation or social class and have joined either out of ideological conviction or because they have been blackmailed through some personal indiscretion. They do not know each other and have often been recruited individually for particular tasks. Their tasks include: providing safe houses, custody of special equipment, documents, maps and civilian clothing. People who work inside installations targeted for sabotage can help attackers gain admission and the "peace movements", in times of increasing tension, could help with demonstrations to divert attention from those preparing the ground for the Spetsnaz. A Danish source⁹ claims that an estimated 5,000 people in Denmark could be involved in Spetsnaz support work. Working on this premise, then, there are probably around 25,000 people involved in Spetsnaz operations throughout the whole of Scandinavia. As a matter of fact, two Scandinavian countries, Sweden and Finland, both non-aligned and neutral along with Czecho-Slovakia and Afghanistan, are countries which have been subject to Spetsnaz operations. As regards Finland Suvorov writes: "The campaign of terrorism against Finland is closely linked with the name of the Finnish Communist Otto Kuusinen". From 1921, "Kuusinen's career was closely linked with Soviet military intelligence officers... In 1939, after the Red Army invaded Finland, he proclaimed himself 'prime minister and minister of foreign affairs' of the 'Finnish Democratic Republic'... But the Finnish people put up such resistance that the Kuusinen government's bid to turn Finland into a 'people's republic' was a failure"¹⁰. Kuusinen, who had fled to Moscow in 1921, later rose in the Soviet political hierarchy to become a member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee. (Spetsnaz activities in Sweden in the 1980s are treated at the end of this chapter).

Preparatory activities for Soviet special operations could involve industrial unrest and interference with public utilities — natural targets include power lines, transformer stations, automatic telephone exchanges, radio and television relay stations, pipelines and pumping stations. Many Spetsnaz troops could also move into position in Western Europe and North America before any signs of rising tension. Others could arrive by sea during mobilisation. A Spetsnaz network can be activated at any given moment. As a result, selective assassination and sabotage would begin. Radio beacons, power lines, fuel supplies, electrical switchboards and telephone lines could be sabotaged by individuals or small groups with very little effort.

It is through the defection of a Soviet army officer, who writes under the pseudonym of Viktor Suvorov, that we now know quite a lot about Spetsnaz. Recent reliable sources claim that Soviet Russia has 16 brigades and three regiments of Spetsnaz troops. The Soviet navy possesses four Special Forces Brigades (one for each fleet) and 20 independent units. On mobilisation they would number between 25,000-30,000. The KGB has its own network of agents responsible for assassinating VIPs in the West. Very little is known about this professional brigade of assassins. Their training takes place in a number of centres all over the Soviet Union — one, for

example is in Odessa. Once a year, the best Spetsnaz units come together at the main training centre in the region of Kirovograd to undergo an intensive period of training and competition. Their equipment is light: a Kalashnikov rifle, 300 rounds of ammunition, a P6 silenced pistol, six hand-grenades or a light grenade-launcher, food and medical supplies. It can also include a SA-7 Strela 2 surface-to-air missile. The units have been known to use light motor-cycles and specially designed cross country vehicles during exercises.

The professional core of Spetsnaz troops wear civilian clothes, but they are far from civilians. Like the men and women in the KGB hit squads, they are killers whose primary objective is to track down Western military and political leaders and assassinate them in their home countries¹¹.

There is reason to believe that Spetsnaz units are not only training in the USSR, but also on foreign territory. According to Swedish reports, six Soviet submarines were operating in the Stockholm archipelago in October 1982. Of these, two were believed to be mini-submarines. Marks on the sea bed indicated that one was tracked and had a single propeller, while the other had a reinforced keel and two propellers. Such mini-submarines are used by the Soviet Naval Spetsnaz and Swedish reports have also indicated that frogmen have been seen on the east coast of Sweden. There is ample evidence that Soviet Spetsnaz units are training along the Swedish coast, which has led to a greater awareness of the Spetsnaz threat in Sweden. Swedish intelligence believes that Soviet and East European truck drivers are Spetsnaz officers.

The two other post-WW2 Spetsnaz operations with which we are familiar have been in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, special forces units were deployed before airborne troops were landed or regiments crossed borders. These troops worked with clandestine "Fifth Column" agents in the country and Soviet military advisers. They took over the government, paralysed resistance and seized chokepoints¹².

At the start of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, on December 26, 1979, troops of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) under General Viktor Semenovich Paputin were used. Their mission was to destroy or render incapable central government and vital installations. During the 1980's, Spetsnaz were mainly used in Afghanistan for "tactical missions to cut off, for instance, supplies of arms reaching the freedom fighters. They have also been used for night patrolling¹³.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE TRENDS

We have seen how the Soviet Russian policy of low-intensity warfare has changed from the October Revolution to the era of glasnost and perestroika. In a global strategic situation where military conflicts involving countries in the large alliance are almost impossible "warfare on the cheap" is a tempting alternative. In addition, Soviet Russia is a fragile multinational empire. Recent developments in Kazakhstan (1986), Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania (1987-?), Azerbaijan (1988-?) and Georgia (1988-?) testify to this fact. The roots of this problem stretch back to Russian colonial expansion under the tsars. But we are waiting for one explosion in particular — Ukraine. An independent Ukraine would be one of the largest nations in Europe (the size of France and a population of 50 million). For this reason, repression in Ukraine is harsher and more brutal than anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev has admitted this himself: "You can only imagine what would happen if there were disorders in the

Ukraine. Fifty-one million people live here. The whole fabric of the Soviet Union would be amiss”¹⁴.

Ukrainian leaders in the west were brutally murdered in the past. A Ukraine swept by nationalist turmoil could result in new attacks abroad depending on how the threat to Russian domination in the Union is perceived.

Moscow and its client states can be expected to continue low-intensity warfare regardless of glasnost and perestroika:

— techniques will be more effective and used on a wider scale; they will be more sophisticated and will have a higher destructive potential;

— the USSR is the only state — so far — supporting international terrorists that has access to nuclear and bactereological weapons;

— Soviet Russian client states like North Korea have used the technique of trying to eliminate whole governments, as in the operation against the South Korean cabinet in Burma in 1983. A terrorist organisation — the IRA — made a similar attempt in Brighton;

— the build-up of Spetsnaz special purpose forces will continue and will focus on the Northern flank in Europe with Sweden as one of the main targets for a rapid takeover.

Sweden, Finland and Afghanistan, all neutral, non-aligned and the latter two bordering on the Soviet Union, have already been targets of Soviet special purpose forces. In the words of Viktor Suvorov: “Norway is exceptionally important... for the Soviet military leaders”. The Soviet high command need good and safe roads to the bases in Southern Norway. “Those roads lie in Sweden... Sweden has become one of the most important strategic points in the world. If war breaks out the path of the aggressor will lie across Sweden... The experience of the war against Finland teaches that in Scandinavia frontal attacks with tanks do not produce brilliant results. It requires the use of special tactics and special troops: *Spetsnaz*”¹⁵

In a future scenario Suvorov envisages the murder of prominent senior government officials in Sweden, as well as arson and the sabotage of key buildings and installations.

*Article taken from Bertil Häggman's book
“Moscow and Low-Intensity Conflict
Assassination, kidnapping and Terror”*

Footnotes:

- 1 Mark Falcoff: “Cuba: First Among Equals” in *The Red Orchestra — Instruments of Soviet Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean* (ed. Dennis L. Bark), Stanford, California, 1986, p. 71.
- 2 For a detailed and well documented study on the DA see Rex A. Hudson: *Castro's Americas Department — Coordinating Cuba's Support for Marxist-Leninist Violence in the Americas*, The Cuban American National Foundation, Washington D.C. 1988. For more on the Cuban narcotics connection see Rachel Ehrenfeld: *Narco-Terrorism and the Cuban Connection* by the same publisher.
- 3 Jay Mallin: “Cuban Intelligence Elite Pushes Subversion in the Americas,” *Washington Times*, August 25, 1983, p. 7A.

ALL-UKRAINIAN TRADE UNION "UNITY" FORMED IN KHARKIV

UCIS — According to the Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Popular Movement of Ukraine ("Rukh"), a founding conference of independent Ukrainian trade unions was held in Kharkiv on February 10 - 11.

Representatives from all regions of Ukraine gathered in this eastern Ukrainian city to attend the conference, which announced the establishment of the All-Ukrainian Trade union — "Unity". Its Coordinating Committee is composed of: representatives of the Strike Committee of Chernihiv, Lviv, Makiyivka, Ternopil, Plavviansk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Poltava, Rivne, Chervonohrad, Khmelnytske, Zhytomyr, Kaniv, independent trade unions of Kharkiv, Zaporizhia, Kyiv, the Horliv Worker's Association, the Kharkiv Association of Unemployed, and other similar organizations.

The Coordinating Committee consists of 35 members, of which an executive board composed of seven Coordinators was elected: Oleksander Dobovyk (Horliv Workers' Association); Stepan Khmara (Lviv Strike Committee); Ivan Honcharenko (Independent Union of Writers); Stepan Isyk (Association of Unemployed); Rostyslav Lutskiyi (Ivano-Frankivsk Strike Committee); and Valeriy Semyvolos (Kharkiv Independent Trade Union), who is chairman of the new "Unity".

Delegates to the Conference ratified a "Unity" statute and a series of resolutions.

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- 4 For more on Feltrinelli see Stefan T. Possony, "Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: The Millionaire Dinamitero" in *Terrorism: An International Journal*, II, Nos. 3 and 4, 1979, pp. 213-30. On "Carlos" see Christopher Dobson-Ronald Payne: *The Carlos Complex; A Study in Terror*, New York, 1977.
 - 5 On Fatah in Cuba see Orlando Castro Hidalgo: *Spy for Fidel*, Miami, 1971. Francis, p. 5.
 - 6 US Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, "Cuba's Renewed Support for Violence in Latin America", *Special Report No. 90* (December 14, 1981), pp. 5-6.
 - 7 Departments of State and Defense, United States, *Nicaragua's Military Build-Up*, pp. 29-35.
 - 8 John Barron: *KGB — The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*, London, 1974, p. 321.
 - 9 Michael Hickey: *The Spetsnaz Threat: Can Britain be Defended?*, London, 1986, p. 19 and note 16.
 - 10 Suvurov., p. 29-30.
 - 11 For more on Spetsnaz see Viktor Suvorov article in the *International Defense Review*, 1983. His books are also of interest, particularly *Soviet Military Intelligence* (1984). Suvorov's book on the Spetsnaz (1987) was published as a paperback in 1989 under the title *Spetsnaz — The story of the Soviet SAS* (London). It was also published in Swedish in 1989.
 - 12 Conference on Spetsnaz Soviet Special Purpose Forces, December 11, 1986, The Hale Foundation, Washington D.C., 1987, p. 4, 17.
 - 13 Ibid. Particularly statements by Mr. David Isby, national security analyst and author of the book *Russia's War in Afghanistan* p. 17-19 and summary "Soviet Special Operation Forces and the War in Afghanistan: Combat Lessons and Implications for South Asian Security".
 - 14 *The Washington Post*, 23 February, 1989.
 - 15 Viktor Suvorov, p. 241-242.

The Coordinating Committee was authorized to prepare a second “Unity” Conference.

The resolutions included a demand that the repression of citizens for political beliefs be terminated. The Conference also demanded the full rehabilitation of all political prisoners in camp No. 35 in the Urals: Bohdan Klymchak, Leonid Lubman and Mykhailo Kazachkov, and Valeriy Smyrnov.

Apart from that, the Conference adopted an appeal to the International Labour Organization (ILO), informing it of the creation of this new organization and requesting to be registered in the ILO. The Conference also issued an appeal to the workers of Ukraine.

The fundamental goal of the All-Ukrainian Trade Union “Unity” is the building of a lawful state in a politically and economically independent republic. The Conference, at which members of the press were present, was conducted in a constructive manner.

On February 11, during a several-hour break in the proceedings, the participants of the Conference laid flowers at the foot of the monument of Taras Shevchenko, 19th century Ukrainian poet and political thinker, and attended a public assembly organized by the Kharkiv branch of “Rukh”. The speakers included the branch joint chairman — Henrikh Avtunian, members of the “Rukh” Supreme Council — Stepan Sapelak, Radiy Polonskyi and Mykola Starunov, and representatives of the Jewish community — Abram Katsnelson, Moysey Hitlits, and others, as well as representatives of the Communist party apparatus.

The assembly adopted a resolution, which categorically denounced the activity of the Russian chauvinist organization — “Pamyat”, the recent pogrom in the central building of the writers of the RSFSR, the anti-Semitic speeches at the Plenum of the Writer’s Union of the Russian Federation, and all other events, which fuel international hostility.

“REORGANIZATION” OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN UKRAINE

In reaction to the revival of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the transfer of a large number of parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Moscow Patriarchate has taken urgent measures to “Ukrainianize” the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, to give it the character of a supposed national Ukrainian Church. In this way, the Moscow Patriarchate is trying to erase from history its role as an organ of russification, which has strived to liquidate the national consciousness of Ukrainians, hand-in-hand with the tsarist regime for more than 200 years, and later with the Soviet regime.

On February 9, the so-called Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, Filaret, was renamed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This decision was approved by a hastily convened Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow.

This “Ukrainianized” Church will have its own Synod, will elect its own hierarchy, and publish several printed organs, including the “Ukrainian Orthodox Newspaper” and the journal “Orthodox Herald”. It hopes to “broaden its canonical relations with other Churches, including the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

At its February 9 Synod, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church reviewed a series of organizational matters. At a press conference, organized in conjunction with the Synod, Metropolitan Filaret stated that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will supposedly resolve all matters independently, although some decisions will have to be ratified by the Moscow Patriarch and the Synod in Moscow.

One of the major concerns of this “Ukrainianized” Church is to preserve its influence, even partially, over western Ukraine, in connection with the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is setting up a commission, which is to include the Lviv Archbishop Iryney; archpriest Oleksander Shvets, a pastor of one of the Orthodox parishes in western Ukraine; and a representative of the Moscow Patriarchate — Metropolitan Metodyi of Voronizh. This commission is also to include a representative of the Roman-Catholic Church.

What practical measures to “Ukrainianize” the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is Metropolitan Filaret, an opponent of the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who faithfully implemented the Moscow Patriarchate’s policy of russification in Ukraine, planning to introduce? Religious services in churches belonging to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will be conducted in two languages — Church-Slavonic and Ukrainian — the majority in the former. In parishes where the faithful desire so, services will be held in Ukrainian. In two religious seminaries in Kyiv and Odessa, the official language will continue to be Russian, although the Ukrainian language and literature will become part of the syllabus. In a new seminary, which is to be opened shortly, the language of instruction will be Ukrainian.

However, it is very unlikely that, after so many years of russification, after the persecution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, the sudden “sympathy” of the Russian Orthodox Church towards the Ukrainian language and culture and the belated measures to Ukrainianize the Church will encounter a positive reaction from the Ukrainian people.

Statement of the Initiative Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church regarding the renaming of the Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

According to a decision of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, its Ukrainian Exarchate will now bear another name — the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The higher leadership of the Russian Church, enthralled by the sudden, rapid revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, is taking irrational and belated actions. It is leaping from one side to the other: ceremoniously nominating Metropolitan Filaret and his associates as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, while calling the true hierarch of this Church, the Rt. Reverend Archbishop Ioan, a schismatic and unrighteous. Consequently, the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies bishops, does not breathe where it wants to, but where the Moscow Patriarchate dictates. It is farcial to listen to the grindings of teeth about how the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church invalidated God’s consecration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop of Lutsk Polikarp Sikorskyi and this stalinist-serhiyite legacy of antipathy was sown on His Eminence Metropolitan Mstyslav and later on Archbishop Ioan... It is true that the Patriarch of Constantinople, the most respected hierarch of the Universal Orthodox Church, has no doubts as to the sanctity of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and remains with the Ukrainian hierarchy and faithful in liturgical unity, but

those who find it convenient remain silent about this: this is not the first time they have forgotten the ninth commandment. We have heard enough false statements from the Politburo-appointed Russian Orthodox Church leaders, who without fear of sin have told the world about the growth of Churches in the USSR and the flourishing of freedom of conscience. Again they are throwing dust in our eyes: This is the status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church! Everything so as to create in the minds of the world community a twilight zone, in which Orthodox Ukrainians can be presented as being completely satisfied and independent.

Restive people are these Ukainians: they have a sovereign state — the Ukrainian SSR — with a representation in the United Nations, and are shouting for the whole world to hear they are a colony; they have their state language and whine that the state does not want to speak with them in that language. Now they already have a Church, but continue to claim that this is a fabrication, and that they can glorify Christ better in their own language, in their own traditions, and in their own Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

It is difficult, obviously, to deal with such a people, but what can one do. One will have to listen to its voice because it will not remain silent. And the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church would do well to ponder the prophecy of Isaiah, which states:

Callused would be the heart of these people,
they hear difficulty with their ears,
and they close their eyes,
so as not to see with their eyes
and hear with their ears,
and not to understand them with their heart,
and not to become converted,
so that I can make them healthy!

It is worth pondering, whether on February 15 another erroneous step will be made, which will lead astray and will create another necessity to rectify the situation. When the single “in two faces” Moscow Patriarchate sits behind the table of “four-sided” negotiations with representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, will it not occupy someone else’s seat. This seat at these so indispensable now negotiations rightfully belongs to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, to that Church, which grew in the Ukrainian lands out of the roots of the Volodymyr era, the Church, which is the sovereign voice of Orthodox Ukrainians.

They will come to know that you are My disciples,
if you have love among yourselves
(John, 13,35).

Members of the Initiative Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church:

Yevhen Sverstiuk, Lesia Lokhvytska, Anatoly Bytchenko, Taras Antoniuk, Olha Heyko (Matusevych), Tetiana Bytchenko, Serhiy Naboka

80,000 GATHER FOR “RUKH” PRE-ELECTION MEETING IN KYIV, FEBRUARY 11

On February 11 a public assembly was held in Kyiv, organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”) and dedicated to the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and local councils. Like the February 4 meeting, this assembly was held in the centre of the city on October Revolution Square. Although the assembly of February 4 was unsanctioned and was held on the square only because the authorities did not permit it to be held outside the Supreme Soviet building, the most recent assembly was officially sanctioned and several Soviet officials tried to participate in it. Fifteen minutes before the beginning of the assembly, a bus with twenty officials with four blue-and-red flags of the Ukrainian SSR arrived. The square was already full and they observed the assembly from the periphery.

After the meeting a 24-hour picketing of the government buildings in Kyiv was to take place, if the following demands of “Rukh” were not met by that time: and official registration of “Rukh”; permission to publish an official newspaper; and permission for people to gather for daily assemblies at the square nicknamed “Hyde Park” by the main post office. After a long series of discussions, “Rukh” was recognized as an official organization, and, consequently, the picket action was postponed for five days until the rest of the demands were met.

The speakers included Deputies Yavorivskyi and Cherniak, electoral candidates Svitlana Synkova, Ivan Saliy, Soldatenko, Shyriayev, Larysa Skoryk, Viktor Teren, Serhiy Holovaty, Ludmyla Panova, Ivan Zayets, Viktor Cherinko and others. Many of the speakers made reference to points in their electoral programmes regarding Ukrainian sovereignty. Volodymyr Yavorivskyi presided at the meeting. There were two busses with loudspeakers, which allowed not only the 70 - 80,000 participants to hear the proceedings, but also listeners on near-by streets and on the opposite side of the Khreshchatyk. The meeting lasted from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. In the draft resolution of the meeting, which was read by Deputy Konev, a point that was particularly underscored was that the government of Ukraine has lost the confidence of its people and that obstructions in the electoral process, designed to prevent a victory of democratic forces, may lead to complete collapse and unforeseen consequences. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, provincial committees and district committees of the party, which continue to maintain a monopoly over power, are completely to blame for this state of affairs. Only a democratic government can save the situation, a government, which will be formed after genuinely democratic elections are held. It was also pointed out that Ukraine can be saved only by parliamentary democracy and a market economy.

UKRAINIAN POPULAR MOVEMENT (“RUKH”) DEMONSTRATES FOR UNITY

Kyiv — On Sunday, February 18, 1990, over 5,000 citizens of Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, gathered in October Revolution Square to demonstrate for unity and reform in Ukraine. The non-sanctioned demonstration, which was organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”), was called to dispel rumours circulating in the capital that “Rukh” was organizing anti-Russian and anti-Jewish pogroms. The keynote address at the demonstration was given by a representative of the Kyivan

Jewish community. Representatives of the Russian, Czech, German, Tartar and Armenian communities were also present and spoke to the participants of this demonstration. An array of national flags further underscored the multi-national nature of the assembly: thirty Ukrainian, blue-and-yellow flags, two Israeli flags, and the national flag of Poland. A “Rukh” representative stated that the demonstration “categorically and unequivocally proved the untruth of rumours being circulated by agitators”.

On Saturday, February 17, the police came to the “Rukh” offices to force them not to proceed with the unsanctioned rally. Viktor Linchevskyi, the “Rukh” Secretariat’s information officer, stated: “the people want this rally and the people will have it”. The police officer in charge admitted that he had orders from the government to stop the demonstration. Later he also conceded that he was caught between “a rock and a hard place”, i.e., “between the people and the government”. The rally, nonetheless, proceeded peacefully and without incident.

“RUKH” DENIES RUMOURS OF AN “ANTI-MILITARY CAMPAIGN”

Kyiv — Rumours of anti-Russian and anti-Jewish pogroms, presently circulating in this capital city of Ukraine, have recently taken a new twist. The newest provocation, designed to undermine the position of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”), alleges that “Rukh” is preparing a campaign against the Soviet military. In recent days a number of people have come to the “Rukh’s” offices inquiring whether it is true that “Rukh” is preparing an “anti-military campaign”. Representatives of “Rukh” have officially denied being involved in any such activity. Apparently, these rumours are an attempt to discredit “Rukh” and the Ukrainian national-democratic movement in general on the eve of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, which are scheduled to take place on March 4.

Last week a young soldier came to the “Rukh” offices inquiring whether there was any basis to the rumour that he heard in the barracks that “Rukh” plans to “take action” against the military on February 24. On Saturday, February 17, General Fedorov addressed his soldiers in Kyiv and told them to be cautious, because the military received information that in the coming weeks “Rukh” is planning attacks on military personnel and their families. “Rukh” has unequivocally denied all these rumours and “Rukh” representatives have suggested that elements within the Communist Party opposed to reform are the actual source of these baseless rumours.

“RUKH” DENOUNCES ANTI-SEMITISM

Statement of the Popular Movement of Ukraine

The tears of Chornobyl had not yet dried, when a new evil entered into our home — Sumgait. We had not finished mourning the victims of the Armenian earthquake, when we were presented with a new set of misfortunes — the tragedy of Tbilisi, Fergana. The events in Karabakh, in Baku, resound with equal pain in our hearts. We are aware of the social difference between these tragic events, and understand that one should search for the concealed causes of international conflicts not on the borders with our sister republics, but elsewhere.

We also harbour no illusions about those who find it convenient to sow national

hostility, who fear our unity, the unity of peoples which would guarantee the democratic transformation of society.

At a time when political “black hundreds” (a Russian anti-Semitic movement in the 19th century — UCIS) “in civilian dress” are posting anti-Semitic, anti-Armenian and anti-Azerbaijani leaflets around the cities of Ukraine, spreading rumours that “Rukh” is supposedly preparing pogroms, the police remove Transcaucasian merchants from Kyivan markets, and the ideologists of these actions use the media to frighten the trusting citizen with the “extremism” and “nationalism” of “Rukh”, which they hate so much.

We do not conceal the fact that “Rukh” is an opponent of those forces, which today control the political situation in the country, forces, which strive to live according to yesterday’s laws.

But we stand for open parliamentary struggle without manipulations, insinuations and provocations.

We categorically state that “**RUKH**” IS NOT IMPLICATED IN ANY ACTIONS, WHICH SOW INTERNATIONAL MISTRUST.

In this dramatic period of our existence “Rukh” repeatedly condemns actions, which are directed towards the creation of international tension. Our programmatic documents attest to this fact, which is further brought out in our practical activity.

We, together with our tired, exhausted people, are for stability, for international cooperation, for peace and unity! There is no other way.

*Ivan Drach — Chairman of “Rukh”
People’s Deputy Volodymyr Yavorivskyy — Deputy Chairman of “Rukh”
Mykhailo Horyn — Chairman of the “Rukh” Secretariat*

LET US FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITIC PROVOCATEURS!

The executive of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”) expresses its indignation and sense of outrage with regard to the anti-Semitic actions and statements of “Pamyat” and similar chauvinistic associations. The provocative articles, which recently appeared in “Nash Sovremennyk”, “Molodaya Gvardia”, “Literaturnaya Rossiya” and “Sovetskaya Rossiya”, the chauvinistic plenum of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, the meeting of the “Black Hundreds” in Red Square, and finally the recent appeals of emissaries from “Pamyat” calling for an anti-Semitic action on May 5, 1990 — these are all links in the same vile chain...

The provocateurs operate on the basis of the chauvinistic concept of “one and indivisible” imperialist Russia, refusing to recognize the right of tens and hundreds of nations and peoples in the USSR to self-determination up to separation; they call for anti-Semitic actions, while forging the prison shackles and chains for all of us, including the Russian people. The words and deeds of these followers of Puryshkevych and Shulgin, of Stalin and Beria disgrace our country before all of civilized humankind. These words and actions cast a shadow of Hitler’s national-socialism on our country.

On behalf of thousands of its members and on behalf of many millions of honest citizens of Ukraine — “Rukh” sympathizers —, the “Rukh” leadership categorically and resolutely states its unequivocal support of the Jewish population and its readiness to defend its dignity, peace and life. “Rukh” will not allow these provocateurs to violate the unity, friendship and spirit of brotherhood of the peoples of Ukraine.

“Rukh” demands that the Party, legislative and executive organs of the Republic take effective measures in terms of immediately stopping and denouncing anti-Semitic and other forms of anti-national propaganda (including the so-called “struggle with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”, or “the struggle against Zionism”). The security services should immediately begin a common action with “Rukh” to guarantee a normal and secure way of life for the citizens of Ukraine. People that engage in anti-Semitic propaganda must be made accountable before the courts and must be punished as the most vile enemies of democracy.

Our Jewish brothers and sisters! “Rukh” is with you! Any type of provocation against you is an insult to our nation of many peoples! Let us be one! Let us strive for your and our dignity and freedom!

“Rukh” Secretariat

“TIME FOR UNITY, NOT HOSTILITY!”

On February 25 around 50,000 Kyivites gathered on the city’s Troitskyi Square, by the central stadium, to take part in a public meeting, whose theme was: “Time for unity, not hostility”, reports Kyiv-based activist Viktor Khomenko.

Several thousand people had already gathered on the square an hour ahead of time to sell samvydav newspapers and conduct pre-election agitation. Riot police were nowhere in sight, and the security organs maintained only a token presence with two police busses.

The meeting began at 2:00 p.m. with an opening address delivered by electoral candidate Vitaliy Karpenko, editor of “Vechirka”. He was followed by representatives of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (“Rukh”), the Ukrainian Student Association, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), and other electoral candidates, all of whom denounced the anti-democratic provocatory rumours presently circulating around Kyiv, linking their origin to the Party, the KGB and the police. The speakers also included Oles Shevchenko, chairman of the Kyiv branch of the UHU, and Yuriy Badzio. Individual apologists of the Party and state organs were whistled down by the crowds. The meeting ended peacefully.

RESOLUTION OF THE “TIME FOR UNITY, NOT HOSTILITY” MEETING

Basing ourselves on the political situation in the republic, which is characterized by the differentiation of social forces against the background of the restructuring processes, the participants of the meeting state the following:

1) We unanimously agree that in the present situation the consolidation of all democratic forces is indispensable.

2) Solidarity between people of all nationalities is the guarantee of the success of restructuring. The meeting condemns all manifestations of chauvinism and anti-Sovietism.

3) The participants of the meeting denounce provocatory rumours about conflict on national grounds and also between the population and the military. Those who spread these rumours do so under the guise of “Rukh” and other civic organizations. Those who want to disrupt the first democratic elections through the destabilization of civic life find it convenient. A decisive struggle is necessary against those, who are halting restructuring, disrupting its creative rhythm, and threatening the realization of political and economic reforms. We demand that the security services employ decisive measures to curb the provocations and punish those responsible.

4) The participants of the “Time for unity, not hostility” meeting, organized on the initiative of the newspaper “Vechirnyi Kyiv” and the Secretariat of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, have reached unanimous agreement on the importance of continuous converging dialogue between all the social forces and concrete action geared towards the stabilization of the socio-political situation in Kyiv and throughout Ukraine. We appeal to all Kyivites, to all those who hold dear the ideals of freedom and democracy, to show their tenacity at the crucial time and decisively oppose the provocateurs, and on the day of the elections — March 4 — to go to their electoral districts in an organized fashion to cast their vote, to pass the examination of political and civic maturity.

LVIV

On February 25 100,000 people attended a public meeting in this western Ukrainian city, which ended with the mass burning of Party membership cards.

GORBACHEV'S EMPIRE CRUMBLES

The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev faces an awesome task — to stop his huge Red empire tearing itself apart in bloody civil wars. His 287 million subjects have tasted freedom and now hunger for independence from their Russian rulers.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

These tiny Baltic States were countries in their own right until Stalin invaded in 1940. The demand of their eight million people is simple — to be independent of Moscow again. Lithuania is Roman Catholic, Estonians are Lutherans and Latvians practise Church of England style Protestantism. Their demands for freedom are being opposed by the hundreds of thousands of Russians moved there by Stalin to run the major industries. Gorbachev is orchestrating their protests to prevent the states withdrawing from the Soviet Union.

Moldavia

For centuries this was a region of Rumania — and it now looks like turning the clock back and rejoining the newly-liberated state. Moldavia, population of four million, was sucked into the Soviet Union by Stalin after the Second World War. The devoutly Catholic population want the hated Russians out and Gorbachev has agreed to loosen Moscow's control. But Moldavia is too small for complete independence —which is why a federation with Rumania looks likely.

Ukraine

Nationalism in Ukraine could become Mr Gorbachev's biggest headache. The call for independence is growing in the country's capital Kyiv, but the survival of the Russian economy depends on Ukraine. For the country, with a population of 52 million, is the main source of Soviet grain. The Ukrainian Nationalist movement is already complaining that Moscow has been bleeding them dry for years. They also claim they would be much wealthier on their own.

Central Asia

There are five Muslim republics in this region. They have a total population of 47 million and all are calling for greater freedom. Gorbachev knows that it would allow states like Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to grow closer and closer to Islamic countries of the Middle East — particularly Iran — and more distant from Moscow. Not a single Muslim sits on the USSR's Central Committee. An independence revolution would be difficult to crush — HALF the Red Army are central republic Muslims.

(News of the World. February 1990)

Branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union Established in the RSFSR

On January 31, the founding meeting of the Northern branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) was held in the town of Novyi Urengoy in the Yamalo-Nenetskiy national region of the RSFSR. Drill workers and employees from support services, as well as representatives of other workshops and city residents participated. Representatives of the municipal committee of the CPSU, trade unions, and independent civic groups also attended. Twenty-four UHU members attended the meeting, which ended with a confrontation between party officials and UHU members.

Essentially, the meeting approved the UHU "Declaration of Principles" and resolved to ask the Lviv Coordinating Council to inform the democratic press and Western radio stations, including Radio "Liberty", of the creation of the Northern branch of the UHU. The founding of UHU-North should accelerate the formation of other UHU branches in the east and north, and throughout the whole of Siberia.

The Northern branch is subordinate to the Lviv Coordinating Council of the UHU.

Geologist I. Vynnyk-Zyrianov was elected chairman of the branch by an absolute majority, and V. Buda, a foreman from the sawmill plant, as vice-chairman. A treasurer and liaison officials were also elected. Additional vice-chairmen from various other enterprises are to be elected at their respective meetings.

On January 30 on the initiative of UHU-North a branch of the Ukrainian Language Society of Shevchenko was also founded. A Council and chairman (V. Tymchyshyn) were elected.

The northern branch of the UHU will distribute information to the democratic press, in as far as this will help in the establishment of other Ukrainian societies and branches throughout all of Siberia.



On February 23, 1990 Ukrainians staging demonstration in Moscow against construction of radar station in Carpatho-Ukraine

CROATIA — LAND AND PEOPLE

Croatia is situated between the Adriatic Sea on the West and South, Slovenia and Hungary on the North and Serbia on the East. Because of its geographic location Croatia is regarded as the crossroads of Europe where East meets West.

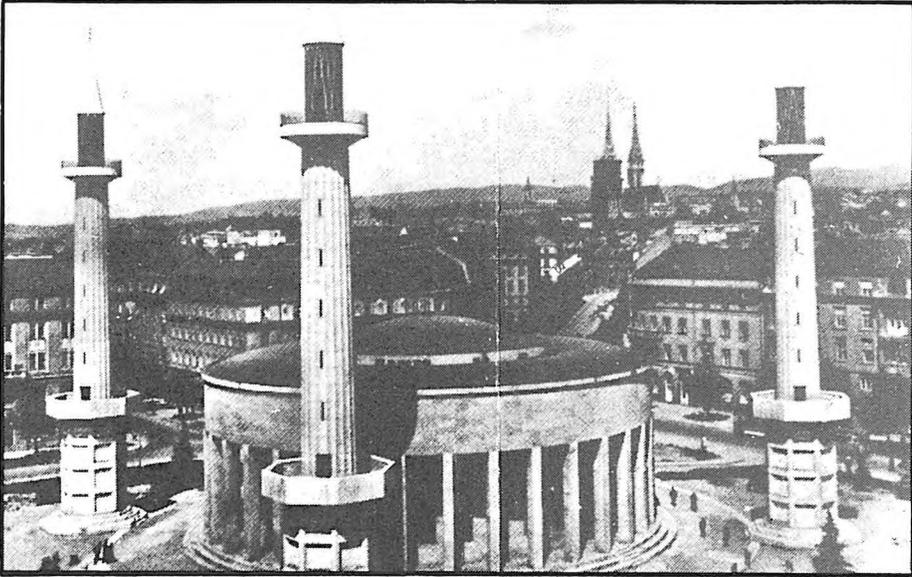
The Croats came from modern-day Iran to their present homeland thirteen centuries ago. In 925 A.D. the first Croatian kingdom was established under the rule of King Tomislav. He was regarded as a strong and powerful ruler who was able to dominate the European stage primarily due to his military strength.

Croats established one of the first parliaments in Europe known as the Sabor early in the 7th century.

During the early years in their new homeland Croats accepted Christianity. Today Croats are predominately Christians, while a large proportion also belong to the Islamic faith (Bosnia, Herzegovina and Sandzak) brought about as a result of the Turkish occupation of the Croatian provinces.

Settling in their present homeland, the Croats began to develop Croatian Culture and in the year 1483, the first Croatian language book was printed while in





A place of worship built in Zagreb during the Independent State of Croatia (1941-45) for the Croatian Moslems as a gesture of recognition of equality of Croatian Moslems with Croatian Christians.

1494 the first Croatian printing house was established. Science and literature flourished on the Adriatic coast, particularly in Dubrovnik.

Important Croatian figures during this time included the great poet Ivan Gundulic (1566 - 1638), philosopher Juraj Dubrovcanin (1579-1622) and the renowned scientist Rudjer Josip Boskovic (1711 - 1787). Boskovic was a member of many foreign scientific academies, excelling as a mathematician, physicist, astronomer, philosopher and author.

The other cities along the Adriatic coast have through the centuries been the centre of Croatian artistic achievement. A permanent theatre was established in Croatia as early as the 17th century.

A new era of Croatian literature, known as the Croatian Renaissance began in the 19th century and from then until the present day, the Croatians have produced many great writers and poets, whose works have been translated into many languages. The German poet Goethe translated a Croatian national ballad ("The Wife of Hasan Aga") into the German language which was later translated into English by Sir Walter Scott. Croatians have a rich cultural heritage which includes hand embroidery, national costumes, music, dance etc. Every district and in fact every village has since ancient times had their own individual national dress.

Notable Croatian sculptors and painters include Ivan Mestrovic who has won world acclaim. His work adorn many North American cities.

The Zagreb Quartet is internationally famous. Violin Virtuosi Miroslav Slik and Zlatko Balokovic, singers Milka Trnina, Marija Ruzica-Strozzi, Zinka Kunz, Dragica Martinis and Srebrenka Jurinac performed in the world's first Opera and also at La Scala, Milan, Metropolitan Opera, New York and Adelaide.

Many of this century's eminent scholars are of Croatian nationality including Dr.

Leopold Ruzicka recipient of the Nobel Prize and Nikola Tesla who is the father of modern Electrical Engineering.

Croats have also excelled in industry, manufacturing and shipping throughout the world, e.g. Anthony Francis Lucic (Lucas) discovered a new method of deep oil drilling and became father of the oil industry in Texas.

Croatia is a beautiful and rich land, the natural wealth is in the main represented by the lush forests, grain, livestock, fishing and hydro-electric power essential for the development of industry.

A particular source of income is derived from the tourist trade. Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia and Herzegovina attract tourists from all over the world. The coast of the Adriatic Sea abounds in natural beauty, architecture and monuments reflective of an ancient and turbulent history.

Croats are a peaceful and industrious people who during their long history have avoided aggressive wars. For this reason the celebrated Professor Albert Einstein in the New York Times in 1931 referred to Croats as "the peaceful and civilized nation".

Extract from The Trumpeter of the Seine by Dobriša Cesarić
(English translation Trubač Sa Seine, Journal of Croatian Studies
Vol. XX. (1979)

*O Croatia, o my country,
You, my fairy tale, you my past!
You enslaved captive land of mine!
Look, the poor deserter's gift
Is richer than the kingly one,
For it is love, ardor, and revolt.*

*A beggar, I spread around the spirit of liberty,
And I do not care if on my grave no candle will burn,
I will not give in, never, never.
As a fresh breeze in the heat I blow again,
And when the lazy minds are tiring,
I, the trumpeter of the Seine,
Sound my call of resistance!*

*And what is my pay? The hatred of the crawlers
Who stick their mud to my repute
But I face my people with serenity.
For freedom's bread I give my grain:
Is it not golden and sound and rich?*

Ludmilla Rowinsky

FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM IN ANSWER TO SAN DIEGO'S "SOVIET ARTS FESTIVAL"

In the autumn of 1989, San Diego's Ukrainian community joined members of other ethnic groups in a Festival of Freedom in answer to San Diego's "Soviet Arts Festival".

As plans for the city's festival emerged, many former residents of communist-controlled countries were disappointed and angered at the exclusion of their ethnic or cultural groups from representation in the mayor's festival. The city seemed neither to know nor to care that the Soviet Union was composed of 15 republics, each with its own vibrant culture and history.

The Russian Arts Festival, as it was called by the media, was to consist of artists from Leningrad and Moscow, icons from Georgia, a circus clown, Soviet Georgian dancers and chefs, and the Georgian State Marionette Theater from Tbilisi, as well as the famous Faberge jeweled eggs from various collections.

As one observer noted, however, "neither the Georgians nor Carl Faberge are Russians. As a matter of fact, there is no 'Soviet' art. What is there, is art from different cultures and nationalities. Each country in the Soviet Union has uniquely individual arts and crafts. These can't be mixed altogether and called Soviet Art!"

Many Ukrainians had been irritated by the public relations packets distributed by the city for the Soviet Arts Festival. Approximately 10,000 curriculum guides on the Soviet Union were shipped to both elementary and secondary schools. The very superficial portrayal of Ukraine celebrated our country by Gogol, two soccer players, autumn fairs, *varenyky*, *borsch*, and sunflower seeds.

The city budgeted \$2.9 million for the Soviet Arts Festival. Against all odds and after much pleading, the city council voted \$25,000 for the Freedom Arts Festival — with only one month left to organize. All public exhibition areas were booked, so the committee had to scramble to find venues in which to hold its own festival.

The Festival of Freedom, Inc. board of directors included former citizens of the Philippines, Mexico, a former member of Poland's Solidarity Union, a Cuban community leader, a Vietnamese composer/conductor, and representatives of San Diego's Czech, Hungarian, Afghanian, Latvian, Lao-Hmong, Cambodian, and Chinese communities.

Ukrainians were represented by Nadja Cham, a retired educator, member of the House of Ukraine and the National Ukrainian Congress Committee, a Fullbright scholar and translator. Mrs. Cham became involved through the efforts of the Washington Group. It was overwhelmingly clear she had a tough job ahead of her to involve San Diego's 2,500 Ukrainians, who are scattered all over the county. Eventually, she received help to express something of Ukrainian art, culture, and Ukraine's ongoing struggle for freedom.

Freedom Festival activities included an exhibition at San Diego State University which previewed the artistic and cultural displays of San Diego's international community in September. More than 44,000 persons viewed the exhibit.

As a token of the Ukrainian communities appreciation, the library received a Concise Encyclopedia of Ukraine, donated by the Smetana family.

On October 29, over 300 people saw the showcase of art and culture of refugees

forced from their homelands by Soviet leadership in the War Memorial Building in Balboa Park. Ukraine was ably represented by the Ukrainian Children's Dance Group of San Diego and vocalists Lesya Balinger and Bohdan Klymowych. The very talented and enthusiastic Ukrainian Dance Company of Los Angeles thrilled the audience.

The Freedom Festival Exhibit in downtown's Symphony Towers October 14 - November 14 recognized the ethnic diversity and wealth of artistic talent that many people feel the Soviet Arts Festival ignored. Besides Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Vietnam, Mexico, the Philippines, Poland, and Afghanistan were represented. Highlights included rugs, jewelry and art from Afghanistan, Polish paintings, Ukrainian pysanky, ceramics, embroidery and paintings by Americans of Ukrainian descent.

Mrs Cham expressed her gratitude to the owners of the still-unfinished Symphony Towers for donating the space for the Freedom Festival exhibit completely rent-free. Over 3,000 persons visited the Ukrainian art and crafts exhibit. Hundreds of informative pamphlets about Ukraine were distributed. Lectures on Ukrainian history and current events were given by Nadia Cham to visiting classes. One class travelled all the way from McPherson College in Kansas.

Thanks to those who loaned works of art: Marta Baczynsky, Mrs. Walter Balas, Olga Gerega, Maria Ritachka, Dennis Torzeski, and Anna Wowk, as well as to those individuals who donated embroidery and woodcarvings from various private collections. Dr. and Mrs. Ihor Galarnyck personally delivered beautiful pysanky from Wisconsin.

The Ukrainian Art Center of Los Angeles generously loaned their beautiful collection and its directors, Daria Czaikowsky and Zenia Wrzeznewsky, were invaluable consultants on the proper display of the art in Symphony Hall.

Although television and the press were, at first, reluctant to publicize the Freedom Arts Festival, they finally gave quite generous coverage of the event.

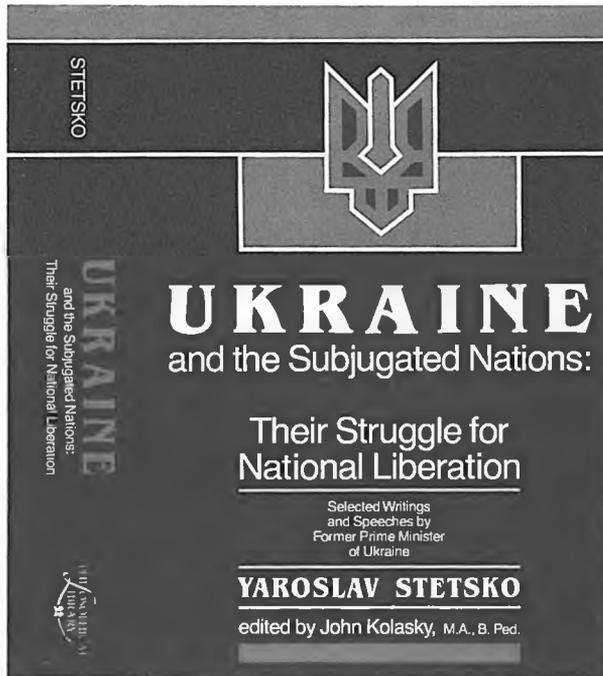


"It's something I ate 50 years ago."

ANTHOLOGY OF STETSKO'S WRITINGS PUBLISHED BY THE PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY

The writings and speeches by the late Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of Ukraine, head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and ABN President have appeared in a 648-page English language volume from the Philosophical Library in New York.

The anthology is edited by John Kolasky, a Ukrainian-Canadian. He observes "The articles and speeches reveal the author's deep conviction and dedication, as well as his personal modesty and abiding Christian faith."



The foreword was written by John Wilkinson, member of the British Parliament, who said that Stetsko "always rejected totalitarianism, was a passionate advocate of national self-determination."

"He worked tirelessly until his death, promoting the causes of Ukraine and the other Captive Nations, championing the right for individuals as for nations that they should both be free. Inspired by a deep, personal Christian faith as well as a profound sense of history, Yaroslav was a symbol for those who wished to see the downfall of bolshevism and the oppression and sorrow which it inflicts," Wilkinson wrote.

In his preface, Bertil Hagmann of Helsingborg, Sweden, said, "The ideas of Yaroslav Stetsko will continue to be a guiding light not only to Ukrainians but to all in the West who love liberty."

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

GLASNOST AND DISINFORMATION

MACKENZIE
PAPER NO. **17**
MEDIA REPORT

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES & PROPAGANDA

Influence Activities
in the Gorbachev Era



Romerstein's paper, "Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era", is published by the Mackenzie Institute.

Romerstein describes the "black", "grey" and "white" information measures at the Politburo's disposal for influencing the First and Third Worlds, and how these are conducted like an orchestra to achieve political goals. Under Glasnost, most effort is currently devoted to improving the Soviet image, but at the same time "black" operations continue to discredit the "main enemy", the United States.

Of special importance is Gorbachev's justification of the new benevolent international stance. By referring to the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Soviet leader reassured his

audience of Soviet propagandists that the switch to reasonableness was tactical and temporary — the sacrifice of short-term interests to achieve strategic ends.

But this form of deception is neither understood nor appreciated by many of the non-ruling communist parties. Romerstein describes the protests of men like Britain's old Stalinist, Bert Ramelson and the U.S. communist, Gus Hall, at what they perceive as ideological treason.

The paper is both encouraging and cautionary. For all concerned with East-West relations, information, news and image-making, it is essential reading.

Mackenzie Paper No. 17, "Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era", by Herbert Romerstein.

For more information: Herbert Romerstein: Please contact through Mackenzie Institute (Maurice Tugwell or Eleanor Mitchell) on (416) 360-0534.

The Author

Herbert Romerstein recently retired from the United States government after 25 years of service. He headed the office to counter Soviet "active measures" at the United States Information Agency for 6 years. Prior to that he served as a Professional Staff Member for the United States House of Representatives. He was on the staff of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence where he did oversight of the United States intelligence community and was responsible for organizing the hearings on Soviet "active measures." He also served on the staff of the House Committee on Internal Security where he was the Chief Investigator for the Republican minority. Romerstein is the co-author (with Stanislav Levchenko) of "The KGB Against The Main Enemy." He has lectured and written extensively on Soviet "active measures", espionage, international terrorism and internal security.

LITHUANIAN PARLIAMENT PROCLAIMES RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE



Agence France-Press

*Vytautas Landsbergis, elected as the
Lithuanian Leader*

In the elections to the Lithuanian republic's legislature on Sunday 4th March 1990, the Sajudis independence movement won 72 out of the 90 seats. A week later, on Sunday 11th March the Lithuanian Parliament proclaimed the restoration of independence which Lithuania enjoyed prior to the Second World War. 124 votes were in favour, none against and 6 deputies abstained. All the legislators shouted "Lithuania! Lithuania!" and the crowds outside the parliament building joined them.

Lithuania was independent between the two world wars from 1918 to 1940 when it was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

The parliament elected Mr Vytautas Landsbergis, head of Sajudis, as President and the republic's name was changed from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Republic of Lithuania. The Lithuanian Constitution from 1938 was made binding again. Kazmiera Prunskiene was appointed Prime Minister.

We call the nations of the world to recognise the Lithuanian Republic and establish diplomatic relations with it. We strongly hope that the Lithuanian Parliament proclamation of the restoration of independence will be followed by Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia and Turkestan proclaiming their independence from the Soviet Union.

May God strengthen our faith and our determination to help our nations in their endeavours for democracy and national independence.

HAPPY



EASTER

TO ALL OUR READERS!

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FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

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Freedom for Individuals!

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IN SUPPORT OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, whose main aim is the restoration of the independent democratic states of the subjugated nations on their ethnographic territories, accepted with great joy the news on 11th March 1990 that the Lithuanian Parliament had adopted a declaration which stated "From this moment Lithuania has again become an independent state". Thus it reaffirmed Lithuania's 1918 Declaration of Independence. The passing of this historical declaration was the result of a vote taken by the democratically elected parliament, with 124 in favour, none against and 6 abstentions. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which was practically an excuse for Moscow to occupy the Baltic countries in 1940 was not only annulled by the Lithuanian Parliament but was also repudiated by the Congress of People's Deputies on 24th December 1989. All legal preconditions were fulfilled for the Lithuanian nation to be able to restore its sovereign rights on its ethnographic territory. The Lithuanian Parliament voted to restore the Republic's 1938 Constitution and to place government ministries and agencies under Lithuanian jurisdiction.

Australia was the first to recognise the resolution of the Lithuanian Parliament. The United States government urged the Soviet Union to respect the decision of the Lithuanian Parliament to restore its sovereignty, but stopped short of an explicit statement of recognition of the newly declared government, noting that the United States had never recognised Soviet authority over Lithuania or the other two Baltic republics, and had also consistently supported the Baltic peoples' inalienable right to peaceful self-determination. However, the government of the United States and other Free World governments should exert political pressure on Mr. Gorbachev, who has repeatedly spoken in favour of self-determination of peoples everywhere, to now accept self-determination of the Lithuanian nation. There can be no excuse for missing this opportunity. Any economic inter-dependence between Lithuania and the Soviet Union can be resolved by peaceful negotiations. Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, the newly elected Lithuanian President, expressed his readiness for dialogue with the Moscow authorities to negotiate all the problems resulting from Lithuania's independence.

The world-wide support for Namibia's independence certainly contributed a great deal to the realisation of the Namibian people's dream to become free and independent. The immediate recognition of its independence and the strong participation of the Free World representatives on the official Declaration of Independence is in great contrast to the Free World countries reluctance, prolonged silence and disinclination to express more than a few positive statements concerning Lithuania's Declaration of Independence.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations appeal to the countries of the Free World to give moral and political support to the Lithuanian nation by immediately recognising its national independence.

*The Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*

LITHUANIA VOTES INDEPENDENCE

Vilnius, Lithuania — On Sunday, 11 March the Lithuanian legislature declared the republic independent of the Soviet Union and elected a non-Communist as Head of State.

The Declaration of Independence, in which the Baltic state also changed its name from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania to the Republic of Lithuania, represented the most serious political and legal threat ever made by one of the Soviet Union's 15 constituent republics against Moscow's control.

With Sunday's unanimous vote, Lithuania — which first won independence in 1918, but was annexed by Moscow in 1940 under a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany — demanded immediate negotiations with the Kremlin to work out legal and economic procedures for secession.

Lithuanians said they were not so much declaring independence as re-establishing sovereignty after 50 years of illegal occupation by the Soviet Union. The legislation established a temporary constitution, based mainly on the present legal structure, until a new constitution can be drafted and enacted into law.

"We are not asking anyone's permission whether we should take this step. We are acting on our own will, according to the dictates of our own consciences," said the new Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, a 57-year-old musicologist who helped found the independent movement Sajudis less than two years ago. "Our duty now is to make a reality of the expectations we have created."

The Lithuanian legislature, which was voted into office last month in multi-party elections, also drafted an appeal to Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev asking him to withdraw all Red Army troops and KGB security forces from the republic's territory. One legislator said Lithuania would "no longer tolerate the rule of an empire."

Gorbachev has steadily retreated on the question of Lithuanian independence. Nevertheless, according to Lithuanian officials, the Soviet leader raised new obstacles to such a move in private meetings last week by suggesting that the republic would have to pay 34 billion in hard currency as part of any final secession agreement.

Although Lithuanians have expressed hopes of genuine independence in a year or two, Gorbachev has drafted a law on secession procedures that could draw the process out five years or more.

Lithuanian legislators said they decided to call Sunday's session immediately after Saturday's runoff elections in hopes that Gorbachev would not be able to move first to slow the secession process.

Gorbachev is expected to win greater executive powers as Soviet president at a special session this week of the Congress of People's Deputies, the nation's highest legislative body. Many of the Lithuanian deputies to the Congress said they would not take part in the session in Moscow but would continue their efforts in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital.

Many Lithuanian legislators say they expect difficult negotiations with Gorbachev and possibly severe economic pressure from Moscow in months ahead. "The pressure is going to be tremendous, but at this point our political interests must come before our economic fears," said Kazimera Prunskiene, a Sajudis leader and economist who was elected Prime Minister.

Landsbergis said he was "not so naive" as to believe that Sunday's declaration of

independence has severed all of Lithuania's ties with Moscow. Instead, he said, the act was intended to establish Lithuania's "Legal position and popular will" along with the Republic's ability to write its own laws and conduct its own foreign policy.

Nearly all questions of economic relations with the Soviet Union — including taxes, state enterprises and currency issues — will have to be resolved in future negotiations with Moscow, Landsbergis said.

One of Gorbachev's Kremlin colleagues, Rasik Nishanov, telephoned Landsbergis shortly before the start of Sunday's session and asked him to delay any vote on independence. Landsbergis refused.

In symbolic gestures, Lithuanian legislators sought to emphasize the depth of their intentions and their disdain for Soviet power. After an early vote established a new state symbol for Lithuania, a yellow curtain dropped behind the podium to cover the traditional Soviet insignia declaring "proletarians of the world unite."

And when the independence measure was passed just before midnight by a vote of 124-0 with six abstentions, the public address system played the Lithuanian national anthem and a red, yellow and green flag was hoisted where the Soviet hammer and sickle had been.

After the votes were counted, there were cries from the floor of "Estonia will now be free" and "Latvia will now be free." Independence campaigns similar to the Lithuanian movement are under way in both of these Baltic states.

Algirdas Brazauskas, the Lithuanian Communist party chief defeated by Landsbergis in Sunday's election for Head of State, said he expected the Lithuanian drive for independence to have a "contagious" effect on other republics, but would not necessarily lead to the fall of the Soviet Union. "I don't think such an enormous state can collapse so easily," he said.

Some deputies complained that the legislature was moving too quickly and should have taken a few more days to work out the language of the declaration. Others said privately that they considered the measure dangerous and would have preferred to vote against it, but they added that they could not vote against it because of strong popular support for independence.

The three-paragraph declaration, called "the re-establishment of the Lithuanian Government," read in part: "Expressing the will of the people, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania resolved and solemnly declared the restoration of the sovereign right of the Lithuanian Government which was encroached upon by a foreign power in 1940.

"The act of the Lithuanian Parliament on Independence from Feb. 16, 1918, and the resolution of the Parliament on the restoration of a democratic Lithuanian Government was never revoked. ...The territory of Lithuania is integral and indivisible and no other constitution is valid on its soil."

Outside the building housing the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, the Republic's legislature, hundreds of people cheered in the rain as workmen used a chisel and a screwdriver to pry the Soviet seal off a wall. As the huge hammer and sickle was lowered to the sidewalk, the crowd sang patriotic songs and waved banners, including one that said, "Lithuania without Bolsheviks!"

"I am so happy because now my son will never have to serve in the Soviet army," said Irena Zmitrowicz, a young woman whose relatives were deported to Siberia shortly after the rise of Soviet power in Lithuania. Several old men, who spent years

exiled from Lithuania in labor camps, watched the celebration with tears in their eyes.

Landsbergis said he expected “genuine foreign support” from the West and expressed hope that President Bush would “provide some advice to Mr. Gorbachev on the re-establishment of real Lithuanian independence.”

Although the United States has recognized the Baltic States as “Captive Nations,” Landsbergis has expressed frustration at what he calls “the hesitation in the White House.” He has said he wants Bush to “overcome the fear of offending Gorbachev” and make a clear statement of recognition of an independent Republic of Lithuania. For decades, Lithuanians have maintained legation offices in the United States and other foreign countries.

The shift in leadership from Brazauskas to Landsbergis marked the end of Communist rule in the republic. Sajudis won two-thirds of the seats in the legislature and Landsbergis won his election Sunday by the same margin.

Landsbergis is a soft-spoken professor of music at the Vilnius Conservatory where he specializes in early 20th century avant-garde Lithuanian composers. His family is a mixture of old Lithuanian nobility and modern intellectuals. His father fought against the Poles and Bolsheviks for independence in 1918 and the family helped to hide Jewish families during the Nazi occupation.

Lithuania was part of the Czarist Empire beginning in 1795. Throughout the 19th century, there were unsuccessful nationalist revolts. Both the Czars and the Bolshevik leaders sent hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians into Siberian exile.

“Today marks the beginning of a new Lithuanian state, democratic and free,” Landsbergis said.

David Remnick
Washington Post, 12 March 1990



Hundreds of people outside the Lithuanian Parliament with flags and banners, some reading “Lithuania without Bolsheviks” and “Bye, Bye USSR”.

GLASNOST REVISITED

A critical reexamination of Gorbachev's reform program from the perspective of the national-liberation struggle

Five years have passed since Mikhail Gorbachev inaugurated and gave his ideological blessing to a program of far-reaching reform of the severely ossified totalitarian structure of the USSR. *Glasnost* and its sibling — *perestroika* — were ushered onto the stage in the Soviet Union with all the requisite political and ideological fanfare appropriate to a society where mass mobilization, as opposed to genuine democratic, political participation, was the fundamental *modus operandi* of politics. The prevalent atmosphere at the time was officially described in the Soviet press as one of “stagnation,” i.e. residual ossification of all avenues of socio-political and economic activity from the Brezhnev years and a defeatist sense of moral nihilism with regard to the normative value system of Marxism-Leninism, which was the Soviet system's sole source of legitimacy.

On the surface and in retrospect, the pace and scope of the reform campaign is rather remarkable, given the traditional xenophobic conservatism and skepticism towards change of Soviet power elites. What is perhaps even more remarkable is how quickly the various peoples of Eastern Europe and in (sic. — not *of*) the Soviet Union viewed Gorbachev's policy statements endorsing reform as a *carte blanche* of sorts to challenge and even begin tearing down the walls of this historically anachronistic citadel of repression, given the fact that the Soviet Russian essentially imperialistic and totalitarian system was designed to discourage and immediately squelch any type of extra-curricular initiative on all levels.

This rising tide of hope and anticipation, however, perhaps is not so remarkable. The recent groundswell of feverish political activity in the Soviet Union, which at times manifested itself with a relentless, unleashed fury, may, indeed, be an indication of the extent to which the Soviet Union was in a state of systematic disrepair at time that Gorbachev ascended to power. In this light, Gorbachev's reforms may be viewed as less of an initiative and more of a reaction to the increasingly polarizing systemic, political, social and economic contradictions that threatened to tear asunder the very fabric of Soviet society at its core; a last-gasp attempt to salvage a crumbling empire. To metaphorically describe Brezhnev's stewardship over the USSR in the 1970s as “trying to keep the lid on a simmering pot” would not be altogether inappropriate. As the fires smoldering beneath the surface under the pot grew hotter, feeding off each new KGB-inspired attempt at repression, the proverbial lid may have been ready to blow at about the time that Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in the Kremlin. Realizing that the forces of change could not be restrained much longer, and in light of the serious systemic, socio-economic crisis which threatened to leave the Soviet economy trampled underfoot by the dialectically-driven forces of capitalist progress, the new Soviet leader may have decided “to uncover the pot,” but to channel the built-up pressure for change along new structural avenues, built on a completely new and “democratic” set of legitimating values collectively referred to as *glasnost*. By erecting new structures of authority and political participation, Gorbachev and his advisors may have operated with a two-fold set of aims: a) to establish a clear institutional break

with the not-so-distant tyrannical past, by adopting a high-profiled position of democracy, which would also dismantle the wall of nihilism and moral decay that was at the core of the deep-set malaise of the “years of stagnation”; b) to ensure the future integrity of an altered, but still intact, Soviet-Russian imperialist system, re-integrated in, at worst, a confederative or federative infra-structure. The hope was that this unleashed, but properly channeled energy would propel the Soviet Union onto a higher plane of a post-modern society, as the newly opened avenues of political participation began to disengage the Soviet economy from its over-bureaucratized constrictions. The danger, of course, was that the release of this pressure would destroy the newly formed, untested structures in a blast of freedom’s furious ecstasy, leaving the USSR bereft of any base of legitimacy or chances for longevity into the future. This danger, however, was a risk that the present Soviet technocratic/managerial power elite could not avoid or even postpone, since the alternative was facing the prospect of total dissolution of an ossified totalitarian, imperialist system of repression.

Glasnost and National Liberation

For many of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR, Gorbachev’s projected and as of yet only partially effectuated reforms represented the only semblance of hope that they allowed themselves to indulge in after having all but lost hope that they would one day be allowed breathe freely in their own sovereign and independent nation-states. After languishing in Soviet-Russian colonial tyranny for many long decades, the subjugated nations viewed the “union” with their Russian Big Brother as a vulgar euphemism for the *de facto* servile status of their nations within what essentially was (and remains) a Russian empire. They never lost sight of that everfainter dream of living in their own sovereign national homeland one day. For many, *glasnost* and its agenda for change were a sign that, perhaps, the dream may become reality sometime soon; that, perhaps, here was a Soviet leader who truly understood and respected these peoples’ legitimate claims to national sovereignty and independence. When Gorbachev spoke of change it was only natural for popular sentiment in the subjugated nations to associate the Soviet leader’s vague utterances in this regard with the peoples’ own independence aspirations.

Five years later, on the cusp of a new decade, one that holds many promises, but many more uncertainties as well, it is becoming increasingly clear that these hopes of freedom and national independence, although not yet completely dashed, are, in fact, more discordant with the letter and spirit of Gorbachev’s reform program than was initially perceived. Today it is clear to the leading political activists from the subjugated nations and to most political observers that the reform program is designed to strengthen the Soviet system and to preclude its dissolution. Instead of being perceived as the primary catalyst of change in the Soviet Union, an image that Gorbachev and his advisors have adroitly erected in the West, the present Soviet-Russian leader is being increasingly perceived, particularly by the subjugated peoples, as a moderate Soviet leader, desperately clinging to a “middle-of-the-road” course of stability in an essentially revolutionary situation that cannot accommodate such moderation. On the one hand, the more conservative circles within the Soviet power elites and among the chauvinistic elements of the Russian people hold Gorbachev responsible for opening

the floodgates of freedom, which may lead to the final, irretrievable dissolution of the Russian empire. On the other hand, by eschewing radical change in his own programmatic statements, Gorbachev has increasingly alienated the more progressive elements as well.

