

# ABN

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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*Freedom for Nations!      Freedom for Individuals!*

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## ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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## **Elections in Ukraine**

After a lifetime spent fighting for the right of all nations for national independence, self-determination, and political freedom, I awaited the first elections in my homeland Ukraine with great anticipation.

There were, of course, many positive and negative moments throughout the strenuous months of election campaigning. One always has hopes for drastic, sweeping changes for the better.

The two most positive aspects of the elections were the fact that approximately 75% of all registered voters participated in the elections. This good turnout accounted for the fact that some changes could be made. For instance, only one third of the former communists have won seats in Parliament.

The new Parliament has a particularly important role in the near future, since decisive actions must be taken to combat the economic crisis, to initiate the process of privatisation, to implement political and economic reforms, to combat escalating inflation, and to move towards a social market economy.

In spite of the changes occurring in Ukraine at the present time, it seems that the West, and in particular, the United States, only seem to show some minor interest in Ukraine, when the issue of nuclear weapons is raised. It was only with the removal of the warheads for destruction to Russia, that the United States took slight interest in the political and economic affairs of Ukraine promising a small sum for compensation in relation to the billions promised to Russia in order to assist with the 'reform' program there.

An encouraging development was Ukraine's signing of NATO's Partnership for Peace initiative. If all other Eastern European countries join the initiative, it will ensure closer cooperation among nations.

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Please note that ABN Correspondence will now be published four times yearly (Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter). The editorial board would kindly appreciate receiving your articles for publication.

## East-West Relations: The New Rules of the Game

The fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the awakening of democracy of the former East European satellite countries and the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact are many puzzling events which took place at the end of the Cold War. This could have led us to believe in a new World Order, or even the birth of a Europe which would stretch from the Atlantic to the Urals.

At the dawn of 1994, what remains of our premature dreams and wagers on an optimistic evolution of history, whilst still ignoring the unquestionable geographical realities and the emergence of new personalities whose accession to supreme power could radically change a geostrategic balance as precarious as ever?

During the short time in which East-West relations changed drastically, Western Europe prematurely and dangerously reduced its defense budgets to such a degree that we wonder today whether the member nations of the Atlantic Alliance are still capable of carrying out lengthy military operations.

Conscientious objection is so popular in Germany today that the number of young people fit for military service is reduced by 50%. Among the German brigades originally foreseen for assignment to the Rapid Reaction Force, 6 of them only will have the required manpower. The remaining 20 brigades will suffer from a permanent lack of 40% personnel. Apart from these 26 brigades, others will need 6 months of mobilisation before becoming operational.

The situation is not much better in Great Britain where “privatisation” attempts are carried out to compensate for the severe cuts made in personnel and the overall defense budget. In Belgium, 1994 is the first year in which we are able to feel the impact of the disastrous consequences of the suppression of military service, and therefore question our participation in operations carried out under the aegis of the United Nations in former Yugoslavia and Ruanda.

In short, the Belgian army will be drastically reduced to the 12,000 men meant to join the Eurocorps, that is, if the recruitment of volunteers for the “Professional Armed Forces” corresponds to the fallacious hopes of our sorcerer’s apprentices in the government!

“Understaffed, underfunded and overstretched, NATO is dead”, wrote Ian Davidson in the Financial Times in January 1994, adding that “the corpse is twitching, but there is no life in it!”

The decisions made at the last North Atlantic Summit on January 10-11 are a perfect example of verbal gesticulations, without any future concrete actions for revitalising an Alliance whose real usefulness is questioned by many in view of its disappointing passivity in the Yugoslav conflict.

The “Partnership for Peace” proposal does not fulfill any of the expectations of the former satellite countries and does not offer them any credible security guarantees. This, at the precise moment when a man like Zhirinovsky – “clown or new *führer*” as Patrick Wajzman calls him – is in the spotlight of a new Russia and acts as an extreme

nationalist of the Liberal Democratic Party potentially aspiring to supreme powers in this country.

On the other hand, Moscow made the West understand unambiguously that the admission of the East European nations to NATO will be considered as an unfriendly act, likely to bring about a new Cold War. This simply means that the West grants Russia its former influential role over the ex-satellite countries. It also means that Russia arrogantly assumes the right of “de facto” veto on the West’s relations with the East.

At the moment, the American commitment to European defense consists only of a promise to keep 100,000 men stationed on European ground – i.e. one third of US troops present until recently – and of strictly verbal declarations condemning the cruel exactions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the slow genocide of a martyr nation. Obviously, the Yugoslav imbroglio is strictly an European affair. Let us face it. There is no oil there and another mobilisation of Western armed forces in response to the aggression, as in the Gulf War, is out of the question.

Alas! In European defense matters, we are reduced to wishful thinking. The Eurocorps, with a total of about 40,000 men, will not be operational for another two or three years and the erosion of the will to defend ourselves is more apparent than ever. The pursuit of the elusive “Dividends of Peace”, an easy and demagogic solution, will undoubtedly remain a slogan for short-sighted politicians. Indeed it is distressing to see that 350 million Europeans were painstakingly able to align about 30,000 troops for the Gulf War, and now even less for the Yugoslav conflict which is taking place right at their doorstep.

It is high time for action, for revitalising the Atlantic Alliance thanks with a truly efficient European pillar and for giving up the role of a cowardly and impotent observer confronted with the tragedies taking place in the heart of Europe.

This emergency plan must be implemented immediately, particularly in the light of the rising dangers in the East. Indeed, what would happen if, for example, Boris Yeltsin were killed in a plane crash or if he were eliminated brutally in one way or another? Zhirinovskiy got the largest amount of popular votes during the last Russian elections. How would such an irrational fool behave if the doors to supreme power suddenly opened for him and if he came to succeed to the present President with the extended rights granted to him by the new Constitution? Would he be tempted to put into practice his appalling declarations on the dismemberment of Poland, the reintegration of the Baltic states and the annihilation of Turkey? Are those plans the elucubrations of a mad demagogue or do they express the awakening of a pan-Slavic nationalism which could appeal to the popular masses of an empire which has never gone along the winding paths of Democracy?

This apocalyptic vision would rely on an army which, while considerably weakened, is still the most numerically powerful on the continent and which still holds an impressive nuclear potential.

Never before have the poles of instability in Europe been as many as they are today. From Bosnia to the Caucasus, from the Crimea to the Muslim republics, there are many seismic movements which could generate new geostrategic earthquakes. The future epicenters are dangerously close to us. It is high time to stop ignoring them if we want to remain in control of our own fate.

<sup>1</sup> *Honorary Senator, President of the European Institute for Peace and Security*

## **Modern Russian Imperialist Politics**

Finland, Sweden, the Baltic countries and Poland, all states with a Western cultural and political tradition, are always sensitive to signs of Russian imperialism because of their historical experience. Finland and Sweden were at war (both as one nation and separate nations) for centuries with Russia. The Baltic countries (with the exception of a few decades) were occupied by the Russian Soviet Empire, and Poland has for a long time been the victim of both Russian and Soviet occupation (and for a shorter period of German occupation). These actions are liable to be the first to feel the brunt of Russian expansionism. Even more threatened are of course the newly independent countries geographically closer to the Russian Federation: Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova, the Caucasus republics and the Central Asian countries (Turkestan).

NATO and the United States seem to have been taken by surprise when around 14 million Russians voted for extreme nationalist-chauvinist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party in the December 1993 elections. It is of course highly doubtful if all of the millions of voters supported the party because of its leader's imperialist geopolitical ideas. What is disturbing, however, is the fact that Mr. Zhirinovskiy has such widespread support in the Russian Armed Forces: around one third of the officers and men voted for him and the party. In the Strategic Rocket Forces the percentage was 72, in the Moscow military district the figure was 46 percent. In the elite divisions Taman and Kantemir the support was 87,4 and 74,3 percent respectively. At the Russian Humanitarian Military Academy (former Military Political Academy) 93 percent of the students voted for Zhirinovskiy.<sup>1</sup>

One of Mr. Zhirinovskiy's favourite ideas is the one of the eternal bond between the German and Russian peoples (one can assume it is based on experience from the Prussian era (Taurroggen) via Weimar (Rapallo) to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact). He usually places Germany and Russia in the same category, "the two greatest nations of the Western world". Together, he claims, they are responsible for the future of Europe. As a bait, although a clumsy one, because Germany has renounced all claims to the former territories in the East, he has promised to return the Kaliningrad enclave to Germany once he is in power in Russia.

Before the Russian election, the Swedish TV-journalist Robert Aschberg of TV3 visited the office of Mr. Zhirinovskiy in Moscow. The interview was made in front of a map of the world with Mr. Zhirinovskiy holding a pointer. During the interview he spoke French and the following text is a translation from the Swedish sub-texts of part of the interview. (The interview was broadcast after the election in December 1993.)

## *The Interview*

*Vladimir Zhirinovsky (VZ):* The best border for a state is the sea. Here is Sweden (VZ is pointing on the map) and here is the sea. It is surrounded by two weak countries which have never attacked Sweden: Norway and Finland. We want a weak Finland, a weak Poland, which Russia divides with Germany. Slovakia is weak, Romania...If Sweden attempts to influence Finland in the same direction we can with the aid of right-wing forces in Sweden take a part of Finland and never feel the threat...

*Robert Aschberg (RA):* Can you aid the right-wing forces here (*and he points to Sweden on the map*)?

VZ: That is what we want. I have contacts with right-wing forces in France and Germany. I started in Austria but it is a weak country...

RA: Have you contacts in Sweden?

VZ: I will, to help them. It is better if Finland is divided between Sweden and Russia.

RA: Half of it to Sweden and half of it to Russia?

VZ: It is much better for the stability in Europe. Here are (*he points to the map*) five large national states: Greater Russia with its natural borders...

RA: And a piece of Poland as well?

VZ: Yes, Germany wants Prussia. It is part of Germany and Königsberg. If we divide Poland we can still satisfy Germany's interests. They receive a little of Moravia, Czechia, a little of Poland and Königsberg. If we have a Greater Sweden here (*he points on the map*), like for a hundred years ago, and a Greater Germany (*he points on the map again*) here, with Denmark, the Netherlands and a part of Belgium, a part of Switzerland and Austria. Everybody speaks German and it is a strong people. France remains intact like Spain and Italy.

RA: But Portugal?

VZ: Portugal is the same as Spain. This is Great Britain: Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. Since 20 years there is war in Belfast. Great Britain is already complete. Russia receives a portion of Poland, a portion of Finland and Slovakia. Czechia belongs to Germany. Norway belongs to Sweden. It is the Scandinavian countries of Sweden is most important. It is better with a few great states. Europe today, after Maastricht, is still for the Israelis.

RA: What do you do with the peoples here (*RA is indicating Asia on the map*).

VZ: Give them what they want. China wants Mongolia and a portion of Indochina. India receives a portion of Pakistan. The old country is to be reestablished. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh used to be part of India. It is Great Britain which has created the unnatural borders. Now there is war here, here and here (*VZ indicates on the map various parts of the region*). If we could have a Greater India there would not be war anymore. At least the minorities would not have to maintain their position all the time. It would be more the will of a large group of people. I am for minorities, nationalities, freedom of religion and sexual freedom...It is important to realise the wishes of the large groups. To solve the great problems.

The Maastricht Treaty is damaging to all great states and defends the interests of the minorities at any cost. It is bad for the world. For us Russia, for Germany. It is bad for Sweden. The day Russia crushes the great states many blacks and Asiatics will move there (*VZ points to Europe*). They want to go to Sweden. It is a good refuge. You already have many criminal elements from Asia to Africa. In the future it will be worse for everybody. But if we create a few great states, it will be worse for different minorities. It is better for the majority of the world's population. I have chosen between two evils. The less evil is to create a few large states. The Atlantic world is good for the United States, Israel and Great Britain. It is better for these three states but very bad for Russia. It is bad for Sweden, Germany and France. The Algerians have already invaded Paris. Almost the whole city is Arab.

RA: They have taken over Paris?

VZ: Yes, almost all of Paris has been taken over by North African Arabs. There are four million Turks in Germany. It is impossible to send them back to their countries. In twenty years it will already be too late. But if one sees it in a perspective our scenario is better for everybody. Today it may seem strange. Why create these great national states? But Maastricht is not a good solution. Russia has its own Maastricht. Yeltsin introduced it and Kravchuk and Zhushkevich. Now there is civil war everywhere. That is worse. It is better with a great state.

RA: But Alaska as well?

VZ: Today the United States wants to take over the Tchukchen Peninsula.

RA: Have they said so?

VZ: Yes, in Congress. They say not many Russians live there and the local population is a bunch of alcoholics. They drink too much. The peninsula is close to the United States. They can build a bridge and create one state out of Alaska and Tchukchen. Then they can take Kamchatka. According to the "Atlantic World" this area is to be partitioned. In 20-30 years the United States will have the Chukchen Peninsula and Kamchatka...Sakhalin and the Kuriles will be Japanese. China will have this area (*VZ indicates on the map the Russian border region with China east of Mongolia*). The Turks want to create a Greater Turkey. A Turkish national state. They want Caucasus and central Kazakhstan. One seeks to partition our country.

RA: What do you want? Alaska?

VZ: No, I do not want it...

RA: What does that picture mean (*he points to a picture on the wall behind Zhirinovsky's desk showing Alaska as part of Russia*)?

VZ: They are the natural historic borders of our country. Just like your borders a hundred years ago (*he indicates Sweden on the map*).

RA: But this does not look natural (*points to Eastern Siberia*).

VZ: It is just corrected a little. Alaska was civilised by the Russians.

VZ: If we can have a common European policy neither the United States or China is a threat. Russia protects Europe against China and the Muslim world. It is Russia's activity that can protect you. But you must pay. Swedes, Germans, French... We can transfer the Muslim threat to Europe. If Europe stops Russia's policy we can transfer the threat here (*he refers to the Middle East on the map*) in the south to Europe. We can direct the North African threat and the threat from the Middle East to here (*VZ indicates Western Europe on the map*). And Russia will remain in tact: no threats, no wars. Today we have wars here and here (*he points to Caucasus on the map*). It is we who direct the wars and they will continue as long as we want: 5-10 years...The continuing new victims, the destroyed cities...Destroyed routes, refugees and wounded...Then we can make war here (*VZ points to the Middle East on the map*) and send everything to Europe and there is not a thing you can do about it. You should ally yourselves with us. A white Europe - and one great national state.

### *Conclusions*

In the interview Mr. Zhirinovsky makes a clumsy attempt to attract support in Sweden by offering half of Finland to Sweden. Of course he is not in the position to make such an offer but just the risk that he might one day be President of Russia makes the offer a serious matter. He also has his history wrong believing Sweden's era as a great power was far later than it really was.

Mr. Zhirinovsky wants to return to 19th century great power politics and imperialism. His geopolitical ideas of course belong in the world of phantasy but Russian imperialistic ideas can never be taken lightly. Centuries of experience of states being forcibly included in the Russian and Soviet empires is proof of that. Also worrying is the fact that Mr. Zhirinovsky and his party may receive funds from the secret communist accounts in Switzerland.<sup>2</sup>

Sources in former East Germany claim that money received by the East German communists from KGB was deposited in Swiss bank accounts after the collapse. The German Berliner Zeitung referred to businessman Werner Girke, who for many years was responsible for the East German communist party (SED) funds abroad. Dietmar Bartsch of the reformed East German communist party (PDS) has stated that it is

possible that the funds were taken over by people and movements now behind the Liberal Democratic Party in Russia.

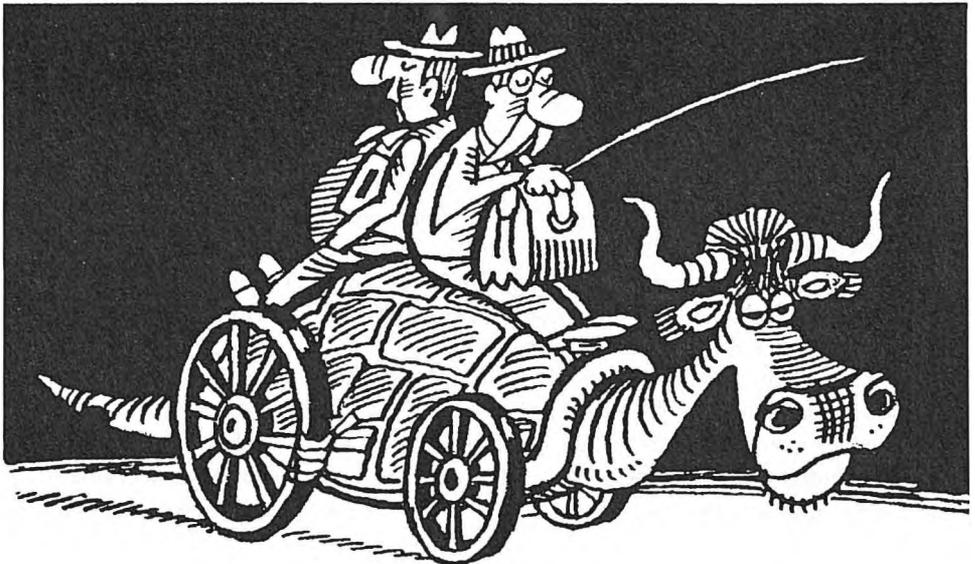
In January 1994 a Swedish newspaper<sup>3</sup> claimed that Mr. Zhirinovskiy had been offered a chairmanship of a “geopolitical” committee of the Russian parliament to be created beside the Foreign Policy Committee. If that is the case, Haushoferian geopolitics seems to be alive and well in Moscow. Only time will tell if these ideas will mature into post-Soviet Russian imperialism under a possible President Zhirinovskiy. Western scholars have been surprisingly unwilling to do research on Russian and Soviet imperialism even after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Today, more than ever, this phenomenon deserves closer attention. But the question remains: what is the reason for the lack of interest in Russian and Soviet imperialism at Western universities?

Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Arkady Waksberg, “Ryskt streck över det förflutna” in daily newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, Stockholm, 1 February 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Article by the correspondent of the Swedish News Bureau “Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå” in Moscow published several Swedish dailies on 8 January 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Daily newspaper “I dag”, Malmö, Sweden.



**ЦОБ, ДО РИНКУ!**

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## **Ukraine, Poland Sign Pact**

**WARSAW** – Poland and Ukraine signed on March 21 a document pledging to develop close political and economic ties, in a move some expect to generate concern in Russia.

“We have talked like friends and neighbours,” Ukrainian Minister Anatoly Zlenko said. “It will play a major role in the region and Europe.” His Polish counterpart, Andrzej Olechowski, said that Poland and Ukraine can play a more significant role in Europe by developing closer bilateral contacts. “These two countries have strategic significance to each other,” Olechowski said. “I would specify our relations as a close partnership.”

The document avoided reference to the two countries’ greatest concern – the growing regional interests of Russia. It only referred to a “revival of hegemonistic tendencies and zones of influence in the region.” “The active cooperation of Poland and Ukraine will prevent creation of new divisions and hegemonistic tendencies,” the document stated. “Poland and Ukraine can and should play a significant role in the solution of complicated problems in Central and Eastern Europe.”

The two ministers also signed an agreement on mutual protection and restoration of burial places and monuments to victims of World War II and repressions.

Zlenko indicated that his country was interested in joining an informal French-German-Polish axis to help strengthen ties between East and West. Zlenko said during a visit to Warsaw he had raised the idea with Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski but did not make clear how the Polish side had reacted.

Polish, German and French leaders have held several trilateral summits since Warsaw ended communist rule in 1989 to ensure common links keep improving.

“Ukrainian participation... could be essential for this to continue and for integration between East and West,” Zlenko said. “In our sub-region, Ukraine and Poland are two large partners and the deepening of their mutual relations can have great significance for the whole region,” he said.

## **Estonia, Ukraine Develop Military Cooperation**

**KYIV** – A delegation of Estonian military officials led by Defence Minister Indrek Kannik arrived at the Ukrainian capital on April 20 for an official visit. Kannik met with his Ukrainian counterpart Vitaly Radetsky and discussed a broad range of issues of mutual interest. After that, the two ministers signed a bilateral agreement on military cooperation.

## Human Rights, Democracy and National Self-Determination

On foreign policy issues there is a faulty tendency to emphasize human rights and democracy – in the economy as well as polity – to the relative neglect of national self-determination. This is a nation conceived by the last. Of course, the three concepts are interrelated and even overlap, but they are also distinguishable and separately effective in different contexts and situations. For our foreign policy directions all three must be kept in firm balance as a reflection of our knowledge and understanding of the realities facing us.

No war, hot or cold, has really been won until a real peace is achieved; and this is far from reality. Yugoslavia is a case in point. A steadfast and tactically implemented policy of self-determination could have prevented the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, averting the barbarities and genocide there. As far back as 1961, according to his own memoirs, George F. Kennan, newly appointed as ambassador to Yugoslavia, pressed United States President Kennedy not to issue the annual proclamation of Captive Nations Week because it signified self-determination for the various nations in that artificial state. Incredibly, as late as 1991, the secretary of state committed the United States to preserving “the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.”

Will the Bosnian tragedy be the prototype of forthcoming events in East Europe and Central Asia? When the communist dictatorship in Central Europe collapsed, a myth of the 50's re-surfaced, that the only captive nations (now liberated) were in that region. This misconception, as well as illusions about “Soviet people”, “Soviet nation” etc., were definitely shattered by the natural assertion of self-determination for independence on the part of the Baltic nations, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and others. Uniquely and unsurprisingly, the conceptual framework of Congress' Captive Nations Week resolution passed back in 1959, easily accommodated this reality. Again incredibly, in 1991, the now famous “Chicken Kiev” speech by United States President Bush urging Ukraine not to become independent, Secretary Baker pushing for “the stability of the Soviet Union”, and the belated diplomatic recognition of historic nations severing themselves from an empire raise serious questions about the advice our leaders receive.

But there is more that our policy-makers must face up to today. Over two decades before United States President Reagan accurately defined the Soviet Union as an evil empire, Congress' resolution had already emphasized the empire concept, listing some of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. Many of these national entities striving for self-determination, and in this independence are, by economic coercion, political pressure and military threat, being held captive within the so-called Russian Federation, a first layer and structural remnant of Moscow's inner empire.

The present federation is the successor of the *ersatz* Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which Lenin contrived in 1918 to enclose and integrate these early victims of Soviet Russian aggression. Like the Balts, Georgia, Ukraine and others, North Caucasia, Cossackia, Idel-Ural (Tatarstan et al.) and the Far Eastern Republic also

declared their independence in the 1917-1922 period, only to be crushed by Lenin's drive to re-create the disintegrating Russian empire. Movements within these areas today cry out for the opportunity of self-determination.

Just a few years ago it was common in all spheres of our society to equate Russia and the Soviet Union, with the latter composed of "ethnic groups" similar to those in the United States. Now the current myth equates Russia and the Russian Federation. Most emphatically, we must help Yeltsin in every practicable way to establish a democratic, free economic and non-imperial Russia, but simultaneously we cannot, for our longterm security, afford to ignore both history and the self-determination demands in this amorphous federation. For Lenin, the predecessor RSFSR served as a springboard for the further "integration" of the empire, through the conquests of Belarus, Ukraine etc. leading by 1922 to the Soviet Union. His prime legacy was the re-creation of the Russian empire under a new guise. Given a Moscow still drenched in imperial-mindedness it could happen again, under an even worse guise.

The principle and value of national self-determination, as well as of human rights and democracy, apply also to the remaining captive nations still under communist party dictatorship – Cuba, mainland China, those within the Chinese imperial complex (e.g. Tibet) Vietnam and North Korea. Substantially, these are all products of Lenin's other legacy: through the Comintern, later the Cominform and other conspiratorial conduits, worldwide communist dictatorships, with the center being of course Moscow. Splits with Tito and Mao Tse-tung and the deceptive emergence of Castro do not overshadow the unmistakable lineage, the basic inspiration, enormous multi-aid, and expertise provided by Moscow, in the end resulting in the enslavement of nations. Congress' Captive Nations Weeks resolution (PL 86-90) has been fully vindicated by the historic events of the past three years. One of the reasons for this is that its conceptual framework is rooted in historical facts preceding the Cold War period; its impact was sharply felt in vituperative reactions from Moscow to Beijing and Havana during the period; and in the post-period, its sights are clear as to the dangers of a lost, real peace if we fail to balance national self-determination with human rights and democracy.

## **CIA's Double Spook: Cold Shower for U.S.**

The Cold War is over; the Soviet empire is history; communism is dead; and Russia is becoming a democratic country under the leadership of Boris "G.Washington" Yeltsin; Russia's leaders have become 'good ole boys.' America can now offer Russia billions of dollars in welfare assistance, treat it as the first among equal countries in the region and even exchange information and intelligence with the KGB's successor institution because it is a reformed agency. Life is grand.

Until recently, America lived in this idyllic tale. Then the cold, harsh realities of dealing with Russia again abruptly startled "Sleepytown on the Potomac" into realizing that the Russians haven't really changed at all. The case of Aldrich Hazen Ames, the former CIA Soviet counterintelligence chief, is typical of U.S.-Soviet and now Russian relations. Moscow takes what it wants, while Washington looks foolish trying to catch up with damage control.

Apparently oblivious to even the slightest possibility that democratic Russia would dare engage in spying against the United States, the Washington establishment opened its heart, doors and files to Moscow. President Clinton, Secretary of State Christopher, congressional leaders and others are incensed and demanding restitution. However, the protest note turned out to be sour grapes rather than a condemnation and expulsion of Russian agents in the United States. The White House humbly asked Moscow to "voluntarily" recall a couple of its spooks here.

Moscow's reaction to this latest international scandal has been low key. UPI reported that Russian officials have been coy, almost, "who me?" Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (the successor to the KGB) "spokesman" Yuri Kobaladze remarked, "Why do you think he is our spy?"

Kobaladze demonstrated his and Russia's aloofness and arrogance when, addressing the idea of Moscow's lifting all intelligence operations in the United States, he declared, "Definitely no". He continued, "Even the Americans admit they conduct intelligence activities. Americans are not in the position to dictate to us whom we should dismiss. What if tomorrow they asked us to dismiss the Foreign Minister?"

Others in Moscow have expressed their hope that this incident should not mar US-Russian relations. Washington is also steadfast in maintaining its buddy-buddy relations with Moscow. While emphasizing that the United States views the matter "seriously" and "we don't like it", White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers indicated that relations would remain on track: "We do have strategic interests in our relationship with Russia".

The Washington establishment is swearing that this incident will not be swept under the rug and justice will be had. But don't hold your breath. Myers already spoke of America's national interests in Russia. After the protests and explanations, the two sides will pat each other on the shoulders and dismiss the whole matter as "spies will be spies, play nice". However, the matter is not that innocent and it isn't beyond the realm of probability that one CIA mid-level officer had mobilized subordinate moles in Langley.

Ukrainian Americans should do everything possible to capitalize on the situation. A “we told you so” posture should not be excluded. Taking advantage of President Clinton’s assurances that 1994 will be the year of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Congressional Committee of America and other civic organisation should press the White House to fulfill its promises to Ukraine, truly elevate its stature in the eyes of the American government and point out to the Administration that the more things change in Moscow, the more they truly stay the same.

As for the CIA, it always amazed why its officers and agents could not research their way out of kindergarten. After all, the CIA’s internal security did not question how its officer, who earned \$70,000 per year, could buy a \$540,000 home for cash, drive a pricey Jaguar, incur \$50,000 in credit card expenses per year.

The CIA-sponsored RFE/RL downplayed Ukrainian national liberation in its news and analyses; in 1968, the CIA lost track of 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops before they invaded Czechoslovakia; in the late 1980’s it was unable to foresee the demise of communism in the satellite countries, the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the fall of the Soviet empire; in 1991 it did not advise President Bush to drop from his Kyiv speech negative references to Ukrainian nationalism and aspirations to independence; in 1933 it could not foresee that the Supreme Soviet building would be shelled into oblivion and it could not anticipate the rise of Zhirinovskiy. And now this. The CIA was not simply incompetent; it or at least its Soviet counterintelligence sector has been a KGB front.

The gravity of an American intelligence officer, with top-secret clearance to everything going on in the former USSR and the United States, working for Red and White Moscow cannot be underestimated. It is not known how much damage was done in Ukraine and to US-Ukrainian relations. But the possibility cannot be overlooked. The 1970’s and 1980’s saw many Ukrainians from the Diaspora and Ukrainian activists in Ukraine suddenly compromised and arrested, evidently because of this. The Philby-Ames-et al connection also answered questions pertaining to Ukrainian American community affairs, and the longtime division between those who advocated Ukrainian national liberation and independence and those who were infiltrated by the CIA and promoted only human and civil rights for Ukraine (Gorbachev’s reform program). They were manipulated into naively carrying out the wishes of the KGB – they were unconscious agents of influence.

It is enough to shake your head in amazement that in spite of the CIA’s corruption, the United States still stands and Ukraine became independent.

Nonetheless, it couldn’t have happened to a better country – Russia, caught with its pants down, spying on its sugar daddy. We can’t wait for the movie.

### *Support for Ukraine*

In today’s political constellation of events surrounding Ukraine, the United States and Russia, one star shined brightly in support of Ukraine.

Charles Krauthammer, writing in the February 25 edition of *The Washington Post*, clearly stated that Ukraine is part of America’s national interests and needs US support. Beginning with the Ames case, which he called a final point in America’s realisation that the US-Russia honeymoon is over, Krauthammer explained that Russia is different from the Soviet Union and some of its interests are compatible with America’s and others aren’t. “The Russians are manning the front line against Islamic fundamentalism. Fine

with us. Meddling in the Baltics and Ukraine, on the other hand, a front of Western democracy, is not alright with us,” Krauthammer wrote. “Dealing with Russia will require, therefore, that we grow up and adopt a nuanced view of Russian actions and inventions. Russia is a great power. It seeks a sphere of influence.”

“The next major flashpoint is Crimea, the formerly Russian province now part of Ukraine, which in January voted overwhelmingly for a president pledged to Crimean independence and/or reunification with Russia. Ukraine does not take kindly to its coming dismemberment, just as Russia has never taken kindly to Ukrainian independence (from Moscow).”

“A major conflict is brewing, possibly war, a war that would make the Bosnian conflict look tame. Our sympathies and interests lie with Ukraine. A second Crimean war, if not headed off by some compromise, threatens a serious US-Russian confrontation,” Krauthammer said.

It took a spy scandal, Zhirinovskiy and Russia’s reform about face for Washington to change its view of Ukraine. Maybe 1994 will be, indeed, the year of Ukraine.

#### *Russia Continues Moving Right*

Two recent events indicate that the communist-chauvinist bloc in Russia is continuing to gain the upper hand.

First of all, snubbing Yeltsin, the Lower House of the Russian Parliament extended amnesty to the October 1993 putschists, i.e. Rutskoi, Khasbulatov and company, who wanted to overthrow Yeltsin, and to the August 1991 putschists, who wanted to overthrow Gorbachev. Is this any sign that Russian lawmakers are forming a stable levelheaded policy?

A day later, on February 24th, Yeltsin delivered a hard-hitting state of the nation address, in which he underlined that Russia will assert its authority, defend Russians in the “hear abroad” and retake its position as a geopolitical force. “A strong Russia is the most reliable and real guarantor of stability on the entire territory of the former Soviet Union,” he said. Russia will pay “close attention” to the fate of Russians beyond Russia, most of whom are “victims of discrimination,” he pledged. When it comes to violations of the lawful rights of Russian people, this not an exclusive internal affair of some country, but also our national affair, an affair of our state,” he declared. The key element of Russia’s foreign policy will be promoting “Russian national interests,” he emphasised. “The principle effort toward this goal is openness and cooperation. But Russia has the right to act firmly and toughly when necessary to defend its national interests.”

Yeltsin also opposed an expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe without the participation of Russia. This threatens Europe and the world, he warned. “Russia is not a guest in Europe, she is a full-fledged participant,” Yeltsin declared.

#### *Ukraine Responds*

Russia has been making these accusations and threats since August 1991 and Ukraine never adequately responded. However, late last month Oleksander Yemets, Ukraine’s Minister for National Minorities, not only responded but went on the offensive. He accused Russia of ignoring the rights of millions of Ukrainians in Russia. “There is not a single Ukrainian school in Russia although there are many areas of high concentration,” Yemets said. “We feel the cultural and national needs of Ukrainians (in

Russia) are poorly satisfied.”

Yemets challenged Russia’s contention that there are 5 million Ukrainians in Russia, saying there are between six to ten million Ukrainians. He revealed that his ministry heard complaints from Ukrainians in Russia who tried opening schools and “received harsh responses.”

In its report on this, Reuters noted that Ukraine’s 11 million Russians have access to Russian language schools, theaters and media.

This a breath of fresh air from the Ukrainian government that should be continued.

*Reprinted from the National Tribune, 6 March 1994*

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## **Ukraine Joins Partnership for Peace**

BRUSSELS – Ukraine became on February 8 the first of the former Soviet Russian captive nations to join NATO’s Partnership for Peace plan.

Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoly Zlenko welcomed the program of limited association as a “reasonable and pragmatic alternative to partial and selective NATO enlargement.” He told NATO ambassadors that accepting more full members now would only weaken security in Europe. “We strongly appreciate the open nature of the Partnership for Peace program and the absence of any intentions to draw new dividing lines in Europe,” Zlenko said. The Ukrainian Government had previously expressed its interest in NATO membership and Zlenko said his country would use Partnership for Peace to bring the military up to standards required for joining the alliance.

Other Eastern European nations view the partnership plan as a waiting room for admission to the Western military alliance. Russia has been invited to take part in the “partnership for peace”, but NATO officials say it has not responded.

Ukraine and Hungary joined Romania, Lithuania, Poland and Estonia in the partnership program. Slovakia and Albania were scheduled to register. Bulgaria and the Czech Republic are also expected to join soon, according to NATO officials.

President Kravchuk, in an address to parliament, said, “Ukraine’s signature in the Partnership for Peace plan will not in any way affect our relations with Russia. Russia itself will have to join... When we will all have signed, then there will be real mutual interaction of all countries.” He said that Ukraine was working hard to resolve its differences with Russia, such as ridding Ukraine of its remaining share of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

## Setback in Estonian, Russian Troop Talks

Estonia's prospects for bidding farewell to the 2600 Russian soldiers left on its soil before autumn have been dimmed by Russia's official retraction of the August 31, 1994 withdrawal deadline during the 18th round of troop talks between the two countries in Moscow April 5 and 6.

Russian negotiators have offered no new dates as a basis for future discussions. Moscow's unilateral retraction of the August 31 deadline clause from the draft treaty has chilled Russia's already frosty relations with Estonia and its Baltic siblings. Russia's actions "set the talks back to last August, before Russia had proposed a final withdrawal date," said the Estonian Foreign Minister in a terse statement issued in Moscow.

The August 31 deadline had originally been agreed upon in principle last September 17, during the heady days after the last occupation troops had pulled out of Lithuania.

Although this development clearly disappointed the Estonian side, it did not surprise Tallinn's talk-weary negotiators. "We were prepared for any development, and so there were no surprises," said Ago Tiimann, a member of the Estonian team, at a press conference in Tallinn April 7. He added that Moscow had made the pullout condition on a number of unacceptable grounds, including the renewal of its old demand that Estonia pay \$23 million to aid the construction of homes in Russia for the returning troops. Tiimann made note of the fact that a number of Western countries have offered to foot the bill on Estonia's behalf, but Russia has said that it "will not beg for Western money," and that Estonia must pay the money itself – a clear indication that Moscow is using the housing issue as an excuse to slow down the pullout of forces from its former colony.

The chief negotiator on the Russian side, Vasily Svirin, also insisted that Estonia grant permanent resident status and other social guarantees to retired Soviet and Russian military pensioners residing in Estonia. The Estonian side has refused to budge on this issue. Most of the military "pensioners" residing in Estonia are relatively young and therefore potentially dangerous. Many of them have retired in the past three years. Some allegedly have ties to the KGB as well.

Tiimann described Russia's proposals as far "less constructive" than the ones suggested in the previous round of talks, adding that the "Russian delegation gave no reasons for the new tone." However, he noted the semblance between the Russian demands and the troop withdrawal agreement struck between Latvia and Russia March 15 in Moscow.

Many observers speculate that Latvia's guarantees to Soviet army pensioners was behind Moscow's attempts to include a similar clause in its deal with Estonia.

The Estonia negotiating team expressed cautious optimism about the future of the Russian submarine base at Paldiski. Tiimann said that Russia was seriously considering Estonia's proposal for dismantling the base within three years. He added that his team hoped that the last of the rods would be removed from the reactors by the end of June. "We have gone as far as we can go," said a spokesperson for the Estonian Foreign Ministry in an interview with *The Baltic Observer*.

Raul Malk, a deputy chancellor of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, said that Estonia was interested in the possibility of an international mediator, but Russia was reluctant to accept the idea.

Many Western countries including Denmark, Sweden, Germany and the US, have called for an unconditional withdrawal of the remaining Russian soldiers in Estonia.

*From The Baltic Observer, April 14-20, 1994*

## **Republic of Latvia Cabinet of Ministers**

### **A N N O U N C E M E N T**

On April 6 of this year, the Government of the Republic of Latvia obtained a copy of the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin's signed decree of April 5, 1994, in which the President of the Russian Federation has agreed to the proposal of the Russian Defense Ministry. The proposal, which has been coordinated with the Russian Foreign Ministry, concerns the creation of military bases on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the Latvian Republic, to ensure the security of the Russian Federation and the above-mentioned nations, as well as to test new weapons and military equipment. The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in conjunction with the Ministry of Defense and other related Russian ministries and institutions, has been entrusted to begin discussions regarding this question with the CIS countries and the Republic of Latvia and to come up with the appropriate documents on the concluded agreement.

In this respect the Government of the Republic of Latvia announces that the Russian President's decree is in sharp contradiction with the initialed agreements on troop withdrawal from the territory of Latvia, as prepared by the delegations of the Republic of Latvia and the Russian Federation on March 15 of this year. This can be considered as a reflection of the Russian Federation's unwillingness to sign these jointly worked out and initialed agreements.

The Government of the Republic of Latvia categorically announces that it has not agreed, and does not agree, and will never agree to the creation of a Russian Federation army base, as well as the testing of new weapons and military equipment on the territory of the Republic of Latvia and rejects any possibility of discussions regarding such questions. The Russian Federation has no legal right to take upon itself the responsibility of guaranteeing the security of the Republic of Latvia.

This Russian Federation Presidential decree effectively alters the international political and military situation in Eastern Europe. The Government of Latvia considers this decree as clear subordination to the pressure of Russia's reactionary imperialistic circles.

That Russia wants to create its military bases in Latvia shows that the goals of these circles have not been reached in the March 15 initialed agreement with Russia. Now these forces are attempting to make such an agreement impossible.

That these intentions have received support in the President of the Russian Federation's decree is a strong blow to the ability of the international community and the Latvian Government to trust the course of Russia's foreign policy and its compliance to internationally-accepted norms.

The Latvian Government is evaluating its subsequent policy regarding Russia and will consistently counteract any attempt whatsoever to threaten the sovereignty of the Latvian nation.

The Government of the Republic of Latvia is asking the Russian Federation for clarification regarding this decree and reserves the right to inform world governments and international institutions about this change in Russia's position concerning the question of Russian troop withdrawal.

The Government of Latvia repeats its demands that the Russian Government immediately and unquestionably withdraw all illegally-remaining Russian army and military personnel from the territory of Latvia.

*Jurmala, Latvia – April 6, 1994*

**The following is a letter written by ABN President Slava Stetsko in support of the Announcement made by the Government of the Republic of Latvia dated April 6th 1994.**

*"We acknowledge the receipt of the Announcement dated 6th April 1994 by the Government of the Republic of Latvia.*

*The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists wholeheartedly supports the Latvian Government's demand for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia. The Russian army and Russian military personnel remain in sovereign and independent Latvia illegally.*

*We also support your stand to never agree to the creation of a Russian Federation Army base on Latvian territory since this would infringe on Latvian independence and would be dangerous not only to the freedom of the Latvian people but also to peoples of other countries.*

*We congratulate the courageous Latvian Nation for its refusal not to participate in CIS. It is our great desire that Ukraine also secedes from CIS as soon as possible and comes into contact and co-operation with such countries as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other friendly neighbours. Wishing you much success in your national endeavours.*

Slava Stetsko, Chairman of CUN and President of ABN  
Munich, 11th April 1994

## **I'm No Hitler, Says Vladimir Zhirinovsky**

Russian chauvinist Vladimir Zhirinovsky said that "my people and supporters are safeguarding the interests of Russians wherever they live, including the Baltic states." He added that his views, which many regard as harsh if not insane, are a defensive reaction to the assault on Slavic nations from the Baltics to the Balkans and beyond. "The present government," said Zhirinovsky with a wave of his hand "has betrayed the nation and doomed it to extinction. This is real genocide. Look at Bosnia. Nobody but us prevented Sarajevo from being bombed by the allied NATO forces. I made it quite clear that the NATO attack on Sarajevo would mean an outbreak of war with Russia, and the generals over in teh West figured it out."

In Zhirinovsky's view, NATO is trying to isolate Russia by inviting the Baltic countries and other Eastern European nations to join the Partnership for Peace program, and by surrounding Russia and the Serbs with enemies.

"NATO plans to completely isolate Russia and Bosnia, part of its population is to be converted to Catholicism, while the rest are to become Muslims." He added that these strikes against Russia and the Bosnian Serbs showed that "the Third World War is on, but in teh West they're afraid of Russia's powerful arsenals, so they destroy us economically."

He bemoaned the passing of great Russia, saying that "once Russia was proud of its ballet, space explorers, science and powerful army, but no more."

Another problem confronting Russia, in Zhirinovsky's view, is the influx of refugees from other countries. "We must stop this wave of refugees, except for Russians. Many of them are fleeing oppression in the Blatic and Asian states. A ban should be introduced for profiteers and traders, they mustn't be let in our towns and villages. And send away all foreign students," Zhirinovsky said. All foreigners have to have visas, he said.

As for his future plans, Zhirinovsky said that he has his eye on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's job. He believes that the presidential elections will take place long before June 12, 1996, and that "if we elect the wrong leader again, and take the wrong path, it would be unpardonable."

On a final note, Zhirinovsky said "for three months now, they have been calling me a Russian Hitler. Can you imagine? All these years, my people and I have been honest and sincere."

*From an interview with the Baltic Observer held in Moscow on March 5, 1994.*

## Russian-Neo-colonialism and the Problem of Crimea

As is known, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared the decade of the 1990s as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism in order “to usher in the 21st century a world free from colonialism.” The UN Secretary General was asked to prepare and propose steps towards achieving the state of full independence and decolonisation of the world by the year 2000.

Following the above declaration some Western governments are “dismantling” the colonial status of distant overseas colonies. It is well known that Hong Kong will cease to be a British colony by 1997; the neighboring Portuguese colony of Macao will return to China in due time; pertraciations are under way with regard to other overseas possessions, as e.g. Gibraltar.

An entirely different picture exists in Eastern Europe, particularly in the Russian Federation. Here nobody dares to discuss the problem of the Kalinin territory – former Eastern Prussia, a distant colony occupied by Soviets during World War II. Though geopolitically it belongs to Poland and/or Lithuania, the Russian colonial regime and presence of the Russian army excludes any territorial dispute about this region in advance.

Most recently the problem of Crimea emerged. It was in the summer of 1933 that the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation voted about the “return” of Crimea to the Russian “motherland”; during the December in 1993 Vladimir Zhirinovskiy thanks to his neocolonial imperialistic slogans including the incorporation of Crimea; the new Crimean President - Russian neo-imperialist Y. Meshkov – does not hide his plan to unite Crimea with the Russian Federation. We are witnessing an entirely different trend to what has been internationally adopted by the United Nations for our decade – the decolonisation of the world. Russia is aiming at neocolonialism not only in Europe but also in the far East: the Kurilian islands are off limits of any political and diplomatic dispute. Ongoing age-long Muscovite expansionism manifests itself in new ways, despite UN declarations and ideology. Unlike Ukrainians, Russians do not like any tradition of stable confines and the preservation of the status quo in territorial matters: they expanded through colonisation and aggression by military force vast territories in Europe and Asia. No wonder that Zhirinovskiy is thinking of the “return” of Alaska to the Russian empire.

For a Westerner it is difficult or even impossible to grasp the expansionist spirit of the Russian elite. The only explanation that matters in this respect would be the well known verse by Fyodor Ivanovich Tyutchev of 1868: “*Unom Rosii nye ponyat*” - “one cannot grasp Russia by reason; one cannot measure Russia by general standard; Russia has its genuine shape: one must believe in Russia.” And indeed one cannot understand why Russia is opposing today the generally accepted world policy of eradication of colonialism; why instead of following the international trend of decolonisation it is aiming at neocolonial expansion, acquisition of non-Russian territories including Crimea

that since the tenth century had ties with Kiev (Princes Sviatoslav, Volodymyr the Great a.o.) and in 1954 was legally ceded to Ukraine. After 40 years of integration with its natural, geographical “motherland” – Ukraine suddenly is to “return” to Zhirinovskiy’s Russian neo-empire.

The world is eagerly watching events in the Russian Federation. Under the aegis of United Nations and its decolonisation decade (1990-2000) it is expecting from Russia compliance with its status quo in territorial dimensions after 1991 and stabilisation of its political-economic situation. It is not the time for neo-expansionistic trends and neo-colonialism in general.

*Reprinted from POSTUP, 13 March 1994*

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### **Kremlin Claims Historic Duty**

Though the occupation and colonisation of Central Asian states legally was over, but March 15 Russian Foreign Minister said Russia had a “historic mission” to fulfill in Tajikistan. He was speaking at the end of a meeting in Dushanbe of foreign ministers from Russia and several Central Asian republics. Kozyrev made clear that Russia would not relinquish its control over the Tajik-Afgan border despite the fact that Russian territory was not directly at stake.

“It is a frontier of the CIS” and “Russia has a historic duty to guard this border”, he said. Kozyrev explained Russia’s attitude had nothing to do with “neo-imperialism”. The talks in Dushanbe focused mainly on the conflict between Tajikistan’s neo-communist rulers (supported by the Kremlin) and the opposition by the anti-communist Democratic Muslim groups.

In 1992, thousands were killed in the civil war between neo-communist opposition and thousands of refugees sympathetic to democratic activists fled across the border into Afganistan.

*From THE MUSLIM WORLD, 26th March 1994*

## The Long March of the League

A quarter of a century ago, the Asiatic People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) decided to extend its action into Europe and America, becoming thus worldwide known under the acronym WACL (World Anti-Communist League).

In all frankness, we must admit that the initial recruitment of the European Chapters had been done in a hurry, without discrimination and without a thorough research in the verification of the credibility and honorability of the heads and members responsible for these founding chapters. Therefore, it was easy to infiltrate the organisation particularly by right extremists, even former Nazis, whose principles and methods were contrary to the objectives pursued by the League that had been solemnly set down in the fundamental Charter.

Thus, the damage had been done and the lighthearted negligence with which these undesirable elements had been admitted, weighed heavily on the future of WACL, giving it the infamous character of an extremist movement, inspired both by Naziism and fascism, allegedly openly collaborating with the sadly famous "death squads" or other gangs of the same kind. Unfortunately, this scandalous slander was gathered in a book with a large distribution, called *Inside the League* in which the false statements were once again used by those opposing our organisation, largely publicised in the news media and ably manipulated by the propaganda services ("Agitprop") of the KGB.

After the event, we should ask ourselves how it had been possible to resist this formidable opposition for decades, which exploited the whole scale of the resources of disinformation and counter-propaganda at the disposal of the giant Soviet *apparatchik*, diffused by their allies and organisms at their pay, whether they were local Communists, the so-called "Pacifist" mass movements, or leftist parliamentarians conquered by Soviet theories.

The task was not easy, for the whole panoply of their means was put into action for neutralising the League's initiatives. Let us recall the bomb alert during the 1986 General Assembly in Luxembourg, the devastating raid of young and destructive criminals against the Hotel Penta in Geneva in 1987, the counter demonstrations manipulated by the KGB shouting untiringly slogans addressing "fascists of the extreme right" as propaganda agents of the Cold War.

At the political level, these actions of the leftist forces and the continuous defamation caused considerable damage to the political careers of some of the League's members whose influence, according to the KGB, had to be eliminated at all costs. Amongst the victims were our friends such as Geneviève Aubry, National Councillor of the Swiss Parliament, Jose Desmarets, former Belgian Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, and myself, who after all had survived three years of Nazi concentration camps. We were relentlessly attacked and systematically relegated as the worst extremists from the right.

This led to two court proceedings initiated in Luxembourg against the scandalous defamatory campaigns of the local Communist newspaper, court cases that were never completed due to so-called "flaw" in the proceedings, most likely invoked by judges receptive to Marxist-Leninist theories, who shortened the proceedings and closed the

juridical action which would no doubt have compromised certain political circles.

Another consequence of the adversary's political actions was the ostracism to which League members were subjected by most of the official and government circles. For example, during the General Assembly in Luxembourg, the mayor of the city refused to pronounce a welcome address to several hundred League members from more than 90 nations and regional as well as international organisations.

Not one member of the government dared to participate in our work or honour us with his presence during the opening ceremony of the Luxembourg conference. Amongst our colleagues in Parliament, some of whom had enthusiastically accepted a generous invitation to Taiwan, were too faint-hearted to attend, even if only once, our annual meetings and to demonstrate their solidarity. Others, who nevertheless shared our ideas, hesitated to join us for fear of being assimilated to the "extreme right". Only very few courageous persons, faithful to their democratic principles, were constantly at our side.

Yet, wishing to re-establish our good reputation and to proclaim in a loud voice our adherence to the eternal values of Freedom and Democracy, we began to reiterate our unshakable faith in these principles, and to banish from the League all those who, in one way or another, could have been suspected of any type of extremism.

In the document known as the "Tabernash Agreement", signed by Jack Singlaub and myself in May 1983, we reiterate, without any ambiguity, our engagement against any type of extremism, whether from the Right or the Left, and our faith in the great democratic principles. This document also expelled from our organisation some members considered undesirable. The application of the League's Charter equally resulted, some time later, in the expulsion of the Mexican representatives whose shocking behaviour would have prejudiced the pursuit of our objectives and the efficiency of our action as well as our international reputation.

Henceforth, the favourite target of the hard-core Communists became our friend General Jack Singlaub, whose determined and courageous actions for the Contras in Nicaragua plus the good deeds of a freedom fighter in Afghanistan obviously thwarted Communist expansion in the world. No effort was spared, including open death threats, in an attempt to destroy him, skillfully combined in an unprecedented news media campaign with the intent of tarnishing his reputation as a war hero and as an honourable, incorruptible man.

The KGB went even as far as to insinuate that the League had been an accomplice in the assassination of Olaf Palme, and this is just one example to point out the outrageousness of the calumnious accusations we were exposed to!

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), under the competent leadership of Mrs. Slava Stetsko, had always been a refuge for dissidents from captive nations, and was a shining forum from which the violations of human rights and the suffering of all those who had been subjected to the unbearable Soviet yoke for decades were denounced incessantly. Slava Stetsko, a charismatic and dynamic "prosecutor", never stopped to remind us of the millions of human beings who were wasting away in Goulags, that the freedom of expression had been smothered under cruel repressions and that the terror of being denounced was the daily bread of all those who lived under the dictatorship in the USSR.

However, in addition to the internal repression of the people, the threat of Soviet expansionism represented the Sword of Damocles for Western Europe. I do not have to

remind you of the crusades we led successfully in Belgium, in response to the threat of the Soviet SS-20s, resulting in the installation of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles which were finally able to reach Moscow and neutralise the unilateral threat hanging over all of Western Europe.

In spite of the huge pacifist demonstrations, teleguided and manipulated by Moscow, and notwithstanding the constant manoeuvres of obstruction by a disoriented Left, obedient to the policies of the Kremlin, the democratic forces finally obtained their victory, undoubtedly reinforcing the position of the West for the negotiations between Reagan and Gorbachev who then reached agreement on the “double zero option”.

Well, we all know what happened afterwards. The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, and the total collapse of the Soviet empire, together with a total economic disaster, and the resurgence of nationalisms, long held down by force but always present in the subjugated populations of the USSR. The 1990s saw the triumph of the principles that had always been those of the WACL, and which consequently led to changing the name of the League in July 1990 in Brussels to the World League of Freedom and Democracy (WLFDD), a positive name, perfectly adapted to the immense upheavals in the geostrategic balance.

This nearly absolute victory we owe to a great part of our Asian friends, above all to their untiring efforts, their constant financial contributions and their unshakable faith in the rightness of the cause which have been the driving power of the worldwide anti-communist activities led by the Republic of China Chapter.

We deeply appreciate their tremendous efforts and our gratitude goes particularly to the great leaders of the League. Here I refer especially to the outstanding and convincing leader, the dynamic Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, and particularly to the experienced diplomat, of legendary courtesy and with a smiling determination, our much regretted Dr. Han-Li Wu, and others yet, too numerous to be mentioned here.

The worthy successor of these great old men, the almost legendary “founding fathers”, is the current President of the WLFDD, Dr. Tze-Chi Chao who worked very hard over the years in the pursuit of improving the prestige of the League in the former satellite countries, intensifying at the same time our actions against the remaining strongholds of pure and hard Communism, in Mainland China, Cuba, Vietnam and Burma.

In the end, and within the framework of bright perspectives, supported by the evidence of great changes made during the last few years, the League must pursue two objectives:

- Firstly, the United Nations should recognise the WLFDD as a non-governmental organisation;
- Secondly, the Republic of China should be admitted unconditionally to the United Nations under the principles of universality and the undeniable rights of a democratic nation, which prospers economically and is committed to democracy, so that it can liberate itself from international ostracism which the Republic of China has been subjected to for more than two decades.

If we succeed in reconquering the position, which the League and its country of origin deserve in the concert of nations at the United Nations, we shall have terminated our “long march” towards Freedom and Democracy.

## **The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) Declaration on the parliamentary elections and referendum in the Russian Federation**

The disintegration of the USSR into independent nations is an historic normality. Moscow's empire was the last to survive the twentieth century and as a world superpower was instrumental in the Cold War and arms buildup, which could have caused a nuclear war and threatened the existence of the Western civilised world and all mankind.

Respecting the right of every nation to self-determination, the world community and its individual members recognised all the newly formed states of the former USSR, formed diplomatic ties with them, received them as members of the United Nations and declared that they were ready to talk, as equals with them, and build within the framework of the UN a new world order which would guarantee peace in the Eurasian lands, and at the same time, would maintain world peace.

Unfortunately, many influential statesmen recognised the newly formed Russian state – the Russian Federation – as the successor-state of the former USSR. Moscow's state authorities took advantage of this unjust misconception to quickly seize all external and internal assets of the former USSR, thereby destroying the economies of the newly-independent non-Russian states, and thereby trying to reactivate the Russian empire at the cost of the independent states.

Evidence of this can be found in the military doctrine of the Russian Federation, in which the Russian army takes it upon itself to "protect" the borders of the former USSR and reserves the right to defend the interests and the rights of the Russian minorities on the territories of the independent states of the so-called C.I.S. In addition, Moscow is demanding from the UN full powers to maintain peace and to mediate conflicts in the independent republics of the former USSR. Even now, Russian troops are provoking armed conflict in Moldavia (the occupation of the so-called Prednistrovsk republic), Ossetija and Georgia: They are responsible for the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and they are involved in the internal conflicts of Georgia and Tajikistan. On the 23rd December, 1993 Russian troops took over the defence of the national borders of Turkmenia.

President Yeltsin is endeavoring to guarantee political and economic Russian hegemony within the so called C.I.S. and is putting political and economic pressure on the newly-independent states, in order that they accept the C.I.S. This constitution foresees the call to life of the superstructures. Under the command of influential Russian politicians, the C.I.S. could first be changed into a confederation, then into a federation and finally, the return to an empire.

With this goal in mind a treaty on economic union is being imposed upon the members of C.I.S. This treaty cannot be compared to the Rome Treaty of the 25th September 1957 on the creation of a European Community, in so far as economic integration starts where certain objectives and conditions are made. This is production on a high level. This is a well worked out system of a free enterprise and democracy, as a

norm in all spheres of community life. This is the realisation of market freedom of a large economic not based on political ambitions or aspirations. Political interests can only earn attention when they satisfy all the members of the community and have no hegemonic aspirations towards its members. In the end, respect for national state interests of each of the member countries is the irrevocable law of integration. Named conditions are characteristic for a large extensive market of the European Community and they are its essence and ruling motives. On the other hand all this does not exist for the eventual economic union of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and other member-states of the so-called C.I.S. The distribution of work in the former Soviet Union based itself not on the principle of economic rationality and equal rights of the members of the “single economic complex of the USSR”, but exclusively on the political imperialistic interests of Moscow, whose aim it was to build a “Soviet way of life” throughout the world. The attainment of spiritual and material well-being for non-Russian nations did not have a place in the economic strategy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the Russian Federation and the contemporary political elite, independent of its party origins – are blinded by historical messianism, imperialism and a feeling of political and cultural superiority over enslaved nations. Instead of building a Russian national state within the ethnographic limits, guaranteeing freedom for all the peoples of the nation and developing a social market economy with the aim of securing optimal spiritual and material well-being for the Russian nation, they are striving to reserve the same place in world politics for Russia as the USSR had during the times of Brezhnev, Souslov, and Andropov.

The results of the first free elections in Russia after the disintegration of the USSR, shocked the neighbours of the Russian Federation, both near and far, as well as the world community, and in particular, the member countries of the UN and the European Union. The outcome of the elections became a warning for Washington and Brussels and all the capital cities of the countries linked with them, and also for the non-Russian nations of the former Soviet bloc. Here, the imperialistic intentions (to renew the world power of the ‘Great Russian’ state within pre-World War I borders) of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia, should not be taken lightly. Along with Yeltsin, Chornomyrdin, Kozyppev and their advisors, they have threatened Western statesmen with the expansion of the great nation concept and the buildup of nuclear arms. These Russian leaders are assuring that there is no threat of victory for fascism in Russia, but they are not distancing themselves from the imperialistic aspirations of Zhirinovskiy. Yeltsin even declared that he is willing to work with the parliamentary faction of this xenophobe, this anti-Semite and Hitlerite-Nazi, insofar as Zhirinovskiy ‘loves Russia.’ On the 16th December 1993, *Pravda* – the Communist Party paper, which has never denied itself the chance to fight for the renewal of the USSR, declared that Zhirinovskiy is a real Russian phenomenon. The newspaper claimed that his views that are in tune with the views of radical democrats, consequently Yeltsin and his advisers. In fact, Yeltsin’s last speeches do not differ from the Liberal Democrat “Zhirinovskiy, because they also talk of “the ethnic cleansing of Moscow from Caucasus nationalities and of the usurping of independence from the autonomous republics” and the authors “of the great-nation utterances in relation to the former union republics” and the admirers “of the strong individuality of the president” justify “his strong hand of the 3-4th October” 1993.

It would not do justice to minimise the results of the elections in the Russia by claiming that only a mere 28% of the registered voters took part in the referendum for the confirmation of the new constitution. The new Russian constitution does not recognise non-Russian nations (even though there are over 40), the right to autonomy, or the right to secede from the Federation. The powers given to the President of the Federation are authoritarian, and the division of power does not guarantee the parliamentary democracy practised in the West. For this reason, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his political followers voted for the constitution. If Zhirinovskiy became president it would give him the possibility to realise his aggressive xenophobic and imperialistic plans.

As a result, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), reaffirming the political concept that was initially born at the First Conference of Captive Nations in 1943, co-ordinated a fight for freedom for all the nations that were enslaved by Moscow against the Stalinist-Moscovite totalitarianism and imperialism for the realisation of the principle: "Freedom for nations and for the people!" and dedicating itself to the destruction of communism and the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet empire, believes that it is its duty to warn the member-states of NATO, the European Community and the United Nations about the danger of the rebirth of the Russian empire. This will lead to political destabilization not only in the geopolitical spheres of the former Soviet bloc, but also in Europe and will become a threat to world peace.

The Central Committee of ABN believes that the democratic nations of the West in the interest of their own peoples and world peace should:

1. Put an end to the bipolar system of world security. After the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the USSR, a fundamentally different geopolitical situation has been created. Although Russia belongs to the largest countries of the world, its influence on the system of world security cannot be greater than the influence of London, Paris, Berlin or Tokyo;

2. Perceive the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the USSR itself, as a gift from God and the only possibility to rid the world of communism, Russian imperialism and the division of the world into two antagonistic parts;

3. Welcome the renewal of the sovereign states of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia as an unreversible historical process;

4. Use all available peaceful means, with the aim of persuading the statesmen of Russia, to take responsibility at last for its people, to turn its attention exclusively to its spiritual and material needs, and to leave in peace the nations that were formerly enslaved by Moscow and not try to put them under their "influence" or "protection", because this is in the interest of true world law order;

5. Guarantee that the territories and borders of the Baltic States, Ukraine, Poland, Belarus and all the other newly-independent states of Eastern Europe and former Soviet Asia will be left in peace;

6. Allow all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe without hindrance to enter the European Home and NATO in the near future.

If the European Union and its members, USA, Canada, and Japan understand their responsibility for true lawful order in the world and world peace correctly then surely not only the peoples that not long ago were enslaved by the Soviet-Russian empire will take advantage of this, but the whole world, because at last just order will rule.

*The Central Committee of the ABN*

*Slava Stetsko*  
*President*

*Nino Alshibaya*  
*General Secretary*

*Munich, 24th December, 1993*

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## **WLFD's New Role as UN Non-Governmental Organisation**

December 13, 1993 was a red-letter day for members of the World League for Freedom and Democracy. Three days after the world-wide observance of Human Rights Day, the World League was accorded Non-governmental organisation status in the United Nations. Freedom-loving people from every corner of the world hailed this occasion as another victory for freedom and democracy.

This new NGO role permits the World League for Freedom and Democracy to sit at public meetings of the Economic and Social Council and the Commission of Human Rights and sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It could also make oral statements and submit written documents.

Moreover, WLFD can also call attention to human rights situations needing the attention of the UN and suggest studies which should be carried out and instruments which should be drafted. The views and information provided by the non-governmental organisations are also included in official reports.

## **Finland wants border talks**

Finland's leaders are suggesting negotiations with Moscow over the territory which Finland lost after wars against Stalin's Soviet forces in the 1940s. Despite the problems this might cause, public opinion polls in Finland show that a substantial majority favour negotiations. This follows Russia's admission that the annexation of the three Baltic States under Soviet-Nazi pacts had been wrong.

In 1939, with its national pride deeply hurt, Finland rejected Stalin's demands for it to withdraw from areas north of Leningrad. The Red Army went on to launch a surprise offensive in what became known as the Winter War of 1939-40. Despite fierce resistance, Finnish forces succumbed to overwhelming Soviet strength and the first border adjustments were made.

In 1941, three days after Hitler declared war on Russia, Finland followed suit, in an attempt to reclaim the territories lost in the 1940 hostilities. The so-called War of Continuation also ended in Finnish defeat.

In all, Finland lost about 12.5 per cent of its national territory as a result of the hostile actions of the Soviet Union. But in recent years, Moscow has suggested it might be prepared to return the territory to Finland.

However, Finland, suffering economic problems, has previously been reluctant to take back its former territories, suffering from their own economic hardships as well as environmental damage from years of Soviet industrial pollution.

It is thought that if a return were to be negotiated, Russia would require Finland to allow inhabitants wishing to stay in the territories to remain there. These are predominantly Russians, though a few ethnic Finns remain. The overall population is thought to be as high as 600,000.

### **Naval Officers swear allegiance to Ukraine**

ODESSA – A total of 39 officers and warrant officers of the 318th Division of the Black Sea Fleet swore allegiance to Ukraine. Now, they will serve in a newly-formed division of naval border guard ships belonging to the Ukrainian navy. Apart from the newcomers, the new division of the Ukrainian navy includes the entire 46th Hydro-Region, consisting of two hydrographers, eight boats, a radio-technical unit and auxiliary services. This is presumed to be the result of a recent incident involving the "Cheleken" hydrographer, who was barred from leaving the sea port of Odessa. Commander of the Western Naval Region of the Ukrainian Navy, Captain First Rank Dmitry Ukrainets, told a correspondent of the Ukrinform news agency that the main cause of the incident in Odessa was an attempt to rob the ship. "The problem of the Division of the Fleet, its property and equipment has not been finally resolved yet, and some "anxious servicemen" are trying to grab as much as possible" Ukrainets said.

## *PRESS REPORTS*

### **Moldova a clue to the future?**

*(The following is an excerpt from a column by Georgie Anne Geyer in the Washington Times, March 17, 1994)*

At the December Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or CSCE, European foreign ministers gathering in Rome passed an unusually strong resolution, which called upon the Russian government to withdraw its 14th Army from Moldova – "urgently, expeditiously, completely."

The Russian response to the CSCE foreign ministers was revealing. When Ukraine, also feeling threatened these days by Russian intentions, objected to a related speech by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev on Russia's right to keep troops in these "near abroad" areas, the Ukrainian ambassador in Moscow was called into the Foreign Ministry and soundly berated.

At the same time, the Moscow paper *Rossiskaya Gazeta* published the text of a statement from the Russian side saying Russia was "directing" the Moldovans to have Russian troops stay in the area indefinitely. It was signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, showing the extent to which once-reformers Mr. Kozyrev and Mr. Yeltsin have fallen into the nationalist and chauvinist "Great Russia" quicksand. (...)