The manner in which the debate on the issue of the office of the presidency has proceeded is a clear indication of Gorbachev's vulnerability. After the election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR took place last year, many of the reform-minded deputies considered drafting legislation, designed to strengthen the executive powers of the office of the president, on the premise that Gorbachev's position would be solidified in the event of a "conservative" backlash. In the course of a few months the situation has qualitatively changed to the degree that many deputies are wary of giving Gorbachev increased executive powers, particularly in light of the highhanded fashion that the Soviet leader has oftentimes curtailed debate in the Supreme Soviet. The televised image of Gorbachev brandishing and wagging his authoritarian finger from the podium of a "democratically elected" Soviet parliament at Andrei Sakharov, trying to vocally browbeat into submission a man that had become for many a symbol of freedom a few days prior to Sakharov's death, is an image that will not easily fade.

With regard to the question of independence for non-Russian "republics," in Gorbachev's mind *glasnost* clearly is not at all concomitant with the most fundamental aspirations of the subjugated peoples. In fact, from his most recent policy statements in this regard, particularly with respect to the no longer simply vocalized, but already partially implemented program of national sovereignty in the Baltic countries, it is clear that Gorbachev will not tolerate any further movement towards independence, particularly the more critical "republics" of the USSR, i.e. Ukraine or some of the Moslem "republics." The only question which remains is when will he move, and — more significantly — how.

Lithuania — a precedent in the making

It is also clear at this point that Gorbachev has been unsuccessful in his attempt to placate and deflect the national-liberation aspirations of the subjugated peoples, particularly the Balts, by pleading with them to tone down their demands, to desist from seeking to "separate" from (as if they voluntarily "united" with) the "Union," on the premise that such "irresponsible" behavior only threatens the general agenda of *glasnost* throughout all of the Soviet Union. Recently, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declared its independence. The other two Baltic states may also make a similar declaration soon. Although Gorbachev, his closest advisors, and even "hard-line" Politburo members like Yegor Ligachev have all categorically rejected the use of force as a means of resolving the "Lithuanian question," they have been much firmer in refusing to recognize Lithuanian independence. In a speech before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 13, Gorbachev categorically ruled out any kind of negotiations with the new, democratically elected government of the renamed Lithuanian Republic on the issue of independence, stating that the Lithuanian declaration was "illegal." In this same statement, the Soviet leader carefully omitted any reference as to the "legality" of the military takeover by the Red Army of the sovereign Lithuanian state in 1940. This policy statement followed a period of some vacillation, since originally Gorbachev hinted that he may be willing to consider pursuing a negotiated settlement

with the democratic Lithuanian leadership. In his earlier policy statements on this issue, however, Gorbachev placed severe constrictions on any future negotiations, demanding that Lithuania “repay” \$34 billion (!), which the USSR “invested” in Lithuania, and questioned the legitimacy of Lithuania’s present borders. Gorbachev is, of course, fully aware that the Lithuanians do not have that kind of capital to ransom their freedom. No mention, of course, was made by the Soviet leader of the astronomical, incalculable costs the Soviet-Russian colonial policy had on the Lithuanian culture, of the many lives that were lost in defending Lithuanian independence during and after World War II, of the countless years of internment that Lithuanian national and human rights activists spent in Soviet-Russian prisons, psychiatric asylums and concentration camps.

Clearly, the Soviet leadership is at a loss in devising a creative strategy to effectively deal with this serious rift in “Soviet unity.” When the Lithuanian problem is viewed in isolation, it would seem that Moscow can certainly afford to rid itself of this thorny issue by allowing the Lithuanian people to freely exercise their right to national self-determination. The population and industrial base of Lithuania certainly are not critical to the Soviet economy. Everyone in Lithuania, the Soviet Union and, more importantly, the Kremlin, however, understands that the Lithuanian question cannot be viewed in isolation, since it sets a ground-breaking historic precedent that may be repeated in other, much more critical, non-Russian “Soviet republics,” such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, or the religiously and ethnically volatile Moslem “republics” of the USSR. Ironically enough, after supporting and financing numerous Marxist-Leninist “wars of national liberation” within the West’s geo-political spheres of influence throughout Africa, South America and South-East Asia, with the expressed purpose of undermining the USA’s position in these areas, the present Soviet leadership is facing the ominous prospect of a disintegrative “domino effect” scenario unfolding within its own borders. The manner in which the Kremlin decides to finally deal with the Lithuanian threat will be viewed as a barometer by the popular front movements in other non-Russian “republics” as to what they can expect in the future; whether a legal, “parliamentary” course towards independence is at all viable, and what kind of retributions may be expected in the event that these “republics” should also decide to proclaim their independence.

The Kremlin’s options in dealing with the thorny Lithuanian problem are, indeed, limited. Although Gorbachev and other Soviet Russian leaders have publically ruled out the use of force, a military suppression of this Lithuanian rebellion, similar to the bloody Soviet invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 following the “Prague Spring,” still remains a conceivable, albeit remote, option. Moscow can ill afford to resolve the matter by using Soviet troops, some 30,000 of which are stationed in Lithuania, since such an inevitably violent and bloody suppression of Lithuanian aspirations will in one fell swoop destroy all that Gorbachev has so painstakingly erected over the past five years of *glasnost*, both in terms of Soviet foreign policy and — more significantly — in trying to revitalize the Soviet economy through a policy of liberalization of Soviet socio-political institutions.

Another option would be to, in effect, leave the matter unresolved for now by entering into protracted negotiations with the new Lithuanian leadership, while presenting a set of complex preconditions and demands that the Lithuanian government must meet in order for Moscow to accept in fact Lithuania’s *de jure* sovereign

status. By playing out this scenario, Moscow would essentially be recognizing the Lithuanian people's legitimate right to sovereignty, which would allow Gorbachev to maintain his progressive image in the world and to preempt any movement on the part of the global diplomatic community to recognize the Lithuanian republic. In the meantime the negotiations will drag on, since the Lithuanian government will not be able to meet Moscow's ostensibly *quid pro quo* ransom demands, such as the extravagant amount of \$34 billion that Gorbachev claims the Soviet Union has invested in Lithuania as capital allocations over the past five decades of Soviet rule there. The longer Moscow can keep this issue unresolved, the less of a chance that the Lithuanian initiative may snowball into other non-Russian "republics," triggering similar independence declarations. Although the Lithuanian Republic would be a *de jure* sovereign state, *de facto* Moscow will still be fully capable of maintaining control through the 30,000 Soviet troops stationed in the country, through its still omnipresent KGB network and by its direct supervisory and executive jurisdiction over the entire government and economic administrative infrastructure (e.g., customs offices, import/export agencies, firms and enterprises that depend on Soviet raw materials), which will remain directly linked to the central governmental agencies in Moscow.

A third, and perhaps more viable, option would be a variant of the second option and would essentially amount to doing nothing. After all, although the Lithuanian declaration of independence represents a major unprecedented challenge to Moscow's colonial authority, it remains a paper declaration as long as Soviet troops remain in the country. A government cannot effectively exercise its moral and legitimate right to rule in a power vacuum. Governmental authority becomes meaningful in practical political terms only when that government can exercise its sovereignty through an armed force completely and unilaterally loyal to it and only when it can effectively claim a monopoly of power within its country's borders. As long as Soviet troops remain on Lithuanian soil, Lithuania remains an occupied colony of Moscow. By refusing to recognize the "legality" of the Lithuanian declaration of independence, Moscow need not enter into any public or secret negotiations with the present Lithuanian leadership, while maintaining effective control. Gorbachev has already stated that the USSR can enter into negotiations only with a foreign power, and certainly not with a government that it regards as "illegitimate."

Through the centralized command structure of the governmental and economic administrative infra-structure, Moscow can covertly begin implementing a policy of isolation, if not even strangulation of the Lithuanian economy, hoping that the Lithuanian people will begin to have second thoughts about the feasibility and desirability of "secession." Furthermore, the rather substantial Russian minority in Lithuania can serve Moscow's interests as a disruptive "fifth column," agitating for re-integration into the Soviet Union. Ethnic tensions may rise, leading to violence and bloodshed, which then may become a pretext for Moscow to send additional troops to quell the unrest in a Baku-style invasion. In fact, the continued maintenance of the Soviet army on Lithuanian soil will become an ever more painful eyesore to the Lithuanian people, which may at one point provoke violent acts against the troops, creating yet another pretext for invading. The use of force, however, will not necessarily be perceived by the world as an act of aggression in such a scenario, but rather as an attempt by a responsible super-power to protect "its citizens" and to reestablish stability, peace and security in a geo-political area that is clearly within

Moscow's own sphere of influence. Gorbachev will then be able to gain invaluable political/diplomatic mileage, since he can portray the the Lithuanian "secessionists" and the national(ist) movements in the other non-Russian republics as fanatical, disruptive forces whose "petty squabbles" may catapult humankind into yet another global catastrophe, if left unchecked.

In this context, Washington's reluctance to recognize the Lithuanian Republic is a telling point, particularly in light of the fact that the USA never recognized the forced military takeover of Lithuania and the other Baltic states by Soviet Russia in 1940. Although the US State Department issued a statement immediately after the Lithuanian declaration, in which it urged the Soviet government to respect the wishes of the Lithuanian people, Washington also stated that it will recognize the government of the Lithuanian Republic only when that government clearly manifests its ability to control and exercise sovereignty over its own territory. The State Department statement, however, was pointedly mute on the subject of how the Lithuanian government was to begin "exercising sovereignty" in conditions where a foreign government maintains a substantial armed force on its territory. This non-committal position of the State Department in effect amounts to placing the Lithuanian Republic in a diplomatic "Catch 22" situation: on the one hand, Washington is reluctant to place pressure on Moscow to pull Soviet troops out of Lithuania, although paying theoretical lip service to legitimate Lithuanian claims, while on the other hand it has in effect told the government of the Lithuanian Republic that US recognition is a factor of whether Moscow ultimately will pull its troops out of Lithuania.

It is clear by now, that the Bush administration will do nothing that may be perceived or even misconstrued as an affront to Gorbachev. The US President recently stated in a conference of American business executives that he feels there is no reason to fear the wide-ranging executive powers that the USSR Supreme Soviet has given "President" Gorbachev, since the Soviet leader's aims are completely laudable and consistent with US foreign policy objectives. In other words, the US President is basically saying that President Gorbachev is "a good guy"; or, by inference, he may also have been telling the subjugated peoples in the USSR that the US government will *not* support their independence aspirations, which are contrary to the "Great Restructurer's" reform initiative and may lead to a dissolution of the USSR.

In his acceptance speech before the USSR Supreme Soviet on March 15 (see: *New York Times*, March 16, pps. A1 & A6), Gorbachev gave a vague indication of the future thrust of his "nationality policy." While he recognized the need "to strengthen the sovereignty of the union republics and their economic and political independence," Gorbachev reaffirmed his "commitment to the country's (i.e., the Soviet-Russian empire's — RZ) integrity." Without entering into specifics, Gorbachev expressed his belief that a "new union treaty" must be elaborated, which will be based on a recognition of "a differentiation of federation ties with due account for specific conditions and each republic's potentials." Reading into these vague policy utterances, one may conclude that the primary criteria on how tightly each Soviet "republic" is to be "federated" into the union will depend on how critical their individual economy is to the Soviet-Russian empire. So that Lithuania, for example, whose economic and industrial input to the general welfare of the Soviet economy is relatively miniscule, may be allowed to exercise its "rights to self-determination, including secession," albeit only after a "lawful mechanism for secession" is ratified by the Supreme Soviet

(i.e., after Lithuania pays the \$34 billion ransom), while Ukraine's vast and critical agricultural and industrial base will preclude any possibility of its "secession." By "differentiating federation ties" for each of the "republics," Gorbachev may also avoid having Lithuania become a legal precedent, to be utilized in constitutional, legal depositions by the popular front movements of the subjugated peoples.

"Democratic" Elections in Ukraine

In Ukraine national and local elections were held on March 4. The Ukrainian Popular Movement ("Rukh") and other unofficial organizations and associations, which participated in the elections in a broad, united coalition known as the Democratic Front, can expect to control approximately 30-35% of the seats of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR after run-off elections are held on March 18. Although the Democratic Bloc will be in a minority in the Ukrainian SSR's "parliament," the fact that it received as many votes as it did is a considerable achievement in light of the various obstructions and irregularities of local Communist Party officials in control of the electoral process. Despite the fact that the elections took place in Ukraine without any major incidents, observers from the Democratic Bloc and the West reported several alarming instances of irregularities prior to and during the elections: campaign workers were threatened, physically assaulted and arrested; electoral officials were gerrymandering electoral districts up to the last days of the electoral campaign, so that Democratic Bloc candidates were not always sure where to campaign; candidates were not allowed to register on the basis of minor legal technicalities; about 25,000 Soviet soldiers presently stationed in Czecho-Slovakia were given ballots and told how to vote in the Ukrainian elections, despite the fact that most of these soldiers are probably not residents of the Ukrainian SSR; on election day electoral officials began incorrectly informing (or rather — *disinforming*) voters that some prominent Democratic Bloc candidates, e.g., Mykhailo Horyn — Chairman of the "Rukh" Secretariat — withdrew their candidacy; communist party members were given multiple ballots and expressly told who to vote for by electoral officials in full view of the voting public. Apparently, the colonial authorities in Ukraine decided to implement a series of legal and extralegal stop-gap measures to ensure themselves of a majority in the Supreme Soviet and to prevent a re-occurrence of the "Lithuanian problem."

Esther Fein, a correspondent for *The New York Times*, in a special dispatch dated Feb. 26 ("Apathy Called Greatest Foe in Ukrainian Elections," *New York Times*, March 1, 1990), wrote that the "Rukh" leaders that were interviewed said the prevalent attitude of the Ukrainian electorate was one of apathy, which the Democratic Bloc found difficult to overcome. "They say that people have stopped believing that their votes will make a difference in their lives," wrote Fein. Prior to the election, the official position of the "Rukh" leadership regarding the question of Ukraine's independence was non-committal, or — at best — equivocal. Such vacillation on an issue dear to the hearts of most Ukrainians probably cost the Democratic Bloc a considerable number of seats in the election and may also have been at the roots of the sense of apathy with which most Ukrainian voters approached these elections.

The human chain organized by "Rukh" and other unofficial organizations in commemoration of "Ukrainian Unity Day" on January 21 of this year was a clear indication of how potentially volatile the issue of Ukrainian independence is. Nearly a

million people participated in this event, forming a human chain which stretched from the capital city of Kyiv to the western Ukrainian city of Lviv and beyond. The event was officially billed by “Rukh” as “Ukrainian Unity Day” to commemorate the Act of Union of January 22, 1919, which united the territories of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic into one, integrated State. Every nationally-conscious Ukrainian knows, however, that January 22 marks a much more significant date in Ukrainian history — **Ukrainian Independence Day**, since on January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Republic (UNR) issued and proclaimed its “Fourth Universal” which established the UNR as an independent and sovereign nation-state. This nation-wide commemoration served to raise the political awareness of the Ukrainian people regarding the issue of independence, whether by accident or by covert design on the part of its organizers.

Despite such an overwhelming mass demonstration of support for Ukrainian independence, the Democratic Bloc did not incorporate an independence plank into its electoral platform. Many prominent “Rukh” leaders argued that it would be premature and irresponsible to promote independence at this particular juncture, that such appeals may only provoke the more hard-line members of the Communist Party leadership, giving them a pretext to topple the “Great Restructurer” himself — Gorbachev. Volodymyr Yavorivsky — the vice-chairperson of “Rukh” and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR stated at a press conference in Washington D.C. during his visit to the USA, that it would be unwise and economically unfeasible for Ukraine to “secede” from the Union at this time, since the quality of industrial and consumer goods produced in Ukraine today is so poor that the Ukrainian economy cannot compete anywhere outside of the USSR. The best that Ukraine can hope to achieve at this time, Yavorivskyi argued, was a degree of cultural autonomy, establishing Ukrainian as the official language of the “republic.”

Other, more radical, “informal” Ukrainian organizations, such as the Ukrainian National Party (UNP) and the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front (UCDF), either called for a boycott of the elections or else they refused to participate in the electoral process, arguing that all officially sanctioned and implemented political processes and structures are essentially colonial in character and to participate in them is tantamount to lending the colonial regime an element of much-needed moral and political legitimacy. From the perspective of Ukrainian independence and statehood, the UNP and UCDF positions were — *as a matter of strategic principle* — completely correct. One cannot simultaneously regard the government of the Ukrainian SSR, all of its institutions, even its rubber-stamp parliament, as a colonial regime, entirely subject to imperial policy dictated from Moscow, and yet run for office in that same governmental structure. Assuming that many if not all of the Democratic Bloc candidates genuinely yearn for Ukrainian sovereignty and statehood, the decision to run a slate of candidates for office in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR must have been dictated by *tactical*, not strategic, concerns and exigencies. In other words, the decision to participate in the elections was an attempt to raise the stakes in the rapidly changing political milieu of Ukraine; to use the avenues of legal opposition open to the oppositional forces in Ukraine to push the developing political processes to a higher level, beyond the control of the forces seeking to maintain the empire’s integrity. Furthermore, the elections were viewed as an opportunity to raise the national awareness of the Ukrainian people, particularly in eastern Ukraine; to mobilize the

population, in whose minds the debilitating and terrifying images of terror are still quite fresh.

The decision to participate in the elections was not by any means viewed by the leading national activists in Ukraine as a *de jure* recognition of the legitimacy of the colonial regime in Ukraine. On the contrary, the intent was to give the Ukrainian people a sense of power, as a preparatory stage to a future re-appropriation of the nations's authority, i.e., its right to rule. The Democratic Bloc's deputies, although not possessing the legal mandate to proclaim independence in a manner similar to the Lithuanian parliament, which is almost completely under the control of the popular front organization — *Sajudis*, will still be able to form a vociferous, and not altogether loyal opposition in the Ukrainian "parliament."

Such an opposition can quickly resolve the strategic dilemma of principle (viz., to participate in the elections is tantamount to recognition of the colonial regime) by drafting a program centered around the demand that Ukrainian independence, sovereignty and statehood, proclaimed in 1918, 1939 (Carpatho-Ukraine) and 1941 (Act of June 30), be reestablished. Although the chances that such an independence program will pass as a legislative bill before the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet are remote, given the disadvantageous constellation of political forces resulting from the recent elections, the long-term moral, mobilizing effect on the Ukrainian population at large of such a platform will be considerable. Even among old, "tried and true," card-carrying Party members, it has almost become fashionable to shed one's outer Marxist-Leninist cloak and to reveal a hidden nationalist cloak underneath. Some of the leaders of the popular movement in Ukraine are or were members of the Communist Party of Ukraine, (CPU), most notably Ivan Drach — the head of "Rukh." Up until very recently, these individuals found it difficult to voice their support of national rights issues in Ukraine and many wrote derogatory articles in the Soviet-Ukrainian press condemning Ukrainian nationalism. In a political about-face, however, Drach, in a recent interview conducted by *Radio Liberty*, has unequivocally endorsed the reestablishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. There are probably many more hidden Drachs among the newly elected deputies to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, who still cower before Moscow's colonial terror apparatus, but who will vocalize their desire to see this apparatus dismantled as the push towards Ukrainian statehood acquires more steam in the upcoming "legislative" debates. Moreover, the cathartic execution of Nicolae Ceausescu and his communist cronies in Rumania will hauntingly loom larger in the mind of every Party member in Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics, as the question of independence and sovereignty acquire greater urgency.

Prospects for the Future

At no time in recent memory the prospects for national independence, sovereignty and statehood for the non-Russian peoples subjugated in the USSR been brighter in recent memory than now. The road towards liberation, however, remains strewn with many potential pitfalls for the subjugated nations. The most dangerous of these is the ever more prominent notion that statehood can now be achieved strictly through legal, parliamentary means, avoiding any and all manifestations of violence and bloodshed. One need not even look towards Lithuania to find objective grounds for this notion.

The countries of Eastern Europe are presently on a course towards establishing their political sovereignty, as independent nation-states, without having had to resort to violence as of yet, with the exception of Rumania. Moscow's former satellites in Eastern Europe were in a much more advantageous position than the various non-Russian "republics" in the USSR. Although both the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet "republics" were titularly "independent states," the manner in which they were effectually colonized by Moscow was very much different. First of all, the Eastern European "satellites" were bound to Moscow only through the political and military treaty mechanisms of the Warsaw Pact and through the centripetally integrative economic programs and agreements of COMECON. Although COMECON was originally conceived by Moscow as a institutional tool to economically colonize the "satellite" countries of Eastern Europe and a means to exploit the economic resources of these formally independent "paper-states," in recent years Moscow's "satellites" were becoming more of an economic burden than a source of much needed revenue. By allowing the Eastern European countries to basically decide their own fate, Moscow had rid itself of a considerable financial burden, not to mention the substantial political capital that it gained for itself in the world.

In any event, the non-Russian Soviet "republics" cannot hope for a transition to independent statehood in a manner similar to the East European "satellites," if only because Gorbachev endorsed a greater degree of autonomy for these countries, while concurrently condemning any move towards disintegrative autonomy for the non-Russian "republics" in the USSR, without even feeling compelled to explain the evident inconsistency of this policy. Nonetheless, a parliamentary/legal route towards independence is acquiring greater prominence in the minds of most popular front leaders in the non-Russian "republics," particularly in Ukraine and particularly in light of the unprecedented, trail-blazing events occurring in Lithuania.

While most of the prominent Ukrainian national rights activists and even some maverick communists now recognize the incongruity between their political agenda of independence and Gorbachev's program of reform, they continue to believe that in present-day circumstances the only way to achieve any form of constructive change in Ukraine with a view towards one day reestablishing Ukrainian independence and statehood is through the existing political processes and structures. There is a two-fold hidden, implicit inconsistency, however, in this position. First, up until recently these same political structures were completely inaccessible to the popular front leaders and many of them spent many long years in Soviet-Russian concentration camps for refusing to recognize the system's legitimacy. Gorbachev's *glasnost* has injected new political meaning into these same structures, allowing former dissidents to become "People's Deputies" in legislative bodies, that once were nothing more than rubber-stamp carnivals. Yet, the programmatic aims of these independence-minded deputies undermines Gorbachev's position and his program of reform, which allowed these deputies to participate in the new processes and structures in the first place. Second, and more significantly, the dilemma of principle must again be addressed: by participating in the newly invigorated political structures, the popular front leaders are tacitly recognizing the legitimacy of the Soviet system, while their political platform aims to effectuate its immediate dissolution.

Reform or Revolution?

The need to address these apparent inconsistencies in the platform and policies of the popular front organizations in the non-Russian Soviet “republics” has not been altogether that pressing, as strategic principles took a back seat to hard-nosed, “realistic” tactical possibilities and opportunities. Yet, if national independence, sovereignty and statehood remain the goal, as a matter of principle, then sooner or later the central question of independence must be addressed, as the Lithuanians are attempting to do now. All these tactical, parliamentary and legalistic maneuverings will come to a critical crossroads, where one of three scenarios may unfold: 1) Moscow will voluntarily decide to pull out completely and recognize the sovereignty of the independent states that have “seceded” from its “Union,” which is highly unlikely; 2) Moscow will refuse to negotiate and after a protracted period of leniency will militarily move to crush the nationalist movements in the non-Russian “republics” by force; 3) a negotiated compromise will be struck, whereby the non-Russian “republics” will be granted a variable degree of autonomy within a new confederative Soviet structure, which would amount to a betrayal of the popular front’s principles. In any event, the prospects for full national independence and sovereignty for the non-Russian “republics” look dim, if their national movements remain strictly committed to a parliamentary course of action.

There is a fourth possibility, however: to treat this parliamentary struggle as only one stage in an ongoing revolutionary process of liberation, primarily designed to mobilize the people of the subjugated nations and to prepare them for a future clash with their colonial oppressors in Moscow, which — if successful — will result in the forced exit of all Soviet troops, KGB personnel and the entire administrative colonial apparatus from the territories of independent republics. This fourth possibility may very well entail an armed struggle for which the subjugated peoples in the Soviet-Russian empire may not be ready at this particular juncture.

If the popular front leaders remain genuinely committed to national independence and sovereignty for their nations, *as a matter of principle*, then they must first recognize that their aims are completely incompatible with Gorbachev’s projected reforms, collectively grouped under the heading — *glasnost and perestroika*. Consequently, all future policy statements must be formulated and action undertaken with this basic premise in mind. *Glasnost* is designed to re-integrate the Soviet population, that has become completely cynical, into newly erected, quasi-democratic socio-political processes and structures, on the assumption that such a heightened level of political participation will eventually cascade down into the economic sectors and reinvigorate the lethargic Soviet economy. Gorbachev is resolutely and energetically pursuing this reform program not to liberate the subjugated peoples, but to reconsolidate the Soviet system with its concomitant imperialist structures, by using the cement of liberal democracy and even capitalism. The independence aims of the popular front leaders stand in polar opposition to *glasnost*. For the nationalists of the non-Russian nations in the USSR to pursue reform, or even a “re-structuring” of the Soviet system, instead of calling for its total overhaul, its dissolution, would be completely inconsistent with their aims of national independence and statehood, which can be the only alternative.



Spectre of Terrorism — This macabre scene was unearthed in the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Residents discovered the skeletal remains of 217 victims, mostly women and several children, of Russian executions in 1941. One grave measured 3 meters long, by 1.5 meters wide, by 7 meters deep. The remains showed visible evidence of bullet holes.

AZERBAIJANIS' STRUGGLE POSES SERIOUS THREAT TO MOSCOW'S OPPRESSIVE RULE

Certain republics and cities have a special importance in the eyes of Soviet Muslims. Such is the case of Azerbaijan a land of ancient history, the birthplace of Nizami Gandjavi and a cross road for Persian and Turkic influences. For a short period after the Russian Revolution, from May 1918 to April 1920, Azerbaijan was an independent republic, the first ever Muslim republic. Before the Revolution it was the Azeris, together with the Tatars who led the reformist Jadid movement and provided the intellectual leadership of the national liberation struggle among the Muslims from the Russian empire.

Strategically the importance of Azerbaijan, bordering Iran and Turkey is self evident. Contrary to the republics of Central Asia it is developed industrially with important chemical and oil industries. Because of this Azerbaijan has the capacity to bring havoc to the whole of the Soviet economy as happened during the general strike in September 1989. What is more, the two neighboring Transcaucasian republics,



Photograph from the Afghan Mujahideen Resistance.

Armenia and Georgia are to a great extent dependent on Azerbaijan, a land of riches, for their survival. Today, Azerbaijan like the other union republics enjoys little of its natural wealth with at least 93% of all its natural products, including oil, being exported at fictional prices to the USSR.

75% of the 7 million Soviet Azeris are Shias (Ithna Ashariya), the remaining 25% are Sunnis of the Hanafi school. However, despite their religious link with Iran, the influence of the Islamic Revolution has been weaker among the Azeris than among other Muslims of USSR. This is due perhaps to the influence of the Iranian Azeris who have not fared as well as they may have expected since the Islamic Revolution, and also to the suspicion provoked by the present rapprochement between Teheran and Moscow.

On 16 January 1990 Moscow began dispatching troops to Azerbaijan, a total of some 20,000, to uphold the peace between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. For three days they remained stationed in Baku airport, in the military garrison and around the city, surrounded by barricades erected by Azerbaijani nationalists. A state of emergency was declared but remained ineffective as the Azerbaijani Communist Party had lost control and representatives of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan were running the Republic. On January 19, around midnight, having patiently waited while Armenians were killed and when the inter-ethnic violence had quietened, the army stormed Baku in a two-pronged attack by land and sea. Tanks and artillery fire were used to crush the barricades and disperse the demonstrators. The next day the little autonomous republic of Nakhichevan declared secession from the USSR. The president of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, Elmira Kafarova, contrary to the example given by Babrak Karmal, in a courageous appeal to the United Nations condemned the military intervention as a gross violation of Azerbaijan's sovereignty, adding that "the people of Azerbaijan will never forgive anyone for the tragic way their sons and daughters have been killed". Spirited resistance continued everywhere: in Lenkoran, Jelalabad and elsewhere the seats of the communist party were stormed, the Baku cadets mutinied (to this day it is unknown how many died in the garrison), the Azeri merchant fleet which was blockading the Soviet warships in the bay of Baku had to be dispersed with canon fire from shore. We know that at least one oil tanker was sunk. On 25 January the official number of casualties was 125. According to a count by the Popular Front there were 552 dead in Baku hospitals alone. The total number of casualties may well run in the thousands.

Ten days after the uprising Moscow was unable to regain military control. The army which had, according to Moscow, reoccupied Nakhichevan, was incapable of stopping the population building a bridge over the Arax river and crossing into Iran. Politically the situation was no better. According to Afrant Dashtamirov, a member of the Azerbaijani Central Committee, the Popular Front had the support of the majority of the republic. There was talk of secession and resistance "Afghan style". Apart from the general malaise common to all regions of the USSR, three factors have contributed to the crisis: the territorial dispute with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, the problem of the refugees, and Moscow's categorical refusal to open a dialogue with the new national movements.

The first organized movement of dissent appeared among the industrial workers of Baku under the leadership of a remarkable young man, Neimat Panakhov, dubbed the "Lech Walesa of Azerbaijan". Strikes and demonstrations began in November and

December 1988. The elite of the country after some hesitation followed the popular movement and joined with the masses in establishing the Popular Front. Baku is occupied by the army with tanks at every cross roads, although the troops do not intervene. In Spring 1989, Baku was once again under military control and pressure mounted with the economic blockade and embargo between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The description of the bullish behavior of the Soviet army, seen as an army of occupation, was already comparable with the tales of the Afghan refugees.

On 2 September 1989 during a gigantic demonstration in Baku (nearly half a million people), the Popular Front threw an ultimatum to the government and declared a general strike — the first ever in a Soviet republic. The demands of the Front were at the time moderate:

1. an Extra-ordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan to discuss a new sovereignty law and the economic independence of the republic;
2. liberation of all political prisoners;
3. official recognition of the Popular Front;
4. new free elections to the Republican Supreme Soviet.

The main lines of the Popular Front's program were no different from the political platforms of the Baltic republics. The aims were political pluralism, free market economy, defence of human rights, freedom to profess religion, and direct control of their national produce without interference from Moscow.

The Popular Front won this first political battle against the Communist Party, and on 25 September the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet voted a law on national sovereignty inspired by the Front. From then on the Republican Communist Party began to lose power, and it is indeed to regain control and not to protect the Armenians that Moscow intervened with such brutality on 19 January.

The immediate consequences of the intervention were not what Moscow expected: 1. For the first time the Azerbaijan Popular Front and the Armenian National Front declared that they were willing to negotiate under the patronage of the Baltic states. For two years Moscow was unable to promote a dialogue between the communist party organizations of Armenia and Azerbaijan. 2. National unity which until then was lacking in Azerbaijan is emerging, with the Party and government cadres siding with the Popular Front against the "foreign" invader. The new radical political parties, such as Yeni Musawat, which had distanced themselves from the Front in the last few months have regrouped in a show of national solidarity. The Popular Front has shown not only that it can call on the support of the whole nation, but that it is as capable as the Communist Party, if not more so, to administer the republic. 3. The element of disenchantment among the Soviet army reserve is even more evident than during the Afghan war. Moscow will never again be able to motivate the conscript and impose discipline. 4. Moscow will never be able to impose servile candidates to the national communist parties.

In the long term the consequences for Moscow will be even more disastrous. Had Gorbachev shown intelligence and flexibility and not intervened militarily, then perhaps the Russian protectorate may have been saved for the future. As the situation stands today, total political and economic independence is the aim of every Azeri having shed their blood, the Azeris will not be content with gradual and slow reform. Azerbaijan has the economic and political ability to be independent — if it was not for Russian interference it could today be as rich as Kuwait. When it regains independence, as no doubt it will, the Soviet colonial empire will disintegrate because Azerbaijan's example will be followed by all the Muslim republics of the USSR,

Marie Broxup (AFGHANews)

GEN. SHUKHEVYCH AND UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY HONOURED IN BILOHORSHCHA

The Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM) and the “Heritage” Society organized on Sunday, March 5, a memorial service and public meeting in honour of Roman Shukhevych-Gen. Taras Chuprynka, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), on the 40th anniversary of his death.

Shukhevych was killed on March 5, 1950, in a battle with Soviet Russian security forces in the village of Bilohorshcha, southwest of Lviv.



Placards on display in the center of Lviv on 5 March 1990. They read: In homage of our national hero, General of UPA, Roman Shukhevych who died a heroic death on 5. March 1950.

On March 4 a column of several thousand Lviv residents, carrying Ukrainian national flags and the red-and-black flag of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), left for Bilohorshcha, where the memorial service was held. Hieromonk Demian Bohun of the Ukrainian Catholic Church officiated at the service.

The service was followed by a commemorative meeting. The participants were addressed by the leader of the Ukrainian National Party Hryhoriy Prykhodko, who read a letter from the Representation of the Ukrainian National Government of 1941, Shukhevych's son, Yuriy, who returned to Lviv in October 1989 after more than 30 years of imprisonment, former OUN members Olha Ilkiv, Roman Bizhynskyi and Taras Vorobets, Volodymyr Maksymovych, Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) activist Vsevolod Uskiv, Oleh Vitovych of SNUM, and Levko Martyniuk, the head of the "Heritage" Society.

The participants resolved to demand the objective treatment of the activity of the OUN and UPA, the publication of archival documents and banned works about the UPA's struggle for Ukrainian independence against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the 1940s and 1950s, the erection of monuments on the graves of UPA soldiers, and the investigation of the crimes of the NKVD, which official history attributes to the UPA.

Gen. Shukhevych's wife and other relatives were among the 5,000 to 6,000 participants.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed in 1943 by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. It fought against both wartime invaders of Ukraine — Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. The capitulation of Nazi Germany in 1945 did not bring peace to Ukraine. Chuprynka and his troops turned their attention to Moscow and continued the war for Ukrainian independence into the 1950s.

In 1947, Yuriy Shukhevych, a 15-year-old youth, was arrested by the NKVD and was offered his freedom in exchange for a denunciation of his Father. He refused and was incarcerated for 10 years. This scenario was repeated two additional times. By the time Shukhevych finally got out of prison in the mid-1970s, the original Ukrainian Helsinki Group was forming and Shukhevych became a founding member. This sent him into prison and exile for a fourth time. In October 1989 he returned to his native Lviv and resumed his national activity.



Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

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

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



FINAL ELECTION RESULTS IN UKRAINE

First round — March 4, 1990

According to the latest reports of the press agencies of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) and the Ukrainian Popular Movement (Rukh) in Moscow, in only 120 of the 450 electoral districts the candidates running for office as People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR received the required 50% of the votes cast to be elected in the first round of elections, held on March 4, 1990. In the remaining 330 electoral districts of the Ukrainian SSR, run-offs will be held on March 18, in which the two candidates that received the most votes in the first round will run for election. Candidates of the Democratic Bloc — a broad coalition of the representatives of Rukh and other "informal" public organizations and associations — will run for election in 103 of the 330 electoral districts in which run-offs will take place.

Of the 120 deputies, elected in the March 4 elections, 36 were elected as Democratic Bloc candidates. 71 of the elected deputies represent the Communist Party bureaucracy. The remaining 13 deputies elected were candidates that officially were not running on the Democratic Bloc's slate, but which were supported by Rukh. In the March 4 general elections, Rukh candidates ran in 130 of the 450 electoral districts throughout the Ukrainian SSR. In another 70 electoral districts, Rukh endorsed candidates that officially were not registered as Democratic Bloc candidates. According to a report published in "Radianska Ukrayina" on March 6, approximately 3,000 candidates ran in the elections on March 4, with each seat being contested, on the average, by 6-7 candidates. Of the 71 elected deputies running on the Communist Party's slate, 11 are first secretaries of regional and municipal party organization, 13 are secretaries or party workers on the higher provincial level, 13 are chairmen of vice-chairmen or executive party committees, 4 are secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Kravchuk, Kochur, Yelchenko and Hurenko), 5 are executive committee workers, 5 are heads of collective farms, 10 are general directors or directors, 4 are from the Soviet Army, and 6 are ministers or vice-ministers in the Ukrainian SSR's government. In a mild surprise, the First Secretary of the CPU — Volodymyr Ivashko — did not manage to receive the required 50% of the vote and will have to run again in the March 18 run-off in a Kyiv municipal electoral district against the Democratic Bloc candidate — Kvas.

Most of the Democratic Bloc deputies that were elected in this first round ran in the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk provinces. In Kyiv — the capital of Ukraine — one candidate from the Democratic Bloc was elected in the first round, while another 22 candidates managed to receive enough votes to run in the second round on March 18.,

On Saturday and Sunday, March 10 and 11, pre-electoral rallies took place in many of the cities of Ukraine in support of candidates from the Democratic Bloc that will be running again in the March 18 run-off. In most cases, Democratic Bloc candidates will be running directly against candidates of the CPU.

Spokesmen for the UHU and Rukh press services in Moscow report that the Ukrainian republican press has yet to publish the complete results of the March 4 elections. The results presented below were prepared by Anatoliy Dotsenko — the official spokesman for the UHU and Rukh press agencies in Moscow from information the he managed to gather from UHU and Rukh members throughout the various provinces of Ukraine.

ELECTION RESULTS

First Round — March 4, 1990

City or Province	A	B	C
Kyiv	22	1	22
Vinnysia Province	17	-	3
Volyn Province	9	-	2
Voroshylovhrad Province	25	-	-
Dnipropetrovsk Province	34	1	10
Donets Province	45	-	3
Zhytomyr Province	14	-	3
Zakarpattia Province	11	1	2
Zaporizhia Province	18	-	7
Ivano-Frankivsk Province	12	8	2
Kyiv Province	17	-	9
Kirovohrad Province	11	1	2
Sevastopol	4	?	?
Crimea Province	18	-	1
Lviv Province	24	18	7
Mykolayiv Province	11	-	2
Odessa Province	23	-	5
Poltava Province	16	?	?
Rivne Province	10	-	3
Sumy Province	13	-	3
Ternopil Province	10	3	3
Kharkiv Province	28	-	9
Kherson Province	10	?	?
Khmelnyskyi Province	13	-	1
Cherkasy Province	14	1	2
Chernivtsi Province	8	?	?
Chernihiv Province	13	2	2
Total	450	36	103

Legend key: A — Total Electoral Districts; B — Nr. of Elected Democratic Bloc Candidates; C — Nr. of Democratic Bloc Candidates in Second Round of Elections.

LVIV

The following Democratic Bloc candidates were elected in the first round on March 4:

Ivan Drach — Rukh Chairman

Mykhailo Horyn — Chairman of the Rukh Secretariat, UHU member

Vyacheslav Chornovil — Director of the Ukrainian Independent Publishing-Information Association and the UHU Press Service

Bohdan Horyn — Chairman of the Lviv UHU branch

Stepan Khmara — Vice-Chairman of the Lviv Committee in Defence of Citizen's Rights (Strike Committee), UHU activist and the vice-chairman of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Ihor Yukhnovskiy — an Academic of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR and a Rukh activist

Roman Ivanychuk — a writer

Ihor Derkach — a UHU activist

Iryna Kalynets — a leading activist of "Myloserdia" (Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary)

Mykhailo Kosiv — a scholar and the vice-president of the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Language Society

Yaroslav Kendzior — a UHU activist

Orest Vlokh — chairman of the Lviv Rukh branch

Mykhailo Shvaika) a member of the Rukh Supreme Council

Viktor Romaniuk — a Rukh representative

Dmytro Chobit — a Rukh representative

Ivan Makar — a national and democratic rights activist

Bohdan Kozarskyi — a national and democratic rights activist

Ihor Hryniv — the secretary of the Lviv provincial branch of the Komsomol, a member of the Rukh's Supreme Council

The following Democratic Bloc candidates will run for election in the March 18 run-off:

Ivan Hel — the Chairman of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Yevhen Hryniv — a Rukh leader

Bohdan Kotyk — the Lviv mayor

Bohdan Batih — the editor-in-chief of "Leninskaya Molod"

Stepan Pavliuk — the chairman of the Rukh's External Affairs Committee — will run against Yakiv Pohrebniak, the first secretary of the Lviv Provincial Committee of the CPU

Roman Lubkivskiy — a writer

Fisher — a representative of the "Lev" society and the Ukrainian Language Society

IVANO-FRANKIVSK

The Following Democratic Bloc candidates were elected in the first round on March 4:

Levko Lukianenko — the Chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

Bohdan Rebryk — the Chairman of the Ivano-Frankivsk UHU branch

Markian Chechuk — the Chairman of the Cultural-Scientific Society "Rukh"

Mykola Holubets — an academic of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, a Rukh activist

Stepan Pushets — a poet, the Chairman of the provincial branch of the Ukrainian Language Society

Stepan Volkovetskyi — a scholar, a Rukh activist

Dmytro Zakharuk — the editor-in-chief of "Ahr"

Zenoviy Duma — the Chairman of the local "Memorial" branch

STATEMENT OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Rome, 19 March 1990 — The bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, following the interruption of talks of the Quadripartite Commission for the Normalization of Relations between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches in Western Ukraine, issued the following statement on 17 March in Lviv:

Since the Soviet press has been publishing information which does not reflect the real state of affairs in Ukraine, we, the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, gathered at a meeting in the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv on the 17th of March 1990, offer the following explanation:

- The negotiations of the Quadripartite Commission were interrupted from the moment when the representative of the Major Archbishop of Lviv left these negotiations in protest (note: **Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk** is the Ukraine representative of the Major Archbishop of Lviv, **Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky**. Archbishop Sterniuk left the talks on Tuesday, 13 March.) For this reason, any document which emanates from the negotiations must be considered without legal value. This includes all documents about transfer of churches.

- The reason for the interruption of these negotiations is the constant refusal of the Moscow Patriarchate to recognize the uncanonical status of the 1946 pseudo-synod of Lviv. As long as the Russian Orthodox Church is not ready to recognize the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as a Church, an institution and a juridical body, and not just as a group of Greek Catholics and as long as the Quadripartite Commission is not ready to treat essential questions, we do not see any need to meet any further. Until the fundamental questions of full legalization and rehabilitation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church are settled, it is impossible to discuss any division of Church buildings between Orthodox and Catholic.

- The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church holds that all Church property which was confiscated by the Soviet government in the age of Stalin, should be returned to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as its lawful property. When the government



The following Democratic Bloc candidates will run for election in the March 18 run-off:

Volodymyr Shlemko — the Director of the Drama Theatre, a Rukh activist

Petro Osadchyi — a Rukh activist

KYIV

Vitaliy Karpenko — the editor-in-chief of “Vechirnyi Dzvyn” — elected in the first round as a Democratic Bloc candidate

The following Democratic Bloc candidates will run for election in the March 18 run-off:

Dmytro Poyezd, Larysa Skoryk, Pavlo Movchan, Les Taniuk, Viktor Teren, Zbigniev, Oles Shevchenko, Kvas, Yevhen Proniuk, Hnatkevych, Ivasiuk, Kryzhanivskyi, Oles Serhiyenko, Musiyenko, Kyslyi, Zayets, Holovatyi, Palamar, Shovkoshytyi, Solopenko, Kostenko

returns the confiscated churches and especially the Cathedral of St. George, it will be possible to discuss the best way to honor the needs of the Orthodox faithful. Further negotiations should be held between representatives of the state and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The episcopate of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church holds that all further negotiations should treat the following points:

1) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, in accordance with the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, is a Particular Church — *Ecclesia Particularis Sui Juris*. In the full sense of these words, we should be treated thus by all other sister churches. It is inadmissible to refer to us as communities or groups of faithful of the Eastern Rite.

2) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is in full and continuous union with the bishop of Rome, the shepherd and teacher of the Church Universal. She thus recognizes his leadership and primacy throughout the world.

3) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is one body in Ukraine and in the diaspora, whose father and head is His Beatitude, Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky, the Major Archbishop of Lviv of the Ukrainians.

4) Everything which is presented by the delegation of the Holy See and also, the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is agreed upon with His Holiness Pope John Paul II and His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky.

5) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church wishes to live in peace and understanding, in a spirit of Christian love and reconciliation with all Churches and religious confessions. It is with such sentiment that her leadership enters into dialog aimed at normalization of relations with the Orthodox Church and of her legalization and full public recognition by the governments of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR.

6) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is against all use of violence and holds that true dialog between Churches can begin only when the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is fully stabilized and when all unfounded accusations of violence, proselytism, divisiveness and religious warfare cease.

7) The attitude of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to the government is based on the words of the Holy Scripture: "You must all obey the governing authorities. Since all government comes from God, the civil authorities were appointed by God." (*Romans 13:1*) Thus, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church will respect the government as long as it does not act against divine law. Ukrainian Catholics desire to be responsible citizens and active participants in "perestroika" and true democratization. As regards our conscience, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has always been a Church of the people and desires to remain so for the future.

8) Beginning 17 September 1939, the Stalin and further regimes committed a grave injustice toward the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. For this reason, in the name of justice, *ex justitia*, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church deserves a return to such a situation as existed in Ukraine before that date. Thus it is only just that:

- The Cathedral of St. George, along with all its surrounding structures, be returned to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Along with the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv, all the cathedral churches which belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church prior to 1939 should be returned to this Church.

- That the so-called Lviv Synod of 8-10 March 1946 be recognized as uncanonical and forced.

- The churches, chapels, bishops residences, monasteries (both male and female), printing presses, schools and rectories which belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church before 1939 be returned.

- The seminaries and theological academies which belonged to her before 1939 be returned.

- All monastic orders, male and female, will possess the legal status of an institution-juridical body.

- All the hierarchy, priests, monks, nuns and faithful who, because of their membership in and faithfulness to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, suffered, beginning in 1939, be rehabilitated.

- Since the Metropolitan of Halych and Major Archbishop of Lviv of the Ukrainians has, since 1963 been forced to live outside the bounds of the USSR, that his return to his own See in Lviv be made possible.

9) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church should possess all the rights that are enjoyed by other Churches in the Soviet Union on the basis of the new Soviet laws on Freedom of Conscience. This means it will have the right:

- to be recognized as a Church — an institution and juridical body — and to have the right to possess property;

- to carry out social and charitable work;

- to conduct religious education and publishing;

- to have access to mass media and communications.

10) In the case of differences between Soviet laws and international agreements which have been signed by the government of the USSR, the international agreements shall take precedence which includes the following rights which should belong to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church:

- full religious freedom;

- official public recognition by government authorities;

- free access to places of worship;

- the right to organize its own characteristic hierarchical structure;

- the possibility of maintaining free contacts with the faithful and other citizens in its own country and abroad;

- the possibility of maintaining unhindered contacts with the Roman Pontiff and the Holy See and equally with bishops, clergy and faithful in the diaspora.

11) All bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church have to be recognized by the government authorities and their names published in the papal directory *Annuario Pontificio*.

12) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church especially demands that the central seminary in Lviv be renewed as quickly as possible to train future priests. It will also equally have the right to freely send priests and candidates for the priesthood to study in Rome and other cities in the western world.

13) After the public recognition and legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, it will be ruled by the Canon Law of the Eastern Catholic Churches of the Universal Church, its own particular law creating its infrastructures and basic organizations.

14) At the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church stands the Major Archbishop together with the Synod of Bishops which is located in Lviv. At an appropriate earliest date, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church will be raised to Patriarchal dignity. Then the Patriarch, recognized by the Roman Pontiff, other

RUKH CALLS FOR PLURALIST, MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IN AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

The Popular Front of Ukraine (Rukh) recently issued the following appeal in which it calls for the creation of a multi-party, pluralist system. The Rukh leaders that signed this appeal also called for the convention of an extraordinary Rukh congress, which should transform this popular front organization into a separate party that stands on the principles of an independent Ukrainian state.

To all members of Rukh and to all the citizens of Ukraine

The pre-election programmes of many of the candidates running for the office of People's Deputy in the Soviets of Ukraine on all levels included a clause on the need for a multi-party system. Such a system is absolutely necessary. The dictates of one party were and continue to be the basis of the command-administrative system. Democracy is unfathomable without political pluralism; it cannot develop further without the elimination of the Party's monopoly over power and the truth. The CPSU, as the ruling force of our society, should be held responsible for the famine of 1932-33 in our republic, for the liquidation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for the mass deportations and repressions, for the policy of Russification, for the economic ruin and the ecological destruction of Ukraine. The CPSU continues to strive for a monopoly over power; it wants to preserve for itself a leading role in the economic and national-political life of the peoples of the USSR. It is true that healthy elements are to be found in the CPSU, that want to bring the country out of the present crisis. However, this is impossible because the CPSU remains committed to pursuing a colonial statist course. It has now become clear that as long as there exists a unitary party with a unitary centre for all the peoples of the USSR, these peoples will continue to be subjected to national, social and spiritual repression. Presently, we would like to see the Communist Party of Ukraine become a separate leftist party, under a democratic banner, and not controlled by Moscow.

In order to dismantle the command-administrative system, not only is the democratization of the Party necessary, but a multi-party system must also be instituted. This is the only guarantee that our society will become and continue to develop in a democratic fashion. Many of the workers' and farmers' collectives, that we met recently, are demanding the creation of a party based on the programme and



Particular Churches and the government authorities will govern his Church in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

Signed in Lviv by the following Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church:

Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk
Bishop Filemon Kurchaba
Bishop Julian Voronovsky
Bishop Mykhailo Sapryha
Bishop Sofron Dmyterko
Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk
Bishop Ivan Margitych

statutes of Rukh. It is impossible to effectuate a rebirth of Ukraine by the will of the conservative majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Its position was manifested at its last Plenum, in which the CC CPU clearly demonstrated that it will continue working in accordance with the interests of the empire, although it masked its intentions behind the false rhetoric about “a renewed federation.”

Consequently, we are calling for the convention of an extraordinary congress of the Popular Movement of Ukraine in order to establish a new set of principles and a new programme of activity for Rukh as a political party. We call upon all political groups and people holding various political convictions, who share a similar goal, to consolidate themselves with Rukh. Unity is our only guarantee of victory. The Popular Movement of Ukraine enjoys the support of Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, of all honest citizens of our republic in this historic period and it is taking upon itself the responsibility to lead them in the struggle for the future of the Ukrainian people and of all peoples that live on our land, to defend democratic principles in a peaceful dialogue with all political parties and groups and to strive for real and ultimate independence, in accordance with the will of the people.

Signed:

Halyna Antoniuk, Yuriy Badzio, Mykola Bidzilia, Oleksander Burakovskiyi, Stepan Vovk, Voleslav Heychenko, Serhyi Holovatyi, Mykhailo Horyn, Vitaliy Donchyk, Ivan Drach, Dmytro Zakharuk, Pavlo Kyslyi, Serhiy Konev, Roman Lubkivskiyi, Levko Lukianenko, Volodymyr Muliava, Dmytro Pavlychko, Larysa Skoryk, Petro Talanchuk, Viktor Teren, Borys Tymoshenko, Volodymyr Yavorivskiyi.

CLASHES WITH SOVIET SECURITY FORCES IN TAJIKISTAN

Forty people were killed and more than 500 were wounded in clashes between the Soviet security forces and Tajiks in Doshanbe, the capital of Tajikistan in Central Asia on February 12 and 13.

The rumors that Armenian refugees were being resettled in Tajikistan triggered the three day riot but it turned into a platform for demanding political and economic reforms for Tajiks.

Gorbachev called the situation in Tajikistan ‘dangerous’ and stressed the need for strong measures to deal with the situation.

Tanks were sent to Doshanbe to bring the situation under control. Demonstrators shouted ‘Down with Russians’. They also demanded the withdrawal of other ethnic groups from Tajikistan.

Russian ethnic groups form 5% of the population. They are worried about their security. According to reports by the Soviet media, the demonstrators were demanding the resignation of communist officials and wanted the power to be transferred to clergymen.

It was also reported that the demonstrators attempted to take control of Doshanbe airport but did not succeed.

Tajikistan has a population of five million who are Muslims and speak Persian.

Armenians living in Central Asia form a small, but rich minority who are resented by the local population.

THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE, February 16, 1918:

The Lithuanian Taryba, in its session of February 10, 1918, decided unanimously to address the following communication to the Government of Russia, of Germany, and other States:

“The Lithuanian Taryba as a sole representative of the Lithuanian people proclaims, on the basis of the recognized right of self-determination of peoples and of the decision of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilna (Vilnius) September 18-23, 1917, the reestablishment of an independent Lithuanian State, founded on a democratic base, with Vilna (Vilnius) as capital and the abolition of all political ties which have existed with other peoples.”

The Lithuanian Taryba declares at the same time that the basis of this State and its relations with other States shall be definitively fixed by a Constituent Assembly, which must be convoked as soon as possible and which will be elected by all inhabitants by virtue of democratic principles.

In making the preceding known to the government, the Lithuanian Taryba requests favorable consideration of recognition of the independent Lithuanian State.

Signed by Council (Taryba) Members Vilna (Vilnius), February 16, 1918.

RENEWAL OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE, March 11, 1990:

Expressing the will of the people, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania resolves and solemnly proclaims the restoration of the sovereign powers of the Lithuanian state that were impeded by a foreign force in 1940.

The act of the Lithuanian Council on independence of February 16, 1918 and the resolution of the constituent congress of May 15, 1920 on the reestablished democratic state of Lithuania have never been revoked. They retain their full force and represent the constitutional basis of the government of Lithuania. The territory of Lithuania is integral and indivisible; the Constitution of no other foreign state is valid on it.

The Lithuanian state, guarantees the rights of individuals, citizens, and national groups, recognizes the principle of the integrity of borders, as formulated in the Final Act of the 1975 Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki. The



Turkistani republics have a population of 35 million and most of its people are Muslims and have Turkic or Tajik ethnic roots.

The Soviet Ambassador to Kabul accused the Mujahideen of sending arms and money to the Tajiks. Prof. Rabbani, Jami'at's leader, has rejected any involvement of the Mujahideen in the disturbances in Central Asia and has called it a natural outcome of 70 years of Moscow's oppression.

Commander Masood has sympathized with the uprising of the Muslims in the Soviet Union to gain religious, economic and social freedoms.

The Afghan war has had an indirect effect on developments in Central Asian republics under Soviet domination.

The people in these areas were impressed by the resistance of the Afghans against the Soviet-Russian aggression.

Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, as the implementer of sovereign powers, strives to realize the full sovereignty of the state.

Two conferences convened in Berne, Switzerland, the first on August 3 and 4, 1915, and the second March 1-5, 1916, pronounced for Lithuanian independence, and set forth its justification. The delegates to these conferences came together in spite of the perils of wartime travel from various European nations and the United States. The second conference was, in substance, similar to the first. The reason for Lithuanian independence were itemized in the following manner:

1. *Lithuania was for many centuries an independent state.*
2. *The Lithuanian people had never ceased to demand their lost liberty.*
3. *Lithuania possesses a very clear ethnographic character, and a national culture, and she forms a distinct political organism.*
4. *Only an independent Lithuanian Government will be able to repair the immense damage which the war has caused to Lithuania.*
5. *The creation of a free and independent Lithuania will favor the establishment of a durable peace.*
6. *At the outbreak of the war the Allies proclaimed the liberation of oppressed nationalities as the object of the war.*
7. *The German Government also, through the Imperial Chancellor has declared that the German troops had "delivered" Lithuania.*

Still another Lithuanian conference convened at the Hague in the Netherlands announced that Lithuania, having thrown off Russian domination, did not wish its re-won independence lost to some other conqueror. The resolution of this Hague conference for Lithuanian independence listed the following considerations which seemed to condense in a simple pronouncement the whole of Lithuanian history:

1. *Russia oppressed Lithuania for 125 years — since 1795 — and has despoiled her, and in lieu of her name calls Lithuania "Northwest Russia".*
2. *The national administration and the Lithuanian statute have been set aside and in their stead foreign institutions have been imposed upon the country.*
3. *The Russian government has suppressed the University of Vilna (Vilnius), closed the schools, and outlawed the Lithuanian language and literature.*
4. *The Russian Government has done great damage to the Catholic Church and in persecuting Catholics it has not hesitated to spill blood.*
5. *Under barbarous governors (Muraviev, the hangman, for example) the country has suffered a setback of half a century in the development of its civilization.*
6. *The 40 years prohibition of printing (1864-1904) grievously injured the country. In spite of this the intellectual level of higher than in Russia, 52 percent of the population of Lithuania being able to read and write, whereas in Russia the proportion of those who can read and write is only 29 percent.*
7. *In addition to the damage to her culture, Lithuania has also had to endure the robbery of the fruits of her soil which Lithuanian labor over several centuries has made fertile.*
8. *Since the beginning of the war some hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians have fought in the Russian Army; yet, despite this, Russia has not promised to the Lithuanians the political autonomy which she has accorded the Poles.*
9. *During their retreat the Russians troops massacred young and old in the country and carried off thousands of Lithuanians.*

A Lithuanian Supreme National Committee was created in Switzerland. Located here, it was not too far removed from the home theater of operations for Lithuanian independence and at the same time enjoyed freedom from even the threat of persecution. Its purpose was to promote Lithuanian people and their political parties, and to serve as a headquarters in Europe for information on the development of Lithuanian welfare, independence and national sovereignty.

But all this was hardly the whole story of the international enthusiasm generated by the struggle for and the imminence of Lithuanian independence. A Stockholm Conference assembled on October 18-20, 1918, on the initiative of Lithuanians from Russia, who sent the largest delegation, and were joined by fellow delegates from Switzerland and the United States. The Conference heard a report on the work of the Lithuanian National Assembly in Vilnius, and expressed its adherence to the historic resolution demanding Lithuanian independence. The third Berne Conference which had convened toward the end of 1918, rendered particularly significant service because of the presence of President Antanas Smetona and a delegation from the Lithuanian National Council. A wide range of vital decisions on foreign and domestic policy was arrived at in this conference. The most important decision was the official recognition and approval by the Conference of the resolution of the Vilnius National Assembly creating the Lithuanian National Council. This third Berne Conference recognized the Council or Taryba as the properly constituted organ of the Lithuanian people.

Events moved rapidly in Europe. Russia was in a state of upheaval. The Czar had abdicated in March 1917. The provisional government, headed by Kerensky had risen and fallen. Bolshevik power ruled Russia. The Bolshevik leaders offered immediate negotiations for peace with Germany, and adopted the principle of self-determination to include Russian-dominated countries, of which presumably Lithuania was one. Later the Soviet Government under the ukase of a rising young commissar named Stalin was to invalidate utterly this promise.

Yet the announcement at the time had a complicating effect for Germany which was still vigorously fighting the war in the west. Annexation of Lithuania would hardly be acceptable to the Bolshevik Government, and Germany did not wish increased military hostility in the east. Thus, Germany sought a way out by declaring itself in favor of an agreement that would bring freedom and independence to Lithuania provided it was based on a permanent union between the two countries. Lithuanians had had enough experience with both Russia and Germany through the ages to know that in either case, whether the one or the other held dominion over them, they, the Lithuanians, would without a doubt lose in any arrangement.

The Lithuanians were, however, determined in their efforts to win absolute independence and nothing less. There ensued a diplomatic struggle in which Germany tried to get from the Lithuanian National Council a resolution accepting German domination while granting to Lithuania a certain autonomy. In December of 1917, a Lithuanian delegation came to Berlin and was offered federation with the Reich as endorsed by the military, the Cabinet, and the Reichstag. When all these overtures came to no avail, the Germans declared themselves ready to accept Lithuanian independence provided it included economic and military union with Germany. The Council, however, obstructed any German ties by dilatory tactics, such as withholding certain decisions until the conclusion of a peace treaty, substituting military and economic "conventions" for union, and demanding that Germany plead the Lithuanian cause at the peace conference.

In every way Germany sought to diminish the prestige of the Lithuanian National Council publicly while dealing with it on high levels. Thus, the German administration pretended the Council had merely an advisory status, and even tried to prohibit publication of its decision. Then the Lithuanian National Council exhibited astonishing diplomatic and political astuteness. It issued two pronouncements on independence, each designed in its way to fit the circumstances of the hour and to frustrate both German and Bolshevik ambitions against Lithuanian sovereignty. The pronouncements at the same time thrust Lithuania again and again into the world limelight as a nation having a just claim for absolute independence before the free world under the widely heralded Wilsonian principles of self-determination.

The first of the pronouncements came on December 11, 1917:

I

The Lithuanian Taryba (the National Council), recognized by Lithuanians at home and abroad as the only authorized representative of the Lithuanian people, proclaims, on the basis of the recognized right of self-determination of peoples and on the basis of the resolutions of the Conference of Vilna (Vilnius) (18-23 September, 1917), the reconstitution of an independent Lithuanian State, with Vilna (Vilnius) as its capital, and its liberation from all political ties which heretofore have bound it to other nations.

II

During the reconstruction of the above State and in order to defend its interests during the peace negotiations, the Taryba requests the aid and the protection of the Empire of Germany. In consideration of the vital interests of Lithuania which demand the prompt establishment of lasting and close relations with (the) German Empire, the Taryba declares itself in favor of a continuous and firm alliance between the Lithuanian State and the Empire of Germany, an alliance which must find its realization principally in a military and economic convention and in a customs and monetary union.

As a declaration of independence the pronouncement, which was presented in the form of a resolution by the Council, had a dual purpose. It aimed to checkmate German intentions of annexation and at the same time deny Bolshevik claims to Lithuanian territory. The effort to placate German goodwill by offering substitutes for annexation that would not impair Lithuanian sovereignty failed to satisfy Germany. And when Germany was still determined to pursue a course leading to annexation, the Lithuanian National Council decided to drop all attempts at conciliating the German administration. Germany had disclosed its hand at the Brest-Litovsk Treaty negotiations with the Bolsheviks when it declared its opposition to a plebiscite to determine the future status of the German-occupied areas of Livonia, Courland, Lithuania, and Poland.

On January 8, 1918, the Council reaffirmed the decision of the Vilnius Assembly for the convocation of a Lithuanian Constituent Assembly which would determine Lithuania's governmental system and its foreign relations. The Council then addressed to the German Government the proposition that it would notify the Bolshevik Government of the resolution of December 11, 1917, provided the Germans would come to an agreement with the Lithuanians, on such questions as: a) when and under what conditions the administration of Lithuania would be turned over to the

Lithuanian National Council; b) when would the German military occupation come to an end so that the German Army could be replaced by the Lithuanian police; c) when would Germany recognize the independence of Lithuania.

Events were pressing hard on the German Government. On January 27, 1918, the representative of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Lithuanian National Council that Germany would soon recognize the independence of Lithuania on the basis of the resolution of December 11, 1917. The Council was wary of German promises but regarded formal recognition nevertheless as of some importance. What made the December 11, 1917 resolution particularly palatable to the Germans at this particular time was the stipulation in it that the Lithuanian National Council favored a "continuous and firm alliance between the Lithuanian State and the Empire of Germany, an alliance which must find its realization principally in a military and economic convention and in a customs and monetary union." The council by a majority vote decided to accept the German proposal but stipulated that Germany, in its act of recognition, acknowledge the competence of the Constituent Assembly to establish Lithuanian foreign relations. But even this stipulation was not adequate, for at least four members of the council resigned from the council in protest. In the efforts to conciliate these four members, however, their position prevailed, and they returned to the Council.

There followed then a unanimous agreement on a declaration of independence that would be wholly and absolutely free of any expressions of servitude to any other power and that would make no commitments of any kind, except to the Lithuanian people, for the complete and unequivocal independence and sovereignty of their country. This was the declaration of February 16, 1918, second of the two pronouncements on independence which stated:

The Lithuanian Taryba, in its session of February 16, 1918, decided unanimously to address the following communication to the Governments of Russia, of Germany, and of other States:

"The Lithuanian Taryba, as a sole representative of the Lithuanian people proclaims, on the basis of the recognized right of self-determination of peoples and of the decision of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilna (Vilnius) September 18-23, 1917, the reestablishment of an independent Lithuanian State, founded on a democratic base, with Vilna (Vilnius) as capital and the abolition of all political ties which have existed with other peoples."

The Lithuanian Taryba declares at the same time that the basis of this State and its relations with other States shall be definitively fixed by a Constituent Assembly, which must be convoked as soon as possible and which will be elected by all inhabitants by virtue of democratic principles.

In making the preceding known to the government, the Lithuanian Taryba requests favorable consideration of recognition of the independent Lithuanian State.

Signed by Council (Taryba) Members Vilna (Vilnius), February 16, 1918.

In Lithuanian history, this second declaration of February 16, 1918, was Lithuania's official declaration of independence. The Lithuanian Government regarded it as the instrument which determined the legal origin of the reestablished state. The significant elements of this declaration were as follows:

Lithuanian independence was proclaimed on the basis of self-determination and

in accordance with the Vilnius pronouncement of the Lithuanian National Assembly September 18-23, 1917.

Lithuania was not now a newly established state but a reestablished one.

The declaration of the Lithuanian National Council was the declaration of the nation because it alone represented Lithuania.

Democratic principles were to be the basis of the independent state of Lithuania. Vilnius was to become again the capital of Lithuania.

The declaration utterly severed all and any ties which previously bound Lithuania to any other state.

The Constituent Assembly of Lithuania was to determine the form the Government of Lithuania was to take and what procedures it was to employ in its relations with foreign nations.

LITHUANIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM



Hail Lithuania triumphant!
Land of heroes hoary,
From thy past thy sons may ever
Draw their strength and glory.
May thy children ever follow
Their undaunted fathers,
In devotion to their country
And good will to others.
May the sun of our loved shore
Shine upon us evermore;
May our faith and the truth
Keep our pathway lighted.
May the love of Fatherland,
Make us strong of heart and hand;
May our land ever stand
Peaceful and united!

Translated by Nadas Rastenis

RECENT EVENTS IN UKRAINE

KYIV (UHU Press Service)

According to Adolph Kutovyi, head of the Rukh branch at the Okhtyrsk factory — “Silhospmash”, Mykola Nosenko and Petro Rikalo — two Rukh activists — were sent to a psychiatric hospital situated in the village of Vysoke (Okhtyrsk district, Sumy province) immediately prior to the elections, which were recently held throughout all of Ukraine on March 4. The reason that Nosenko and Rikalo were “hospitalized” was that they were preparing leaflets and vocally campaigning for candidates of the Democratic Bloc.

On March 4 the police and KGB organized a hunt for an automobile containing activists of informal organizations of Cherkasy — Anatoliy Lupynis and Oleksiy Shevaldin, who were carrying 1,000 copies of the newspaper of the Ukrainian Independent Press Agency (UNPA) — “Shlakhy”. They were apprehended in the Cherkasy province and the newspaper was confiscated on the grounds that the publication contained “calls to boycott the elections”.

On March 6 a picket action of the building of the municipal council was held in protest against the unlawful arrest of students on February 22-23. The head of the Rukh Secretariat Mykhailo Horyn, Bohdan Ternopilskyi, Valeriy Hryshchuk (People’s Deputy of the USSR), Larysa Skoryk (electoral candidate to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine), 80 representatives of the Lviv students, the Ukrainian Students Association (USS) and the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM) all participated the picket. The protesters held Ukrainian national flags and placards with the following slogans: “UHU in support of the student strike!”, “USS opposes the arrests!”, “Kyiv — Wake Up!”. The authorities invited Mykhailo Horyn, Bohdan Ternopilskyi and Valeriy Hryshchuk for negotiations, in which the deputy chairman of the Kyiv internal affairs department — Shaposhnykov, the head of the Lenin district department of internal affairs — Kondratiuk and representatives of the municipal council took part. The negotiations lasted an hour and ended with an agreement on the review of the case of the five students, who are still imprisoned. In the event that the students are not released, the picketing will continue.

On March 7, according to the agreement, the case of the arrested students was reviewed and they were released. The students were originally arrested for “violating the law on meetings (public assemblies)”. However, three youths, who are not students, remain imprisoned: Chemerys, Yehorov and Shakyrianov. These three individuals are representatives of the Crimean Tartars. For this reason the picket of the municipal council is continuing, in which members of the Rukh Secretariat, including Mykhailo Horyn, representatives of the UHU, the USS and the Ukrainian Language Society of Taras Shevchenko are taking part.

LVIV STUDENTS HOLD A STRIKE

(UCIS) Lviv — On March 1 students from the Lviv University went out on strike in support of their colleagues from Kyiv, who were arrested on February 23. The next day, March 2, they were joined by students from Lviv Polytechnic.

On March 3 the students from Lviv Polytechnic and afterwards students from the city university met with the Minister for Higher Education of the Ukrainian SSR.

Dmytro Ostash, a student from Lviv Polytechnic, who is a prospective member of the Ukrainian National Party (UNP), explained the UNP's programme to the Minister. Neither the Minister nor the administration had any remarks about the programme.

On March 5 a student rally, which began at 10:30 a.m., was held in Lviv in support of the students arrested in Kyiv and the striking Lviv students.

The same day, students from Lviv came to Kyiv to protest against the arrest of their colleagues and express their solidarity with the imprisoned students. Among the imprisoned students are two from Kyiv and the following five from Lviv:

- 1) Ihor Kotsiurba, chairman of the Student Brotherhood of Lviv Polytechnic and a member of the UNP (imprisoned for 15 days);
- 2) Oleh Matsyshyn, student from Lviv Polytechnic (10 days);
- 3) Akhmed Hasanov, student from Lviv Polytechnic (15 days);
- 4) Mykola Pokhodzhak, student from Drohobych Pedagogical Institute (15 days);
- 5) Ostap Sadovyi, student from the Drohobych Pedagogical Institute (15 days);

The arrested students are holding a hunger strike in protest against their unlawful arrest. The physical conditions of two of these students — Ihor Kotsiurby and Oleh Matsyshyn — is deteriorating.

The meeting of the student strikers in Lviv on March 5 resolved to continue the strike until the students imprisoned in Kyiv are released.

Moscow, March 5 — Ukrainian students organized a picket here in front of the "Moscow Hotel" in which many of the People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from Ukraine are staying. The picket was organized by the local Rukh branch. The participants of the strike were Ukrainian students studying in Moscow and members of the Moscow Student Club. The picketing students demanded the immediate release of the Kyiv and Lviv students that were arrested earlier in Kyiv. An appeal and a list of demands was forwarded to Yuriy Sorochyk, who is a deputy from Ukraine. Sorochyk reassured the picketing students that he will bring this matter before the forum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

*

Lviv, March 7 — The student strike and picketing of the provincial headquarters of the Communist Party of Ukraine are continuing. Among the demands are the release of Lviv and Kyiv students, arrested in Kyiv. The placards held by the protesters read: "For a strike to victory!", and "Unity of students in the struggle against the unlawfulness of the authorities!".

February 13 — At 5.00 p.m. informal organizations in Lviv picketed the building of the provincial party committee, demanding the dismissal of the whole provincial Party leadership, as well as the annulment of all the Party committees at workplaces, factories, educational and other institutions of the city and province of Lviv.

This was a follow-up action in response to a resolution of a public meeting on February 11.

Some 3,000 people had gathered at the start of the picketing but their numbers increased as time went by. The protesters held no less than 50 Ukrainian flags and many placards with the following slogans: "Occupational forces out of Ukraine!"; "The CPSU should become an informal organization!"; "Deputies without Party membership cards!"; "Multi-party system — a guarantee of democracy!"; "An

independent sovereign state for Ukraine!"; "No provincial committees in Ukraine!", and so on.

The picketing lasted until 7:00 p.m. Towards the end there were up to 7,000 protesters, who said they would continue picketing until their demands were met.

On February 20 the picketing continued. At 5:00 p.m. 2,000 people gathered outside the provincial Party headquarters. The officials were not present, only 10 policemen.

ODESSA

According to Ihor Stoliarov, on February 27 the head of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front Oleh Kodenchuk went to the town of Ovidiopol (Odessa province), after which he disappeared. Attempts to trace him were successful only on March 6, when the head of the Odessa provincial department of internal affairs Hovorun pointed out that he "is serving a sentence" in Ovidiapol, although he did not state the reason for the imprisonment. That day, Utnikov, an official of the Ovidiapol police stated "there no Kodenchuks here". Kodenchuk is a close associate of electoral candidate and Odessa Rukh activist Yuliya Polishchuk. A protest telegram was sent to the Procurator General of the USSR Sukharev.

STUDENT MEETINGS

On the initiative of students of Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk universities, on the morning of February 20 meetings were held in all institutes of higher education throughout Ukraine. The students demanded the following:

- 1) The abolition of compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism;
- 2) The abolition of KGB control and supervision in all higher education institutes;
- 3) The disbandment of Party committees in the institutes of higher education;
- 4) An increase in student grants to 80 karbovantsi (roubles) a month.

If the Party provincial committee does not meet the demands, a decision will be taken to declare a student strike, the date of which is still to be decided.

UKRAINIANS TASTE FREEDOM FROM MOSCOW

Ukrainian nationalism has reawakened and is on its way to cutting the massive republic free from Russian domination, says a member of the Ukrainian youth party.

"Russians go home," is the feeling simmering among an emerging nationalism in the Ukrainian republic of 50 million, says Andriy Cheremskyj, president of the Kharkiv branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association.

Cheremskyj, 23, a recent medical school graduate, was jailed for 12 days last August for raising the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag.

Now Soviet forces cannot quash Ukrainian flag fever.

"There are so many of them being raised that they cannot control the whole thing," Cheremskyj said after arriving in Calgary.

The young doctor, who is unable to find a job because of his dissident activities, couldn't predict how long it will take before Ukraine controls its own destiny.

“In objective terms, the Russian empire is slowly falling apart. It may take a year or two. It may take longer,” he said.

But he didn't discount the possibility of violence, which is now common in the southern republics, spreading north to Ukraine.

“The way to get freedom is not to ask for it. It's to grab for it,” Cheremskyj said, admitting Russians look at Ukrainian independence negatively.

Calgary's Ukrainian community, estimated at 20,000 is delighted and enthused by visits from political leaders from the homeland.

Prior to glasnost, such contact was impossible.

“It gives you the desire to do things” supporting family and relatives struggling for freedom in Ukraine, said Borys Sydoruk of Calgary.

Alex Malycky, a Slavic studies professor at the University of Calgary, called visits such as Cheremskyj's galvanizing.

“You're just touched by something that goes on there, that we heard before, but never heard first hand. It's like living under the Nazis.” Malycky said.

Cheremskyj says he's saddened because he has to come to Canada to learn about Ukrainian culture, which has been wiped out in his homeland by Russian domination.

Cheremskyj will leave Calgary today for Edmonton, home to about 80,000 Ukrainian Canadians.

Alan Boras

Calgary Herald, 15 February 1990

NATIONALIST GROUPS MAKE BIG POLL GAINS IN UKRAINE

Nationalists in the Ukraine, the most important Soviet republic outside Russia, have scored notable victories in Sunday's second round of elections despite widespread allegations of electoral violation and ballot-rigging.

In the capital, Kyiv, candidates of the Democratic Bloc, an alliance formed by the nationalist movement Rukh (which was not registered for the elections) have won 15 out of 22 seats for the Ukrainian parliament.

All parliamentary seats in Lviv have fallen to the Democratic Bloc.

The Democratic Bloc has also claimed control of the city soviet in Kyiv and in Lviv, and reports that it has won 70% of the 120 local elections declared so far.

The outcome was not in doubt in western Ukraine, stronghold of the nationalist movement, but Kyiv is crucial to the maintenance of Communist Party control. Rukh claims that the Ukrainian party leader, Mr. Volodymyr Ivashko, only secured election because 12,000 troops had recently been drafted in to vote for him, while 5,000 troops had been moved into the district won by the Soviet Army's General Dukhov.

The secretariat of Rukh has made a bitter complaint about use of military units to paste up “slanderous” posters against Democratic candidates and to distribute leaflets in favour of the party apparatus.

Allegations of “falsification, intimidation and illegal practices” have been made in the city of Kharkiv.

Rukh expects that the Democratic Bloc will win in nearly all the one-third of 450 parliamentary seats it was permitted to contest, the Communist Party apparatus will win about a quarter of the seats, mainly from rural constituencies where it has tight control, with the remainder going to reformist Communists and independents.

The turn-out in Moscow on Sunday was generally about 5% lower than in the first round of local and republic-level elections held two weeks ago.

Although full results will not be available for the Russian Federation for another week, because of the distances involved, preliminary results from Moscow suggest that the reformers standing with the support of the Democratic Bloc capitalised on their good performance in the first round.

The Times, March 20, 1990

POST-ELECTORAL RALLY HELD IN KYIV

On March 10 a public meeting was held in Kyiv. Around 50,000 people attended the meeting, organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh). Mykhailo Horyn, chairman of the Rukh Secretariat and recently elected People's Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, led the meeting. The results of the first round of elections were presented to the participants, many of whom then expressed their wishes with regard to the second round to be held on March 18. Decisions were made regarding which individual candidate to support in those constituencies where two candidates remain from the Democratic Bloc.

Many speakers gave examples of gross violations of the electoral process on the part of the authorities. Generally, this meeting did not differ from the previous pre-election meetings. It is noteworthy, however, that the participants of this meeting manifested a marked change in their attitude towards the communists. For example, when I. Saliy, the secretary of the Party committee of Kyiv's Podillia district, came to the podium to address the meeting, the participants did not allow him to speak. They shouted: "Aparatchyk! Communist! Thief!" Until recently Saliy had enjoyed a degree of popularity.

UKRAINIAN DEPUTY PROTESTS ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

(UCIS) Ternopil — According to Petro Kosinchuk, a representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, Maria Kuzemko — a recently elected deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the head of the regional branch of "Memorial" and the co-chairman of the regional branch of Rukh — has begun a hunger strike on March 3 in front of the regional Communist Party office here. The hunger strike is in protest against the amoral behaviour of her opponent in the March 4 elections — Oleksander Usenko and his assistants and campaign workers. Usenko is also the rector of the Ternopil Economic Institute and a member of the regional Communist Party Committee. Kuzemko has accused her opponent and his aides of threatening her and her daughter prior to the elections. She is also demanding that a special meeting of the Plenum of the regional Party committee be convened and that Usenko be brought to justice.

Vinnytsia — In a separate protest against election irregularities, residents of this city organized a hunger strike in front of the building of the regional Party committee. The hunger strike was also in protest against the repression of representatives of informal Ukrainian organizations and public associations. The strikers were supported by thousands of other residents of the city of Vinnytsia.

PROVINCIAL BRANCH OF THE UNP FOUNDED IN TERNOPIL

Maksymivka, Ternopil province — The Ternopil provincial branch of the Ukrainian National Party (UNP) was founded here on March 10 at a public meeting organized by the Lviv provincial branch of the UNP, which was empowered to establish a UNP branch in Ternopil. The meeting was held in the packed hall of the village club. Afterwards, the Lviv UNP branch held a separate open public meeting in the same hall. New members of the UNP were accepted during the meeting. After the two meetings a Ukrainian Catholic priest consecrated a Ukrainian flag, and later conducted a memorial service at the grave of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The Ternopil branch is the fourth provincial UNP branch to be established (Provincial branches were established earlier in Lviv, Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk). UNP district centres have already been established in Stryi (Lviv province) and Kalush (Ivano-Frankivsk province).

UKRAINIANS AGAINST CREATION OF SOVIET PRESIDENCY

Ivano-Frankivsk — On March 3, Levko Lukianenko, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) and recently elected People's Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, while campaigning here stated the following: "I am categorically against the introduction of a presidential form of rule, since, as a form of government, it differs from a parliamentary form of government in that it is more centralized.

In democratic countries, such as the USA or France, a presidential form of government precludes frequent governmental crises. In these countries, however, there exists mechanism of control of executive power in addition to well established democratic traditions. In the USSR, with its one-party system, no precedents exist of cooperation between the ruling government and democratic parties and organization; a system of checks and balances, particularly of executive power, is lacking. For that reason it would be dangerous to unite in one person the function of the head of state and the head of government, since this may lead to a brutal dictatorship. We cannot simply depend on the personal attributes of Gorbachev. Until several political parties are formed and until we gain experience of inter-party struggles and resolution of conflicts, I believe that an introduction of a presidential form of government would be unwise".

Earlier, on February 28, a meeting of the municipal branch of the Ukrainian Popular Movement (Rukh) in Ivano-Frankivsk took place. One of the resolutions adopted at the meeting states the following: "We are categorically against the introduction of a presidential form of government in the USSR as long as a one-party system continues to exist and until a new Union treaty will be enforced". A telegram with a similar message was sent by the participants of the meeting to the Constitutional Committee and to the People's Deputies of the USSR from Ukraine — Tkachuk and Pavlychko. Over two thousand members of the Ivano-Frankivsk branch of Rukh called upon the activists of independent public organizations of the republic and the wider strata of Ukrainian society to protest against the introduction of a new position in the Kremlin leadership. A similar resolution was adopted by the participants of a local UHU meeting held in Ivano-Frankivsk on March 2.

THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND PERESTROIKA

For seventy years the Soviet Russian leadership did not dare to question Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and only followed Lenin's rule: two steps ahead with collectivism and one step back in compromise with capitalist remnants. It, according to Lenin, meant the progress of Marxism anyway. The New Economic Policy of 1921-1928 and the Khrushchev "thaw" with its decentralization scheme and Libermanist liberalization, were not an open break with the Marxist-Leninist government ownership and management of production resources, abolition of market competition and freedom of consumption, these corner-stones of a market economy or the capitalistic system, which were still treated as evils.

Gorbachev's *perestroika* went further than any other reform before in the Soviet Union. It has been a quiet and step-wise recanting of pure Marxist-Leninist doctrine in all its perspectives, though on a limited scale. Private initiative, free marketing, profit motivation, private enterprise competition, individual decision making, and free

▶ UKRAINIANS MOURN VICTIMS OF COMMUNIST TERROR

On 13-17 February the Ukrainian people mourned the victims of the famine in Ukraine of 1932-33 and other victims of communist terror throughout the 70 years of Soviet rule in Ukraine.

On the last day, the people of Lviv individually and in groups went to the building of the KGB, situated on Dzerzhynskiyi Street, to the KGB prison at 1 Peace Street, and to the former KGB prison Brygidki (today a deportation prison for criminals), where thousands of people were murdered for political reasons. From 12:00 noon to 3:00 p.m. the people stood in rows with lit candles. Many lit candles were placed in front of the building of these institutions. Relatives of victims of secret police terror gave interviews about their murdered family members and the circumstances surrounding their death.

From 4:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m., a rally of mourning was held. Several dozen victims of Party-KGB repression addressed the rally. Among the speakers was Ivan Kandyba — a prominent Ukrainian national activist and jurist, who spent over 20 years in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps for promoting the cause of Ukrainian independence. In his address Kandyba stated that Ukrainians were not simply victimized by Stalin and Beria, but by the entire terror apparatus of the CPSU and the KGB. Ukrainians continue to be victimized by this same apparatus to this day, for which Gorbachev and his associates are also to blame. Kandyba underscored his own brutal experiences with the terror apparatus and the fate of his friends — Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhyi and Valeriy Marchenko, who died in labour camps in 1984-85.

He said that Ukrainian national rights activists are still regarded as particularly dangerous state criminals. Most former political prisoners, who are still alive despite their ordeals, have yet to be rehabilitated; they are refused registration in Lviv, and without registration you cannot buy basic goods and commodities. Kandyba expressed his belief that the CPSU and KGB should be declared criminal organizations and should be outlawed and subjected to criminal judicial procedures.

consumption, with free price setting as opposed to state price fixing, were allowed. Peasants were offered plots of land for private farming; people of initiative were induced to organize cooperatives and small businesses for individual gain. Hence, things were permitted in the economy which had been previously declared by Marx to be crimes against the proletariat, crimes against the people, for which millions in the Soviet Union for decades were punished, incarcerated, deported, and killed. According to some estimates, one million people were annihilated annually, some 72 million during the Soviet era, to make the Marxist-Leninist theory work, only to have it ultimately fail¹.

Yet, only partly shelving the theory could not improve the situation, having failed in China under Deng Xioping, as the dramatic developments in China at the end of May and June 1989 proved. A fundamental and most illogical blunder was made by the Soviet and Chinese leaders. You cannot proclaim *glasnost*, openness in social and political life, and *perestroika*, economic restructuring according to free market principles, and at the same time, insist on a one-party political system along with its dictatorial powers, and the socio-politically elevated position of the ruling, Communist minority. These things are incompatible, and will not work in the long-run. The contradictions, evolving from these two opposites, can only make things worse in all respects, especially in social, political, and economic matters.

After *glasnost* and *perestroika* relaxed the harsh social discipline of the earlier era, of the Brezhnev era, particularly, and a little more personal freedom was implemented, work efficiency in the state-run establishments declined. The people were no longer afraid to the extent that they were before. They began to look more toward their personal interests, motives scorned by Karl Marx, although he himself was an extremely selfish, self-centered, and inconsiderate individual.

Hence, work efficiency began to decline, bringing the economy of the Soviet Union to an ever lower level of productivity. Gorbachev himself complained on many occasions about the declining state of the economy. The food situation worsened; the people did not want to work, management became most inefficient, local Party and government officials were held responsible for poor work performance. The budget deficit of the USSR, 56 million dollars in 1988, will probably reach \$162 million in 1989². James McCarty wrote in May 1989, that the USSR is a backward country in all respects; that credit is virtually unknown; that many people do not know what a check is ; it is far behind in the field of computers³. The ruble is not recognized by foreign exchanges. The little breath of freedom sparked greater national awareness of the captive non-Russian nationalities, which constitute almost one-half the population of the USSR and the national centrifugal tendencies were on the rise, not helping the economic situation at all.

After some two and one-half years of *perestroika*, because of difficulties and confusions, it had to be put somewhat on hold in early 1989. The confusion was general; either it was introduced too rapidly, or it was started too late and did not progress rapidly enough. The Party liberals and conservatives were fighting, and did not know what to do. On April 3, 1988, *Pravda* described the economic picture of the Soviet society as bleak and totally unsatisfactory. *Izvestia* followed suit⁴. The question was asked over and over again of what was slowing the reforms. In February 1989, *Pravda* summarized that perhaps the growing demand for consumer goods as personal income was growing, the slow progress in the use of computers, the absence of food

price reform, and no relation between wage rates and productivity, were delaying the positive effects of *perestroika*⁵. *Komsomolskaia Pravda* pointed out, that the Soviet economy needs first of all a sense of proprietorship and must put people's well-being as a prime value, to move the economic process ahead⁶. In March 1989, following Gorbachev's disclosures, *Izvestia* and other papers, as well began praising NEP, the New Economic Policy of the 1920s, as the right approach to the solution of economic problems, while R. Simonian in his article in that same paper asked whether the Soviet economy can learn from the West, and suggested that a form of regulated and flexible capitalism, market economy, of Western style shouldn't be the pattern for the USSR to follow, or otherwise the economy would never catch up⁷. Meanwhile the living conditions of the poor social segments, the pensioners, particularly, according to the letters to newspaper publishers, were substantially worsening⁸.

On May 7, 1987 an article appeared in *Novoi Mir*, authored by L. Popkova, which ascertained, that it is either/or, and that any attempts to mix capitalist market economy with socialist planning must fail inadvertently, that each has pluses and minuses, yet ultimately the market system will take over⁹. It was a clear-cut admittance of the failure of the Soviet socialist experiment, which, of course, provoked an angry reaction of the Marxist die-hards. In June, V. Lipitskii answered with his own essay, that in her article Popkova was counterproductive; that she overstepped the bounds of useful discussion; and that she went too far in her findings¹⁰. Searching further for an answer about what *perestroika* is about and where it is going, N. Shmeliov debated the issue in his article "Advance and debts", also printed in *Novoi Mir*, in September 1987. He urged a total independence of farming and business and a wide-spread "privatization" of consumer good and services production, price and financial reforms, an end to food subsidies, and demanded a "common market" of the East (the present limited "Comecon" to be put on a broader basis), and a "convertible" ruble¹¹.

A. Bovin was caught in the controversial search for a new system. He said, that the socialist "model" needs restructuring in order to outperform its capitalist rival, win world-wide adherents, and avert a perilous power-balance shift in the capitalist favor. He further stated: "Consequently, a reform, a departure from the old system and the creation of a new one, is a vital historic necessity whose time has long been ripe, if not overdue. The answer to this need is restructuring, which is destined to play a crucial role in the history of Socialism"¹². Apparently Bovin was living in a world of illusion, if he hoped to save Socialism by new reforms. It could not be done before, and it is not going to succeed today, either. V. Chikhanov, a scholar, meanwhile wrote on the chaotic situation. He thought that one must wait for some long-run results, while in 1987 in the Soviet Union, managers were more optimistic than workers, the latter being leery about pay changes, and executives stressed their short-run gains over the long-run or long-ranged economic goals¹³. At the same time *Izvestia* complained that individual enterprise made slow gains. There was confusion. Although the law permits individual business for gain, yet there was ignorance about what was really allowed; the bureaucracy was guilty of foot-dragging, while license fees were too high¹⁴. It was not clear-cut, what constituted rightfully earned private income, and what was punishable speculation¹⁵.

Then, I Silaiev, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, made another confusing suggestion in *Pravda*, in September, 1987. In the time of relaxing the government grip over the economy, Silaiev suggested a creation of multi-enterprise

state production associations to handle all phases of manufacturing and marketing, while reducing the management staffs and the number of central ministries, and introducing competitive order-placing. It meant only another form of state-run economy, which under a different name and by different methods economically strangled the USSR before¹⁶.

The relaxation of social discipline, once based on limitless KGB terror, weakened the social fiber of the USSR, which also contributed to an over-all economic deterioration. In the course of the past two years 2,607 criminal gangs committed over 20,000 crimes, including 218 murders¹⁷. In 1988 crime was up 9.5% due to growing teenage offenses, the ex-convicts returning to crime, racketeering, and other forms of law breaking, while the police continued to be underpaid. The grim statistics looked as follows:

- Murders increased by 14%
- Serious injuries by 32%
- Assaults and robberies by 43%
- House burglaries by 29%

There was some sort of a disparity between *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Let us quote here *US New and World Report*, which gave a rather good and brief description of the situation:

“If *glasnost* has not produced a thriving *perestroika*, it has created new opportunities to practice the old arts of crookedness and corruption. Almost everything still can be had for a price in the Soviet Union. From symphony tickets to cars to funerals. The rich are said to spend more than \$22 billion a year on ‘shadow services’. The black market thrives. So does the prostitution. Bribery is rife. New mafias have grown up, selling ‘protection’ to private restaurants which are literally blown up if they fail to pay”¹⁸.

The restructuring goes on in the whole USSR at various paces, while the openness, *glasnost*, not at all. It has been definitely limited, particularly with respect to the nationalities’ problem. Voices calling for the national rights of individual nationalities to separate themselves from the USSR and become independent of Russian dominance, to form their own sovereign states, to repudiate the dominant position of the Russian language and develop only their own national tongues, were still suppressed and punished, like in Georgia, where even poisonous gas was used by the military to liquidate the manifestation of Georgian national sentiments. In Ukraine similar repression continued¹⁹. This of course, was not helping the economy either.

Economic planning

In order to comprehend the economic situation in the USSR today one must turn to the problem of economic planning, since it is still an inseparable part of the economic system, an institution, in spite of *perestroika*, and a measure of economic progress. The plan fulfilment in 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988 indicated to some extent the performance of the national economy of the USSR during the period of *perestroika*. However, in order to understand the language of those plan fulfillments, one must go back a few years to compare that statistical language. Obviously, in our analysis we would have to concentrate on the leading indicators, which, however, would supply material for rather correct conclusions.

As far as the major indicators of Soviet economic performance over the period, of the seventh Five-Year Plan, 1966-1970, are concerned, the following picture was provided by official statistics:

Table One²⁰

Indicators	1967 m % of 1966	1970 m % of 1969
National income	106.0	108.5
Personal income	105.5	105.2
Industrial production	107.3	108.3
Heavy industry	107.5	108.2
Light industry	106.6	108.5
Farming	110.0	108.7

It must be pointed out at this time, that in 1969 Soviet farming was in very bad shape, and did not even reach the level of 1968, achieving only 97% of the previous year. As far as various sectors of the economy were concerned, capital construction, domestic trade, electricity, industrial equipment, generators, and so on, showed a rather impressive growth of about 108.5% of the preceeding year. In all Union republics the rate of growth in 1970 was about 102.5% of 1969, while in several areas production was below the level of the preceeding year, as in the production of turbines, generators, metalurgical equipment, oil processing equipment, forestry, construction material, linen, underwear, meat products, butter, sugar, vegetable fats, and soap, in thirteen fields combined. In other fields production in 1970 was either above 1969 or at least holding its own²¹.

In the process of fulfilling the eleventh Five-Year Plan, 1981-1985, things were getting worse. While the following planning targets were planned for the tenth Five Year Plan, for the eleventh they were substantially reduced, showing simply, that the old ambitious targets had to be disregarded and some more modest and more realistic ones set for 1981-1985. This might very well also indicate the increasing exhaustion of the Soviet planned economy and the approaching crisis, which led in subsequent years (1986-1990) to the *perestroika* experiment. Let us now look closer at the planning for the tenth and eleventh Five-Year Plans and Soviet economic growth in the respective periods of time:

Table Two²²

Planning targets	10th Plan	11th Plan
National income	24-28%	18-20%
Personal income	20-22	18-20
Industrial production		
Heavy industry	38-42	26-28
Light industry	30-32	27-29
Farming	14-17	12-14
Labor productivity	—	23-25
Capital investment	24-26	12-15

In 1983 and 1984 it was already clear, that even those reduced planning targets would not be realized.

Almost on the eve of the inauguration of *perestroika*, *Pravda* of January 26, 1985

delivered the following picture of the Plan achievements in 1984:

Table Three²³

Indicators	Percent increase of 1983 level
National income	102.6
Industrial production	104.2
Heavy industry	104.1
Light industry	104.3
Farming	100.0
Labor productivity	102.0
Personal income	102.5
Retail trade	104.2
Housing construction	100.5

Comparing the percentage-wise fulfillment of the plans in 1969-1970, and 1984, one can see that the percentage of 1984 was much lower than in 1969 and 1970 for all indicators. A long list of the Plan underfulfillment was disclosed, also²⁴:

Table Three

Soviet Economy and Perestroika

Petroleum industry	99.5
Fuel industry	100.0
Farming	99.0
Margarine production	96.0
Vegetable oil	96.0
Canned food	99.7
Canned fruit	99.1
Clocks and watches	97.0
Radio receivers	95.0
Fruits and vegetables	
Motorcycles and scooters	98.0
Highway carrier transport	97.0

One year later, on January 26, 1986 *Pravda* and *Izvestia* reported the Plan fulfillment for 1985 as follows:

Table Four²⁵

Indicators	Percent increase over 1984 level
National income	103.1
Personal income	102.8
Industrial production	103.9
Heavy industry	103.9
Light industry	103.9
Farming	100.0
Labor productivity	103.2
Retail trade	104.2
Housing construction	100.5

When comparing the results of the Plan fulfillments of 1984 and 1985, one can see right away again, that the overall rate of growth of the economy slowed down somewhat, while the list of industries which underfulfilled the planning quotas continued to be high, and four Union republics were added to the overall deficiencies. The following industries scarcely reached the level of the preceeding year or even fell behind²⁶:

table 5

Foreign trade	101.0
Fuel and power	101.1
Food	101.1
Petroleum	96.0
Gas	100.6
Ferrous metallurgy	99.3
Chemicals	99.3
Mineral fertilizers	98.0
Heavy transport	101.0
Timber, Pulp, and Paper	99.0
Light industry	99.8
Medical and microbiological	100.0

¹ N. N. Ruskin, "Physical extermination of the Population of the Soviet Union", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, September, 1956, pp. 239-243; M. Dolot, *Who Killed Them and Why?*, Cambridge, 1984; R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, New York, 1986; the Hearings before the International Commission on the Moscow-created Famine in Ukraine, Brussels, May 23-27 and New York, October 31-November 5, 1988, records to be published.

² *US News and World Report*, April 3, 1989, p. 38; according to the latest reports, the deficit in 1989 will be some \$ 162 billion.

³ *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1989, p. 13 a.

⁴ *Pravda*, April 3, 1988, p. 4.

⁵ *Pravda*, February 6, 1989, p. 3.

⁶ *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, February 8, 1989, p. 2.

⁷ *Izvestia*, March 8, 1989, p. 5; March 10, 1989, p. 3.

⁸ *Pravda*, March 24, 1989, p. 4.

⁹ *Novoi Mir*, May 1987, No. 5, pp. 239-241.

¹⁰ *Pravda*, June 7, 1987, p. 3.

¹¹ *Novoi Mir*, June 1987, No. 6, pp. 142-158.

¹² *Izvestia*, July 11, 1987, p. 6.

¹³ *Izvestia*, September 4, 1987, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Pravda*, November 25, 1987, also September 20, 1988, p. 3; *Izvestia*, September 9, 1987.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, June 14, 1986, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, September 21, 1987, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Izvestia*, February 8, 1989; According to Gen. A. Smirnov, due to the declining social discipline in the USSR, during the first five months of 1989, 884,967 crimes were committed, by 31.9 percent higher than a year before; at the same time span. Street crimes increased by 83 percent, and killings, by 26.5 percent, *Svoboda*, Jersey City, June 16, 1989, p. 1; *Pravda*, November 15, 1987, p. 3.

¹⁸ April, 4, 1989, p. 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

²⁰ *Pravda*, January 29, 1967; January 25, 1970; and February 4, 1971.

²¹ Chirovsky, "The Official Figures...", p. 27.

²² *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, December 31, 1980, pp. 1-24; *Pravda and Izvestia*, December 2, 1979, p. 1.

²³ *Pravda and Izvestia*, January 26, 1985, pp. 1-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

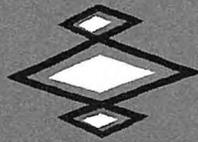
²⁵ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1986, pp. 1-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

to be continued

THE FACETS OF CULTURE



BY
STEPAN HOVERLA

Rostyslav Hlavko

LONDON 1988

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Photo: AP

"Away with the occupants!" On the night of Sunday 8th April 1990, in Tbilisi, Georgians swore to fight for independence. In a mass protest, tens of thousands of Georgians mourned the victims of the brutal massacre of 9th April 1989, when nineteen people were killed by Soviet troops during a peaceful demonstration for Georgia's independence.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

4

July – August 1990

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN **CORRESPONDENCE**

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APPEAL

to President George Bush from the World ABN Meeting Toronto, May 11, 1990

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a set of wide-ranging reforms, known as *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which were to transform the Soviet Union from a severely repressed political system and a lethargic economic structure into a flourishing modern industrial society, based on a revised socialist vision of democracy. Five years later, on the cusp of a new decade, despite the substantive changes already implemented in the Soviet Union, people are still arrested for speaking their mind, the lines for food have not gotten shorter, and the various non-Russian peoples in the USSR still remain in Moscow's iron-clad colonial clasps. Those clasps, however, are corroding quickly, as the national-liberation struggle progressively intensifies. The subjugated peoples refuse to remain quiescent as their national rights are being trampled. In 1989 the subjugated nations rose and resolutely began to demand their freedom, their own national, sovereign and independent, democratic states.

When Gorbachev ascended to power, he inherited an empire that was clearly crumbling. The Soviet economy was in a chaotic state of systemic disrepair, partially due to the over-bureaucratized, asphyxiating constrictions of central economic planning. The roots of the present crisis, however, go much deeper. After over 70 years of Communist rule, Soviet society as a whole found itself in the advanced stage of a cancerous moral malaise, resulting from the irreparable bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism as a political ideal. The theory of Lenin's Bolshevism had in practice become a horrific experiment in social engineering that left countless millions dead in its wake.

Under Brezhnev's steady, but unimaginative, stewardship, the USSR during the "years of stagnation" had become a vast pressure cooker that was about to explode as the internal systemic contradictions became more acute and as the subjugated peoples' frustrations became more pronounced. Moscow was facing a textbook pre-revolutionary situation. It would be more correct, therefore, to view Gorbachev's reforms as less of an initiative and more of an attempt to cure a dying, historically anachronistic, colonial leviathan. His hope was that by releasing the pressure through a set of "liberalizing" political and structural administrative reforms, albeit along new and controlled channels collectively known as *glasnost*, he could catapult the USSR into modernity. More importantly, *glasnost* was to serve as a palliative, designed to relieve some of the revolutionary tension and re-galvanize the Soviet-Russian empire, perhaps in a new federative system.

The renewed hopes of freedom, that the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union allowed themselves to indulge in after so many decades of brutal Russification, economic exploitation and colonial tyranny, can only remotely be attributed to the liberating effects of *glasnost*. In light of the above, these hopes were more directly the result of the long years of struggle, which the subjugated nations waged for their freedom, national sovereignty and statehood, a struggle, which presently is beginning to bear the fruits of victory. The present stalemate of Lithuania alone is a clear indication that the reform program of *glasnost* is incompatible with the subjugated nations' agenda of national liberation. Gorbachev's reforms are designed to re-integrate the subjugated peoples into a restructured imperialist system based on a new and ostensibly democratic set legitimating principles. The final goal of the subjugated

nations' liberation struggle, on the other hand, is the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire and the reestablishment of sovereign and independent states. The revolutionary processes, which at times manifested themselves in open armed resistance (e.g., during and after the Second World War), and which were one of the primary factors that forced the Soviet leadership to reform, were set into motion long before *glasnost* was announced; when the first Soviet soldier entered and occupied the territory of every once sovereign and independent state of the presently subjugated nations. In the 1990s these processes will continue to develop, acquiring intensity as the incompatibility between *glasnost's* integrative program of reform and the subjugated nations' national liberation aims becomes more apparent.

What the West must realize is that despite the palliative elements inherent in *glasnost*, any attempt to keep the Soviet-Russian empire intact, under the guise of "a new federation", as M. Gorbachev recently suggested, is doomed to fail. To suggest that the subjugated peoples can iron out their "differences" with Moscow and work for a "negotiated settlement" only confuses the issue. If the West genuinely recognizes these nations' legitimate rights to independence, sovereignty and statehood, then it must also acknowledge that the onus of responsibility for avoiding a violent confrontation between the Soviet Russian imperialist forces and the subjugated peoples unilaterally lies with Moscow. The West's position, specifically with regard to the Lithuanian declaration of independence of March 11 and with regard to the subjugated peoples' national liberation aspirations in general, is that Moscow must avoid using force to suppress these legitimate aspirations. The fact is, however, that as long as Moscow maintains its occupational armies on the territories of its colonies, in the Baltic, in Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in the Caucasus, or in Turkestan, then it is *already* using force. Moscow can either withdraw its occupying colonial troops from the territories of the subjugated peoples in the USSR, which will allow these peoples to reestablish their sovereignty and national statehood in a peaceful manner, or it will have to continue to use force to maintain these nations within its colonial orbit and face the ever more real threat of a violent confrontation, which it would have initiated. A slave cannot be blamed for rebelling! Any incidence of violence resulting from such a rebellion is strictly a factor of the slavemaster's refusal to voluntarily free the slave. Can an oppressed and colonized nation be held responsible for any bloodshed that may result from its struggle to free itself from the clutches of a slavemaster that adamantly refuses to let go?

The subjugated peoples in the USSR, the Soviet-Russian empire, want to avoid such a violent confrontation with Moscow. Their desire to be free, however, cannot to be denied. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has always held the position that genuine human liberty can only be realized within the framework of independent and sovereign statehood. Democracy and colonialism are incompatible. Gorbachev's rhetorical utterances in support of greater freedom in the USSR are meaningless as long as *glasnost* and *perestroika* preclude national independence for the subjugated nations. Gorbachev's demand that the right of "secession" of the Soviet "republics" be implemented in accordance with Soviet law is unacceptable to the subjugated nations, since this would require that they recognize the legality of Soviet colonial law, i.e., the legitimacy of the Soviet-Russian imperialist system of subjugation. A nation can only secede from a "union" with it voluntarily entered into. The subjugated peoples in the USSR were militarily annexed. G. Gerasimov's euphemistic assertion

that a legal mechanism for “divorce proceedings” must first be established prior to “secession” is simply inappropriate, since no marriage ever took place between the subjugated nations and Moscow. These nations were brutally raped! Following the downfall of the tsarist Russian empire, many of the nations subjugated in this prisonhouse of nations, the historical successor to which is the USSR, proclaimed their independence and statehood. The Soviet-Russian military annexation of the three Baltic countries in 1940 essentially was no different from the earlier bloody annexation in the 1920s of the other independent countries of the presently subjugated non-Russian peoples. Given this historical context, the ABN strongly feels that Washington’s suggestion that a “negotiated settlement” be reached between Lithuania and Moscow regarding the issue of independence sets a very dangerous precedent. Such a suggestion contradicts the USA’s long-standing refusal to recognize the Soviet-Russian annexation of the Baltic countries and, by implication, the legitimacy of Soviet “law” in these countries.

Moreover, the ABN feels that the US State Department’s position, *viz.*, that Washington will extend recognition of the Republic of Lithuania only when the Lithuanian government is capable of exercising sovereignty over its territory, is untenable. Sovereignty can only be exercised through a state’s own national armed forces. Yet, Washington has yet to demand that Moscow pull its occupational armies out of Lithuania and the other subjugated nations. Is the US government implying that the subjugated peoples must effectuate the removal of Soviet occupational troops from their territories on their own by creating their own national armies in order to exercise their national sovereignty and thereby obtain Western recognition? In any civilized society, rapists are brought to trial, not to a negotiating table! The subjugated nations do not want to punish Moscow. They do want to ensure, however, that no further violence will be inflicted upon them by the imperialist forces in Moscow.

The ABN, therefore, appeals to President Bush to press M. Gorbachev in the upcoming summit in Washington to fully recognize the subjugated nations’ legitimate rights to national independence, sovereignty and statehood and to begin withdrawing Soviet troops from the occupied territories of the subjugated nations, which is the only way to preclude a violent bloodbath in the USSR. Peace and security in the world cannot be secured at the expense of liberty, which in practical terms can only be fully realized on the condition that nations are allowed to secure the democratic rights of their citizens within the framework of independent statehood.

National sovereignty cannot be brokered!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

“The ideals of freedom, which motivate the subjugated nations, are stronger than terror and mightier than any nuclear weapons. The essential point is that one would be aware of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and awariness of its system. The West should recognize these weak points of the Russian empire and thus remove the myth of the ‘invincibility’ of Communism and the Russian empire.”

Yaroslav Stetsko, The Ukrainian Review, No. 1, 1974

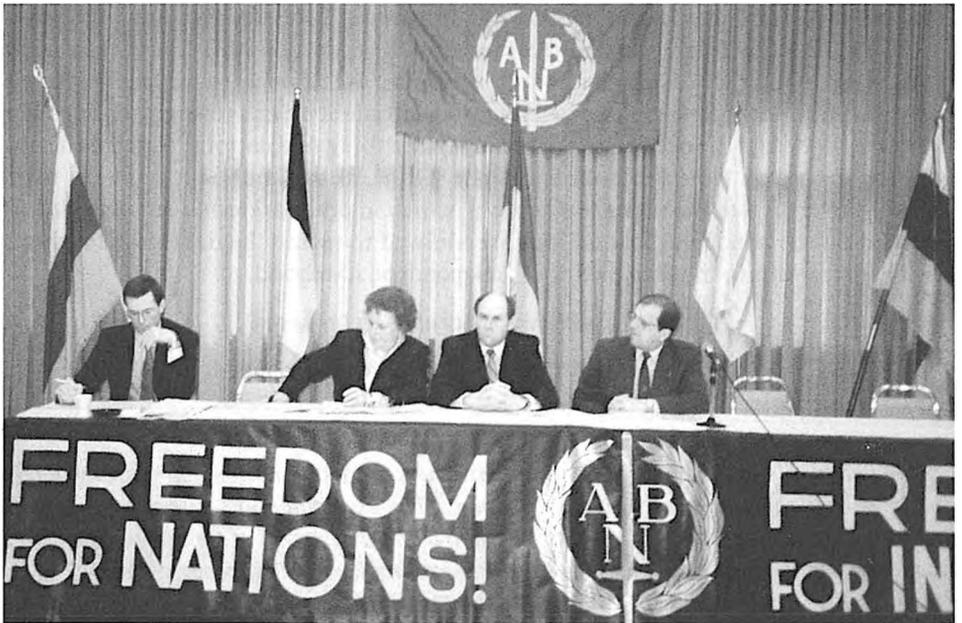
WORLD ABN MEETING

Toronto Canada, May 11, 1990

The swift developments in the fall of 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe have caught the Western world by surprise. Even those scholars who specialise in these areas did not foresee the spontaneous changes that stunned the world.

Not surprised by events were those who for decades were in the forefront in the struggle to regain freedom and independence for the subjugated nations. Since its inception during WWII in 1943, ABN has first fought against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and after the war against the Russian communist forcible annexations.

With the heightened need for further analysis of the current situation in these regions, a World ABN Meeting was held on May 11th, in Toronto, Canada. One hundred and eighteen delegates, hailing from various continents, Europe, Asia, Australia, United States, Canada, came together to deliberate and assess the changes and set policies for further activities. The delegates represented in the conference were from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Ukraine, Vietnam and others. The deliberations were divided into four sessions. The first session consisted of the opening speech of Mrs. Slava Stetsko, President of ABN "ABN Role in the liberation of the Subjugated Nations". Madame Stetsko in spirited remarks outlined the decisive and important role ABN has played in keeping the spirit and will of the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire alive.



First session, from left to right: O. Steciw (Chairman, ABN Canada), S. Stetsko (ABN President), S. Romaniw (Australia), Dr. W. Mazur (Great Britain).

“Analysis of the Present Situation in the Soviet Russian Empire” was the topic of the first panel discussion. This timely discussion embraced the causes of the crisis, political, social and economic, analysis of occupation forces- army, KGB, Party, russification and the perspective prognoses. Speakers were Mr. Stefan Romaniw — Australia, Dr. Lubomyr Mazur — Great Britain, Prof. Roman Zwarych — USA. The high level of their perspective comments was duly noted by the delegates.

This was followed by “The strength of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian Empire”. Mr. Valdas Anelauskas of Lithuania, received a big applause in deference to the correct and courageous stand of his native land — Lithuania. Here the former inmate of Russian concentration camps discussed the strength of the subjugated nations, the political demands and program of action and prognosis. He was followed by the recently arrived from occupied Ukraine — Mr. Wasyl Barladianu — who spoke in Ukrainian and his remarks were translated by Mr. Boris Potapenko from the United States. This speaker brought with him the winds of a reawakened Ukraine, whose tenacity to survive the brutal, many faceted oppression of the Russian colonialism, created a real sense of awareness to the audience. Mr. Evdokim Evdokimov who represented Bulgaria and resides on two continents both Europe and USA, chose as his topic “Central European Countries — former satellite countries”. Additional speakers were, Dr. Hoang Viet Cuong — Vietnam, Dr. Gunnar Subins — Latvia, Mrs Marta Jamnick — Slovenia and Mr. Raymond Trala — Estonia. Mr. Orest Steciw, Chairman ABN Canada was the able moderator of the first session.

The afternoon session was moderated by Mrs. Roxolana Potter, M.A., Chairman ABN — USA. “Programme of action in the Soviet Russian Empire or Newly Liberated Countries” concisely but thoroughly discussed the organising of new members, creation of mass social and professional formation, demonstrations, marches, strikes, conferences, seminars and other relevant questions. Speakers were Mr. Orest Baranyk — ABN USA and Prof. Yarema Kelebay — ABN Canada. Both gentlemen were organised and eloquent speakers.

Each session was followed by questions from the floor directed to the respective speakers. Mr. Boris Potapenko acted as translator where needed and did a commendable job.

The concluding topic touched upon the practical applications of action under the heading “Programme of Action in the Free World”. Here the two speakers forwarded practical approaches to lobbying of governments in support of the cause of independence, contacts with the media, specialised seminars, briefings, all focussing on support of pro-independence actions in the subjugated nations. Mr. Orest Steciw, Chair of ABN — Canada, and Mrs. Dasha Procyk, ABN — USA, were the speakers.

To finalise the deliberations an Appeal and Policy Statement was read to the assembled and by acclamation approved as read. The three page document issued on the eve of the upcoming USA — USSR Summit, in which the five years of Mikhail Gorbachev’s “glasnost and perestroika” is analysed and shortcomings outlined, urges President George Bush: “To press Mr. Gorbachev in the upcoming summit in Washington, to fully recognise the subjugated nations legitimate rights to national independence, sovereignty and statehood and to begin pulling out Soviet troops from the occupied territories of the subjugated nations, which is the only way to preclude a violent bloodbath in the USSR. Peace and security in the world cannot be secured at the expense of liberty, which in practical terms can only be fully realised on the

ABN'S ROLE IN THE LIBERATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

It is my honour and pleasure to open this World ABN Meeting and to welcome all the distinguished representatives and guests from all parts of the world.

When ABN was created in the fall of 1943, its main objective was to coordinate the efforts of the subjugated nations in the struggle against two totalitarianisms —Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia for the re-establishment of national democratic states on the ethnographic territories of the subjugated nations. Nazi Germany ceased to exist with the end of the Second World War, but the Soviet Russian empire enlarged its territory at the expense of Eastern and Central European nations and built its colonies throughout the world. For over forty years the subjugated nations waged a long and stubborn struggle for their survival. In the meantime many Western politicians and analysts accepted Communist or Soviet Russian disinformation; namely that Communism re-educated new generations, that homo-Sovieticus has been created and that the nations on the entire territory of the Soviet Russian empire were merged into one nation — the Soviet nation and a Russian speaking nation. Even some Western statements addressing the nations in this empire called then the 'Soviet nation', and 'Russian' or 'Soviet' people.

The leaders of the subjugated nations' liberation movements did not despair when during their two-front struggle in Ukraine and Lithuania in particular the Free World missed the opportunity to render them any support. The West turned also a deaf ear during the Hungarian revolution, the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the Berlin uprising and strikes in the Siberian concentration camps. It was precisely in the concentration camps with over 17 million inmates that ideas of common front were forged. The best sons and daughters of the subjugated nations organised hunger strikes, stood together on barricades against Russian tanks, wrote memos to the United Nations and



condition that nations are allowed to secure the democratic rights of their citizens within the framework of independent statehood. National sovereignty cannot be negotiated."

It is to be noted that this successful, highly effective exchange of ways and means to regain the lost independence of once free nations, could not be materialised without close cooperation of the ABN leaders with Madame Stetsko, President of ABN. The ABN as a multinational organization which embraces twenty eight nationalities, and has its branches in fourteen states in the USA alone and this is a testament of statesmanship.

Special recognition is due to Orest Steciw, upon whose able shoulders and his staff rested the organization of this power packed events. The five ladies, members of the Ukrainian Canadian League, who so tirelessly took care of the food and beverages are to be publicly acclaimed.

The absolute need for such exchanges has never been greater than at this historical juncture. The volatile situation demands of all of us a more concentrated effort. Only a relentless, consistent effort on our part can offer a much needed help to our beleaguered captive nations.



Slava Stetsko reading her opening speech, Toronto, May 11, 1990

Western politicians, learned about the past and culture of each other's nation, translated famous works, learned languages and elaborated common strategy under the banner "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!"

When the economy in Soviet Bloc countries was on the verge of collapse, (which was also due to the subjugated peoples' negative attitude to work for an exploitative empire) its new energetic leader Mikhail Gorbachev, having an ambition to rescue the economy and through this the empire, was compelled to admit some "glasnost". However, this measure proved to be too little too late.

Although Mikhail Gorbachev solemnly declared that in the USSR there are no nationalities' problems, suddenly the volcano erupted and revealed that the nations not only still exist but are raising ever bolder demands, in particular for religious freedom, development of their own culture, state status for their national language, free market economy, their own monetary system, their own national armies, not to mention a multi-party electoral system and above all sovereignty and national independence. These nations exist and their struggle captures the front pages of the Western press today.

Through all the years after the Second World War ABN tried to mobilise moral and political support for the idea of the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire into national, democratic states, Not only were ABN branches organised from Europe to Australia, from Edinburgh to Buenos Aires, with ABN representatives throughout the

whole of Asia, but ABN also entered into contacts with different Anti-Communist Free World organisations and became a promoter for co-ordination centres such as the European Freedom Council, and the World Anti-Communist League among others. In our ABN Memoranda to Free World governments, in publication, in countless mass demonstrations, in public speeches and at international conferences we focused on the strength of our nations and that supporting their just cause lies in the interest of the Free World. This strength is also to be found in the mere existence of our nations. Despite the organised famine (7 million died in Ukraine alone), forceful deportation of thousands upon thousands of people from the Baltic countries, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and Armenia and the deportation of total populations from North Caucasia, the Crimean Tartars and Volga Germans, and despite Russification, religious oppression, the Chornobyl disaster, purges of the intelligentsia, concentration camps and psychiatric wards for religious and political prisoners, these nations live and by it prove that even despotic Communist Russia, or any other communist dictatorship was unable to eradicate them.

William Pfaff in *International Herald Tribune* of May 4 is right to say that the revolutions of 1989 owe nothing to the West. Enumerating all the efforts of the subjugated nations to shake off Russian domination and Western lack of support (except for Radio Free Europe), he says that “the people of the East European nations rose against tyrannical power because they wanted freedom, they wanted their nations independence given back.” He continues: it is false to evaluate the 1989 revolutions as “consumer revolutions driven by people’s longing to possess prosperity and the consumer riches of the West.” A heartening message of the revolutions of 1989 is that men do have higher values than material values and on great occasions can soar above self-interest and greed”. We, the ABN, have been promoting precisely this idea all these years, and now the world following the events in our countries has also realised that higher values are stronger than tanks, that they have helped our nations to survive, they have already helped to topple the communist regimes in a score of European nations and they will finally help to dismantle the Soviet Russian empire.

The faith in higher values will help the Croatians, Slovenians, Vietnamese, Afghans, Cambodians, Angolans and Chinese to bring down the Communist dictatorships in their countries and regain freedom again.

On March 11th, 1990 Lithuania proclaimed the restoration of its independence and yet the Free World has been reluctant to recognise the lawfully installed government. But it has the support of our nations. A quarter of a million people in Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, Lviv and other cities voiced their support. Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Turkestani republics and of course Latvia and Estonia support Lithuania. Lithuanians know that they are not alone in their struggle for independence. The leaders of our nations envisaged long ago that they have to rely mainly on the consolidated strength of our people. As soon as they were released from prisons and concentration camps during the so-called “glasnost”, several meetings took place in Erivan, (Armenia), Tbilisi (Georgia), Lviv (Ukraine), Riga (Latvia) and Tallin (Estonia). On 28-29 January 1989, in Vilnius, the representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Georgia and Armenia issued the Freedom Charter of the Subjugated Nations in the USSR. The Charter in part reads: “...History has shown that the existence of a multinational empire is an anachronism, creating insufferable conditions for all nations living in the empire. We feel that

pluralism is as fundamental a principle in international relations as it is in the sphere of human rights. While consolidating the right of every nation to individual development, we represent national movements which have been fighting for decades for independence. While we do not impose our conceptions as to state organisation and sovereignty, we feel that neither common existence within the framework of the empire, nor a federative or confederative state organisation are acceptable to the nations which we represent. We need political and moral support for our movement from all governments and social organisations... only the free and independent existence of nations which are striving towards this will ensure the stable and peaceful development of the world community."

"We need moral support" was the call from the conference in Vilnius on 28-29 January 1989. Lithuania needs moral and political support now that it has restored its independence. Lithuanians and we are all thankful that President Vaclav Havel of the Czech and Slovak Republic recognised the Lithuanian government. A few months ago he was still in jail. As soon as the newly elected parliament of Hungary was convened for the first time it expressed its support for Lithuania's independence. We strongly believe that the others will follow the Czech and Slovak Republic and Hungary in recognising the Lithuanian government. We are waiting for Poland and the other countries to do the same. ABN members can play now a decisive role in their respective countries by promoting real co-operation in that area.

The Latvian resolution does not go as far as the earlier declarations of independence by Lithuania and Estonia. It foresees a transition period. The Latvian parliament called on all European states, Canada and the United States to include the question of independence for the Baltic republics on the agenda of an international conference on European security, which is expected later this year. We sincerely hope that the former so-called satellite countries which are now on a more advanced road towards freedom will help the subjugated countries still in the USSR to regain their freedom and national independence because only then can they be more secure in their own borders. History has shown that as long as the Russian empire exists our neighbours from Eastern and Central Europe cannot ever be safe; that it will only be a matter of time before a renewed version of Russian imperialism reappears again.

The ABN leaders in the Free World have a great task of conducting lobbying and educational work about our countries and their relationship to the imperial centre. One has to be a supporter of Moscow to demand that Lithuania and other nations comply with the constitution of the USSR. These nations are victims of Moscow's imperialism which was forced upon them by means of conquest and state violence. These nations were incarcerated in the prison of nations, otherwise known as the USSR. The non-Russian republics of the USSR have to abide by their own Constitution adopted by their free national governments and not by the Constitution of the USSR. They have to decide for themselves whether the Constitution of the USSR is binding for them or not.

Nobody has the right to impose a Constitution on them which they condemn. What Gorbachev has done in Lithuania is nothing more than the implementation of the old policy of Russian imperialism and colonialism. The Lithuanians have been waiting decades for their day of liberation from the Soviet Russian yoke; it is therefore a crime to demand from them to continue waiting.

On 30 June 1989, German Chancellor Kohl and Soviet State and Party Chief

Mikhail Gorbachev signed a common statement in Bonn. Diplomatic circles consider it as the taking over of Western judgements by the Kremlin. The statement reads: "It is the right of all nations and states to decide freely their own destiny and the right to establish their own relations on the basis of international law has to be guaranteed. The precedence of international law has to be granted in inner and international politics. The foundation of Europe's freedom and co-operation should be: unlimited respect for the principles and norms of international law, in particular the respect for peoples self-determination."

Gorbachev signed this statement in Bonn. In Lithuania, however, he has trampled over these principles which he pledged to realise. The Russian imperialists are persuading their citizens that the oppression of other nations is necessary for the well being of the Russian people. We appeal to the Russian democrats to fight the ideology of imperialism. A nation which suppresses other nations cannot be free. It is our duty to make it clear to the whole world and the Russian people themselves that only a Russian state within its ethnographic borders can be the best solution also for the Russian nation and guarantee for peace and harmonious co-operation between nations, not only in Europe but in the whole world.

Gorbachev's "perestroika" is a fiasco because his government has been trying for 5 years to realise the reforms on the basis of a false ideology of Marxism-Leninism. In these 5 years Gorbachev's government has not cured the ailing economy of the USSR but has ruined it even further since the adherents of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism make it impossible to choose between socialism and a free market economy. Instead of realising his own mistakes, Gorbachev makes the subjugated nations a scapegoat for the failure of his "perestroika" and tries to intimidate them with the use of tanks. He is backed by the forces of imperialism and colonialism which have been practising this policy for decades and would like to continue it.

Today anyone who is not politically blind can see that the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia turned against the freedom and wellbeing of all nations. Mikhail Gorbachev belongs to those who do not want to admit this fact. He defends this Bolshevik coup d'etat and sides with the neo-Stalinists against the forces of freedom. "Democrat" Gorbachev is responsible for the chaos, hunger and cold in the Lithuanian part of his "common European house", and threatens Latvia and Estonia with the same should these nations dare to disobey Moscow. In its own interests, the West must support the forces of freedom in the Soviet Union, their common front against imperialism, and not the creeping of neo-Stalinism.

The age of technology is helping us in the promotions of our goals and dissemination of information on the real state of affairs in the USSR. In an instant the entire world has learned that kind of popularity Gorbachev enjoys when TV newcasts showed him leaving the tribune on May Day with background shouts on Red Square of "Hands off Lithuania!", "Dictator!" and "Down with the Communist Party!"

We learned on the same day about the commemoration in Kyiv, on April 26, of the 4th anniversary of the Chornobyl disaster. Over 100,000 people participated in a rally. Some of the placards read: "Shame on the Communist Party of Ukraine — CPU!", "Bring the CPU to trial!", "Shame on Lenin — Shame on Gorbachev!", "A good communist is a dead communist!", "For an Independent Ukrainian State!", "Independence — Now!" and "Lithuanian People we are with you!"

In this case the media has to be praised for its unbiased reporting, *The Sunday*

Times from Great Britain on 22 April, 1990, asked “As the Soviet empire is disintegrating, what should the West be doing? What, more to the point, should we do now about Lithuania? What should we be prepared to do about the other Baltic states? Or Ukraine? No wonder that governments in the West are silent or face-saving for the way ahead is for from clear. But every other imperial power has divested itself of colonies and if the Russians do not do so in Lithuania then that will be a clear sign that the reform of communism has failed. If Moscow tries to hang on to Vilnius, she deserves no more grace than London when it tried to hang on to Suez.”

The Sunday Times suggested to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher a vision of a “big” Europe: Great Britain should give full support for the enlargement of the European Community with the earliest inclusion of Austria, Poland and the newly freed Eastern European states that will help shape Europe into a loose confederation of independent states rather than a centralised and bureaucratic “little” Europe. (April 29, 1990).

Still, the vision of a “big Europe” does not include the countries of entire Europe. What is our vision? How can we realise our vision? When ABN came into being the vision was clear: to reestablish the national democratic states of the subjugated nations on their ethnographic territories by simultaneous political-revolutionary upheavals. These upheavals have now begun and are in full swing. We hope it will not be necessary for our peoples to resort to arms, although *The Sunday Times* article of 22 April expressed a concern regarding Ukraine and fears that “with its 52 million people, Ukraine is the one Soviet republic which could never secede without a fight. Its grain feeds Russia, and it provides the bulk of non-Russian labour and industry in the Soviet Union.”

If the national independence and sovereignty of our nations has to be achieved by a democratic process as it is now advocated then let us persuade not only the Russians but also the Free World that it is in the interest of the Russian people to renounce its conquests and to start building their future on their own ethnic territory which is vast and rich. We still have much work to do together. We have to strengthen even further our efforts in the Free World. Therefore, we have gathered here to discuss not only the present situation in our countries, but to consider ways and means on how to achieve freedom for our respective nations.

We appeal to the governments of the free world to apply moral, political and economic pressure on Moscow to give up its imperialism and colonialism, and to actively support the process of unification of Eastern and Western Europe in one family of sovereign, free, independent and democratic nations.