"Poor little Moldova is the least important," says Vladimir Socer of Radio Free Europe in Munich. "The larger targets are Ukraine and the Balkans. Now we have the tie-in with the Balkans, and so Moldova is even more relevant to Russia. They can position their airborne and rapid-deployment forces there so they can continue defining their 19th century pan-Slavism".

Russia today, of course, is a poor country. It cannot afford huge outlays for defense. But in the tiny and poor Moldovas of its borders, it can accomplish substantive geopolitical moves with little financial outlay. Now it has a united front in Moscow, which presages a post-Soviet world that the West ignores at its peril.

### **New Triangle**

*(The following excerpts are from a column in the Washington Post on March 8, 1994)*

On the eve of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's trip to Washington, Russia cut off Ukraine's crucial gas supplies, ostensibly for nonpayment of its energy debt. In fact, it was a crude reminder to Ukraine not to drift too far toward the West. Mr. Kravchuk, however, was not fazed. He had spent the winter nailing together a coalition supporting his strategy to reach out to distant America to balance off nearby Russia. In Washington, he confirmed this strategy by – in the coin of most immediate value to Americans – yielding up 60 nuclear warheads in accordance with the three-cornered

disarmament pact he signed in January with Russia and the United States.(...)

Ukraine, inheriting nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union, made a disarmament commitment and has begun making good on it. But the commitment is explicitly tied to parallel pledges by Russia and America to support the economic as well as the security needs of the former Soviet republic, which has become a central player in creating new patterns of stability and cooperation in post-Cold War Europe. Keeping things in balance on all three sides of this triangle is a major mutual preoccupation. (...)

"Triangle" only begins to describe this relationship. It is more of a three-legged stool, each leg with its own willful carpenter. For its size and potential threat and benefit, Russia remains the part of the old Soviet Union of most enduring importance to the United States. But considerations of strategy as well as friendship now incline and compel Washington to deepen its cooperation with Kiev.

## Stress Test for Ukraine

*(The following are excerpts from an article in the Washington Times from March 15, 1994 written by Janusz Bugajski, who is the director of East European studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies)*

The parallels between prepartition Bosnia and post-Soviet Ukraine are striking. Both Bosnia and Ukraine were key republics for the central federal authorities. Bosnia occupied a strategically important position in the former Yugoslavia; it contained important arms production facilities and a large Serb population. It also provided an essential territorial link with the Serb-occupied sections of Croatia. Ukraine also has strategic value for Moscow, as a direct window on Europe, with a significant agricultural and industrial potential. (...)

Just as Serbia cannot reconcile itself to an independent and integral Bosnia, Russian leaders of all political persuasions cannot countenance the permanent loss of "little Russia". (...)

In the past two years, Russian propaganda was successfully painting Ukraine as a failed economic base case and nuclear warmonger. It would not be difficult for the Moscow media, still a prime source of news and views for Russian speakers, to assert that the Ukrainian government is menacingly preparing to make Russians into second-class citizens. Moscow does not need instructions from Mr. Milosevic in this regard. If Russians can convince that they made a mistake in voting for Ukrainian independence, civil conflict may be imminent.

The Crimean Peninsula thereby becomes a test case both for Russian intentions and Ukrainian reactions. Moscow can manipulate Crimean disquiet to threaten Kiev with the specter of national disintegration. But short of a major crackdown or acceding to Russian domination, there is little the Ukrainian government can do to pacify Crimea.

So what can the West do to prevent an even bloodier Bosnian-type conflict that could lead directly to a Ukrainian-Russian war? Our means are limited but we are not

completely helpless. First, it is essential that we signal to Moscow to both the presidency and the parliament, that the subversion, partition or reoccupation of Ukraine by Russian proxies will place U.S.-Russian relations in deep freeze. If the Ukrainian government can provide credible evidence of Russian intervention, credits, and other forms of planned assistance will be held back, further arms control agreements will be placed in jeopardy, and all the Eastern European states will move that much faster toward NATO membership.

Second, we must urgently strengthen our relations with Ukraine and help the new government to implement a sound economic reform package. Moreover, Ukraine's participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace program must be given the highest priority to signal that Washington is serious about preserving Ukraine's integrity and independence. The U.S. government must now take the initiative before it is faced with a much more serious regional crisis than the Bosnian war.

## **EU Wants to Help Shut Down Chernobyl**

The European Union wants to help Ukraine close the Chernobyl nuclear power plant permanently and to investigate reported safety defects. Help with Chernobyl is to be featured in a broad-ranging plan of economic aid for Ukraine to be drawn up by the European Commission.

At the beginning of April, Ukrainian nuclear authorities said that the Chernobyl plant could only be closed by authority of parliament and after alternative power sources were found. The Ukrainian stance complicated an earlier announcement by the U.S. Department of Energy that American and Ukrainian delegations had agreed after talks in Kyiv to close down as soon as possible the two reactors still in operation at Chernobyl.

In a report, a Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency described the plant as unsafe. But Ukraine's parliament, citing energy shortages, last year shocked world opinion by reversing a decision to close down Chernobyl by the end of 1993 and lifted a moratorium on construction of new reactors. The explosion and fire at Chernobyl in April 1986 spewed clouds of radiation across Europe and caused at least 8,000 deaths according to Ukrainian authorities.

## USLFD Meeting

The United States Alliance for Freedom and Democracy (USAFD) held an executive meeting in Little Rock Arkansas on February 5, 1994. The name of the organisation was officially changed to the United States League for Freedom and Democracy (USLFD).

The following officers were elected: Hon. Mike Huckabee, Let. Governor Mike Huckabee of State of Arkansas, Chairman; Mr. W. Bruce Potter, Secretary-General; Mrs. Roxolana B. Potter, Chairperson, Coordinating Committee; Dr. Annamaria Nucci, Chairperson, Public Relations Committee; Mrs. Barbara S. Miller, Chairperson, Resource Committee; Mr. Walter Murphey, Editor-in-Chief, the USLFD Newsletters; Dr. Robert Morris, Legal Advisor; Mr. Pierre Xiong, Youth Delegate.

Dr. Victor T. H. Tsuan proposed the following goals for the league, which were approved by the meeting:

United States League for Freedom and Democracy (USLFD) is a non-profit organisation under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Service Code. We rely solely on voluntary contributions from individuals, coporations, and other organisations for our support. All such contirbutions are fully tax deductible, we are now known as No. 22-327-0793.

The ultimate goal of USLFD is to build a peaceful and prosperous world, especially in the remaining captive nations imprisoned by the diehard communist slavemasters. We hereby commit ourselves to the above goal, pledging to continue efforts towards the realisation of the following aims:

1. To urge people of good will all over the world to share democratic ideas, to work together, and to build strong foundations for world peace, and to do so without resorting to violence.

2. To deal with immediate as well as long range solutions to such critical issues as failing economies, national self-determination, education for the 21st century, the environment, human rights, population growth, refugees, hunger, poverty, totalitarianism, and diehard communism.

3. To urge the younger generation to realise that humanity renews and continues itself. It is our sacred duty to transmit the inherited wisdom and insights of our traditional values, such as belief in the existence of a Supreme Creator, the Ultimate Source of all being and goodness in the universe; compassion and harmony; love and regard for all our fellow beings that must sustain them throughtout a lifetime and beyond.

4. To promote the right of all persons in the world to live, develop, and prosper politically, culturally, and economically in independent sovereign nations, under a freely elected political and socio-economic system, with government of, by and for the nation's people.

5. During the post World War II era, America has made almost unbelievable material and social progress, what has not changed is the nature of humanity and the never ending challenges. We must convince the people of the world of the American good intentions to lead the world toward democratic freedom. The collapse of Soviet Communism does not guarantee the permanent, universal triumph of freedom and democracy. We resolutely affirm our commitment and determination to pursue these goals in unity for freedom and democracy of all nations.



ABN President  
Slava Stetsko  
campaigns  
in  
Ukraine's elections!

# ABN

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*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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## A Word from the Editor...

Unfortunately, the year 1994 is showing the reemergence of a Communist drive for power in particular, in Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia and the Central Asian Republics.

During the first years after the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Communists, in particular the leaders, feared that justice may be done and that their crimes against humanity would be duly punished. But there was no Nuremberg Trial called upon by the International Community against the criminal activities of the Communist system and so the Communist parties, one after another, came into legal existence again in one country after another.

Despite of 1993 commemoration of one of the world's worst famines, which occurred in Ukraine in 1932-33 but was orchestrated by the Communist Party Leaders in Moscow, the Communist party was re-registered and its activities reinforced throughout Ukraine. The first free elections in Ukraine did not bring the results that the democratic parties expected. Chairman of the National Assembly Oleksander Moroz is a former Socialist (Communist) as well as the two Deputy Chairmen and the new Prime Minister Vitalyj Masol. Many Communists have again come into power to the regional and local councils. The economic situation is such that there is little hope that it can change for the better in the near future. Communist and foreign domination have left the economy in the greatest disarray and the leftover post-Communist *nomenclatura*, oriented on Russia, has not been interested in the building of the Ukrainian state but in the enrichment of their own personal fortunes. While consolidating its strength, Russia is developing all possible strategies to reintegrate the previous colonies back into another Russian Empire.

In February Mr. Kissinger stated in *Newsweek* that he "had many meetings with all sorts of government officials and that it is clear to him that the Russian urge continues to be the renewal of domination over the newly-formed independent republics". Moscow is trying to do that by instigating ethnic conflicts through disinformation and propaganda (i.e. continued Russification) through economic union and armed forces, and then coming in to play the role of the peace maker and peace keeper.

In spite of all these negative factors, the Ukrainian nation showed its determination for national independence not only in the first National Referendum on 1st December 1991, but also in the first free elections where 80% participation bears witness to the great interest of the people in the future of Ukraine.

The struggle for the security of the Ukrainian state is being led day by day and sooner or later the revival of the Ukrainian state with its 52 million strong population will be achieved and Ukraine will take its due place among the European nations. The support of the Ukrainian economy as well as the economies of the newly-independent states can only contribute to the strength of the political stability and development of democracy in this part of the world. As Zbigniew Brzezinski rightly states in the *New York Times* of June 29th "a more stable and nonimperial Russia is more likely to emerge if there is a stable and secure Ukraine. That is why the Group of Seven, and America in

particular, are preparing to affirm their interest in Ukraine's well-being and to offer aid as long as Kiev shows willingness to undertake long-delayed economic reforms." And furthermore, "as of this year, aid to the former Soviet Union is no longer ignoring the non-Russian states. In fact, about half of it is now directed to them. This major reallocation reflects a growing recognition that a stable group of nations in the former Soviet Union is infinitely preferable to a renewed imperial structure indeed, that a return to empire would probably even doom the still uncertain prospects for Russian democracy."



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## Reunion, G-7 and Kuchma's Election as President of Ukraine

Observances of the third anniversary of Ukraine's independence later this summer may be somewhat muted and uneasy what with the election of a supporter of Ukraine's reintegration with Russia as President. In and of itself, the pre-term election, which saw former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma outpolling incumbent President Leonid Kravchuk, is bad enough, but taken in the context of two additional recent events, the overall picture of Ukraine that is being painted fits the bill of Washington's Center for Security Policy's "Empire Restoration Watch." Since it didn't come up with this latest interpretation, we've borrowed its moniker and come up with our own proof.

### Clinton's Re-Union

Earlier this month, President Clinton, on the eve of his trip to Eastern Europe, the G-7 summit and Western Europe, met with reporters and told them that the reanimation of the Soviet Union would pose no security risks for the region, Europe, the United States or the world. The only prerequisite, in Clinton's words, is that Ukraine, Belarus and the other captive nations, in a grassroots movement, voluntarily join Russia in a new union. For the former captive nations it would be political and national suicide.

*"If depends upon whether such decisions would be made really voluntarily and by will of a majority of the people. I think they will know in their hearts and minds whether it was a grassroots, honest, democratic impulse. And that will be the test,"* the Southam News agency quoted Clinton as saying.

In one unguarded reply to journalists, Clinton has cast his vote for the reformation of a new USSR.

After all, Clinton's predecessors were careful to avoid expressing controversial observations about Moscow's control over the captive nations in the Soviet empire or Eastern Europe. President Ford lost to Jimmy Carter for unabashedly declaring for millions to hear on television that there is no Soviet influence in Eastern Europe that they are free to do what they please. A smirking Carter told Ford to ask the Poles for their opinion of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

In recent months it began to look as if the Clinton Administration was understanding and appreciative of the needs of Ukraine. In meetings with President Leonid Kravchuk in Kyiv and Washington, Clinton and his foreign policy mavens started using phrases like 1994 will be the year of Ukraine and America's spigot began dripping dollars to Kyiv.

Was all of this a smokescreen for the reunification of Ukraine with the Russian empire?

At a time when Ukrainian independence and democratization have not yet consolidated, Clinton's negligent comments can be usurped by pro-Russian, anti-democratic forces in Ukraine against the country's new-born independence. With Ukrainian-Russian tensions high in Crimea and pro-Russian sympathizers flexing their

muscles across the south and east of Ukraine, it is inconceivable that the President of the United States would allow his comments to be used against Ukraine. Clinton's words undermine the little that his Administration has done for Ukraine.

*"...this organization sincerely appreciates the assistance currently being extended by the U.S. to Ukraine. We have no desire to raise a discordant note at a time when your Administration is articulating an effective aid policy toward Ukraine, resulting in the first appreciable progress on the long road to market reform. Nevertheless, we must characterize your remarks as disappointing and not helpful to the Ukrainian cause,"* UCCA President Askold Lozynskyj wrote.

That was the first notch on the latest Empire Restoration Watch.

Last weekend's summit meeting of the top industrialized countries of the world offered Ukraine some assistance but also saw the leading nations play favorites with Russia. It makes you wonder if the whole world is conspiring against Ukraine while simultaneously assuring Kyiv of its undying devotion to Ukrainian independence. To be truthful, except for the outlandish acceptance of Russia into the exclusive Group of 7 club as its eighth member, the proceedings were filled with with a standard fare of ups and downs for Ukraine.

According to Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi, President Clinton was the head of state to propose that Ukraine be extended \$200 million to close the Chornobyl nuclear facility and if the Kyiv government hastens economic reform, it will be offered more than \$4 billion of aid over the next two years.

Interestingly, while the record shows that Clinton was the benefactor of this gift, Yeltsin was not remiss in trying to steal the spotlight.

According to Guy Chazan of the United Press International, Moscow claims to have been the behind-the-scenes coordinator of this grant. *"(President Boris) Yeltsin called on the G-7 to support the CIS states, especially Ukraine,"* Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Shokhin was quoted by Chazan as saying. Shokhin noted that the offer of aid to Kyiv was "completely in line with our policies." Shokhin said Yeltsin had tried to "represent the interests of many different countries" at the annual summit of seven leading industrial powers, rather than merely demanding more western economic aid.

Reportedly Shokhin said Russia used the summit to lobby for greater access to the resources of international financial organizations and to world markets for all post-communist countries trying to reform their economies. He said that as an example of this, Russia would be pressing the International Monetary Fund at its annual meeting in October to issue SDRs — special drawing rights — to all former Soviet bloc countries.

It seems hard to believe that Uncle Boris is genuinely concerned with the fates of Ukraine and the other former captive nations. But really it's not that difficult. In this latest panorama of political wheeling and dealing between Moscow, Washington and unseen forces in Kyiv, Yeltsin is playing the role of a sugar daddy to the hilt.

At the first press conference in Naples, Clinton struck a positive chord for Ukraine when challenged by an American journalist to "tell the Congressional Black Caucus in good conscience that Haiti is a regional issue that doesn't have a role here, but yet the (sic) Ukraine, the (sic) Ukraine is a place which deserves possibly billions of dollars in international aid and it will be one of the focuses here?"

We hope this doesn't signal the start of a Capitol Hill battle between the Congressional Black Caucus and congressional supporters of Ukraine. Nonetheless,

Clinton's answer was to the point. Stating that Haiti has a lot of historical friends and America has intensified its humanitarian assistance to the Caribbean island nation, Clinton went onto explain the differences.

*"The difference is that Ukraine is part of our historic mission to try to unify Europe around democracy and market reforms and a new sense of common respect for national borders and common commitment to mutual security. There are 60 million people who live there, and their fate and what happens to them is of immediate and pressing concern to the rest of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as to Western Europe. I might say that when I was in both Latvia and Poland, the first subject which came up after the interests of the countries that I was visiting, on their initiative, was the future of Ukraine. I think it is very important, and I don't think that one should be used to denigrate the other."*

On the other hand, the press conference on July 10 was not as luminous for Ukraine.

Clinton and Yeltsin strode up to their respective podiums and the American president announced: *"As you know this was a very important day in which President Yeltsin joined us as a full partner in the G-8 for political discussions."* Though it was to be expected, the foundation was laid in Vancouver, it's still hard to swallow that the captor of Ukraine, the largest national entity in the region, has been accepted as a full-fledged member of the international community. It is a dangerous precedent to have an international outlaw become a member of such a prestigious club. For the West, it is not enough to have brought Nazi Germany to trial for crimes against humanity; to likewise threaten Balkan criminals, and then to reward the successors of the perpetrators of the Famine in Ukraine with G-7 membership.

But they did it.

Between his opening sentences and comments about Ukraine, the U.S. President made a reference to the Second World War which stumped us. Clinton said: *"When the Russian troops withdraw from the Baltics and Germany, it will end the bitter legacy of the Second World War."* This is another example of Clinton's unguarded observations about history. Which legacy of World War II is he referring to: the rise of Nazi dictatorship, Nazi-Soviet fraternity, the selling out of Eastern Europe at Yalta, the defeat of Nazi dictatorship, the spread of Russo-communist dictatorship around the world? For what Clinton knew he may have insulted Yeltsin with his insinuation.

He then told the reporters what he and Yeltsin talked about. *"We talked about Ukraine, its importance to Russia, to the United States, to the future, and we agreed on continuing to work on the issues that we all care about, including economic reform and continuing to implement the agreement on denuclearization, which has so far been implemented quite faithfully."*

Wait a second, Ukraine's "importance to Russia?" Is the United States basing its policy toward Ukraine on the basis of its importance to Russia? Does Washington think that Ukraine is an appendage of Russia? America's predilection of regarding Ukraine as Moscow's two-bit colony is resurfacing. Despite requests and demands by Ukrainian American civic leaders and President Kravchuk to treat Ukraine as a legitimate partner in international affairs, as an equal of Russia, individually important, Washington turns around and proves that it cannot utter Kyiv without enunciating Moscow.

Yeltsin's half of the press conference was equally overwhelming, except to the assembled international press corps. With predictable bravura, Yeltsin, dressed in a

\$2,000 custom-made Italian suit, thanked the G-7 for selecting Russia as its newest groupie and cautioned that the Russia bear will not barge through opened doors until it is ready to do so. Opened or closed doors never stopped Moscow before.

And speaking of closed doors, Yeltsin publicly admitted without guilt or sorrow that he isn't ready to open Estonia's door to let out the Russian Army by August 31. Answering American journalism's grand old dame Helen Thomas's question about Russia's intentions, Yeltsin said he likes her question because he can say "no."

*"We took out of Lithuania, we removed 31st August with drum beat. We're going to take under his arms and take that last soldier from Latvia. Now, Estonia, somewhat more difficult relationship, since there in Estonia there are very crude violations of human rights, vis-a-vis Russian-speaking population, especially toward military pensioners," Yeltsin said. "Bill Clinton, when he was there in Riga, and he met with a large group of people, about 40,000 people and the heads of the three Baltic states, he said — expressed his point of view that you have to maintain and protect human rights. And I think that after his saying so, the President of Estonia will begin to listen. I promised Bill (notice, they're on first-name basis) that I personally will meet with him, with the President of Estonia. We are going to discuss these issues and afterward I'm going to try to find a solution to this question."*

Whichever way you look at it, Estonia did not invite the Russian (okay, Soviet) Army; independent Estonia does not want a foreign army on its territory; any sovereign, independent country with a foreign army in its midst is neither sovereign nor independent, and citizenship laws — regardless of how deplorable they are — are the internal affairs of every government. Come to terms about when Russia will withdraw its occupational army and Tallinn may reconsider its citizenship laws.

With Clinton expressing support for a voluntary re-Union and Russia becoming No.8 in the "Group of" club, the imperial noose is quickly tightening around Kyiv's neck. And the world stands by idly. Now we come to the elections in Ukraine.

### **Kuchma Takes the Reigns**

Based on what he has said and written before and during the election campaign, Kuchma's election to the presidency does not bode well for Ukrainian sovereignty and independence and relations with the West. He has said that Ukraine's salvation lies with Russia and not the West.

However, does his election mean that Ukraine will immediately become a Russian oblast? Hardly.

Luckily, though democracy and lawmaking in Ukraine have not reached a more refined state, there are checks and balances that will not allow Kuchma to run to Moscow whenever he pleases. He may not be able to give away Crimea or sell Ukraine's share of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia.

First of all, the election results will prohibit that eventuality. Kuchma received a fraction over 52 percent of the votes. Not a clear mandate to grovel at the feet of Russia. Furthermore, some 30 percent of the eligible voters did not cast their votes. ITAR-TASS, those underhanded Russian journalists, looking for a unique story in western Ukraine after the first round of voting, found that the members of UNA-UNSO will vote neither for Kravchuk, who they dislike, nor Kuchma, who they detest.

Stepan Khmara voiced similar opinions for the Russian news agency to disseminate across Ukraine thereby adding an extra measure of confusion into the election scenario. Had they not swallowed this Russian provocation hook, line and sinker, maybe the outcome would have been different. Add to this the dismay of students to Kravchuk's reappointment of Masol as prime minister and you have a large number of voters who stayed home on July 10. Theirs was a protest vote against one and the other, though if push came to shove most of them would support statehood candidates rather than its opponents.

In this light, Kuchma's 52 percent victory wails to an equal level with statehood candidates. His support rests in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine though the issue here is not a parochial one, as we have written before, but of statehood vs. subjugation, regardless of where their supporters reside.

Kuchma cannot treat lightly half of the population. As a politician, he cannot assume that he will easily placate the Westerners' concern over the future course of Ukraine. If eastern coalminers created headaches for Kravchuk, then Kuchma should be prepared for western coalminers in Chervonohrad to do the same to him. Kuchma will have to do more than deliver speeches about dreaming of a sovereign, independent Ukraine. He will have to prove it.

Fred Hiatt of The Washington Post Foreign Service picked up on this theme, when he wrote after Kuchma's election: "*Russia and the West should not interpret the outcome of this week's presidential election as evidence that this former Soviet republic wants to rejoin a Russian empire.*"

Realizing this, Kuchma, after sipping champagne, reportedly began to tone down his pro-Russian line, explaining that he was being misquoted and misinterpreted.

Secondly, Kuchma has to answer to the *Verkhovna Rada*, which after July 24 should be functioning with a full complement of legislators. All members of the parliament realize that whether they are nationalists, national-democrats, the party of authority, communists, socialists or whatever, if Ukraine reverts to Moscow, the neoinvaders will start cleansing the country of political deviants beginning with one group and eventually eliminating everyone who participated in this latest period of independence. There's no reason to infect everyone with the independence bug, they'll reason. Therefore, none of them, including parliament chairman Oleksander Moroz, will be overly eager to reanimate a Russian-dominated union.

This does not mean that there is no threat of Ukraine's re-inclusion into Russia's orbit. The two previously mentioned international events plus Kuchma's election require greater vigilance. The western oblasts of Ukraine, the traditional nationalist stronghold of Ukraine, overwhelmingly voted for Kravchuk — to the tune of 90+ percent. Evidently, the leadership of Lviv, as the hub of this region, is the second most important and powerful job in Ukraine because in its hands are nearly half of Ukraine's voters, who cast their ballots for a pro-statehood, pro-sovereign, independence, anti-Russian candidate. That's a huge number of people.

Kuchma should be wary of enjoying his victory too long. It has been said that Kuchma's clever, though not unique campaign slogan pushed him over the top in the final days before the elections: "If you like living in this slime, vote for Kravchuk; if you don't, vote for Kuchma." Reagan successfully used it against Carter. Ukrainians everywhere can remind Kuchma of this question every six months.

## Russia's Involvement

Russia was very interested in the Ukrainian presidential elections. Moscow did everything it could to stack the deck in favor of Kuchma. The Russian Ostankino television network broadcast tendential news favoring the opponent.

After Kuchma's victory, Vladimir Shumeiko, chairman of the upper house of the Russian legislature, was quoted as saying that Kuchma has a "*more realistic approach to the economic policy and to the Commonwealth of Independent States than Leonid Kravchuk.*"

With Kuchma's election, the news emphasis was placed on Ukraine and Belarus reintegrating with Russia, joining a revived union or Soviet Union. Shumeiko also advocated this line, stating that with Lukashenko's and Kuchma's victories, the prospects for the Russia, Ukraine, Belarus union, federation, etc. are more likely.

Russian Vice-Premier Valery Shokhin echoed these sentiments. He said now Russia and Ukraine can harmoniously resolve many "knotty" problems. Shokhin outlined two guidelines for the activities of his Interdepartmental Committee for Relations with Ukraine: first, solving problems in the bilateral relations which accumulated over the years, including the ones related to the Black Sea Fleet and to the agreement on responsibility for the debts of the former Soviet Union; second, preparing a comprehensive Russo-Ukrainian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership.

The Kremlin Chief of Staff Sergei Filatov also expects closer economic and political ties with Ukraine. He said, "*The results of the presidential elections in Ukraine and Belarus are opening prospects for the rapprochement of the three Slavic states. Cooperation will develop more quickly, first of all in the economic field.*"

Russia's former ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin said, "*This process which I call the drawing together of the space of the former Soviet Union is inevitable.*"

And what would a collection of observations on the restoration of a union be without Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. He recently told *Time* magazine, "*The borders of the USSR will be restored peacefully. Ukraine and Belarus will be the first to rejoin Russia.*"

While these are examples of passive interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, they demonstrate that Russia yearns to influence events in Ukraine. However, the most blatant example of intrusion was the rumor, later proved to be a fabrication by Crimean Russian sympathizers, that Kravchuk knew of a plot to assassinate Kuchma a day or two after the elections.

Reportedly, a Russian television reporter, Vladimir Mukusev told the Russian-language newspaper *Sevodnia* that Ukrainian military counterintelligence learned of this plot. A letter signed by Maj.-Gen. Oleksander Skipalsky, chief of military counterintelligence, alerted Kravchuk to this plan and warned him not to intervene. "*I consider that any active intervention to avert and forestall this terrorist act would be unwise, and would have negative consequences in terms of Ukraine's statehood and independence, considering the openly pro-Russian views of L. D. Kuchma,*" Skipalsky was quoted as writing by the UPI. The agency reported that Mukusev said he was given this information by unnamed individuals in Crimea, who, it was noted, fabricated the documents in order to compromise Kravchuk, who they dislike.

## Polish Fears

Poland is displaying uneasiness with the prospects of having two pro-Russian governments on its eastern border. Warsaw has raised the volume of its pleas to enter NATO as a full member. But why did Kuchma win? *The independent newspaper Zycie Warszawy commented editorially, saying in part: "The people of Ukraine and Belarus elected to the job of president politicians who are for the renewal and strengthening of ties with Moscow. ... The turn toward Russia results from lack of interest by the West (in Belarus and Ukraine). The \$4 billion promised to Ukraine at the summit in Naples is too little, too late. Belarus, in turn, understood much earlier that assistance from the West would not come. And Moscow gave signals long time ago that it wanted closer cooperation with Minsk and Kyiv ... Poland believes that a new Soviet Union will not be revived on its eastern border. It also believes the Russians will not repeat the errors of the past, and will not take direct responsibility for what is taking place in Ukraine and Belarus."*

## Restoration Watch

The Center for Security Policy, the originator of the Restoration Watch, commented on the "worrisome implications" of Kuchma's election "for the future of an independent Ukraine, for U.S. interests in the region and for the stability and security of Europe."

Paul A. Goble, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, wrote in the Center's July 13 "data burst" the following:

- Newly-elected President of Ukraine — Leonid Kuchma — has announced that he will demand more money from the U.S. as a price for removing nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory. This gambit calls into question the existing agreement between Ukraine, Russia and the United States concerning the withdrawal of these weapons. It represents a possible new burden on the American taxpayer; confounds the Clinton administration's efforts to denuclearize Ukraine; and raises fresh questions about U.S. leadership in Europe.
- Kuchma's openly pro-Russian stance and his demand for radical economic reform are likely to prove highly destabilizing. They can be expected to exacerbate regional tensions within Ukraine and possibly lead to the violent division of the country.
- Kuchma's willingness to follow Moscow's line will only embolden the increasing number of Russian officials who want to reestablish Russian control over the 14 former Soviet republics.
- Unfortunately, the Clinton Administration has shown no signs that it understands any of these dangers (i.e., his statement about a voluntary reunion). Instead, it is continuing its pro-Moscow policies, policies that undermined not only the independence of Ukraine but American interests for peace, stability and democracy.

## Kuchma Flip-Flop

And then came Kuchma's first flip-flop since his election. At press conferences a couple of days after his election victory, Kuchma shocked everyone who listened to his campaign platform.

Many were led to believe that Kuchma, a 55-year-old former manager of the world's largest rocket factory that produced missiles as if they were sausages, is not fluent in Ukrainian. Well, he spoke in good Ukrainian. Furthermore, contrary to his previous statements about Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism in Ukraine, now he says, no such thing. Integration with Russia, everyone misinterpreted his statements.

The *National Tribune's* Kyiv correspondent V. Vlasenko recorded the following comments:

- (Electoral polarity) As President of Ukraine, I will work exclusively in the interests of all of Ukraine, not its individual regions. I pledge that we will work only in the interests of an independent, sovereign state.
- (Official language) I have always stated that the official state language of Ukraine should be only one — Ukrainian. And the Ukrainian culture must be officially supported in its development. And Leonid Makarovich (Kravchuk) said in the last days of the campaign, in Odessa, in Kharkiv, in Donbas, that he supports bilingualism.

According to Vlasenko, Kuchma emphasized that he will never take Ukraine into a new empire but he will strengthen relations with Russia but that will not influence Ukraine's relations with other countries. Kuchma envisions that Ukraine will someday become a member of the G-7.

An incredible transformation, or did Kuchma inherit Kravchuk's moniker of a sly fox and out-Kravchuk Kravchuk and Ukraine? Did Kuchma say to himself: "*I support the statehood line, a like those precocious Westerners, I know Ukrainian. But that's Kravchuk's platform and he can't win because of his dismal economic record. I know, I'll become pro-eastern, speak Russian, talk about closer relations even unions with Russia and I'll win because there are a few more Easterners than Westerners. After I win, I'll add statehood to my economic program.*" Is he that savvy of a politician? Were the Kuchma doomsayers that wrong?

## 2nd Kuchma Flip-Flop

Let's not give him that much credit. At his inauguration, Kuchma apparently reverted to his old positions.

The following quotable quotes are from Kuchma, who was sworn in as president holding the Constitution (the numerously amended Soviet one) in one hand and a 16th century Bible in the other.

- Today's event is witness that the state of Ukraine is alive, that it is getting on its feet and is making its place in the world ... In this election the people of Ukraine voiced their will to live in their own state, and they want it to be wealthy, democratic and strong.
- Ukrainian statehood cannot be an end in itself. The state is not an icon, it is an institute which must serve the people.
- Instead of political romanticism and euphoria, we need concrete actions and pragmatism.
- The country faces a hard winter ahead. I will do my utmost to ensure it is the last.
- I will propose that Russian will be given the status of an official language along with the Ukrainian language.
- We should not just have friendly ties with CIS nations but actively influence the organization.

• Ukrainian statehood cannot be our only goal. The state should be for the people, not the people for the state. A country which is unable to protect its citizens from spiritual and material poverty is worthless.

Reuter reported that Kuchma's comment about bilingualism provoked cries of "shame" from nationalists who were overwhelmed by applause from the large contingents of communists and other leftists elected to parliament earlier this year.

His statements about the economy are acceptable but his derisive remarks about Ukrainian statehood are wholly uncalled for. Reneging on his pledge to maintain Ukrainian as the sole official language is too loathsome to be dignified with a rebuttal.

And this brings us up to date. Clinton supports a voluntary reunion, Yeltsin joins the G-7, talk of empire restoration abounds, and Kuchma takes over in Kyiv. At a time when the foundations of a new empire are being poured, Ukraine needs a president, who will not belittle its statehood but will consolidate both its statehood and economy simultaneously.