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

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

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

Stefan Romaniw (Australia)

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION WITHIN THE SOVIET EMPIRE

With every new day we are confronted by new situations within the Soviet Union, that to some degree offer hope of a brighter future, whereas on the other hand, some situations cloud even further our perceptions of the current situations.

“Prior to the terms of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, our interpretations were basically black or white, and most knew where they stood with the regime or anti-regime forces. However, today more than ever, we have a situation of uncertainty of who we are dealing with and why certain tactical moves are being made”, — these are comments made by political commentators.

Today’s situation is ironic in so much as on the one hand we have representatives of subjugated nations who continue their valiant struggle for independence, they continue in trying to convince the West that the changes leave very much to be desired. Whereas, on the other hand, there is talk that Peace Prizes ought to be awarded to the leaders of the Soviet Union for their contributions to world peace and harmony.

It is within this realm that we find ourselves trying to put our case forward, trying to assist our cause and trying to convince others that all is not well, that the struggle —although in an altogether different form — continues.

What Factors Have Caused The Present Situation?

One of the first areas I would like to address is that of economic grievances. Those grievances which have caused the crises.

1. Ukraine, although having the greatest potential in all areas of economic growth, finds itself 11th out of all the republics in per capita growth income.

90% — 95% of all capital is controlled by Moscow.

Ukraine produces 33% of all fruit in the USSR, 20% of all wheat, 25% of all potatoes, 60% of all sugar beet and 25% of all meat.

Ukraine produces 37% of all steel in the USSR, 50% of iron ore, 42% of all color TV’s and 25% of all coal.

Once again, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic controls only 10% of its own republics production.

■ An economy which emphasises heavy industry and mass agriculture results in dire shortages of basic consumer staples, such as soap, toilet paper, light bulbs, etc.

■ With a heavily overstated military budget and little if no experience in training on middle management level, we find that calls for initiative in enterprise are rendered as useless.

■ One needs only to refer to visitors from the USSR visiting the West, asking pertinent questions as to how to establish and manage businesses.

■ Unsafe working conditions — one of the highest rates of workplace deaths in all of Europe.

■ No major independent trade union, with the exception of the All Ukraine Trade Union “UNITY”, which was formed in Eastern Ukraine in February.

■ Major discrepancies in the personal lifestyles of an average industrial or agricultural worker and member of the technocratic or bureaucratic elite, eg. a member of the Communist Party. Some examples of this are:

- an incident in Chernihiv, when the contents of a Party boss's boot sparked a riot;
- a recent feature story by an American "A Current Affair" crew, showing the lifestyles of Party members, as compared to others — an over abundance of foodstuffs and other luxury items.

2. The next area of concern that has some relevance to the present situation is the Environmental question.

■ A distinct lack of information leading up to, during, after and up till present time, of the Chornobyl disaster.

■ Total lack of protective clothing and equipment in the clean-up operation — military and political conscripts forced to work.

■ In Ukraine, Chornobyl is still in existence, along with 13 other nuclear plants. **Ten more are still planned!**

■ 90% of all electricity produced in Ukraine is up for export.

■ Environmentally unsafe workplaces, eg. March deaths of miners in the Donbas region, due to chlorobenzene seepage from a neighbouring chemical plant.

■ Land mismanagement and over fertilization has made approximately 60% of former farm land only partially arable.

■ Waste disposal, particularly hot water dispersal, causing ecological death of the Dnipro and Black Sea — some estimates are of a total loss of plant and fish life by the year 2000!

■ 20,000 villages without portable water.

■ Lack of medical supplies, leading to an increased incidence of AIDS as a result of re-used syringes.

3. We can now move onto the area of political resentments.

■ A denial of cultural, linguistic and national aspirations as part of a systematic and bureaucratic program of Russification.

■ Legal dominance of the Russian language.

■ Cultural and political leadership is enforced by the KGB, — an example of the continuing KGB work — the anti-Semitic campaign against RUKH prior to the elections.

■ Ethical and moral disillusionment with failed promises of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

■ Career promotions of Russian nationals over Ukrainian on the basis of ethnicity in professional fields, including academia, engineering and military, eg. 60% of Sergeants in the Red Army are non-Russian, whereas 75% of officers are ethnic Russians.

■ Continued physical harrassment of Ukrainian national activists with complicity of the highest leadership, eg. the Lviv demonstration on October 1st, 1989 and recent bashings in Kharkiv.

■ The rate of reform in Ukraine as compared to the rates of reform in neighbouring Baltic republics or former satellite countries such as Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

What we are seeing is a "**Curve Theory of Revolution**" — revolution occurs as expectations rise and realities diminish or stagnate. Gorbachevs rhetorical promises of reform versus unchanged economic conditions and certain continued political oppression.

Analysis of Regime Forces

1. KGB

Particularly strong and well organised in Ukraine; today's leaders are the same that conducted the crackdown on dissent in the late 1979's; controlled centrally by President Gorbachev as per recent bureaucratic changes (Australian, 1st May); has actively encouraged infiltration of national-democratic institutions (Pohrebniak report in Lviv prior to elections: UCIS).

2. MILITIA

Been used to disperse demonstrations and public meetings, particularly specially trained units of ZMOP; some dissent in ranks of militia on the basis of national resentment, economic grievances with regard to officer corps, family separation due to unexpected transfer, and questioning of validity of development against citizens (interview with ZMOP member who took part in Oct. 1 Lviv confrontation: UCIS).

3. RED ARMY

Conflict between NCO's-enlisted and officer corps on the basis of economic grievances, national resentment, class and educational differences; low morale after Afghanistan and Transcaucasus debacles; desertion in Baltics, refusal to be conscripted in Western Ukraine; many reserve divisions in Western Ukraine have no access to weapons (40 year old policy — US military intelligence); calls for creation of independent armed forces radical nationalists in Ukraine.

4. COMMUNIST PARTY BUREAUCRACY

Retains control of all of Ukraine's major social institutions including workplaces, schools, administrative institutions; protective of class interest; retains control of official bodies of government in the Ukrainian SSR; conservative by all-USSR standards.

Prognosis

The forces of the regime are opposed by a significant national-democratic movement which has wide popular support. Several elements, however, currently function against the movement:

a. Factionalism: there is considerable debate as to Ukraine's political future and the means by which to achieve it among the leading activists of the movement — the situation could easily be exploited by the regime.

b. Relatedly, no one faction or individual has successfully articulated a long-term strategy of opposition — the great majority of activity has taken place on an ad-hoc basis.

c. Furthermore, the movement has not done a great deal in the establishment of alternative (or 'parallel') social institutions — while busily demonstrating or contesting local elections, not as much has been done to create independent Ukrainian schools, etc.

d. The regime has as yet not unleashed its total repressive potential — specifically, the KGB has remained almost shockingly restive, though this may soon change

(Australian, 1st May).

The situation though, can quickly change to the advantage of the movement, as the economic, environmental and political crises worsens.

It is now of utmost importance that the concept of the ABN be reiterated. We need, once again, to make sure that a close knit working relationship is fostered. Our influence in our countries of origin is of the utmost importance.

We fervently need to uphold the ideals of nationalism and encourage and support those who are continuing the struggle of bringing down and dismantling the Russian Empire.

Promises of economic improvement, talk of 'independence', the showing of the Human Face of Russia, are nothing more than stalling tactics.

Now is the time for the ABN in the free world, together with those in our respective homelands, to truly unite and once and for all put an end to something that has enslaved us, caused us so much hurt, and not allowed the Freedom of Individuals nor the Freedom of Nations.



*Ukrainians in Adelaide (Australia) demonstrating under the banner
Independence for Ukraine, on April 28th, 1990.*

NO RETURN TO COMMUNISM

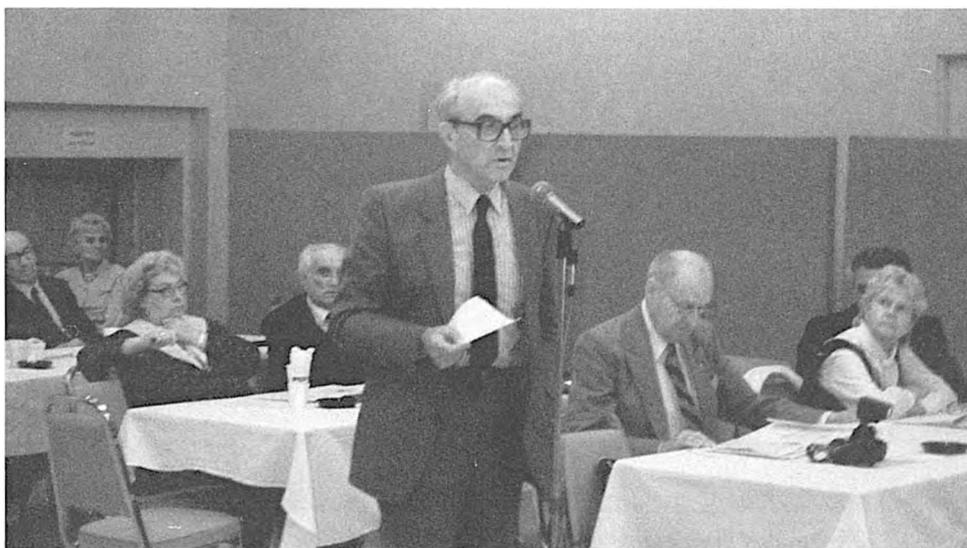
Before I begin to review separately the situation in each of the countries known as the East European satellites of Moscow, allow me to pay tribute to someone who a year ago had the vision to predict almost exactly what will happen in Eastern Europe.

Those of you who attended the symposium in Washington organised last year by ABN and the State Department, will probably recall the analysis presented by our friend and participant in the present conference — Roman Zwarych. Shortly speaking the main line of his talk was : The West does not need to offer any material help to the Soviet Union to achieve liberalisation and more independence for the so called satellite countries. The deep crisis of the Soviet Union, was his theory, will force Gorbachev to abandon them to go their own way. In order to get some help and to save unity of the Soviet Union itself, he may even be ready to renounce and abandon the the communist party.

And really, the almost unbelievable became reality : The Breschnev doctrine was tacitly renounced and abandoned, one by one the people in Eastern Europe began to demonstrate what their real aspirations are and to regain to a certain degree freedom of movement internally as well as externally. The Russian empire in Eastern Europe started to crumble and to disintegrate.

As a result Poland, where for years the moving force was “Solidarnost”, today Poland has a Government presided by a non-communist, with a large majority of non-communist ministers. In a state of complete disintegration, the Polish communist party decided to put an end of its own existence and to change its name and program. Now the country has to mobilize all remaining forces in order to cope with the disastrous economic heritage of more than forty years of communist regime.

A similar development was to be seen in Hungary. The Hungarian communist



Mr. Evdokim Evdokimov (Bulgaria), addressing the conference

party was the first ruling communist party to renounce the postulate of the monopoly of the state power. The party also changed its name and program and today after the first democratic elections Hungary is governed by a non-communist government. The changes in Hungary began earlier than in any other East European country. Nevertheless the Hungarian people will also have to go through hell until their economy reaches a standard to satisfy their most elementary needs.

Astonishingly fast was the fall of the relatively conservative communist regime in Czechoslovakia. No concessions or personnel changes were able to satisfy the peoples demands for a free and democratic order. The peaceful revolution attended its peak with the election of Vaclav Havel for president of the republic. Of course it is still an open question how will the nationality problem be resolved — the quest of the slovak people for independence.

Of all the changes in Eastern Europe, the biggest surprise no doubt were the events in East Germany. The East German communist party tried every possible trick to retain the power. But whether the personnel changes in the communist hierarchy, nor any concessions were able to prevent the radical changes for which hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated peacefully but insistently on the streets of East Germany. Honecker, as well as his closest collaborators were thrown out of the party, hundreds of thousands of East Germans fled to West Germany, the abominable Berlin wall lost its meaning and finally East Germany had its parliamentary elections. The outcome of these elections — victory for the democrats — one of the biggest surprises of the events in East Germany. It may be indicative for the prevailing mood among the people in East Europe. The general consensus is, that after their experience with more than forty years of communism, the people in East Europe do not want to have to deal with any kind of socialism.

Let me now try to shortly evaluate what happened in Rumania and Bulgaria. The dictatorship of the obstinate and mad Rumanian tyrant Ceausescu ended with one of the deepest tragedies for the Rumanian people. The number of victims of the most cruel and senseless actions of his securitates is evaluated to somewhere between ten and fifty thousand. In result of his maniacal ideas the country is in every respect in a catastrophic state. Economically Rumania is at the bottom; politically there is almost chaos. Whether the elections on the 20th of May will bring clarification and relief is still an open question, more than sixty groups and parties are competing for the favour of the voters. Although the communist party is no longer existing, members of the communist nomenclatura continue to hold most of the positions in the state apparatus. The great positive element in this sad picture is the resolute will of the Rumanian people to get rid of the remnants of communism.

The Bulgarian people were spared a tragedy of the kind suffered by the Rumanians. Taking swift actions, like throwing Shirkoff out of the party and eliminating many of the well known conservative party leaders, making promises for radical democratic changes, the Bulgarian communist party succeeded in preventing an explosion of the peoples anger and dissatisfaction. But only under the pressure of peaceful demonstrations the Bulgarian communists agreed to negotiations at the round table as well as conducting elections for a new democratic parliament.

The communist party is divided into three major wings. Nevertheless Bulgaria continues to be almost the only country in Eastern Europe governed by a president of a well known communist stature. Peter Mladenoff grew up in Moscow and for many

years was the foreign minister in several Shifkoff governments. All positions of certain value in the state apparatus are in the hands of communists. In this circumstance the democratic opposition has to overcome all kinds of obstacles in its efforts to organise and prepare for the forthcoming elections on the 10th of June. It lacks offices, transportation, printing material and facilities, communication facilities, radio and television — in one word — all the prerequisites for a successful election campaign. But similarly to the situation in Rumania, one could expect also in Bulgaria to prevail the will of the people to put an end to the communist regime. In addition the Bulgarian people are certainly eager to use the opportunity to get rid of all efforts of russification.

What are the general conclusions to which one could arrive reviewing the situation of the so called East European satellites of Moscow ?

1) with the exception of Poland, where Solidarnost for years has been a known quantity, the political democratic forces are only in a stage of organising and still are searching for any identity. Their common denominator is — total rejection of communism on the basis of democracy.

2) Although maybe in different degrees all, East European countries are going through very deep economic crises and look for solutions through reforms, leading from state planning to a market economy. The danger is that real improvement of people could impossibly be achieved at once, but only through long years of consecutive efforts.

3) Nevertheless the fight of the subjugated people in Eastern Europe, the fight for freedom from communism and independence from Moscow is bearing fruits. No matter how long it will need for its full achievement it is clear that the clock can not be turned back, there can not be a return to communism. Of course there is and there will be the temptation for the people in Eastern Europe, being preoccupied with their own fate, to lose sight of what happens in the Soviet Union, and this could be very dangerous. Because, as long as there are subjugated nations in the big neighbour countries there will be danger for the people in East and Central Europe. And one of our duties is to constantly remind the people of this danger.



General view on the conference room Toronto, May 11th, 1990.

Valdas Anelauskas (Lithuania)

NO FREEDOM FOR LITHUANIA UNTIL SOVIET EMPIRE CRUMBLES

The bell of freedom in the Baltics today is awakening the conscience of the world. Lithuania appears to be the indicator of the political conscience of the world. It has become clear to me today what I was not able perceive earlier. The costume ball has ended, and now we have seen the true faces of the Free (if we can call it that) West.

It is not strange at all that Gorbachev is attempting to choke the independence of Lithuania at all costs. For all of them, the inheritors of Stalin's throne in the Kremlin, from Kruschev to Gorbachev, were and remain of the opinion, that the invasion of the Baltics was absolutely legal. Therefore, it is natural that the decision of the Lithuanian nation to rebuild its independent state brought forth a fit of rage. The Gorbachev position concerning Lithuania is fully understandable, for he became an imperialistic President not to lead to the liquidation of the centuries-old Russian Empire. Not to mention that Lithuania, every month, sent to Moscow 8,000 tons of meat, and half that amount to Leningrad as well as many thousand tons of dairy products. The dilemma which confronts Gorbachev is clear. If he in good faith would give freedom to the oppressed nations in the empire, in the event of the fall of this empire, possibly he could for some time remain Russia's leader. But I doubt that. But if he continues to hold the enslaved nations and his seized territories in his iron fist, then without a doubt, he will eventually lose that which he attempted to gain and eventually received. I have in mind a dictatorial, absolutist power. The Communist empires, in any event, await their unavoidable end. No perestroika will save them.

Gorbachev's political tactics have been successful in the fight for Kremlin leadership, but have not had a positive effect on the economic situation. The economic situation is deteriorating in a fantastic tempo. Even in the capital Moscow itself, there is hunger. Earlier, Lithuanians fed them. But who will feed them now? In the parade of events, history is not humbled by Gorbachev nor does it depend on him, either in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Empire itself. Today, the entire Communist system's crisis is the last nonsensical agony of civilization. Communism is the basic degradation of human and national rights. It should not exist as a phenomenon. Now, when, one by one, the symbols of this system, gates of the gigantic concentration camps and prisons are opening, when at last the Berlin Wall has collapsed, the hard-core Communists attempt to save their supporting points, so that what has been built for seven decades, this concrete carcass would not come done in the blink of an eye. No one wants to follow the example of Ceausescu.

Today's Mafia in the Kremlin, evidently to save itself, is prepared for a whole series of important concessions, except for two things, namely the sacredness of Marxism-Leninism and saving its empire. The Gorbachev agitprop is trumpeting to the entire world that the Soviet Union is establishing a democracy. Nonsense! A democracy in an empire is impossible because democracy without delay would bring the empire to a permanent end. The one thing that is holding back this destruction is the absence of democracy. Imperialism, which is a barrier on the road to democracy, has pushed Russia far, far back when comparing it not only with nations of the West but with other states as well. Nothing has brought or will bring the Russians larger problems than their own established imperialism. The present day so-called Soviet



Mr. Anelauskas (Lithuania) delivering his address at the Toronto ABN Conference, May 11, 1990.

Union is not only a Third World country but it cannot even be called progressive. It is a hopelessly backward country. That fact notwithstanding, their most important objective in their general line today is to protect the empire. It is an absurd and stubborn ideal. Herein lies the eventual destruction of the entire Communist system and all efforts for freedom.

We can therefore understand the behaviour of Gorbachev, although we cannot justify it. As generally we cannot justify slavery and imperialism, we cannot justify genocide, the Gulag or Osvenczim.

What we cannot understand today, nor justify, is the position of Western leaders in taking their positions in behalf of those captive nations within the Soviet Empire, especially Lithuania. The representatives of the Lithuanian Parliament, Jonas Macys, very correctly said at a meeting in New York, that for fifty years, from Washington and capitals of other Western nations, we continually heard beautiful words about freedom, self-determination, and human rights. However, when the critical moment came, it became clear that truly all this propaganda and its lies can be compared to the Soviet lies, not even being second best to it.

The Bush appeasement of the regime in the Kremlin, led by Gorbachev, I think opened everyone's eyes and forced us to look differently at this political amorality. As I said in the beginning, the masquerade ball is over, and now we see who Bush and his advisors are, not having noticed the bloody repression of the Soviet Army a year ago in

Tbilisi. After that, followed the Tianan Square in Peking, another bloody regime, another army. And this, it can be said, was not noticed. And also, very recently, they appeared not to have seen how Soviet tanks crushed children in Baku, Azerbaijan.

And very recently, Bush promised when he became President, he would put all his strength into helping the nations who are under Communist enslavement to free themselves. He talked a great deal about his dedications to the ideals of freedom, promising he would help those countries which sought freedom. Where are those ideals? Where is the assistance? He was not truthful, and this we will not forget.

Today, Mr. Bush, you might say, is silent as if his mouth is full of water. He gave us away, he gave away the Baltic States as he did in Yalta, and, God forbid, if what happened in Tianan Square would be repeated in Vilnius, Lithuanian blood would be on the hands of the American President, George Bush.

The Gorbachev hypnosis, unfortunately, has so befuddled other heads of state in the West that truly they reject the fundamental principles of freedom, democracy, humanism, and human rights to which they had promised to adhere.

Mr. Gorbachev, evidently, is much more important to Bush, Margaret Thatcher, Kohl, Mitterand, and others than the fundamental ideals of the free world. No one will deny that Gorbachev is better than Stalin. But if one would think about which of these dictators is better, is it he who first cuts off the left hand or he who cuts off both and then the head as well.

As it was with Stalin or Lenin, so you have it with the world of Gorbachev — to deal with that same terroristic regime. Only the methods have changed. The request of Gorbachev that the Lithuanian Republic should pay Moscow 33 billion dollars for the right to regain its independence is like a terrorist bandit demanding from his victims a ransom. And the impudent tone of his ultimatum, resulting in an economic blockade! Now Mikhael Gorbachev, in the eyes of the civilized world, has pointed a pistol to the head of Lithuania, and said that he would shoot if they will not renounce their pretensions to freedom. Is he not a terrorist? In speaking to a meeting of Communist youth, he clearly and unequivocally stated that there will be streams of blood if Lithuanians and other freedom-seeking nations do not calm down. "Russia, for many centuries, sought an outlet to the Baltic Sea, and therefore will never give it up," said this 'great reformer'.

So therefore today, that is the situation in Lithuania. I believe you know what it is as much as I do, for it is the number one news item in the mass media of the world.

The foreign minister of the Lithuanian Republic, Algirdas Saudargas, has stated that now the Lithuanian nation in its entirety can be considered a political prisoner. The situation is grim and complicated. However, the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are resolute. I, here in the West, represent the radical Lithuanian resistance organizations of which the primary one is the Lithuanian Freedom League. Our fundamental principles which we have always followed are first, no fundamental compromises with the enemy, second, civil disobedience, and third, for our and your freedom, which means that there will not be a true freedom for Lithuania until the Soviet Empire finally crumbles.

Freedom and independence must be returned not only to the Baltic States, but also to Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the republics of Central Asia, and first of all to Russia — free from Bolshevism and imperialism. As long as Lithuania has such a dangerous neighbour, even if it were independent, it would not be able to rest

THE FATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

In June of this year, the next round of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD), a component of the standing Conference on the Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), will convene in Copenhagen. This is the next stop for the caravan which has already travelled the route from Helsinki, via Vienna, Madrid, Paris, to come to Copenhagen this year and go next year to Moscow before finally returning once more to Helsinki in 1992.

As with all previous conferences, this CDH conference will be attended by official representatives heading many-membered delegations from the 35 nations who became co-signatories of the historic Helsinki Accord agreement. It was then the first time that such an agreement focussed the unremitting attention of the world on the many-splendoured aspects of Human Rights. With hindsight we see today, what a daunting step this has been for these nations of the world to take, but after closer scrutiny we also see what a bitter pill it has been for some of the co-signatories to try and swallow.

The Charter of Human Rights eloquently sums up the aspirations, tenets, and principles for which men, women and children have striven, fought, suffered, been persecuted and died in an attempt to establish humanity, dignity, civility, mutual respect, tolerance and understanding for one and all.

With the obvious results that the winds of change have brought or attempted to bring to Eastern Europe, and beyond within the Bolshevik Bloc, which incidentally is still too commonly referred to as the Soviet Union thus diverting attention from the fact that it is de facto the Russian Empire, it would be a blatantly false assumption to think that the issues surrounding human rights have been resolved to any satisfactory degree, or that the forthcoming Copenhagen conference will have little or nothing to talk about.

When one considers that the nations of Eastern Europe such as East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, on an individual basis will have some progress to report to their co-signatories, everyone here present cannot have failed to see, that 5 years of the "perestroika and glasnost" policy has actually produced nothing tangible for the subjugated nations, captive within the Russian empire, the so-called Soviet Republics. In fact when one pays heed to the unsolicited testimonies of visitors, former political prisoners, coming to the West from the captive

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nights. For we were independent for 20years, and how did it end? Two friends, Stalin and Hitler, made an agreement and seized us. Even the signature of Lenin on an earlier treaty that Russia forever renounces any pretensions to Lithuania, did not help.

Therefore, we must all together, as soon as possible, shoulder to shoulder, work to destroy the prison of nations, the USSR. One can regard Lithuania's first step as an initial shot. But when we will have a shot from a cannon, as Ukraine, the empire will disappear at once. And the West, wherever it sits, will have to recognize us as new states. The monstrous USSR will be no more. And Gorbachev will be able to be king in his Russia. However, it is my sincere opinion that the citizens of Russia will deal with him at once. We must free ourselves together.



Czechs, Ukrainians and Latvians demonstrating in support of Lithuania's independence in Prague. Professor Aloize Sakalas, a member of the Lithuanian Parliament addressed several thousand participants of the demonstration.

nations, its quite obvious that life, and matters in general, are substantially worse than even they would have predicted, and certainly worse than ever been before.

Unfortunately, just as happened at previous CDH conferences, so also at the Copenhagen conference, official native representatives of the individual Captive Nations in question, will probably not be granted any official recognition or status let alone opportunity to summarise their nation's case from the perspective of another 12 months of Human Rights' abuses at the hands of their Russian overlords. Quite the reverse in fact, the conference delegates will probably be subjected once again to glowing accounts of the amazing inroads into the development of greater personal freedoms, reports of outstanding political, economic and social achievements and dramatic diatribes as to the neverending so-called progress of democracy and peace within the boundaries of their "fortunate empire".

However, as individual members of the ABN we can all vouch in our own individual ways on behalf of our homelands, that there are incontrovertible facts; spoken, written and visual proofs, that these people from the Captive Nations are experiencing tangible Human Rights abuses, various bureaucratic machinations and excesses are being engineered to deny the people exercising the very Human Rights and Freedoms guaranteed them by the Helsinki Accords, even as far as denying them access to, or providing them with copies in their own native languages of, those duly signed accords and agreements from Helsinki, Vienna and Madrid, an action which

was one of the principles that the co-signatories unanimously agreed to implement.

As someone who has paid particular attention of late to the incidence of Human Rights abuses in Ukraine in 1989, research and analysis of the wealth of information, statistics and data supplied to the Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS) for publication and dissemination, by the Press Service of the formerly named Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) has been undertaken. The Press Service in question being based in Lviv, Western Ukraine, obtains its information from sources spread throughout the length and breadth of Ukraine. It has a deserved reputation for checking out material at source before dissemination thereof in press release form, and can therefore be classed as a comparatively comprehensive and authoritative source of information.

Naturally their press releases are subject to the same limitations as everyone finds in the business of information dissemination, namely, the information has to reach them to be given a mention at all. That the information reported is representative and typical of all incidents of Human Rights' abuse in Ukraine, is not an unreasonable claim to make, however to my knowledge, no claims are or have been made, that all reportable incidents are necessarily being filed with the UHU Press Office for inclusion and reporting thereof in their press releases. Press releases were constantly supplied and received from Ukraine on a regular weekly basis. Bearing all of this in mind, one finds oneself faced with an awesome set of statistics.

In the 5 months leading up to and including the 4 weeks of the MAY CDH Conference in Paris in 1989, there were 118 instances of Human Rights abuses reported by the Press Service of the UHU taking into account all of Ukraine's regions. This averages out to approximately 23 incidents per month. The incidents included the following general categories of abuses where either single individuals or large gatherings of Ukrainians were prevented from exercising such Human Rights as: freedom of speech, assembly, political expression, religion, travel, the right to display one's national emblems, flags, etc., which effectively means that Ukrainians were forbidden and prevented from expressing publically their national identity in whatsoever shape or form or manner this was to be.

Following the fine words of Mr. Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation at the Paris CDH conference 1989, the co-signatories present in Paris probably justifiably expected the Russians would make all the necessary efforts to try and make visible improvements in their abysmal record on Human Rights abuse, especially since they so desperately wanted to ensure that the 1991 CDH conference was to take place in Moscow.

Mr. Gorbachev's entire policy of "perestroika and glasnost" was shown to be a complete and utter sham, a deception, a confidence trick last year and even before then at its' very outset. So if this policy was bankrupt at that stage, was it really justifiable to expect that the Human Rights facet of Russia's internal policies would begin to subsequently shine, or that it would receive the inordinate amount of human effort and resources that would be required to make it a success, in opposition to all the other failures which have been shown to be prevalent within the Russian Empire.

We find the answer to this question within the press release reports of Lviv's UHU Press Office in the subsequent 7 months leading up to the end of 1989. 164 incidences of Human Rights abuses were catalogued in this time period, the abuses ranging in scope much as before, whilst the monthly average held its own level at approximately 23

incidents per month. The conclusion to be drawn is that the internal policy on depriving people of their Human Rights where national identity is paraded or involved, is still the same as ever it was. National self-determination is still something that Moscow fears cravenly!

The data obtained from Ukraine for this year to date has still to be fully analysed, but a superficial assessment reveals no sign of any easing up of the situation. Human Rights abuses continue unabated. Putting this information fairly and squarely within the context of the recent Russian imperialist attitude to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia's self-determination and proclamations of independence, simply confirms that "perestroika and glasnost" is simply for Western public consumption, to convince those nations gullible enough to believe their ears but not their eyes, that investing their capital within the inefficiencies of the Russian Communist system could produce untold wealth and fortune for all concerned?

What the West seems to forget is, that it should be talking to and actively supporting those nations and people suffering the excesses and abuses inherent within the communist system post-"perestroika and glasnost". What Western governments should categorically not be doing is supporting the Russians who are making the peoples' of the Captive Nations life a misery, by visibly distancing themselves from their attempts at repression and persuading them of the error of their ways and the ineffectiveness of their actions and judgements.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has always held out the truth for everyone to see where the Russian Empire is concerned. Freedom for nations — freedom for individuals can be the only solution to those captive nations of the Russian empire. Those here present that have opportunity to attend the Copenhagen conference as Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) representatives or members of the Press Corps must take delegates to the conference that keeping the Russian empire united is an unattainable fiction that is certainly not in the interests of the subjugated nations and in the long run is going to bode ill for the nations outside the Bolshevik Bloc throughout the wide world.

The Russian Empire is creaking and it requires just one concerted effort from all of us to topple it once and forever. Our united efforts within the ABN, a greater concerted effort to persuade world governments of the alternative that freed subjugated nations offer them, in opposition to the Russian imperial threat, will ensure that the freed nations and freed peoples of the former Bolshevik Bloc have a brave, bright, stable and prosperous future, and that living in harmony with every one is an attainable reality that is more than just a credible alternative to Russia's present nuclear threat.

THE FACETS OF CULTURE written by **STEPAN HOVERLA**

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THOUGHTS ON EASTERN EUROPE

Greek and Western philosophy began with thought about change. The earliest philosophers said everything changes. Their successors took the opposite view and said that in reality nothing ever changes. The saying went that there is nothing new under the sun.

The synthesis of these views came when Greek philosophy was wedded to Christian revelation and arrived at the understanding that in reality some things change and some things never change.

Those who perceive total change in the USSR today ought to be reminded of the need for vigilance, because political reality is always composed of two components or orders; things that are changing and things that are not changing. The challenge is to distinguish between what is changing and that which remains the same.

Current talk about political changes in the USSR often claims these changes are unexampled and without precedent and therefore unstoppable. This is not consistent with historical truth.

First, between 1921-24 there was Lenin's perestroika called NEP or the New Economic Policy. In 1922 a secret agreement was signed at Rapallo, on the basis of which Germany secretly rebuilt the Soviet Union and provided it with armaments until Hitler's accession to power in 1933.

Second was the economic reconstruction or Five Year Plans of the 1930's. Edward Epstein in his book **Deception** says there was a little known perestroika by



Father Alfonsas Svarinskas (Lithuania) visiting ABN Office in Munich, June 1990.

Stalin when he also gave the USSR a new constitution in 1936 in order to make it appear constitutionally similar to Western democracies.

Third, in the 1960's during the Khrushchev period the Soviet Union had a "thaw", a defrosting of relations, peaceful co-existence, the release of political prisoners including Aleksandr Solzenitsyn, and the Liberman economic plan which was to outrace and bury the West.

Yet throughout this history the Soviet Union has grown and expanded into a premier world power. The history of Russian communism is full of zig-zags and Lenin relentlessly taught communists to zig-zag towards their goals. Lenin said, "One step back and two steps forward."

Contemporary opinion which argues there has been a political evolution in the USSR assumes that communism and totalitarianism are reversible phenomena. But glasnost and perestroika are "gifts from above" and Gorbachev continues to talk about bad and good socialisms and consistently cites Lenin. Yet Lenin said that communism is historically irreversible and that irreversibility is an organic principle of dialectical materialism.

Jean-Francois Revel recently wrote that communism is not "bio-degradable". It does not decompose or fall apart itself but must be destroyed.

Also, Patrick Glynn recently argued that in the USSR communism is not dying. What is dying is the organism which has received it. Gorbachev is lessening the role of the Communist Party and the nomenclatura in order to save the body-politic, state and empire.

Those who talk about political evolution in the USSR and the reversibility of communism from above, distrust and discount the national uprisings and revolutions at the bottom of the imperial system as a factor in the recent developments in the Soviet Union.

Yet the NYT recently reported that on his way to meeting President Bush, Gorbachev visited Pope John Paul II. The reason for the visit was to ask the Pope to calm down Catholic Galicia (Western Ukraine). The NYT observed that it now seems that the Pope has several divisions on the streets of Lviv. What Gorbachev concedes many Western observers are reluctant to admit.

Those who argue that communism (and the Soviet Union) is finished also say that in Foreign affairs we have come to an "end of ideology", the ultimate victory of democracy and capitalism over totalitarianism and socialism, and the end of the Cold War. Francis Fukuyama recently wrote a widely discussed essay about the "end of history". In other words, capitalism has won, communism lost, there is no conflict left and it is time to disarm and benefit from the "peace dividend".

Whatever the case may be with internal political regimes, foreign policy of states is changeable easily and swiftly. Foreign policy changes often and fast.

Today the foreign policy of the USSR is changing colors from red to green. It is the greening of Soviet foreign policy.

The aim is to separate Germany from Europe, and Europe from the USA and to Finlandize and neutralize Europe. In other words, make Europe dependent on the USSR and the USA weaker than the USSR.

Leopold Labetz recently wrote that today we are witnessing two "competing decadencies": on one side the decadence of the East and communism, on the other side the decadence of the West and capitalism. The question is which will go first; the East and communism or Western resolve, NATO and democracy?

Among those interested in Soviet and Eastern European affairs, the discussion and analysis today is still almost exclusively about regimes, systems and communism. Little attention is given to Russian imperialism.

For the ABN “captive nations” communism is and has been only half the problem. The remaining and perhaps more important half has been and is Russian imperialism in all its emanations. But Russian imperialism is still little discussed. In fact, as can be seen in the cases of Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia, they are urged to be patient, reasonable and tolerant of the terrorism and extortion they are subjected to.

The keystone idea of contemporary USSR foreign policy is the “doctrine of moral equivalence” between the USSR and the USA. The old thinking was to present the USSR as different and qualitatively better than the USA. The USA was the past. The USSR was the future. The new thinking is to present the USSR as qualitatively equal and no worse than the USA.

The language and politics of a Presidency, elections, a pluralistic party system, constitution, rule of law, the problem of poverty, economic performance, the environment and ecology and particularly the “minority problem” are all articulated in such a way as to show a fundamental *symmetry* between the United States of America and the new United Republics of Russia. The world is to be disabled from distinguishing between the USA and the USSR.

This political vanishing act is designed to lull the West into a false sense of security and to relax its vigilance. The decline of the USSR may have begun and may continue but we are still very far from the fall of the Russian empire.

When it comes to the fall of the Russian-Communist Empire, this fall will be similar to the fall of the Roman Empire, the Manchu dynasty in China, the Spanish Bourbons, the old regime in France, the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From the above analogies we can make three historically certain assertions: 1) that the fall of such systems lasts very long, 2) that their conclusive crises are complex and full of surprises and full of events, 3) that their final crises are very dangerous.

From Daniel Johnson in the April 1990 edition of *Encounter* I borrow the following. “Why was Central Europe’s revolution of 1989 not foreseen by anyone? Because we became servants of the lie that history, geography and economics were on the side of the status quo. The unquestioning acceptance of this “mysticism of factuality” led to a “fatalism of failure” in the West which may now be replaced by a “fatalism of success” (the triumph of democracy, capitalism, end of history, end of socialism). Mistakes will be made.”

Mistakes will be made by leaders from normal human fallibility and from a false diagnosis of the kind of change that happened in Central Europe, and from a genuine problem of terminology.

The diagnosis is: in the Soviet bloc there was a centrally planned economy plus abuses of human rights which produced a volatile situation into which the introduction of almost any new element could have produced a spontaneous combustion.

The only terminology we have to describe what has happened in Central Europe is derivative from past revolutions, all of which have been led from the Left. We find the notion of a “conservative revolution” unusual and distastful. Indeed to forfend against the idea of a popular and successful uprising against the Left, the Communist

Parties and their associates in the Soviet bloc have been designated “conservatives”. But there is nothing intrinsically anti-conservative about the concept of revolution; nor is conservatism unrevolutionary.

Daniel Johnson again. “Conservatism is a political persuasion which draws its strength from the deepest strata of human nature. Its revolutionary potential springs from a dash of early 19th century Romanticism, allied with the corrosive force of the open and free market which, once treated with suspicion by the conservative temperament, is now wholeheartedly embraced by it. This subversive tendency of conservatism has, moreover, been reinforced by its insuperable scepticism towards the 20th century’s secular ideologies, of which Communism is merely the most prominent and enduring.

“Conservatism proved to be such a formidable opponent of the Communist order in Central Europe because it could mobilize the reserves of submerged humanity which the authorities had decreed extinct. National sentiments had been trampled underfoot, religious ceremonies suborned, and traditional habits held up to ridicule by the Communist Central Committees and their cadres. The dead weight of the bureaucratic class and the suppression of cherished freedoms by the Security Apparatus might, by themselves, have been endured. But the Communists were never content with the subordination of civil liberties to requirements of state. Their vision had originally encompassed the **extinction of individual and national identities**, and the substitution of human constructs for the creatures of God.

“It was this process of systematic pulverization and **progressively more total sacrilege** carried out over many years and intended to wipe out the most treasured moments of these nations’ past, the most secret yearnings for their future, which turned the scales for the majority.

“The younger generation rose and dares their contemporaries in uniform to slaughter them in cold blood... and the whole civil society was shamed into solidarity...

“The nations of Central Europe telescoped the decay of Communism — which might have lasted for decades — into a matter of months which ‘shook the world’. Or rather, ten years (in Warsaw), ten months (in Budapest), ten weeks (in Leipzig), ten days (in Prague).”

What is the significance of Central Europe’s **conservative revolution** for history and for the future? It is possible to hazard nine general propositions:

1. Gorbachev’s popularity will gradually evaporate ultimately revealing the cadaverous nature of the Soviet body-politic.

2. Communism as an ideology and a social system is destined for an oblivion more total even than that suffered by fascism and National Socialism.

3. A great revival of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox churches is already underway and this will likely lead to restoration of the prestige of Christianity in the West and a consequent return to a measure of orthodoxy within Western Churches.

4. Governments and opposition parties will be more variegated, but will not occupy the whole breath of the Western political spectrum. The extreme Left will be absent and there will probably be little support for “democratic socialism” and “social democracy”.

5. The **national question** will dominate political debates, but the dire prophecies of regional national wars are exaggerated and premature.

VIETNAM IS STILL SUFFERING

We are living in the time of changes and hope and prayer because, as Professor Roman Zwarecz spoke, if we make a mistake by trusting our enemy's intentions, our freedom may be eliminated for ever. Hope — because the victory of justice, peace and freedom is always there, for us to protect and restore. Like Ukraine, Croatia, Estonia and Lithuania, Vietnam is still suffering under a communist regime — a Soviet political satellite system.

At this moment, after the events of Tianamen Square in China, and the Eastern European countries, the Vietnamese Communist Party — a Soviet-Russian Satellite — no longer controls its nation as before. The secretary general, member of the Vietnamese Politburo could not handle anymore the conflicts among his old comrades, who were so divided by separated political segments.

Last month, on April 1st, the 13 member Politburo removed Tran X. Bach, a prominent political commissioner of the Communist Party. T.X. Bach, an advocate of liberal perestroika, with views similar to Zhao Zyzang, the Chinese Communist of the People's Republic of China, was put under house arrest. This means clearly that the hard-line communist winning the power in this confrontation between liberal view and conservative one.

At the same time, the Vietnamese Communist Party declared that it would open the door for economical freedom but never mentioned to political reform. They understand too well that economical Freedom without political reform is a phony action to lure the naive politicians and journalists who never understand the price and value of freedom and liberty.

The People's Republic of China, a political enemy of Vietnamese counterpart has just once again promised extending its economic assistance up to \$2 billion per year for Hanoi regime. Both China and the Vietnam, under tremendous pressure of international political climate, had no choice but to join together for the last battle to defend their communist stronghold.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Sun Tzu, master of military strategy in ancient Chinese history said: "The art of war is the art of deception. When we are strong, pretend to be

► 6. There will be a flowering of Central - Eastern European culture and thus of European culture generally.

7. If the new Central European governments send packing many of the self-appointed Western advisors from such institutions as the European Community, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, within a decade most of Central Europe will enjoy significant economic development.

8. Central European states which were constitutional monarchies before World War II (Romania, Hungary, Albania) may restore their monarchies.

9. Central Europe will undoubtedly revert to its pre-War condition of economic dependence on Germany, assuming that reunification of "the two Germanies" takes place in short order. Central Europe will not be concerned about "German hegemony".

weak; when preparing to attack, pretend to be inactive and peaceful.” The advice of Sun Tzu is today still valid, and we should be careful to this political situation. Never, believe in the intention of our enemy; nor the good will of our naive friends. Instead, believe in our own ability, by which we can stop our enemy’s victory if they intend to advance.

Perestroika or glasnost are just a form of strategy — the playing, in the sophisticated way, by our enemy to deceive us. We should, at this time, move quickly with care to our goal without limitation. The moment we hesitate, that moment we lose. The moment we compromise with the enemy, that moment we fail.

The Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties will try its best to collaborate with all inside democratic forces and inside alliances in order to isolate the enemy and destroy it. In order to achieve the national interest of our people, the Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties will be side by side with any country, any organisation to fight the common enemy. Till the day we win — and that day is coming soon.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties will mobilise any forces to end Communist rule with other nations like Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine. We do hope, the legacy of ABN will enhance our strenght for the coming psychological warfare. In such psychological warfare, we must always remember — freedom and liberty can not be given — no, never forget this.

Fighting for freedom is a noble cause and noble causes have noble costs. It only comes by one’s won hard struggle and wisdom — not from America or other Western states.



Byelorussians demonstrating in commemoration of the 4th anniversary of the Chornobyl tragedy,(Toronto, Canada)

PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF ACTION

The rapid developments last year in Central and Eastern Europe has stunned even the scholars whose expertise is the Soviet Union. The swiftness of the downfall of communism in East German, the Hungarian bloodless transformation, the Rumanian coup-d'etat, the Polish peaceful transition has caught these experts by surprise. The reason for this 'surprise' was that these scholars tended to ignore the rising tide of nationalism in these areas and especially in the Soviet Union. This taboo or dormant issue has now become a dynamic central question if Western policymakers are to assess prevailing conditions properly.

The West routinely downplayed the reality of national aspiration of the subjugated nations and inaccurately assessed the national awareness of the non-Russians within the Soviet Union. Even worse, often Westerners perceived the Soviet Union as identical with Russia and automatically assumed that any Soviet



A demonstration in Minsk on the 72nd anniversary of the proclamation of Byelorussian Independence. The banner reads, "Long live Independent Byelorussia" and "Soviet Byelorussia — Byelorussia without a future." The demonstration took place on March 25th, 1990.

citizen is a Russian. This long — held perception is now gradually changing. The specter of Soviet nationhood is now punctured and the mirage of a homogenous illusion is now receding. The progressing and accelerated emancipation of the Captive Nations has now reached centre place in global politics.

As communism is being slowly relegated to the dark recesses of history, national awareness surfaces more and more assertively within the vast domain of the Soviet Union. The thin veneer of communist “brotherhood” is showing deep gaps and is demonstrating to be a historical farce. The ripple effect of the current events upon the subjugated nations is now more and more evident as one occupied “soviet state” after another is demanding to seceded from the Soviet Union.

What practical approaches can we apply to hasten the process of liberation and what role can we play in accelerating the demise of communist Russian occupation of our ancestral lands? Since its inception in 1943, ABN has pursued a successful road that is now bearing a bountiful harvest. The steadfast and relentless campaign to acquaint the West with the genuine aspirations of the nations under Russian communist occupation has made significant strides. The publications of ABN have consistently highlighted the need to reexamine the Western thinking vis-a-vis the Captive Nations. The periodic conferences held world-wide in the free capitals of the Western democracies have undoubtedly made inroads toward a better understanding of our goals. Much was done, **more can be done!**

What is needed is a grass-root movement in every town, village or metropolis where our people dwell — can become a centre of dissemination of solid information. A network of only a few dedicated individuals can make a marked difference. Diligent attention and immediate reaction to news items is one available avenue. Short but concise letters to editors to praise or disprove their editorials or policies can influence even the most hardened editors. We must learn and apply the basics of good public relations. This is not as complicated as one might assume. Good common sense is a good guide in P.R. work. Media events can be created with a little imagination and flair. A case in point: The West is now flooded by Soviet inspired sport events that vie in competition to gain a human image for the discredited Russian empire. The Red Army Hockey Team visited my town. A line-up of the players is essential to the viewers, so after a couple of attempts — the full line-up was secured. Armed with the names and numbers of both teams, a “PROGRAM” was prepared and printed and offered free to all attendees. On the inside of the “programme” the entire history of the Red Army’s — year by year aggression were enumerated. This resulted in a four minute T.V. special, that spelled out our cause, This was done with a half dozen people.

The highly publicized Chautauqua Institute — State Department — Soviet Union exchange is another case in point. This Quacker Institute was hosting “prime” Soviet government spokesmen, astronaut Tereshkova, including the glib American educated Vladimir Pozner. Here we applied the following approach: exhibit one was a map of known concentration camps with the appropriate explanations, the second document was a map of the world with countries shaded as their take-over was finalized, On the reverse side, the dates and other pertinent information was spelled out. These were handed out and also tucked behind the window-wiper of the cars. At first, we were denied entry into the compound but after pulling a few strings — we were in.

Young Americans and Canadians who are schooled in English are our best secret weapon. Two young men had the guts and spunk to confront Ambassador Dubinin

with pertinent and relevant question at an event sponsored by the Council on World Affairs. They created quite a stir among the attending V.I.P's who cower to these pseudo-diplomats. All it took is two young men with a passion for justice and two five dollar bills to get in. This encounter resulted in front-page news and a moral victory to the cause of freedom.

Short hand-written letters to elected officials can be useful in a given campaign. Collecting of signatures has long been our practice. The White House opinion line is a good conduit to express our views. The number is 1-202-456-7639 or the White House switchboard at 1-202-456-1414. Western Union offers also a Public Personal Opinion Message Telegram with services to Washington and State Legislatures nationwide. Allowing 20 words not including address and signature one can send a wire for minimal cost. This can be applied on a large scale with several people soliciting owner's approval to bill their respective telephone and then en masse send the messages. The Medvid case in New Orleans taught us many useful lessons. The computer age is an other avenue of dissemination and information.

With assertiveness and imagination, practical applications can be devised and put into effect. No two cases are identical, but with spirited enterprise, new and clever ways can be found to achieve good results. This must be done to effectively counteract the mesmerizing influence of Mr. Gorbachev. He is the consummate P.R. specialist but his true face is surfacing more and more.

It is now high time for the West to shed their passive stands on the issues of freedom for every nations, freedom for individuals. A great historical drama is now unfolding and it can have either a benign or malevolent consequences. As this critical historical juncture — a positive vision of free, independent, sovereign national states emerging from the ruins of the Russian empire is not only a possibility but an attainable goal. There are men and women with a clear vision on both sides of the Iron Curtain who have the courage to throw off the outdated shackles that have choked the lifeblood of our nations.

The West must be made aware that the bona fide rights of the subjugated nations **cannot be denied!** The alleged commitment of the West to human rights must **go in tandem with national rights.** The West has now been long enough circumspect toward the aspirations of the enslaved nations. Western public opinion must be fully engaged to support the demands of Kremlin's victims if they truly espouse the tenets that freedom is indivisible and the rights of every nations. If the loudly professed ideals of the West are to be credible, Moscow should be soundly ostracized and sharply criticized. Washington's treatment of the Lithuanian independence is a sad commentary indeed. It will be interesting to see how President Bush will treat the annual national observance of the Captive Nations Week Law.

In summation, it is our duty as activists to search and find innovative ways and means to keep our cause constantly in public view. We are committed to help the restoration of democratic freedoms not to a select few nations but to all who so desire. Admittedly, much work lies ahead of us!

Bertil Häggman — MOSCOW AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT

Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror

Published by Ukrainian Central Information Service , U.K. 1989

TO USE EVERY FORUM AVAILABLE

Allow me to introduce this session by simply presenting you with a list of proposals for a programme of action in the Free World. Much of what I have to say has already been presented today in one form or another. Since my list is obviously not an extensive one, some proposals may not even be realistic ones, I believe that in this session it is of utmost importance for us to have a vibrant exchange of ideas in order to try and exhaust all the possibilities concerning tactical approaches and overall strategy of liberation.

Our activists in the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations should be properly trained to lobby politicians and diplomats in the West in a **practical** and **credible** way on behalf of all subjugated nations. In addition, each national group and member of ABN ought to have its own Public Affairs Council to do the necessary public relations in Washington, Ottawa, London, Bonn and elsewhere, and in general in every free country where the national group exists. Meaningful discussions must take place with Congressmen, Senators, Ambassadors, White House officials, United Nation officials, and it is of utmost importance that **professional lobbying** be done in the halls of Congress, the House of Commons, the White House, the United Nations, the State Department and the Department of External Affairs, just to give a few important examples. Politicians and diplomats must be carefully **targeted**. Politicians who are willing to help our cause must be convinced to help in a **concrete** way. Lip service is useless to us. Election rhetoric is useless to us. Coming to our gatherings dressed in our national dress is nice but useless to us. We must ask for concrete help — financial, political and moral. If politicians and diplomats speak out in the House of Commons



The speakers at the Croatian National Day, Munich, May 10, 1990

or Congress or the United Nations or to the media on our behalf, that's concrete help. Once again, therefore, politicians and diplomats must be carefully targeted so that we don't lose valuable time and energy for nothing.

Our activists must be properly trained to meet the media, to cultivate relationships with the media and to disseminate appropriate information to the media. Once again, **professional lobbying** is essential and media organisations, along with journalists, editors and producers must be carefully targeted so that important time and energy are not lost. We must convince ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, CBC, BBC, New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Globe and Mail, and many others to send more journalists and film crews into our subjugated countries to investigate the current situation in more depth. Although Lithuania has received substantial media coverage, most of the subjugated countries have not. Our press releases must be sent or hand-delivered to the media within a day or two (either before or after, depending on the situation) of the date of the event, activity or project outlined in the press release, otherwise, the press release will lose its relevance. Furthermore, if we are aware of an event taking place on some future date in our homeland, it is essential that we inform foreign correspondents in Moscow and elsewhere of this fact beforehand in order to give them time to prepare for coverage. We must **influence leaders** in our homelands, convince them to take the media more seriously, in particular, press conferences, and to convince them to realise the psychological importance of the media as a whole and the media's political power in particular. In addition, more emphasis must be put on the dissemination of information about the liberation movements to politicians and media in the West. This information must be statistically accurate and objectively analytical. Poorly stated, undiplomatically stated opinions, no matter how true, can be more harmful than beneficial. We must study our political friends of influence and our friends in the media well enough to be able to discern the format that the information we send them ought to take on. With regards to the media, usually the press releases sent out should be brief and to the point. Each press release ought to make **one** important point. Of course, more extensive and detailed preparation is needed if the media need information for a documentary, for instance, in which case a concise package of information should be prepared. With regard to politicians, the press releases, in most cases, should also be brief and to the point since many politicians are either not very intellectual but very pragmatic, or simply don't have the time to deal with the subject at hand in depth. In some cases, however, statistical as well as analytical information ought to be sent to politicians who can make good use of it. Our information centre in Munich, West Germany must continue to disseminate ABN Correspondence as widely as possible. This will enable us to learn more about each other and about each other's needs and aspirations. At the same time this will enable us to have some influence over our political friends. We must also see to it that appropriate liberation literature, published in the West, be disseminated in each of our subjugated homelands, disseminated in a logistically effective way. Special care must be taken to disseminate literature that is realistic and that each of our nations as a whole can identify with. Most of the time, of course, analytical accounts should be sent to political and educational think tanks and institutes.

We ought to involve more leaders of the nations **to participate in our conferences**, seminars, rallies and demonstrations in the West. We, in the Free World, must advise the leaders of our homelands on how to conduct a democratic political campaign, how

to run a free market economy, how to change the educational system by eliminating Marxist-Leninist teaching, how to set up a bureaucratic system which would work in the national interest of our homeland. There are many qualified individuals in our communities in the West who would be able to help and advise in such matters. We ought to organise some form of protest, a media event, in particular, before the State Department in Washington to show our displeasure with American foreign policy vis-a-vis the subjugated nations. Similar protests can be organised in Ottawa, London, and elsewhere. We have become **much to complacent**. The parliamentary approach of liberation might only work up to a certain point, after which direct confrontation with the enemy is unavoidable. Unless we continue to demonstrate and picket in the West, we will not be psychologically or emotionally ready for confrontation with Soviet Russia and other communist regimes when the need arises. Demonstrations and pickets play an important part in our psychological and political warfare with Soviet Russia, and in addition, force Moscow and Washington to react to our protests. We should be asking the White House and State Department about **Captive Nations Week**. Is this all or partial political rhetoric and hypocritical lip service? Why does America support a Free East Germany but **not** a Free Ukraine? Is America nothing but a paper democracy? We may or may not know the answers to these open questions. It may not matter. But why not? Let the White House and State Department respond. Let them defend their stance. Let us be ready for their reaction with counter-measures of our own. Let's convince the media that they ought to be asking the same questions in their newspapers and on television. After all, the media like to ask questions on moral equivalence.

We ought to be organising more productive meetings with the leaders of our homelands in order to more clearly co-ordinate our actions with their actions. This must be done on a continuous basis so that our work is incorporated into their overall strategy of liberation. In this way, we will also have some input into and influence over their tactical approaches to liberation. Solidarity and co-operation with patriotic political circles in our homelands are essential if our hard work is to see positive results. Much depends on how well-organised and united we are and how effectively we are able to co-ordinate our actions with the liberation processes in our homelands. For example, mass demonstrations, strikes and marches in our subjugated homelands **must be supported** in the West by smaller, but just as effective demonstrations, pickets and rallies, organised as media events to show Soviet Russia and other communist regimes that we are **always in solidarity** with our liberation movements at home. More co-ordination is needed to organise these types of protests in a **united** fashion.

We must stay in close contact with leaders of newly formed anti-communist (at least to some degree) states that have broken away from the communist bloc, such as Hungary, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Further more, we must not only stay in close contact with our own minority communities in these countries but also in each of the more subjugated nations. For example, if the Ukrainian community in Latvia can be convinced to support Latvian independence, then it is in the interest of both Latvian and Ukrainian patriots to support this community's needs and aspirations. Therefore, I reiterate, we in the Free World must stay in close contact with our minority communities in order to exert the kind of influence needed to **enlarge the scope** of our **liberation struggle**.

We must organise groups of intellectuals (including academicians and

AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM!

An Appeal by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

To the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence on 11 March 1990 by the Lithuanian Parliament proclamation passed by 124 votes for, 0 against and 6 abstentions, Mikhail Gorbachev reacted by sending tanks into the streets of Lithuania's capital city, Vilnius, helicopters over houses and soldiers to occupy government buildings and offices. Gorbachev's policy is a continuation of Stalin's policy of 1940 when Soviet troops overran the independent states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. Using force and terror, Moscow imposed its will on these nations. It is also a continuation of Krushchev's policy when in the autumn of 1956 Soviet troops occupied Hungary and imposed Moscow's will on the Hungarian people by means of violence and terror. Gorbachev's policy is a succession of the Brezhnev policy, when in August 1968 Soviet troops overran Czecho-Slovakia and enacted Moscow's will.

A common home with Moscow? No! The experiences of dozens of years suffice!

Before Soviet troops overran Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia in 1940, they marched as Hitler's allies in Poland on 17 September 1939. Afterwards, Western Ukraine was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR and a part of Poland with a predominantly Byelorussian population was incorporated into the Byelorussian SSR.

► professional activists) to meet with American, Canadian, British, German and other intellectuals to convince influential individuals to openly support our cause. This would include visits with evolving working relationships with various educational, political and military institutes and think tanks including The Heritage Foundation, The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, and many others. If we can get the West's intelligentsia on our side, this would be a big step forward toward total victory.

We ought to use every forum available to inform our political friends, politicians and media about our struggle to liberate our homelands. Important contacts and working relationships that have been cultivated over the years must be maintained. We must stay in close touch (this would include again a close working relationship) with all the groups and individuals that directly or indirectly support our cause.

We must send well trained activists and technicians to each of our subjugated countries with appropriate equipment (including cameras, tapes, photocopies, and so on) and management skills of raise the level of effectiveness and productivity of each of our liberation movements.

And last but not least, on the religious front we must not only strive to create more understanding among members of different religions within our liberation movements, but also to create more unity of purpose among members of the same faith. For example, Ukrainian Catholics and Lithuanian Catholics should work closely together in support of each other's independence. Shi'it Muslims in Azerbaijan should work closely together with other Shi'ites in the Soviet Union, and Orthodox Christians in Ukraine closely with other Orthodox Christians in the Soviet Union. The sole purpose being — the destruction of the Russian Orthodox Church, which in fact is not a real Christian Church, but Moscow's repressive organ of Russification.



Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum visiting the AVN Office, April 1990.

At the end of November 1939, 30 Soviet divisions crossed the Soviet-Finnish border. On 12 March 1940, after three months of warfare, a treaty was signed. The outcome of which was that a portion of Finnish territory was annexed by the Soviet Union. In June 1940, Moscow forced Rumania to secede Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union. After the end of the Second World War, German territory — the northern part of East Prussia — was incorporated as part of Russia. The Japanese Kuril Islands were also annexed by the Soviet Union. At the end of 1979, Moscow began the conquest of Afghanistan.

The imperialist policy of Communist Russia was begun by Lenin. In January 1918, Lenin's troops overran the Ukrainian Republic, which was established in 1917 and its proclamation of independence from Russia was announced on 22 January 1918. Lenin's troops provoked a war between Russia and Ukraine with an onslaught on the Ukrainian state. The war lasted until 1920. Lenin's troops also overran the Byelorussian Republic, the independent republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the peoples of Turkestan, who all waged armed independence struggles, and other nations which fought for independence were incorporated into the Soviet Union by means of violence. The independent non-Communist governments were replaced by marionette Communist governments.

The practice was repeated at the end of the Second World War in Central Europe and East Germany. The imperialism of Communist Russia is a continuation of the imperialism of Tzarist Russia — Muscovy — which after the course of hundreds of years created a huge empire with the conquest of other nations in Europe and Asia.

One has to be a supporter of Moscow to demand that Lithuania and other nations comply with the constitution of the USSR. They are victims of imperialism which was forced upon them by means of terror and violence. These nations were incarcerated into the prison of nations, otherwise known as the USSR. The non-Russian republics of the USSR have to comply with their own Constitution and not the Constitution of the USSR. They have to decide for themselves whether the Constitution of the USSR is binding for them or not. Nobody has the right to impose a Constitution on them which they condemn. What Gorbachev has done in Lithuania is the policy of imperialism and colonialism of Russia. The Lithuanians have been waiting decades for the day of liberation from the yoke. It is a crime to demand them to continue waiting.

On 30 June 1989, German Chancellor Kohl and Soviet State and Party Chief, Mikhail Gorbachev, signed a common statement in Bonn. Diplomatic circles spoke of it as the taking over of Western judgements by the Kremlin. In the statement it reads, "It is the right of all nations and states to decide freely their own destiny and the right to establish their own relations on the basis of international law has to be guaranteed. The precedence of international law has to be granted in both national and international politics. The foundations of Europe's freedom and co-operation should be : unlimited respect for the principles and norms of international law, in particular the respect for peoples' self-determination."

Gorbachev signed this statement in Bonn. In Lithuania, however, he has trampled over these principles which he compelled himself to realize. The Russian imperialists are persuading their citizens that the oppression of other nations is necessary for the well being of the Russian people. We appeal to Russian democrats to fight the ideology of imperialism. A nation which suppresses other nations cannot be free. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party of imperialists and oppressors. They promised a paradise on earth, but instead created a colonial empire based on Marxist-Leninist ideology bringing misery and oppression. Stalin's, Khrushchev's, Brezhnev's and Gorbachev's totalitarian policy has been and remains dangerous for the whole world.

Their "self-determination" of nations is a deception. First, the nations have to regain the independence they enjoyed before they were incarcerated in the USSR by means of terror and violence. When they are free and independent, they can negotiate conditions under which they may or may not enter into a federation or confederation. In a civilised world this is the only possible way of dealing. However, this is not understood by Moscow. The destiny of the subjugated peoples is not part of the internal problem of the Soviet Union. It is the problem of Europe and the whole world. The destiny of Europe is being determined in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Europeans have to participate in the shaping of their future. We want free nations in Europe and not colonial peoples. Every nation has to be master of its own house. This is a natural and God-given law.

The "perestroika" of Gorbachev is a fiasco because his government has been trying for 5 years to introduce the reforms on the basis of false ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Socialism. In these 5 years, Gorbachev's government has not cured the delapidating economy of the USSR, but has ruined it even more since the adherents of teaching of Marxism-Leninism make it impossible to choose between socialism and market economy. Instead of admitting his mistakes, Gorbachev makes the subjugated

nations in the colonial empire responsible for the bankruptcy of his “perestroika” and tries to intimidate them with the use of tanks. He is backed by the forces of imperialism and colonialism which have been practising this policy for decades and would like to continue it.

Today anyone who is not blind can see that the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia turned against the freedom and well being of nations. Mikhail Gornachev belongs to those who do not want to admit this fact. He defends this revolution and marches with the imperialists against the nations — victims of imperialism — with the neo-Stalinists against the democrats. “Democrat” Gorbachev is responsible for the chaos, hunger and cold in the Lithuanian part of the “common European house”, and threatens Latvia and Estonia that he will do the same there if they do not continue to be his obedient slaves. In its own interests, the West has to support the front of democrats in the Soviet Union, the front of the enemies of imperialism, and not the front of neo-Stalinism.

The West should render immediately economic help for the Lithuanian people, Latvia and Estonia. To rescue them from Moscow’s imposed shortages, we appeal to all the democrats of the world to demand from their governments moral, political, and economic pressure upon the Kremlin dictators. They have to be forced to give up imperialism and colonialism. Support the process of unification of Eastern and Western Europeans into one family of sovereign nations. Only by doing this can we avert the danger of Russia which threatens the whole world.