*Ukraine's President-Elect Leonid Kuchma (left) and former President Leonid Kravchuk (right) after the inauguration ceremony in Kyiv*

# **КОНГРЕС УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАЦІОНАЛІСТІВ**

## **CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS**

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Голова: Слава Стецько

Голова Секретаріату: Геннадій Сіренко

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Chairman of the Secreteriat: Henadij Sirenko

Khreshchatyk 21/111

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Kyiv, 26th July 1994

**William J. Clinton**  
**President of the United States**  
**The White House**  
**Washington, D.C. 20500**  
**USA**

Dear Mr. President,

We wish to take this opportunity to convey our dismay at your recent remarks to the press both in the United States and in Europe implying that the United States would support the reunification with Russia of former Soviet bloc nations if "such decisions were made really voluntarily" and/or by "democratic and legal" means. In your statements you singled out Ukraine and Belarus both sovereign nations recognized by the U.S.A. and said that the reestablishment of such a "voluntary" union would not pose a threat to the stability and security, of Europe and the United States.

Your remarks to that effect have sent a wrong signal to both Russia and the new free nations in the post-Soviet regions. Russia may construe them as a green light to strengthen its attempts to reassert Moscow's hegemony over Eastern Europe while Ukraine and the other former captive nations may view them as the making of a "new Yalta" and as yet another betrayal by the West of their hard-won freedom and independence.

Moreover, your pronouncements (a) have lent further credence to growing concerns that a new division of Europe into "spheres of influence" is gaining momentum, and (b) are at variance with your "Partnership for Peace" initiative so readily embraced by Ukraine and other states in question.

At this point we wish to emphasize that in December 1991 more than 91% of Ukraine's citizens voted for the independence of their country that the outcome of the recent presidential elections clearly indicate that Ukraine voted on two key issues: economic reform and the preservation of its freedom and statehood. Ukraine DID NOT vote for "reunification" with Russia.

The leaders of the United States and the Free World must not create the impression of encouraging or giving tacit approval to a resurgence of a new Russian empire. Any attempt at recreating a Russian empire in any shape or form will inevitably lead to destabilization in Europe and ultimately to widespread armed conflict.

We respectfully request, Mr. President, a clarification of your position on Ukraine

sovereignty, which will, in turn, help us to address a growing sense of alarm among Ukrainians everywhere caused by your untimely remarks.

Respectfully yours,

Chairman Slava Stetsko

S. Zhyzhko (Kyiv)

M. Kuziv (Kyiv)

R. Kostyuk (Kyiv)

M. Olijnyk (Donetsk)

V. Bahniuk (Kyiv)

V. Snizhko (Kyiv)

O. Cheshkov (Kyiv)

H. Demjan (Lviv)

D. Husiak (Khmelnysk)

K. Kateryntchuk (Chernivtsi)

J. Hrydzhyn (Dniproderzhynsk)

O. Kameniuk (Ternopil)

M. Semeniuk (Lutsk)

M. Panchuk (Lviv)

P. Duzhij (Lviv)

G. Sirenko (Kyiv)

M. Perehinchuk (Odessa)

B. Pavliv (Kyiv)

Slava Stetsko  
М. Козуб

М. Козуб

М. Олійник  
В. Багнюк

В. Сніжко  
О. Чешков

Г. Дем'ян  
Д. Гусяк

К. Катеринчук  
Ю. Гризун  
О. Камеюк

М. Семениук  
М. Панчук  
П. Дузіж

Г. Сіренко  
М. Перемчук

В. Павлів

## **Estonian Appeal to UN**

The Estonian Parliament has adopted the following Appeal asking the parliaments of the United Nations member states to urge Russia as the self-proclaimed successor of the Soviet Union, to denounce the aggression against the Republic of Estonia in 1940 and to admit that Estonia was illegally annexed and occupied by the USSR. As head of the Estonian IPU delegation I would like to ask the delegations of the 12+ Group to reconfirm the position that their governments have, almost without exception, held about the illegal occupation of Estonia by the former Soviet Union. We would be grateful if a common declaration supporting this stand could be made by the 12+ Group members before the IPU Copenhagen Conference.

Today, after two and one half years of reinstated independence, Estonia's sovereignty and security are still not ensured. Former Soviet - now Russian Federation - troops continue to occupy Estonian territory. Although the numbers have been reduced, the Russian Government refuses to honor its international commitment to withdraw its troops unconditionally and completely. The Russian concept of "near abroad", asserting Moscow's right to intervene into the affairs of neighboring states, has now become a part of Russia's official foreign policy. The new Russian military doctrine provides for military intervention in case the interests of the so-called Russian minorities living outside of Russia are considered to be endangered. Unfortunately, Russian official spokesmen continue the Soviet imperialist claim that in 1940 the Baltic countries joined the Soviet Union by their own free will. Such a position is in flagrant contradiction to the principles of international organizations such as council of Europe and the European Parliament, which held that the Baltic states were illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union as a result of military occupation.

I would like to quote selections from the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution no. 189 (23rd August 1960):

*The totally illegal nature of the seizure of power by the Soviet Union in the Baltic States has been convincingly exposed by many legal experts as well as by a Special Select Committee of the United States House of Representatives. (...) Estonia was not res nullius when she was occupied and forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. She was a sovereign and independent State. No rights whatever can be derived by the Soviet Union from the fact of illegal annexation of Estonia. (...) Since, however, this situation has not been recognized by the Western World, the sovereign and independent Republic of Estonia continues to exist in international law, although, unfortunately, the exercise of sovereignty in the home country is temporarily suspended in view of the occupation of the territory by a foreign Power.*

*This is not just a historical or legal dispute between Estonia and the Russian Federation. The real issue is whether the Baltic States, after 50 years of terror and genocide, can become and remain truly independent and viable states, thriving and contributing members of European organizations, or whether, after a short period of independence, they will be returned to Moscow's domination. Therefore, agreement on the evaluation of the tragic events of 1940 could prove helpful to change the relationship between the former occupying power and the victim to that of two sovereign states respecting fully each other's independence.*

*I would appreciate your comments, questions and suggestions regarding this issue which is so crucial to stabilizing Estonian democracy and independence and to providing political stability and peace in the region.*

*Tunne Kelam*

*Vice-President of the State Assembly  
Head of the Estonian IPU Delegation*

## **Latvian Premier Resigns**

A political crisis triggered by demands by farmers for more price supports and protection from imported food prompted Latvia's Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs to resign on July 14. Three ministers belonging to the junior coalition partner, the Farmers' Union resigned causing the fall of the year-old coalition government. The withdrawal from the alliance of the Farmers' Union left the free-market orientated Latvian Way party with just 34 seats out of 94. The Farmers' Union left the alliance after protracted disputes over economic policy.

Some believed that the fall of the government could pave the way for a more nationalistic one. Several nationalist movements asked President Ulmanis to dissolve parliament and announce early elections, but Ulmanis rejected the proposal.

The National Independence Movement, the second largest grouping in parliament, could feasibly form a government in alliance with another faction. The Latvian Way faction is prepared to seek new coalition partners, form a minority government or go into opposition. Some nationalist parties, while ruling out a coalition with the Latvian Way also are saying that they are ready to form a new government. Parliamentary elections are next due in 1995.

## WAS SHEVARDNADZE RECRUITED, LIKE BERIA?

Born in a Mengralian village near Sukhumi in Western Georgia, Lavrentiy P. Beria joined the Bolsheviks in 1917, at the age of 18. Following a spell in Romania, initially as a conscript, where he engaged in revolutionary work, Beria deserted and returned to Baku, where he studied at the Technical Building College. During the civil war in Azerbaijan in 1919-20, he operated as an active Bolshevik, and maintained shadowy connections with other groups. His alleged relations with British intelligence at the time were used against him three decades later, when he was branded as a spy for Britain. Since to be called a spy had by then become totally meaningless, as the Cheka's endless provocations had long established an environment in which large numbers of people could legitimately be considered spies, the fact that he was formally branded as a spy meant that the party and 'The Organs' knew from their files that Beria had indeed been recruited by the British to provide them with information.

Of course the British had never revealed whether they had recruited Beria or not; but in any case, recruitment was commonplace in the cafes of places like Baku; so there was not anything particularly surprising about Beria's past connections with Western intelligence. Beria joined the secret police in 1921, operating in both Georgia and Azerbaijan for 'The Organs' until 1931, when he became First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party. Following his conscientious application of a rule of terror in the Caucasus, Stalin, calling him his 'promising fellow Georgian', summoned Beria to Moscow in 1938 where he replaced Nikolai Yezhov as NKVD Commissar.

Beria's appointment was regarded as a 'hopeful' development because he took over immediately following the Stalin-Yezhov purges. Shortly afterwards, Beria began liquidating some of Yezhov's associates, but simultaneously making some 'improvements' in the Gulag. He soon started a reign of terror of his own, remaining in charge of the terror system until Stalin's death, when he seized the initiative. First came an amnesty of nearly a million political prisoners. Prison conditions were suddenly relaxed, and there was talk of reforming Stalin's brutal criminal codes. Most of all, Beria, the Georgian, emerged as a 'champion' of indigenous nationalities, the proponent of 'liberal reform', and the author of a secret document entitled 'Measures to improve the Political Situation in the G.D.R.' directing the East German leadership to abandon the enforcement of socialism on the country and to 'converge' with West Germany. He now purported to prefer 'metaphysical' control to brute force.

The Georgian Eduard Shevardnadze, the senior MVD General and political chief in the Georgia SSR, was summoned to Moscow by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, to replace Andrei Gromyko as Foreign Minister. *Samizdat* originating in Georgia in the mid-1970s contained frequent accounts of Shevardnadze barbarity, especially in his dealings with prisoners, over whose fate he loathsomely presided in an office located in the same building as their cells.

The author of one *Samizdat* report, a seasoned (nonpolitical) criminal, revealed that he gained mitigation of his sentence by murdering a political prisoner on the direct personal order of Shevardnadze.

In the January-February 1983 issue of 'Problems of Communism', previously published by the US Information Agency but now defunct in line with the US Government belief that 'the Cold War is over', a photograph of a cherubic Eduard

Shevardnadze appears, with the following glowing commendation in the text: Shevardnadze, as First Secretary of the Georgian Party organization, has been, by all accounts, a determined opponent of corruption, and has been sensitive to public opinion in Georgia and a strong advocate of public opinion polling'. On joining Gorbachev, Shevardnadze cultivated the image of a 'liberal' and was subsequently credited by the West with 'ending the Cold War'.

In March, MVD/KGB General Shevardnadze was given red carpet treatment in Washington, where he spent longer with President Clinton than most visitors, attending at the offices of the international financial institutions before travelling up to New York for a warm welcome from the capitalists on Wall Street. Does the C.I.A. believe that it recruited Shevardnadze, as the British may have recruited Beria? When US officials adopt a special look, saying 'you are wrong about Shevardnadze', and when all our voluminous data about his corrupt reign of terror shows that we are right about Shevardnadze, this possibility becomes a viable candidate for a rational explanation of the West's evil accommodation of this odious reincarnation of Lavrentiy P. Beria.

*SOVIET ANALYST*, Vol. 22 Numbers 7&8

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## Macedonia Seeks Security in NATO Partnership

Macedonia wants to join NATO's Partnership for Peace program, seeking its security in the Atlantic Alliance under conditions of "historic passions and great appetites" prevailing in the Balkans, according to the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov.

In an interview for the weekly *Economic Policy*, Gligorov also discussed the Greek embargo. He stressed that the Greek move was aimed at forcing Macedonia to accept Athens' conditions, which would lead to the loss of Macedonian identity and destabilisation in the region. According to Gligorov, the embargo was also introduced to satisfy the needs of the internal Greek political situation. He added that Greek politicians were using "populist methods", just as in Yugoslavia.

In the interview, Gligorov dismissed rumours that Americans had asked for control of military bases in Macedonia. He also discounted theories that Washington wants Macedonia to join one of the other national entities existing on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

*Macedonian Tribune*, April 21 1994

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*"Mass propaganda discovered that its audience was ready at all times to believe the worst, no matter how absurd... Leaders based their propoaganda on the correct psychological assumption that ... if the next day [people] were given irrefutable proof of their falsehood, they would take refuge in cynicism; instead of deserting the leaders who had lied to them, they would... admire the leaders for their superior tactical cleverness."*

HANNAH ARENDT, IN 'THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM', PUBLISHED BY HARDCOURT BRACE & JOVANOVICH, NEW YORK, 1973, PAGE 382.

## It's Deja Vu All Over Again

Yogi Bera's immortal words capture the life-like essence of today's Ukraine.

Without any warning President Kravchuk returned to the office of Prime Minister of Ukraine Vitaliy Masol, effectively firing acting Prime Minister Yufim Zviahilsky.

Has Ukraine gone back in time four years to the Fall of 1990?

Let's return for a moment to those heady pre-independence days in September and October, when 100,000 students from across Ukraine set up tents on what was to become Independence Square and virtually brought down the government of Soviet Ukraine.

Under a headline stating "Ukrainian Students Victorious, Masol Resigns as Supreme Soviet Bows to Demands; Independence Fervor Assumes Militant Posture," The *National Tribune* of October 28, 1990, wrote: "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."

It was a historic moment. Ukrainians in Ukraine and in the diaspora cheered the students and simultaneously actually began to see independence at the end of the long, dark tunnel.

In addition to the removal of Masol, the students' demands included: the dissolution of the Ukrainian SSR government; the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and new multi-party elections; the formation of a national army, and nationalization of CPSU and Communist Youth League property.

In an appeal to students of the world dated October 13, 1994, issued in Kyiv and signed by 200 hunger striking students, they explained the reason for their actions: "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."

A brave town of students, they were.

The *National Tribune's* Viewpoint of that edition stated: "Without a doubt, the victory of the Ukrainian student hunger strikers and their tens of thousands of brothers and sisters in Kyiv and across the country was a resounding one. Given the dictatorial nature of the government of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, the regime and Masol's acquiescence to their demands, in principle at least, should not be slighted...The students deserve the praise of all Ukrainians around the world. They stood eyeball to eyeball with the system and the military, and in the face of provocations they did not budge. Apparently the system blinked first and the government submitted to their demands...For the time being, Ukrainian students in Ukraine take a moment to reap the satisfaction of your victory. You deserve it!"

Some ten months later the Verkhovna Rada declared independence for Ukraine and fourteen months later the Soviet Russian empire was no more.

In the final weeks and months of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, the actions by the students was not unique in the history of Ukraine but then it certainly was historic. Did their struggle then turn out to be for naught?

Masol resigned and not much was heard from him until the latest round of

parliamentary elections, when he was elected to the Verkhovna Rada, and now, when Kravchuk for politically mercenary reasons decided to resurrect an old communist die-hard buddy. Though pundits in Ukraine are probably correct in assuming that Kravchuk did this in order to garner the socialists' and other leftists' votes for himself in the upcoming president elections, Masol's return to the office of Prime Minister raises more questions than it answers.

Is Masol a pro-Ukrainian, democratic reformer? Time will tell. However, at least one source also picked up on Yogi's theme. Under a headline that stated in part "Ukraine Brings Back Soviet-Era Premier," Robert Seely of *The Washington Post* wrote: "A Soviet-era leader was elected Prime Minister by Ukraine's parliament today, strengthening the hand of conservatives and underscoring the political comeback staged by the country's communist elite."

Masol, who supports the idea of amending the constitution of Ukraine in order to allow the prime minister to be the sole head of the executive power, will remain in office after the presidential elections on June 26. His belief in a strong prime ministership undoubtedly will not thrill his political godfather Kravchuk nor his principal contender Leonid Kuchma, both of whom want a strict separation of powers, with clear executive authority vested in the presidency.

In his first public addresses Masol bemoaned the lack of social progress in Ukraine and noted that Ukraine is neither capitalist nor socialist, while favoring a socialist tilt for Ukraine. Nationalist or national-democratic lawmakers criticized him for avoiding all references or commitments to an independent Ukraine. Though he did say that the "main reason for today's economic turmoil in Ukraine is the disruption of links with out traditional trading partners. We must restore these links."

And then there is the matter of the vote in the Verkhovna Rada. Kravchuk's nomination was supported by 199 lawmakers out of 320. Two dozen voted nay, and 78 abstained. Seventy-eight! Why did those 78 allow themselves to be elected to the parliament if they intended to abstain from voting. Certainly they do not deserve their paychecks for that week.

Granted, in every lawmaking institution there are important issues, less important issues and unimportant issues. Voting for a prime minister, one of Masol's reputation, is not like voting for or against redecorating the Verkhovna Rada's men's room. It's obvious that these 78 would not have made a difference in the outcome but abstaining from voting ridicules the functions of the Verkhovna Rada and deputies. If they continue this abysmal voting record, this Verkhovna Rada, reputed to be a professional body, will not be any different from the previous one, which attracted, at times, barely half of the members for important votes because the others were either at their money-making jobs or in the Diaspora with their hats in their hands.

Masol's phoenix-like return is not good for Ukraine. His presence may scare away potential business investors from the European Union, Asia or the United States. The President and the Prime Minister, whoever they may be, must be in harmony about economic and political reforms in Ukraine. As for Masol, Kravchuk should have left the decision up to the next president.

But we can take solace in another Yogism: It ain't over, 'til it's over.

European Union, Not CIS Union

President Kravchuk signed on June 14 a wide-ranging cooperation accord with the

European Union, making Ukraine the first among the former captive nations and Russia to open the door to closer relations with Western Europe. Regardless of what Kuchma, Moroz and Masol may say or do, that is the direction for Ukraine.

Its benefits far outweigh anything that the CIS economic union offers Ukraine, and that's not much except reintegration into Moscow's bondage.

In the heated discussions about going with Russia or going with the European Union, trading with whom, buying from whom, it is essential to differentiate between two issues. Reestablishing economic and trade links with the member-states of the CIS, including Russia, is different from joining an economic union with them. Ukraine is a mature country that can trade with whomever it pleases. As a matter of fact, the more buying and selling it does, the wealthier its people and businesses get — it's the capitalist way of thinking and that's good for Ukraine.

However, while an economic union with the CIS offers Ukraine little or no business knowledge and experience, joining the European Union will offer Ukraine money and credits up front and that vital commodity known as business savvy. The 12 members of the European Union, as well as America, Canada and Asia have the commercial expertise that can teach Ukrainian businesses how to buy and sell in the international marketplace.

Ukrainians should learn it well and then go trade their goods and services with Russia and other CIS wannabe-capitalists, but at a price that will bring a good profit for Ukrainian workers and businessmen — and profit is the name of the game.

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*The following is the text of a letter sent by Andre Ouellet, the Foreign Affairs Minister of Canada on the 7th June 1994 to Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister.*

His Excellency Anatoliy Zlenko  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kiev, Ukraine

Excellency,

Thank you for your letter of May 20, 1994, setting out Ukraine's position on recent developments in Crimea, and in particular, the Crimean parliament's decision on the May 1992 constitution.

Canada strongly supports Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have underlined our continuing commitment to Ukraine many times since December 1991, most recently during my visit to Kiev.

A stable and secure Ukraine is essential to European stability and a key factor in global security. It is imperative that all parties with interests in Crimea act with the greatest prudence and moderation, to find a negotiated solution and avoid any worsening of the current crisis.

Your statements and those of President Kravchuk, confirming that Ukraine does not intend to use force, have been most helpful. We are also reassured by Russia's position that this is fundamentally a matter for Ukraine to resolve.

Yours sincerely,  
Andre Ouellet

## Solzhenitsyn's Union

Aleksander Solzhenitsyn is continuing to speak in the same vein that he did to the *New Yorker*: Russia's sacred task is to protect Russians in the "near abroad" and to build a new Slavonic union of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, with the emphasis on Russia.

Solzhenitsyn, who plans to return home from Cavendish, Vermont, defended in an interview with *Izvestia* on Wednesday, May 4, (reprinted from *Forbes*) Russia's right to protect Russians wherever they live by saying:

*"Imagine that one not-very-fine day, two or three of your (America) states in the Southwest, in the space of 24 hours, declare themselves independent of the U.S. They declare themselves a fully sovereign nation, decreeing that Spanish will be the only language. All English-speaking residents, even if their ancestors have lived there for 200 years, have to take a test in the Spanish language within one or two years and to swear allegiance to the new nation. Otherwise they will not receive citizenship and be deprived of civic, property and employment rights.*

*What would be the reaction of the United States? I have no doubt that it would be immediate military intervention.*

*...But today Russia faces exactly this scenario."*

Solzhenitsyn doesn't realise that an American state breaking away from the United States is not like an independent nation declaring its independence from an empire, as was the case with Ukraine and Russia.

Solzhenitsyn also repeated his concept for Russia to form a new union with the other two Slavonic republics, Ukraine and Belarus, as well as with Kazakhstan, home to a large number of ethnic Russians.

*"It would be desirable if (a resulting Russian Union) could be formed into a unitary state, not into a fragile, artificial confederation with a huge supranational bureaucracy".*

Solzhenitsyn expressed other interesting concepts about Russia: Russia was the first victim of Communism; Zhirinovskiy is "an evil caricature of a Russian patriot" who won because the Russian leadership "completely abandoned Russia's national interests"; Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski (two ardent supporters of today's Ukraine - ed.) and other former cold warriors who insist that Russia will always pose a threat to the West "are frozen in a mode of thought they developed a long time ago. With unchanging blindness and stubbornness they keep repeating and repeating this theory about supposed age-old aggressiveness of Russia, without taking into consideration today's reality".

Well known in the West as a champion of human rights and alumni of the gulag, Solzhenitsyn is showing his true colours. His views on protecting Russians and rebuilding the union have joined those of Zhirinovskiy, Rutskoii, Khasbulatov and even Yeltsin.

## **Ukraine and Stability in Post-Cold War Europe**

According to one prominent authority on military strategy and international relations, the conventional wisdom favouring a non-nuclear Ukraine is wrong: in fact, he says, it is probably in America's interest for Ukraine to retain its nuclear weapons.

Dr. John J. Mearsheimer, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, discussed Ukraine's vulnerability to aggression by Russia and the potentially disastrous consequences of such a development. He also suggests how such aggression can be forestalled.

### **Ukraine is vulnerable**

The Cold War is over, he explained, and with it the division of the world between two nuclear superpowers whose existence helped maintain peace and stability in Europe. According to Dr. Mearsheimer, the bipolar system of the Cold War forced smaller powers into rigid alliances with one of the superpowers and discouraged them from engaging in conflict with each other.

The nuclear umbrellas extended by the two superpowers ensured security for the other powers in the alliance while controlling nuclear proliferation among the minor powers. Also, the horrific consequences of a possible nuclear war did much to diminish international violence. In Dr. Mearsheimer's view, peace is more problematic in post-Cold War Europe because of the inherent instability of a multipolar system in which several great powers vie for military advantage and where an unequal distribution of power invites aggression by the stronger state or states.

Dr. Mearsheimer maintained that of the great powers in Eastern Europe – Germany, Poland, Ukraine and Russia – Russia is likely to be the principle aggressor in the near future, and a Russian-Ukrainian conflict is probable.

First, Russia views Ukraine as an important security issue – a buffer between itself and Germany, he argues. Second, growing ultranationalism, Russian reluctance to accept the idea of an independent Ukraine, and the existence of large Russian minorities in Ukraine and other neighboring states may encourage Russia's desire to re-establish the Russian empire. "States don't like diasporas," he explained. "If an opportunity presents itself they would like to bring them under one state."

Finally, he pointed out that Ukraine's disintegrating economy may exacerbate internal and external tensions between Ukrainians and Russians, encourage talks of separatism and give rise to other Crimeas, which can lead to full-blown conflict between the two countries.

### **Consequences of a Russian Conquest**

While Dr. Mearsheimer admits that many people in the American foreign policy establishment would not be overly perturbed by Russia's conquest of Ukraine, he insists

that the long-term consequences of such a development would be devastating for regional stability and America's long-term interests.

First Germany and Poland would be drawn into the conflict and would have a tremendous incentive to acquire nuclear weapons. As he pointed out, both Poland and Germany have already expressed support for extending NATO eastwards. Poland, fearing Russian aggression, has sought a military alliance with the U.S. and Western Europe. Germany, on the other hand, wants to make sure that any military conflict will take place in Poland rather than Germany and that Germany, not Russia, controls Poland.

In Dr. Mearsheimer's view, a German-Russian security competition is likely even under the best circumstances, especially if the U.S. continues to withdraw from Europe. Russia, even if it conquers Ukraine, will not equal the military capability of the former Soviet Union, he explained. Germany, on the other hand, is geographically well-located to counter Russian expansionism, and, with 20 million additional people and a strong economy, is powerful enough to do so.

Nevertheless, he pointed out that the existence of an independent Ukraine would dampen competition between the two most powerful states in Europe while Ukraine's disappearance would aggravate it. Should Russia invade Ukraine, a nervous Germany would almost certainly acquire nuclear weapons for defensive purposes, leading to further aggressive behavior by Russia and a serious German-Russian confrontation. Other great powers would then become involved and, eventually, so would the U.S., he concluded.

### **How to Maintain Stability**

According to Dr. Mearsheimer, an independent Ukraine, protected from Russian aggression by its own nuclear deterrent, would provide the best assurance of Russian-Ukrainian and Russian-German peace and ultimately of stability in Europe. Other options for guaranteeing Ukraine's sovereignty are not realistic, in his view. A Ukrainian conventional deterrent is not feasible because Ukraine is about one-third the size of Russia and lacks the population and economic strength to build an army powerful enough to stop a Russian attack. In addition, he noted that a nuclear-free Ukraine would still be vulnerable to Russian nuclear blackmail.

Western security guarantees are even less realistic, Dr. Mearsheimer argued, because the West lacks the interest and political will to extend any military deterrence to Eastern Europe. "The question now is if the U.S. is to remain in Germany," he said. "At present it can't even deal with Serbia." He also said that he is not in favour of extending NATO eastwards because such a move would unnecessarily spook the Russians and encourage them to act belligerently.

In short, Dr. Mearsheimer concludes that, since "there is some reasonable chance that the Russians are coming," Ukraine should keep its nuclear weapons as the only viable deterrent to possible Russian aggression. At the same time, he said, the U.S. and other Western powers should provide economic aid to Ukraine while also sending a message to Russia that it will pay a price for aggressive behavior. In his view, current American attempts to use political and economic pressure on Ukraine to give up its weapons are foolish. In a crisis, a frightened and isolated Ukraine would not trust the U.S. to be an honest broker while Russians might believe that they could destroy

Ukrainian weapons by force without unduly damaging their relations with the West, he said.

Finally, Dr. Mearsheimer considers the current transitional period especially dangerous as Ukraine moves to take full possession of its nuclear weapons – an inevitable development, in his view, despite official announcements to the contrary. He pointed out that after the failed coup in Moscow, Russia's military convinced President Boris Yeltsin to abandon the "no first use" doctrine of nuclear weapons. Russia is now much more offensively oriented, he said, and insecure states tend to be very aggressive. he also noted that in today's uncertain international climate Russia might be tempted to launch a preemptive strike to eliminate Ukraine's nuclear arsenal.

In Dr. Mearsheimer's view, the U.S. could have avoided the issue of nuclear proliferation from the outset by considering both Ukraine and Russia as equally legitimate heirs to the Soviet nuclear arsenal. At the very least, he said, the U.S. should now adopt a neutral stance on the nuclear issue and strive to stay on good terms with both Russia and Ukraine, so it can help diffuse potential disputes between the two countries.

In addition, he argued that the current administration would do well to adopt a "realpolitik" view of international relations and an appreciation for the balance of power. Current notions that Russia, under President Boris Yeltsin's leadership, is on its way to becoming a democracy and that democracies are automatically peace-loving are naive and dangerous, he concluded.



*Dr. Mearsheimer is widely recognised as an authority in the field of security strategies for Cold War and post-Cold War Europe. He was chairman for the department of political science at the University of Chicago from 1989 to 1992 and spent 1993 as a visiting scholar at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. A graduate of West Point, he served one year as an enlisted man in the U.S. Army and five years as an Air Force officer. His numerous publications include the widely quoted article "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War" in the August 1990 issue of *The Atlantic* and "The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent" in the summer 1993 issue of *Foreign Affairs*.*

## **CSCE focuses on Russian foreign policy**

While Russia's current leadership has so far rejected any attempted resumption of empire status, continued U.S. support is crucial to counter elements within the country's political and military establishment who crave a return to the past, according to a senior State Department official who recently testified before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Appearing before the Commission were James Collins, Senior Coordinator, Office of the Ambassador at Large for the New Independent States, U.S. Department of State, Paul Goble, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Dr. Ron Suny, Professor of History at the University of Michigan. Mr. Collins, who previously served at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, noted the historical interests of Russia toward its periphery, but reiterated the U.S. goal of seeing that CSCE principles are adhered to whatever policy Russia seeks to pursue.

In response to a question by Chairman DeConcini, Mr. Collins stated that while the present government of Russia has rejected re-establishment of the Russian empire, there are elements in Russia "who would like to go back to 1850, if not 1950," and that [the United States] needs to be in a position to encourage the right instincts and policies so that "Russia treats the New Independent States as exactly that."

Mr. Goble also rejected the claim that at present Russia was seeking to reimpose a single imperial state, but he asserted that "Moscow wishes to dominate [the New Independent States] in ways that we would find inappropriate and inconsistent with international law if any other state... were doing this."

He then outlined five specific policy areas that Russia was employing to exert pressure on its neighbours, and pointed to specific countries in which Russia itself appeared to generate the instability that it claimed to be quelling.

Among the tactics being utilised by Moscow, Goble asserted, are economic and military pressure, political isolation, the spreading of misinformation about the human rights practices of certain NIS states, and the use of any and all of these tactics to win important concessions from its neighbours.

Professor Suny recognised Russia's interests in its periphery and noted that in many cases there appeared to be no other alternatives to the Russian presence there, particularly where conflicts have arisen.

He interpreted present U.S. policy as recognising "the actual economic and strategic dependence of the countries of much of the near abroad on Russia and the overwhelming importance of Russia to global security concerns." The best defense of that policy," he continued, "the that the greatest effort must be made to keep Russia on the path to democracy and the market" in order to avoid a future which might jeopardize the independence of the other republics.

In response to a question by Co-Chairman Hoyer, Dr. Suny reiterated his belief that the United States has recognised the "near abroad" as a Russian sphere of interest, excluding the Baltics, while "we're unclear about Ukraine."

# Russia and the Near Abroad



## **Swedes Involved in Illegal Nuclear Trade with Russia**

In 1993 a Swedish businessman was arrested in a Stockholm suburb. He had 3,5 kilos of weapons plutonium in a case. It had started when he received a telephone call from a business associate in St. Petersburg. He was to meet two couriers in Stockholm in an apartment in the central city. The couriers arrived and delivered the case. A Special Police Task Force had, however, trailed the couriers and knew about the meeting. The plutonium was to be sold on the international market for around 700,000 US dollars. The police arrested the businessman in a restaurant in Stockholm just as he was handing over the case to a buyer. Afterwards, it was found out that the case contained a very small percentage of weapons plutonium however.

In the fall of 1992 a businessman from northern Sweden was contacted by a friend from southern Europe. He was asked if he could help with finding 200 tons of special steel used in nuclear bomb production. The provision for the Swede would be 200,000 US dollars. He believed it was possible to find the steel and contacted friends in the Baltic countries. They advised him to put an order with three Russian industries in the Ural mountains. But the problem was that an end user certificate was needed. Thus a new approach was needed. The Swede contacted a Norwegian friend who knew a Russian major general serving in Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. The Russian officer said that through contacts he would be able to find the steel. It would have to be transported to a harbor on the Black Sea. Final destination would be Karachi, Pakistan.

A preliminary contract was drawn up and the major general would bring samples to a meeting in Murmansk. But when the Swedish businessman prepared for the trip to Murmansk the whole deal went sour. The buyer had grown tired and found another sales contact.

According to the Swedish police sources, the above mentioned cases show that this type of illegal trade is going on in Sweden but the task force knows of no actual deals resulting in delivery of nuclear material.

## **The Russian Bear is Sick and Weak According to Swedish Military Intelligence**

There is presently no military threat to Sweden according to Colonels Erik Rosander and Jan Blomqvist, leaders of Sweden's military intelligence. Russia does not have enough military strength in the Baltic area to attack Sweden. The reasons are political and economic. The democratic development in the Russian Federation is another important reason for this change in the strategic picture in northern Europe. There can, however, be a quick change so there is no reason for Sweden to let down its military guard. The military and structural resources are there for an attack but there is a lack of personnel and political will. The number of Russian intelligence officers operating in Sweden has been cut down extensively but the number is still "out of proportion" compared to Sweden's importance.

*DESTA, Vol. II, No. 2 – March/April 1994*

## Central and East Europeans positive about future

A large majority of citizens in Central and East Europe feel poorer today than under communism, but are willing to tolerate a little economic hardship in return for democratic freedoms, according to a recent poll released by the Austrian government.

The poll, which included a number of political and economic questions designed to reveal the respondents' attitudes toward democratic and market reforms, was administered from November 1993 through March 1994.

A total of 11,087 respondents from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and participated.

Funding for the poll was provided by the Austrian Ministry for Science and Research and the Austrian National Bank.