11 May 1990

*World Executive Committee
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*

RESOLUTION

In view of:

1. the fast development of the situation in Eastern and Central Europe, which has an immediate bearing on East-West relations;

2. the interest, with which millions of Canadian and American citizens of East European origin are following the developments in Eastern Europe; and

3. the paramount importance of the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Bulgaria for the Bulgarian people,

The World Meeting of ABN on 11 May 1990, in Toronto, Canada attended by 118 delegates of free and subjugated nations,

URGES

the government of the United States of America to send into Bulgaria as many as possible official observers with the following mandate —

I. to find out in what atmosphere is the pre-election campaign conducted; and

II. to observe and report whether the elections are conducted in a true democratic spirit.

NEW UKRAINIAN PARTY ISSUES STATEMENT

The Ukrainian Republican Party (URP), which was established at the last Congress of the former Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU) held on April 29-30, 1990, recently issued a Statement to the press of the Ukrainian SSR, signed by Levko Lukianenko — the newly elected URP chairman. The full text of this short statement appears below.

STATEMENT to the Press of the Ukrainian SSR

On April 29-30, 1990 in the Theatre building of Kyiv the Congress of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union took place. This Congress disbanded the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and created the Ukrainian Republican Party.

The Congress ratified the URP Programme and By-Laws, making them effective until the next URP Congress, and elected an executive board consisting of the party chairman, two vice-chairmen and the Council of the party composed of 78 members.

At its first meeting, the party Council elected a Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republican Party consisting of 7 members and a chairman of the URP By-Laws Committee.

Levko Lukianenko was elected chairman of the party.

The party's vice-chairmen are: Hryhoriy Hrebenuk (Donets branch) and Stepan Khmara (Lviv branch).

The following were elected to the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republican Party:

1. Diana Bidochko (Ivano Frankivsk branch)
2. Petro Borsuk (Kyiv branch)
3. Oleksa Mykolyshyn (Kyiv branch)
4. Roman Koval (Kyiv branch)
5. Vasyl Ovsienko (Zhytomyr branch)
6. Petro Rozumnyi (Sicheslav branch)
7. Oles Shevchenko (Kiyv branch)

Zinoviy Melnyk (Kyiv branch) was elected chairman of the By-Laws Committee of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

We are including and submitting for publication the URP Programme and By-Laws, so as to fully inform the Ukrainian people.

Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party
People's Deputy

Levko Lukianenko

INAUGURAL CONGRESS OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLICAN PARTY

— a reporter's account —

UCIS — The following account of the inaugural Congress of the newly-formed Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) was published in a special edition of the bulletin of the URP Lviv branch — “Lviv News”. In the introduction to this account it is stated that “the primary goal of the Ukrainian Republican Party is full independence for Ukraine”.

In the darkness of Brezhnevite lawlessness, when many lost faith, a group of patriots was formed, which through the strength of their greatness of spirit and at the cost of their own lives proclaimed to the world and to the rulers of the Kremlin that Ukraine continues to live and fight. The Gorbachevite “thaw” ignited a conflagration of civic-political activity. People are gathering around movements which reject the communist path in the life of nations. In July 1988 a political association called the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was formed and it quickly became an all-Ukrainian structural organization. In less than two years of activity, the UHU acquired widespread political legitimacy not only in Ukraine, but beyond Ukraine's borders as well. The communist rulers of Ukraine are forced to deal with UHU leaders, despite the fact that the “red press” has continuously tried to discredit these leaders. The Union was victorious in the elections. Twelve UHU members were elected People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR. Many UHU members became deputies in municipal councils. By the end of April 1990 the Ukrainian Helsinki Union had over 2,300 members, which is a considerable accomplishment given the continuous ideological campaign waged against the Union by the ruling party apparatus. Recently, many individuals have indicated their willingness to join the UHU or a party that would be established on the basis of the Union. For at least half a year, much has been said about the need to transform the UHU into a political party. Such a step would place the Union on a new level of activity. By April 29, when the UHU Congress began, several political parties were already formed, such as the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Party and the Farmer-Democratic Party, but they are relatively small. The difference between these parties and the Ukrainian Republican Party is that the former were established in Western Ukraine, where a specific political climate exists, while the URP encompasses all of Ukraine in its structural organization. Since many people's deputies are in the ranks of the Ukrainian Republican Party, it has, in fact, become the second parliamentary party in Ukraine. This fact alone forces the republican leadership of the UkrSSR to recognize a multi-party system.

The Congress of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, at which the Ukrainian Republican Party was founded, was held on April 29 and 30, 1990, in Kyiv in the Republican Theatre building. Until the last days, it was not certain whether the Congress would even take place, since problems regarding the hall unexpectedly arose. The red press again began a disinformation campaign, however, had no effect on the directors of the theatre building and the Congress convened as scheduled. 495 delegates participated in it, as well as hundreds of invited guests, and many journalists from around the world.

The last forum of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union began with a religious hymn, “Oh God, great and one”, which echoed from a tape recorder. Afterwards, a young priest

of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church from Mykolayiv near the southern Buh river delivered a short pastoral address. He said that the existence of people in Ukraine who started the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, of people who today stand by the national-liberation struggle, is a gift from God, is a sign that Ukraine will break the chains of slavery. His address was punctuated by a high level of patriotism and a deep sense of toleration to the representatives of other religions in Ukraine.

Oksana Meshko, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, spoke about the founding of the Union and its subsequent fate. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which was created immediately after the creation of the Moscow group, delineated the fate of all other Helsinki groups in the USSR, and its members were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. They did not suspend their struggle, even when behind the barbed wire fences.

The Congress then resolved several procedural questions. The presidium of the Congress was chosen and it included Levko Lukianenko and Mykhailo Horyn. A secretariat, verifications committee, and editorial committee were elected. The editorial committee was mandated with the task of preparing programmatic documents, taking into account the comments of the delegates. The Congress decided that a new presidium should be chosen for every session.

Levko Lukianenko, the head of the UHU Executive Committee, read his report on the work of the UHU. The Union presently has over 2,300 members, organized in 190 centres of activity. They form 28 branches, 2 of which are outside Ukraine — in Moscow and Novyi Urahoy. New organizational branches will soon be formed in Kirovohrad, Kherson and Cherkasy. Branches of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are being formed in Magadan and a number of cities in Siberia, the Far East and in Kuban. Presently, the Ukrainian eastern diaspora numbers nearly 15 million people. A sense of national consciousness was severely repressed in many of these people, but nonetheless the processes of national self-determination are developing rapidly. Besides Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Byelorussians, and representatives of many other nationalities were also members of the UHU. The social breakdown of the UHU's membership indicates that it includes people working in the humanities, the technical intelligentsia, and the working classes (including people from the trade unions of south-eastern Ukraine). Levko Lukianenko underscored the fact that the new party will need to have its own printing machines and that its leadership will begin a campaign to obtain them from the start. We must win the struggle at the time that the empire is crumbling. Levko Lukianenko ended his address by stating that if events should unfold in a different manner, then we are not needed on this world.

The Congress received greetings from the following: the regional council of Ivano-Frankivsk, the Ukrainian Central Information Service from London, the chairman of the Christian-Democratic international — Andrew Lewis, the president of the Ukrainian National Republic — Mykola Plaviuk. The chairman of the presidium read a leaflet that was distributed in Kyiv before the Congress, in which the anonymous author, masking himself behind words about “honour and conscience”, called upon the residents of Kyiv not to permit the the formation of a new party on the basis of the “UHU”, which, in his words, will be inimical to the Ukrainian people...

Ivan Kandyba, the chairman of the association “Ukrainian Independence and Statehood”, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and a long-term political prisoner, addressed the delegates and endorsed the decision to transform the

UHU into a political party. He stated that the association that he heads is ready to cooperate with the new party. Afterwards, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, the chairman of the Ukrainian National Party, greeted the Congress and read a declaration. From the diaspora, Pavlo Dorozhynskyi, the editor of "Samostiyna Ukraine" and Vasyl Markus, a professor from Chicago, greeted the Congress. They said the the diaspora is following the present processes in Ukraine with great hope. In analysing these process they expressed their conviction that the Ukrainian nation is ready for statehood. The formation of political parties is an indication of this readiness. An independent Ukrainian state is also needed by the diaspora.

A statement was read on behalf of the Executive Committee in which it was stated that the editorial committee, which was formed by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council on March 18,1990, has completed its activity and is asking the Congress to accept its work. The Presidium read a resolution by which the Congress gave its mandate to the editorial committee.

Bohdan Horyn, a People's Deputy of the Ukrainian SSR, read a presentation on the political situation in Ukraine and on the need to form a party that would be an alternative to the Communist Party. The catastrophe of Chornobyl has become a great tragedy for the Ukrainian nation. An even greater tragedy, however, is the fact that the adherents of the communist ideology, having suffered setbacks in the world, continue to commit lawlessness in Ukraine.

Mykola Horbal, a member of the UHU Executive Committee, in speaking on the ethics of the members of the new party, said that the party, in terms of its ethical base, will be founded on a Christian morality. The primary sources of the party should be the "Kobzar" (*the collected poems of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet — UCIS*) and the Bible. The "Kobzar" should remind us that our primary goal is Ukraine.

Mykhailo Horyn, the chairman of the Rukh Secretariat and a deputy of the UKRSSR, underlined the need to guard against a great catastrophe which may result from the fall of the empire; we need to consolidate our forces with all healthy currents in society and to look for allies, for supporters of our ideas, of our cause, everywhere, even among our enemies.

The present guests from Armenia stated that Armenia is also an ally of Ukraine in the struggle for state independence.

The representative of the National Front of Azerbaijan greeted the Ukrainian nation on the occasion of the formation of a new political structure, which is fighting for the liberation of Ukraine. Ukraine will have an ally in this struggle. Presently, the Azeri people are divided between two states: the imperialist USSR and Iran.

Vasyl Kapkan, a member of the Ukrainian Community in Lithuania, greeted the Congress on behalf of Sajudis. Near the end of the Congress, one of the members of Sajudis parliament arrived and addressed the Congress. He gave a detailed account of the widespread economic and informational blockade of Lithuania and asked that Ukraine not participate in this imperialist blockade. The leadership of the newly-formed party and of Rukh declared their support of Lithuania. It was stated at the Congress that despite the decision of the administrative councils of various factories and enterprises, the councils of workers' collectives are deciding to continue exchanges with Lithuania.

The representative of the Democratic Association of Moscow, Novodvoska,

stated that the Democratic Association has separated itself from the imperialist policies of the Kremlin leadership. The Association regards all the conquests of the tsarist and Soviet empire illegal and its position is that an independent Russia will not have any claims to any of the conquered territories. The dissolution of the empire and the formation of an independent Ukrainian state is also in the interests of Russia.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, who was at one time a member of the Executive Committee of the UHU and who is presently the Chairman of the Lviv regional council, also delivered a speech at the Congress. He stated that the UHU has etched for itself a prominent place in the history of the Ukrainian state. He also presented his view on various programmatic documents of the newly-formed party, which was met with a harsh reaction from the delegates of the Congress.

The issue of Ukrainian military formations was brought up in the discussion. It was stated that in the ranks of the military personnel, this idea is finding support.

The representatives of the Ukrainian Independent Youth Association declared their support of the new party. On the proposition of the youth, a decision was taken that the age criteria for membership in the new party be set at 17 years of age.

Yevhen Proniuk, a member of the Executive Committee, read a draft of the programme, on the basis of which the new party is to function. The delegates to the Congress had many comments to this draft. The editorial committee incorporated these comments in the form of changes to the draft. After a brief, but heated debate, the programme was ratified and will remain in force until the next Congress, which should take place in one year's time, according to the by-laws. Throughout the upcoming year, the editorial committee will consider all the comments on the programme and by-laws and will prepare a new draft of the programmatic documents of the party. A considerable number of the delegates, particularly working class representatives, expressed their concerns that in the programme the interests of the working classes are not included, which may result in a lack of support for the party among the workers. Other delegates underscored the fact that the working class, particularly the coal miners in the large mining areas, have long since been waiting for the appearance of a force which in its essence would have an anti-communist ideology.

The programme clearly states that the party will strive for the establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state, as the primary condition for a political, economic and cultural rebirth.

Five separate proposals were put forth regarding the name of the new party: Ukrainian Republican Party, Ukrainian Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, Ukrainian Republican-Democratic Party, and Ukrainian National-Republican Party. The name — Ukrainian Republican Party — was accepted in a majority vote.

After several changes were added, the by-laws were ratified by the delegates. This, concurrently, was regarded as the act of proclamation of the new party. This moment was greeted by the delegates and guests with a cheerful round of applause.

Levko Lukianenko, a long-term political prisoner of Soviet concentration camps, was subsequently elected Chairman of the new party. Stepan Khmara, a deputy of the UkrSSR and a member of the Lviv branch, and Hryhoriy Hrebeniuk, a doctoral candidate from Donetsk, were elected vice-chairmen. A party Council was chosen, consisting of 75 members. The Council, in accordance with the by-laws, is to choose seven secretaries, who are to function as political workers.

In his acceptance speech, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party said that the highest goal in his life is Ukraine. The party is an instrument, which will help Ukraine gain its independence. As an experienced politician, Levko Lukianenko spoke of the momentous role that the Ukrainian Republican Party will play in Ukraine in the future.

Dmytro Pavlychko, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Language Society and a deputy of the USSR and the UkrSSR, greeted the Congress on behalf of the Association and the initiative group for the formation of a party on the basis of RUKH. The Rukh leadership, which actively assisted in the organization of the Congress, also greeted the Union with its transformation into a political party.

The Congress delegates spoke on a number of painful and critical issues. The most painful issue raised was with regard to the fact that the population around Chornobyl has yet to be evacuated, and that Russian settlers are being sent to the most russified cities of Ukraine. The party chairman said that these questions require immediate attention and the effectuation of political measures.

During the plenary sessions of the Congress, many UHU members and sympathizers gave donations to cover the costs of the Congress. After the ratification of the by-laws, statements were read regarding membership in the new party. Former UHU members automatically become members of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

The Congress ratified a series of resolutions, including an appeal to the head of the empire, the leader of the imperialist communist organization, regarding his recent anti-democratic measures and statements.

At the close of the Congress, a choir from the capital of Ukraine sang the national anthem — “Ukraine has not died”.

MEETING OF UKRAINIAN AND POLISH PARLIAMENTARIANS HELD IN YABLONKA

Yablanka — A meeting of several Ukrainian and Polish parliamentarians took place in this city near Warsaw on May 4-5, 1990. The meeting was held to discuss Ukrainian Polish relations.

Representatives from both delegations spoke of the many mistakes and injustices committed throughout history, particularly in the 20th century. Both sides were forthright in their admission of mutual injustices committed against both nations. All the participants underscored various mutual interests that both peoples share and that bring them closer.

In the discussion, much attention was directed towards the need to create mutual research groups that upon gaining access to archival material would be able to present a more objective assessment of the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations. Emphasis was placed on the need to do away with all negative stereotypes, to review school textbooks in those areas that touch upon Ukrainian-Polish relations, and to remove all political and economic roadblocks, which stand in the way of forging a foundation for Ukrainian-Polish cooperation.

The following parliamentarians took part in the meeting:

- from the Ukrainian delegation: *Orest Vlokh, Bohdan Horyn, Mykhailo Horyn, Ihor Derkach, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Shvayka;*

- from the Polish delegation: *Bogumila Berdychowska, Zbigniew Bujak, Andrzej Bjelowejski, Andrzej Krawczyk, Zofia Kuratowska, Jacek, Kuron, Barbara Labuda, Jan Litynski, Aleksander Malachowski, Adam Micznik, Volodymyr Mokryi, Jan Musal, Andrzej Okszesik, Janusz Onyszkewicz, Jan Rokita, Franciszek Sak, Bogdan Skarazinski, Andrzej Stelmalowetski, Jerzy Turewicz, Anna Szymanska, Zbigniew Janas, Jerzy Jascembowski, Jerzy Jachowicz, Genyk Wuje, Jerzy Wuttke, Aleksander Hall, Richard Hanowicz, Bronislaw Geremek.*

APPEAL OF THE CITY AND PROVINCE OF ODESSA TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

To the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR through a People's Deputy of Ukraine

From the undersigned residents of the city of
Odessa and the Odessa province

STATEMENT

We, citizens, residents of the city and province of Odessa, appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR with a resolute protest against the policy of colonization of our province, as likewise the entire southern Ukraine, and the violation of the constitutional rights of the Ukrainian population, which is being carried out by the Odessa party-state apparatus, which serves the central government.

At the time when the Ukrainian population in the regions of the Chornobyl zone polluted by radiation is left to their fate by the union (central) leadership, colonist-settlers are being imported to the Bilhorod-Dnister, Ovidiopol, Biliayiv and Ananyiv districts of our province from Siberia and other non-Ukrainian regions.

We are far from propagating the principle of "Ukraine for the Ukrainians", but all the same we cannot remain apathetic, when the welfare of the Ukrainian people is at stake. We cannot remain apathetic when the rights of our people to existence is being placed in jeopardy.

Our hospitality has brought us to a state when several guests, having settled on our land, have trampled over our language and culture, and are now openly impinging on the territorial integrity of the republic, demanding the secession of the southern regions of our province, the secession of the Crimea and the Donbas (Donets Basin —mining region — UCIS).

The long ears of the Odessa party apparatus stick up from behind the statement of a group of Bulgarians and Gagauzians, who live in the south of the Odessa province on the secession of Ukrainian lands settled by them and their annexation by Russia.

Today, in the city and province of Odessa a situation has developed where the majority of the Ukrainian population is deprived of the right to study and pray in their native language; our writers are gradually losing their readership, and the Ukrainian people — their face.

The Odessa party apparatus is openly ignoring the implementation of the law on state languages of the Ukrainian SSR, everything Ukrainian is ridiculed by them, and people who hate everything Ukrainian are situated in leading posts. In the Ukrainian lands of Odessa there is no room for the Ukrainian Language Society, not to mention other Ukrainian civic organizations. Offices have been allocated to Bulgarians, Gagauzians, Greeks, Jews, and Ukrainians are stepchildren on their own land.

The denationalized Odessa party-state apparatus does not represent, and such a form cannot represent, the interests of the Ukrainian people, the majority of whom reside in the city and province of Odessa. With the help of preelection machinations the true defenders of the interests of the people did not get the opportunity to be elected during the recent elections to the councils, in connection with which we demand the annulment of the results of the elections and the holding of new ones.

In creating the conditions for colonization, the Odessa leaders completely ignore the fact that their population is living in squalid conditions, that there is no food for their children, that the city of Odessa is literally crumbling, that there are no funds allocated for the construction of kindergartens, for schools and hospitals.

In cities there is no money for the construction of waste removal sites and our Black Sea, which used to bring so many returns, is now polluted. The province does not have the money for the renewal of the fertility of land, 40 percent of which has been lost. We have the largest mortality rate in Ukraine for children from cancer-related illnesses, but this does not trouble our leaders, who built communism a long time ago — for themselves.

Apart from that, the party-state apparatus of Odessa is desperately realizing plans to convert the city and province of Odessa into a zone of so-called “free trade”, which is nothing other than an attempt by the mafia to enter the outside-economic market, and to avoid control on the part of the Ukrainian government; an attempt is being made to tear away the “free economic zone” from Ukraine and to create something on the model of Hong Kong. This would mean additional wealth for the mafia and new promises for the people of Odessa.

We are despondent and with pain in our soul endure all humiliation from all kinds of leeches. We feel no protection on the part of the Ukrainian government, and we do not feel any control over the activities of the Odessa apparatchiks.

In connection with the above, we ask the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine to put a stop to the colonization and russification of the towns and villages of the Odessa province.

We also ask that a stop be put on all attempts to tear the southern region away from Ukraine under the pretext of the organization of a “free economic zone”.

Since the issue of resettlement has been raised, we ask that people from the Chernobyl zone be resettled in our province.

We demand that you resolve the question of the representation of the Ukrainian population in the governing bodies of the city and province of Odessa, and not by placing businessmen with Ukrainian surnames in positions of power.

Odessa, April 30, 1990

Signatures

VIKTOR ROSOLOVSKYI — FORMER UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER — ON A HUNGER STRIKE

Donetsk — Viktor Rosolovskyi, a former long-term Ukrainian political prisoner and a coal miner, is continuing a hunger strike, which he began on April 24, 1990, on Lenin square in this city in Ukraine’s coal-mining and industrial belt. Rosolovskyi, who is 43 years old, is protesting against communist terror and is demanding permission to leave the USSR so as to be able to join an Orthodox monastery in any country.

Rosolovskyi was incarcerated in a psychiatric asylum. The municipal authorities of Donetsk have yet to respond to the strike and Rosolovskyi’s demands.



A Ukrainian demonstration in Riga in front of the Freedom Monument, commemorating the tragedy of Chernobyl. One of the placards reads, "On the 26th of April occurred the Chernobyl tragedy. Responsible for this crime were the occupants of Moscow." Latvians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians participated in the demonstration. Money that was collected went to the victims of Chernobyl.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

A B N

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

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September — October 1990

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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THE STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL CONFERENCE

Munich July 6th, 1990

The last nineteenth century colonial empire, Soviet Russia, is breaking apart. All over the USSR the subjugated peoples are breaking loose from Moscow's hold. In the forefront are the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Courageous Vilnius was first to break with Moscow.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) greets with great satisfaction the declaration of independence of Lithuania and of Estonia and Latvia. The Council find it encouraging that according to reports in media, Moscow is willing to lift the blockade against Lithuania but deplores that the prize had to be the freezing of the independence declaration.

In view of Moscow's unchanged policy towards the subjugated nations as it was revealed in its treatment of the Baltic republics, the United States and the EEC should refrain from any aid to the USSR and if this cannot be avoided they must use linkages with economic aid to the Soviet Union. Such linkages could be non-use of blockades against the subjugated nations striving towards independence, the acceptance of freedom and self-determination for the non-Russian Republics and free movement in and out of the Soviet Union. The abandonment of colonialism in the non-Russian republics of the empire should also be the precondition of Western help to the Soviet Union.

We are witnessing the complete bankruptcy of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the system built on this basis. After five years of perestroika with economic deterioration the West must now support democratic forces within the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders are trying to press market economy into a socialist framework which is impossible.

The EFC supports the movement towards the creation of an independent Russia just like it supports the independence of the subjugated nations.

The formation of national independence parties of the nations aspiring to freedom and national independence in the Soviet empire is supported. The EFC asks all democratic parties in the West to support independence parties by inviting the leaders to the West and providing them with contacts.

The free elections in East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary following the first steps to achieve genuine democracy in Poland are important steps towards establishing parliamentary democracy in Central Europe.

The electoral results in Rumania and Bulgaria, obtained with intimidating methods and fraudulent manipulation, are contested by opposition forces and in particular by students in both countries. The EFC supports this fight for truth, justice and democracy and wishes full success of protest actions of the students.

The recent independence decision of Slovenia is a valuable move to more freedom for the nations in the Yugoslav federation.

The EFC sharply condemns the methods used by the Rumanian government and National Salvation Front to hinder the free expression of political views in their countries. The use of private armies of "miners" against the political opposition is similar to the violent techniques used by the Nazi brownshirts in the streets of German cities in the 1930's.

The peaceful and not so peaceful revolution in the Soviet satellite countries in Central and Eastern Europe are clear signs of the collapse of communism in Europe. Real peace and detente in Europe are only possible when Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Moldavia and other nations have left the Soviet Union and taken their rightful place among free European countries. In this context the EFC also encourages the membership in the EEC of the EFTA countries Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

The reunification of Germany is close at hand. The EFC greets with satisfaction and supports the work of the German government to arrange elections in the whole of Germany in December 1990.

The EFC also asks Sweden to return to Estonia the gold reserve handed over to the Swedish government in 1949 by Free Estonia. It was voluntarily surrendered by Sweden to the Soviet Union when Soviet forces occupied Estonia. It is today worth around 40 million US dollars and would be a most valuable source of hard currency for Estonia. Similar measures should be taken by other countries which were entrusted with the gold reserves of the subjugated nations.

The EFC recommends a strong security system which is linked to the United States for the preservation of freedom and democracy.



Mme Slava Stetsko addressing the European Freedom Council. In the centre, The Hon. John Wilkinson, (Former EFC President) and to the right, The Hon. Geneviève Aubry (present EFC President).

EFC CONFERENCE HELD IN MUNICH

The European Freedom Council held its annual conference on July 6th, 1990 in Munich. The theme of the conference was:

The Disintegration of the Eastern Bloc and the West's Policies Towards it.

Speakers at the conference were:

Mme Geneviève Aubry, member of Swiss Parliament, EFC President. "How to Preserve Our Security and Our Values in a Moving World?"

The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett, Member of the EFC Honorary Presidium. "Perestroika and Glasnost are No Substitute for Freedom."

General Robert Close, Senator, Member of the EFC Executive Board. "The Future of NATO and the Warsaw Pact".

Prof. Leo Magnino (Italy). Editor "La Cultura nel Mondo", EFC Executive Board Member. "The Disintegration of the Eastern Bloc from an Italian Perspective."

Hon John Wilkinson, Member of British Parliament, former EFC President. "A New Security System for Europe."

Bertil Häggman, LL.B., Chairman of the Institute for Political-Psychological Freedom Campaign, EFC Executive Board Member. "Russian Chauvinism and Soviet Russian Crimes Against Humanity."

Mme Slava Stetsko, President of Antiboldshevik Bloc of Nations, EFC Executive Board Vice President. "The Disintegration of the Soviet Russian Empire and the National Independence of the Subjugated Peoples."

The conference with 130 participants — representatives of the Free European and Subjugated European nations accepted a statement which we are publishing at the beginning of our bulletin.

On the suggestion of the past President of the European Freedom Council, John Wilkinson member of British Parliament, Mme Geneviève Aubry, member of Swiss Parliament was elected as the new President of the European Freedom Council on the 6th July, 1990.

European Freedom Council Secretariat



O. Steciw (ABN, Canada), H. Prychodko (Ukraine), Mme Slava Stetsko (ABN President) and L. Moczulski (Poland) during the WACL Conference in Brussels.

“HOW TO PRESERVE OUR SECURITY AND OUR VALUES IN A MOVING WORLD?”

To begin, let me tell you my pleasure and honour to be with you today, and for the second time in three years. If we look back one year, what a difference in the Eastern countries and in many parts of the world. The iron curtain is down as well as the wall of Berlin, but what has been changed in Europe? Are we on the way to freedom or is the situation of all our nations in danger?

Here you know only too well that freedom is not a gift from heaven but that it has to be constantly defended and not only after one has lost it. Observing Rumania, Bulgaria, we know exactly that the people of both of them have no freedom of action, of speech, of press, of worship. In our countries people are naive and are believing in these countries, the communism being dead, because we have seen new elections, but always the same faces from former politicians. There is a great difference between free democratic elections and the mockery of elections. The poor people are muzzled and have never learned what democratic elections are. My question: How can we give our help to change the system and how can we teach the pluralism by elections? What is sure, is that the Nomenklatura is fighting to keep all their privileges and the power. Today both countries continue as before. But how long will the people be able to support the yoke from the communist tyranns near the neighbouring free countries?

In an other part Gorbachev is in full contestations in the Soviet Union firstly and in all Baltic countries, in Ukraine, Azerbaijan and without forgetting Moskau. The perestroika and the glasnost are completely forgotten. The time during Gorbachev, giving to the people “games and bread” as the emperor Caesar is completely out. The people want to buy enough food — and bread! — and watching western television and desires a higher level of the economy and the same life as we have. The election of Yeltsin as president of Russia is a demonstration against Mr. Gorbachev. But what could happen in the next months?

You all know that Gorbachev is stronger than we suppose as long as he has the support of the USA and the Occident. Much food from the European Community is going to the Soviet Union and the USA do the same: butter, meat, grains make their way to Moscow without conditions. It is never asked if the arms factories are producing as much and if the weapons are sent and sold to many developing countries. No one asks the Soviet Union how many soldiers are back from Afghanistan or from Eastern European countries.

It is, I think, a great fault to send food without conditions. The situation in the Soviet Union becomes urgent, the population is hungry and angry and it is the moment to bring pressure on President Gorbachev asking him to reduce the arms factories and the army, and to stop the sanctions against Lithuania.

Why could we not recognize the independence and could we not give our support to the Baltic countries? Are we afraid of Gorbachev’s reactions or simply coward? We are all weak and coward because we want to keep peace in Europe. But tomorrow? Beginning with the disarmament of the NATO and the contraction of the US troupes in Europe is a danger for Eastern countries. Everyone of us wants peace, but peace begins with the security in our own country. And an army is more than necessary today than

yesterday. It is the question of balance between one part of Eastern Europe (Warsaw pact) and Western Europe. At this moment, we are playing with our territories and our future.

About five weeks ago I stayed in Bonn following the interparliamentary conference about disarmament and I had the privilege to hear Mr. Kampelman, the great American delegate of the negotiations about disarmament in Geneva and Vienna, now in Copenhagen. What he said is: "Even with the package of arms reduction agreements now in negotiation, which are likely to go in to effect, we are still nearer the beginning than the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is likely to be difficult and murky one. There will be disappointments". My impression in conclusion of the conference is, that the Soviet Union wants to win time and makes some joke with all allies of Western nations.

I would like to speak about the new situation in Germany. Unification is not an easy process. For me the most nettlesome outstanding issue is the military future in Central Europe. Moscow baulking at the West's insistence that united Germany remain a full member of NATO. We mean no NATO troops in East Germany, but what it is with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from East Germany? Gorbachev is very anxious to find enough work for the former soldiers in Soviet Union. Coming back to Soviet Union, the soldiers will see the big difference between the economy and the poverty in the goods in every shops.

We all know how the Chancellor Helmut Kohl is determined "not to miss the unification train which may not come another time." Kohl dixit. We are a little afraid about the speed of the unification but not specially about the facts. In one "Time magazine" I read this sentence: "Today the Germans want to think of the future, but their neighbors are thinking of the past". The unification of both Germany will produce a superpower in the middle of Europe and in the Common Market too. The economic union is now a reality. In the Summit of NATO leaders in London this day, the agenda will focus on German unification and European security and on formulating a response to Gorbachev's proposal for a treaty with the Warsaw Pact. We must hope that it is the beginning of peace and freedom for Eastern and Western countries in Europe. Wait and see, but be careful.

But we all democratic countries have mutual responsibility. We are independent in many fields: energy, environment, pollution of air, water and sea. Men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to work together for the future of our planet and of our values. We know we are living in a time where no society can isolate itself or its people from new information and new ideas. One essential consequence is that there can be no true security for any country in isolation. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the people in other countries. For that reason, we must have faith in our principles and we need to intensify our efforts to find a basis for security, stability and peace with dignity without cowardice. It is on these criteria that history will judge us.

Bertil Häggman — MOSCOW AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT
Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror
Published by Ukrainian Central Information Service , U.K. 1989

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

The disintegration of the Soviet Union is already taking place. Different forces in the West are congratulating themselves for this achievement. But the most correct statement will be that this disunion is dissolving due to the subjugated peoples themselves. Millions of people perished, but neither cruel death, inhuman work and living conditions were able to break the spirit of the people from Berlin through Warsaw, and Minsk, the Baltic countries, Ukraine, from the Carpathian mountains to Caucasus, from virgin lands in Kazakhstan to the borders of Afghanistan. And now several nations have already toppled the Communist regime, in Eastern Germany, in Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and they are trying very hard to do the same in Bulgaria and Rumania.

Lithuania was the first in the Soviet Union to proclaim its national independence on March 11th 1990 through its Parliament. Unfortunately only Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary recognised it. Not even those governments which constantly repeated that they do not recognise forceful incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by Moscow after the Molotow-Ribbentrop pact had the courage to render Lithuania's support of official recognition.

There is the wrong assumption in the West that Gorbachev is really able to carry out reforms saving the economy from collapse which inseparably is followed by a political collapse and therefore they are hurrying with huge financial help. The „Cruel delusion“ says A. M. Rosenthal in the New York Times, May 31st 1990. “They do not seem to see the contradiction between saying the past five years have been a failure and asking for long-term credits for the same management. Boris Yeltsin's victory shows that in the Russian heartland as in the colonized republics there is an unstoppable drive for freedom from Moscow's domination. Mr. Gorbachev is not the first Soviet President but he could be the last.”

The West is not paying any attention to the Freedom Charter of the Subjugated Nations in the USSR, passed in Vilnius on January 28-29, 1989, in which they proclaim: “History has shown that the existence of a multinational empire is an anachronism which creates insufferable conditions for all the nations living in the empire. Only the free and independent existence of nations which are striving towards this end will ensure the stable and peaceful development of the world community.”

“We feel that neither common existence within the framework of the empire, nor federative or confederative state organisation are acceptable to the nations which we represent.” Signed by thirteen National Movements.

In order to regain the initiative and his sense of balance Gorbachev has broken the impasse with the Baltic Republics, allowed the possibility of a united Germany's membership into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, sponsored a more radical decree on the creation of a market economy and even made peace with Boris Yeltsin.

The Russian Republic's declaration of sovereignty has hastened Gorbachev's need to reshape the political relationships between the republics and the Kremlin. But the declaration on nationalities which should regulate the nationalities' problem is viewed

by national representatives as “gallows for the nations” says Barladianu, a Ukrainian political writer and long-term political prisoner.

Platform on Nationalities foresees that the centre will have control and ownership over the republics territories, foreign policy, police and army. **Who can expect the Republics to accept this suggested platform on the nationalities policy?** One republic after another proclaims its legitimate rights for their own domains.

The pressure for a reform is mounting. A myriad of grass-roots organisations have emerged.

In Ukraine the Democratic Bloc, a broad coalition of forces including Popular Movement for Reconstruction (Rukh), demands “genuine political and economic sovereignty.” Some members of the Democratic Bloc, — The Ukrainian Republican Party, The National Democratic League, The Ukrainian Party for Independence and Statehood, The Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, and The Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party openly advocate full national independence.

Even V. L. Ivashko — Soviet Ukraine’s Premier stated at the congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party “that the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is necessary for the political, economical, social and cultural development of Ukraine for the preservation and flourishing of Ukrainian language and culture.”

In neighbouring Byelorussia, the Popular Front Adradzden’ne (Renewal) advocates complete independence.

In Georgia on March 9, 1990, the republic’s Supreme Soviet condemned Georgia’s forcible annexation into the USSR in 1922 and called for talks on the restoration of its sovereignty. The Georgian Parliament in Tbilisi began to discuss the secession from the Soviet Union on the 21st of June 1990.

After the proclamation of its sovereignty (although still inside the Soviet Union federation), Kirghizia, Kazakhstan and a few days ago Uzbekistan demanded that the laws of their respective republics take precedence over the laws of the Union. The representatives of these republics and also of Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan assembled on the 23rd and 24th of June in Alma Ata (Kazakhstan) to discuss the regional cooperation on economical, scientific and cultural domains. Thus in Central Asian political movements from Tsarist era have been revived. Economic problems arising from single-crop cultivation, neglect of national languages and cultures, religion and the environment (the Aral Sea is dying), are the main source of discontent and the main moving forces are the Kazakhstan opposition group called Justice, The Kirghizia popular movement Ashar, Uzbekistan Unity, Tadjik movement Rastakhiz (Renaissance) and Turkmenistan Unity.

At the end of June Moldava proclaimed its sovereignty and the law of its republic over the laws of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Republic with its president Boris Yeltsin joined the Chorus of other republics moving towards independence. But here is the difference, never to be forgotten, between the final aim of the non-Russian Republics and the Russian republic.

When non-Russian republics are aiming at strengthening their control over their respective republics and finally becoming completely independant, (to get out of the Soviet Union), the Russian Republic on the other hand only threatened with secession from the Soviet Union if its law does not have preponderance over laws of the Soviet Union.

The Democratic Platform Group within CPSU calls in very general terms for “the

transition from the principle of a unitary state toward a voluntary union of peoples.”

Economist Vasily Selyunin soberly contemplates the dissolution of the USSR in its current composition and the emergence of “a new, much looser confederation” consisting of Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, and Moldavia. And Conservative, Eduard Volodin or Valentin Rosputin call for the secession of the RSFSR from, or the dissolution of, the Soviet Union so that Russia can concentrate on putting its own house in order within the ballast of other republics. “Problems of Communism.” March-April 1990.

However Boris Yeltsin the President of the Russian Republic expressed very clearly at the press conference on the 26th of June 1990 that he is not interested in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but to the contrary in the strengthening of the Soviet Union as a whole, where as we know Russians have always as a rule been in command anyhow. And Mr. Gorbachev in his interview to “Times” appeals to the Russian feelings when he hails the genuity of the Russian nation.” Russian people during the centuries and during the Soviet Time revealed himself as sympathetic to the friendship and cooperation with other nations.

Presently too, it is bestowed with the unselfish feelings of responsibility for the whole of the country (empire), which was created so multinationally by history. It has in blood, in genes irrespective of political views and Weltanschauung. “These are Gorbachev’s ‘arguments’ in his reliance on Russian imperialism in order to save ‘the empire’ ”.

And now as much as the non-Russian republics are fervently striving to dissolve the last empire the thought of the consequences for the average people in the West is more than terrifying. Why? Because of the chaos they expect to happen with the dissolution. Is it safe to live on a volcano that is about to erupt?

William H. Luers in the New York Times, June 30th — July 1st, 1990, points to different dilemmas arising. “The Soviet empire, heir to the Great Russian Empire, is finished — psychologically, politically, ideologically and socially, the problems ahead: Who will control the vastly dispersed nuclear and chemical weapons in the Soviet Union?

Which borders will be challenged?

How will the new Russian Republic deal with the non-Russian peoples within its borders, the Tartars, the Chechen-Ingush and the Jakuts?

What influence will be of fundamentalist radicals, he lists many other problems, his own answer is: “The key to managing these dilemmas is to work toward a democratic and economically healthy Russia. The United States should pursue this goal with or without Mr. Gorbachev. That will make it easier to support the independence of nations in the Soviet empire and to strengthen ties with the forces of democratization and decentralization.”

Here is the responsibility — of our emigrations and our friends among Western societies. To convey the vision of post empire dissolution. Primarily we have to submit more profound information of the capability of our subjugated nations to be able to sustain themselves as independant states, basing this information on the historical and cultural ties they had with other countries, economics, natural resources, level of culture and its present contribution to the economy of the Soviet Union etc. The comparison of present republics in the Soviet Union with the West European States, their natural inclination for regional cooperation, but of their own choice for example:

Baltic countries, republics in the Caucasus, Central Asian republics, Ukraine's and Byelorussia's often expressed desire to belong to the European community as it is the case with the Baltic countries, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czechia, Rumania and Bulgaria.

It is immoral to demand from the subjugated nation to postpone their drive for independence in order to preserve stability on the vast territorial regions of the Soviet Russian empire, cost what it costs for the subjugated nations and as is estimated, over 100 million people during the last 70 years. But whether it is to the liking of some people in the Free World, the Soviet Russian empire cannot be rescued any more.

"There is no way of stopping that process (of dismantling the Soviet Union) at Lithuania; inevitably, it will continue in Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, Tadzhi-kistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Ukraine. Until recently, people tended to dismiss Ukrainian nationalists as a local issue. But nationalism can spread like wildfire. Indeed, it already has, from Western Ukraine to Kyiv and even farther east. Such intense nationalism makes Gorbachev's task very difficult. If he concedes in Lithuania, he will accelerate the peaceful dismantling of the Soviet Union. But if he does not, he will simply increase the intensity of an inevitable collision between the Russian centre and the non-Russian periphery of the empire." — Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Soviet Union: Three Scenarios," U.S. World and News Report, April 23, 1990.

Therefore it is more advisable for the Free World countries to assist the nations (which are proclaiming their national independence already or will do it in the immediate future) to overcome the dangerous time of rising from slavery to national statehood and to extend to them a helping hand as Alan Besancon, French scholar and political analyst, suggests. (L'Express, Fall 1989).



Youth delegates at the 22nd WACL conference in Brussels on July 6th, 1990.

RUSSIAN CHAUVINISM AND SOVIET RUSSIAN CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

We meet this time in a Germany that is swiftly moving towards reunification. Only a few days ago West Germany currency became official in East Germany, until late last year one of the few remaining Stalinist dictatorships in Europe. In December this year, if all goes according to plans, the first All-German elections will be held. The end of the 20th century is indeed a time of miracles. The German people are to be congratulated. Let us in these happy times, however, not forget all those Germans who died on the hideous border in Berlin and between the two Germanies. Their crime was to want to live in freedom outside the prison camp of Herr Ulbricht and Herr Honecker. Recent arrests of West German terrorists in East Germany has also shown that the regime in East Berlin actively supported terrorism in the West. This support was the pet hobby of Herr Honecker, who will probably now be prosecuted for this indulgence. What a just final curtain for one of the most despicable dictators in European history. But let us not forget that it was the ordinary people in the eastern part of Germany that freed themselves without active outside help and peacefully brought about the implosion that finished communist rule in the heart of Europe.

To many the revolution in Eastern and Central Europe during 1989 came as a great surprise. But not to freedom fighters like you, who knew all along that sooner or later the Soviet Russian colonial empire would crumble. Only few years ago it looked so strong, invincible, armed to the teeth. But in reality it is a giant on clay feet. This, the last European colonial empire in the 19th century tradition, Soviet Russia, is a successor to the Czarist empire that once grew with the size of Holland every year.

After World War II Moscow annexed in Europe territories from Finland, Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Romania. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated whole already in 1940. Central and Eastern European countries were transformed into satellite states. The policy of containment was used by the West in the post-war era to contain Soviet Russia but mere containment could in the long run not be enough. It turned into an appeasement that during the 1960's and 1970's threatened the West.

But Moscow failed indirectly while succeeding in many countries by "indirect warfare". The gap between countries with free market economy and socialist command economy grew in the 1980's. Also, let us not forget that President Ronald Reagan greatly contributed to the beginning collapse by rearming the United States and forcing the USSR to accept an increasing military burden, too heavy for Moscow's stagnant economy to carry.

Before 1914 Ukraine had been a great granary of the world in league with the United States and Canada. Today the regime in the Kremlin is unable to feed the population.

Ironically the motto of the expansionist Russian project, as I would like to call it, has been: "There is no need to copy others. We know best. Nothing good can come from the West. We, the Russians, hold the TRUTH." Extreme slavophilism took the form of believing that the Russians were superior to others. But also Russian chauvinism and messianism was believing that Moscow was charged with holding the TRUTH. The Russian people was to solve the social question sooner and better than others. Thus it was stated for instance by the Russian writer Berdayev: "The Russian

people are a people of the future“. The Russians have often sought the complete solution. There is also some sort of mystical belief in the soil, in „Holy Russia“ and „Mother Russia“. To a great extent, in 1917, communism offered the complete solution, the messianistic solution that is a Russian tradition. It is time for the Russians to deal with chauvinism and messianism. Until they have it will be impossible for them to join the world community. Peoples in the West have long ago abandoned ideas of grandeur and belief in superiority and accepted a democratic tradition of exchange between equal partners. So let the colonies go! Accept freedom and independence of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire.

I come from a country that waged a struggle six centuries long with Russia. We finally lost because of lack of resources and a small population. Two years before the peace treaty in 1721 when that struggle was over Russian troops burned and looted the Swedish east coast. Since that Sweden has been spared Russian general attacks. True, the Soviets have shot down a few Swedish planes over the Baltic Sea, fishing vessels have disappeared in the eastern Baltic and Raoul Wallenberg was murdered by Stalin's secret police. Cowardly deeds but other peoples have suffered more from the Russian belief of being superior.

History has several examples of peoples thinking they were superior to others. It has led to genocide and oppression. It is no surprise that Russian chauvinism has led to a continuing tragedy in post-revolutionary Europe. Combined with revolutionary favour, utopian ideas of socialism and strong military might it led to murder, genocide and oppression.

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski has recently in a masterful way summed up the communist record:

1. In the process of taking power in the Russian empire it can be estimated that summary executions led to the death of at least a million people in Soviet Russia and 100,000 in Eastern Europe.

2. After taking power the communists executed opponents and resisters. It often took place over a number of years. A combined and conservative death toll would be around five million.

3. People belonging to various social categories thought to be potentially hostile were exterminated. It was groups like former military officers, government officials, landowners, priests and capitalists. A low figure here would be three million victims.

4. Liquidation of the independent peasantry resulted in a Ukrainian tragedy with over seven million deaths.

5. Deportations and forced resettlements led to huge losses of lives. Many Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and others as well as Poles, Tatars were sent to remote regions in Siberia. The estimates here would be between seven and ten millions.

6. Over one million communists purged were liquidated from 1936-1938.

7. The amnesties in Soviet Russia of the mid-1950s resulted in the release of several million people who in some cases had spent over 20 years in detention under the most severe of circumstances. Similar amnesties took place during the 1950s in Eastern Europe.

8. Families of those falling into the first six categories were subject to punishment ranging from execution to discrimination in housing and employment.

9. Entire social categories — other than workers and poor peasants — were

exposed to manifestations of ideological hostility on the part of officialdom during the era of forcible communist social reconstruction.

To the figures above should be mentioned victims of the subjugated nations from Czarist domination to communist persecution. Millions of the subjugated peoples have suffered terrible deprivation under the colonial rule of the Czars and the masters in the Kremlin. To this can then be added at least 20 million victims of communist ideological persecution from 1917.

The peaceful 1989 revolution has freed East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Hungary. In Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia and other states the communists still hold power. In Moscow's colonial empire Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are moving towards independence. Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and others may follow in the not so distant future. So far the development has forced Moscow to admit the Katyn murders of thousands of Polish officers. But from 1917 to 1953 the Soviet Russian government executed, slaughtered, starved, beat and tortured to death, or otherwise killed around 20 million of its own people. Actually the figures could be much higher.

Are we to forget this? It can be argued, and quite rightly, that we must look to the future and not be hampered by the past. The work of liberating the subjugated peoples from communist and Russian oppression must come first. The building of new societies based on parliamentary democracy and market economy in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Russian empire are formidable tasks. There is no time to deal with past horrors. This is only partly true. But of course the main effort must be directed towards this task. But a smaller effort must be initiated towards documenting the communist crimes to assure it cannot happen again. These facts must be presented to the coming generations so that they avoid the mistake of believing that welfare can be planned and directed by a few minds at the top. The young generations must learn that communism and socialism were fatal mistakes and that they must never be repeated.

The great Austrian born thinker, analyst of the faults of planned society and Nobel Prize winner, F. A. Hayek, in the 1980s wrote:

“It is a very interesting fact that, among the founders of religions over the last two thousand years, there have been many who were against property and the family: in fact, I believe that you will find about every ten years some new creator of religion that is against property and the family. *But the only religions that have survived are those who support property and the family.* If you look at the present world, you will find that, with the exception of communism, all the world-wide religions — support the two principles of private property and the family. Even though thousands of religious founders have reacted against this and have advocated religious beliefs opposed to these two institutions, their religions have not lasted very long. “Not very long”, in this sense, means not more than roughly a hundred years.

I think that we are presently watching one such experiment already in the state of decline before its hundred years are over. Communism, is, of course, one of these religions which are anti-property, and anti-religion, which had its time, and which is now declining rapidly. We are watching one instance where the process of the natural selection of religious beliefs disposes of yet another mistaken one, and restores the basic beliefs in property and the family.”

A Documentation Center is needed to collect available material on communist

crimes against humanity in the subjugated nations and elsewhere. With comparatively modest means such a center could start the important work of presenting to the world Soviet Russian crimes against humanity. True, in many areas it is still impossible to establish all facts but as the development continues the archives may soon be available. In this era of collapsing communist dictatorships we should not forget the crimes committed by the dictators and their secret police forces.

LETTER TO EFC PRESIDENT

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Byelorussian Central Council, which was elected by the Second All-Byelorussian Congress in 1944, in Minsk, capital of Byelorussia, and which as result of military events of World War II, continues its activities abroad, warmly greets the European Freedom Council and sincerely wishes the Council best of success in its work.

In accordance with the will of the delegates of the Second All-Byelorussian Congress, as representatives of all Byelorussian People, Byelorussian Central Council expresses the indefatigable will of the Byelorussian People to liberate themselves from the Communist Russian aggressor and regain freedom and independence.

Byelorussian Central Council, and Byelorussian People in their Fatherland, are continuously struggling against Communist Russian, occupier of Byelorussia. Byelorussian Central Council is in solidarity with all people of the world, which are struggling with the universal enemy — communism, for their freedom and independence.

Byelorussian Central Council also wishes that all free countries of the world would help by all possible means the enslaved peoples in their struggle for liberation.

Long Live Byelorussia! Respectfull yours,

Mihael Zui, (President)

Vitali Cierpicki, (Secretary)

Byelorussian Democratic Republic



Demonstrators in front of the Yanko Kupala Monument (Byelorussian national poet), holding national flags and a huge photo of the Byelorussian Government of 1918. (Minsk, Byelorussia).

MEMORIAL SERVICE OF HON. YAROSLAV STETSKO

It is with emotion that I have the great honour to say a few words in memory of the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, our friend and former President of the EFC Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. For years after his death we all know that his political fight was right and how he was a wonderful example for other freedom fighters.

He himself paid with jail, arrest, and exile to keep the fight for an independent Ukraine alive, sharing a very difficult life with his wife Slava. The sacrifice of brilliant career in the fight to save Ukraine was not in vain. Today the history has proved that the former Prime Minister Stetsko opened the way for a free Ukraine and for the freedom of the subjugated nations.

Because personalities like Y. Stetsko involved all his forces and power during the long years with faith and will, with patience too. We can now observe that the Soviet Union is on the way to exploding and splitting. We regret that he is no longer with us so that he may enjoy with us the events of the last months and the reawakening of the Ukrainian people. It was his dream. Only a strong people with faith and hope in the future is able to win, after nearly half a century of Soviet occupation, without the loss of its traditions, culture and language. We can be sure that the former Prime Minister Stetsko would be proud of the Ukrainian people and his peaceful fight. With you all around his grave, in the silence of our hearts, we can say our gratitude for this involvement for freedom and peace during all his life. And we can repeat with the poet Horace's last words "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." Il est doux et beau de mourir pour la patrie.



Mme G. Aubry (Switzerland), Prof. L'Magnino (Italy), Gen. R. Close (Belgium). laying a Wreath at the memorial service of the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko.

WHY THE COMMUNISTS DICTATORSHIPS HAVE FALLEN

Old leaders of Communist dictatorships such as Honecker or Ceaucescu moved in a very short period of time from their luxurious residences to jail in the first case and to the firing squad in the second. Contemporarily the velvet revolution succeeded in Czecho-Slovakia as in Hungary, and the Perestroika forced its way through the Soviet Union.

What happened for these phenomena, that only experts or people affected by such dictatorships and with great knowledge of the same could foresee, to come about in such a short period of time and almost unexpectedly?

First of all the immediate cause is the failure of Marxism and of the Communist systems and therefore, the crisis of the Soviet Empire.

The failure of Communists and the obvious need for the Social-Democratic governments to modify their programs as their application comes up against difficulties of economic calculation, make up persistent and categorical proof to the contrary. When the moment of truth arrives, the greatest enemy of Communism and Social Democracy have not come to be the rival ideologies but the facts themselves: the resistance by the economic phenomena to be channelled following the totalitarian or moderate predictions of the Communists and Social Democrats. Finally, what made the Soviet Communism unusually shake and end up falling as a giant with clay feet was the inability of its ideological energy to channel the facts according to their predictions. And this is the same thing that forces the Social Democrats in the West to readapt their programs continuously and show time and time again the distance between their promises and their fulfillments. So far the methods used have not helped to approach an inch more to the social equalitarian aims announced than the spontaneous fulfilment of the free market.

The lack of proportion between the harvest promised and the fruits obtained was so considerable that a bright personality such as Gorbachev understood that it would be preferable to pull the monster down with control rather than waiting for it to collapse by its own weight.

An announced death

In order to reduce the importance of the fact, also elementary is that the defeat of the Communist system consolidates the rival's victory, some wanted to mix the surprise that the hecatomb produced in them with the unforeseeable that something like that may happen. The fact that it happened suddenly does not mean, however, that nobody had foreseen it. Those defeated, outside and inside, do their utmost to deny the fact of triumph to the opponent. But one must be fully aware that the failure of the Communist economic organization, no matter how unexpected the time and way have been, has always been considered by the liberal economists to be the chronicle of an announced death.

At least since 1927, the date in which Ludwig von Mises published for the first time „Liberalism“, they had available the intellectual data to understand that the Socialist system could not rival with the free market system. Surely von Mises was the first person who noticed it but he was not the only one to reason why the socialist produc-

tion regime would sooner or later have to surrender, whether submitting in a concealed way as Gorbachev has done or leaving the stage as the Chinese did after the slaughter of Tiananmen. Von Mises showed that “the economic calculation is, precisely, what cannot be practised by the Socialist order. The theoreticians of Socialism wanted unfruitfully to find formulas in order to regulate their system economically, disregarding the economic calculation and the prices. But in such an attempt they have unfortunately failed”. In view of the type of explanations offered by the Socialist and Social-Democrat ideologists as to the causes of the Soviet-system’s ruin, it is suitable to take into account that these lines were written during the first decade of the Soviet revolutionary triumph and that they belong to a chapter provokingly entitled “The unfeasibility of Socialism”. Von Mises’ foresight does not belong to that type of prophetic announcements such as “the disappearance of classes” or the “dissolution of the State”, but to the kind of predictions that with time it is possible to see whether they happen. This must be said because the Socialist theoreticians have assured that Socialism is a type of verifiable doctrine and Capitalism a case of practice refutable by the facts.

When the third millennium is dawning the new generations will be able to count, among the range of truths contrasted by the experience is a constant proof of doctrinal recess, of adaptation and commitment with essential requirements of economic calculation. The situation, after the falling of Communism, is similar to what came about when modern times broke, when the Ptolemaic astronomy was displaced by Copernicus’ turn. The persistence of concepts, methods and outlines of a geocentric explanation still lasted for decades but Heliocentrism was mortally wounded. Unlike what distinguished the debate between Copernicanism and Heliocentrism, it is not a new “paradigm” what substitutes and replaces the previous one, but from two conceptual “paradigms” one of them has showed, at least, not to be incompatible to its own predictions while the other one, the “Socialist”, remains “refuted” by the non confirmation of its predictions and because the contrasted facts invalidate its essential hypotheses.

The most similar historical event of modern ages to what is happening today in the Soviet Union was the crisis of the Turkish Empire. Its decline and ruin took more than 100 years to happen, from Napoleon’s assault to defeat in World War I and the Paix de Versailles with the final dismemberment. Now, with the speeding up of times and the economic and technological complexities of the Era it is reasonable to think using such wide terms. Although actually nobody knows what may happen and when because History is analyzed afterwards. Nobody, in fact, dared to foresee that the so-called “real Socialism” was going to fall to pieces so soon and so suddenly.

The similarities between the Turkish and the Soviet processes are rather visible. Both empires have been distinguished by a material territorial continuity, unlike those of modern Western colonial powers from Spain and Portugal to France and England. (As to the Soviets, the exceptions of Vietnam and Cuba were the result of History in the first instance and chance in the second). Both empires were built, in addition, upon people that had a long History and deeply rooted traditions that neither disappeared nor were they ever assimilated. As to the Turkish, Armenians and Caucasians, Egyptians, Greeks, Slavs, Jews, and so on were differentiated and culturally self-sufficient races, as right now with regard to the USSR Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Armenians (again), Georgians, Turkish and people of Central Asia, for instance those around the old Samarcanda.

The unity within both empires was given by ethnic, cultural and physical elements of power which kept under its hand some scattered and heterogeneous social facts. In one of them the links were the Islam (the majority, although gradually unarabized both in language and politics), the Otomans and the military machinery — with mixed and, sometimes, Mamelukes as professional and selected troops.

The other system, the ideological and political system of Communism and its Party, the Russian people, or to be more precise, great Russian people and the Red Army. The first one did not settle down in the provinces of the „empire“, the Russi- nization hasn't had the time or the means or possibilities and maybe not even a true will to be fulfilled and, two facts actually serious militarily speaking happened to the Red Army: it could not follow the American technology steps — the strategic defence initiative and the point technologies — and it had to withdraw from Afghanistan, with its tail between its legs, leaving everything as it was before.

But we must pay attention to a very important point, of the great question which is still outstanding. Around the centre or hard core of the USSR, which is Russia — from the Arctic to the Black Sea and from Leningrad to Vladivostok — there were two peripheries: that of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact and that of the Soviet republics. The first one, even legally, was ready to get rid of the hegemon of the empire making way for the reconstruction of the map of Central and Eastern Europe in this very side of Russia, as from before the World War. Neither the identity of the USSR nor its territory or pride of being a great power suffer greatly because of that. However, Secessionism and the bustling of the most excentric or recent Soviet republics cannot come about without giving rise to tensions with unexpected consequences that Moscow may tolerate in the case of the Baltic republics under some Commonwealth formulas, but that would not bear in other cases.

Westerners — and specifically the United States — are acting with responsible and praiseworthy wisdom. The end of the Soviet Empire may be considered as a fact, but the physical power — human, technological, nuclear and in one word military — if some type of reconversion or re-dimensioning is not carried out appropriately could get out of hand and drive the world to a seriously dangerous situation. It is not so bad to go from being a superpower to just an ordinary power. In order to make the transition be accepted with calm by its people the USSR, which will put less and less satellites into orbit, has to put as a remarkable journalist said from Moscow itself “more meat and bread on its people's table”.

THE FACETS OF CULTURE

written by

Stepan Hoverla

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NEW LIFE FROM THE ASHES OF AN EMPIRE

The rapidly deteriorating Soviet Union offers the world and the subjugated nations hope for a better life. It offers the world peace and it offers the captive peoples freedom and democracy, two essentials they've been denied for too many years.

However, while many experts are admitting that the Soviet Union is in the throes of death, it is difficult to predict with any sense of sureness when its final end will come. If left alone, it could take, perhaps, five years. If helped to survive, the agony could be prolonged through the end of the decade. If helped to its inevitable demise, the Soviet Union could cease to exist within a handful of months.

This unexpected, though welcome, development has caught the West in a dilemma. What should it do?

Let's first consider and reject the possibility of giving in to Mikhail Gorbachev's international appeal for aid to save the Soviet Union. More than 70 years of communist business and management acumen has left the Soviet Union in a state of utter decay. In a phrase, nothing works; nor the people; nor the system.

Frantic efforts are under way to drag the USSR closer to a market-based economy. However, Gorbachev and Ryzhkov are facing considerable opposition and recriminations for continued failures and unfulfilled expectations. The most the so-called liberals and conservatives in the Kremlin have managed to do in the past five years is to point fingers at one another, looking for a scapegoat. The sacking of the hapless fellow who'll be blamed for this state of affairs is not the solution, that will not rescue the USSR.

The Soviet Union in all of its totality is like a runaway locomotive heading toward a concrete wall. The engineer (the Kremlin), the conductors (the republican supreme councils and governments) and the passengers (the captive nations) see it. The people along the tracks (the rest of the world) also see it but are at a loss as to how to stop a 500-ton locomotive.

With the burden of the dire economic straits of the third world on its shoulders, the United States, alone, cannot afford to tap its financial base to help the Soviet Union buy time to survive. No country on the face of the Earth can incur such costs. Surely, the international inflation rate would not lie still if they did.

Considering such a possibility is plainly bad business sense. If the Soviet Union's infrastructure is at death's doorstep, can anyone or anything inside the USSR generate enough real business or at least the desire to do business that will result in a minimally reasonable return on investment? Hardly. Propping up the failing Soviet Union would be throwing good money after bad.

At the recent Houston economic summit, Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama Taro argued against financing Moscow's funeral, noting that it is like "tossing money down a ditch."

Luckily, the United States, Japan and Canada are the three outspoken opponents of massive aid (West Germany's proposal of \$ 15 billion in direct aid) to the Soviet Union on the grounds that it would be largely wasted in an inefficient, centralized structure before a market economy can become firmly rooted.

Reuters reported that they, notably Washington, are also concerned about

domestic reaction to aiding a country that is spending \$ 5 billion annually on helping the Castro regime in Cuba.

For the time being, the more sensible of the seven most affluent, industrialized, free-world countries will not be making heavy investments in the Soviet Union's short future.

Returning to our runaway locomotive, should the people standing on the sidelines merely tuck their hands in their pockets and watch the train as it races towards the concrete wall? Realistically, that's all they can do, but in doing nothing they merely watch as the people continue live in virtual poverty until the Soviet Union ultimately crumbles. With more and more people travelling to Ukraine, more stories of long consumer lines with nothing to buy at the end are shared on street corners of every Ukrainian neighborhood in America and Canada.

Actually, the third alternative, helping the USSR quickly reach its final demise, is the most practical, humanitarian and democratic course of action. It will require a great deal of courage and faith on the part of everyone concerned, the captive nations (the passengers on our runaway train), conductors and the people along the tracks. With a combination of Western pressure on Moscow to democratize its society and let the republics go their own ways and the captive nations' own centrifugal liberation movements away from the center, the subjugated peoples will be able to reclaim their statehood and the West will have new, hungry and eager markets for their goods and services.

President Bush's Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward Derwinski correctly stated during this year's Captive Nations Week Observance in Washington D.C., that the Soviet Union is at the threshold of its demise and the United States has the capacity "to dictate the inevitable, the end of the Soviet empire, which would then bring longterm peace."

Cautioning that his views are not shared by everyone in the Bush Administration, Derwinski went on to say that the "spontaneous development of nationalistic forces coincided with the economic collapse of the USSR and its moral decline." He continued, "The tide is irreversible, the Soviet Union is collapsing and its infrastructure is non-existent."

Derwinski realizes that the world will be better off without the Soviet Union and is actually calling for the quick dissolution of the Soviet Union, an entity that is not wanted, nor needed. For more that seven decades under communist rule, Moscow has oppressed, repressed and annihilated tens of millions of people, surely making it unwanted. Furthermore, it has never been able to satisfy its prisoners' requirements for a livable life, making it unneeded.

Anticipating that Gorbachev will soon come calling, Derwinski declared that the United States should respond to Moscow's requests for help with preconditions: "No Soviet force to undermine developments in Ukraine and elsewhere. They must reach their logical conclusion, independence, that they've been denied so long."

Dr. Lev Dobriansky, onetime UCCA president and former US ambassador to Bermuda, at the same forum coined an interesting triumvirate of Western demands of Moscow: democracy, free market, and independence. A united, international response of this kind will surely push the USSR into its waiting grave.

Gorbachev, that cunning international player, is not giving up easily, and has already begun charming the West to underwrite his comatose union. In July he told

Italy's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, "In these two years — I would say very difficult and crucial years — we need this help. And we need it, of course, within the present year."

And Gorbachev is no cheapskate. "We are not the sort of country that cannot bear up under, say, 20 billion or 40 billion (dollars of debt) if countries dozens of times smaller bear up under 20 billion, 30 billion or 40 billion," he told Andreotti. Revealing for the first time that he wants to raise the USSR's foreign debt beyond the current \$ 54 billion, Gorbachev, like a losing poker player, assured the West with bravura that he can cover the ante. "Of course, this is not a gift. We must return all this."