Following are the poll's results:

### ***Freedom makes economic pain tolerable***

Economic conditions do not determine political attitudes in the new democracies; political conditions do. At present, only 39 percent approve the transition economic system, but 59 percent approve the new political regime. Even though people feel poorer, they are much more positive about the new political system because they also feel freer.

### ***More freedom now***

Up to five-sixths of people in the new democracies feel freer now than under previous communist regimes. An average of 86 percent agreed that they feel freer to join any organisation and have greater freedom of religion than before; and 81 percent feel freer to say whatever they think.

New regime preferred to old

Only 14 percent of respondents said they would like to see a return to communist rule, and 8 percent would welcome a monarchy. Furthermore, only 8 percent would prefer military rule.

### ***Brains over brawn***

Expert rule is much more welcome than strong man rule in the new democracies: 68 percent of respondents would like to see major economic decisions made by experts compared to 30 percent who endorse rule by a 'strong man' unrestrained by a parliament and elections.

### ***Optimism about market economies***

Less than two in five respondents approve the current economic system, in transition from a command economy to a market economy. But 72 expect to approve of the system when reforms are more advanced in five years.

### ***Households hit by economic change***

More than three-fifths of respondents feel that the living standard of their family is worse today than before the economic transition started; only 15 percent feel better off. But the figures reverse when people are asked about the future; 51 percent expect to be better off in five years, and less than one in six to be worse off.

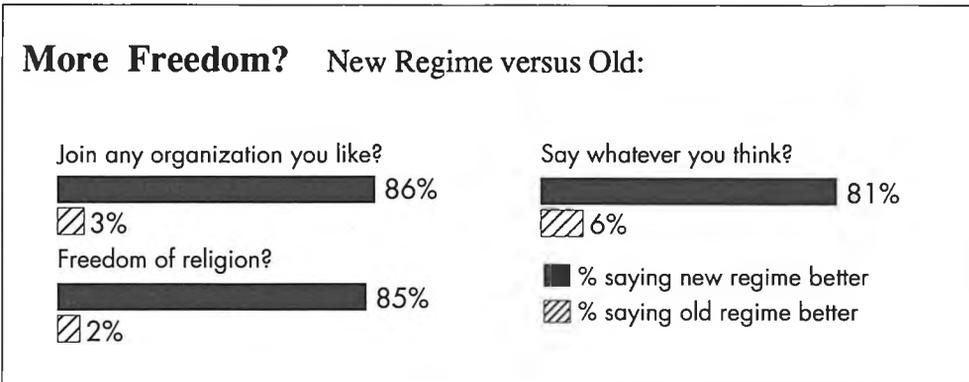
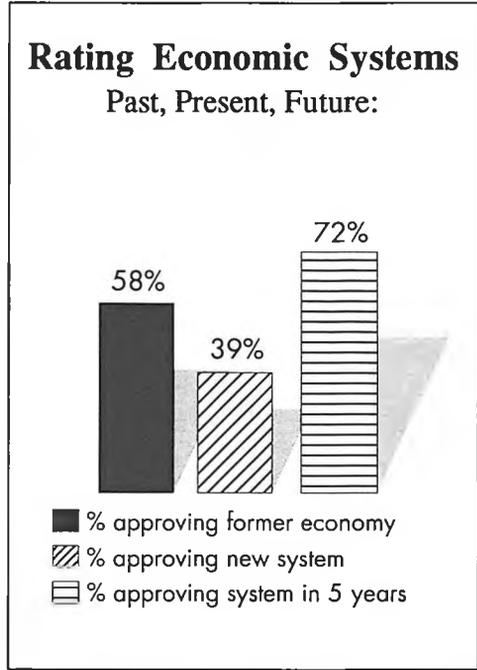
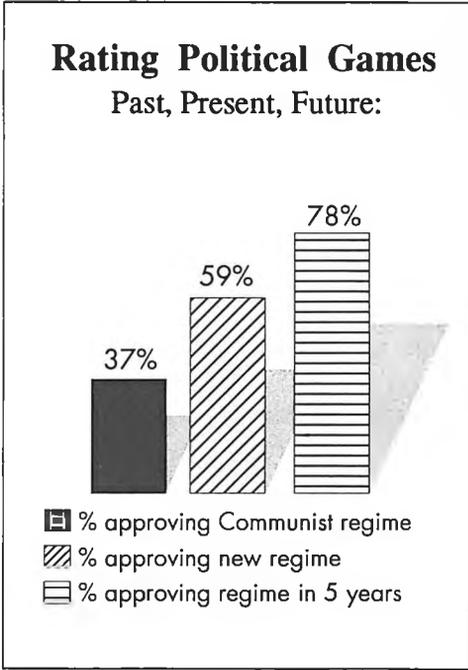
### ***Few doing without basic goods***

When asked if they often do without everyday necessities, only 6 percent report being often without heating; 8 percent without food or medical treatment; and 9 percent

without fuel for their car. One in six have to mend and wear worn out clothes.  
 No expectation of quick satisfaction

The majority of people polled expect to wait many years to be economically content or do not know when, if at all, they will ever be content.

Amidst the turmoil of economic transition, only 5 percent are already content with their economic situation, and another 15 percent expect contentment within five years.



The Poll: *Nationwide 'representative samples' of 1,000+ respondents living in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Croatia were taken by established national research institutes in those countries. A total of 11,087 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in the subject countries from November 1993 through March of 1994.*

*The following text is a letter sent by the UNITA Representative in Germany, Ernesto Mulato to Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the President of ABN and also the Editor-in-Chief of ABN Correspondence.*

Dear Madame,

It was with great pleasure that we received your letter of 28th June 1994.

We have been following the development of the situation on your country and we are encouraged by the stand of the democratic forces there. We feel that everything is being done to prevent the return of the Stalinists into power.

Angola, our beloved country, as you know, has been under a dictatorial regime since 1975. UNITA is doing its best to change the course of history. We are confident that one day things will change, for our population is determined to live free.

While wishing you all the successes, UNITA looks forward to visiting one day your country and to be able to learn from your difficulties.

Once more, we thank you for your concerns about the situation in our country.

Yours sincerely,

Ernesto Mulato  
UNITA Representative in Germany

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### **Zhirinovsky Attempts to Intimidate Finland**

The Russian extremist politician Vladimir Zhirinovsky during a recent visit to Helsinki warned Finland not to join NATO. He described NATO as a hostile military alliance directed against Russia. A Finnish membership would therefore be a hostile act against Russia. Membership could result in Finland becoming "cannon fodder" in a war between Russia and NATO. He emphasised that Russia wants neutral and non-aligned countries as neighbors and promised that Moscow would guarantee Finland's status as a neutral country.

Zhirinovsky also stated that he wanted the map of Russia recreated in the way it was before the revolution in 1917 (when Finland was part of the Russian empire). The Baltic states belong to Russia, so Zhirinovsky, during his visit to Helsinki, was not interested in discussing Russian troop withdrawals from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It was an internal Russian affair according to the Russian imperialist. Possibly a few Baltic cities, such as Tallinn or Kaunas, could be given a status comparable to Monaco.

*DESTA, Vol. II, No. 2, March-April 1994*

## OUN FUND

After three years of independent statehood, Ukraine does not yet enjoy the benefits of full independence. It is facing serious problems in building its state, and neo-imperialistic blackmail on the part of Russia. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (in Ukraine) and the Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front (in the diaspora) played an important role in the national processes of Ukraine.

Thanks to the joint efforts and support of the people, in 1992-93 a nationalist movement – the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists – was established, and set up its centers in all the provinces of Ukraine; our newspaper *Schlach Peremohy* is now in its second year of publication in Ukraine, and its readership is constantly growing throughout the country; our monthly journal *Vyzvolnyj Schlach* (published and printed in London) is now also being printed in Ukraine. We have set up printing centers (the latest one in Donetsk, east Ukraine) to provide the people with national literature, particularly in the eastern and south-eastern regions of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Central Information Service, with its offices in Ukraine, the UK, and other countries in the West, has become one of the most effective independent sources of regular information on events in Ukraine. We are in the process of acquiring premises for a Ukrainian Nationalist Center in Kyiv. We are continuing to provide humanitarian aid to the needy in Ukraine. We are making plans to establish a central publishing house with its own printing facilities in Kyiv to provide for the needs of the OUN, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, and other national organizations and institutions.

During its General Assembly in Kyiv on 2-4 July 1993 (attended by more than 5,000 people from all regions of Ukraine and representatives of the eastern and western diasporas), the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists formulated a detailed programme for building the Ukrainian state, and set up a base for intensified organisational work among the grass roots of the population in the regions, towns and villages of Ukraine.

The political, economic and social crises in Ukraine, caused primarily by the “red directors” of the Communist-mafia structures, who have persistently attempted to discredit the activities of nationally-conscious individuals, laying the blame for the deterioration in the economic and social situation on democracy and independence, finally compelled the Ukrainian Parliament to call new parliamentary, local and presidential elections. The Communist majority agreed to new elections in the present chaos in Ukraine in the belief that the new electoral system, which they had forced through Parliament, would either cause a poor turn-out, thereby invalidating the elections, or else bring victory to the Communists, who would then have a free hand to lead Ukraine into a new “union”.

In the electoral campaign, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists joined the democratic alliance in order to offer a more viable opposition to the Communist bloc in the elections. As a result, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, together with their sympathizers, won 23 seats in the new Parliament. The Congress and other democratic forces of Ukraine now have a majority over the Communists.

The OUN and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists are doing, and will continue to do, everything possible to provide our young state with an effective leadership, from the village council to the central government, thereby ensuring that

Ukraine has a stable national government, which would defend the inviolability of the borders of Ukraine, maintain law and order, and ensure the well-being of Ukrainian citizens.

The present activities of the overt and covert supporters of the old imperial system indicate that the OUN, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, and all national forces now face a tough struggle to implement a viable and effective plan for the building of a truly national Ukrainian state. In its 65 years of efforts to establish an independent and sovereign state, the OUN has formulated an detailed state building programme, which it will now put into practice.

The OUN and the Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists are doing **everything possible** to help our young state (still threatened by hostile Russian interference) to stand on its own two feet. Therefore, we **appeal** to you to help us – with your generous contributions – to help Ukraine at this critical, yet historic, time to build and consolidate a strong independent and sovereign state.

## Freedom Fighter Remembered

August marks the first anniversary of the death of long-time ABN Central Committee member Veli Kajum-Khan. Born in Tashkent, Turkestan on July 15, 1904, he accompanied President Feisullah Hodscha to Germany in 1921, where he remained and completed his studies in politics at the University of Berlin. After his studies, he became the director of a working committee for foreign academics, and was the Chief Editor of the newspaper *Der Nahe Osten*.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war in 1941, hundreds of thousands of Turkestanian men were mobilised to fight for the Red Army and many ended up as German prisoners of war. With support, Veli Kajum-Khan succeeded in attaining better conditions for the prisoners, and having some prisoners released. In 1942, he founded the Turkestanian Legion, which was comprised of 200,000 volunteers, who fought for the freedom and independence of Turkestan at the eastern front. At this time, Veli Kajum-Khan was elected President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and his position was ratified at the Committee's Congress in Vienna in 1944. In May 1945, he was arrested by the Allies. After two years of imprisonment, his name was cleared by the Military Tribunal in Nurnberg and his fight for national freedom was recognised. After his release he re-established the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and began to set-up chapters in other countries, such as Turkey. The committee's newspaper, "Milli Türkistan" was published between 1942-45, and also from 1949 to 1975.

But Veli Kajum-Khan was a big thorn in the Soviet side. Testimony to this is the fact that he became the target of a harsh defamation campaign which was intended to discredit and disparage him personally as well as his political activities. Despite the constant attacks in the Soviet press (more than 47 sources), Veli Kajum-Khan did not give up his struggle for the national independence and the unification of all Turkestanian peoples.

## Chornobyl Bailout

April 26 marked the eighth anniversary of the world's worst civilian atomic disaster, which occurred at the Chornobyl nuclear plant, an event that put Ukraine in the headlines and underscored to the world the perilous state of the nuclear industry in the Soviet Union.

The word "Chornobyl" still evokes images of panic in the minds of Ukraine's citizens. Each and every one of them remembers where they were and what they were doing on the day Chornobyl exploded, despite the fact that the Soviet government kept the information from the people for another few days. The image of children, marching down Kiev's main street Khreshchatyk, celebrating the Communist May Day holiday, to this day outrages parents and reminds them of the lie they once lived.

Although the official Soviet death toll for the accident remains at 32, thousands - (Ukrainian officials report 8,000) - have died from the consequence of the accident, and tens of thousands suffer from radiation-related illnesses, such as cancer and thyroid complications.

And the Chornobyl plant, which was originally scheduled to close by the end of 1993, continues to provide Ukraine with seven percent of its energy needs and the rest of the world with concerns of another accident brewing.

Soon after Ukraine declared its independence, the Parliament voted to impose a moratorium on the use of the Chornobyl plant. After the 1986 explosion, Reactor No. 4 was enclosed in a concrete sarcophagus to prevent radioactive leakage; in 1991, a fire at Reactor No.2 forced the shut down of that unit and it became even more evident that Chornobyl was a ticking time bomb.

Ukraine's government became Chornobyl-conscious, opening a ministry to deal with the consequences of the accident. A parliamentary committee aided the victims of the accident, as did numerous charitable committees, both in Ukraine and outside its borders.

But with independence came problems and Ukraine's major woes include the lack of an energy supply from domestic sources and huge debts to Russia for gas and oil. In a sharp about-face, on October 21, 1993, the Ukrainian Parliament abandoned previous safety concerns and voted to keep Chornobyl open and to lift the moratorium on the construction of new nuclear plants.

But the citizens of Ukraine must no longer live in fear of Chornobyl – the sequel. European Union leaders pledged cash support for a multi-million dollar decommissioning program at a meeting in Corfu, Greece in June of this year. The program will include the total sealing of the old plant and funds to upgrade safety at Ukraine's other nuclear units. An appeal was made at the Group of Seven (G-7) Summit in Naples. As a result, the G-7 made an offer of 200 million dollars to close down the Chornobyl plant. The money, part of a \$1.8 billion package, is an attempt to induce Ukraine to close the three remaining reactors. Chairman of Ukraine's state committee for atomic energy, Michail Umanez, estimated that it would cost about 1.39 billion dollars to close three reactors operating in Chernobyl and a further billion dollars to replace the lost power.



CHORNOBYL REACTOR NO. 4

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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*Freedom for Nations!      Freedom for Individuals!*

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## A word from the Editor...

While on the 7th November in Moscow die-hard Communists commemorated the 77th Anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution with 15,000 people carrying banners denouncing Mr. Yeltsin and calling for the restoration of the Soviet Union with no visible opposition whatsoever, in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, the nationalist demonstrators were denouncing the Communists recalling the communist crimes such as the artificial famine of 1932-33, the Chernobyl disaster, which could have been avoided if the warnings had been taken into consideration, and many other crimes committed by the communist dictatorship. The nationalist demonstrators demanded that the statues of Lenin in the city be demolished.

On the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution the Communists throughout the former Soviet Union called for the restoration of the Soviet Empire.

Oleksandr Rutskoï also stands for the rebirth of the old empire and would like to see "a redrawing of borders that would reflect a glorious page in the nation's past". Russia increasingly interferes in the internal affairs of its neighbours with its "peacekeeping" programme in the "near abroad" under the guise of protecting the Russian "minorities".

In Georgia, the Russian military armed the Abkhasian rebellion against the Georgian Government.

General Lebed's army interfered in Moldova.

The Russian Parliament passed legislation on the annexation of the Ukrainian port of Sevastopol. The West had tremendous difficulties compelling Russia to withdraw Russian troops from the Baltics.

In 1992 Russia overthrew the non-Communist government in Tajikistan. It strongly supports the present Tajik regime and has about 25,000 troops in the republic mostly guarding the border with Afghanistan. Russia has also strongly backed the elections which brought Imamali Rakhmanov to power. Representatives of Abdulmalik Abdulakhanov, the former Prime Minister, alleged falsification of the election results. At a meeting last month in Islamabad, the Pakistan capital, the Rakhmanov Government and the Afghan based armed opposition agreed to extend a cease-fire for another three months but the clashes continue and bombs explode in Dushanbe. Moscow is keeping a close eye on the resurgence of Islam in Central Asia under the pretext that the fundamentalists can threaten the safety of the millions of Russians living in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. It strongly interferes in the political affairs of these republics and even demands that the United Nations accredits Russia's "peacekeeping" role. These Muslim republics trying to rally support from their neighbour Turkey. On the 20th October Turkey hosted a summit of the Heads of State of five of the former Soviet Republics. The summit pledged to increase economic, political and cultural ties. The struggle between Communism and Muslim orientated opposition continues. Opposition groups in Uzbekistan, in particular, the

most important Muslim party, *Birlik*, were condemned as being fanatical Iranian-style fundamentalists and were banned. Many opposition members have gone into exile in Turkey because they have been persecuted.

All Russians of various political affiliations, including Solzhenitsyn, make no effort in hiding their determination to gather together the now independent states, previously Russian colonies, into the Russian basket (and not only those who were formerly in the Soviet Union).

And that is why Yeltsin is so much against Poland, Hungary, Czechia and Slovakia joining NATO and uses his somewhat effective weapon of economic warfare against the newly independent states.

In the meantime the member states of the European Union, in particular, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, are reluctant to give financial aid to the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. However, Germany, the US and the European Commission is pressing for early financial aid, for example to Ukraine in order to stave off economic collapse and preserve Ukrainian independence. Ukraine's President Kuchma said at the G7 Conference organised in Canada that the reforms in Ukraine hinged on immediate Western aid.

At the same time Russia's President Yeltsin is pressing for common economic space and has already convinced all the CIS members to sign MEC which gives MEC the competence to take decisions for all the members states, with its headquarters in Moscow and 50% of the votes for Russia.

Furthermore, it is understood, that now the rights of 20 million Russians in the CIS States have been considerably strengthened. The CIS Presidents also unanimously accepted the continuation of the presence of Russian troops in Tajikistan for a further half year – until June 1995.

We can only hope that in the Western world it can finally be understood that the new Russian Empire is emerging and with it, new threats to the entire world.

Hopefully, the West will have the courage to stand by its principles and to defend the sovereignty of nations as well as the rights of their individuals.

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## **Russian Plutonium Smuggling: Increased Swedish Alert**

Swedish Customs Intelligence received a warning that two kilos of plutonium 235 had disappeared in Russia earlier this year. But Russian authorities claim that already in April the plutonium was confiscated in St. Petersburg. Swedish military intelligence believe that trade with plutonium is common in Russia and that it is directed by highly placed directors in the huge Russian military-industrial complex. They know how to transport the nuclear material and have the contacts abroad.

Probable buyers would, for instance, be North Korea, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan and possibly Iran. Fifteen kilos of plutonium is needed to construct a small nuclear bomb.

## Our Nomenklatura and Their Dawn of an Old Order

**The former communist world isn't so former, thanks partly to the Jim Bakers of this world.**

Remember the days when the United States supported Third World regimes whose leaders unctuously proclaimed the ideals of Western democracy while plundering their countries and brutalizing their people? With the end of the Cold War, the sight of US Presidents shaking hands with glorified torturers was supposed to be a thing of the past. The Great Game against the West's Soviet rival had justified supporting our "sons of bitches" against theirs. In the new dawn, the age of Machiavellian compromise was supposed to have passed as the United States stepped forward as the patron of the democracies emerging from the ruins of Communism.

Now the fairy-tale bloodless end of Communism is turning sour. Across the old Soviet Union, all but one (Estonia) of the independent republics has an ex-Communist as its president. A quiet restoration of the old elite has been going on despite all the chatter about democracy and the transition to a free market. That is bad enough for the long-term prospects for democracy or capitalism, but worse is that, in each struggle for power between local anti-Communists and Moscow's man, Americans and Western Europe have sided with the Party hack.

What has recently happened down in the Caucasus graphically encapsulates the problem of Western backing for the old order. It took the murder of a US diplomat, Fred Woodruff, on a nondescript stretch of the great Trans-Caucasus Military Highway to bring to public view how involved America had become with the gangland world of modern Georgia. By all accounts, Fred Woodruff was a model CIA man: discreet, brave and hardworking, personally incorruptible but ready to put his scruples aside for America's sake.

The tragedy of Fred Woodruff is that he died on a mission to help a regime thoroughly corroded by graft, violence, and drug-pushing. Even though the mafiosi who strut the streets of the capital, Tbilisi, demanding bribes to let people pass their roadblocks and controlling the supply of everything from bread to heroin, are open about their support for the government, that same government also enjoys the unqualified support of the US and Germany in particular. The bodyguard of Georgia's president is being trained at US expense by US experts. Delta Force has an elite unit in Georgia to help prop up the regime, which came to power in a violent coup at Christmastime, 1991. CIA, FBI, and DEA agents are a dime a dozen in Tbilisi's luxury hard currency hotel, the Metechi Palace. The hotel, which overlooks the main prison for political prisoners, is haunted by the bosses of the local hoods – but the Americans are giving them the secrets of their expertise, not trying to bring them to book or frustrate their rackets.

## Why so blind?

The war on drugs and organised crime is supposed to be America's great post-Cold War crusade, yet down in the Caucasus, seemed to have confused the Saracens for Christians. Why has America's elite been so blind? The answer can be summed up in the name of one man: Eduard Shevardnadze.

Described by the British Observers as the nearest thing to a saint in the modern world, Shevardnadze has been canonised by the great and good across the West because of his role in the ending of the Cold War. In the warm afterglow of the fall of the Berlin Wall, who wanted to remember his long years as Party and KGB boss in Georgia? Here for once was a leopard who had changed his spots.

If the end of East-West tension transformed Shevardnadze's image, then the collapse of the Soviet Union put him in reality back to his career's beginnings in his native Georgia. After all, as a Georgian he would have found it difficult to claim a role at the top in the new Russia. So the old leopard changed his spots again and headed south.

Unfortunately, in the meantime the Georgians had elected as their president an old thorn in Shevardnadze's flesh from his time as First Secretary after 1972. Zviad Gamsakhurdia was an old-fashioned anti-Communist who had done time under Shevardnadze for promoting Georgian nationalism.

## Bush as Metternich

To properly brought up folk like George Bush and James Baker, anti-Communism even in the backwoods of the Soviet Union was an appalling bit of redneckery. Combined with nationalism it was a curse to their vision of fruitful cooperation with a reformed Soviet Union. If President Bush had a foreign-policy doctrine, it was that countries should be neither destroyed nor created. Bush will come and be seen as a post-modern Metternich, rightly unwilling to let Saddam swallow up the Al-Sabah's Kuwait, but equally dead set against letting the people of Lithuania, say, achieve their independence from Moscow.

People throughout the old Soviet Union remember Bush's infamous attack on "suicidal nationalism" in Kiev in 1991 just three weeks before the anti-Gorbachev coup. They also recall how on his farewell visit to the Kremlin, he readily agreed to issue a joint communique with Boris Yeltsin denouncing the "nationalist" policies of the anti-Communist President of Azerbaijan, Abulfaz Elshibey, since toppled by an armed Putsch. But it has been the post-Soviet restoration of the Georgian *nomenklatura* with Western approval which is the most instructive case.

Although Gamsakhurdia won 87 percent of the vote in a five way election in May 1991, within weeks he was denounced as a dictator. The whole apparatus of disinformation went into overtime, persuading Western journalists (who anyway tended to favour Shevardnadze's social-democratic and humanist rhetoric) that Gamsakhurdia was an evil, nationalistic tyrant.

As the Soviet Union fell apart in December 1991, Gamsakhurdia's opponents came out in force with tanks and artillery and deposed him. At this stage they were led by two paramilitarists with unsavoury pasts. Tengis Kitovani led the "National Guard"

and Jaba Ioseliani controlled a militia called the *Mkhedrioni* (the “horsemen”), but despite their grand names both these groups were heavily armed racketeers, Ioseliani had a criminal record for violent crime under the Soviet system which even he barely bothered to dignify as “dissidence”.

After a decent interval, Shevardnadze came back to his native land and assumed the presidency in March 1992. At the time Western media and diplomats assured us that he would quickly put the country back on its feet after its ruination under Gamsakhurdia. But the curfew, the disappearances, and the gunfire which haunted Tbilisi’s streets went on.

The West sent its emissaries to congratulate the hero of glasnost on his new job, but many Georgians turned out to demonstrate, hoping that champions of democracy like Hans-Dietrich Genscher and James Baker would hear their complaints and investigate where the “disappeared” supporters of Gamsakhurdia had gone. Instead Baker let himself be shown on television smiling warmly and shaking Ioseliani’s hand. Meanwhile Ioseliani’s men fired at the crowd that was hoping to see Baker. Afterwards bullets became “Bakers” in local parlance, while German-shepherd dogs were nicknamed in Genscher’s honour after they were used by the *Mkhedrioni* to disperse a crowd of women trying to see him.

Ordinary Georgians, seeing their country ransacked by their new rulers, witnessing the collapse of its health services while Ioseliani’s men stole drugs from their hospitals, were bewildered by the Western support for a government which reduced their country to the lowest level of Soviet-type poverty combined with a Latin American-style death-squad culture. But even resident diplomats had eyes only for Shevardnadze, whose sanctity increased when he let himself be baptised under the name of Georgia’s own patron saint, George. Of course in the 1930’s another Georgian wove a magical tapestry before the visitors to the Soviet Union which blinded them to its harsh reality. At least, Stalin kept order, whereas in Shevardnadze’s Georgia anyone can hear the gunfire at night or see the addicts on the streets or even among the gallant *Mkhedrioni*.

## Passing the Dim Torch

Bill Clinton has inherited the Bush doctrine. It was his CIA chief, James Woolsey, who went from cosy chats with KGB boss Yevgeny Primakov in Moscow, to stand honour guard with Shevardnadze over Fred Woodruff’s coffin. There is little hope of change from this Administration.

When Shevardnadze had himself “elected” unopposed as president in October 1992, the National Democratic Institute sent a delegation to observe the elections, headed by Brian Attwood, now a senior State Department official. Housed in the \$270-a-night Metechi Palace, the NDI delegation was insulated by *muzak* and fountains from the realities of life outside. Other hotels offered only food shortages and squalid violence (including *Mkhedrioni* shooting for fun into the streets from upper stories).

At a press conference, Shevardnadze agreed to let the observers visit the prison to talk with individuals he admitted had been maltreated. None of the NDI delegation took the chance to visit the prison.

To be fair to Attwood, who joked on our flight out of Georgia about my request to see detainees, he did not take the pompous stance of the German charge d’affaires,

Hans-Peter Nielsen, who angrily denounced the request to see political prisoners as an attempt to get the just-elected Shevardnadze “to interfere in the separation of powers”! In fact, Shevardnadze himself agreed to let the observers meet a prisoner, Zaza Tsiklauri, who was at the center of a scandal, Shevardnadze’s own security minister had resigned over the case with the chilling confession that even he could not stop torture by Ioseliani’s men.

British observers went to the central prison, but someone had forgot to remind Tsiklauri that he had been tortured, which was odd because everyone else knew it, from Shevardnadze to the procurator investigating the case, who whispered, “I don’t think he got those injuries in an accident.” But Tsiklauri insisted, zombie-like, that his broken limbs, burns, and scaldings were the result of a car crash “attempting to escape.” It takes quite special treatment to reduce a man to denying what even his torturers confess.

Relatives of prisoners like Tsiklauri have asked Western embassies to take up their cases, but to no avail. The alleged murderer of Fred Woodruff too faces trial without jury of foreign observers.

### Among the Apparatchiks

Despite his Western backing, the outlook for Shevardnadze is far from rosy. His power base is the old Soviet elite in Georgia backed up by the renamed KGB. If he had any popular support in October 1992, it must have dwindled fast. Talking to Georgians then, there was some hope that even if he had installed himself in power by force his rich friends in the West would have given generously to stabilise the situation. In fact, US and EC aid, including more than 100,000 tons of grain, have flooded into Georgia, but not into the bellies of ordinary people. When it comes to skimming the cream, or rather scooping the whole bowl, nobody can beat the old *apparatchiks*.

Unfortunately for Shevardnadze, the hard men who brought him back to power are destroying the basis for any stable society with their racketeering. He faces a dangerous choice. He can throw his lot in with them and risk losing his halo in the West, or he can try to use the old KGB to purge them. Either way, more bloodshed is only too likely.

With the help of US security agencies, Shevardnadze seems to have opted for the latter course. That may be why Fred Woodruff was killed – to warn the CIA off interfering with local politics. In a “Night of the Long Knives” against the local mafias, Shevardnadze and the KGB may seem the better option, but only because those groups got together in the first place to strangle any chance for democracy in Georgia.

In any case, the expensive US and EC aid which has gone to prop up Shevardnadze is typical of the instinctive alliance between the Western establishment and the *nomenklatura* across the Soviet bloc. This new reality is now creating something which seventy years of Communist propaganda could not instill into one population – genuine anti-Americanism. In the old days all the scorn and bile poured on the American model only made it more attractive to people living under Communism. But now the sight of a James Baker shaking hands with a Jaba Ioseliani, or of a CIA chief hand-in-glove with the successor of Feliks Dzerzhinsky, makes much blood boil. This phenomenon can be seen in everyday economic cooperation, too, where Western banks and aid agencies like Jacques Attali’s spendthrift European Bank for Reconstruction and

Development put their cash behind the nomenklatura's privatisation of state assets into their own hands. People joke that the EBRD should be called the "Bank for the Reconstruction of the Nomenklatura."

Orwell satirized the cynical pact between Stalin and Hitler at the end of *Animal Farm* when the pigs and humans celebrate their newly made alliance at the expense of the other animals, but that satire could just as easily conjure up the new-found bloodbrotherhood between our elite and its post-Soviet counterpart, who can be seen spending a convivial evening in any dollar-bar east of the Elbe at somebody else's expense. The tragedy of Fred Woodruff is that he was sent abroad to die for his country and ended up dying for its natural enemies, all in the line of duty. In the 1980s an Oliver Stone would have made a film out of Fred Woodruff's fate, but he would have got the heroes and villains mixed up. Perhaps he still would, but so unfortunately so has Washington.

*Mr. Almond is a lecturer in modern European history at Oriel College, Oxford.*

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## Does Russia have the Right to Nuclear Weapons?

The Soviet Union "needed" nuclear weapons because it was challenging the United States; why, then, does Russia need them? It seems strange to talk of whether Russia "has a right" to have nuclear weapons, or whether it "needs" nuclear weapons. What business is it of ours? And what difference does it make if they have a right if we do not have the power to take them away? It does make a difference, however, whether Russia needs nuclear weapons or has a right to have them, because the Russians are spending money to keep those weapons, and they are asking us for money. We cannot ask them to give up their religion, traditional symbols of their nation or weapons they need for self-defense or self-respect as the price for giving them economic assistance. It would be wrong and would contradict the reasons for providing the help. But if they do not have a right to nuclear weapons and do not need them, we have every right to say that we will not provide money to them while they continue to spend money on maintaining their many thousands of nuclear weapons. The least we can do is deduct from the assistance we provide each year – directly or through international agencies – the amount they could save by dismantling their nuclear weapons. We are now, in effect, paying Russia to keep its nuclear weapons. And although we may not be able to prevent Russia from having nuclear weapons, we do not have to concede their right to have them. By giving Russia money before it gives up all or most of its nuclear weapons (while insisting that Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus give up theirs) we unwisely conclude that Russia has a right to them.

From Max Singer's *The Crucial Differences Between Russia and the Soviet Union* in the July issue of the *Hudson Briefing Paper*

## 'The Death of Communism' – A Leninist Ruse

Communism did not die: that is for certain. The 'reappearance' of Communism in Eastern Europe is not an accident. On the contrary, it was *clearly* forecast by both Yeltsin and Gorbachev – both of whom were, and remain, followers of Lenin, like all their associates and collaborators in the 'former' Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, not least Mr. Horn, whose singular importance as top Communist strategist is revealed by the fact that it was he who triggered the KGB-sponsored 'break with the past' in the first place, by opening Hungary's borders.

For his part, Gorbachev made it crystal clear in 'his' book "*Perestroika*" [see the updated PERENNIAL LIBRARY version, 1988, pages 11-12] that he remains Lenin's fervent disciple:

*The works of Lenin and his ideals of socialism remained for us an inexhaustable source of dialectical creative thought, theoretical wealth, and political sagacity... Turning to Lenin has greatly stimulated the Party and society in their search to find explanations and answers to the questions that have arisen... The Leninist period is indeed very important. It is instructive [in] that it proved the strength of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the conclusions of which are based on an analysis of the actual historical situation. Many of us realised even long before the April [1985] plenary meeting that everything pertaining to the economy, culture, democracy, foreign policy – all spheres – had to be reappraised'.*

These remarks eliminate all doubt that Gorbachev is a follower of Lenin – in thought, word and deed. What, then, apart from the use of dialectical thought, did Lenin teach which had special relevance for Gorbachev to the 'questions that have arisen'? The main answer to this question is: Lenin's experience with the so-called 'New Economic Policy' [NEP], during which period the Soviet Communists appeared to have abandoned much of their ideology and to have 'broken with the past' – hoodwinking the West in the process.

Lenin had advised the Communists that they must be prepared 'to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres, illegal methods, evasions and subterfuge' in order to achieve their objectives. This advice was disseminated on the eve of his reintroduction of limited capitalism in Russia, in his cynical work *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.

Speaking at the Comintern Congress held in July 1921, during the NEP period, Lenin imparted further advice which is highly relevant to our understanding of Soviet/Russian strategy today. He told the Communists:

*'Our strategy at present is to become stronger and, therefore, wiser, more reasonable, more opportunistic. The more opportunistic, the sooner you will again assemble the masses around you. When we have won over the masses by our reasonable approach, we shall then apply offensive tactics in the strictest sense of the word'.*

In 1930, the brilliant Communist Dimitri Manuilsky, a top instructor

at the Lenin School of Political Warfare – later the International Lenin School, which is now the Gorbachev Foundation – spoke in precisely the same terms, but with an international dimension, when he warned the West:

*War to the hilt between Communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come... To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall belong by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we will smash them with our clenched fist'.*

In his forthcoming book *'The Perestroika Deception'*<sup>1</sup>, Anatoliy Golitsyn, the famous Soviet defector who accurately forecast the removal of the Berlin Wall and the 'false changes' which have taken place since 1989, writes [extract form a memorandum to the Central Intelligence Agency in March 1989]:

*'It is obvious that Gorbachev's opportunistic speeches and his presentation of 'perestroika' to the West are clever applications of Lenin's thinking. Gorbachev's reasonableness and moderation are aimed at assembling and winning over the masses throughout the world. And yet another of Lenin's speeches is relevant here. Instructing the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference in 1921, he advised them to use moderate language in negotiations in order 'not to frighten the capitalists' and particularly to avoid reference to the class struggle, the violence and the terrorist aspects of Communist doctrine...*

*The New Economic Policy was presented by the Soviets and accepted by the West as a retreat from Communist ideology and a decline in the power of the Soviet regime. In fact, the NEP revived the Soviet economy, stabilised Soviet power and facilitated the creation of the Soviet Federation. Because of the NEP, the Soviets were able to broaden their ideological and political assault on the capitalist world.*

*To sum up, the essence of 'perestroika' is the creative application of Lenin's thinking and the experience gained through the NEP to the final battle with the capitalist world. It is a step backwards to take two steps forward. 'Perestroika' is a Leninist strategy involving the calculated renunciation of ideological orthodoxy in order to win over the masses and to achieve strategic objectives in Europe, the United States and the Third World.*

*The experience of the NEP teaches us that contemporary Soviet pragmatism and opportunism are not lasting, because they are tactical. Gorbachev is a committed Leninist who is carrying out the strategy of Communist renewal as a means towards the ultimate conquest of the Western democracies'.*

One of the means used by Moscow to entice the Western democracies into 'the enemy's camp' – in accordance with the strategic advice of Sun Tzu,

the ancient Chinese military strategist, in *'The Art of War'*<sup>2</sup>, which is required reading in the Soviet military – is to insert countries which are secretly collaborating with the Communists, inside the European 'Union'.

Golitsyn further elaborates:

*In the course of this high-level investigation, the strategists found striking similarities between the position of the Communist Bloc in 1958 and the position of Soviet Russia in 1921. The similarities were: between the crisis of the Soviet regime in 1921 and the crisis of the Soviet Bloc in 1958; between the separatist tendencies of the national republics of Soviet Russia in 1921 and the separatist tendencies of the Bloc countries in 1958; and between the unfavourable balance of power facing Soviet Russia vis-a-vis Western Europe in 1921 and that facing the Soviet Bloc vis-a-vis NATO in 1958. America wielded unquestionable military superiority over the USSR, and the political cohesion of the Western countries was greater than that of the Soviet Bloc.*

*Lenin's solution to the problems of 1921 was to launch a long-range policy embracing the Government, the Party and the Comintern – NEP. Over the following eight years, it yielded spectacular success. At the heart of Lenin's thinking lay the need to induce his Western opponents to adopt policies contrary to their own best interests, by means of subtle deception and misinterpretation. His purpose was to inspire Western attitudes which would favour the success of his policy.*

*He accepted that, in order to strengthen the regime and his ideology, the Party had to retreat from rigid 'war Communism'. It had to make temporary concessions.*

*Lenin's New Economic Policy offered commercial concessions to foreign industrialists and invited them to open businesses in Soviet Russia and, notably, in Georgia. Under the NEP, Soviet industrial enterprises were recognised as trusts which operated on a profit basis. The NEP permitted Soviet nationals to open and to operate their own capitalist enterprises.*

*Under the NEP, the Soviets emphasised their ideological moderation and their businesslike approach to dealings with the West. Abundant information became available about economic conditions in Soviet Russia. Restrictions on travel were relaxed. Emigres living abroad were encouraged to return under amnesty, while other Soviet citizens were allowed to immigrate. Soviet diplomats began to stress the importance of peaceful coexistence with the West. The old repressive Soviet security police were reorganised at Lenin's instigation into what was initially a less obtrusive force – the GPU [State Political Directorate].*

*Despite the facade of apparently opportunistic concessions, which gave the impression that the Soviets' ideological regime was evolving towards capitalism, the essence of NEP, according to Lenin, was to build socialism [by which, of course, he meant Communism – Ed.]: in his words, 'it [the NEP] will be carried out seriously and for a long time – five to ten years'.*

But when the time came for the New Economic Policy to be terminated, it was in fact closed down in three short weeks. The Western capitalists were forced to leave the country. Their assets were confiscated.

And all reliable information about the Soviet economy suddenly dried up. And three short weeks was the amount of time it took the Soviet Communists to 'close Communism down' in the Soviet Union in the second half of August and early September 1991.

### **The West Falls for the Bait, as Expected**

In an urgent memorandum to the CIA dated 2nd September 1991, Golitsyn was aghast, but not surprised, at the West's willing acceptance, as genuine, of the Soviet decision to suspend the activities of the Communist Party. As he explained, the Communists had abandoned the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' for a new 'state of the whole people'.

*The West regards the Soviet Parliament's decision to suspend the activities of the Communist Party as the death of the Communist Party and the victory of the new democratic forces. It welcomes this development as beneficial to Western interests.*

*This assessment is erroneous. It reflects the naivety of Western Soviet experts who, in a deep sleep like Rip van Winkle, have missed out on the thirty years of preparation for perestroika and the transition of the old Soviet state of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (meaning the Communist Party) to the new Soviet 'state of the whole people'. Western experts have forgotten that this transition was envisaged and planned in the Communist Party programme adopted by the 22nd Party Congress in October-November 1962. The present Soviet Parliament's decision shows that this Party programme has been successfully carried out by the Communist Party itself.*

*A new political structure in 'democratic' form has been established. It has become possible for the Soviet Parliament to suspend the old Communist Party because the old Party and Komsomol members have been merged into the new 'democratic' structure.*

*This means that the new political structure created by the old Communist Party is broader, more vital and more dangerous to the West. It also means that the old Party's cause lives on in the new 'state of the whole people'...*

*Western experts overlook the fact that transition to the 'state of the whole people' has taken place while the Party's instruments of real power, the KGB and the Soviet military and the GRU with their political commissions, have remained intact. Now that the new political structure has safely replaced the old Communist Party, the KGB and the Soviet military can be reorganised and reformed to suit the new political structure and the requirements of the convergence strategy. 'Reform' of the Soviet bureaucracy including the military and the KGB will now be undertaken, but it will be deceptive'.*

### **Yeltsin on the Secret Party Mandate**

And it is not as though the top Communists withheld their intentions from the West – not least, how they intended to create false 'democracy as a

means of convincing the West that an irrevocable 'break with the past' had taken place. On the contrary, speaking of the false transformation of the CPSU, Yeltsin told the 28th CPSU Congress on 6th July 1990, in typically Aesopian Leninist language which all present could understand:

*'...a changeover to a multiparty system is inevitable. Various political parties are gradually being formed in our country. At the same time, a fundamental renewal of the CPSU is inevitable.*

*What is the most civilised process for modernising the Party? First, it is necessary to organisationally codify all the platforms that exist in the CPSU and to give every Communist time for self-determination. I am sure that most rank-and-file Communists link the Party's future with the democratic wing.*

*Second, to change the name[s] of the Party [which] should divest itself of all state functions... [then] a parliamentary-type Party will emerge. Only this kind of Party... will be able to be a leading Party and to win elections for one or another of its factions.*

*With the further developments of democratic movements in the country and the further radicalisation of restructuring, it will be possible for this alliance to become the vanguard of society in actual fact.*

*This will provide a broad social base for the renewal of society, erect a barrier against attacks by the conservatives [by which he meant, not the conservative Communists, but any true opposition to Communism –Ed.], and guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring'.*

### **Gorbachev on the Secret Party Mandate**

And Yeltsin's close colleague, with whom he has been working all along, Gorbachev, was even more precise in his speech to the same Congress on the 13th July 1990:

*'Allow me to formulate three conditions necessary for the Party to fully demonstrate its viability and actually attain its vanguard potential... to enhance its vanguard role in society and make an even greater contribution to achieving the goals of our revolutionary restructuring. In the first place, to this end it must, resolutely and without delay, restructure all its work and reorganise all its structures... so that under the new conditions it can effectively perform its role as the vanguard Party. We must do everything to firmly establish in the CPSU the power of the Party masses based on all-encompassing democracy, comradeship, openness, glasnost and criticism.*

*Secondly, when there are various views and platforms on a number of questions of policy and practical activity, the majority must show respect for the minority.*

*And thirdly, Comrades, we must study, learn, and improve our culture [by which he meant, our Leninist political culture –Ed.]. If we embark on this path, it will be easier to interact and have contact with other forces...*

*The Central Committee and I as General Secretary will do all we can to help the Republic Communist Parties gain their new independent status as soon as possible, a status that will lead not to the fragmentation of*

*Communists and nations, but to a new internationalist unity of the CPSU on a common ideological-political basis...*

*Let us prove that the CPSU, as it restructures itself, is capable of living up to these expectations... and then it will regain its authority and will become a truly vanguard party whose power lies not in giving orders, but in influencing people's minds'.*

It was Adam Michnik, the leading theoretician of Polish solidarity, who defined 'control of consciousness' as the 'principle aim of Communism'. He called it 'the striving for mastery over the human mind'. And it was Polish solidarity that was defeated in the election held in September 1993. Leninists like the top US Communist Gus Hall often speak of the 'struggle for the Western mind', which they plausibly believe they are winning. Gorbachev is in charge of 'restructuring' the Western mind.

For the Western mind has been successfully 'restructured' in accordance with the true meaning of 'perestroika' – the bending of the Western mentality to induce the Western Governments to adopt policies contrary to their own best interests, and in the interests of the New World Social Order.

*The Westminster Newsletter, Number 3, July 1994*

<sup>1</sup> Anatoliy Golitsyn, 'The Perestroika Deception', Christopher Story ed., forthcoming in UK.

<sup>2</sup> Sun Tzu, 'The Art of War', c. 500 BC, Oxford University Press.

*"War to the hilt between Communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, We are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come... To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent will rejoice, to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends, As soon as their guard is down we will smash them with our clenched fist."*

**Dmitri Maluilsky**, a top instructor at the **Lenin School of Political Warfare** in Moscow, in 1930, cited by one of his students, **Zack Kornfeder**, who later served his communist links and reported Maluilsky's statement in sworn testimony before a US Congressional Committee in January 1951.

## And Russia Marches On ...

Recent signals from Moscow demonstrate that Russia is not satisfied with quietly building a humble, important, democratic and prosperous post-communist country, but rather it is doing everything it can to establish global dominance, revive its traditional empire and reincorporate into it the former captive nations. This threat is as plain today as was *Mein Kampf's* threat more than 60 years ago. At the same time, there are those who are persisting in being apologists for Moscow and refuse to accept at face value Russian leaders' own words.

Among those is Stephen S. Rosenfeld, who wrote in the March 18 edition of *The Washington Post*: "A Russian military threat is being invoked rather arbitrarily." The threat is not being carried about arbitrarily but methodically and forthrightly. Its goal is to turn Russia into at least a hemispheric leader, if not a global one.

Admitting that the climate in Russia is "sour," Rosenfeld argued: "Russian diplomacy is visibly becoming more assertive. But there are brighter as well as darker colors on the Russian scene. No single outcome is ordained. Russian foreign policy has its imperial aspect, but in the conspicuous instance of Yugoslavia, it is proving responsive to Western concerns, and on the sensitive issue of Latvia, it is shaping up too. The critical connection between Russia's domestic debate and its possible foreign adventures remains to be drawn."

Far from responding to Western or American concerns, Russia is demanding equal treatment from Washington, perpetuating its "first among equals" behavior.

Rosenfeld concludes: "In short, the United States may face an irregular pattern of Russian cooperation and competition in global diplomacy, but signs are lacking that it faces a drive by the Russian military to expand Russian influence beyond the gray areas of the 'near abroad' — the non-Russian parts of the old Soviet Union. We need a defense force suited to the real world — no less, no more."

The signs are more obvious than Rosenfeld claims. Russia's recent emphatic initiatives in the former Yugoslavia, where it successfully undercut the United States' threats against Serbian artillery positions, and the Middle East, where it seeks to become the self-appointed power broker and peace maker, are just two examples that have forced Washington to plead for more U.S.-Russian consultative meetings lest Moscow makes it look like a diplomatic johnny-come-lately.

Not a moment or occasion is wasted in Russia's efforts to reestablish itself as a superpower. President Boris Yeltsin turned a gratuitous, innocuous greeting marking Women's Day on March 8 into an appeal for strengthening the Russian state. His audience was domestic, but his message's implications are external. In a television address Yeltsin stressed political consensus and collaboration.

"A solid, functional state is a basic condition for stability, for bringing order to the country," Yeltsin said, reportedly beaming at the camera in avuncular fashion over a large bunch of red and white flowers. "That means improving the life of every Russian citizen, of every family. Strengthening the state on the basis of the constitution is a real basis for consensus."

Yeltsin also had dwelt on strengthening central authority in his State of the Nation speech in February, saying it was essential to curb Russia's burgeoning crime wave.

After ten former captive nations joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program, Russia announced that it would also join the effort, but because it believes itself to be an above-average country, Moscow demands special treatment. Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev declared on Wednesday, March 9, that Moscow expects to be consulted more on international issues when it joins NATO's Partnership for Peace. Addressing a news conference in Bonn, at which Germany and Russia announced they plan to hold joint military maneuvers, Grachev said Moscow wanted to join the NATO-sponsored partnership scheme on the basis of mutual confidence. "We, Russians, regard the program as positive in several ways," he said. "The consultation part is important. "Not just NATO should decide how sensitive issues are to be solved. It should consult partners like Russia if one measure or the other is being considered."

As for the joint military maneuvers, Grachev said relations had strengthened considerably between the World War Two and Cold War adversaries since a bilateral agreement in Moscow a year ago on military cooperation. "This cooperation is just a start," Grachev said. "Later our cooperation will grow even closer and we will carry out bigger maneuvers."

The decor has been set, now for the trimmings.

Three days later Russia warned that "NATO-mania" and "anti-Russian hysteria" by the West and the former East bloc may inspire "extreme right-wing nationalism" in Russia. What was left unsaid was that it doesn't matter who occupies the seat of power in the Kremlin — reds, whites or browns — Russia does not need to be inspired to extremism and expansionism.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev said the rush to embrace NATO and to portray Russia as a menace was based on the false sense that Russia posed some kind of threat and warned that this could strengthen the "ultra-nationalists." Echoing phrases used by some inside the Beltway, Kozyrev cautioned against viewing Partnership for Peace as some kind of savior from Russia or as an economic quick-fix, and said the Western alliance and its would-be partners from the East seemed to be driven by emotions. However, he also said, "Russia is close to signing corresponding documents" that would also make Moscow a member of the Partnership for Peace.

Emotions are not driving the policies of Eastern European nations, history and experience are.

On the one hand, while wanting to become a member of the West's clubs, Russia does not allow anyone to treat it in a demeaning manner. Its history does not permit such behavior.

At the same time, Kozyrev, in an address to the Russian Foreign Policy Council, hypocritically said it was necessary to create a genuine European alliance rather than a super-NATO created for the wrong reasons and achieving the wrong results. We realize he reserves "super" institutions for Russia.

Kozyrev gets more belligerent with each passing day. In an article published in *Izvestia* on Friday, March 11, Kozyrev charged that U.S. claims to world leadership stood in the way of partnership between Russia and the West. Ironically, he accused America of doing exactly what Moscow seeks to accomplish.

“There is a dangerous illusion standing in the way of the partnership,” Kozyrev wrote.

“This is a maniacal desire to see but one leading power in the world — the United States — to proclaim America’s leading role at every opportunity.”

“The partnership does not mean dropping a tough, aggressive policy of defending our own national interests, sometimes the policy of competition,” Kozyrev threateningly warned. “We really should give up some of the illusions,” he added. “Some in the West dreamed that it was possible to build a partnership with Russia on the principle: ‘If the Russians have become good, they should follow our every step.’”

He offers Russia and the world the only alternative that Moscow can accept: “Russia is destined to be a great power. A dangerous and aggressive superpower under communist or nationalist rule, peaceful and flourishing under democratic rule — but still a great power.”

“This means Russia can be only be treated as an equal and not as a junior partner,” he added.

In an article, titled “Don’t Threaten Us,” in the March 18 edition of *The New York Times*, Kozyrev continues his march, repeating that it really doesn’t matter who’s in power in the Kremlin, Russia will attain its goal. “First, Russia is destined to be a great power, not a junior one. Under communist or nationalist regimes, it would be an aggressive and threatening power, while under democratic rule it would be peaceful and prosperous. But in either case it would be a great power.”

“What should Russian democrats do about the chauvinistic new banners that flap in the Washington wind? Russia cannot agree to a subordinate global role. It would be unjustified and politically dangerous. Extreme nationalists and other reactionaries would soon capitalize on such deference,” he argued in an intimidating tone. These are not Zhirinovskiy’s words, but those of a supposedly responsible government leader.

Persisting with his America bashing, Kozyrev again railed against America: “Some views suggest an almost maniacal desire to see only one leading power in the modern world — the United States of America — and to obsessively proclaim American leadership everywhere and in all respects.”

“Unless we urgently begin to build a strategy and mechanism for a mature relationship based on reality — dare we call it *realpolitik*? (Rosenfeld used the same notion) — the Russian and American advocates of macabre self-building prophecies will surely exploit the present situation. And both countries will surely lose,” he implored in a statesman-like manner.

The United States seems to have blindly accepted this line of Russian thinking and is admitting that, yes, Russia is a great power and should be treated accordingly. In a meeting with Kozyrev in Vladivostok on March 14, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said: “We recognize that large nations, that very large nations with large interests are bound to have differences. But we pledged to deal responsibly with these differences.” This, after saying that Russia, after all, has the right to protect Russians in the “near abroad.”

Defense Secretary William Perry echoed these beliefs the same day in Washington. “All major powers, including friendly major powers, have interests that sometimes conflict. And so it is with our allies, and so it will be with our partner in

Russia. We cannot expect Russia or any other great power to do things inconsistent with its own national interest.” Consequently, State and Defense have said that Moscow can be what it wants to be.

In Moscow, four days later Perry gave in to Russia, saying it would play a “special role” in the western alliance when it joins NATO’s Partnership for Peace program. “This would be a major event for NATO,” Perry said of the announcement that Russia would be prepared by the end of that month to participate in the partnership. “Russia is a great power, it’s a nuclear power. They would play a very special role in the Partnership for Peace.”

As for Russia’s internal Partnership for Peace program, Perry also gave it a blank check. “They have a very great concern with peacekeeping in countries around the border of Russia. I would expect their primary emphasis would be in dealing with those problems.” He added that Russia should respect the independence of her neighbors and embark on peacekeeping efforts only at the request of a host country or the United Nations.

The concept of regardless if it is red, white or brown so long as it is imperial Russia is echoed by Yeltsin’s opponents, not only his supporters. Aleksandr Rutskoi, the leader of last fall’s anti-Yeltsin rebellion, soon after being released from prison, urged the nations of the former Soviet Union to reunite and rebuild a single “great power” state. Rutskoi called the decision to dissolve the Soviet Union “irresponsible and light-minded.”

“The cost of that action was tragedy, economic collapse, the blood of hundreds of thousands of victims, millions of refugees, open separatism and nationalism (and) genocide against their own people,” he said. “Our Lord God Himself has determined we live in one family, one nation in a united state — a great power,” said Rutskoi. “It is only through unflinching will, the strength of spirit of the brotherly nations and the desire to live together, through all-Union movement and referendum that we can achieve the desired goal or we will perish one by one, and neither history nor new generations will ever forgive us for this.”

Obviously all rings of Russia’s three-ring imperial circus will invoke even Divine Providence to accomplish its mission.

Rutskoi argued that the Soviet Union could be recreated “through a Union-wide movement and referendum ... or we will perish by one, for which neither history nor succeeding generations will forgive us.” The common thread running through all three segments is that if the union or an empire are not reconstituted, it would be bloodshed and death for all former captive nations.

Rutskoi, though he may be on the official outside, is not an aberration in this matter. A Russian legislator also called for the dissolution for the Commonwealth of Independent States and the reformation of the Union. A communist lawmaker in the Russian parliament, encouraged by the recent amnesty of accused coup leaders and a growing opposition movement, came close in his bid Friday, March 18, to undo the decision creating the CIS. Anatoly Lukyanov, one of the 1991 hard-line communist conspirators freed from charges, fell 44 votes short in the 450-seat state *Duma*. Russian imperialist leader Sergei Baburin addressed several thousand pro-Union demonstrators the previous evening in the streets of Moscow, who were marking the anniversary of the pro-Soviet referendum, telling them, “I am sick of the CIS.” Lukyanov reportedly was

trying to tap that sentiment in Parliament. Even while Washington is submitting to Moscow's whims, not all countries are blind to its designs.

Czech President Vaclav Havel said he was worried about Russia's increasingly assertive foreign policy. "Aspects of Russia's policies have begun to worry us especially after last December elections," Havel observed. "Our republic and those of Central-Eastern Europe want good relations with the Russian federation, but Russia cannot decide which international organizations we should enter and our cultural setup," Havel said.

"I feel that the role played by Russia should be limited to its membership of the U.N. Security Council," he said.

At a meeting between Czech and Ukrainian officials in Prague, leaders of both countries also criticized Russia's demands for special treatment. Czech and Ukrainian foreign ministers rejected special NATO status for Russia. They said the current structure is good and does not require changes.

Havel believes Western nations had been too slow to integrate the countries of the former Soviet bloc. Without the West's support, the former captive nations will be relegated to expressing their fears about Russia's imperial tendencies. "My only criticism of the partnership is that it came two years too late," Havel offered, adding the West at times "lacked courage" and "moved at a snail's pace" when it came to forming closer ties with its former foes. "The partnership project is a first step towards NATO but a lot obviously depends on NATO when it comes to determining what this will add up to," he added.

As everyone jockeys for the next round, Russia is quietly making headway. Earlier, Moldova and Georgia have fallen victims to Moscow's schemes. Many pundits are saying that the final battle for the restoration of the empire will occur in Ukraine. However, the third battle is being waged now in Belarus, where Moscow is winning and succeeding in turning the small country into an oblast of Russia.

The new leader of Belarus, reiterating former Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's platform, signaled on March 18 a retreat into conservative politics and economics, a closer relationship with Moscow and slow moves toward the market. Mechislaw Grib said that his attempts to seek consensus with a conservative parliament and government were already more successful than those of the ousted liberal he replaced last January, Stanislav Shushkevich.

Admitting that financial assistance is the bait to lure back the newly-independent countries, Grib also said Belarus needed more money to cope with the legacy of nuclear weapons. Grib, chairman of parliament and head of state, said the first priority to overcome a deepening economic crisis was to move ahead with plans to tighten economic ties with Moscow. "We must look for a way out. First on the list is our orientation to the east — cooperation and an economic union with Russia, not excluding cooperation with North America and Europe," he said. He said he was confident a plan to unite the two countries' monetary, fiscal and budgetary policies would be signed soon. "There are detractors in Russia who say Russian taxpayers will have to shoulder Belarus and detractors who here say we will lose our sovereignty," he said. "But it is beneficial for both economies because Russia has its own economic interests in Belarus."

Moscow's bag of tricks is deep, but is this really a recent development? Looking at contemporary official Russian long-term national-policy doctrines, we will

show that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is not the root of Russia's current neo-imperial swing. Russian leaders — red, white or brown — never withdrew from their traditional instincts.

Not all American columnists support Russia like Stephen S. Rosenfeld does. Mortimer B. Zuckerman, editor in chief of *U.S. News & World Report*, sees the inherent danger posed by Russia and suggests that Washington should tilt its policy in favor of Kyiv.

Commenting about the potentially dangerous situation developing in Crimea, in an editorial titled "Dangers on the Russian Front," published in the March 28 edition of the *USN&WR* (printed also in his *Daily News* of March 21), Zuckerman wrote: "Crimea will be a test of our support for the independence and territorial integrity of all former Soviet republics. Ukraine is the most important. With a population of 52 million and an area larger than France, it contains some 1,600 nuclear weapons that would be at risk if Ukraine came apart."

"We must offer high-level political support for Ukrainian independence. We must offer a financial assistance package. Above all, we must emphasize that Russia's relations with the West will suffer significantly if Russia seeks to change the borders of Ukraine. The very most we might agree to is for Crimea to become an autonomous region within Ukraine."

"The stakes in the former Soviet Union are simply too big for hesitation and ambiguity." Zuckerman recognizes a Russia vs. Ukraine scenario and sees that Boris Yeltsin may be put on the spot because of the conflicts between the two nations.

"If he supports separating Crimea from Ukraine he will precipitate an international crisis. On the other hand, if he rejects a Russian Crimea, he will be renouncing his own commitment, articulated in his State of the Union speech, to defend ethnic Russians wherever they may be. Thus, Yeltsin would be vulnerable to an angry reaction from nationalists, the military and right-wingers like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy ... The Russians are ready to play tough and use military, political and economic pressures as needed."

*The New York Times* also errantly suggested that Russia turned to the right because of Zhirinovskiy. In its April 5 edition its reporter Celestine Bohlen wrote: "Though his outbursts have elicited guffaws or outrage here and abroad, they have also had an unmistakable effect on Russian and international politics. The Yeltsin government has absorbed the 'Zhirinovskiy factor,' notably in its foreign policy which now puts considerable, and repeated, emphasis on the need to assert Russia's great-power status and on the interests of the 25 million ethnic Russians living outside the country."

Bohlen further wrote: "Thanks in part to Mr. Zhirinovskiy, but mostly to the mood he has crystallized, these themes have now become a fixture in Russian politics. A new anti-Western, anti-American tone runs through the oratory of the political opposition, from the communists to former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi, who just this weekend accused Mr. Yeltsin of turning Russia into a colony of the West."

No one dares to state that this tone also runs through Yeltsin and other so-called Russian democrats.

By playing the Zhirinovskiy card, Zuckerman, *The New York Times* and others like them are making the mistake of implying that Russia has taken a turn to the right

because of him and his election victory last December 21. This conscious or unconscious misinterpretation, is lulling everyone into believing the myth that Yeltsin is a savior. The truth of the matter is that Russia never reverted from its traditional imperialism and its national doctrine, published before December's elections, shows not only Russia's imperial roots but also its ambitious plans to reestablish its empire.

Authorized for publication on December 14, 1993, in the *Obzervatel-ObsERVER* (translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service), a week before Zhirinovskiy's election victory, "National Security: Russia of 1994" is a document that glorifies Russia's past, bemoans its paradise lost and inspires the Russian nation to visions of returned national dignity and might. Its pervasive mentality is that of a people existing in a state of siege with enemies near and far. Russia believes it is a democratic country and simultaneously does not discount the benefits of a temporary dictatorship. While outrightly stating that Russians are Russians wherever they live and they will always be defended by Moscow, it sets the framework for first creating porous borders between former captive nations with the ultimate goal being their reintegration into a more "workable community." Its destiny is to be not only a regional geopolitical power without contenders, but a world leader as well. And its anti-West posture surfaces when it takes a stab at the observations of some that Russia is an uncultured state, existing only thanks to Western humanitarian aid.

"What we need today is a government capable of finding a way out of the crisis. Only a program geared to the needs of the majority of the population will enjoy the population's support. This is also the only way to achieve the consolidation of all progressive forces. It is necessary to curb inflation, restore confidence in the *ruble*, and create a normally functioning financial-state mechanism geared to support for producers rather than for dealers," the document states.

While stating that its internal leadership and government are subservient to the needs of Russian statehood, it never explains which body defines those needs, expect, maybe the document is a sort of national Bible, Koran, Talmud. It also flippantly says that leaderships can come and go at any time.

"Politicians and their ambitions, even the most outstanding ones, come and go, but Russia lives on. Any political victory would turn into defeat if a blow is dealt on statehood and society toward confrontation." ... "Nonetheless, experience shows that, at critical moments in history, authoritarianism as a temporary measure may be necessary and, furthermore, justified."

The government must "uphold Russia's unity and its economic and political independence" and must "revive Russia's spiritual potential."

Strength is the keyword. "The main threat is the weakening of power and statehood. Any weakening of any of the branches of power means the weakening of power and statehood as a whole."

The demise of the Soviet Union left Russians as ethnic minorities in the former captive nations, the policy states. In Ukraine and elsewhere there is an offensive against the Russian language and culture. Ukraine and Kazakhstan are singled out as the leading offenders and persecutors of Russians. With an eye on defending Russians everywhere and reintegrating the former captive nations into a new union, the document calls for the "introduction of state bilingualism in all newly-formed states (primarily in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Moldova, Latvia and Estonia." Curiously, voters in the eastern

regions of Ukraine voted for the adoption of official Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism. Russian subversion on the sovereign territory of Ukraine? You can't call it anything else.

"The protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the Russian Diaspora in nearby foreign countries is the only farsighted long-term policy."

It proposes as a solution the restoration of the common economic, cultural and legal area, unconditional removal of trade barriers, introduction of benefits for members of the new economic and defense union, adoption of common citizenship. In other words, the revival of a union, empire or workable commonwealth under the control of Moscow. "The CIS today certainly needs an organ capable of coordinating humanitarian questions and easing the pressure of state borders on the collective and individual rights of citizens of any nationality." Why is the situation bad? "The reason is the lack of a concept of unification, of a backbone around which a real, as opposed to a nominal, 'community' may be developed."

Moscow, echoing Hitler's national policy of one German state, one German people, considers all Russians to be citizens of at least a spiritual Russia if not the Russian state and they also have a responsibility to defend its national statehood. "Russian people, regardless of where they live and provided their national awareness is maintained, are the driving force of Russia's revival. The state strategy of the Russian great power must be based on the historical and spiritual heritage of its people. Russia will never be revived unless the world outlook and national awareness typical of our people are recreated."

Currently, Russian government officials like Yeltsin, Kozyrev and Grachev have not lost a single opportunity to accentuate Russia's glorious past as a pretext for demanding special consideration and treatment not only in the Partnership for Peace program but directly in NATO. These demands have their roots in this document.

"During the most critical periods of our fatherland's history, the nation has been saved thanks to the vast reserves of the Russian people's spiritual strength. A most important role there is played by the Russian idea.

"The Russian idea comprises primarily Orthodox spirituality which is distinguished by its refusal to rationalize faith and its acceptance of God with the soul, with love and with a selfless perception of beauty. It is underpinned by the concept of conciliarism (*sobornist*) as the unification of people for the sake of the Orthodox faith's rival and the fatherland's prosperity ...

"The nation must regain its dignity, clearly perceive its historic prospects, and acquire confidence in its future and its own strength ...

"It is necessary for the idea of statehood to become state ideology and political practice and, ultimately, state policy. All citizens, state institutions, and branches of power must support the idea of statehood by all possible means."

Speaking of Church affairs, Moscow continues to regard the millennium of Christianity of the Kyivan Rus to be a Russian historical event. "Russian statehood is just one century older than the Russian Orthodox Church, if we take as our starting point the date when Christianity was adopted as the state religion of Rus by Kyivan Grand Prince Vladimir in AD 988. Nonetheless, it was this step that largely promoted the cause of Russian state building." The Russian Orthodox Church, it states, has a mission to "help the Russian people to preserve their identity and create their state."

Consequently, the document does to recognize any religions except "traditional

religious confessions in Russia” and “An end should be put to all attempts at religious invasion from outside, no matter how plausible their motivations might appear. Missionary activity by foreign citizens in Russia must be legislatively regulated.”