How can Gorbachev expect to convince the world that the Soviet Union service a \$ 54 billion foreign debt at a time when the system can barely generate enough resources to satisfy the peoples' needs?

The USSR's problems are further compounded by the threat of extensive food shortages. According to a Reuters report of July 30, farmers are bartering an expected record harvest for tools and machinery instead of selling their crops to the USSR. Pravda reported that collective farms had sold only 18 percent of the total harvest to the USSR as of July 23.

"It is alarming because if the three republics — Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine — do not sell enough grain there will be a deficit for the other 12 republics in the country," Pravda said. Despite offers of incentives to sell their grain, the farmers balked and acquired machinery and tools.

This consequence raises the specter of the subjugated nations using grain and food as a powerful weapon to bring down the Soviet Union. Add to this Ukrainian coal, and you have the ingredients for a bloodless liberation revolution.

Reportedly, Pravda's article was the latest of a series of official stories about transport, fuel and other problems that in the past have cost the Soviet Union up to 35 percent of its grain output. A lack of storage facilities has compounded that USSR's difficulty in bringing the harvest from the farms to the people.

This year's harvest is also continuing to cause nightmares for the Kremlin oligarchy. Soviet press reported that the USSR will find it harder to bring in an exceptionally good harvest because of fuel shortages and the farmers' reluctance to sell to the state.

In spite of an above-average yield, harvesting is behind schedule due to the lack of fuel, which reached 700,000 tons of fuel in various regions, Soviet newspapers said. This could result in a loss of 25 million tons of grain, almost as much as the Soviet Union imports, Pravda reported. In addition, the amount of grain sold to the Soviet Union so far this season is a third below that during the same period last year, officials said.

Without the crops, Moscow will be forced to buy grain on the open market, which it did last year to the tune of 44 million tons, thus further aggravating its economic malaise.

All of this has contributed to, according to the UPI of July 30, a Soviet economy deteriorating further in the first half of 1990 with increased output of consumer goods failing to keep up with demand, leading to inflation.

Citing Soviet media, UPI said citizens of the USSR poured money into savings accounts in the absence of anything to buy. The Soviet government announced on July

29 that deposits had increased by \$ 25.6 billion since January, with the total sum reaching \$ 566.2 billion.

At the same time, newspapers reported that the Soviet gross national product fell 1 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and that national income, which excludes services, decreased 2 percent. Labor productivity fell by 1.5 percent and industrial output dipped by 0.7 percent.

The State Statistics Committee dejectedly admitted, "The negative tendencies in the economy have been brought about by the deterioration of management at all levels."

Additional grist on the inflation mill is the 9 percent increase in the printing of money, and the loss of 10 million work days, or 75,000 people off the job daily due to truancy and strikes, resulting in a loss of \$ 1.5 billion in production. Furthermore, foreign trade, which had been in the black, dropped to 2.5 percent deficit, compared with last year's period.

The statistics committee's somber report also said that while consumer goods production rose, wages and the money in circulation rose faster. It said the average wage of urban workers increased to \$411 a month from \$377. State farm workers now earn \$299, up from \$265. The state has not increased prices for food, the committee reported, but prices for consumer goods and services have risen by 5 percent across the board.

Gorbachev's acute nose is picking up the smell of death and he's using every device to keep the captive nations in the union and entice foreign investors. Probably regretting his lax attitude on declarations of sovereignty, Gorbachev issued on July 29 a presidential edict intended to circumvent Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia's objective to institute independent currencies and banks. Gorbachev said that such economic autonomy would disrupt the USSR's economic system at a time when he is involved in the delicate double-act of introducing a market economy and reforming the union treaty.

"The republican and union bodies are making some decisions without taking into account the established economic ties and cooperation of republics within the framework of the USSR as well as the long-term interest of the entire country and its citizens." Gorbachev warned in his decree, "In order to prevent negative trends and concentrate efforts on the solution of urgent talks and on the formation of an all-union market, it is essential to work out common principles and approaches to the organization of financial and credit relations in the USSR and to use them in preparing a union treaty... The procedure, established by current legislation, for the issue of the loans and the carrying out of settlements by the banks of the USSR shall remain in effect until the conclusion of a new union treaty."

This attempt to override the July 16 sovereignty declaration of the Ukrainian SSR is likely to inflame the already tense situation and lead to further job actions, strikes and harboring of goods.

No businessperson in his or her mind would invest in such a catastrophically unreliable company or country. The suction behind this runaway locomotive would drag everyone who tried to help it to their death.

The economically prudent and politically-correct course of action for the West was outlined in a recent statement by Ukraine 2000 of Washington D.C. In testimony introduced before the International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environ-

ment Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Robert McConnell, chairman of government relations for Ukraine 2000, said it opposes US financial aid for the USSR because not only is it against the interests of the United States but it “would be directly against the best interests of the nations within the Soviet empire that are now in the process of working to emerge from the constraints, suppression and ethnocide of Soviet rule.”

Using the Chornobyl example, McConnell further stated, “The Kremlin now takes part in international solicitations and has funds and materials directed to Moscow, not to Kyiv and the affected region. Ukrainians do not want aid for the victims of Chornobyl to be directed to Moscow. Aid sent to the central imperial government does not reach the people.”

McConnell concluded, “We believe that the United States should not give aid to the Soviet Union. We believe that the United States should not fear victory. We believe the United States should concentrate on the world that is coming into existence, support the new nations and lead a free world.”

In tandem with these suggestions for the free world, there are also hopeful opportunities for the subjugated peoples. The captive nations’ industrial and agricultural production justifiably must and should be used as weapons against the imperial center. This has already begun, but in an unorganized manner. The unofficial organizations in Ukraine must expand the keeping of goods and services from Moscow to all strata of the Ukrainian nation. Deny Moscow more and more goods and services, exercise the demand for economic and political independence, and the imperial center will be forced to buy with hard currency outside the USSR, drowning it further in debt, and hastening its self-destruction.

With economic weapons in one hand, the Democratic Bloc in the Supreme Rada should finally stand with the people and listen to their calls for true independence and statehood. Pressure from the West can slow down the runaway Soviet locomotive so that the captive nations can escape, i.e., declare the restoration of independent statehood and secede from the Soviet Union. Otherwise, playing the game by Moscow’s rules or cheating a little by declaring sovereignty for a soviet socialist republic within the USSR will lead that republic to the same inevitable demise that Moscow is racing toward.

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300,000 UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS PARTICIPATE IN FIRST LITURGY IN CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE

Russian Orthodox Patriarch Sends Telegram Warning Ukrainian Catholics not to Celebrate

Rome, 20 August 1990 — An estimated 300,000 Ukrainian Catholics filled the Cathedral of St. George, its courtyard and the Lviv streets surrounding the complex yesterday for the first Ukrainian Catholic divine liturgy celebrated in the cathedral in over 44 years. According to Father Yaroslav Chukhni, pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, „people in the streets were crying with joy. Lviv has never seen such a day“.

The liturgy was celebrated by five bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, led by Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk. The other bishops were Bishop Sofron Dmyterko of Ivano-Frankivsk and Bishops Filemon Kurchaba, Julian Voronovsky and Mikhailo Sapryha of the Archeparchy of Lviv.

Ukrainian Catholic Church officials report that a few days before the liturgy, Patriarch Aleksii of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church sent a telegram to Archbishop Sterniuk warning him that if the Ukrainian Catholics celebrated liturgy in the cathedral it could strain relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Vatican. Patriarch Aleksii also noted that the action could cause trouble in Lviv. It has been confirmed that this telegram was also sent to heads of the Lviv City Council and the Lviv Regional Council.

Ukrainian Catholics reportedly began gathering at the cathedral complex at 6.00 hours Sunday morning. The celebrations began at the Church of the Transfiguration at 7.00 hours when the first of two Pontifical Divine Liturgies was celebrated by Bishop Julian Voronovsky. The second liturgy was celebrated at 9.30 by the remaining bishops. Following the service, the bishops and a crowd of an estimated 100,000 faithful held a procession around the church at which time fruit was blessed in observance of the Feast of the Transfiguration. (Note: Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine follow the Julian calendar.)

Following the procession, the hierarchs led the faithful up to the Cathedral of St. George which is on a hill high about the city. They were joined by the brotherhood of the parish of St. Onuphrius in Lviv, the Ukrainian Catholic brotherhood of St. Andrew the First-Called in Warsaw and from Ukrainian Catholic parishes throughout Ukraine. Faithful filled the streets, cheering the bishops and 35 priests and joining in the procession. Arriving at the cathedral, Archbishop Sterniuk was met by youth dressed in Ukrainian costumes. They welcomed the Archbishop with the traditional Ukrainian greeting of bread and salt. The choir of the Cathedral of St. George then sang the hymn “O God Great, One and Only.” The choir had declared themselves Ukrainian Catholic several months earlier and had left the cathedral when it still belonged to the Moscow Patriarchate.

The Archbishop was then officially greeted in the name of the Ukrainians of Lviv by Yuri Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This army of freedom fighters fought against both the Nazis and the Soviets during World War II and in the early years of the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine. General Shukhevych was killed in battle in 1950. Yuri

Shukhevych has spent most of his life in Soviet prison camps because he was his father's son. He is almost completely blind and was only recently released from internal exile.

After the greetings Archbishop Sterniuk, following the tradition used at Easter time, knocked on the doors of the cathedral three times with a hand cross. The doors opened and a recording of the voice of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, reading a sermon that he had given on Easter in 1939, was played over the loudspeaker. The sermon is spiritually uplifting and hopeful. The hierarchy and priests then entered the cathedral as the choir sang "Blessed Be the Name of the Lord Now, Always und For the Ages."

The Pontifical Divine Liturgy in the cathedral was completed at 3.30 hours. At that time, Archbishop Sterniuk went out on the balcony of the cathedral and read a greeting from the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky. The text of the greeting follows:

**To His Grace, the Most Reverend Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk,
Locum Tenens and acting hierarch of the Metropolitanate of Halych and to all Bishops
Clergy, Brothers and Sisters and to the Faithful of the Particular Ukrainian Greek-
Catholic Church — Lviv, Ukraine**

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ!

Taking part in the solemn Divine Liturgy in our Cathedral of St. George, in the ancient church of our bishops and metropolitans of Lviv, you will say with profound joy, "Lord, it is good for us to be here!" (Matt. 17,4) It is truly good that after 44 years you have gathered in this house of God, which you could not have even dreamed of just a short time ago. Persecuted by your enemies, hiding like wrongdoers in forests and meadows in order to be able to pray to God without hindrance, now you cannot believe your eyes that everything could have changed so rapidly.

This God to whom you have appealed amidst these persecutions, before whom you wept and begged for help, has led you out, as once He led out His three Apostles Peter, James and John in order to show them His divine almighty power so that they, seeing His glory, might remember that His suffering and death were willingly taken upon Himself for the sake of the salvation of all humanity. That they should be changed from children of God's wrath into children of God and heirs to the Heavenly Kingdom.

The Lord has also led you to our church on the Feast of the Transfiguration, dear brothers and sisters in Christ, in order to convince you that the Savior to whom you so fervently prayed, for the sake of your faith in Him and for the sake of the Church founded by Him you suffered for so many years, is the true almighty God who can do everything that He desires. Who could have expected, eight months ago, that you would be standing here, in the Cathedral of St. George, which was closed and guarded and to which nobody was admitted. And without violence, without struggle, He opened the doors for you and led you into it so that on the day of the Transfiguration of the Lord, you could thank Him for this true miracle of God's infinite power.

Therefore thank Him sincerely, with all your hearts, just as when you begged for His Help. No one knows what the future will bring, but if you have faith in His

Almighty power and His infinite love for you, His loyal sons and daughters, nothing will be so difficult or impossible that He could not do it for you in order to reward your faith in Him. By this return of the Cathedral of St. George on the day of the Feast of the Transfiguration, the Lord demonstrates the verity of His words: "Ask and it will be given to you, search and you will find, knock and the door will be opened to you." (Matthew 7,7) But we cannot cease to pray and to entreat, proving our gratitude and our love for Him, who has done so many good things for us and who cared for us so attentively in the time of persecution. Let us be grateful that he has returned to us our Ukrainian Catholic Church, which took care of you like a most loving mother. She cared for all our faithful, not only for their souls, teaching the word of God, bringing the bloodless sacrifice, making us children of God in the mystery of Baptism and Chrismation and releasing us from sins in holy confession, but also seeing to our education, and she has preserved our customs, songs and Ukrainian culture in general. Work with dedication so that all our brethren might return to the true Church which Christ founded, redeemed by His sufferings and by His bloody death on the cross. Renew yourselves spiritually in the sacrament of confession and accept the divine sustenance of the Lord Christ in the Most Holy Eucharist, for in such a way you will become His divine children and in this way you will best thank Him for all the good things which He has done.

On this joyful day, be glad and praise Him who has prepared it for you — Our Lord and God Jesus Christ. Praise be to the God in the Most Holy Trinity for everything, even for persecution for the faith, for through these, he desired to purify us as gold is purified in fire, where all impurities are burned away. Thus He, in His goodness, has burned away all our sins and transgressions, so that we might indeed become His true sons. I rejoice with you, sharing your present joys, just as I mourned with you in your sorrows and persecution, when you, like the first Christians, would hide so that you might pray to God. Though I cannot be with you in body in order to rejoice and share your happiness, I am always with you in spirit and in prayer. And I pray to Him, the good Savior, that he might bless all of you, strengthen you in the faith and in your hope in Him, and that He might protect you from sin. May He in His mercy allow you to progress in goodness, holiness and love of God and of your neighbor as long as you live here on earth.

May the blessings of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, be upon you all and remain forever. Amen.

† Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky

Given in Rome at the Church of the Mother of God of Zhyrovtytsi and of the Holy Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus on the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ 6/19 August 1990

Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation

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

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

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

DECLARATION OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT

There were no free elections in Bulgaria on June 10 and 17, 1990:

I raise my voice strong and loud to protest the way the elections were conducted in Bulgaria and that it was proclaimed that the communists won.

Bulgaria was the only country of all the East European Communist Countries where there was no change in the Government and no participation by the opposition was included in the conduct of the elections. The ruling Communist Government, the same people who have ruled the Country with bloody terror for 46 years, and who are responsible for the murder of more than a hundred thousand people; responsible for jailing or sending to concentration camps hundreds of thousands who resisted the regime; the same people who were responsible for ruining the economy, the agriculture, the forests, and the rivers of the country; were the same people who were conducting so-called free elections. It is a joke to think that they were conducting free elections. They were not!

The ruling communists changed their name and now called themselves "socialist" but they are the same people. They had under their control all Government and administrative positions, the police (milizia), all the armed forces — the special communist armed units "the red berets", the security agencies and the Army. All these who were paid from the state treasury were going from door to door, threatening the people, and torturing the opposition supporters. There were some people killed and others are missing. All possible means of the communist system were used to oppress the people and force them to vote for the communists. The opposition was not given any opportunity to use any communication facilities which are under communist control. Travelling was restricted so that the opposition did not have a possibility for free campaigning in the small towns and villages, where 80% of the population of the country lives; and besides that, all possibilities of the opposition to otherwise directly contact the people were cut off... and ... at the end, the communists proclaimed that they won the free elections — actually a free elections was conducted only in the capital City of Sofia where there were the foreign diplomats and observers, and there the opposition overwhelming won the elections. This would have been the true result if really free elections were conducted all over the country.

Bulgarian people rejected communism from the beginning September 1944, and still reject it. The struggle for freedom and democracy will continue, and Bulgarian people believe and hope that they will not be sold out by the Governments of the Free World Countries.

I appeal to you not to recognize the elections held in Bulgaria on June 10 and 17, 1990, as free elections expressing the will of the Bulgarian people — they were not free elections and they do not express the will of the Bulgarian people!

*Dr. Ivan Docheff, Honorary President
Bulgarian National Front, inc.*

Anna Maria Velchev (Bulgaria)

BULGARIA THROUGH THE EYES OF “A CHILD OF BULGARIAN EMIGRES LIVING ABROAD”

In 1982, the late Minister of Culture and daughter of ousted party and state leader Todor Zhivkov, Ljudmilla Zhivkova, had the idea that a monument should be erected on the occasion of the UNESCO meeting in Sofia. This monument is called “The Banner of Peace” and consists of 154 bells donated from countries all over the world. Their ringing should remind people of all walks of life that the children are our future and we should treat them well.

While exploring this site on my first day in Bulgaria, I found myself standing in front of an extraordinary assembly of five bells donated to the children in Bulgaria by children of Bulgarian emigres living abroad — just like me!

In that moment it struck me that even though I speak the language fluently, my parents have brought me up in the spirit of the Bulgarian cultural and religious traditions, and I have even dealt with contemporary Bulgaria both academically as well as professionally, I am still so different. As “a child of Bulgarian emigres living abroad,” my intellectual horizon has not been limited, fear has not been implanted in my mind, my human dignity has not been taken away from me.

In fact, I almost felt shame in enumerating all the different countries I have visited on three continents; in just describing the library facilities enabling everybody to check out any book by any philosopher, any poet, or any writer they choose. I was shocked to see the fear shoot into the eyes of a carpet weaver as I walked into the store and to hear her panicky queries as to who had sent me and why I was filming her with my video camera. Also sadness engulfed me to understand that the regime has actually succeeded in taking away the self-respect and self-esteem of the people — as human beings and as Bulgarians.

As a second generation Bulgarian living abroad, my first trip ever to Bulgaria was naturally filled with the desire to trace my family roots and my spiritual origin in order to finally understand parts of my emotional fabric that always has made me so different.

But where did I fit in? Could my grumpiness at times be equated with the incredible aggressiveness of the bland and stressed-out mass queuing for endless hours in front of drab and empty stores for foul and rotten food and pushing into crammed, filthy buses smelling of sweat? Or was it more that my joy in being a good hostess is actually the same national trait which prompted total strangers — in the town of Gabrovo whose inhabitants are allegedly renowned for their stinginess — to not only prepare a salad with the first tomatoes they had seen since July of last year, but to offer my Mom and myself their bedroom for the night. This hospitality was in such contrast to the unfriendliness in the streets.

Maybe emotionally I did not find my missing link, but now I know what it “feels” like to have lived in communist Bulgaria. Theoretically I knew that there are power, water, food, supply, and what-not shortages. But seeing it is believing it! Just to get up in the morning and freeze in an apartment which still cannot be heated although the pipes for the heating system have been installed eight years ago; to drink my tea without milk because it is scarce; to watch people shouting out their names at a saleswoman so that she can mark their ranking on a computerized (!) list indicating whether

or not it is their turn to pick up the television set they had paid for exactly a year ago; or to just simply have to postpone some human needs because the toilet cannot be flushed from 10 p.m. — 10 a.m. due to a daily water cut-off.

However, the most fascinating and rewarding part of my first trip to Bulgaria were the encounters with political leaders of the opposition. Their personal integrity again put me to shame as the realization crept up that my easy and pampered life has not ever demanded any civil courage of me. In witnessing a militia raid of the bureau of the independent news agency APIA, I also experienced the underlying respect for higher-ranking institutions in closed societies; in this case, the militia man's sudden politeness in the interrogation after he had been "bidden" to go on showing to the foreign journalist how the communist authorities treat the opposition. Instead of seeing my anxiety, all the militia man was conditioned to respect was my "label" as a foreign journalist.

Since the beginning of the revolution in November, my desk has been inundated by a wave of words flowing in from the inhouse monitoring reports, the mailed-in party platforms, the phoned-in interviews. Suddenly these words filled with life and reflected the views of real people. After endless debates with the deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party — Non-marxist, Boiko Proitchev, one of the journalists working for the independent news agency APIA, Ruse Rusev, the chairman of the Independent Committee for the Defense of Religious Freedoms, Father Christopher Sabev, and others, on the current democratization process in Bulgaria and on the important role the Bulgarian BD has played in keeping alive the Bulgarian political culture, I for the first time really grasped the significance of RFE's mission to provide the people with the umbilical cord, feeding this oppressed nation the hope for a dignified future in freedom. Most of all, I now also comprehend our listeners' information needs much better.

The highlight of my trip to Bulgaria was to see a few hundred thousands hands formed to the sign of victory during the open-air Easter mass organized by the opposition on the renamed square "Democratsija" in the center of Sofia. Ever since my return, my inner eye keeps visualizing the numerous blue flags of the major opposition group, the Union of Democratic Forces, and the banners reading "Down with the BCP," "Victory," or "God Bless Bulgaria." The words of the opposition priest, Father Christopher Sabev, keep ringing in my ears. These words expressed the hope that this first free Easter mass since 45 years is not only a celebration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, but also the symbolic beginning of Bulgaria's resurrection as a free and democratic nation. Indeed, even as "a child of Bulgarian emigres living abroad," I did find my roots: God Bless Bulgaria!

An Appeal of the Soldiers' Mothers Committee

Dear Mothers! Dear Countrymen! Our sons are in danger! Every day that the sons of Ukraine spend serving in the Soviet army takes away from their life and health. We call upon you to take part in an All-Ukrainian rally in your villages, regional centres and cities on July 26, 1990, at 6.00 p.m.

Mothers! Leave behind for one hour your pressing daily matters and unite your energies with a view towards one goal: to have our sons returned to Ukraine! Everyone to the All-Ukrainian rally! Forward your demands to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.
July 22, 1990 — Ivano-Frankivsk The Organizational Committee of Soldiers' Mothers

RALLIES HELD TO MARK UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Ukrainians Commemorate Act of June 30, 1941

Over 20,000 People Participate in Lviv Rally

On Saturday, June 30, 1990, mass public rallies were held in several cities and villages throughout Ukraine to commemorate the 49th anniversary of the restoration of Ukrainian statehood on this day in 1941. The act of June 30, 1941, was proclaimed in Lviv by Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government, called into being by a Ukrainian National Assembly prior to the proclamation. After this declaration of independence, which was proclaimed a few days before German troops entered Lviv, Stetsko and the members of the Government were arrested, as were Stepan Bandera, chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and other leading OUN members. The OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) then launched a two-front war of liberation against both Nazi Germany and communist Russia, continuing this armed struggle under the leadership of General Roman Shukhevych against the occupying Soviet forces well into the 1950s.

LVIV — The central observance of this historic event in Ukrainian history took place in Lviv on Rynok Square, outside the building, where the National Assembly proclaimed the Act of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State, forming a Ukrainian National Government headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. Over 20,000 people gathered in the square to solemnly commemorate this day. The public rally was organized by the local Rukh (Popular Movement of Ukraine) branch. The participants held portraits of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, and Roman Shukhevych. A youth choir sang the march of Ukrainian nationalists and several UPA songs.

Fifteen speakers, representing various political parties and associations, addressed the rally, among them: Ivan Kandyba and Petro Duzhyj from the Association for Ukrainian Independence and Statehood (DSU); Yuriy Mykolskyj from the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP); Mykhailo Osadchyi from the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI); as well as representatives of Rukh and the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM).

The rally participants adopted several resolutions, calling for the annual commemoration of the Act of June 30, 1941, and for the annulment of the recent election to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. Another resolution called for a plaque to be placed in the wall of the building where the Act was proclaimed.

KYIV — A separate public rally, organized by SNUM, was held in Kyiv. Several thousands predominantly young people attended this rally, which was held outside the main Post Office. The participants held Ukrainian national (blue-and-yellow) and revolutionary (black-and-red) flags and placards that read: "Long live an independent Ukraine", "Freedom for Ukraine", "Glory to Stepan Bandera". During the rally the full text of the Act itself, epistles from Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi (Ukrainian Catholic Church) and Bishop Polikarp (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church), and an appeal of the Ukrainian National Government were read out. Yuriy Kalynychenko — the head of the SNUM branch in Kyiv, then spoke on the significance of the Act in Ukrainian history. Representatives of Rukh and other organizations participated in this commemorative gathering.

IVANO-FRANKIVSK — On June 30 a conference dedicated to the 49th anniversary of the Act of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State was held in this city's Building of Culture No. 1. It was organized by the Association for Ukrainian Independence and Statehood and attended by other political groups of this region of western Ukraine.

Several presentations were given: Orest Smytniuk and Oleh Ozarko — both people's deputies to the provincial soviet; Vitaliy Chapolech of SNUM, who spoke on the question of Ukrainian statehood in the present political context, Chapolech also presented an analysis of the draft declaration of Ukrainian sovereignty, presently under review in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv. Daria Sesyk of the Democratic Party chaired the conference. The full text of the Act was read out by M. Zelenchuk.

Other commemorative rallies took place in Stryi, Drohobych, Ternopil, Kharkiv and elsewhere.

Rukh Continues to Picket Provincial Soviet in Odessa

Protest against policy of resetting Russian workers in area

Demands Ukrainian as state language

ODESSA — As of June 28, 1990, activists of the Popular Movement of Ukraine — Rukh, were continuing their picket of the current session of the provincial soviet, demanding that Ukrainian be declared the official state language of Ukraine and that Moscow terminate its colonial resettlement policy of sending migrant workers from the Russian SFSR to the Odessa region. Instead, the protesters demanded that residents from the contaminated regions around Chornobyl be resettled in Odessa.

The Rukh activists also expressed their support of Yuliy Mazur, the editor of a Russian-language newspaper in Odessa — “Znamia Komunizma”. The newspaper was shut down by a decree of the provincial Party committee after Mazur, a people's deputy, joined the Democratic Bloc in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR.

The protesters held placards that read “God save us from Communism”. A militia colonel named Stoliaruk attempted to obstruct the picket action.

Ecological Rally Held in Odessa

Approximately 500 people attended an ecological rally on June 28 organized by the Odessa Ecological Club. The participants held placards that read: “The CPSU has turned blossoming Ukraine into a ecological and spiritual graveyard”, “Away with CPSU dictatorship”, “Chornobyl was not an accident — it is a normal occurrence”, “No confidence in the CPU provincial committee”. Many participants held the national, blue-and-yellow, banner of an independent Ukraine, as well as the black-and-red revolutionary flag and the Russian national flag. The protesters strongly demanded the immediate closing of a harmful chemical plant situated at the Odessa harbour. The rally was stopped on the demand of the chief of the October militia station — Lt. Col. Yastremskyi.

100,000 Gather on Site of Destroyed Village

Halych district, Ivano-Frankivsk province — 80-100,000 people attended a commemorative religious service on July 1 on a site where the village of Selyshche was

once situated. The village, which once included 150 households, was completely liquidated in early July 1950 and the entire population was deported to the Kherson province. All the buildings and structures in the village were demolished or burned to the ground.

On the initiative of the Popular Movement of Ukraine — Rukh, plaques were placed at the place where the households once stood. Each plaque carried an inscription of the names of the former owners that once lived and worked there.

This past summer a chapel was built on the site of the former village church and a monument to the Sich Riflemen and the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was built on the site of the destroyed cemetery.

Dean Vasyl Zabiriak, assisted by four priests, celebrated the Liturgy. After the service and the consecration of the monuments, a short public rally was held.

ECOLOGICAL RALLY HELD IN KYIV

Calls for a General Strike on August 9

KYIV — 20,000 people participated in a rally held on October Revolution Square of this capital city on Sunday, July 29, to demand the immediate closure of the Chornobyl nuclear power station. The rally was organized by the Inter-Party Assembly.

The first session of the Inter-Party Assembly was held in the cinema theatre “Kyiv” on Sunday, July 1. It was attended by 81 delegates, representing 15 separate Ukrainian political parties, societies and organizations, the principal two being the Ukrainian National Party (UNP) and the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (UNDP). 119 guests, including 19 from the Baltic republics, were also present at this first session.

At the session, the delegates elected a National Council (chairman — Hryhoriy Prykhodko, the UNP chairman), a Coordinating Council of Citizens’ Committees of Ukraine (chairman — A. Kyreyev), and an Executive Committee (chairman — Anatoliy Lupynis). According to Mr. Lupynis, the Inter-Party Assembly is planning to hold its second session on October 5-7 of this year. Prior to this second session, the Assembly is planning to organize a conference to propose and discuss a draft constitution of an independent Ukrainian state.

Among the speakers that addressed the rally participants were the following: Anatoliy Lupynis — the chairman of the Inter-Party Assembly, Hryhoriy Kryvoruchko and Mykhailo Ratuzhnyi, both of whom are members of the National Council, Mykhailo Markin and Serhiy Lohvinov — representatives of the strike committee of the Kyiv Tram and Trolleybus Administration, Bohdan Ternopilskyi — Secretary of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), and Anatoliy Zubkov, a journalist.

All the speakers stressed the point that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, in its present composition (the democratic opposition controls only 30% of the seats), is incapable of resolving the problems facing Ukraine today, particularly the effects of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster. According to the speakers, the various rallies and demonstrations that were organized in the past have proven to be ineffective, as a means of influencing policy decisions taken by the Ukr. SSR Supreme Soviet. Several speakers brought up the example of the strikes organized by the Donbas (Donetsk basin) coal miners and the Lviv workers as an indication that such strike actions are an effective instrument in pressing for qualitative changes of the present social order, with a view towards forging an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state in the future.

At the end of the rally, a series of resolutions were adopted, which included several demands that the rally participants issued to the Ukr. SSR Supreme Soviet. The rally participants established August 7 as the deadline by which a number of health-related issues, concerning the effects of the Chornobyl disaster, are to be resolved. Otherwise, a general strike will be called on August 9.

The demands include:

1. the immediate closure and dismantling of the Chornobyl nuclear power station;
2. all work in the 30-kilometre zone to be placed under the control of the Republican Committee to Eradicate the Consequences of the Chornobyl Disaster;
3. all decisions regarding the financing (presently from all-union funds) of all clean-up operations in the Chornobyl region must be ratified by the Republican Committee;
4. all lands with a contamination level of 1 curie per square kilometre of caesium, including the city of Kyiv, is to be declared a distress zone and the population of these areas is to be provided with uncontaminated food products;
5. every person living in the distress zone (including children and pensioners) must receive a monthly payment of no less than 50 karbovantsi (roubles); for every person residing in the 30-kilometre zone — no less than 100 karbovantsi;
6. children in the contaminated areas are to have a vacation outside the borders of the distress zone for a minimum of 45 days, to be paid for by the state;
7. the creation of a Republican Centre on Safety in Nuclear Energy, which is to control all nuclear power stations in Ukraine;
8. the reactor of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR is to be transferred outside Kyiv;
9. a committee of representatives of various ecological organizations is to be established to ensure public control over the work of the Committee to Eradicate the Consequences of the Chornobyl Disaster of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR;
10. the immediate resettlement of families with children from the contaminated zone; party schools, hotels, dachas are to be used as temporary residences for these people, while auditoriums of the Higher Party School are to be used as temporary schools for the resettled children;
11. the immediate termination of mobilization through the military commissariats of the Ukrainian population for clean-up work at the Chernobyl nuclear power station; people under the age of 30 are not to be used for clean-up work.

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR is to inform the Kyiv strike committee about the implementation of these demands by 6:00 p.m. on August 7. In the event that these demands are not met, the organizers are calling on the population of Kyiv to stage a warning general strike in the capital on August 9. According to Anatoliy Lupynis, the chairman of the Assembly's Executive Committee, there are presently some 60 strike committees in the Kyiv region. It is the hope of the Assembly to unite these separate committees into a single broad-based Kyiv strike committee.

The Assembly is urging the city's labour collectives to concentrate their efforts on the resolution of several pressing problems, connected to the effects of Chornobyl:

- to establish strike committees at the work places;
- to coordinate their actions with the municipal strike committee;
- to carry out necessary preparations for the ecological strike at their place of work.

On July 30, one day after the rally, representatives of over 20 enterprises and institutions of the city expressed their wish to support the strike.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES FOR METROPOLITAN A. SHEPTYTSKYI and Ukraine's Fallen Heroes Held in Ivano-Frankivsk

IVANO-FRANKIVSK — A religious memorial service was held in this western Ukrainian city on July 29 to commemorate Andrey Sheptytskyi, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, on the 125th anniversary of his birth. (Metropolitan Sheptytskyi died on November 1, 1944).

The service was conducted by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a priest from the USA. This was followed by a rally, attended by 10,000 people and organized by the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association (SNUM).

After the consecration of Sheptytskyi Square, the rally participants walked over to the place where members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were shot, where a separate memorial service was conducted.

[The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded in 1929 as an underground national-liberation movement, fighting for Ukrainian independence and statehood. On the OUN's initiative, the reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood was proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941, together with the establishment of a Ukrainian National Government headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, a leading OUN member and ideologue. In 1942 the OUN organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), commanded by Gen. Roman Shukhevysh, OUN-UPA forces led the Ukrainian people in their two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia during the Second World War. Following the war, this armed struggle against Russia was continued well into the 1950s, at which the OUN went underground. In 1959, Stepan Bandera — the OUN leader — was assassinated by a Russian agent in Munich].

GRAVESITES OF UKRAINE'S FALLEN SOLDIERS COMMEMORATED

Sadzava, Ivano-Frankivsk province — Several thousand Ukrainians participated in the blessing of the gravesites of the "Sichovi Striltsi" (Ukraine's military contingent during World War I) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA — which led Ukraine's armed liberation struggle against Nazi Germany and communist Russia during and after World War II), which took place in this western Ukrainian village on July 22. Religious services were conducted by four priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Mr. Kastruk brought attention to the countless lives that were lost in the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Stalinist-Beria clique. He stated that "Memorial" has already uncovered many gravesites, which contain irrefutable evidence of the brutal persecution inflicted on those that were fighting for Ukraine's freedom. Most recently, "Memorial" activists uncovered one such gravesite in the village of Posich, Mr. Kastruk went on to state that this village no longer exists, since it was completely liquidated on Easter day in 1950 by forces of the MVD — the USSR internal security apparatus, when all the men of the village were executed and everyone else was deported to Siberia.

ALSO MOZAMBIQUE IS A CAPTIVE NATION

Speech delivered at the Captive Nations Rally in Brussels on July 22nd 1990

Before all, allow us to express our deeply felt gratitude to have been invited to this honourable meeting which takes a look at the Captive Nations of our World. We do thank the World Anti-Communist League, the European Council for World Freedom, and the International League for Liberty, who have welcomed us through their Executive Board member Senator General Robert Close to take part in this meeting.

For us, members of the Committee for Mozambique Union, the concept of Captive Nations comprises not only the countries of Mozambique and Angola, but all nations who embraced the yoke of communism as soon as they had liberated themselves of the yoke of colonialism — without even understanding the real meaning of freedom.

Thus our understanding of Captive Nations includes all African nations which are ruled by a one party system or a military government; further, all nations of Latin America; East Europe and Asia who do not have freely elected and truly democratic institutions, belong to the Captive Nations.

May I now, dear Ladies and Gentlemen, introduce you to the facts of Mozambique. Situated along the South coast of the African continent, Mozambique entered Western Colonial History in 1482 through the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama. In 1888 the conference of Berlin confirmed the Portuguese rule over Mozambique.

As all attempts to reach independence through negotiations failed, the armed struggle for liberation was started in September 1965 and brought to a successful end in June 1975 by FRELIMO, the Liberation Front of Mozambique.

Having succeeded to bring about independence, it was expected from FRELIMO to bring to the entire population real freedom and peace which indeed is the untouchable right of humankind and the foundation of human dignity. But this was not the case.

Instead, on independence day 1975 the FRELIMO leaders declared to accept only a one party system guided by the ideas of marxism-leninism. There were never any consultations of the people who had been supporting FRELIMO during the many years of struggle, who had offered to be soldiers under FRELIMO and fight under their order.

As soon as the people reacted to the dictatorial tenure, the FRELIMO government and central committee showed off their power and executed their opponents in public. However, the people would not cease to oppose strongly this unilateral declaration handed down by FRELIMO.

10 years of fighting had not weakened the will of the people to bring democracy to their Mozambique country. Provoked by the FRELIMO dictatorship a civil war was started in March 1977 headed by an organization which carries the name RENAMO, Resistance movement of Mozambique; the declared aim was to bring about free elections.

However, FRELIMO was in a favourable military situation due to their involvements in Tanzania's fight against Idi Amin, and Zimbabwe's independence struggle:

the two countries could not other than show their loyalty to the alliance and fight at FRELIMO side.

Another country was forced, too, to step into the conflict and support FRELIMO: Malawi, a nation which is land-locked and depends heavily on Mozambique to have access to its harbours for trade. Up to this day the troops of these 3 neighbouring countries are stationed in Mozambique to fight the people mobilized by Anti-Communist RENAMO.

It is a fact that Mozambique will be a Captive Nation as long as FRELIMO keeps those 3 countries hostage of retribution against the people by blackmail.

At present, FRELIMO is engaged in different strategies in order to influence the international opinion and thus deceive the international community:

1. Constitutional front: Last February FRELIMO enacted a new constitution which does not allow the formation of more political parties, nor the existence of a free press.

2. Military front: Foreign troops, which never had any support of the Mozambican people, are engaged in destroying villages of defenceless people. They also destroyed bridges and roads while putting the blame on RENAMO

3. Diplomatic front: In order to obtain international financial support the Mozambique government engages in campaigns of disinformation. Moreover, FRELIMO tries to contact Mozambicans living outside their home country in order to make them serve dubious purposes.

This policy offers FRELIMO the success it wants; to suffocate the voice of liberty and democracy in its own country colonized once upon a time by one of the Western nations, thus continuing to follow the path of communism with the help of the Western countries.

Finally, FRELIMO obtains through this strategy the material aid much needed to continue the conflict, as well as welcomes the military aid from Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi — with the complicity of the OAU.

Unfortunately, the visits of government officials of USA, GB, France, Japan and Germany are also used by FRELIMO to be exploited for its own doubtful purposes.

In the opinion of the members of CUNIMO, all those who cooperate with FRELIMO — whether Mozambicans or foreigners — bar the people of Mozambique from attaining true democracy and freedom, which we ourselves defend in our country and which we also defend here.

Since this civil war in Mozambique has reached a point of no return after 9 years fighting, an organization was formed in July 1986 in Munich whose name is Committee for Mozambican Union (CUNIMO). This is the organization we represent here.

Our first and foremost objective is to bring about a peace agreement by negotiation. This seems to us the only possible way. As a matter of fact if FRELIMO would capitulate, RENAMO, being used to speaking through arms, would never agree to free elections although it puts them as heading on their billboards. Experience teaches us that this has become a tradition in Africa. On the other hand, if RENAMO would lay down the arms, FRELIMO would show the same attitude of dictatorship as it has shown up to now. Moreover, the African allies would consider such a victory to be an

ideal political situation of peace at last, not considering the people who continue to suffer under the FRELIMO yoke.

Therefore, whoever will be the conqueror will be the oppressor, as well as taking the right to tyranny as a token for the extraordinary victory.

Unfortunately post-colonial history of Africa teaches us that many African countries have valued more to embrace totalitarianism than democracy.

It is also understood that we cannot possibly go to reason with government leaders who only speak through arms and conceive human rights as foreign to them. Those governments are far too arrogant to accept dialogue and democratic reasoning.

It would be even worse and totally fruitless to reason with the Mozambique neighbours, where about 3 million refugees make a bare livelyhood. Those countries profit from the donations for refugees given by UN and other donor agencies. It breaks our heart to see that they use those donations of Dollar for their own purposes, such as luxury goods, arms and to pay back their debts.

Dear honourable ladies and gentlemen, it is our sincere hope that you sense the seriousness of the situation we have tried to put before you. We therefore appeal to you for help to intercede with your democratic governments for our cause, so that they may cease to assist FRELIMO.

Any assistance offered is understood as a gesture of approving of the policy of FRELIMO. It seems to us that the only alternative is to go to the UN whose success in many conflicts of this kind we cannot ignore.

The UN troops would replace those from Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe to protect the railways of Kualakuala, Beira and Nacala. Thus, Malawi and Zimbabwe would have their access to the Indian Ocean secured. Thus, FRELIMO and their allies would not find anymore pretext to maintain foreign troops in Mozambique and which are killing our people.

Without intervention of these 3 countries FRELIMO would already negotiate with RENAMO the terms of a lasting peace in Mozambique and Mozambique would be a free nation. The people of Mozambique would encounter a prosperous future instead of experiencing the agony they are living through these days.

To close, may we, the members of CUNIMO, speak up in the name of the suffering people of Mozambique to appeal to all to whom this modest message is given, so that you may join us to cause the immediate retreat of alien troops from Mozambique territory, in order to enable Mozambique to become a free nation at last.

Honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, we thank you for your attention.
Bruxelles, 21. 7. 1990.

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THE 22nd WLFD ANNUAL CONFERENCE & THE 1990 CAPTIVE NATIONS RALLY IN BRUSSELS

The 22nd WLFD Annual Conference preceded by the 1990 Captive Nations Rally and Seminar, was held at Hotel President (W.T.C.) in Brussels, Belgium from July 22nd to 25th, 1990 under the theme of "1990's: A Decade for Freedom and Democracy" and that of "Democracy and Freedom for all Mankind" for the Rally.

The Conference and Rally were organized by the European Council of World Freedom and the League Belgium Chapter under the leadership of Sen. Robert Close, President of the League Belgium Chapter, and Cdt. Georges A. Rombouts, former Chairman of European Council for World Freedom (ECWF), and attended by some 250 delegates and observers from more than 70 countries around the world. The prominent participants included political leaders, parliamentarians, retired military generals, lawyers, university professors, writers, journalists, and businessmen, etc.

A number of guest speakers from East European countries were invited along with those from Western countries to give their extremely informative and inspiring speeches on the reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. All the impressive speeches were followed by lively debates throughout the entire Conference.

The business meetings of the League, such as those of Membership Committee, WACL Charter Review Committee, Executive Board and Council, were called to address on the pending issues regarding membership matters, revision of the League Charter, election of new League officers and composition of new Executive Board, etc., while the meetings of the working Committees and of the regional organizations were held to reformulate the future courses of the League movement in the post-Cold War era.

The most important resolution of the Conference was that the League adopted a new name "World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD)", replacing its original one "World Anti-Communist League (WACL)", and the new dimension of activities for its worldwide movement in the coming decade and beyond. Some of the regional organizations followed suit to have their names changed accordingly.

At its closing, the Conference unanimously adopted a Joint Communiqué and proclaimed that the 1991 Annual Conference of World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD) will take place in Costa Rica in the latter part of August next year.

Prior to the General Conference of the League, the 1990 Captive Nations Rally and the Seminar took place on Sunday July 22nd, 1990. There were a number of very informative and excellent speakers and the subjects they had spoken were: Dr. Antonio Disse Zengazenga, President of the Committee for the Unity of Mozambique (CUNIMO), on "My Country is also a Captive Nation"; Mr. Hryhoriy Prychodko, Chairman of the National Ukrainian Party, on "The Recent Situation in Ukraine and in the Empire as such"; Hon. Kim, Young-Kwang, Secretary General of Korea Freedom League, on "The Last Frozen Land in the World — We must Open North Korea to Revive Human Conscience and Rationality There"; Mr. Leszek Moczulski, President of the Confederation of Independent Poland, on "Post Communism: A New Face of Communism". There were other speakers, such as Hon. Jose Desmarests (Belgium), Hon. William C. Attewell (Canada) Mr. Volceanu Nicolae (Rumania),

Mr. Adamek (Czecho-Slovakia), Mr. Yen, Chia-chi (China) and Mr. Annibal Kandeya (UNITA).

The summary and highlights of the 1990 General Conference are as follows:

1. New Name of the League Adopted:

Under the resolution passed at the 1990 Pre-Conference Executive Board meeting in Taipei last January, the Charter Review Committee held its first meeting on Saturday July 21st, 1990 under the chairmanship of Hon. Dr. Chao, Tze-chi (ROC), acting Honorary Chairman, in order to undertake the assignments of changing the name of the League and of reviewing the League Charter.

After the Charter Review Committee discussions, and upon its recommendation, the League Executive Board resolved to present "World Assembly for Freedom and Democracy" to be adopted as the new name of the League at the Council meeting, and the Council, after thorough study and debate, unanimously adopted "World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD)" to be the new official name of the League, being effective immediately after the formal proclamation at the opening ceremony of the Conference.

It was strongly suggested by Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung, Secretary-General and supported by the Executive Board and the Council that in formulating the new directions and policies of the League in the coming decade in accordance with the changing spirit of the time, the League is to seek the ways and means to actively participate in the international forums, such as United Nations, as Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), and to engage in academic and research activities in order to enhance the image of the League.

The Council has also resolved that the Charter Review Committee will proceed with the assignment of reviewing the League Charter and present the revised version of the Charter to the 1991 Pre-Conference Executive Board meeting for examination and adoption.

2. Election of Council Chairman and Secretary-General:

In accordance with the League Charter Article 13, the League Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Board, unanimously elected Sen. Robert Close, President of the League Belgium Chapter, as new WLFD Council Chairman for 1990-1991.

At the same time, the Council, in accordance with the League Charter Article 26, approved unanimously the recommendation of the Executive Board that Prof. Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung be re-elected as Secretary-General of the League for the term of 1990-93.

3. Composition of New Executive Board:

In accordance with the League Charter Article 22, the Council has approved the organization of the new League Executive Board for the term of 1990-93 as follows.

Belgium, Brazil, Republic of China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Paraguay, Philippines, Switzerland, Thailand, and United States chapters, as well as Asian Pacific League for Freedom and Democracy (APLFD), Middle East Solidarity Council (MESOC), African Organization for Freedom and Democracy (AOFD), European Council for World Freedom (ECWF), North American Federation for Freedom and Democracy (NAFFD), Federation de Entidades Democraticas de America Latina (FEDAL), Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and World Youth Freedom League (WYFL).

In the meantime, the Council passed a resolution that Australia Chapter be invited to the League Executive Board meetings, until such time when the League Charter has a new provision allowing the formal participation of Australia.

4. *Guest Speakers and Speeches:*

Distinguished guest speakers were invited from Eastern European countries as well as from the Western societies to speak on the world issues of priority at all the plenary sessions of the Conference. The speeches were followed by discussions and debates. The topics of speeches were:

a. On Eastern Europe and U.S.S.R.: Dr. Peter Hardi, Director of Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, on "The Cumulative Effects of Domestic Changes: Communist Bloc Disintegration"; Sen. Janusz Ziolkowski, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of the Republic of Poland, on "The Future of Poland in the Present International Situation"; and Mr. Jacques Battistella, Vice-President of MATRA Business Development (France), on "The Economic Impact of Recent Developments on the Alliance, on the Soviet Union and the ex-Satellite Countries".

b. On German Reunification: Hon. Hans Graf Huyn, Member of the Bundestag (W. Germany), on "German Reunification, the Future of the Alliance and Long-Term Perspectives for the Soviet Union"; Mrs. Renata Fritsch-Bournazel, Center for International Studies Research (France), on "The Reunification of Germany and the Future of Europe"; and Hon. Francois-Zaviere de Donnea, Member of the European Parliament, Former Belgian Minister of Defense, on "German Reunification and its Impact on NATO and the Warsaw Pact".

c. On South Africa: Mr. Renier Schoeman, Member of Parliament, Chief Information Officer and Member of the Nationalist Party of South Africa, on "South Africa Today".

d. On Latin America: Dr. Roland Laclé Castro, Member of Costa Rican Parliament, on "Sober Reflections on the Process of Democratization in Latin America".

5. *Working of Committees (I-V):*

The Conference had five separate working Committees organized under the subjects featuring regional situations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America, impact of media communications in Communist societies and economic impact on Communist ideology.

Committee I: "The current Situation in Eastern Europe", was chaired by Mme. Slava Stetsko (ABN/Ukraine) with Dr. Peter Hardi (Hungary) as Co-Chairman and Mrs. Roxolana Potter (USA) as Rapporteur. This Committee had more than 40 participants in attendance. Hearing expert testimony from representatives of the various East European countries the Committee approved the following proposals to be presented to the General Conference for consideration.

The WLFDD should be asked to assume responsibility to develop a network of information and organize its dissemination for its members. The WLFDD members petition and lobby their Governments, Parliaments and Congresses to stop financial and political support for Gorbachev.

The WLFDD must be encouraged to strengthen its role with other internationally recognized anti-Communist organizations in order to build the network of support for combating world Communist propaganda. The WLFDD members fight any attempt in

their respective countries to allow the modification or maintenance of the terms and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty to exist.

Committee II: "Communism in Asia", was chaired by Hon. Kim, Young-Kwang (Korea) with Gen Chakorn Dattananda (Thailand) as Co-Chairman and Mr. Eamon Kariyakarawana (Sri Lanka) as Rapporteur. This Committee had 29 participations in attendance. There were three papers presented by Amb. Chen, Tai-Chu (ROC), Dr. Kim, Kwan-Bong (Korea) and Gen. Lam Quang Thi (Free Vietnam) respectively for discussion.

Amb. Chen focused on the mainland China which has been in economic crisis and political isolation from international societies since the Tienanmen incident. Prof. Dr. Kim spoke about the impact of the changes and reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union upon North Korea, and concluded that there be no change in the North Korean political system as long as Kim, Il-Sung is alive.

Speaking on the current Vietnam situation, Gen. Thi emphasized that Free Vietnamese seriously needs the assistance and support from the entire free world to achieve their ultimate goal of freedom and democracy on the Vietnamese homeland. Mr. Jen Lomethong, Chairman of Kachinland Chapter, appealed to the Conference for the cause of freedom-loving peoples of Burma and requested to put pressure on the Burmese military Junta for speedy transfer of power to the elected Government led by Mme San Suu Kyi.

Committee III: "Communism in Latin America", was chaired by Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto (Costa Rica) with Dr. Sergio C. Tapia (Peru) as Co-Chairman and Rapporteur. This Committee had 11 participants in attendance. Members of this Committee agreed that it would be necessary to draw the attention of the Free World to the following serious developments in Latin America.

Communist ideology has a far-reaching influence on the universities and institutions across the Latin America where the Communists have their bases for subversive activities. Castro's regime still clinging to Stalinist system continues to support the Sandinista forces in Nicaragua which threaten the elected, democratic government led by Mme. Violeta de Chamorro. Communists are intensifying their guerilla warfares in Peru and its neighbouring countries, and insurgent forces are violating human rights in many parts of Latin America.

Committee IV: "Impact on Media Communications in Communist Societies", was chaired by Sen. José Desmarets (Belgium) with Hon Chen, Chien-Chih (ROC) as Co-Chairman and Mr. Christopher Hill (South Africa) as Rapporteur. This Committee had 15 participants in attendance.

This Committee noted that there are only limited availability of media communication in Communist countries, and agreed to set up a separate Committee to deal with the use of media in that area. It was indicated that in recently liberated countries of the Soviet Union there is a chronic shortage of basic communication and information reproduction equipments and that it is very difficult to get access to such regions as mainland China, North Korea and Vietnam by media communications.

It was proposed that an action group called "Media Committee for Freedom and Democracy" be set up to render recommendations to improve media contact with the peoples in subjugated nations and to increase the effectiveness of the existing pro-democratic media. Media Committee for Freedom and Democracy held its first meeting at Hotel President on July 24th, and recommended that a "Conference of

Journalists for Freedom and Democracy” be held in Berlin in mid-May 1991 for three days with an aim of implementing a nucleus of Free World Journalists from all countries. Members of the Committee are Mr. Lee Edwards, Chairman (USA), Dr. Edward I-hsin Chen (ROC), Dr. Max Banush (Germany) and Mr. Christopher Hill (South Africa), and the Committee members agreed to submit their workings and practical recommendations to Mr. Edwards by October 1st, 1990.

Committee V: “Economic Impact on Communist Ideology”, was chaired by Prof. Dr. Paul Louis Faber (Guinea) with Dr. Kenneth Hilborn (Canada) as Co-Chairman and Mr. Orest Steciw (ABN) as Rapporteur. This Committee had around 10 participants in attendance.

With the approval of the Conference, the Committee modified the topic as “Impact of Economic Factors on Communist Ideology and the Communist Ideology’s Impact on the Economy” in order to present a global picture on this topic, including religion, nationalism, private ownership and free enterprise. In Communist countries, modernization of military weapons and its economic implications could bring the important impact upon Communist ideology, and the impact made its mark only when greater emphasis was placed on economic growth than on political ideology.

Generally, people are striving for better economic conditions, and the end results of economic achievement elsewhere outweigh the illusion of what Marxist ideology offers in its early stage. Totalitarianism and Communism are very unlikely where there exist private ownership of land and the free enterprise system.

Communism cannot be reformed by economic improvement alone because important factors such as cultural features, religion and nationalism also play an important role in the reform process. Economic aid should be given by the West to the captive nations or developing countries which are genuinely on the road to freedom and democracy. In the past the Soviet Union was financed by the West, but this has only led to a more totalitarian Communist regime.

6. Regional Meetings:

a. African Organization for Freedom and Democracy (AOFD): At the meeting of the African regional organization, delegates from Swaziland, Mauritius, Ethiopia, South Africa, Ghana and Rep. of Guinea presented their reports on the recent developments in their own regions and appealed for more positive support and assistance in their struggle for freedom and democracy. In the meantime, Mr. Dhlamini and Mr. Hill were asked to help establish WLFDD chapters in Swaziland and South Africa respectively and submit their membership applications before December 31st, 1990.

Mr. A.E.K. Appiah, representative of Ghana Chapter, informed that Mr. K.A.A. Brempong in Ghana had recently been released from his longtime custody. Mr. Brempong had been arrested for the alleged charge of providing money for a subversive group in July 1986.

b. Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL): The meeting of the Asian-Pacific regional organization was attended by some 30 delegates from 20 member chapters. Prior to the hearing of the reports from the national chapters, the participating delegates first agreed to designate the gathering to be an APACL Council meeting.

And the meeting unanimously adopted a new name for the Asian Pacific regional organization to be “Asian Pacific League for Freedom and Democracy (APLFD)” replacing its existing name “Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL)”. It was also resolved that the new name be submitted for approval at the forthcoming APACL

Conference scheduled for November 4-7, 1990 in Manila, Philippines. The meeting also discussed the pending membership problems in Southeast Asia, including those of Free Vietnam, Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore, and also discussed the present situation in Burma where Kachinland Chapter along with other democratic forces are struggling for the transfer of power from Military Junta to the elected civilian government.

Prof. Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung, the League Secretary-General, had reported that Mr. Rama Swarup, Chairman of the League India Chapter, had been acquitted with full honor by the verdict of the court delivered on March 13th, 1990 in New Delhi, India.

c. Middle East Solidarity Council (MESOC): Mr. Shakeeb Amawi, representative of MESOC reported that Mr. Said Samhan Al-Kathiry of Oman has been invited to take the responsibility as Chairman of MESOC and Mr. Amawi himself as its Secretary-General for the year of 1991. The Committee resolved to support their leadership and encouraged them to step up the efforts in revitalizing the activities of the chapters in the Middle Eastern countries.

d. North American Federation for Freedom and Democracy (NAFFD): Reviewing NAFFD's activities in the past three years, both in the United States and Canada, participants expressed the concerns around lack of activities in the US, particularly in the past twelve months due to a prolonged court proceeding. And it was recommended that the U.S. Council resume their active role in calling a general meeting in the U.S. as soon as possible to discuss the future plans and activities. Mr. Walter Chopiowskyj was advised to prepare for the next NAFFD Conference to be held in the United States not later than August 1991. Mrs. Joyce Downey was asked to assist.

Different names were given to replace the present NARWACL. A motion was moved to "North American Federation for Freedom and Democracy" (NAFFD) by Mr. Chopiowskyj, and seconded by General Singlaub. Motion passed and the name was officially adopted. Because of the name change of WLF, the U.S. and Canada chapters shared the general feeling that they could attract more people to join the organization and agreed that future recruitment of more participants to the organization be centered on university professors and students, and that invitation should be extended to the non-Spanish speaking members in other North American nations to attend the next General Conference of WLF in 1991 in Costa Rica.

Dr. Robert N. Thompson expressed his wish to stepdown as Chairman of the organization, but agreed to hold this position until a NAFFD general meeting is called in the United States no later than August 1991.

e. European Council for World Freedom (ECWF): At the European meeting there was an election of new leadership to lead the organization for the coming year. By majority vote, the meeting has elected Mr. P.J.G.A. Ego of the Netherlands as Chairman of the European Council for World Freedom and Mr. Paul Frank of Luxembourg as Vice Chairman, and recommended the outgoing Chairman, Cdt. Georges A. Rombouts, as its Honorary Chairman.

f. Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN): At the ABN regional meeting, a number of reports were presented by the delegates from Rumania, Afghanistan, Poland and Ukraine, explaining the current situation developing in those countries and requesting more concerns and attention for their regional affairs.

Mme. Slava Stetsko, Chairman of ABN expressed that there is a great need to support opposition parties in Eastern Europe with economic aid and technology.

1990 CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK RALLY
FRANCY & FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS
 SPONSORED BY
 EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR WORLD FREEDOM



Senator José Desmaretz (Belgium), General R. Close (Belgium), Dr. A. Zengazenga (Mozambique), Hryhoriy Prychodko, V. Sichko (Ukraine).

Meanwhile, she emphasized that since ABN Chapters in Australia and elsewhere had accomplished much during the last year and since an ABN Chapter was reinitiated in Argentina, it is essential that ABN expand its contacts with the Captive Nations in the East in order to establish new Chapter there.

g. World Youth Freedom League (WYFL): The youth organization held its full meeting attended by the youth representatives from 20 countries around the world to confirm its continued efforts in furtherance of democratic principles and liberty worldwide. At the meetings, Prof. Dr. Chen, Yih-Young (ROC) was elected as new Secretary-General of WYFL and Mr. Andrew Smith (United Kingdom) as Vice Secretary-General.

Under the new leadership the WYFL meeting adopted its final joint communiqué, denouncing the Communist regimes in mainland China and Cuba for their continued policies of internal suppression and dictatorial rule, and warning subversive forces in Nicaragua and El Salvador for their growing threat to the democratic government in the region. The meeting also adopted resolutions submitted by WYFL U.K. Chapter on future of Hong Kong, by Saudi Arabia Chapter on recognition of the unification between North and South Yemen, and by WYFL European Region on the right to self-determination of all peoples in Middle East.

7. 1990 WLFD Conference and Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting:

The Council resolved that the 1991 Annual Conference of World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD) will take place in San José, Costa Rica from Thursday, August 22 to Monday, August 26, 1991.

There were a number of suggestions as to the site for the 1991 Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting, but the Council recommended that the WLFD Presidium notify the members of the Executive Board regarding the site and date of the Board meeting in due course.

8. *Joint Communiqué:*

The Conference formally adopted at the closing session the final joint communiqué as drafted and proposed by the Joint Communiqué Committee, and thanked the outstanding work of the Committee under the competent leadership of the Committee Chairman, Amb. Chen, Tai-chu of the Republic of China assisted by its Co-Chairman Prof. P.V. Grosjean of Belgium and Hon. Bruce Skeggs of Australia.



General overview of Captive Nations Week rally in Brussels on 22nd of July, 1990.

RALLY IN IVANO-FRANKIVSK DEMANDS RETURN OF UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS

Ivano-Frankivsk — On July 26 a mass rally took place in this western Ukrainian city to demand the immediate return of all Ukrainian soldiers serving their military duty outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR, according to Mykhailo Zelenchuk — a spokesman for the Ukrainian Statehood and Independence Association (DSU). The rally was primarily organized by the recently established Soldiers' Mothers Committee and was opened by the chairwoman of this committee — Maria Dashchenko, whose son is presently "defending" Kazakhstan.

The several speakers that addressed the rally participants, including Daria Letsyk — a people's deputy to the provincial soviet, underscored the unacceptability of continued military service by Ukraine's young men in an imperialist army.

Vasyl Rushchak, a former soldier, then addressed the rally, describing the various forms of persecution to which Ukrainian soldiers are subjected. Mr. Rushchak stated that often times these persecutions lead to tragic consequences: suicides, insanity, and desertions.

The rally participants also endorsed a set of resolutions that call for the establishment of independent Ukrainian armed forces, a decrease in the period of mandatory military service from the present 2 years to one-and-half years, and the institution of Ukrainian national symbols (national blue-and-yellow flag, the traditional "trident" — Ukraine's national emblem) in the military.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 22nd WACL CONFERENCE

Fighters for freedom and human rights have adopted a new title to identify their battle against communism and totalitarianism into the 90's and on into the 21st century.

The World League for Freedom and Democracy was inaugurated as the new name for the WACL organization at the opening of the 22nd WACL Conference hosted by the European Council for World Freedom in Brussels between July 23-25.

The new title will provide a strong banner under which member nations of WACL can shape new strategies to counter the changing tactics of global communism.

A Captive Nations Rally preceded the 22nd WACL Conference which had the theme "1990's: A Decade for Freedom and Democracy" and was attended by delegates from over 40 countries drawn from the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, North and South America and international organizations.

The Conference noted with pleasure that democracy was gradually supplanting the hollow ideology of Marxism-Leninism in several countries proving that such regimes are reversible but it recognises that Soviet communism is endeavouring to beguile the Free World by operating under a new mask while Asian communism reverts to inflexible autocracy and intolerance of human rights and communism on the Central and South American and African continents continues its subversion and aggression.

The democratic movement that is sweeping Eastern Europe suggests that while the cold war may have ended, the "cold peace" is just beginning. While countries formerly under Soviet domination struggle to regain their place in the family of free nations and to attain a competitive market economy, other nations and peoples cry out for self-determination and independence from within the Soviet system and Rumania, Albania and Bulgaria still have communism "under another name".

The Free World must respond to the call for independence of the Baltic States and Ukraine, whose territories were illegally and forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. The discontent of other Republics within the Soviet Union and unrest of many ethnic groups is further testimony to the impracticability of communist dogma and its failure to meet the ordinary aspirations of the people.

In casting-off its aid to former satellite countries and reducing the burden of its costs of maintaining troops in so many countries and waging war in Afghanistan, Soviet strategy seeks to cut costs, attract Western finance, open-up new markets, compromise NATO's commitment, induce a de-escalation of American support for NATO while at the same time retaining its own conventional armed forces and offering deals to limit nuclear weapons. Mr. Gorbachev is therefore in a race to rebuild the Soviet economy and restructure its system sufficiently to attract Western backing and placate the push for freedom from the Republics within the Soviet system, but he could be overwhelmed by the tide of events and the people.

The examples of Eastern Europe and from within the Soviet Union make it increasingly difficult for communist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America to go against the global tide of freedom and democratisation.

The World has moved from the bipolar dominance of superpowers to a polycentric world. Free nations should not contemplate appeasing communist despots but rather step-up their support for the pro-democracy movement and an observance of human rights in those countries.

The situation on the Chinese mainland has greatly deteriorated since the heroic days of the pro-democracy stand of June last year. Repression of anyone suspected of involvement in the democracy movement has intensified with executions, purges, imprisonment, surveillance and political indoctrination. We call upon Peking to restore human rights and release all persons detained for having expressed their views peaceably.

By contrast the Republic of China on Taiwan has broadened its political democratisation and economic freedom and it is now in the interests of all Free nations to improve their relations with Taiwan and ensure that R.O.C. is admitted to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G.A.T.T.).

The dynamic economies of the free nations of the Pacific rim have outgrown the existing international agreements and Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation is an attempt to redress that problem, and should include all Asian countries with free market economies.

Hard-line communist regimes continue in vital parts of Asia. North Korea is stiffening its totalitarian controls while making a ploy to international pressure for change by staging an unconvincing peace offer. We urge North Korea to open its doors to the rest of the world and enter into meaningful dialogue with the Republic of Korea.

We urge a peaceful resolution for Cambodia and United Nations intervention which will not permit a return to the excesses of the Khmer Rouge. Freedom and democracy for Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Tibet from the communist yoke, self-rule guaranteeing future rights for the peoples of Hong Kong and Macao and a swift transition to elected civilian government and a restoration of human rights in Burma are all matters of major concern. Similarly in the Middle East we look for the recognition of human rights, autonomy and self-determination for the people of Palestine in accordance with the United Nations Declaration. The existence of Marxist one-party governments on the African continent also serve as a warning to countries of Southern Africa to remain vigilant and adhere to the democratic process.

The continued presence of Castro's Marxist regime in Cuba and its affect on neighbouring Central American countries like Nicaragua continue to demand an unremitting opposition from the Free World and a stern check on the growth of the Sandinista forces. The forces of freedom must be supported in Central and South America.

The shock-waves from the political earthquakes of Tienanmen Square and the removal of the Berlin Wall contrast the historic challenges we must meet in this age. Such rapid change demands a capacity for a rapid flexible response from the Free World.

Economic reality has shown armed conflict achieves little and all totalitarian regimes now know that they must learn to work within free market economies if they are to meet the desired living standards of their peoples. The realisation must be now have dawned on the masters of all centrally-controlled economies that their rigid conditions must give way to fundamental human values enshrined in genuine democratic processes before they can earn their place in the new free market economies that will shape the next generation and the next century.

The Conference expresses its sympathy to the people of the Phillippines and Iran following the recent earthquakes and urge support for assistance and relief for the victims of those countries.

We look forward to further progress and ideas to prosper world freedom and democracy when the League holds its 23rd Conference next year in Costa Rica and we place on record our appreciation of the organization and hospitality of the European Council for World Freedom for their hosting of the 22nd Conference in Belgium.

YOUTH IN THE FOREFRONT OF INDEPENDENCE

Last week, July 17th, 1990 the Soviet Ukrainian Parliament declared Sovereignty, demanding Ukrainian national citizenship, currency, armed forces and education. There is a strong Ukrainian liberation movement and at the forefront of the movement is the youth of Ukraine.

Under the inspiration and guidance of nationalistic grandparents and their peers the youth are now reviving the spirit and self-esteem of a nation trampled for decades by an occupational regime whose only thought was to destroy a nation rich in culture, religion and industry.

At present the youth are organising rallies, meetings and demonstrations to raise the consciences of the people and to show the world that Ukrainians are uniting in their quest for national independence.

Youth organisations such as SNUM (Ukrainian Independent Youth Association) and SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) are the messengers of motivation throughout Ukraine. This youth who through all intents and purposes should have been completely russified are receiving motivation from a generation that suffered Soviet Russian oppression under the rule of Lenin, Breschnev, Stalin and their successors, two World Wars and an artificial famine. Their eyes were opened to the tragedies of a nation.

Through the works of Mykola Mychnovskyj, Dmytro Dontsov, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and others, whose works were smuggled into the Soviet Union, they received the strength to carry out their tasks.

There are youth groups such as Sokil and Sich who are athletic associations which are preparing the youth for defensive purposes. The Ukrainian youth no longer want to serve under an occupying army, but are now demanding the right to a national army for their own territories.

The road to motivating the populace has not been easy — it never is. On every step there have been instances where individuals and their families have been beaten and intimidated by the KGB and Komsomoltsi (Communist Youth League).

In April of this year a young female student from Kharkiv tried to organise a cultural evening in commemoration of Taras Shevchenko, a Ukrainian national poet. In doing so, she was constantly harassed by Komsomoltsi and the KGB.

Last summer a young man returning from a meeting was brutally set-upon by the KGB and murdered.

On the 7th of July in Chortkiv a group of demonstrators were attacked one of whom was a young pregnant woman.

On the 22nd of January, in commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day the youth assisted in the organisation of a human-chain, stretching from Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv to Kyiv controlling contact points along the route of the chain.

The Ukrainian youth in the West also commemorated this event by forming a chain simultaneously with that of the manifestation in Ukraine.

Countries in which the Ukrainian youth participated in the manifestation are: The United States, Canada, South America, Great Britain, Germany and France, Australia, Belgium.

Our youth are showing the world that they can unite. Uniting for an independent Ukraine.

However it is not only in Ukraine that the youth is motivating a nation: In China, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, Romania, Moldavia, The Baltic countries, Byelorussia as well as the Central Asian countries. In every country that is struggling to break the chains of Soviet Russian oppression and communist dictatorship the youth have become the heart and soul of the driving force in the independence movements.

RALLIES IN UKRAINE STRESS SOLIDARITY WITH LITHUANIA

Rallies in support of Lithuania, organized by the Ukrainian popular movement Rukh, were held in a number of Ukrainian cities on March 31 and April 1, 1990, despite a blanket prohibition imposed by Communist authorities. At a mass demonstration held in Lviv on March 31, the former dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil, who is now chairman of the Lviv Oblast Soviet, condemned Moscow's aggressive measures against Lithuania and proclaimed that the other nations of the Soviet Union would follow the Balts' example. His thoughts were echoed at the other rallies.

BYELORUSSIAN POPULAR FRONT BACKS LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

On April 11, 1990, the Byelorussian Popular Front sent a delegation to Vilnius to sign a joint statement with Sajudis, denouncing the (Moscow-instigated) Byelorussian authorities' claim to Lithuanian territory as „Political blackmail.“ A few days later, speaking at a congress of Sajudis, the chairman of the front, Zyanon Paznyak, urged staunch support for Lithuania's assertion of its independence and called for joint action by pro-independence forces throughout the western USSR. He referred to a “political commonwealth of all the western republics of the USSR, stretching from Estonia to Moldavia, that should be initiated straightaway on the basis of solidarity with independent Lithuania.”

Representatives of the Byelorussian Popular Front, the Ukrainian popular movement Rukh, and Sajudis met on April 26, in Minsk, to lay the foundations for a political and economic union between the three republics and to discuss the creation of a “common market” stretching from the Baltic republics to Moldavia. They also talked about ways to help Lithuania overcome the economic blockade imposed by
Moscow.

AZERBAIJANI POLITICAL MOVEMENTS HAIL LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Several political parties and informal groups in Azerbaijan issued a joint statement in support of independence for Lithuania. Published in the March 1990 issue of *Istiklal* (Independence) the organ of the Azerbaijani Social Democratic Party, the statement said that the breakup of the Soviet Union started peacefully with the declaration of Lithuania's independence and that, to the credit of Lithuanian leaders and the central authorities, this process had remained peaceful. The authors called on the Azerbaijani people to forgo payment of the part due to Azerbaijan of Lithuania's “debt” to the rest of the USSR, which has been demanded by Moscow, and asked that other nations do the same. They stated that Azerbaijanis were prepared to conduct trade and to establish political and cultural ties with an independent Lithuanian state.

The statement was signed by *Laila Yunusova*, the head of the Social Democratic Party, and representatives of the Azerbaijani Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party (New Musavat), the Republican Party, the Baku Fine Arts Center, The Association of the Union of Peoples of Azerbaijan, and the Dede Gunesh
Movement.

MOLDAVIAN PARLIAMENT RECOGNIZES INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA

In an resolution passed on May 31 by a vote of 194 to 29, the Moldavian Supreme Soviet recognized independent Lithuania. The resolution declared that the Supreme

MIAMI CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE

Resolution

We the officers and representatives of the member organizations of the Captive Nations Committee — South Florida Chapter, gathered at the site of the Torch of Friendship, in Miami, Florida, on this Saturday, July 21, 1990, in observance of the Captive Nations Week, wish to bring to the attention of the President of the United States of America, the Secretary of State, to the members of Congress, the international press and the public opinion of this great nation, that:

WHEREAS: the so called “glasnost” and “perestroika” are only a breathing spell for the Soviets to recover their strength and power and resume their domination around the world, and

WHEREAS: the threat of Communism will still be present until the desintegration of the USSR takes place and full independence and sovereignty is restored in all and every nation that has been subjugated by Soviet imperialism, and

WHEREAS: there will be no peace in the world as long as any nation is enslaved and as long as the principles of justice, equality, freedom of speech and freedom of religion are denied to any person or nation,

WE, THEREFORE, HAVE RESOLVED:

1. To demand total and absolute independence and sovereignty for all Captive Nations.

2. To urge the government of the United States to use all the considerable economic and political means to hasten the dissolution of Soviet colonialism. This should include the withholding of trade agreements, technical assistance and any type of advisory which would prolong the inevitable dissolution of Soviet domination.

3. To request that the United States immediately recognize Lithuania as an independent state and supports the struggle for independence of any other currently Soviet dominated republic.

4. To urge the government of the United States to continue its policy of political and economic isolation towards the Marxist-Stalinist regime in Cuba, and to persist in the economic and political pressure towards the USSR until Soviet's support to the tyranny in Cuba is ceased. One can not call for freedom and human rights for the people of Asia and Eastern Europe while ignoring the struggle of our own neighboring this hemisphere.

5. To re-affirm that we stand as the vanguard of our silenced brothers and sisters in the cause of freedom, liberty, and justice for all.

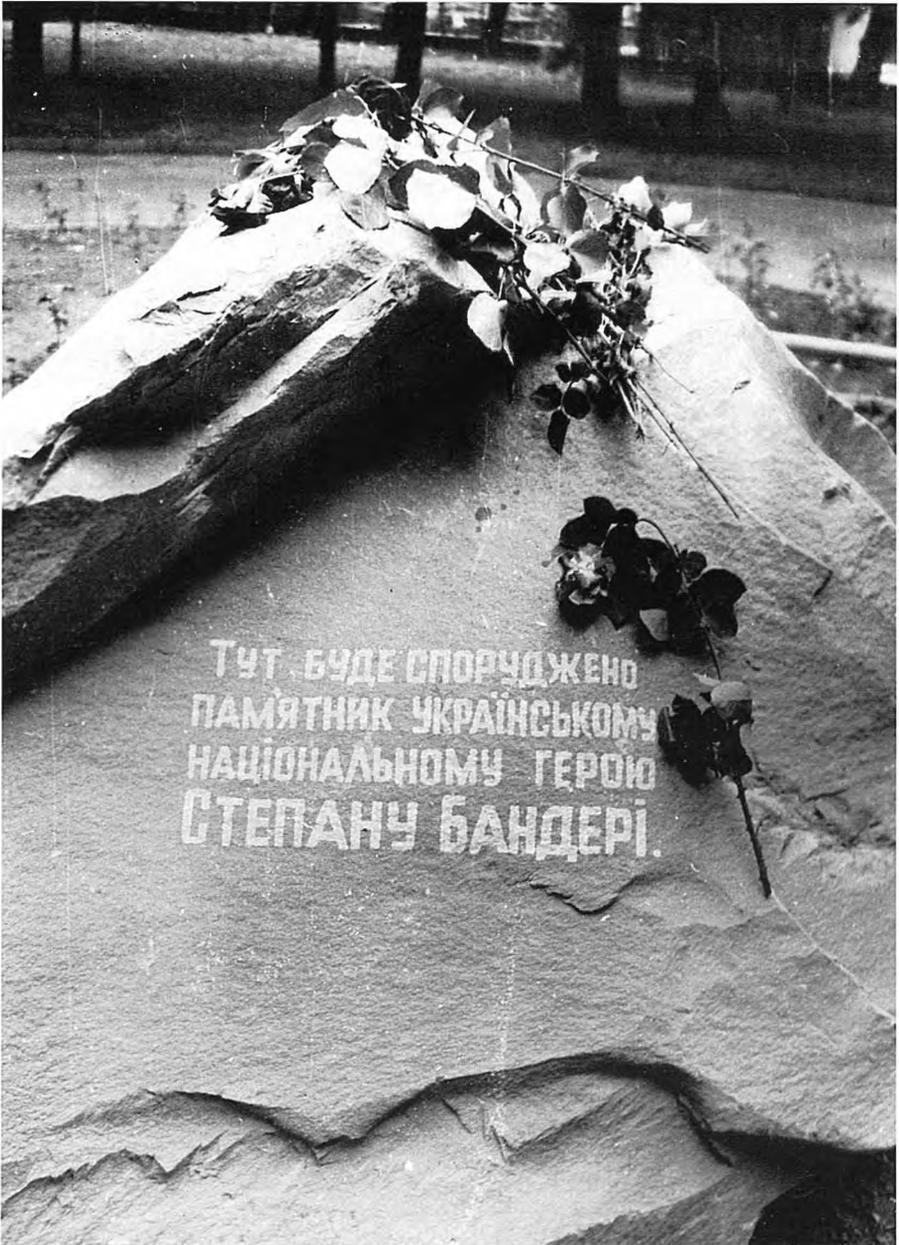
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The South Florida Chapter of the Captive Nations Committee has resolved this Resolution, on this twenty first day of the month of July, 1990, A.D., and we ask almighty God, under whose providence and blessings we enjoy our freedoms and human rights in this great country of the United States of America, to help us and all free nations to bring justice, liberty and peace to all mankind.

Vladimir Chomiak — Chairman (Ukraine)

Anita Karns — Secretary (Lithuania)

Ruta Gustovski (Byelorussia), Ceferino Perez — Junta Patriotica Cubana (Cuba), Laura Kavolius (Estonia), Erika Dalindis (Latvia), Felician Ghindar (Moldavia), Trian Golea (Rumania)

▶ Soviet “unconditionally recognizes the right of the Lithuanian and other peoples to self-determination and the creation of an independent state.” The parliament also stated “its wish to take up direct diplomatic, economic, political, and cultural ties with the republic of Lithuania, and suggest to the Lithuanian Supreme Council the exchange of permanent representatives.”



In spite of all possible efforts to dishonour Ukraine's past, in particular the national liberation struggle of the 30's and 40's, the enemy were unable to eradicate from Ukrainian history the pages of national endeavours for freedom and independence under the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

On July 8th, in the city of Drohobych there was a mass meeting organised by the Subcarpathian branch of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party and at this meeting a stone was consecrated for the memorial of Ukrainian national hero Stepan Bandera.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

A B N

CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

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November-December 1990

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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SOLZHENITSYN'S FLAWED VISION FOR RUSSIA

MUNICH— Alexander Solzhenitsyn, arguable the most respected contemporary Russian writer and thinker, has joined the debate about the future of this homeland with a political manifesto that calls for the dissolution of the Soviet Empire as the first step in the spiritual and physical salvation of the Russian nation. Entitled “How We Are to Organize Russia?” and published in two of Moscow’s leading newspapers, the essay urges Russians to divest themselves of their “super state thinking and imperial intoxication” and withdraw to their Slavic roots. The alternative, argues the Nobel Prize-winning author, is national suicide.

Concretely, the new “Russia” would be free of the Baltic states, Moldova, the three Transcaucasus republics, Central Asia, and a swath of ethnically homogeneous Kazakhstan, where Kazakhs form less than 40 percent of the total population. The remaining three Slavic republics — the RSFSR, Ukraine, and Byelorussia — would form the constituent part of a new state structure called the “Russian Union.”

Solzhenitsyn’s vision of the future is uniquely radical and retrograde at the same time. In the context of the current discussion about the fate of the Soviet multinational polity, it represents a radical departure from both the Gorbachev-sponsored efforts to renegotiate a new treaty of union based on federative principles and the Yeltsin-backed plan for a loose confederation of Soviet republics linked by a system of bilateral agreements. In both these cases, the operative principle is reform of a dysfunctional empire engineered by Lenin and “perfected” by Stalin, which recognized, albeit temporarily, the legitimacy of modern nations. Solzhenitsyn, on the other hand, would summarily repudiate the Soviet legacy as well as much of the Czarist past in favor of an ostensibly organic “Russia” centered around a pre-modern all Russian nation composed of Great Russians (Russians), Little Russians (Ukrainians), and Byelorussians. His proposed “Russian Union” represents a direct continuation of pre-revolutionary Russian thought on the Ukrainian question, which both Soviet President Gorbachev and Ukrainian spokesmen have characterized as an insult.

The proposition that Ukraine, the second-largest Soviet republic, with a population of almost 52 million, plays a crucial role in the fate of the Soviet empire, is now taken for granted. In this context, emphasis is placed on Ukraine’s strategic geopolitical position, its vast human resources, and its significant scientific and economic potential. There is, however, another and no less important dimension to Ukraine’s role in the empire that is perhaps less perceptible, certainly in the West. This dimension is a historical one that has been conditioned by the specific nature of Ukrainian-Russian relations over the centuries. The result has been that the traditionally Russian public opinion, irrespective of whether it is politically inclined to the left, right, or center, has found it inordinately difficult to view Ukraine in other than a Russian context. In short, mainstream Russian political thought, even to the present day, has treated the notion of a modern Ukrainian nation as some sort of terrible mistake. Ivan Drach, the leader of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, tells the story of a Russian tourist from Tambov who, charmed by the beauty of Kyiv, asks: “But when did the Ukrainians steal all of this from us?”

This Russian “Ukrainian complex” was incisively analyzed by the prominent Russian philosopher Georgii Fedotov more than half a century ago. The Ukrainian question, he explained, is in essence a question of Russian national consciousness, and

its solution dictates whether that consciousness remains all-Russian — i.e., pre-modern, or whether it disintegrates into its modern Russian and Ukrainian components, which Fedotov felt would be a national catastrophe. “The Ukrainian problem,” he wrote, has an infinitely more profound meaning for Russia than all other national problems. It is a question not only of the political structure of Russia and its boundaries, but of its spiritual life.” This view was echoed by Gorbachev during his visit to Ukraine last year, when he enjoined Ukrainian writers to promote “the unity of the Slavic people, above all the Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians.” It was repeated more recently by Alexander Tsipko, whose indictment of Marxism as the source of all the Soviet Union’s troubles won him instant recognition in Russian liberal circles, when he attacked the notion of state sovereignty for the Russian republic on the pages of *Izvestia*. “Many Russians have forgotten not only that they are Russians,” he wrote, “but also that they are Slavs, that they are bound by one common fate to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians.” The state sovereignty of Russia will not go unnoticed in Ukraine, warned Tsipko, pointing out that the Ukrainians can make do by themselves no worse than the Russians. And, on the opposite side of the Soviet political spectrum, General Igor Rodionov, who commanded the troops responsible for the Tbilisi massacre in April of last year, writes in the current issue of the ultra-nationalist monthly *Molodaya Gvardiya* that “the enemies of the state know that in order to destroy our unbreakable union they first have to weaken and slander the historic values of the Slavic peoples — Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians.”

That such a remarkable meeting of disparate political minds is at all possible underlines the Russian dilemma in its continuing search for modern nationhood. This dilemma is pointedly reflected in a subsection of Solzhenitsyn’s essay entitled “A Word to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians,” which begins with the explanation that he is addressing the later “not from the outside, but as one of you.” The problem, however, is that Ukrainians and Byelorussians do not appear in the least interested in such a cozy arrangement. In a recent article in *Literaturnaya gazeta*, the well-known publicist Anatoly Strelyanyi, discussing some of very same issues raised by Solzhenitsyn, noted that his Ukrainian colleagues are making no secret of the fact that they would be more than happy if the Russians forgot altogether that Ukrainians exist. Such sentiments are also in evidence on the streets of Kyiv and Lviv, where mass gatherings against any form of Union treaty have become a routine occurrence.

The first concrete step to resolve this dilemma was taken on Aug. 29 in a joint declaration of Ukraine’s parliamentary opposition, the People’s Council and their Russian counterparts, the Democratic Russia group, which advocated the future development of Ukrainian-Russian relations based on the concept of Ukraine and Russia as democratic and independent states subject to international law. Against this background Solzhenitsyn’s idyllic vision of a “Russian Union” underscores another observation made by Fedotov: “The Russian intelligentsia, in the past and in the present, bears one sin against the Ukrainian rebirth — it failed to notice it.”

Correction:

In ABN Correspondence No. 5 on pages 37 & 38 should read: “The ECWF under the leadership of Senator Robert Close and the League Belgium Chapter under Cdt. G. A. Rombouts.” and page 38 “unanimously elected Sen. R. Close, President of the European Council of World Freedom.”

KHMARA EVICTED FROM SUPREME SOVIET ON BOGUS CHARGES



Stepan Khmara

KYIV, November 14 — The hard-line, communist majority in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet today voted at its meeting to deprive Deputy Stepan Khmara of parliamentary immunity and to initiate criminal proceedings against him, reported the Information Department of the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP).

The communist reactionaries accepted the proposition of the republic's Procurator-General, Mykhailo Potebenko (a people's deputy from the Mykolayiv oblast), and the chairman of the permanent parliamentary commission on legality, Yaroslav Kondratiev (a people's deputy from Kyiv, and head of criminal investigations at the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

This decision was made in connection with an incident involving Colonel Ihor Hryhoriev from the criminal investigation

branch of the militia, which occurred on November 7 in an underground passage on Kyiv's central Kreshchatyk boulevard.

On November 7, an unknown individual in civilian dress, who later turned out to be none other than Colonel Hryhoriev, brutally assaulted a woman who was taking part in the protest action to prevent the military parade marking the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution from taking place. Deputy Khmara, who witnessed the incident, asked the woman whether she could identify her assailant. Hryhoriev was recognized at the other end of the passage and when Khmara demanded to see his identity papers, Hryhoriev refused to show them. Passers-by who observed what was going on, then took it upon themselves to confiscate his papers.

As it later became clear, this was a provocation against the "Narodna Rada" (People's Council — democratic opposition bloc in the Supreme Soviet) staged by the organs of internal security, who filmed the entire incident. Their video recording of the incident was shown on Ukrainian television, without presenting the views of those who suffered at the hands of the militia on November 7.

On November 12, when the Supreme Soviet reconvened after a week's recess, some 500 militia officers staged an officially-sanctioned demonstration outside the Supreme Soviet building, demanding the immediate adoption of a law on the militia, the convening of a parliamentary commission to review Khmara's case, and that criminal charges be brought against him. They also demanded protection for those who suffered on November 7, although from the placards they were holding it was clear that citizens need protection from the "Narodna Rada" (People's Council — the democratic opposition in the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR).

A sanctioned demonstration was also held that morning by communists from the Odessa and Mykolayiv oblasts. They accused the "Narodna Rada" of nationalism and

anti-communism, and called for the dismissal of the Democratic Bloc deputies.

The morning session began with the reading of a statement of the militia officials, containing the following demands:

- the immediate adoption of a law on the militia;
- riot police is to take responsibility for maintaining order during public rallies;
- Stepan Khmara, Mykhailo Horyn and Serhiy Holovaty are to be deprived of deputy status and criminal charges are to be brought against them.

During that day's session, the Procurator-General of the republic, Potebenko, accused Democratic Bloc deputies of unlawful actions, which included calling on television for a campaign of civil disobedience and attempts to obstruct the military parade in Kyiv. He described the incident with Colonel Hryhoriev as a "malicious act" against an officer of the militia and an attempt to discredit the law enforcement agencies in general. Potebenko accused all those responsible for the conflict on November 7 of "physically dealing with a militia officer and the theft of his personal possessions and papers". He also read out a statement from the parliamentary majority demanding that criminal charges be brought against Stepan Khmara.

The Procurator-General's statement was followed by an attack against the "Narodna Rada" by the "group of 239" (the hard line communist deputies). Characteristically, their attacks failed to mention the dozens of people who were hurt in clashes with riot police on October 2 and 27 and November 7.

Towards the end of the morning session, "Narodna Rada" deputies Mykhailo Horyn, Stepan Khmara and Oleksander Yemets were allowed to address the members of the Supreme Soviet.

Mykhailo Horyn declared that as long as militia officers have control over people's deputies, a democratic Ukrainian state is impossible. He described the militia demonstration as an attempt to disrupt the work of the Supreme Soviet and stated that the "Narodna Rada" will be forced to call for another mass political strike.

In his address to the Supreme Soviet Stepan Khmara charged that a campaign of slander and defamation has been launched against him and his colleagues from the democratic opposition in connection with the events of November 6-7. When he attempted to explain the incident with Colonel Hryhoriev from his point of view, and to bring up several facts which were not mentioned in the other addresses, the communist majority shouted Khmara down forcing him to leave the podium.

At this time, the majority of deputies from the "Narodna Rada" received threatening letters, written in Russian stating that the time to deal with them is drawing near.

After such preparations, the reactionaries demonstrated their strength. On November 14, half an hour before the end of the evening session, Procurator Potebenko notified the deputies that he had received authorization to deal with the Stepan Khmara case. He further pointed out that, although he regards Khmara guilty of a crime, parliamentary consent would be required to bring him to justice.

Potebenko's statement was followed by addresses from the majority and from the Democratic Bloc. Larysa Skoryk said that the incident on November 7 was a definite provocation. Oleksander Judyma pointed out that, after he was beaten up by the militia in the Cherkasy oblast, he wrote to the Procurator-General but to date has not received a reply. Other democratic deputies who tried to speak were heckled by the hard-liners.

Kondratiev was allowed to speak and stated that he had a draft decree declaring Stepan Khmara guilty of violating the criminal code and stating that he be brought to justice. Ihor Yukhnovskiy's proposal that the case be reviewed by a separate commission and Ivan Makar's statement that the Procurator himself had numerous times violated the law were ignored.

The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, put Kondratiev and Potebenko's proposition to the vote. At that point the "Narodna Rada" deputies left the hall. The remaining 301 deputies then voted in favour of depriving Khmara of a deputy's status and opening criminal proceedings against him.

Since the broadcast of the video about the November 7 incident, the people of Kyiv have been coming forward with testimonies about the transgressions by Colonel Hryhoriev, who is notorious for his dispersal of public meetings in the capital city. Immediately after the end of that evening's session, a spontaneous public rally was held to discuss Khmara's defence.

The next day, November 15, in Ivano-Frankivsk, the Council of the city's branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), began to collect petitions in defence of Khmara. At 6:00 p.m., a rally in support of Stepan Khmara was held on the square in front of the provincial council. During lunch break that day, the city's businesses etc. held meetings in support of Khmara.

A month and a half into its second session, the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet is no closer to taking any constructive steps towards genuine democratization in the spirit of the adopted Declaration on Sovereignty. This latest campaign against the democratic opposition shows very clearly that Declaration or no Declaration, it is business as usual at the Supreme Soviet.

Nationalist Parliamentarian arrested in Legislative Chamber

KYIV — Stepan Khmara, an opposition parliamentarian, was forcibly arrested on November 17 in the chamber of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. The arrest was ordered by the legislature's communist majority on November 14 and stems from an earlier incident in which Khmara protected an anti-communist demonstrator from a physical assault by a militia officer.

Opposition parliamentarians and other nationalist leaders condemned the arrest as illegal. Following the November 14 vote to arrest Khmara, a group of 14 opposition MPs proclaimed a protest hunger strike inside the Supreme Soviet chamber. They also vowed to physically protect Khmara, who remained with them, from arrest.

"The vote to arrest Khmara breaks all parliamentary rules. No quorum was present. No mandatory committee work took place beforehand. The official procedure for dismissing a parliamentarian was totally ignored", said the statement of the group of protesting parliamentarians from the Democratic Bloc opposition coalition.

However, at 10:15 a.m. on November 17, 10 plain-clothes militia members entered the chamber, broke through the cordon of opposition MPs, and abducted Khmara. Democratic Bloc MPs report that Khmara is being held in the Lukyaniv prison.

Khmara, a political prisoner for more than 10 years during the Brezhnev era, is vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, one of the strongest partners in the

Democratic Bloc opposition in the Supreme Soviet. Khmara's popularity recently soared when he took a leading role in supporting nationalist student hunger strikes in Kyiv in October. Khmara helped the students to force Ukraine's communists into several concessions with regard to pro-independence reform.

Indeed, on November 7, Khmara was also in the forefront, when he led demonstrators in protest against the Bolshevik Revolution military parade. While the demonstrators's procession moved along, Khmara saw a man in civilian dress beating one of the demonstrators and proceeded to stand between the man and the elderly woman under attack. Other demonstrators restrained the attacker and found him to be in possession of a hand-gun and an ID card that showed him to be a colonel in the militia, Igor Hryhoriev. It is now alleged that Khmara attacked Hryhoriev.

Immediately following Khmara's arrest, protests began to take place in Kyiv and elsewhere. Reports indicate that buses attempting to reach Kyiv from other regions for the demonstrations were being stopped by militia units.

Finnish Letter to Gorbachev

Helsinki, 22.11.1990

*To Mikhail S. Gorbachev
President of the USSR
Kreml, Moskva, USSR*

Mr. President,

The arrest on September 17, 1990 of Stepan Khmara, member of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, during a session of the Supreme Soviet is a stunning blow to all those, who listening your speech in Paris willingly believed the Soviet Union to be on its way to becoming a democratic state governed by law and "glasnost". It is an unheard of thing for a parliamentarian's immunity to be thus blatantly disregarded. The Helsinki Group of Finland feels convinced that matters will be set right and Mr. Khmara released as soon as you are at home again.

You are going to Oslo to receive the nomination as a Nobel laureate in the beginning of December. We feel much concerned that adverse publicity will be overwhelming if Mr. Khmara is still at Lukyaniv prison on that day — not to speak of the Human Rights conference in Moscow in 1992. How can it take place in a country where parliamentarians are dragged off to jail from Supreme Soviet sessions?

We feel confident that Mr. S. Khmara shall be free within the next days.

Yours respectfully

THE HELSINKI GROUP OF FINLAND
Heimo Rantala, Chairman

THE NATIONALISTS' VICTORY IN GEORGIA

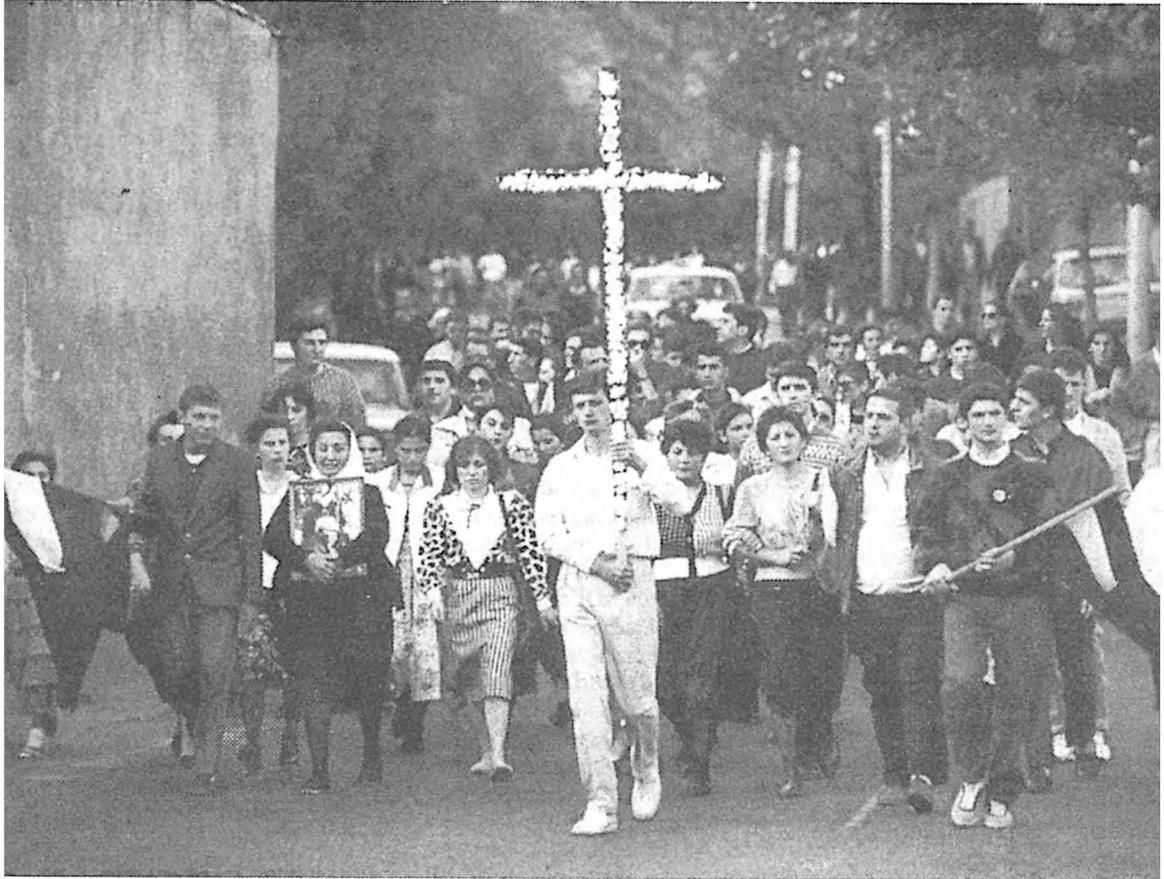
Georgia has a population of about 5.4 million people, nearly 70 percent of whom are ethnic Georgians with an ancient language and culture formed during resistance to Persians, Turks and Russians.

The nationalists' victory in the elections had been widely expected, but the scale of the win came as a surprise. According to official results, the nationalist Round Table — Free Georgia, which Mr. Gamsakhurdia heads, dominated the October 28, voting with 54 percent of the vote. The Communist Party won only 29 percent.

The nationalists were credited with winning 114 seats, while the Communists won 60 seats in the republic's 250 seat parliament. Seven seats went to four independent candidates and three members of other parties in the first round.

Second round of the parliamentary elections in Georgia was held during the last weekend in those electoral districts where no party or group did achieve majority of the votes in the first round of the elections on Oct. 28. Final results, as Mr. Gamsakhurdia told us by phone yesterday evening from Tbilisi, as follows:

Round Table (Zviad Gamsakhurdia) — 155 seats



Georgia on its way to independence

DECEPTION IN THE BALKANS? THE BULGARIAN AND ROMANIAN ELECTIONS

As events have been unfolding in Central Europe there are signs that the former Communist governments there have begun a process of democratization which cannot be stopped. But there are definite questionmarks about Bulgaria and Romania where so-called “reformed” Communists are still in control. Bulgaria and Romania deserve a closer look.

In the political discussions and media mentions of recent developments in Central Europe, little is heard about Bulgaria. To be sure the Balkan countries suffer from our lack of knowledge of both history and geography, and there is still a number of people who confuse The Balkan states with those of the Baltic.

In the domino-like developments against the sitting Communist governments in Europe, there are probably as many questions about the genuineness of the anti-Communist “revolution” in Bulgaria as there is about Romania. Both of these countries as of mid-May 1990 were still being governed by Communists, however of the self-styled reformed and democratic kind. (The media may call these “Communists



Communists — 64 seats

Popular Front (a bourgeois group) — 12 seats

Others (Green Party etc.) — 19 seats

Total — 250 seats

The first session of the new Parliament was opened on November 14. A cabinet of ministers was formed immediately. No Communists were included in the cabinet.

Among the first tasks to be performed by the new Parliament will be the following:

1. A change of the official name of the country to “Republic of Georgia” (removing the words “Soviet socialist”).
2. Organizing of municipal elections as soon as possible.
3. Enactment of a Nationality Law of the Republic.
4. Enactment of a Customs Law.
5. Enactment of a Law concerning national defence forces of the Republic.
6. Enactment of a Law concerning national police forces.
7. Reorganization of the pre-existing KGB to be a security police operating under the supervision of the Parliament, severing all ties to Moscow (Communists will not be admitted into its ranks).
8. Restoring the Constitution of 1921.
9. Negotiations concerning the withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Georgia are scheduled to be opened immediately.
10. A transitory period will be proclaimed , leading to the restoration of complete independence and sovereignty of the Republic.

The sovereignty will be restored as soon as the international prerequisites of it are fulfilled, i.e. as soon as the factual control of Georgian territory by the new Georgian government can be ascertained. If anarchical situations should occur in the USSR, Declaration of the restoration of the independence will be proclaimed immediately.

with a Human Face” while this writer reserves the right to call “human Communism” a definite oxymoron).

To be sure there are several elements which are true for Bulgaria, but which is not shared by other states of the region. Richard F. Staar in his **The Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe** (*Hoover Institution Press*) points out that “in geographical sense, Bulgaria occupies a rather special position in the communist bloc of Eastern Europe. Anchored on the southern flank of the former satellite belt, it is unique in having just one other bloc neighbor (Romania to the north) and being the only country to border on more than two non-bloc states (Turkey and Greece to the south, Yugoslavia to the west). Also, Bulgaria shares with East Germany the distinction of remaining under Soviet influence without being contiguous with the USSR.” (p. 39)

Bulgaria shares with its Balkan neighbors a checkered history. It was under the rule of the Turks and Ottoman empire for more than 500 years. Not until the early nineteenth century was there any degree of nationalism. In 1876 this nationalism led to several uprisings which failed, resulting in the massacre of 30,000 men, women and children. Bulgaria joined the alliance of the Central Powers in the First World War and the Axis Powers in the Second World War. In the more successful early part of the war Bulgaria was able to occupy Greece and Yugoslavia thus having access to the sea. Under the terms of armistice at the end of World War II, Bulgaria lost those territories in Greece and Yugoslavia.

In 1944 The Red Army of the Soviet Union invaded the country and during the next three years consolidated its rule with the help of the Communist-inspired Fatherland Front. By September 1946 a plebiscite abolished the monarchy and a month later the Communists confirmed their control of Bulgaria. When the new assembly (Sobranje) convened in November 1946 The Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria was a reality and Georgi Dimitrov formed the new government. Since September 1944 the Bulgarians have only known three Communist leaders as First Secretary: Traicho Kostov 1944-1948, Georgi Dimitrov 1948 until his death in July 1949 and Todor Zhivkov 1949-1990 who was arrested 17 January 1990 and tried for corruption.

What has since transpired is less clear to the observer. To be sure the current leadership is making every effort to convince the 9 million Bulgarians that they are “reformed communists” and they blame all the “mistakes” during the past 35 years on Todor Zhivkov. But there is a great deal of understandable skepticism as the new leader, Petur Mladenov became a full member of the Politburo in July 1977 and for 18 years served as Zhivkov's Foreign Minister.

Informants in Sofia, Bulgaria's capital, see a flagrant misuse of power in Mladenov's support of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). Instances of strong-hand methods have taken place with people having their homes raided and being forced to sign up as members of the Socialist Party. Even the main opposition group, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) is infiltrated by Communists. Government sponsored polls indicate an overwhelming victory for the BSP in the June election, whereas more independent polls see a dead-heat run between UDF and BSP. The fact that the parliament removed the constitutional provision of the Communist Party's primacy, may have little effect in view of the means of control available to the BSP.

Two other factors are unique to Bulgaria. They do not have a single Soviet soldier being permanently stationed in Bulgaria and Bulgaria did not suffer any loss of territory to the Soviet Union after World War II. One of the reasons for that, is that the

C.P. of Bulgaria has always maintained a highly servile attitude toward the Kremlin. More than any other state Bulgaria has been subsidized by the Soviet Union. Its debt in 1981 was \$4 billion, but it was cut down to \$1.5 billion by transfer of Soviet oil at 1 1/2 times Bulgaria's need which therefore could be sold to foreign buyers and thereby eliminate a considerable part of the foreign debt. Today the situation is of course very different, and Bulgaria's population suffer almost as much privation, even for daily necessities, as does the people of Romania. In 1988 the United States exported to Bulgaria for \$127.2 million whereas Bulgaria's exports to U.S. was for a mere \$27.6 million.

With the collapsing economy of the Soviet Union, including, it has been reported by reputable sources, a decline in oil-exports, it is likely that Bulgaria will not remain a client state of the Soviet Union in the future.

Bulgaria's international reputation suffered a real set-back with the Italian court investigating the assassination-attempt on Pope John Paul II in May 1981. Bulgaria has made sporadic attempts to develop better relations, including trade relations with the West. Robert D. Kaplan, an Athens-based journalist reported in 1985 "...as a people who are not risk takers, the Bulgarians are laying the ground-work for the day when the Russian gravy-train stops. The cabinet changes of January 1984 were part of a continuing process to make the domestic economy run more efficiently. So too was a recent decision to set up many small manufacturing companies — part of a continuing attempt to foster closer trade links with the West." (*Wall Street Journal*, 9 January 1985).

It is likely that the Balkan cauldron in Bulgaria will continue to boil for some time. As the Bulgarian people see the advances toward democracy of former COMECON and Warsaw-Pact partners, they too may rebel against their leadership for having too close tie with the previous discredited government of Todor Zhivkov. At a recent opposition rally in Pravets, the birthplace of Zhivkov, a small town north east of Sofia, the sentiments of the people could be characterized by the *bon mot* "The dictator is gone, but the dictatorship remains."

Such anti-Communist opposition must still face repercussions, however. Their posters are torn down, their loudspeakers sabotaged and their speakers harrassed. Bulgaria has a long way to go before the superstructure of the Communist government can be dismantled. The media, the police and intelligence forces are still on the side of Communism, although many Bulgarians ask "for how long?" As the countries of East and Central Europe grope their way toward democratization, the time may also come to Bulgaria. Although that path will, as in Romania, be more difficult than in other countries in Central Europe. Perhaps the Bulgarians too will discover as one rally slogan reminded them: "Gentlemen of the Communist Party, life is like a staircase: Some go up and others come down."

The election victory of Iliescu in Romania points to the difficulty of estimating just what is happening to this nation — Stalinist until the death of long-time dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. Does this also mean the death of Communism?

The world has followed developments in Eastern and Central Europe with fascination. Events that many thought would never occur in their life-time have taken place literally over a couple of months with a domino effect of one Communist government after the other failing and being replaced with new systems. While the replacement of the Communists in all cases have not led to a clear-cut capitalist

alternative, or for that matter, a working democracy, that should not be surprising. The democratic credentials of some of these countries had not evolved even before the Red Army unleashed its armed bands and installed Communist regimes.

Recent visitors to Poland question whether Lech Walesa and his Solidarity have sold out and compromised the independence for which he was long — and rightly so — recognized. Some say you cannot lay down with the devil without taking on some of his features. But it is Romania where the genuineness of the anti-Communist revolution has been particularly questioned. John Lenczowski of the Council for Inter-American Security sees developments in Romania even more than in other states as a part of a strategic change of tactics by Communists. Ambassador David Funderburk, U.S. former and some say controversial ambassador to Romania adds his expertise to the question of the genuineness of the revolution in Bucharest. To these knowledgeable gentlemen the rapid developments seem too fast, acquiescence to anti-Communist forces too facile. Only time will tell whether a real anti-Communist revolution has, in fact, occurred in these nations.

Was the dawn of Rumanian freedom a sure sign of the times, or was it a false dawn which will mean the continuation of repressive Communism by other means more kind and gentler than the bloody regime of the Ceausescu years? The Securitate is still in place in many places in Romania. The Western press was denied entry into the armed forces security center. There are simply too many unanswered questions for us to make a definitive determination of the events in Romania.

The Ted Koppel special 2 April 1990 attempted to come to grips with some of these question, but with little success. Instead of Koppel's sometimes tedious commentary, they would have done better to let Ambassador Funderbruk more than the minute or so allowed and learned from one of the foremost experts on Romania in the United States.

To the observers from the West, the stupendous poverty was probably that which shocked their sensibilities at first. Daniel Peterson in a report in **American Freedom Journal** (*April 1990*) said: "In Bucharest I was struck with how many, huge, impersonal, poorly constructed and crowded apartment blocks had replaced the historic Roman style buildings that existed before the war." The small delegation from Oregon who visited orphanages were shocked with the conditions where "Even in the nicer facilities there was a 40 to 1 ration of infants to nurses." said one delegate. We have learned how thousands died from AIDS because the government denied that the dread disease existed. One report said that "One of every three children in Romania have been infected with AIDS and 30 - 50 per cent are dying "the largest outbreak of AIDS among children in the world."

The most pressing concerns to some is the establishment of some kind of political legitimacy for the government, which then would have to take on the immense task of restoring some of economic potentials of the country (for example its oil-fields in Plösti). Dinu C. Giurescu, a visiting professor in the Department of History at the Texas A & M University wrote in **Democracy Bulletin**, (the new name for **Resistance Bulletin**) an article entitled "Romania — What Price Democracy?" In an optimistic historic overview he believes "Forty-five years of communist rule could not destroy the longing for freedom. The anti-communist revolution of December 1989 came as a natural and unavoidable reaction... Democracy will succeed in Romania as in other

East European countries eventually. But there is a rocky road ahead and it will take time.”

A less sanguine view comes from “**Eastern Europe Update**” issued by the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee. It points out, 23 January 1990, that the National Salvation Front is suspect because it is led by Ion Iliescu as president, a “reformed communist” of whom it is rumored, that he was there with the encouragement of KGB and Comrade Gorbachev. The survey also points out the opposition against the NSF has been building. “A crowd shouting ‘Down with Communism’ on 12 January 1990 forced Iliescu to declare the Communist Party banned. He said the death penalty... would be decided by referendum 28 January. The next day Iliescu reneged on the CP ban, and announced that its legality would be decided by referendum. Then on 18 January Iliescu cancelled the referendum stating that the CP would remain legal, and the death penalty would not be restored.”

The “moderate” Communist government of Iliescu won two thirds of the votes in the election May 20th, but the opposition parties have already lodged complaints about massive fraud and undemocratic pressures.

More so than with other former Communist states, it is difficult to anticipate what is going to happen in Romania. Numerous new parties are being formed, but since multi-party free elections have not been held in Romania for 73 years, there is little knowledge of the workings of democracy. Perhaps one of the changes of which the Western press have devoted too little attention, is the role which religion might play in Romania of the future. The Ceausescu years saw the virtually total repression of religious practice. Garry J. Moes editor of the **Chalcedon Report**, after a fact-finding visit there in late 1986, pointed out that “When a government has lost its ability to manage its own affairs, it frequently turns on its enemies to divert attention from its own failures and to find a scape-goat.” Nicolai Ceausescu found that in religion, which was ruthlessly repressed even as their churches were bull-dozed.

In response to a question Eastern Europe Bible Mission said about Romanian Christians: “One thing that unfortunately has not been shown or reported in the media is the Christians’ response to God’s workings in their country. There have been gatherings of thousands of people in churches. In Oradea 20,000 people got down on their knees and prayed the Lord’s prayer together.” The western media have chiefly ignored the role of religion in the Romanian anti-Communist movements. That may well be because they themselves do not understand the role Christianity can play as motivators. But if one would understand the Romanian people, their religion is the more vital because of its long repression.

While we do not dare to augere Romania’s future, we know that the extent of political repression and the inhumanity of the terror under Ceausescu endured so long in part because of our own State Department’s pusillanimous coddling of Ceausescu (so well chronicled in Ambassador Funderburk’s book **Pinstripes and Reds**). We now have the opportunity to repair some of the damage done. The Romanian people deserve our support — and our prayers.

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

SENATORS SUPPORT BALTIC PARTICIPATION

WASHINGTON — Twenty-eight members of the U.S. Senate sent a letter on October 28 to President George Bush urging him “to raise formally the issue of Baltic participation in the CSCE” when he travels to Paris to meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and leaders of 32 other member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), reported the Lithuanian Information Center.

While praising Secretary of State James Baker for advocating observer status for the Baltic states in the CSCE process, the senators 16 Democrats and 12 Republicans — took issue with the Bush administration’s apparent reluctance to formally propose such status for the Baltic states in Paris, as requested by Baltic leaders, because of the likelihood that the Soviets would exercise the veto power possessed by each member of the CSCE to block admittance.

Noting that Baltic leaders “believe that it is worth risking a potential denial of consensus in order to reaffirm publicly and unequivocally” the United States long-standing policy of refusing to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union, the senators warned that, “if.. the United States, while nominally supporting the Baltic request to participate, fails to put this issue on the table in Paris, we will appear, at best, inconsistent and, at worst, patently hypocritical.”

The Baltic states, which took major strides earlier this year toward regaining their independence after 50 years of foreign, mostly Soviet, domination, have been lobbying for the last five months to gain observer status in the CSCE, which includes in its ranks all the European states (save of Albania), Canada and the United States.

Momentum has been building slowly in recent weeks of admittance of the three former members of the League of Nations to the CSCE. When the three Baltic foreign ministers traveled to a CSCE conference in Copenhagen last June, the Danish hosts declined to allow the issue to be put on the agenda, apparently for fear of offending the Soviet delegation, and no other country pressed the matter.

However, at a CSCE foreign ministers meeting in New York earlier this month, nine countries, including the United States, publicly endorsed Baltic participation in the CSCE process.

The 28 senators’ letter is the second one in a month pressing President George Bush to support Baltic efforts to gain admittance to the CSCE. On September 28, 22 senators had written to President Bush, requesting him to “do everything possible to enable Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to participate in this historic (CSCE) process, either as full members or as observers.”

The initiative for both letters came from Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.)

REVOLUTION DAY PARADE TURNS VIOLENT IN VILNIUS

VILNIUS — Armed Soviet paratroopers attacked Lithuanians during an unauthorized military parade in Vilnius, on November 7, the 73rd anniversary of the October Revolution, reported sources in Lithuania's capital.

The Lithuanian Information Service reported that according to John Budris an American journalist in Vilnius, Soviet military personnel ignored a Lithuanian parliamentary decree banning military parades "without a permit" and went ahead with plans to mark the event. Streets leading to Gediminas Prospect were blocked off by Soviet army trucks in the early morning in preparation for the parade which began at 10 a.m. local time.

After removing barricades along Gediminas Prospect, Soviet paratroopers with automatic machines lined the street as Soviet tanks, missile launchers and foot soldiers marched past the Lithuanian Parliament to the Lenin Monument, where several thousands pro-Soviet demonstrators were rallying. Mr. Budris said many of the demonstrators, who greeted the show of Soviet military force with cheers and flowers, were bused into Vilnius from outside of Lithuania.

As the parade progressed down Gediminas Prospect, Vilnius Conservatory students parodying the old political order appeared on a balcony overlooking the parade. As one student wearing a Leonid Brezhnev mask attempted to make a speech, club-swinging paratroopers in riot gear broke down doors and windows and moved in on the students, bloodying several during a confrontation inside the conservatory.

Lithuanian journalist Rimantas Kanapienis said photographers and cameramen near the building entrance were also beaten with rubber truncheons. According to Mr. Budris, Soviet soldiers prevented ambulances from transporting the injured from the raid-site to the hospital.

The confrontation ended abruptly when a police unit of the Lithuanian Internal Ministry was detached to the scene.

Last month Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov alleged that the Soviet government would not force the sort of confrontation that disrupted celebrations of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in several republics last year. Even though the said parades should be held in less conspicuous sites, Soviet army troops began rehearsing for the parade last week in Vilnius.

At that time, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene condemned the military display as "psychological warfare," calling it an attempt by Moscow to intimidate Lithuania during negotiations.

November 7 was not a holiday in Lithuania, and many people heeded calls by Lithuanian government officials to stay away from the parade.

THE UKRAINIAN STUDENT REBELION

A Short history

KYIV — After 15 tense days here, Ukrainian students from across the country reaped the satisfaction of victory as Vitaliy Masol, premier of the Ukrainian SSR, bowed to their demands and agreed to resign.

Since October 2, the Ukrainian capital was the national and international focal point of the latest chapter in the Ukrainian nation's war of liberation. Tens of thousands of students, in some instances up to 100,000 at one time, converged on the students' tent city in the shadow of the Supreme Soviet, in what some are calling a student revolt, to support of the reestablishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

With the military in close proximity, the student protesters, along with the group of 300 who conducted the hunger strike on the recently-renamed Independence Square, endured provocation after provocation as well as at least one scuffle with officials as they pressed their demands for the full democratization of their homeland through national independence. While the demonstration and hunger strike were peaceful, the students did not restrain their intentions to restore independence. Sit-ins were held in universities across the capital, traffic was interrupted, and the city was awash in protests for nearly three weeks until the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet agreed in principle to consider their demands. The students' protest actions in the course of 16 days amounted to a citywide student revolt that rocked this capital city and reverberated in the halls of the Kremlin.

Observers view this student campaign as a major sign of militant coalescence not only of the students but that of the nation. However, though militantly adamant in seeing their aspirations for national independence fulfilled, there was no attempt to seize power by an armed uprising.

Another significant fallout in the aftermath of the student protests was that the Ukrainian Popular Movement — Rukh — at last has sensed the mood of the people and outrightly endorsed independence for Ukraine as its goal.

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted on October 17 a resolution, drafted by a joint committee comprised of deputies of the communist majority and the Narodna Rada (National Council — the democratic opposition), in which it makes a series of concessions to the students. The resolution, which basically accepts most of the students' demands, was approved by 314 deputies. In view of this action, with hugs and tears in their eyes, the students discontinued their protest and hunger strike on October 17.

The resolution consists of the following six points:

1. — Regarding New Elections — The Supreme Soviet should ratify in the course of the present second session legislation on a referendum in the Ukrainian SSR on the status of political parties and organizations, on the status of the people's deputies, and on new multi-party elections in Ukraine. The referendum is to take place sometime in 1991 and, according to the resolution, will amount to a nationwide vote of confidence or no confidence in the present government of the Ukrainian SSR. This referendum will then indicate if new elections are to be held.
2. — Regarding Military Service of Ukrainian Citizens — Ukrainian citizens, drafted into the Soviet army, will not be forced to fulfil their military obligations outside Ukraine's territorial boundaries. The Supreme Soviet is to ratify legislation in this

regard by December 31, as well as legislation giving Ukrainian citizens alternative options to fulfilling their military duty. (The resolution does not specify these options).

3. — Regarding the nationalization of the CPSU's Property on the Territory of Ukraine — Based on the decision, taken on October 15, the Supreme Soviet is to review the findings of the Justice Ministry of the Ukrainian SSR and of the State Arbitration Board regarding the nationalization of the property of the CPSU and the Komsomol (Communist youth organization). Moreover, a temporary committee is to be established by December 1 to resolve this issue.

4. — Regarding a Union Treaty — In accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, ratified by the Supreme Soviet on October 15, 1990, all efforts must be made to stabilize the political and economic situation in the republic, with a view towards establishing a sovereign Ukrainian state, and the ratification of a new republican Constitution. Until such a Constitution is ratified, all discussion regarding a new union treaty is to be regarded as premature.

5. — Regarding the Resignation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR — In light of the statement of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR — Leonid Kravchuk — regarding the resignation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers — Vitaliy Masol — this question is to be resolved in accordance with articles 97-9 and 108-4 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR.

6. — With the aim of forming a legal basis for the implementation of this resolution, necessary amendments are to be incorporated into the existing Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR by November 30, which will reflect the principles of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine.

Reports from Kyiv persistently indicated that a student revolt was under way. On Friday, October 12, a large student demonstration took place, as tens of thousands of Ukrainian students and schoolchildren marched through the streets of the capital in an unprecedented display of student solidarity and strength. Friday's demonstration was followed by a series of student protest actions that have exacerbated an already tense situation in Kyiv.

At 10:00 a.m., students from various educational institutions in the capital, as well as students from technical schools, and youths from high schools began to gather on Independence Square, reported the Information Centre of the Inter-Party Assembly. At 11:00 a.m. the huge column of approximately 100,000 students (the "Vita Nova" press agency reports 150,000) marched to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, which was surrounded by several rows of 3,000-4,000 militiamen. On Kirov and Sadova streets, the authorities deployed two units of "black berets" — the crack troops of the special militia detachments — numbering some 300-400, in full riot gear. The demonstrators filled the street around the Supreme Soviet building and surrounded the Soviet. Hundreds of Ukrainian national blue-and-yellow flags and revolutionary red-and-black banners, anti-communist and anti-government placards could be seen above the heads of the demonstrators. The masses of students chanted continuously, demanding the dissolution of the Ukrainian SSR government and the resignation of the president of the Supreme Soviet, L. Kravchuk. They whistled down the appearance of the now infamous "group of 239" (communist majority) deputies at the windows of the Soviet building.

A group of 200-300 students, the Information Centre report states, managed to break through the police cordon and laid down their mattresses outside the Supreme

Soviet building, refusing to move until their demands were met.

At 5:00 p.m., some 5,000 students marched to the Kyiv State University, where more than 100 students entered the building and barricaded themselves in. A Ukrainian national flag was raised over the university building. In light of their victory, on October 16, at 10:00 p.m. the students decided to discontinue the hunger strike action. The tents pitched by the students on the steps of the Supreme Soviet building were taken down, reports the "Vita Nova" press agency. The tent city on October Revolution Square, however, appeared to be in place. In the universities and schools, students gradually brought their successful protest actions to a close. Preparations were still going ahead, however, for an all-Ukrainian strike to begin on Monday, October 22, said "Vita Nova".

Earlier, tens of thousands of people, mostly students, gathered on October 22 on October-Revolution Square for a public rally and demonstration, reported the Information Centre of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly. Since October 2, nearly 200 Ukrainian students have been staging a hunger strike in the square.

On October 10, the communist majority in the Supreme Soviet rejected what in effect amounted to a motion of no confidence in the government, that was forwarded by the Narodna Rada (National Council), the pro-independence opposition. Specifically, the Narodna Rada deputies demanded the resignation of Masol. That same evening more than 10,000 indignant residents of Kyiv, following the students' lead, gathered on Independence Square, where a spontaneous rally was held. The rally quickly spilled out in the streets, so that all traffic in central Kyiv was brought to a standstill.

On October 12, the striking students issued a call for an all-Ukrainian student strike. That morning thousands of students blocked off traffic on the main Khreshchatyk Boulevard and began a protest rally. Several student representatives, as well as several People's Deputies, including Stepan Khmara and Maria Kuzemko, addressed the protesters.

On the initiative of Khmara and Kuzemko, together with the deputy chairman of the Inter-Party Assembly — Petro Kahuy — a protest rally was held through the capital following the rally. The crowd, which by that time had grown to approximately 100,000 people according to eyewitness accounts, marched through Kyiv to the "bilshovyk" factory, where L. Kravchuk was visiting. The demonstrators, mostly students and schoolchildren, chanted — "Down with Masol and Kravchuk!" and "Freedom for Ukraine!"

The demonstration concluded with a picket of the factory, during which the rally's resolution was delivered to Kravchuk as well as the students' demand that they be given two hours of air time in which to broadcast their demands throughout all of Ukraine. Should this demand not be met, the students had threatened more radical protest actions in the future.

Local protest actions were also under way in support of the Kyiv strike. In Ternopil, according to Vasyl Boychuk, the joint chairman of the city's student strike committees, the coordinating council adopted a resolution to begin a hunger strike and to mobilize the residents of the city to fight against the present political system in Ukraine reported the "Vita Nova" press agency.

The students' demands included:

- the dissolution of the Ukrainian SSR government;

Fragments of Hunger-Stri



Photographs

ory — Students' Kyiv, Ukraine



tanislav Czernij

- the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and new multi-party elections;
- the formation of a national army;
- nationalization of CPSU and Communist Youth League property.

The student hunger strike began on October 13. By the following day there were 46 students taking part in the action. The coordinating council was to have drawn up a plan of action to implement their demands.

The majority of Ternopil residents supported the students, according to the report. In two days they collected 6,000 signatures and 4,000 karbovantsi (roubles). The City Council did not interfere with the students. A delegation of the students met the chairman of the City Council — Pavlo Nehoda — and deputies of the municipal and provincial soviets.

The MVD representative in the city proposed that the students receive assistance to protect them and in order to maintain order. The KGB did not interfere at all.

“Vita Nova” correspondent — Viktor Baranov — believed that the City Council is fairly democratic and would continue to look at the student action favourably. Students and schoolchildren from nearly 40 schools and colleges in Ternopil took part in the action.

In an article in the October 19 edition of the *New York Times*, under a headline reading “Militant Students in Ukraine Force Party Into Retreat”, Francis Clines said militancy was the missing force in Ukraine, which “has coalesced with a vengeance here in Ukraine, pushing the communist-dominated parliament into deep retreat and forcing the nationalist movement to put a more aggressive edge on its agenda”.

Clines wrote that national independence was the ultimate goal of the students. He quoted 19-year-old Oksana Burakivska, who told him of her UPA grandfather: “My old grandfather used to tell me how he fought in the woods against the Red Army. He always told me to fight for Ukrainian independence, but by the time he died even he had lost faith in that idea”.

The New York Times also indicated that the Popular Movement of Ukraine — Rukh — has finally taken a close look at the direction the people have taken and “quickly altered” its policy to drop its previous hesitancy and fully endorses outright independence for Ukraine as its declared policy.

“Rukh leaders, who until now had some qualifications and differences in their approach toward ultimate independence, appeared to be scrambling to catch up with the republic’s new student protests”, Clines said.

However, the students realize that the military can still negate their victory. Ihor Hnateyko, a member of the large Lviv contingent at the demonstrations, self-confidently told Clines: “The army will want to remind us what tanks look like and we will want to remind them what our tents look like”.

Oleksander Dankevych of Western Ukraine, too, saw the military as a major threat to the movement. He told Clines: “We are surrounded by such bloody mini-revolutions — in Armenia, Azerbaijan and elsewhere — that we in Western Ukraine have decided against bloodshed and in favour of our own peaceful revolution”.

In an appeal to students of the world dated October 13, issued in Kyiv and signed by 200 students, the hunger strikers explained the reason for their action in this manner: “The road to freedom for Ukraine has been covered with thorns and blood. We are aware of this and we will not turn back from this course.”

“For our sacred goal — independence and freedom for Ukraine — we are prepared to sacrifice the single right that mercifully has not been taken from us — our lives”.

STUDENTS' HUNGER STRIKE FORCES MASOL TO RESIGN

By Alan Cooperman, AP — More than 200 went on hunger strike. Six were hospitalized. But in the end, the students who created a bloodless version of Tiananmen Square in Ukraine were sad to go home. For 16 days this month, the pro-independence hunger strikers lived in a tent city on the main square of Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, deliberately duplicating the tactics of pro-democracy Chinese students in Beijing in 1989. The Ukrainian students gambled that Soviet authorities would not dare to follow China's example and send the army to crush them. They turned out to be right. "We went in with cold minds, prepared for any kind of conflict, but with the conviction that the only real path open to the government was peaceful," said Volodymyr Boyarskyi, a 22-year-old medical student. On Wednesday, the Ukrainian government capitulated to most of the students' demands for faster steps toward independence, including the resignation of the republic's prime minister.

On Thursday, they took down the tents they had staked between cracks in the marble slabs of Revolution Square. And over the weekend, they headed back to their homes across this fertile republic of 51 million people, the breadbasket of the Soviet Union. "After the government announced it was giving in, we went wild with joy," Boyarsky said Friday. "Then we all realized that this piece of our lives was ending, we would be heading off in different directions, and hardly anyone slept that night with all the sentimental goodbyes." That sentiment was far removed from the tension the students felt on the first day of the hunger strike, Oct. 2, when seven busloads of riot police pulled up to the square. The strike had been planned for weeks, in extreme detail, by the Ukrainian Student Union in Kyiv and the Student Brotherhood in Lviv, a city of 770,000 in Western Ukraine. Both groups were angry over the lack of progress toward independence by the republic's parliament since it declared sovereignty July 16. They demanded bolder moves, such as those taken by the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. "Every nation has a right to self-determination on its own territory," law student Ihor Osobyk, 22, said Friday.

"You know, more than 40 million Ukrainians have been killed in the period of Soviet power, from famine and from bullets. Why can't we be masters of our own fate, our own future, our own land?" On Oct. 2, a day after the Ukrainian parliament opened its session, 120 hunger strikers and 50 supporters set up the first 22 tents on Revolution Square, under a towering bronze statue of Lenin. Supporters wore armbands to mark their pre-assigned roles: red for medics, black for guards keeping order in the camp; blue for people serving tea and cleaning up. They had a permit for a demonstration, but not for the tents. While fearing a police raid at any minute, they concentrated on explaining their position to passers-by. The students accused the parliamentary majority, a bloc of 239 Communist Party members, of "toadying to Moscow." They argued that the Communists and the republic's prime minister, Vitaliy Masol, were trying to thwart real independence by moving toward a new union treaty with other Soviet republics at the urging of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. They vowed to remain on the square until the parliament agreed to six demands: Masol's resignation; rejection of any new union treaty; permission for all Ukrainians in the Soviet army to serve on Ukrainian soil; nationalization of Communist Party property in Ukraine; dissolution of parliament; and new elections. "The first day there was a very heavy feeling, because we didn't know what the police were going to do," said

Boyarskyi. "But all they did was surround us, and the next day, we began what you might call normal life." History student Ludmyla Demirska, 25, said most of the students spent their days singing folk songs and meeting new arrivals, who came at the rate of more than 50 a day from schools across the republic, swelling the camp to more than 800 people. A total of 217 students registered as hunger strikers for varying lengths of time. About 20 reportedly went without food for a full two weeks. Christopher Kedzie, a Harvard University researcher working on economic reform in Ukraine, said he walked by the tent city every day and was "amazed at two things: the discipline of the students and the outpouring of support" from Kyiv residents, who brought mattresses, blankets, money and flowers. Thousands of people marched through the city last Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday to support the students' demands. Students claim the largest march, on the 17th, involved more than 100,000 people; authorities say it was only 20,000. Whatever the figure, public support for the students was strong enough that parliament realized "we have to take them seriously and the only rational course was compromise," said Oleksander Kotzuba, a centrist lawmaker. On Wednesday evening, Masol agreed to resign, and parliament passed a resolution promising to put off signing a new union treaty and saying all Ukrainian soldiers should be allowed to serve inside the republic. It also set up a commission to work on nationalizing Communist Party property and called for a referendum to decide whether to dissolve parliament and hold new elections. "Last week, we felt the strength of our youth," Serhiy Sukhov, 62-year-old printer said on a Kyiv streetcorner. "Not all of us were at the demonstration, but we supported, they won, and they are now the pride of our nation."

MILITIA BREAK UP STUDENT DEMONSTRATION

KYIV — In a predawn raid here on November 7 by about 5,000 militia troops, scores of Ukrainian students, who had gathered to block a military parade commemorating the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, were beaten up and arrested.

Some 200 students overnight occupied Victory Square in the Ukrainian capital, awaiting the 10:00 a.m. start of the military parade. Serhiy Koniukhiv, one of the student leaders, said the club-swinging riot police attacked the students at 5:15 a.m.

"I can't tell you exactly how many, but I think several students were injured. At least 20 of the students were loaded into paddy wagons and carried away", Koniukhiv said.

Eyewitnesses confirmed that the students were clubbed and kicked. Several girls suffered concussions and one student's ribs were broken, while others endured different injuries, the sources said. Koniukhiv said his ripped coat was torn in a clash with police and quoted a doctor who arrived in an ambulance as attesting that one student suffered a concussion when she was struck on the head with a club.

The student demonstration to prevent the military parade was organized by the Ukrainian Inter-Part Assembly, the Ukrainian Student Association and the Independent Ukrainian Youth Association. The militia troops were reportedly brought in from the Poltava and Cherkasy oblasts.

The militia attack forced the students to retreat with their injured friends to the Rukh headquarters, where they barricaded themselves inside, Koniukhiv said.



After the victory, students from Lviv return home.

Earlier, 14 political parties and organizations in the Ukrainian capital issued an appeal to the citizens to block the military parade. However, due to heavy security and the sealing off of access to the centre of Kyiv by thousands of troops and police standing shoulder to shoulder, the military parade began at 10:00 a.m. in strong rain and wind.

About 60 Rukh activists and others appeared on the roof of their building with blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags, decorated with black mourning ribbons, and shouted: "Traitors, traitors" as 3,000 communists marched across Victory Square. During the procession of army, navy and air force troops, the Rukh nationalists chanted: "Down with the occupiers."

With the protesters on the roof of the Rukh building watching the columns of troops, tanks, armoured personnel carriers and rocket launchers, one Ukrainian commented: "The Rukh building looks like a reviewing stand."

Reportedly, some of the marching soldiers smiled and waved at the Rukh activists, but others in tanks trained their anti-aircraft machine guns on the building. A communist supporter taunted the troops, "You should fire at them."

Several windows in the area were covered with black mourning flags to express popular opposition to Moscow's rule.

In the course of the 40-minute parade, one group of opposition demonstrators managed to block the road near the St. Volodymyr Church, forcing some of the revellers to proceed along an alternative route.

The student demonstrators, holding blue-and-yellow as well as revolutionary red-and-black flags with mourning ribbons, who had assembled near the Khreshchatyk

THREE ESTONIAN ACTIVISTS KILLED

NEW YORK — Three young Estonian political activists were killed and several others injured late at night August 25 when an automobile plowed into a group walking home from an Estonian National Independence Party convention banquet along Piirita highway in Tallinn.

The dead are reported to be: Tiina Hallik, Alge Sulla and Ilmar Palias. Among the injured are Andres Mae and Viktor Niitsoo. The latter had just returned to Estonia from a three-week North America tour the day before.

According to sketchy initial reports from Estonia and Radio Free Europe, the owner of the automobile, Kaido Randalu, attempted to flee the scene of the accident, but was apprehended. His female companion, who was apparently intoxicated had been driving. Randalu initially claimed that a third “unidentified intoxicated female acquaintance had been driving the car, but that she had run away.”

The Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP), the first true opposition political party to be formed in Soviet-occupied Estonia, had begun its annual convention August 25 in Tallinn. The party platform calls for the dissolution of the Communist Party and of the KGB as well as for an end to the Soviet occupation of

► boulevard were forcibly pushed away from the parade by columns of militia troops. Among this group were people’s deputies Stepan Khmara and Bohdan Hudyma and all-Ukrainian strike coordinator Mykhailo Ratushnyi.

One attempt at provoking the crowd to violence was reported to the prosecutor’s office. An unknown individual, dressed in civilian clothing, struck Khmara. It was subsequently determined that the assailant was militia Col. Ihor Hryhoriev. The protesters confiscated a pistol from him and turned him over to the prosecutor’s office.

Later, a peaceful demonstration in opposition to the parade was convened by the Ukrainian Republican Party and Rukh. About 500 persons attended this rally at the St. Sophia Square. Some 200 communist activists, escorted by the militia, surrounded the counterdemonstrators and fighting broke out. Before the counterdemonstration was dispersed, people’s deputy Mykhailo Horyn managed to address the crowd and urged them to fight for an independent Ukraine.

“Everything depends on each one of you — whether Ukraine will be free or not. But Ukraine must be free”, declared Horan to the crowd’s chants of “Glory to Ukraine”.

Horyn asked the participants to remove their hats and stand in a minute of silence in memory of the deaths of millions of Ukrainians killed in the Great Famine of 1932-33.

After the rally, thousands of people marched along Khreshchatyk boulevard, raising Ukrainian flags with mourning ribbons. A Solidarity activist, Miron Kolodko, was seen with this group.

Student activists in Kyiv believe the counterdemonstrations were not successful because in the last minute the Ukrainian Republican Party and Rukh withdrew their support for a demonstration to interdict the military parade and opted for a peaceful, nonconfrontational anti-communist rally.

EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN

On Thursday, October 4, 1990, Mujahideen informed that they had captured the provincial capital, Tarin Kot, in central Afghanistan. The Uruzgan capital fell on Wednesday night after three weeks of fighting.

The fall of the city clears the last of the government troops in Uruzgan and makes the province the fifth to be captured by the Mujahideen. It is said that it will be a major morale booster for the Mujahideen.

On October 6th, it was reported that seven Field Commanders of the Afghan guerilla fighters were killed when a rocket fired by government forces landed on a hut in which they were convening. The officers were killed in the Rodat district in the eastern province of Nangarhar.

Among those killed were Zahid Ibrahim, Provincial Commander of the Hezb-I-Islami group led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. The other commanders led resistance units for the group in various areas.

Hezb-I-Islami is one of the main Pakistan-based resistance groups fighting the soviet-backed government in Kabul. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar of the Hezb-I-Islami party said that the plans are being coordinated with resistance Field Commanders in Afghanistan. He says the aim is the total overthrow of the Najibullah government.

Hekmatyar did not say when the offensive will be launched on Kabul but he repeated previous calls for civilians in Kabul to leave areas near military installations. He also called on Kabul army units to join the resistance and said this is their "last chance" to defect before the fighting begins.

AFGHANICA MOVES BASE TO POLAND

Due to improved circumstances AFGHANICA (the Afghanistan Studies Newsletter) has been transferred from Oxford, U.K., to Krakow in Poland.

Polish scholars are preparing for an international conference on the theme "Culture of Afghanistan: Problems of Continuity and Future Perspectives" to be held from April 4-6, 1991 in Krakow, Poland. The organizers say that in spite of diminishing interest, Afghanistan still deserves the careful attention of international academic circles. Poland itself was for almost 45 years under a similar regime and can provide a valuable platform for understanding the cultural process introduced in Afghanistan by the communist coup of 1978.

The conference is sponsored by the institute of Oriental Philology (Krakow University), Polish Ethnological Society and AFGHANICA.

▶ Estonia. All of the dead and injured, except for Mr. Palias, were members of the Estonian National Independence Party.

Ms. Hallik, whose first husband died under mysterious circumstances in 1987, was the daughter of Estonian sociologist, Klara Hallik. Ms. Hallik, who frequently served as an English-language translator and has been interviewed by American network TV, had been the subject of several death threats in the past few years.

Ms. Sulla managed the ERSP office in Tallinn. A key figure in the Congress of Estonia.

Mr. Palias was in charge of planning, arrangements and budgeting. His loss is a severe blow to the Congress of Estonia as he would have played a central role in the plans to reconvene the full Congress in October.

Authorities are investigating. Funeral services were scheduled for Saturday, September 1.

GORBACHEV-THE-NOBEL-LAUREATE — LITHUANIAN PERSPECTIVES

TO OSLO, VIA VILNIUS

Few Champagne corks popped in Lithuania at the news of Mikhail Gorbachev's Nobel Peace Prize.

Consider his record in the last six months: Lithuania declares a restoration of independence and the Soviet Army invades Vilnius with tanks and paratroops. The Russians seize printing presses and Government offices and drag frightened boys back into the Red Army.

There are MIG overflights, helicopters, scatter more pro-Soviet propaganda leaflets than Vermont has maple leavers. Western journalists are expelled and the press blackout begins.

These are hardly the things one would expect from Mother Teresa, Albert Schweitzer or Mohandas K. Ghandi.

When the Lithuanians still refuse to rescind their declaration of independence, Mr. Gorbachev orders a blockade that ruins the economy, and though he officially lifts it after his summit meeting with President Bush, he continues it in subtle but paralyzing ways.

Even conservative estimates put the damage to Lithuania's economy as a result of the blockade in the billions of dollars and still counting. Simple good sportsmanship suggests that Mr. Gorbachev donate his \$700,000 prize to help offset what his embargo has created.

"If Moscow thinks that we owe them something for independence, our bill has already been paid in advance," said the Prime Minister, Kazimiera Prunskiene. Even today, Mr. Gorbachev keeps away at Lithuania to join a federated Soviet Union.

A recent deal between Mr. Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic, has all the necessary ingredients to undermine trade agreements between Lithuania and the Federation — agreements that were intended to release Lithuania as Moscow's economic hostage.

Beginning in 1991, Moscow threatens hard currency payments from Lithuania for much commercial trade. The indispensable industrial triad of crude oil, natural gas and metals could be the first, and, coming in winter, would create conditions for worse than the spring blockade. Deliveries for the current quarter's goods, particularly medical supplies, are not guaranteed. These tactics are nothing short of blackmail.

Tanks still casually patrol downtown Vilnius each evening, and several key buildings seized by the Soviet Army in March have yet to be returned to the Lithuanians.

In southeastern Lithuania, the Lithuanian Communist Party, funded by Moscow, continues to provoke ethnic unrest among Poles and Russians under Mr. Gorbachev's direction. Contrary to the Lithuanian Constitution, local councils still controlled by the Communist old guard recently declared two districts as autonomous regions.

These stunts, encouraged by Mr. Gorbachev, are inconsistent with the Nobel Prize. In a telegram of congratulations, in which he addressed Mr. Gorbachev as "Your Majesty," Lithuania's President, Vytautas Landsbergis, himself a nominee for the prize, expressed hope that the award would "widen neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Lithuania and help restore Baltic independence."

100,000 LVIV RESIDENTS PROTEST AGAINST NEW UNION TREATY

LVIV, September 2, 1990 — At 7:00 p.m., over 100,000 people gathered around the monument to Ivan Franko (a 19th century Ukrainian poet) for a public rally to protest against a new union treaty. On several occasions in the past M. Gorbachev made reference to the need for such a new treaty and authoritative sources in the Ukr.SSR's Supreme Soviet have stated that relevant legislation on this issue will soon be pending before the Soviet Union's 15 republican Supreme Soviets.

The Lviv rally was organized by the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP). Among the many speakers addressing the mass rally were the following: Rostyslav Bratun and Orest Vlokh — both of whom are people's deputies; Iryna Kalynets and Stepan Khmara — URP representatives; representatives of the Club of Repressed, who have recently returned from the Vorkuta-Inta region, where they were tidying up the graves of Ukrainian political prisoners; Roman Pankevych — the chairman of the Lviv municipal branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh); Mychailo Osadchyi — a member of the Presidium of the Lviv regional Rukh branch; and Anatoliy Lupynis, representing the Inter-Party Assembly. All the speakers stressed the need to make every effort to ensure that a new union treaty will not be signed by the Ukr.SSR's Supreme Soviet.

In his address, M. Osadchyi stated: "The new union treaty, that is being drawn up behind closed doors, is merely the transfer of Ukraine from one prison cell to another. In the first place", Osadchyi continued, "Ukraine should achieve genuine sovereignty — political, economic independence, form and make use of its own armed forces, as well as all the other necessary attributes of an independent state — and then determine its own fate — whether to sign a union treaty or whether to join the ranks of independent states, such as France, England, Italy, Poland and other European nations".

► So it is still not too late for Mr. Gorbachev to deserve what he has already won.

Along with his power to dissolve republics' governments and install presidential rule comes great, if not exclusive, control over negotiations with Lithuania. Though it is the impression of the Western press that his power in the Soviet Union is slipping, his personal grip on Lithuania has not loosened.

The first round of talks between the Soviet Union and Lithuania ended with Moscow willing, in principle, to bargain. But in private Mr. Gorbachev's position is quite the opposite. He views Lithuania as his colony, scoffs at its confidence in the influence of the West to help it during the negotiations and will let it go only when compelled to do so.

Few opportunities have been missed to pamper Mr. Gorbachev, the world's darling, and the Nobel Prize is yet another example. Unless he reverses his position and releases Lithuania with no strings attached, and soon, this will be the year he rode a tank through Vilnius on his way to Oslo.

*John Budris, Vilnius, Reporter for US National Public Radio
The New York Times, October 17, 1990*

A resolution was adopted during the rally, which called on the Ukrainian people to stage mass political strikes in the event that the Ukr.SSR's Supreme Soviet should sign such a union treaty. The aim of these mass strikes would be to have the Ukr.SSR government and the Supreme Soviet dissolved and to force new elections.

Moreover, the rally participants voiced their protest against a new union treaty, which would preserve the integrity of the colonial structure of the USSR, stating that the Union Treaty of 1922 was illegal because it was signed by an illegitimate government, that was placed into power during the military occupation of Ukraine by the Red Army. The resolution further called for the immediate adoption by the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet of a Decree on Power, which would correspond to the basic principles enunciated in the "Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine" (ratified by the Supreme Soviet on July 16).

The resolution also called for: the initiation of negotiations with other states regarding bilateral economic treaties; full political and economic independence of Ukraine from Moscow, with no unions, federations, or confederations with the central Soviet authorities; the immediate implementation by the Soviet Ukrainian government of the decree of the Supreme Soviet on military service by Ukrainian citizens, as well as the full implementation of legislation requiring that national Ukrainian armed forces be formed. All young Ukrainians eligible for the autumn call-up were called upon to demand to serve on Ukrainian territory.

Similar rallies took place in Kyiv, Ternopil, Dnipropetrovsk, and a number of other regions.



Representatives of the subjugated nations in Melbourne, Australia showing solidarity for their homelands.



Commemoration in Lviv of Ukrainian Independence Day which was restored on 30th June, 1941

TERNOPIL RALLY DEMANDS RELEASE OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVIST

TERNOPIL, November 11 — A public rally was held in this western Ukrainian city, organized by the city's democratic forces, demanding the release of Yaroslav Demydas, reports the Ukrainian Independent Information Agency (UNIA).

Mr. Demydas, the chairman of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was abducted by officials of the Kyiv procurator's office from Ternopil, the UNIA report continues, on November 6. He was brought to the Ternopil procurator's office allegedly to discuss matters concerning the local Ukrainian Catholic community, from where he did not return. After a period of three days, the legal period during which a person may be detained without the sanction of the procurator, the people of Ternopil began to picket the city's procurator's office.

UNIA believes this act was a direct provocation designed to create hostility between the city's Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox communities. At this time the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church — Mstyslav — was due to visit Ternopil. The authorities counted on the Catholic faithful to begin protest actions against the unlawful detention of Yaroslav Demydas, and thereby hinder Metropolitan Mstyslav from conducting a religious service, which would, in turn, give rise to tensions between the two religious groups. The Catholics, however, dispatched



A demonstration of 15,000 in front of the KGB building in Ternopil (Ukraine), demanding the release of a religious activist.

BALTIC WARNINGS ON SOVIET DESIGNS

Moscow is preparing aggression, Lithuanian Supreme Council charges

The leadership of the Soviet Union has been informed that the Republic of Lithuania does not intend to sign any kind of contract of a union of the republics. It would seem counterproductive, therefore, to trouble the people, to increase the tension, to damage one's own and Lithuania's economy by avoiding political negotiations, the liquidation of the results of the World War Two, and the recongition of Lithuania's independence. Unfortunately, the (Soviet) behavior is different. The officials of the Soviet Union refuse to guarantee that they will honor as of October 1990 their contracts on the sale of resources and goods to Lithuania. The banking and diplomatic blockade, the usurpation of Lithuania's western borders, the armed interference into civilian affairs are continuing, youths who refuse to serve in the foreign army are being terrorized. All kinds of efforts are being made to destabilize the



an appeal to the Orthodox faithful calling on them to join them in their protest measure.

The protest rally on November 11 condemned the provocation by the procurator's office and called on the people of Ternopil to form citizens' self-defence groups. The people are planning mass actions of protest for the release of Yaroslav Demydas, according to the UNIA report.

internal situation not only in Lithuania and not solely in the Baltic republics. On April 10, 1990, the president of the USSR told the delegates at the Communist Youth Congress in Moscow that it was impermissible to keep changing borders, because that will lead to a "clash among all nations and states." The conservative forces of the USSR are inciting such clashes by sending to Lithuania high officials of the USSR Communist Party whose task is to mislead primarily the minority nationalities in Lithuania. A new aggression is being prepared, with the expenditure of large sums and large-scale use of propaganda media. We call on the nations of the world and the democratic states not to remain passive in the face of the rising danger for the Baltic states.

THE BALTIC QUESTION AT THE U.N.

The Baltic independence cause received strong support from Nordic delegates at the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen told the U.N. delegates on September 26 that Denmark supports the efforts of the Baltic republics to give "real content to their formal independence." He expressed his hope that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will before long be allowed to shoulder their responsibility as "full-fledged participants in international cooperation." Denmark recognized the Baltic states in 1921, he said, and "never accepted their incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940."

The foreign minister acknowledged that "difficult problems" would have to be solved in Baltic negotiations with the Soviet Union. He appealed to the parties concerned to show flexibility and good will in such an endeavor.

Also at the U.N., Iceland called for "full recognition of the Baltic republics' right to independence." Speaking to the General Assembly on September 24, Iceland's Foreign Minister Jon Hannibalsson said independence was the only solution to the dispute between Moscow and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Recalling that the three republics were independent states, recognized by the international community, the minister said that "military occupation and annexation cannot be allowed to change" this fact.

Mr. Hannibalsson added that in the meantime Iceland, just as other Nordic countries, wishes to see cooperation extended to the Baltic republics at various levels. Iceland would welcome observer status for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, he said.

U.S. SHOULD SIGNAL "UNSWERVING SUPPORT" TO BALTS — DECONCINI

...The Soviet Union itself is in the throes of convulsive changes and the ultimate outcome is unpredictable. In this atmosphere of great uncertainty, the United States should signal its unwavering support of the Baltic cause.

As the representatives of the great powers assemble to redress a historic wrong by undoing the division of Germany, let us not forget three small states that lost their freedom in 1940 but never lost their spirit. Of all the countries that fell to dictators in World War II, only Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have yet to regain real sovereignty. Let us, as a new era dawns in Europe, rededicate ourselves to Baltic independence.

*Senator Dennis DeConcini, Chairman Helsinki Commission
(Congressional Record, September 12, 1990)*

BALTIC FOREIGN MINISTERS ON GERMANY KUWAIT AND CSCE

Statement by Janis Jurkans, Lennart Meri and
Algirdas Saudargas, October 2, 1990 CSCE Conference, New York

At this time of momentous change, as the postwar division of Germany comes to an end and a unified, single sovereign German state is re-established, we Balts feel compelled to remind the world that this reunification by no means spells the definitive end of World War II: we Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians are still the victims of that war. The Soviet-occupied Baltic states are still an unresolved consequence of that unnatural division in Europe.

As the world today demonstrates that aggression will no longer be tolerated, we join the international community in condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania can easily relate to the tragic plight of the Kuwaitis and cannot help but draw parallels to their own situation. While Kuwait has been forced to endure two months of brutal foreign subjugation, the occupation of our countries has lasted 50 years. Now, with a new day dawning in the USSR, we look forward to negotiating and securing the Soviet withdrawal of troops from our countries.

Bound to the Continent by our common bonds of culture, heritage and history, we wish to take our rightful place in a united Europe. We want equal rights to European security and cooperation and will gladly assume our responsibilities in the commonwealth of free nations, as we once did in the League of Nations.

Our governments are heartened by the movement towards consensus on Baltic membership in the CSCE and urge the remaining, as of yet undecided, CSCE member states to have the courage and foresight to support the Baltic application for participation in the Helsinki process and to grant the Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania observer status at the Paris Summit in November. (Unfortunately the Baltic representatives were not admitted to CSCE Conference — Editor.)



Ukrainians demonstrating in support of the Baltic Nations. The placard reads, "Mykhail the 1st, hands off the Lithuanian Republic."

**AWARD BESTOWED UPON THE RT. HON.
SIR FREDERIC BENNETT, DL**

On September 9, 1990 the Hungarian Knightly Order of Vitez held its annual grand meeting in Munich. An Ecumenial Service was followed by the award ceremony during which H. R.H. Prince vitez Jozsef Arpad, the Grand Captain of the order of Vitez conducted the Investiture of the new members. The RT. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett, DL, member of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council and Kolonel Paavo A. Kairinen were knighted by H.R.H. Prince vitez Jozsef Arpad for their work and support of the Hungarian nation.



The Right Honourable Sir Frederic Bennett and Colonel Paavo A. Kairinen at the Hungarian award ceremony.

CAPTIVE NATIONS MEETING

At a protest meeting held by the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford on Sunday 30 September 1990 in the Ukrainian Hall, 169 Legrams Lane, Bradford 7 for the purpose of declaring solidarity with our people in the Soviet Empire and amongst ourselves here in Bradford in response to Mr. Gorbachev's proposed New Treaty for the Federation of "Sovereign" Republics in the USSR.

THE RESOLUTION

We see the New Treaty as communists' last ditch stand to revert the USSR to the Soviet prison of nations as we have known it for the past seventy years and therefore resolve as follows:

WE DECLARE UNANIMOUSLY our support to the Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and others in the USSR clearly stating our rejection of the proposed New Treaty.

WE WARN THE WEST of the danger that their policy of supporting Mr. Gorbachev could spell the end of freedom prospects amongst the non-Russian peoples of the USSR and cause the Iron Curtain once more being erected around the Soviet Empire.



A delegation representing the Association of Ukraine and the European Freedom Council, Derby Branch members meeting the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe in Derby, England.

UMA CONFERENCE IN KYIV

Constitutional Assembly Planned for January 1991

KYIV — The Public Committee of Ukraine, a division of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly (UMA) that is responsible primarily for gathering signatures of citizens of the Ukrainian National Republic, held a conference here on October 20, 1990, reports the Information Centre of the UMA. The foremost topic for discussion centred on the next, extraordinary session of the UMA, scheduled for December 1, 1990, as a preparatory conference for the convention of a Constitutional Assembly by the end of January 1991.

According to the UMA report, elections are soon to be held, in which registered citizens of the Ukrainian National Republic will elect delegates to this Constitutional Assembly. The meeting of Public Committees also ratified the decision of the Assembly's National Council and Executive Committee to strive towards greater

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WE ASK THAT THE MASSIVE financial aid and loans promised to the Soviet Union be held back and given directly to those Sovereign Republics which will have the determination and strength of resolve to emerge as free nations.

WE WARN that the rulers of Soviet Union even today are playing a double game in joining the US in condemning the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, whilst at the same time training Iraqi naval officers in a Soviet navy base in the Baltic.

WE ASK THAT THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION of the Baltic States be brought on the agenda of top level international talks and a time table established for the Soviet occupation forces and administration to be withdrawn from there and the freedom of the three Baltic States restored.

WE APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS to recognise the plight to the non-Russian Republics of the USSR (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Mongolia and others), similar to that of Kuwait, and condemn their forcible retention in the USSR against their declarations to become Sovereign Nations.

THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

*For and on behalf of the Meeting
(Members of the Presidium)*

*Mr. G. Tamson, Chairman Captive Nations Committee
Mr. Z. Lastowecki, Chairman Ukrainian Community Bradford
Mr. W. Demtschuk, Secretary Ukrainian Information Services*

consolidation of all national-liberation forces and opposition groups in Ukraine and to begin forming a Committee of National Salvation.

The participants of the meeting also decided to commemorate November 7 as a day of mourning for the victims of communist terror. The member organizations of the UMA and registered citizens of the Ukrainian National Republic are to stage anti-communist manifestation on that day. The communist authorities plan on holding the traditional Revolution Day parade on November 7. In this regard, the meeting decided to forward to the authorities the position of the UMA, viz., that any parades scheduled for that day will be considered a provocation in violation of the memory of the victims of communist terror and as a challenge to the Ukrainian people's aspirations to liquidate the consequences of communist tyranny in Ukraine, according to the report.

A considerable part of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of what activity the Public Committees should be initiating now, in light of the ever more real threat of political chaos, famine, and even a civil war breaking out in Ukraine. Generally, on the basis of these discussions, the participants decided to strengthen the UMA's state-building activities, so that various contingency plans can be effectively put into effect in the event of a crisis breaking out in Ukraine.

The meeting's participants also decided to hold an economic conference in the city of Donetsk on the theme: "Problems of the Coal Mining Regions — the Present Situation and an Outlook for the Future".

Thousands Greet Ukrainian Orthodox Patriarch

KYIV — The Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalus Orthodox Church (UAOC), the Patriarch of Kyiv and all of Ukraine, Mstyslav, arrived in the Ukrainian capital on Saturday, October 20, 1990. Up to 5,000 faithful of the UAOC gathered at the Kyiv Boryspil airport to greet their religious leader, who resides in the United States. Many travelled from as far as Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Rivne, Vinnytsia and other Ukrainian cities and villages.

The welcoming party included the Patriarch's deputy, the Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych — Ioan; Stepan Khmara — a people's deputy to the Ukr.SSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the democratic opposition — "Narodna Rada" (National Council); Ivan Drach — the chairman of Rukh (Popular Movement of Ukraine), as well as other prominent Rukh leaders.

A solemn *moleben* (a religious service) was held in the St. Sophia Cathedral in the Ukrainian capital, celebrated by Patriarch Mstyslav, Metropolitan Ioan, eight bishops and close to 100 priests. After the service, Patriarch Mstyslav addressed the 20,000 faithful, who had gathered outside St. Sophia's to greet their Patriarch.

On Sunday, October 21, the Patriarch celebrated a Divine Liturgy at the Church of St. Andrew, assisted by bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalus Orthodox Church. According to eyewitness accounts, approximately 50,000 faithful gathered in and outside the church to attend the religious service.

MOTHERS OF SOLDIERS COMMITTEE HOLDS INAUGURAL CONFERENCE

IVANO-FRANKIVSK, November 10 — The provincial inaugural conference of the Mothers of Soldiers Committee was held in this city, attended by approximately

SPECIAL ENVOY TO UKRAINE

ROME, 2 November 1990 — Bishop Basil H. Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Stamford and Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky's special envoy to Ukraine, recently returned from a ten-day visit to the major cities of Ukraine. Bishop Losten is a member of the United States National Catholic Conference of Bishops Ad Hoc Committee to Aid the Liberated Catholic Church of Eastern Europe.

On his visit, Bishop Losten inspected seminaries, convents, monasteries and printing plants presently held by Soviet state and city councils. Conversations with members of these councils indicated that there is a possibility of retrieving some buildings which are in colossal disrepair. None of the buildings belonging to the Catholic Church were maintained over the years.

There are 700 seminarians registered in Western Ukraine who are attending classes in various churches such as the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv. Bishop Losten visited a camp outside Lviv which caters to about 300 youth during the summer. In council with Metropolitan Sterniuk and others concerned, it was decided to rent this facility for the next eight months in order to begin formation of seminarians for the Lviv area.

The Drohobych area has 47 seminarians who have daily classes in the Holy Trinity parish center. In the Ivano-Frankivsk area, there are over 300 seminarians who attend classes in a facility rented by the Church. Monasteries and convents have all deteriorated to such an extent that it could cost more to repair them than build new facilities.

Evangelization and catechization are primary on the list of the bishops in Ukraine. They are depending upon the west to give them a badly needed temporary boost. Bishop Losten estimates that there is need of a \$10 million immediate reconstruction program and is depending upon his brother bishops in the west to help.

"The reconstruction program will take time," Bishop Losten said following a report to Cardinal Lubachivsky in Rome. "I know that Cardinal Lubachivsky is looking forward to being personally involved in the process upon his imminent return to Ukraine."

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300 delegates. Many representatives came from Luhansk, Poltava, Mykolayiv, Lviv, Kyiv, Zaporizhia and other provinces around Ukraine. The chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Committee, Mrs. Trukhmanova, attended the conference

The next day, November 11, the Nationalist Ukrainian Youth Association (also SNUM) organized a meeting, attended by up to 5,000 people. Vitaliy Tsapovych led the rally.

BREAK-UP OF SOVIET UNION INEVITABLE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8, REUTER — Kremlin watchers in the United States, within and outside the government, are warning that the disintegration of the Soviet Union is inevitable and imminent. "It is very likely that in two years' time the Soviet Union will cease to exist as a state," said Kim Holmes of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington think-tank. The speedy shift of effective power from the central government in Moscow to individual republics has commanded little attention in the higher reaches of a government distracted by the Gulf crisis.

But middle-level State Department officials closely monitoring the situation believe the process has become unstoppable. "The central government is shrinking in power terms and being marginalised. Republics are simply seizing large chunks of power and Moscow does not have the ability to stop them," said one official. "Without a major revolution, the Soviet Union is simply spinning apart," he added.

Analysts openly predict that several republics will secede from the Soviet Union in the next few years. The most commonly cited are Georgia Armenia, Moldova, possibly Ukraine and the Baltic republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In policy terms, the U.S. Administration is still wedded to the success of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and committed to the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union, with the exceptions of the Baltic republics whose 1940 annexation the U.S. never recognised.

On this point, Washington, is in tune with some of its European allies, especially Germany, which fears a massive onslaught of refugees if the Soviet Union falls apart. Gorbachev himself has raised the spectre of civil war, chaos and the possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of radical republics if he falls. Uri Ra'anani of Boston University said the Bush administration shares such fears. But, he argued, Gorbachev's policy of trying to slow down and complicate the process might be even more dangerous.

"How can he possibly put a brake on these movements? The Red Army no longer has the ability, even if it has the will, to crush so many Independence movements in so many different places," he said. Ra'anani said he believed Moscow was trying to complicate matters by stirring the ethnic pot within republics, where minorities have threatened their own secessionist movements to counter independence. The Russian minorities in the Baltic republics and elsewhere say they will seek to break away and rejoin Russia if the republics do become independent.

Juliana Pilon of the National Forum Foundation said this was a very dangerous possibility which had severely destabilising implications. "The disintegration process has been going on unmistakably for quite some time without sufficient appreciation in the West," she said. "Where can Moscow draw the line? Their weakness is now absolutely remarkable," she said. "But weakness could translate into violence and repression."

THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND PERESTROIKA (Continuation from ABN Correspondence No. 3)

One may easily notice that the Plan fulfilment did not actually occur in several more serious economic sectors than before, while the population was growing, and consequently the demands presented to the economy were larger, too. Then, almost all Union republics did worse in this respect, while the following republics were critical:³¹

Ukrainian SSR	100.1
Uzbek SSR	99.7
Kazakh SSR	100.1
Georgian SSR	99.5

Then, as *glasnost and perestroika* gradually progressed, the economic situation of the USSR worsened step-by-step in the course of 1986 and 1987; as the results of the economic performances of various industries were getting less and less favorable, as reported in January 1987 and 1988 by *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.³² In January 1989, both papers published the results of the Plan fulfillment for 1988. Although the major indicators did not change much from the previous low level achievement, yet the list of deficient industries which did not meet the planning targets and stayed below 1987, steadily grew, while no Union republic fulfilled the plan.

Table Five³³

Indicators	Percent increase of the 1987 level
National income	104.4
Personal income	103.5
Industrial production	103.0
Farming	100.7
Labor productivity	105.1
Retail trade	107.1

Two items in that table seem a little unrealistic or off-color. In the course of 1988 continuous complaints were made by the Soviet authorities about declining labor discipline, labor efficiency, and work absenteeism, and at the same time the Plan fulfillment figures show rather high results for labor productivity that year. Then, figures for retail trade were rather, while at the same time produce and merchandise were disappearing from the shelves of the stores, and many items were moved away from the regular channels of market distribution and were made available by coupons only. It certainly did not indicate a growing trade but rather a growing shortage. The relatively high figure for Soviet retail trade then must be explained by growing market distribution by family and cooperative operations for individual gain, which certainly was increasing during *perestroika's* "reform", being another indication of the bankruptcy of Marxist theory.

The following industries did not meet the original planning quotas or stayed behind the achievements of 1987:³⁴

Indicators	Percent of Plan fulfillment	Percent of 1987
Cheese	99.8	104.0
Margarine	89.0	97.0
Vegetable oil	83.0	106.0
Granulated sugar	91.0	88.0
Bread	100.6	97.0
Canned goods	99.0	101.0
Fabrics	99.6	103.0
Knitted wear	99.0	103.0
Hosiery	99.9	99.0
Radio receivers	90.0	98.0
Tape recorders	92.0	110.0
Washing machines	94.0	106.0
Vacuum cleaners	98.0	108.0
Motorcycles	98.0	102.0
Bycycles	97.0	101.0
Passenger cars	98.0	95.0
Clocks and watches	100.0	104.0
Elements of galv. batteries	91.0	106.0
Footwear	98.0	101.0

When reviewing the above list of deficiencies in the Plan fulfillment, one notice immediately that the consumer was hard hit by shortages, in spite of the numerous declarations of the Soviet leadership, that it was the average consumer who was supposed to be helped. The deficiencies in the planned productivity of all Union republics, falling behind the previous year, 1987, as pointed out above, scored in all cases only about 98.2 to 99.7 percent.

A similar gloomy picture of the Soviet economy in 1988 was supplied by various construction complexes, as follows:³⁵

	Fulfillment of the contractual commitment	Percent of the share of underfulfillment
Metalurgical complexes	99.0	29.0
Fuel and power complexes	99.5	31.0
Machine building complexes	98.1	40.0
Chemical and timber complexes	98.4	40.0
Agro-industrial complexes	98.8	11.0
Social complexes	99.4	16.0
Construction complexes	99.1	16.0

This being a general picture of the Soviet economic performance during *perestroika* in light of official Soviet statistics of the Five-Year Plan fulfillments, show rather conclusively that economically the USSR was not getting better but rather worse. That should have worried the Soviet leadership seriously. And it did.

Can, however, the Soviet statistics about Soviet economic success or failure be

trusted? Scarcely. Traditionally, Soviet authorities manipulated statistics of USSR economic performance for various reasons and on various levels. On the level of individual industrial, commercial, or otherwise establishment, the figures were manipulated or right away falsified to give the upper level of authority a more favorable picture, in order to avoid either reprimands or punishments, and from there, step-by-step, the manipulation of the figures was going on up to the top. The upper planning authorities has consistently manipulated Soviet statistics to hide military secrets, to impress the Soviet people by the performance of the economy, to show a more favorable picture of the Soviet economy to the outside world, as well as, to protect the Marxist ideology from being blamed for poor practical results. Furthermore, Soviet statistics have been traditionally sketchy, when compared with Western ones. For example, Soviet statistics for a long time gave information about some 55,000 bits of information, while the Americans provided about 220,000 items. Most recently, such statistical manipulation was confirmed. Mikhail Gorbachev intended in 1989 to reveal to his new Supreme Soviet of People's Deputies that in 1984, a year before his coming to power and the inauguration of *perestroika*, the Soviet Gross National Product and National Income declined by a dramatic rate of nine percent, while official statistics reported a 3.2 percent increase. However, in the last minute he gave up "the idea of dwelling on his predecessor's dramatic record to concentrate on the future".³⁶ In view of these facts, who should trust the Soviet "disclosures" about the overall performance of the USSR is economy? The performance must certainly by much less favorable in long-run. Maybe, day-by-day reports of the Soviet press could shed some additional light on the overall situation.

IV. The economic situation as reflected in the Soviet press

A. The application of technological progress in practical business operations and ecological problems.

It has been a perennial Soviet problem, that research and development in the Soviet Union has lagged far behind the West, and its application in practical production processes was always significantly delayed and poorly executed. It was this way during Khrushchev's decentralization, the "thraw", and under Brezhnev as well. The reform of 1973 also referred to that problem. In 1985, for example, special groups were setup in the Georgian SSR to speed the introduction of innovations into production. Similar measures were undertaken in Ukraine and other republics.³⁷ *Pravda* in July 1987 reported that technological progress in industrial research was slow, as was modernization of industrial establishments; general progress was unsatisfactory.³⁸ Over and over again the press, *Ekonomicheskaja gazeta*, *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and other papers, provincial and local, bitterly complained about the slow application of computerization.³⁹ In September 1987, *Pravda* demanded that research and development, and modernization of equipment and processing be accelerated in all industries; from natural gas to transportation, in order to improve the quality of goods and services.⁴⁰ In October 1987, the Central Committee of the CPSU again resolved that scientific research, technological progress and their application in industry must be improved and accelerated, better accountability introduced, and new management techniques progressively employed.⁴¹ In October 1987, *Pravda* stated that agricultural research was in trouble as well.⁴²

With all the shortcomings, which might be referred to by the press, the industrial economy of the USSR has grown over the eleven periods of Five-Year planning, having produced in the 70s and 80s very serious ecological problems throughout the entire Soviet Union, culminating in the Chornobyl disaster in April 1986. Again ecological problems have been repeatedly reported and discussed by the Soviet press, painting a rather gloomy picture. There is pronounced air and water pollution; land conservation is inadequate; the Taiga is in danger. The bad situation was caused by poor environmental planning, and too much bureaucracy and fractional approach, losing the total picture. Fish and game reserves are dwindling, reindeer are disappearing, game moving away, escaping technical progress. Flooding is recurrent in various parts of the USSR.⁴³

The Chornobyl disaster was reprinted over the years by the press, discussing its different aspects. Although the real extent of the disaster was suppressed by Soviet censorship, one can easily see, that the catastrophe was on everybody's mind. The causes, the extent, fears, rumors, the danger of radiation and contamination, the long-term consequences, the rehabilitation of Chornobyl, the likelihood of another nuclear disaster to the extent of Chornobyl, were debated over the period of three years.⁴⁴

Yet, other ecological problems were not neglected, and were brought to the attention of the public and the government. In February 1989, *Pravda* stated that there was very careless use of chemicals, endangering the environment.⁴⁵ In July 1987, the press reported that offices and officials of various ministries failed to ensure the implementation of environmental measure on the lower levels of administration to prevent pollution and make a comprehensive use of waste. In November of that year, *Izvestia* complained that various industries ignored environmental legislation on all kinds of pollution. It said that during the twelfth Five-year Plan the targets in reducing pollution were only half realized.⁴⁶ The Aral Sea is dying, and the environmental agencies do not know what to do, while the state environmental programs are at a loss. The Volga Basin also faced ecological problems; fish are harmed, while the poor irrigation plans brought a considerable loss of farmland. The Central Committee of the CPSU debated in 1988 the case of Lake Baikal in the Far East, where a slow progress in cleaning was identified. In many instances swimming in the rivers and lakes was not advisable.⁴⁷

Hence, in late 1988 and early 1989 the number of public demonstration in defense of the environment increased, and the number of new construction of nuclear complexes in various parts of the USSR, included the Ukrainian SSR and one on the Lena River in Asia, were discontinued. Suggestions were made to construct nuclear plants in the mountains and deserts, only.⁴⁸

B. Industry and trade

In spite of all efforts, another perennial problem was repeatedly reported by the Soviet press; the inadequate quantity and inferior quality of industrial production in the USSR. Shortcomings could be identified everywhere, in the power, coal, petroleum, and construction industries, and in consumer goods productions. Planning targets were not met, deliveries not made. Industrial production fell below expectations in 1986, for instance, and other years, as well.⁴⁹ Due to the failures of management, several nuclear plants were closed out of fear of another disaster.

Since state enterprises were traditionally inefficient, at the time of *perestroika* the Soviet leadership looked for new ways, as pointed out above. Hence, following Gorbachev's declarations, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers several times resolved to broaden the independence of state establishments, involved in the production of consumer goods, like at the meeting of the Council of Ministers, as reported by *Izvestia* on January 1989.⁵⁰ Meanwhile the Law on State Enterprises was confusing. Furthermore, as mentioned above, confusion prevailed as to what was a legal profit and what constituted illegal speculation. Even the respective government officials did not know clearly the difference. Hence, in many cases the decisions about the legality or illegality of earnings were up to the willful actions of ignorant local administration.

The restructuring of the economy along the liberalization trend caused mounting difficulties in trade as well. According to *Trud*, the Soviet trade volume had to increase in the course of 1985 by some eleven billion rubles, and consequently, no shortages were expected. Yet, the target was not reached, and shortages on the market continued to plague the economy during the entire period of the twelfth Five-Year Plan in the market distribution of goods and services, as well. Felt boots were a scarce commodity, since the respective industry met only forty percent of the planning target in 1984.⁵¹ A mass production of contact lenses was not achieved in 1984 and 1985, hence, a shortage prevailed and the consumer had to rely on the black market.⁵² Fuel ran out in the winter of 1984-85 and homes were cold, because it had been sold by drivers on the black market, while at the same time, there was no adequate fuel supply for transport. Coupons were then introduced for gasoline purchases, causing an increased wave of embezzlements. Then, because of the growing shortages of a multitude of goods they were moved out of regular distribution channels and put on a coupon basis of selling.⁵³

The so-called "underground economy" was growing, including underground deals in sales of bricks by state plants on the black market in many places like Moscow, Voroshilovhrad, Kryvyi Rih, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Tashkent, Volgograd, Voronizh, Zaporizhia, the Urals, and other provinces.⁵⁴ People ran from store to store, wasting time, and finding nothing to buy. Dozens upon dozens of letters were sent to the editors of various papers, complaining about the shortages, while in provincial towns things got even worse than in the large cities. The people said that "they will go to Mars to buy soap, and to Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, to buy dresses".⁵⁵ *Literaturnaya gazeta* already pointed out in 1987 that the growing shortages produce continuous price hikes and contribute to the threat of inflation.⁵⁶ By 1985 and 1986, there existed no car-towing or mechanical service stations along the highways in the USSR. The shortage of meat was growing more serious.⁵⁷ In November 1988 *Pravda* appealed to increase the available quantity and quality of meat and dairy products of alleviate the market shortage.⁵⁸ Consequently, the Central Committee of the CPSU again stated at its meeting in 1986, that the stores and cooperatives were deficient in covering the consumer demands, supplying inadequate quantities and poor qualities of goods and services. A year later *Izvestia* reported shortages in fruit and vegetables supplies, while selection was limited. Shortages of potatoes, fruits, and vegetables had occurred at the same time in the state stores, when their supply in the state depots was fully adequate.⁵⁹ It simply proved a faulty distribution technique. The sales of those necessities dropped in Moscow and other cities in comparison with 1986. Shortages of all kinds of foods pointed at the troubles in the respective industries. Hence, M. Gorbachev appealed to

all concerned to work better.⁶⁰ Ironically, when shortages were present all-over, and the qualities of goods, their selections, styles and fashions were not attractive, all-of-a-sudden, the Council of the USSR Ministers approved for the first time in the history of the Soviet economy to establish in educational institutions departments of marketing and advertizing. This was done in March 1989, when there actually was not much of a market to advertize.⁶¹ Perhaps, it was done in the anticipation of the growing sector of the “private economy” in the wake of progressing *perestroika*.

As far as Soviet foreign trade was concerned, matters were not satisfactory, either. In October 1987 a high level round table discussion was held, as reported, for instance, by *Izvestia*, about what was wrong with USSR foreign trade, its growing dependence on foreign oil importation, the failure in developing competitive goods for foreign markets, a complete lethargy in developing Soviet capital investments abroad, the deficient performance of Comecon, officially called the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the CMEA, the organization of the Communist countries to economically cooperate on a broad basis.⁶² In fact, the Soviet economy had very little during the twelfth Five-Year Plan to offer foreign markets, its goods were of low quality and of minimum quantity, their selections and styles and varieties were below Western tastes, distribution channels were not developed, spare parts were in short supply, services practically non-existent, the ruble was not in demand in the West. It was that way before; it is that way today.⁶³ Then, by the end of October 1989 the Soviet authorities announced a catastrophic devaluation of the ruble; from almost \$1.60 for one ruble to 16 c. per ruble to take place November 1, 1989. The ruble was reduced in value by ten times. The black market paid only 8 c. per ruble. This proved a complete financial and commercial unraveling of the USSR’s economy. The devaluation is not going to help Soviet foreign trade at all.

Notes:

32. *Pravda*, January 24, 1988, pp. 1-3; the plan for 1987 was rather ambitious. The following figures for meeting the 1987 plan in the percentages of 1986:

National income	102.3
Industrial production	103.8
Farming	100.2
Labor productivity	102.4
Personal income	102.0
Retail trade	102.8

The figures also indicted again some serious underfulfillments below 1986 level, while consumers fared a little better.

33. *Pravda*, January 22, 1989, pp. 3-5; *Izvestia*, January 21, 1989, pp. 1-3.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *US News and World Report*, June 19, 1989, p. 11; on the Soviet statistics: Schwartz, *Russia's Soviet Economy*, pp. 129-137; A. Bergson, “Reliability and Usability of Soviet Statistics”, *The American Statistician*, June-July, 1953, Vol. 7, No., 3, pp. 19-23; V. Trembl and J. Hardt eds., *Soviet Economic Statistics*, Durham, 1972.

37. *Pravda*, January 28, 1985, p. 2.

38. *Ekonomicheskaja gazeta*, January 85, p. 14; *Izvestia*, June 11, 1986; *Pravda*, July 26, 1987, p. 1 and August 20, 1987, September 19, 1987, p. 2.

39. *Ibid.*, and numerous other papers refer to the problem on various occasions.

40. *Pravda*, September 19, 1987, p. 2.
41. *Izvestia*, October 23, 1987, p. 1.
42. *Pravda*, October 29, 1987, p. 2.
43. *Izvestia*, January 11, p. 6; January 12 and 16, p. 3, 1985; August 11, 1986, p. 6; *Pravda*, July 15, 1987, p. 1; September 7, 1987, p. 4; *Izvestia*, November 26, 1987, p. 6; *Sovietskaia Rossia*, November 18, 1987, p. 4; *Izvestia*, June 6, 1988, p. 3; July 17, 1988, p. 6; October 10, 1988, p. 2; February 17, 1989; *Pravda*, July 15, 1987, p. 1; September 7, 1988, p. 4; August 13, 1988, p. 3; and so on.
44. *Pravda*, June 3, 1986, p. 3; *Literaturnaia gazeta*, June 4, 1986, p. 10; June 11, 1986, p. 11; *Sovietskaia Byelorossia*, July 8, 1986, p. 4; *Sovietskaia Rossia*, June 10, 1986, p. 4; *Izvestia*, August 11, 1986, p. 6; *Komsomolskaia pravda*, June 1986, No. 26, pp. 4-5; *Pravda*, August 1, 1987, p. 6; *Novoi Mir*, 1988, No. 9, pp. 164-179.
45. February 10, 1989, p. 8.
46. *Izvestia*, November 326, 1987, p. 6; *Pravda*, July 15, 1987, p. 1.
47. *Pravda*, August 13, 1988, p. 3; *Sovietskaia Rossia*, November 18, 1987, p. 4; *Izvestia*, July 17, 1988, p. 6; *Pravda*, September 7, 1987, p. 4.
48. *Izvestia*, June 6, 1988, p. 3; also, October 10, 1988, p. 2; *Pravda*, November 21, 1988, p. 5.
49. *Pravda*, August 30, 1986, p. 2; a meeting of the CP of the CCSU debated the issues; also August 8, 1986, p. 2; March 20 and 22, 1985, p. 1-2.
50. *Izvestia*, January 14, 1989, p. 1.
51. *Trud*, December 18, 1984, p. 2; *Izvestia*, January 29, 1985, p. 3; *Pravda*, February 11, 1985, p. 7; *Literaturnaia gazeta*, October 31, 1984; *Pravda*, July 27, 1987, p. 3; also November 2, 1988, p. 2; *US News and World Report*, April 3, 1989, pp. 36 and 42.
52. *Trud*, January 6, 1985, p. 2.
53. *Pravda*, February 11, 1985, p. 7; *Literaturnaia gazeta*, October 31, 1984; *Izvestia*, February 21, 1985, p. 3; *Literaturnaia gazeta*, September 16, 1987, p. 12; *Izvestia*, February 2, 1989, p. 1; March 29, 1989, p. 1.
54. *Pravda*, October 12, 1988, pp. 1-2; *Izvestia*, January 12, 1985, p. 3; the same February 7, 1985; Stores and services go back to the former shorter and inconvenient hours, which make the life of the consumer intolerable: *Izvestia*, February 7, 1985, News and World Report, April 3, 1989, p. 42.
55. *US News and World Report*, April 3, 1989, p. 42; *Pravda*, July 27, 1987, p. 3.
56. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, September 16, 1987, p. 12; *Pravda*, February 4, 1989, pp. 1-2. The Council of Ministers debated the problem.
57. *Izvestia*, February 21, 1985, p. 6; *Molodyi Komunist*, January 1985, No. 1, pp. 49-55; *Pravda*, November 2 1988, p. 2.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Izvestia*, July 23, 1987, p. 1; also, October 19, 1987, p. 1.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Izvestia*, March 31, 1989, p. 1.
62. On the Comecon: N. Chirovsky, "The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: An Evaluation", *The Journal of Business*, South Orange, N.J., December 1962, pp. 24-30, and the same, "The Comecon in the 1960's", *idem*, May 1970, pp. 19-31; Schwartz, *An Introduction...*, pp. 147-154; P. Gregory and R. Stuart, *Soviet Economic Structure and Performance*, New York, 1981, pp. 271-275.
63. *Izvestia*, October 10, 1987, p. 6; *Pravda*, October 14, 1987, pp. 4-5.
64. *Izvestia*, January 23, 1985, p. 2; *Komsomolskaia pravda*, February 6, 1985, p. 2.

SLOVAKS IN LONDON BID LAST GOODBYE TO DR. OKTAV BAZOVSKY



On Wednesday 31 January 1990 a great Slovak, Dr. Oktav Bazovsky died after a long serious illness at Harefield Hospital near London. Family, friends and acquaintances in Britain bid him farewell on 7th February 1990 at the cemetery in Brookwood.

Dr. Oktav Bazovsky was one of the oldest representatives of Slovak exiles in the United Kingdom and for many years worked as an editor of BBC Slovak broadcasts. He was born in Lucenec on 15th April 1916 in a well known Slovak Lutheran family. His father Ludovit Bazovsky had been an important activist of the Slovak national movement, a politician, lawyer and journalist. On his mother's side Oktav was the grandson of the composer Stefan Fajnor and a close relative of Milan Rastislav Stefanik.

Before going to university he was a communist and a close collaborator of Dr. Gustav Husak in a magazine for students, but he soon took a sober look at the ideas of marxism and communism. He studied law in Prague and Bratislava and economics at the London School of Economics. Later he was a solicitor in B. Bystrica and Bratislava. During the Slovak uprising of 1944 he was in central Slovakia and after experiences there and the passage of the Russian armies he decided to emigrate. He carried out his decision as soon as the war was over and with difficulty made his way through a war-torn Europe full of refugees and dispossessed people. Eventually he settled in Britain. Dr. Bazovsky was involved in the activities of Slovaks in exile from the start. He worked for the famous Cunard Shipping Company, on the liners Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary, among others. He loved art and during stops in ports he used to travel, frequently at night, to the cities with famous galleries.

He started working for the BBC in 1956 and worked in the Slovak Section together with Dr. Paulini-Toth and Peter Pridavok. His knowledge of English, Polish, Hungarian, French, German, Russian, Italian and Spanish languages served him well during his years as a broadcaster. After the death of Paulini-Toth and Pridavok he led a more numerous Slovak team of radio journalists, many of whom left their native country after the Soviet invasion in 1968. His younger colleagues could always rely on Oktav's advice based on his wide knowledge and experience.

His influence contributed significantly to the good reputation of the BBC broadcasts among listeners in Czecho-Slovakia, and to keeping the ideas of democracy and freedom alive. These ideas came to fruition in the "gentle revolution". Oktav lived long enough to see the dawn of freedom in his homeland, although seriously ill and worried by possible pitfalls in the developments of Eastern Europe. During his intense working life and later illness, his wife Hazel, who also worked for the BBC until retirement, stood by his side steadfastly.

Dr. Oktav Bazovsky was a founder member of the Slovak Circle in Great Britain in 1970 and was its Chairman for several years. He was also a founding member of the Slovak World Congress and represented his fellow countrymen in Britain at the general assemblies of the SWC. His close friendly relations with Poles in exile were

NEW BOOK ON DISINFORMATION

In September I published a book on Soviet disinformation in Swedish (**Desinformation**, Contra Förlag & Co KB, P.O. Box 6082, S-102 32 Stockholm Sweden, 125 pp).

Development in Europe since 1989 and the probable disintegration of the Soviet empire naturally calls into question the continuation of the massive Soviet active measures and disinformation activities which in the middle of the 1980s consumed at least \$3-4 billion annually and had an apparatus that employed well over 15,000 people. It had been established to not only control the behaviour of the Soviet people but also to influence people and governments in the West.

In the East European countries: East Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria similar type of apparatus existed. Gorbachov has several times promised to stop the disinformation effort (in New York 1988 and on Malta in 1989) but it has continued. In Sweden the final issues of the communist magazine *Ny Dag* before it closed down in the fall of 1990 contained massive articles on how the United States supposedly has organised the spread of the aids virus.

Two chapters of the book deal with the Norwegian super spy Arne Treholt and his role as a possible disinformation agent and cases of Soviet disinformation in Scandinavia. A final chapter lists Soviet dominated international front organisations many of which presently have great problems and may have to move their headquarters to the Soviet Union from those East European countries that are now free. An interesting case is what will happen to the World Peace Council, the most prominent of the international front organisations, which is at present based in Helsinki. With Soviet pressure easing on Finland will the Finns want to retain the WPC in Helsinki?



very useful for the SWC and he was asked by them to liase with the Polish and Ukrainian exile organisations. After retirement Oktav was active in the local Conservative Party and represented Slovaks in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and finally he was Chairman of the ABN Branch in Great Britain.

The death of Oktav Bazovksy is a great loss to Slovaks living in exile. Without proud, faithful people with the qualities which he possessed, the life of Slovak communities in the West would dissappear without a trace. He was an example to others who came after him. Slovaks at home, in Britain and elsewhere in the world pay him their last homage. May the soil of England be an easy resting place for him.

The Slovak Circle in Great Britain expresses its condolences to his wife, sister, brothers and to the rest of his grieving family.

(I.S., Information Bulletin of Slovak Circle in Great Britain)

FREEDOM PREDICTED

The Ukrainian republic will be a free nation within two years, predicts a Ukrainian freedom fighter exiled in Europe for more than 45 years.

Slava Stetsko, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — a 27-nation anti-Communist coalition, said her homeland is on the brink of liberty, a move the Soviet Union cannot stop.

"It will come to an end with the Soviet Union, I give no more than two years, then Ukraine will be free and independent," Stetsko said on a Calgary stop during a speaking tour of Canada.

Thousands of students marching in the streets of Kyiv and Wednesday's promised resignation of Vitalyi Masol, prime minister of the Ukrainian republic, are signs that the end is near for Communist rule in Ukraine, she said.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's reign is also on the verge of collapse, despite winning the Nobel Peace Prize, she said.

The prestigious award comes only from Western observers, who don't understand that Gorbachev had no choice but to adopt economic reforms and political openness which led to political revolution in Eastern Europe, said Stetsko, who lives in Munich, Germany.

"He didn't introduce any human measures under his government."

Stetsko, 70, fled the Ukraine in 1944 and has devoted her life to her homeland's liberty. She refuses to apply for a visa to return, because she doesn't recognize the Soviet government.

But when Ukraine is independent, she'll request a visa to return.

Her late husband Yaroslav was prime minister of the Free Ukrainian National government in 1941. He survived Nazi death camps, pledged his life to fight Communists and died in 1986 at age 73.

SLAVA STETSKO ON LVIV TELEVISION

LVIV (Petro Shmigel) — An interview filmed in Munich with Slava Stetsko, President of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, appeared on the Lviv TV show "From Vysokyi Zamok" on September 9.

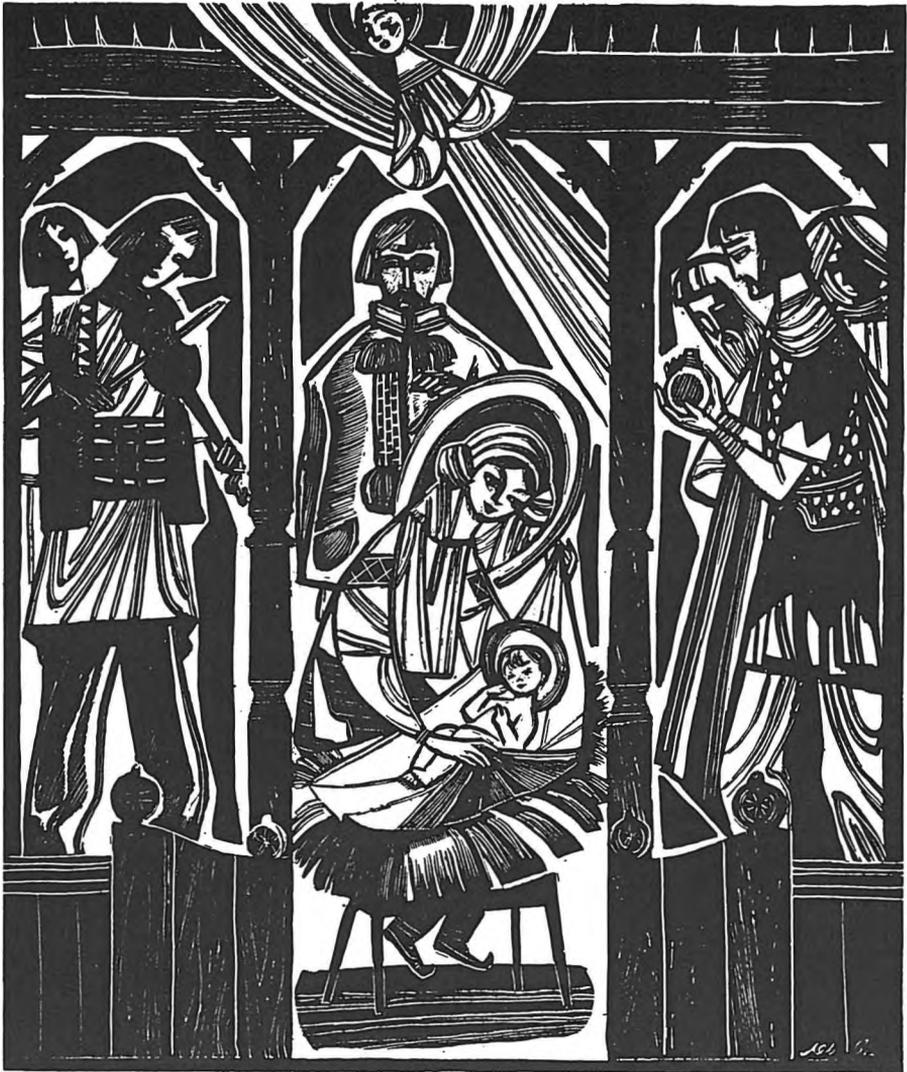
Mrs. Stetsko, the widow of Yaroslav Stetsko one-time Prime Minister of Ukraine, discussed the work of her organization against Russian imperialism, particularly with regard to lobbying Western governments. She also left an open door to the idea of returning to Ukraine next year to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence on June 30, 1941.

Recently, the Lviv TV station has aired many programs that support the campaign of national rights for Ukraine. A blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag hangs from the station's studio building.



The Polish KPN delegation with Slava Stetsko, ABN President at the European Freedom Council conference on the 6th of July 1990.

SEASONS GREETINGS !



Wishing all our friends and readers of ABN Correspondence
a very Merry Christmas and a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

ABN Central Committee