Relentlessly promoting its past and future greatness, the document reveals that Russia is determined to “preserve the status of a great power occupying a special position in the world’s geostrategic structure.” It regards this great-power status as its natural right. Moscow’s long-term security interest includes “restoring the Russian Federation’s international prestige as the legitimate heir of the former Soviet Union and a great power recognized by the world community.”

Being the legitimate heir, it believes it also has the right to be the sole, dominant power in the region, endowed with the authority to defend not only Russians but peace and stability.

“To paraphrase Winston Churchill’s famous sentence, it can be said about Russia that we no longer have any friends, we have only partners. Whether we like it or not, this world is based on respect for the strength of authority and the might of the state. Unfortunately, we cannot expect the former respect without having the former might. Consequently, the most important task of Russia’s leadership over the next few years is to restructure the economy, modernize fixed production assets, and reduce the energy and materials-intensiveness of production.”

And, as Russia marches off, its policy declares to the Russian nation: “Let us then make our dream a reality! Russia is a great country, with a great history, a harsh present, but also a great future. We believe that the coming 21st century will be Russia’s century.”

Nothing in this document differs from what Zhirinovskiy has been saying. His ideology — the national ideology of Russians across the centuries — is explicitly or implicitly spelled out in this document. Quite a different image of Russia than the one created by Clinton, Christopher, Talbott, Lake and others. A picture that should signal to all, Yeltsin apologists, that Russia still needs to be watched.

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## **New Swedish Commander-in-Chief: “Russia is a Factor of Insecurity”**

The new commander-in-chief of the Swedish Armed Forces, Air Force General Owe Wiktorin, will focus on stopping Russian submarine violations of Sweden’s national borders in the Baltic Sea when he takes over on 1st July. General Wiktorin has expressed fears concerning the country’s swift disarmament. The present strength of 16 army brigades and 16 air squadrons is the absolute minimum if Sweden wants to be able to defend all its territory. General Wiktorin is also critical of recent statements by military intelligence that there is no real military threat to Sweden. The Russian military equipment is still there ready to be used should the Russian economy be stabilized. He defends the purchase of 120 new German Leopard tanks to strengthen existing army brigades.

## Eastern European Coalition Condemns 'Yalta 2' Idea

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Central and East European Coalition expressed its alarm “at the direction Russian foreign policy has taken and the United States reaction to that policy” at a National Press Club press conference September 26, on the eve of President Yeltsin’s arrival in the United States.

The local-based coalition includes the American Latvian Association, the Armenian Assembly of America, Belarusian Congress Committee of America, Bulgarian Institute for Research and Analysis, Congress of Rumanian Americans, Czecho-Slovak Council of America, Estonia World Council, Hungarian American Coalition, Joint Baltic American National Committee, Lithuanian American Community, National Federation of American Hungarians, Polish American Congress, Slovak World Congress, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian National Association and the U.S. Baltic Foundation.

The coalition statement, delivered by UNA office director Eugene Iwanciw, follows:

The member organizations of the Central and East European Coalition are alarmed at the direction Russian foreign policy has taken and United States’ reaction to that policy. On September 21, Russia’s foreign intelligence agency released a disturbing report which outlines the recreation of a Russian empire. The headline for this story in *The Wall Street Journal* was “KGB Successor Wants Rebirth of Old Empire;” *The Washington Post* titled its article “Russia’s Spy Chief Warns West: Don’t Oppose Soviet Reintegration.” Regardless how the story is titled, the fact is that these reports confirms a pattern of dangerous Russian activity.

In January 1992, *The New York Times* reported that then Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi said he would “see a redrawing of borders that would reflect a ‘glorious page’ in the nation’s past.” Russian has indeed pursued such a course of action using political and economic intimidation as well as military force.

In Tajikistan, the Russian military assisted Tajik communists in overthrowing the democratically elected government. In Moldova, the Russian 14th Army, under the leadership of General Lebed, has assaulted the territorial integrity of Moldova with the creation of the illegal Trans-Dnister Republic. In Georgia, it was the Russian military which armed the Abkhazian rebellion against the Georgian government.

Political threats and intimidation have been a chief weapon in Russia’s arsenal. The Russian parliament enacted legislation illegally annexing Sevastopol from Ukraine. Until the United States Senate passed legislation threatening a cut off of economic assistance, Russia refused to withdraw its troops from the Baltic nations on the schedule it originally set. After publicly stating that he does not oppose Polish membership in NATO, President Yeltsin sent letters to the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France, warning against allowing Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia to join NATO.

Russia’s main weapon against its neighbors, however, has been economic warfare, especially the wielding of its energy sword. While Russia claims to have raised oil prices to world market levels, it has, in fact, been selling oil at different prices to different nations depending on the level of the country’s subservience to Moscow. Ukraine has been a principle target of this effort.

In addition, Moscow has wielded the oil weapon in reverse. In the case of

Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, Russia has refused to allow their oil to pass through Russian pipelines until these nations granted Russia a percentage share in their oil industries. Just last week, Russia publicly refused to recognize an oil agreement between Azerbaijan and Western oil companies.

Russia's interference in the internal affairs of its neighbors has been justified as either peacekeeping or the protection of ethnic Russians in these countries, the so-called "near abroad." In virtually all areas of Russian "peacekeeping," however, Russia is responsible for either starting or exacerbating the conflict. In the case of protection of the "near abroad" it should be noted that we are not talking about protecting Russian citizens; we are talking about foreign nationals who happen to be of Russian heritage. This principle, if accepted, is a dangerous precedent. Fifty-five years ago, Nazi Germany justified its aggression on this basis; today, Serbia is doing likewise.

One must also consider that there are about 25 million non-Russians living in the Russian Federation. Is Russia prepared to accept the right of Ukraine or Germany, for instance, to intervene in Russian internal affairs to defend Russian citizens of Ukrainian or German heritage? This is not idle speculation. There are, in fact, as many ethnic Ukrainians in Russia as there are ethnic Russians in Ukraine. This principle can, indeed, be a slippery slope...

For the coalition, however, the more disturbing issue is United States' acceptance of this pattern of Russian behavior. When Russia helped overthrow the democratically-elected government of Tajikistan, Washington was silent; when, one year ago, Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze pleaded for U.S. condemnation of Russia's actions to destabilize Georgia, Washington was silent; when the economies of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan were threatened by Moscow, Washington was silent; when Ukraine's territorial integrity was threatened by Russia, Washington was silent.

When President Yeltsin objected to the membership of Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic and Slovakia in NATO, the Clinton Administration acquiesced. American was further embarrassed when, in Naples, President Clinton said Russian troops would be out of the Baltic nations by August 31 and President Yeltsin countered with a firm "nyet." Yet, the Clinton Administration strongly opposed the actions of the United States Senate which adopted, by a vote of 89 to 8, legislation suspending aid to Russia if the troops were not withdrawn on the schedule originally set by Russia.

While continuing to express concern about ethnic Russians outside of Russia, the Administration has yet to defend ethnic non-Russians in Russia, whose rights are routinely violated. If the United States accepts Russia's right to protect ethnic Russians outside of Russia, as it appears it has, then it must also accept Russia's right to protect the three million ethnic Russians living in the United States. In the not too distant future we may see Russian troops in Brighton Beach.

Most disturbing of all, however, was U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright's September 6 speech in Moscow. Ambassador Albright equated Russia, an empire for six hundred years with the United States, a democracy for over two hundred years and justified Russia's interference in its neighbor's internal affairs under the guise of "peacekeeping." In her justification, she admitted that Russia "is an empire when the mother country and the colonies are contiguous." It is troubling to the coalition that the Clinton Administration not only accepts but justifies a behavior by the Russian empire that we would oppose if pursued by any other nation.

In her speech, Ambassador Albright referenced Chairman Shevardnadze's request, under duress, for Russian assistance but failed to mention Shevardnadze's plea, just one year ago, for U.S. condemnation of Russia's campaign to destroy Georgia. While praising Russian actions in Georgia, she ignored her own June 21 statement where she said: "Although Russia desires stability, there have been troubling aspects to its policy toward the new republics. Russian military units in Georgia and Moldova have exacerbated local conflicts."

And, finally, she admitted that the United States worked to ensure a United Nations mandate for Russian "peacekeeping" in Georgia. Many have suggested that the Clinton Administration had, in fact, traded for Haiti at the U.N.

On September 6 *The Washington Times* reported the existence of a State Department policy paper, which states: "It is understood that a Russian sphere of influence is being recognized with Europe extending to the eastern border of Poland, leaving the Baltics somewhat up for grabs..." At the same time, in a State Department reorganization, the nations of the former Soviet Union are being consolidated in one bureau, thereby giving legitimacy to a Russian "sphere of influence."

The coalition is concerned about this pattern of United States policies which cedes the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to a Russian "sphere of influence." Fifty years ago this February, the United States made similar concessions to Russia at Yalta, that was followed by a fifty-year Cold War. We feel that the policies being pursued by the Clinton Administration are morally and politically wrong, dangerous, not in the interests of the United States and will result in a new era of conflict and a new Cold War.

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## World Famous Danish Nuclear Scientist Aided the Soviets

According to Pavel Sudoplatov's recently published book *Special Tasks*, a high ranking former Soviet intelligence officer, the Danish nuclear physicist Niels Bohr, gave the Soviet Union crucial help in constructing the first atom bomb. Bohr was more or less duped into helping the Soviets.

In November 1945 the Soviet nuclear program had more or less collapsed. The American, Robert Oppenheimer, refused to give Moscow more aid. The Soviet agent, Jakob P. Terletski, was sent to Copenhagen to interview Bohr. After a couple of meetings Professor Bohr, who had worked for the Manhattan Project during the war, gave the agent the necessary aid by pointing out a number of Soviet mistakes when shown a sketch of the Moscow nuclear plant.

Thus the Soviets could complete work on their first nuclear reactor in 1946. The first Soviet nuclear bomb was detonated in 1949.

*DESTA Vol. II, 1994*

## At CIS Meeting — Integration Takes a Back Seat

With the election of Leonid Kuchma as President of Ukraine it was feasible to expect that Ukraine would take a dramatic turn toward Moscow. Kuchma didn't hide his belief that Ukraine's salvation rested with its ancient oppressor rather than with its fair weather friends in the West. His election campaign was filled with pro-Russia rhetoric and the first weeks after his victory saw parliament speaker Oleksander Moroz return from a trip to Moscow, where the groundwork was laid for a "strategic partnership" between Ukraine and Russia. Kuchma and Moroz were rapidly planting Ukraine's roots in the so-called Eurasian region.

Washington and other capitals should have done more along the lines of integrating Ukraine's economy, its production capacity as well as goods and services with Western markets. A brisk, healthy pace of buying and selling among the countries of the West and the newly-independent states would benefit everyone. The West's recalcitrance in this matter is forcing a wary Ukraine back into the waiting arms of Moscow.

Expectations were also not unfounded that at the first post-Ukrainian elections meeting of the CIS Kuchma would have his way and Ukraine would become a full-fledged member of the Commonwealth, shedding its heretofore observer status. Gratefully, it did not happen. With Kuchma busy trying to resolve the Crimean conflict, Kyiv designated Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol and acting Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko to be the point men on Ukraine's delegation to the talks in Moscow. Out of three proposed accords, Ukraine signed only one on the dotted line, throwing Western journalists into a tizzy with its seemingly brash, un-Kuchma-like stance.

In their news reports Western journalists described Kuchma as the pro-Russian Ukrainian president, who was the odds on favorite to return Ukraine to Russian bondage, though they did not revert to such drastic prose. Nonetheless, the feeling among the fourth estate was that Kuchma, Moscow's lapdog, would not only sign every proposed document, but would join the economic union, military union, political union, become a stand-up-and-salute member of Russia's revived empire — the CIS or Eurasian region.

That did not happen. Why?

Part of the answer may lie with Udovenko. Since the announcement of his nomination, Udovenko, the dean of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps, has spoken guardedly about Ukrainian-Russian relations. While advocating a new Russian policy, Udovenko always underscored that previous relations were based on abnormal conditions which favored Moscow, ignored parity between the two states and belittled Ukrainian sovereignty, independence and national interests.

"Russia has to understand that there is no alternative to an independent, integral Ukraine. There is no return to the past. There can be no return to supranational structures in their old form," Udovenko told reporters in Moscow. Masol and first deputy Defense Minister Ivan Bizhan echoed these sentiments.

Soon after his nomination, Udovenko told reporters: "Without a doubt we should normalize our relations with Russia. Our earlier relations were not normal."

However, Udovenko warned that the relations must be balanced and fair, and that Russia must accept Ukraine as an equal partner, and not, as it did earlier, in the role of a “younger” brother. “Russia should understand that a democratic and economically strong Ukraine will not do anything bad to Russia.”

On the eve of the third anniversary of Ukrainian Independence, editors of the Ukrainian newspaper “*Homin*” in Poland asked him about Ukrainian-Russian relations. He replied, “I want to emphasize that our cooperation with Russia will only be built on the basis of the sovereignty and independence of our state. At the same time we will develop our relations with other European countries.”

Udovenko, who also spoke of his personal experience with Moscow’s denigration of everything Ukrainian, when he was the permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations, has pledged to make Ukraine’s economic relations with the West and getting Ukraine access to its markets one of his biggest priorities. “It is absolutely necessary to create a base for the development of trade relations,” Udovenko said at a different occasion. “Ukraine has not yet entered the Western market and I would like to actively work to establish conditions for the wide-ranging entrance of Ukraine on the international market.”

Without a doubt Udovenko’s views on Ukraine’s role in the world are pragmatic and convincingly expressed with a sense of national honor and patriotism. What’s more, they’re doable. Open all markets to Ukraine’s goods and services, while maintaining a relationship based on parity with Moscow. There is no reason for the Foreign Minister and the President to come to loggerheads over this interpretation of Ukraine’s foreign policies and we hope that Udovenko will not be stymied in his attempts by a pro-left parliament. It’s a policy all Ukrainians can live with.

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## Gunnar Myrdal Preferred Stalin to War

Swedish socialist Professor Gunnar Myrdal, [known in the United States for his book *An American Dilemma*,] who was Minister of Trade in the Swedish Social Democratic government after WW II believed that it was better to be ruled by Josef Stalin than go to war defending freedom and democracy.

In a recent essay, “*Grand Cru 1913*”, by Wilhelm Carlgren, former head of Archives at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, some of Professor Myrdal’s views just after WW II are revealed in an interview. According to Myrdal it was important that Sweden abstain from any closer connections with the West to minimize the risk of being attacked by Stalin’s Soviet Union. The United States was causing the international tension, not the Soviet Union. Myrdal also believed that the American troops would soon leave Europe. An American retreat would however not stop the Russians from invading Western Europe and advance to the English Channel. But it was preferable to war. But, when the interviewer asked whether Professor Myrdal and his family like to live in a Europe ruled by Stalin, he answered that that was no problem. He and his wife would then have to accept a professorship from some American university, which would be more open to famous personalities. Myrdal loved America and the freedom of spirit enjoyed there.

## Udoenko Outlines Independent Ukrainian Foreign Policy Declares Return to Subjugation — Impossible

UNITED NATIONS — Setting Ukraine's foreign policy goals and priorities at the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udoenko emphasized that Kyiv rejects external pressure and polarization and will conduct its own, independent foreign platform.

Minister Udoenko, speaking Wednesday, September 28, in the General Assembly, where he had served for many years as Permanent Representative of Ukraine, listed many factors which contributed to drastic, yet positive, transformations around the world. However, he underscored that one recent development will not change: Ukraine will not lose its independence.

"The state policy of Ukraine will be consistently based on that authority which was established by the Ukrainian people when it almost unanimously confirmed its choice of independent development during the national referendum held in December 1991. This reality is predominant and rumors that Ukraine will eventually lose its sovereignty are absolutely unfounded. We will continue to follow the path of building an independent state and a return to the situation that prevailed in the former USSR is impossible," Udoenko said in the opening minutes of his speech.

Udoenko outlined for the international diplomatic corps a foreign policy, which will accentuate bi- and multilateral relations with individual countries and regions rather than a merely strong association with Russia. Answering a rhetorical question which is on the minds of many statesmen, namely, where is independent Ukraine heading, Udoenko said:

"Today, the world is becoming more integrated, and political marks of geographical affiliation of countries disappear step-by-step. Ukraine, like any other state, cannot just simply 'go' East or West. It is there, where it has been for ages and where it will stay forever. Its many task as an historically old but political young state consists of integrating gradually in the European and world political, economic, humanitarian and other processes as a reliable link in a new global system of international relations."

Ukraine intends to develop "mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation" with Russia and the other countries of the CIS, however among equally important target countries and regions that Udoenko listed are: the United States, Germany, Canada, countries of Central and Eastern Europe, countries of Asia, China and Japan, as well as other countries of the Pacific Rim, Africa and Latin America.

"That is to say that the sphere of our interests is very large. I would like to emphasize that on the international level, Ukraine will protect its national interests, including economic ones, with increasing dynamism and pragmatism," he added.

At the same time, Udoenko continued, Ukraine reserves the right to make "corrections," in its foreign policy which despite domestic changes "remains as President Leonid Kuchma stated predictable, consistent and weighted."

Though Ukraine is committed to carrying out its foreign obligations, Udoenko said that the country is facing many domestic problems which affect the pace of implementing its promises. "The wave of political romanticism gave way to severe

hardships in the political, social and economic lives of the newly-independent states, which emerged out of the former Soviet Union," he observed.

Borrowing from two popular American novels, Udovenko characterized the mood in those countries as "great expectations, gone with the wind."

Udovenko noted that neither those problems nor that mood bypassed Ukraine and, while the country is struggling to fulfill its pledges, it only recently experienced foreign understanding of its fate. Despite these good intentions, Ukraine is encountering reluctance on the part of its foreign partners to appreciate the essence of its difficulties.

"The reality of the current situation of Ukraine consists of the fact that so far we still are under pressure and suspicion from the outside, and sometimes we encounter open reluctance to understand the essence of problems we face," Udovenko said.

Ukraine's goal is to overcome the "economic crisis, normalize the social and economic situation, create favorable domestic and international conditions for gradually raising living standards of the population," he indicated. To accomplish this task, he urged, Ukraine needs foreign investments, which should be attractive to the international community "because, owing to its geopolitical situation, the establishment of Ukraine as a sovereign and economically powerful state is one of the important factors of securing peace and stability on the European continent."

Udovenko called economic support for Ukraine as an "investment into the strengthening of international security."

The collapse of the Soviet Russian empire led to the establishment of many countries that are in transition to market economies, among them Ukraine, the Minister said. However, rather than helping these countries in transition, the economic powers restrict their aid to polite diplomatic declarations, he charged. "It seems that donor-states, while declaring their support for the implementation of reforms in countries in transition, nevertheless are too cautious in providing adequate support to specific projects in Eastern Europe and CIS countries. Such an attitude is becoming a serious problem," Udovenko explained.

Ukraine expects that international organizations, such as the World Trade Organizations and GATT, will create a favorable trade climate for boosting exports from countries of that region, "particularly Ukraine," he urged.

As part of its international obligations, Ukraine is contributing its troops to the U.N. Peacekeeping Forces in the former Yugoslavia, where nine of its soldiers have been killed and 30 wounded. While Ukraine does not intend to renege on this or other worldwide commitments, Udovenko requested U.N. understanding of the fact that the sanctions imposed on the Balkans have cost Ukraine \$4 billion in lost business. "Collective actions aimed at implementing coercive measures cannot be carried out on such an unfair basis. This increases the danger of losing confidence in the institute of sanctions," he warned.

Due to the changing nature of international peacekeeping operations, Udovenko said, Ukraine is proposing the establishment of rapid deployment forces, "which would recruit volunteers and have an ex-territorial nature. Ukraine has already declared its readiness to take part in this process."

Turning to security matters, Udovenko said that Ukraine, as a European country, is deeply concerned with this issue. At a time when the Partnership for Peace, NATO, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and even the United

Nations are becoming incapable of guaranteeing peace and security, Udovenko stated that Ukraine “strongly supports initiatives aimed at all-European cooperation in different fields, including security.”

“Ukraine advocates exactly such an approach, i.e., strengthening partnership and cooperation in an all-European dimension, instead of searching for new geometrical figures, which, in fact, would secure division of small as it is, in respect of global scale, European continent,” he said.

One step in this direction is “confidence building” in the Black Sea region, Udovenko noted, “This region is extremely important for us as a crossroad between Europe and Asia, North and South. Elaboration and implementation of specific confidence-building measures in the military and political field in the Black Sea would promote good neighborly relations, political and economic cooperation of Black Sea countries.”

As for Ukraine’s nuclear arsenal, which Udovenko said has been consistently on the minds of the international community, the Minister attempted to calm global anxieties about Kyiv’s plans. “It should be emphasized that Ukraine is the first state in the world which voluntarily and unilaterally assumed the obligation to eliminate nuclear weapons located on its territory,” he began.

Pointing out that Ukraine means to become a non-nuclear state, Udovenko said that before the *Verkhovna Rada* ratifies this decision, Kyiv requires an agreement from the nuclear states guaranteeing the national security of Ukraine.

“Ukraine stands for corresponding guarantees to be multilateral and addressed directly to Ukraine as the state, which for the first time in history, on its own, is getting rid of nuclear weapons; these guarantees should provide a mechanism of consultations which could be involved should the security of Ukraine be threatened. In this process, we attach great importance to the United Nations as the most authoritative international organization,” Udovenko remarked.

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## Ex-Soviet Sources – Communists planned 1948 Coup in Finland

Archives in Moscow are now revealing that the Finnish Communist Party in 1948 planned a coup in the spring of 1948. Finnish history Professor Jukka Nevakivi has found a memo to Stalin in the archive of Colonel General Andrei Zhdanov, who was Stalin’s representative in Finland after World War II.

In the memo, Zhdanov tells about a conversation he had with the Secretary General of the Finnish party, Ville Pessi. He informed Moscow that the Finnish party politburo had decided to arrest the political opponents, among them Finnish President Paasikivi.

Zhdanov did not express his own opinion on the plans of the Finnish communists. It also seems that the Kremlin did not give the Finns the go ahead for the coup.

Until now the Finnish communists have always denied that there was any coup plans in 1948 and it has been a very hot issue in Finland during the post World War II period.

## **The Changing Ethnic Landscape in the Baltics**

Ethnicity remains an important and sensitive fault line in the Baltic countries two-and-a-half years after the restoration of independence.

To verify this, try speaking Russian to an Estonian, suggest to a Latvian that Slavic emigration might cause economic dislocations in Latvia, or ask a Lithuanian about the role of Polish culture in shaping Vilnius.

Ethnic issues have also assumed a prominent place on the foreign policy agendas of the Baltic countries, especially in Estonia and Latvia, where the foreign ministries are constantly hosting Western delegations interested in the status of minorities or deflecting broadsides from Russia about alleged discrimination against "Russian speakers."

The magnitude of the changes taking place in the ethnic landscape often gets lost in the verbal crossfire.

### **The Russians are leaving!**

Immigration to the region has come to a virtual halt since 1990, while Russians, Belarussians and Ukrainians have been leaving in droves to resettle in their homelands. From 1990 through 1993, emigration from Latvia exceeded immigration by almost 100,000. Emigration from the other Baltic countries in the same period was smaller but no less significant: the net tally for Estonia was more than 58,000, while that for Lithuania was about 54,600.

The outflow last year lagged behind that of 1992 and is likely to taper off in the future, especially if Russia's economic tailspin continues. Most Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians hail this process of "repatriation" and would like to see it continue.

The outflow has eased Baltic fears of being "swamped" by immigrants, alleviated the housing shortage and rid the Baltic countries of a segment of the population whose support for independence was in doubt.

Many non-Balts in the region view the process with trepidation, believing that the departure of many well-educated Slavs will result in increasingly "lumpenized" and vulnerable minority communities.

In this view, Slavic emigration is the product of a conscious government policy of "squeezing out" non-Balts from the region. While nobody is driving the non-native population from the region by force, the new conditions under independence have caused some difficulties for those accustomed to the rules of the game in the former Soviet Union.

### **The new linguistic environment**

In the Baltic republics, the Russian language enjoyed a privileged status. From the perspective of ethnic Balts, "derussification" of the public sphere and the educational system is a natural process.

Moscow artificially imposed Russian, promoted the Russification of non-Russian minorities by destroying their cultural infrastructure, and granted non-linial Russophones the privilege of not having to learn the language of their country of residence.

Over the past several years, the Baltic languages have begun to regain their previous status, while non-Russian minorities (e.g. Jews, Poles, etc.) have begun to rebuild schools and cultural facilities destroyed by the Soviets.

For the large mono-lingual Russophone communities in Estonia and Latvia, the shift has been especially painful.

In the latter state alone, over one million inhabitants (more than one third of the population) claimed no knowledge of Latvian in 1989. In Estonia, there are entire cities in the northeast of the country where almost none of the residents speak Estonian.

From the perspective of the Russophones, legislation promoting the Baltic languages is a human rights violation. The business of government, once conducted in Russian, is now carried out in the Baltic languages and many positions in the commercial sector require at least a conversational command of Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian.

Russophones in the region are discovering that ignorance of the Baltic languages can limit their employment opportunities, as well as their chances to obtain citizenship, especially in Estonia and Latvia.

### **Redefining the political community**

Many Russophones who participated in the spring 1990 parliamentary elections in the Baltics do not enjoy the right to vote or be elected to office today. A result of the region's long-running citizen controversy.

Lithuania, which absorbed relatively few immigrants from the Soviet Union, has taken a more inclusive approach to citizenship than Estonia and Latvia. The Lithuanian parliament granted citizenship to all residents of the country who applied.

The Estonian and Latvian parliaments, on the other hand redefined the political community in more restrictive terms after the re-establishment of independence: only those inhabitants who were citizens in the inter-war years and their descendents obtained citizenship.

As a result, a full third of the population of Estonia and Latvia is composed of non-citizens, while the corresponding share in Lithuania is only five percent. Since post-war Slavic immigrants and their descendents account for the overwhelming majority of non-citizens, the legal issue has assumed an ethnic hue.

Most non-citizens in Estonia and Latvia consider citizenship a right to which they are entitled. Most Estonians and Latvians deem it a privilege that should not be granted lightly. Estonian's parliament has made conversational knowledge of Estonian the prime criteria for naturalization.

Knowledge of Latvian will invariably be one of the requirements for naturalization in Latvia as well, though Latvia's parliament has yet to pass a naturalization law or define the legal status of non-citizens.

Impatient with their uncertain legal status, many non-citizens – 43,000 in Estonia and 23,000 in Latvia – have opted to obtain Russian citizenship.

## **A stable *modus vivendi***

The sea of change underway in the ethnic rules of the game has sometimes been accompanied by nasty rhetoric: “Colonists and occupants go home!” or “Baltic Fascists: Stop Imposing Apartheid!”

However, the region has witnessed none of the violence that has become the hallmark of so many Soviet successor countries. Indeed, on the individual level relations are often quite cordial.

The great unknown remains Russia. Will its attempts to influence the ethnopolitical situation in the region be restricted to the propaganda battlefield? Recent pronouncements from the Russian Foreign Ministry about the necessity to play a more energetic role in defending Russian-speakers in the “near abroad” do not bode well.

*The Baltic Observer, February 3-9, 1994*

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*Tunne KELAM*

### **Mutual Relations Key for Estonia**

On August 31st 1994 WW II finally came to its end for the Baltic States. On that date the last former Soviet troops, the predecessors of whom had entered Estonia in 1939-40, left the territory of this small state on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

Having been occupied by a totalitarian power – the Soviet Union – for 51 years as a result of a criminal deal between Stalinist USSR and Nazi Germany, Estonia succeeded to restore her independence in 1991 through a democratic and non-violent process based upon international law.

The re-emergence of the Baltic States – members of the League of Nations and the IPU before their occupation – to the family of democratic nations was achieved greatly because of the persistence of democratic governments and international organisations, which for 50 years firmly opposed to view the flagrant aggression against three small independent states as legal. So in spite of their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union the Baltic States continued to exist *de jure*, retaining their diplomatic representatives in several states. Their status could be compared to that of Denmark or Norway under Nazi occupation.

The conclusion of the democratic world has been quite clear: we were never legally married to the Soviet Union, consequently there could be no legal divorce. In 1991 we just managed to escape from the Soviet prison house, restoring our independent statehood *de facto*. Estonia also managed to restore the rule of law, introduce a democratic parliamentary system and initiate one of the most sweeping economic reforms among the countries liberated from totalitarian rule. We have made a good start towards integration with international political and economic organisations. Estonia values highly her membership in the Council of Europe. After so many years of forced isolation we really enjoy our participation in the activities of the IPU.

We are happy about the introduction of economic reforms in neighbouring Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. We wish every possible success to Russian

democratic forces, which are making efforts to overcome the terrible heritage of totalitarian rule in their own country and to realise genuine economic reforms.

We hope that our neighbour will also be able to overcome the political and moral heritage of the Soviet Union. We can certainly understand that Russians themselves have suffered under Soviet totalitarianism. But having such an understanding for Russians – or why not Germans who have suffered under Hitler's criminal regime – does not amount to agreeing with the claim that, for example, Danes or Norwegians would be obliged to share the heritage of the Nazi state.

Unfortunately such a claim is still presented today by Russia's government in the case of the Baltic States. So a statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in July 1994 ends with the same conclusion which is well known from the Soviet Orwellian history books: namely that the Baltic nations duly and willingly, in total accordance with the then existing laws chose to walk into the claws of the Soviet Bear. One has sometimes the impression that the Soviet Union is still alive today.

We would like to ask the Russian parliamentarians to join us in trying to normalise our relations by normalising our understanding of the recent past. I am wondering if it could be difficult to agree with the position most democratic states, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and others have maintained for so long regarding the occupation and annexation of the Baltic States in 1940. Agreeing with their positions would not mean sharing the guilt of Stalinist aggressors, would not mean financial obligations. But it would certainly be an act of moral courage and foresight to agree with the principles of justice and equality.

Some days ago, our Japanese colleague presented his apologies for the sufferings Japan's past acts of aggression and colonial rule have caused to various nations of Asia. Many years ago German Chancellor Willy Brandt apologised in Warsaw for the crimes of Nazi Germany without having anything to do personally with these crimes. But from then on German-Polish relations could be based upon the foundation of justice and equality.

Right now, both Russia and Estonia enjoy an historic opportunity to improve relations. It is our duty on both sides of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, to seize the moment and reaffirm the message of this treaty again. We might call this a policy of "Positive Engagement". This would involve mutual respect for the sovereignty of each state, mutual respect for national security interests, mutual refrain from verbal and other confrontation, mutual respect for international norms of behaviour, most importantly in the area of human rights.

The key word here is – MUTUAL. Russia is certainly entitled to enjoy all rights other nations have, is entitled to have as much support as possible for its democratic endeavours. But it cannot be accorded special rights by virtue of its size, not in a military sense, but on its human rights records. The standards applied to us and to the rest of Europe must also be valid for Russia. Such a stand would be the best assistance we can render to our Russian friends to build a peaceful, democratic, law-abiding state.

*The speech made by the Head of the Estonian Delegation, Tunne Kelam, at the 92nd Conference of the IPU – Item 5 – 16th September 1994*

## AN APPEAL MADE BY POLITICAL PRISONERS IN GEORGIA

Amnesty International remains concerned that a group of 19 prisoners standing trial in Georgia on charges of terrorism face ill treatment or lack of appropriate care.

One of the prisoners, Zaza Tsiklauri, was transferred back to prison from hospital as a punitive measure after an unauthorised meeting with a human rights activist in June. Since then it has been alleged that co-defendant Viktor Domukhovsky was beaten in his cell by police officers and that two others are not receiving adequate medical treatment.

The beating of Viktor Domukhovsky is said to have taken place in early August when police officers entered his cell and demanded that he hand over notes that he had made on the trial. When he refused, they reportedly beat him with clubs and continued kicking him after he had fallen to the floor. At a subsequent court session he was unable to stand properly.

At least two other prisoners in the group have medical problems, Zurab Bardzimashvili, who became an invalid as the result of a car accident, is said to have tried to commit suicide on the day of his arrest in October 1992, and twice since he has been in prison. He has been on a dry hunger strike since 6 August 1994 in protest at the conduct of his case, but despite assurances to his lawyer he has not yet been moved from prison to hospital. The health of Mamuka Danelia, who suffers from a pre-existing condition in connection with head injuries, is said to have deteriorated during the two years he has now spent in custody.

The trial began in 1993, and Amnesty International is also concerned at reports that the defendants are not receiving a fair trial in line with international standards. Viktor Domukhovsky is one of four in the group who face charges carrying a possible death sentence and who allege their confessions were made under duress. Others report problems in obtaining a defence lawyer of their own choice.

**FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:** Please send telegrams, express and airmail letters in English, Russian, Georgian or in your own language:

– urging the authorities to investigate swiftly and impartially the alleged beating of Viktor Domukhovsky, and all other similar reports, with the results made public and those responsible brought to justice;

– urging that Zaza Tsiklauri, Viktor Domukhovsky, Mamuka Danelia and Zurab Bardzimashvili receive appropriate medical treatment;

– urging that all the defendants receive a fair trial in line with international standards.

**To the Embassies of Foreign Governments  
To Human Rights Organisations**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We, the political prisoners of Georgia, appeal to you. From the moment of our detention our human rights and rights as prisoners are systematically violated. All prisoners were severely beaten and tortured for the “revelations” which was the target of

the regime. For example, V. Domukhovsky and P. Galbankhiani were illegally detained, beaten and kidnapped from Baku (the capital of the Sovereign Republic of Azerbaijan). It is the act of international terrorism. Z. Tsiklauri and G. Gelbakhiani were also badly beaten, and they still suffer from the injuries both physically and psychologically.

T. Tsiklauri, Z. Gogichaishvili, G. Okropiridze, G. Khaduri, Z. Bardzimashvili, I. Dokhvadze, G. Makhviladze were under moral and physical pressure during the whole interrogation.

We are aware of the pressure which Eduard Shevardnadze exerts on the courts. He disliked the final verdict of the “Kvareli case” (13 years of prison) and gave the order for our execution (“*Sakartvelos Respublika*”, 30.XI. 93).

After this fact our presumption of innocence is not guaranteed and there is obvious pressure on court trials by officials against their political opponents.

We are asking for your support in the fight against political terror from the Junta of Tbilisi.

V. Domukhovsky  
P. Gelbakhiani  
Z. Tsiklauri  
G. Gelbakhiani  
T. Tsiklauri  
I. Dokvadze  
Z. Bardzimashvili  
Z. Gogichaishvili  
C. Okropiridze  
G. Khaduri  
G. Makhviladze

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## **An Appeal of the All-Georgian Human Rights Association**

To the “Government” of the Republic of Georgia  
To the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Organisation  
To the Council of Safety and Collaboration in Europe  
To the Secretariat of the Human Rights Society (Frankfurt/M)  
To all the International Human Rights Organisations  
To the Foreign Diplomatic Offices Accredited in Georgia  
To all the World Mass Media of Information

Taking into consideration that during the past years human rights have been systematically violated in Georgia;

- taking into consideration that there are a great number of political prisoners in Georgia, jailed on falsified accusations, who are put into very distressing situations, and some of whom are very ill;

- taking into consideration that the “government” ignores the international criteria and the requirements for every person being under State jurisdiction to enjoy basic human rights and freedom acknowledged on a world scale also are not put to the mark;
- taking into consideration the the State of Georgia does not exist from the point of view of legitimacy, and therefore the legislative, executive and judicial powers are not separated, fear and terror reign in this country and the majority of the population is oppressed, facing an economic and social catastrophe;
- taking into consideration that the difference between the legally proclaimed State and the virtual state of affairs in Georgia is enormously great, the All-Georgian Human Rights Association, which is a member of the International Human Rights Society, has recorded all the numerous violations of human rights and informed the Government. The latter, however, has never reacted in any way, in spite of all our numerous efforts;

Therefore, we conclude that the State in Georgia does not guarantee any protection of human rights. For that reason I am forced to declare from 16.10.1994 a termless hunger strike with the following demands:

1. We ask the international observers and experts (from the Human Rights Defence Committee of UNO, from the CSCE and other state and public organisations mentioned above) to come to Georgia as soon as possible.

2. We demand that the systematic and mass violation of human rights in Georgia is immediately stopped:

a) to put an end to the torturing of political prisoners in the cells of preliminary incarceration and in solitary confinement cells;

b) to immediately discharge all political prisoners;

c) to annihilate all the legislative acts which do not correspond or agree to the international juridical norms;

d) to cease repressions and discrimination of any kind under political considerations;

e) to stop barbarously dispersing peaceful demonstrations;

f) to allow the freedom of the press;

g) to allow the representatives of the opposition and of the Government in exile the right to speak on television and radio;

h) The General Prosecuting Magistracy, the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs must fulfill the Helsinki Watch recommendations and considerations published recently;

i) to abolish the death penalty.

3. We demand that the military putsch of 1991-92 inspired by Russia and the Russian-Georgian treatise, as well as the entry of Georgia into the CIS, be seen as an annexation and occupation of Georgia by Russia.

4. We desire political pluralism in our country.

5. We demand the restoration of the jurisdiction of the Georgian Republic on the territories of Samachablo and Abkhazia which is the only peaceful guarantor for the return of refugees.

6. We demand the condemnation of the communist dictatorial-administrative method of management. It is necessary to establish real democracy and not the

ostentatious one that exists today. The obligatory guarantees for the realisation of political rights must be provided. Only then can we create and develop the free thinking and an open civilian society.

**Georgi Kervalishvili**  
**The President of the All-Georgian Human Rights Defending Organisation**

16th October 1994

*Georgi Kervalishvili's hunger strike is taking place in the office of the Association in Tbilisi, 32 Tsotne Dadiani Street.  
The Press Centre*

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Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is already more than a year that the law-suit of 19 political prisoners in Georgia has been lingering (case No. 7493810; see report of the Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, Vol. 6, No. 11). The case is examined by Judge M. Dolidze, who, according to the instructions of the Head of State, Eduard Shevardnadze, barbarously violates not only the international juridical standards but also the Criminal-Processional Code (CPC) of Georgia. The Judge is especially zealous against me, Viktor Domukhovskiy, a deputy member of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia. The only reason is that I am the Chairman of the provisional Parliamentarian Commission investigating the attempt of theft an airplane by a group of young people on November 18, 1983. The instructor of the rough justice upon the participants of this tragedy was the then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze. They were all fusilladed on October 3, 1984.

History is being repeated. Again, as before, Eduard Shevardnadze is responsible for the terror and persecution of political dissidents. The accused prisoners have been given no opportunity to make use of their legal rights: to take part in the court and examination trial, to defend themselves, to have a barrister for defence. The court of justice is turned into a theatrical performance, the court trials are carried out in the absence of the accused prisoners, without barristers. All the accused deny their participation in the terrorist acts, diversions, banditism and killings. Under the personal instructions of Eduard Shavardnadze, the judge M. Dolidze has committed the following violations of the law:

1. I, a Russian by education, have not been given the text of accusatory indictment in my native language.
2. The barrister N. Nizharadze was expelled from the College of Barristers and deprived of the possibility to defend me.
3. My second barrister, R. Kikaleishvili, was driven out of the court trial.
4. The barrister Dj. Djgamadze was driven out of the court and expelled from the College of Barristers.
5. The new barrister, N. Peikrishvili, was not allowed to defend me.

6. On August 13, 1994, I was severely beaten in prison and got a concussion of the brain.

7. On September 19, 1994, without any reason, I was removed from the court proceedings.

8. On October 24, 1994, the judge M. Dolidze took an unheard-of decision: DOMUKHOSKY WILL BE JUDGED WITHOUT HIS PRESENCE AND WITHOUT THE RIGHT FOR DEFENCE! I am accused under three paragraphs which result in the death penalty, and in accordance to the law I must not be judged without a barrister (paragraph 44 of the CPC of Georgia, parts 4, 5, 6, 7). The Georgian barristers are naturally terrorised by such arbitrariness and afraid to defend me.

I ask you, therefore, to help me and to send a lawyer to the trial as my barrister, in spite of my family being unable to pay the fee. I fully rely upon your feelings of humanity and benevolence. We all, with joined forces, are obliged to struggle against tyranny, injustice and repressions.

May God help us all!

With thanks and respect  
Viktor Domukhovsky  
a Deputy Member of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia,  
a political prisoner.

Ortachala Prison, Tbilisi, October 25, 1994.

My family's address:  
Nutsbidze Street 13, Apt. 14  
3800 Tbilisi, GEORGIA

Tel: 39 66 57 or 31 45 36

Fax: 8832-931824, 8832-985017 or 8832-987388

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## China Syndrome – Russian Style

Russian workers threatened to unleash a reactor fire at Polyarnye Zori, a plant with four nuclear reactors close to the Kola Peninsula base of Murmansk, main Russian HQ for the northern nuclear submarine fleet earlier this year. The desperate employees had not been paid for months. Swedish nuclear experts claim that the damage would not be as extensive as it was at Chornobyl in Ukraine as the reactors in the Arctic are of a different type.

High ranking Swedish officials in the nuclear industry believe that the Russian nuclear industry is close to collapse. Maintenance has to be postponed in nine nuclear plants due to lack of money. The Russian State Electric Company, (JES), has unpaid bills of 300 million US dollars.

*DESTA Vol. II, 1994*

## **60 Minutes Resurrected 'Ugly Face' After 6 Months**

American broadcast journalism faced another low point with CBS' broadcast of "The Ugly Face of Freedom" segment during its popular 60 Minutes news program of Sunday, October 23.

In a 20-minute capsule of historical innuendoes and fallacies CBS' correspondent Morley Safer equated the 52 million people of Ukraine, the newly-independent country of Ukraine and the one-thousand-year old Ukrainian heritage with a lynch mob. However, Morley Safer not only did not present any evidence to prove his point, he did not demonstrate an attempt to provide a differing point of view, while simultaneously interjecting his own biased opinions.

Safer begins the segment by stating that Ukraine is hardly a homogeneous country, noting that Crimea wants independence. He never returns to this point in the course of his story nor does he explain at the outset that Crimea, an ethnically diverse peninsula, is being torn asunder by its Russian inhabitants, not by Ukrainians or Tatars. The Russian element, alone, does not indicate that Ukraine is now, or will soon be, turned into rump Yugoslavia, Georgia or Nagorno-Karabakh. Even eastern Ukraine's malcontentedness does not necessarily signal the beginning of a Mason-Dixon Line on the river Dnipro but only a general national frustration with the devastating economic crisis that has enveloped Ukraine.

Still, Safer's most prejudiced across-the-board indictment of Ukrainians, as a people who have spanned generations and today encompass many ethnic affiliations, is left for his discussion of historical Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Without equally-convincing testimonies, Safer, using statements by Jewish eyewitnesses of World War II atrocities versus those by contemporary Ukrainian non-Jewish lay and religious spokesmen, leads the viewer to the conclusion that all Ukrainians were, are and will always be anti-semitic.

Safer further maintained that nothing marks the spot, where Jews were massacred near the Yanivska prison camp in Lviv. However, he again failed to uncover that the Lviv oblast (provincial) council, which was elected after the August 24, 1991, proclamation of Ukrainian independence and consequently is non-Soviet, has already earmarked funds for the construction of a memorial to Jews, Ukrainians and others murdered by the Nazis on that site.

On July 31 of this year, in the same city of Lviv, which is in the center of what Safer said is "fertile ground for hatred," three ethnic groups — Ukrainians, Jews and Poles, three religious denominations — Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Judaic and Polish Roman Catholic jointly officiated at the mournful reinterment of the unknown remains of the victims of Soviet murder in the city's Zamarstynivsky prison during World War II. CBS' correspondent also overlooked the Lviv City Council's designation of a new street, which did not exist in Soviet days, in honor of Sholom Aleichem.

Mikhail Sherman, deputy chairman of the Lviv oblast (provincial) Jewish Society, believes there is no anti-semitism in Lviv. A day after the 60 Minutes broadcast

he told Yaroslav Svatko, editor of the Ukrainian newspaper "*Schlach Peremohy*" that while there are biased individuals in every ethnic group, Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Lviv are good. There is no evidence of anti-semitism among the inhabitants of Lviv, Sherman told him in reply to a question posed by me. These examples from Lviv, which occurred after the declaration of independence, dispel the contention of the segment's title, "The Ugly Face of Freedom," which implies that a free Ukraine is a prejudiced, anti-semitic, undemocratic country.

That same day I asked in a telephone interview Illya Mykhailovych Levitas, chairman of the Jewish Council of Ukraine and editor of the Jewish News (*Yevreyski Visti*) in Kyiv, Ukraine, to characterize Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Levitas said that, notwithstanding spiteful individuals, it is unjust to claim that one nation or ethnic group is genetically predisposed to hate another. As far as he is concerned there is no official anti-semitism in Ukraine.

According to him, all ethnic groups in Ukraine, which Levitas called a democratic country that Jews support, are suffering because of the economic calamity and all of them, including Jews, are endeavoring to bring the country out of its fiscal morass. Levitas said that for Jews in Ukraine, Ukraine is their native land, where their ancestors are buried, while Israel remains their spiritual land.

Safer did not interview individuals like Levitas, who said that despite broad complications brought about by economic problems the Jewish culture, schools, newspapers, theaters, life are being fostered without restrictions. To prove this point he said Ukraine, the first among all the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which includes Russia, officially sponsored a two-week Festival of Jewish Culture. The two operating synagogues in Kyiv are enough to satisfy the spiritual needs of the capital's Jewish population, he said, though the return of houses of worship to the Jewish faithful is as slow as it is to Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic believers.

Levitas said that President Leonid Kuchma, who will visit the United States in late November and early December, will bring with himself on behalf of the Jewish Council of Ukraine photographs and documents of righteous Ukrainians who saved Jews during World War II. Levitas believes it is important for those artifacts, which in the spirit of Sodom and Gomorrah should exonerate the Ukrainian nation of anti-semitism, to be displayed in the National Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Among the righteous is the wartime spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Archbishop-Metropolitan Andrzej Sheptytskyj, whose rescue of Jews is well documented but ignored by Safer, who referred to him as being anti-semitic.

As for the SS Galician Division, which Safer refers to, was formally known as the the 14th Waffen-Grenadier Division der SS. Ukrainians, who came from western Ukraine, historically called *Halychyna*, designated the division "Halychyna." It was eventually renamed the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army, which Canada's Commission of Inquiry on War Crimes, popularly called the Deschenes Commission after its chairman Jules Deschenes, declared in 1986 was not involved in any war crimes. Not a single charge of civilian persecution or atrocities has been filed much less proved against any member of the Division. Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, cited by Safer, was incarcerated by the Nazis after declaring Ukraine's independence on June 30, 1941, while Yuriy Shukhevych-Roman Chuprynka,

commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, also mentioned by him, led Ukrainian freedom fighters against both the Soviet and Nazi armies.

The use of anti-semitic Ukrainian anecdotes, alone, does not signal that an entire nation is prejudiced. In the early 1980s Pinnacle Books published a defamatory series of books called "The Official ... Joke Book," which slanderously lampooned Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Italians, Irish and others. Does that mean that collectively Americans are anti any one of those ethnic groups?

Another misrepresentation by CBS showed a group of contemporary youths in Lviv and called them "Hitlerjugend," while in reality they are members of a Ukrainian chapter of an internationally-recognized scouting organization. The network also showed a World War II photograph of a Jewish rape victim decrying her attackers as allegedly being Ukrainian police officers. The photo, which was also mistakenly used by *Time* magazine, was shown to depict Soviet troops standing around a Jewish rape victim.

Says Safer in the closing moments of his report: "The church and the government of Ukraine have tried to ease people's fears, suggesting that things are not as serious as they might appear; that Ukrainians, despite the allegations, are not genetically anti-semitic. But to a Jew living here, or to one who only remembers the place with horror, such statements are little comfort among the flickering torches of Lvov." (The Russian pronunciation was used for the city Lviv).

"60 Minutes" kept its by now infamous story, "The Ugly Face of Freedom," on the shelf for six months before broadcasting it, without reverifying, reconfirming or updating it. That's what the news magazine's correspondent Morley Safer admitted during our corridor encounter in the CBS Broadcast Center on Monday, October 31. Such irresponsible, reckless and unheard of practices in television journalism left the distorted image in the minds of the program's millions of viewers that Ukrainians are genetically anti-semitic.

Eight days after the broadcast five representatives of the Ukrainian American community, two spokesmen for the associations of Jewish Emigres from Ukraine and Eastern Europe and three Ukrainian American journalists were afforded an audience with four officials of the CBS News Division at its headquarters on Manhattan's West 57th Street.

The network's anxiety about the meeting surfaced within a few seconds after everyone sat down, when after being identified by their professional credentials, the members of the Ukrainian fourth estate were asked to leave the conference room by the CBS officials - they, the Columbia Broadcasting Corp., felt they were being ambushed by such powerhouses as *The Ukrainian Weekly*, *Kontakt* and *The National Tribune*.

Nonetheless we were able to piece together a recreation of what went on behind closed doors for some 90 minutes. One of the first to emerge from the conference room was Don Hewitt, executive producer of 60 Minutes. As he chatted with Ulana Mazurkevich of Philadelphia, we approached and asked if he was convinced by the community's arguments. Hewitt went through a short, but elaborate, answer emphasizing "if." After verifying the counter arguments, Hewitt told us, if CBS was convinced it was in error, if CBS was convinced it made a mistake, if CBS violated its viewers' trust, it would ponder its obligations to its viewers. As his voice trailed off down the corridor along with the sounds of his footsteps, Morley Safer appeared passing to our left.

Taking advantage of a corridor consternation, we grilled Safer about his

reference to renaming the streets in Lviv, something that he spoke about as a lead in to condemning Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych as anti-semites.

"Morley, when you spoke about renaming streets in Lviv in honor of Bandera, why didn't you mention that a street was named in honor of Sholom Aleichem?"

"I didn't know that."

"Didn't you speak with anyone in the Lviv city government, City Hall?"

"Yes, but no one told me about that."

"Whom did you speak with?"

"I spoke with the mayor."

"Did you speak with Mr. Kuybida?"

"No, I spoke with Shpitser in April."

"Shpitser was voted out of office in March. You kept the film in the can for six months before broadcasting it? Is that normal?"

"I don't know," Safer sheepishly answered, turned around and quickly walked away from us. What makes this case stranger is that the news-gathering process for this 20-minute segment was still incomplete as of the Summer, when, according to the press center of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Lviv, the CBS team came to interview Archbishop Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky. Its spokesman said 60 Minutes shot the footage toward the end of July, leaving three months for the producers to follow up on April's filming.

After Safer scurried away from us, Joseph Peyronin, CBS News Division vice-president and assistant to the president, strolled by to escort everyone out of the building. We also asked him if it was normal for 60 Minutes to keep film in the can for six months before broadcasting it.

After numerous telephone calls and letters by Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), and Ukrainian Americans from across the country and Canada, CBS decided to grant community representatives an audience.

After listening to the arguments, the CBS officials, never admitting fault, guilt or compassion, said the network would review what was said to them.

The group presented CBS with a faxed statement by Rabbi Yaakov Dov Bleich, chief rabbi of Kyiv and Ukraine, against which the network was hard pressed to argue, Lozynskyj said later.

In his statement, Bleich, who was interviewed for the segment, said, "I feel that the broadcast did not convey the true state of affairs in Ukraine. I also would like to state unequivocally that my words were quoted out of the context that they were said." Bleich said the story's name, "The Ugly Face of Freedom," does not reflect reality and should be changed to "The Beautiful Face of Freedom." "I feel that the CBS broadcast was unbalanced since it focused on a very small minority, ignoring the majority and the positive achievements of Ukraine in its three years of independence," he said in the statement, received by Lozynskyj. "The revitalization of the Jewish community in Ukraine, which has become the strongest and most flourishing Jewish community in the former Soviet Union, is but one example of the bright side of freedom and democracy in modern Ukraine."

Rabiner said, despite pockets of hate mongers, after the establishment of an independent Ukraine, the government created an harmonious atmosphere, conducive to

multinational consensus. Commenting on CBS' "don't call us, we'll call you" attitude, Askold Lozynskyj said the Ukrainian group "suggested a remedy which was to present a balanced program on the subject of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in today's Ukraine. We also requested an apology, prefacing that program, and a retraction of the previous program."

The UCCA president said Safer was reluctant to accept the counter arguments, saying "that's what you're saying but there is another element of our viewers who say something else." According to Lozynskyj, Peyronin promised to contact the community about their findings and decisions.

CBS News Standards declare that its correspondents' judgments "must be professional news judgments - nothing more, nothing less."

The network also stipulates that the viewer must be told of everything related to the filming and broadcast of its news stories: "If the answer to an interview question, as that answer appears in the broadcast, is derived, in part or in whole, from the answers to other questions, the broadcast will so indicate, either in lead-in narration, bridging narration lines during the interview or appropriate audio lines."

A six-month lead time and the lack of reconfirmation does indicate to us a reckless attitude on the part of 60 Minutes. In this case it slandered Ukrainians with the known falsehood that a people can be genetically anti-semitic, any more than they can be genetically greedy, criminal, athletic, patriotic or businessminded.

By claiming in the meeting with civic leaders that a portion of its viewers and letters believe that Ukrainians are guilty of anti-semitism, CBS accepted their view at face value and declared that Ukrainians, genetically, are anti-semitic.

CBS News and 60 Minutes should strive for a higher level of journalism and they should remember the old adage of the craft, spoken by John Chancellor in his program "A Portrait of Journalism — Warts and All": "You say your Mother loves you? Check it out!"

• *Ihor Dlaboha, editor of The National Tribune, assistant professor of journalism at Hofstra University and senior correspondent for Homin Ukrayiny, Toronto, and Shliakh Peremohy, Lviv, Ukraine, has written extensively about Ukraine for the past 20 years. Member: Society of Professional Journalists, Association of Journalists of Ukraine.*

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## Dangerous Border Accord

Russia and three Central Asian States signed an agreement on the joint security of their southern borders, Itar-Tass news agency reported on July 16.

The head of Russia's border guards Colonel-General Andrei Nikolayev signed the deal with the former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan after a two-day visit to the Tajik capital Dushanbe. Nikolayev told a new conference the new agreement was in the interests of Russia and the Central Asian States and would "promote the strengthening of the southern borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States", Tass said.

Russia and Tajikistan also signed a bilateral agreement on military transits, the agency said. About 25,000 Russian border troops are stationed in Tajikistan.

## Another 50th Anniversary

Half a century ago, toward the end of World War II, the *Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada* (UHVR), or Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, was formed by members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) to provide political leadership for the Ukrainian independence movement. Proclaiming itself “the supreme organ of the Ukrainian people in its war of revolutionary liberation,” the council’s goals were to provide a broader base for armed resistance to both the Nazi and Soviet occupying forces and to elicit support for the Ukrainian cause from outside the ranks of the OUN.

At its founding meetings in the Sambir region of Ukraine on July 11-15, 1944, the UHVR elected a provisional executive, formulated a social/political platform, and adopted an *Universal* addressed to the Ukrainian people. The UHVR declared its dedication to democratic principles of state and political life.

Armed resistance in Soviet-occupied Ukraine was coordinated by the Council through the UPA, while the UHVR’s political actions and propaganda campaign against the Soviet authorities were accomplished via the OUN. In Western Ukraine, the UHVR directed propaganda at the Red Army detachments, and in 1946 organised a boycott of the Soviet-sponsored elections.

In October 1949, the UHVR, UPA and OUN issued a joint “Appeal of Fighting Ukraine to the Entire Ukrainian Emigration,” urging all beyond Ukraine’s borders to unite around the sacred idea of Ukrainian independence.

A number of UHVR members left Ukraine in 1944 and formed the External Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, whose primary function was to establish contact with the Western Allies. Among the documents issued by this group was a memorandum on the situation in Ukraine addressed to the Paris Peace Conference. The External Representation maintained contacts with underground independence forces in Ukraine and served as a representative of the revolutionary movement in Ukraine. Meanwhile, in Ukraine, most of the members of UHVR were either killed or arrested for their activity, and the organisation was thus effectively destroyed.

However, the External Representation of the UHVR continued its activity. Ultimately, a press service was organised and UHVR representations were created in several diaspora countries. The External Representation released journals and other publications. At the time of the dissident movement in Soviet Ukraine, the External Representation published *samydav* documents and disseminated information about Ukrainian national and human rights activists. Many of the underground documents of the dissident movement provided by the External Representation were published in English translation.

And thus, the work begun in 1944 to promote the cause of Ukrainian independence was continued for decades beyond.

*The following document was adopted by the First Grand Assembly of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council on 11-15 July 1944.*

## **Platform of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council**

1. The Ukrainian national-liberation movement, the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state and the struggle for its consolidation in the years 1917-21 deepened the national consciousness and increased the political activity of the Ukrainian masses.

The collapse of the Ukrainian state as a result of foreign conquest, which was the result of insufficient internal unity of Ukrainian national forces, made it easier for foreigners to gain domination over Ukraine. This foreign domination has been marked by unprecedented oppression, massive plunder of the Ukrainian people, a return of peasants and workers to a state of true serfdom, merciless exploitation and the extermination of millions of people by means of famine and terror. These terrible and bloody times, twenty-five years in duration, have taught the Ukrainian masses that no foreign political and social system will benefit them and that only the establishment of their own national sovereign state will guarantee the normal existence and development of the nation and its culture and the material and spiritual well-being of the masses.

2. The present war between two huge imperialist powers, Muscovite-Bolshevik and Hitlerite-German, is being waged primarily for domination over Ukraine as a point of departure to dominion over Eastern Europe and even all of Europe. Both these powers have as their policy the total colonial exploitation of Ukraine and her population. Having seized all the material and economic resources of the Ukrainian people, they mercilessly exterminate the leading national forces in Ukraine, destroy the national culture and national consciousness of the masses and colonize the country with foreigners, while exterminating great masses of the Ukrainian people or transporting them beyond the boundaries of Ukraine.

3. Nevertheless, this war is also debilitating our enemies and reducing them to a state of social and political disintegration. As a result, conditions are favourable for liberation struggles on the part of the subject peoples and their ultimate victory is facilitated.

4. Under these circumstances, it is essential that:

a) in the vortex of the present total war, the Ukrainian people and their leading cadres be protected from extermination,

b) The Ukrainian people be led to battle for their liberation and for their own sovereign state.

For the fulfillment of these tasks, it is necessary that there be a single, pan-Ukrainian national front, organised by uniting all the active Ukrainian national forces endeavouring to establish a sovereign Ukrainian state, that there be a single governing centre.

For this reason, on the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was formed in the process of the Ukrainian people's armed struggle against the plunder and coercion of the peaceable Ukrainian population by the forces of occupation, a pan-Ukrainian governing centre has been established, including the representatives of all regions of Ukraine and all Ukrainian political circles, under the name:

*Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council*

## **I. The Goals and Duties of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council**

1. To unite and co-ordinate the activities of all the pro-independence liberation forces of the Ukrainian people on all the territories of Ukraine and beyond these territories in a national-liberation struggle against all the enemies of the Ukrainian people, in particular, against Muscovite-Bolshevik and Hitlerite-German imperialists, for the establishment of an independent, united Ukrainian state.

2. To determine the ideological programme of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle.

3. To direct the whole Ukrainian national-liberation struggle until the attainment of sovereignty and the establishment of organs of independent government in the Ukrainian state.

4. To represent, in its capacity as the highest pan-Ukrainian governing centre, the current political struggle of the Ukrainian people, both inside the country and abroad.

5. To bring into being the first government of the Ukrainian state and to convene the first nation-wide Ukrainian representative body.

## **II. The Fundamental Principles of the Ideological Programme of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council**

The preservation of a nation's life, national unity and culture constitutes the primary and highest goal of any sound national organism. A sovereign national state is the chief guarantee of the preservation of a nation's life, its normal development and the well-being of its citizens.

For this reason, the Ukrainian nation should, at this time, dedicate all its powers to the establishment and consolidation of its own state.

All politically active Ukrainian agencies should consolidate their forces in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state, laying aside all disputes of a social and political nature, for until the attainment of an independent state, these disputes remain in the realm of theory.

The struggle for an independent national state can be successful only if it is carried out independently of the political influences of foreign powers.

Accordingly, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council bases its activity on the following principles:

1. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council aspires to the re-establishment of an independent, united Ukrainian state on all Ukrainian territories by means of revolutionary struggle against all the enemies of Ukrainian sovereignty, in particular, against the Bolshevik and German forces of occupation. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council endeavours to work in co-operation with all those who favour such independence.

2. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council is founded on the principle of complete political independence from the influences of foreign powers and agencies.

3. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council unites all the leading political

groupings that favour political sovereignty for the Ukrainian state and political autonomy in the Ukrainian struggle for independence, regardless of their ideological worldviews or political and social orientation.

4. To achieve the union of Ukrainian national-liberation forces in the struggle for an independent, united Ukrainian state, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council adopts the following political and social platform:

- a) guarantee of a popular, democratic method of determining the political order in the Ukrainian state by means of universal popular representation,
- b) guarantee of freedom of thought, worldview and belief,
- c) guarantee of the development of Ukrainian national culture,
- d) guarantee of a just social order in the Ukrainian state, free of class exploitation and oppression,
- e) guarantee of the genuine rule of law in the Ukrainian state and of the equality of all citizens before the law,
- f) guarantee of citizenship rights to all national minorities in Ukraine,
- g) guarantee of the right of equal educational opportunity for all citizens,
- h) guarantee in the labour sector of the right of all citizens to free exercise of initiative, regulated by the demands and needs of the whole nation,
- i) guarantee of freedom in methods of working of the land; designation of a minimum and maximum size for individual farms,
- j) socialization of the basic natural wealth of the country: the land, forests, water and underground resources; transfer of arable land to farmers for permanent agricultural use,
- k) nationalization of heavy industry and heavy transport; transfer of light industry and the food industry to co-operatives; guarantee of the right of free large scale co-operation on the part of small producers,
- l) guarantee of free trade within the limits set by legislation,
- m) guarantee of the free development of trades and of the right to establish individual workshops and enterprises,
- n) guarantee of the right of freedom in work for workers engaged in physical and intellectual occupations and a guarantee of the protection of interests of workers by social legislation.

5. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council will wage its struggle for an independent, united Ukrainian state in alliance with all the subject peoples of Europe and Asia which are fighting for their own liberation and which recognise Ukraine's right to political independence.

6. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council is striving for accommodation and peaceful co-existence with all of Ukraine's neighbours on the basis of mutual recognition of the right of every people to its own state and to its ethnic territory.

*Source:* Original (carbon copy of a typescript): Archive of the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, no. 7-2.

*Photocopy:* Archive, *Litopys UPA*.

## **CSIS Analyst Says: Mediation doesn't Foster Reconciliation**

*Washington DC, July 12, 1994* – Shawn McCormick, the Deputy Director of African Studies at the Washington based Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), questions whether the Angola peace talks in Lusaka, Zambia had bridged the suspicious and deep divisions separating the MPLA Government and UNITA. He criticised the observer countries, Portugal, Russia and the U.S.A. for not alerting the mediator's package to allow for UNITA to govern the Huambo Province. In an interview with the Portuguese weekly *Semanario*, the policy analyst said, "If Lusaka was intended to be a process of national reconciliation and its function is to heal the wounds from Bicesse, then UNITA should have what it legitimately won at the ballot box".

The mediator's proposal, that was accepted by the Government, denied UNITA's demand for the governorships of Benguela, Bie and Huambo, where it received clear majorities of 60, 83.9 and 81 percent respectively in the presidential balloting in the September 1992 elections. UNITA responded by dropping its call for the governorships of Benguela and Bie provinces in an effort at compromise. However, it did not alter its position on Huambo Province, where Huambo City, the second largest in the country, is located.

Shawn McCormick said that, during the negotiations, the Portuguese Government had pushed for the governorship of Huambo not to be allocated to UNITA. Now this is the single issue preventing the conclusion of an agreement.

The impartiality of both Portugal and Russia in reference to the Angolan peace process is obvious. Both provide military support to the MPLA Government. Portugal has acknowledged providing "training" to the Government in both Portugal and Angola. However, on July 8, the weekly *O Independente* reported that the Portuguese Government, through the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Empreendimentos* (SPE), a parastatal, brokered a deal for \$10 million in weapons, between January and May 1993 in violation of the triple zero arms embargo. The arms came from Russia, which is the Angolan Government's largest arms supplier.

The present impasse in Angola is a direct result of pressure and influence exerted by two ostensibly impartial "observer nations", that are providing military support for the Angolan Government. The U.S.A. acquiesced to Portugal and Russia, which along with Spain and Brazil, also arms suppliers to the Angolan Government, lead the diplomatic push for new sanctions against UNITA at the United Nations. The Angolan Government has spent \$2,5 billion dollars on weapons and mercenaries during the past year.

*For further information contact:  
Free Angola Information Service  
P.O.Box 65463  
Washington DC 20035-5463*

**ABN Correspondence  
for Eastern Europe and Asia  
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# ABN

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1994  
NO. 4; VOL. XLV

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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## A word from the editor...

Many people still remember the Soviet film titled "Moscow does not believe in tears". During the preparation of this issue, we watched new developments on newscasts. Alongside images of war from Bosnia, we witnessed the resurgence of Russian imperialism now on Chechen lands. With the peaceful fall of the Soviet empire and the inevitable changes to political structures which followed, many believed that the age-long desire to imprison nations in the name of historical mission and messianism would cease to exist.

Reports provided by ABN national chapters still threatened by Russian imperialism persistently warned that the optimism over changes in Russia was far too premature. We believe that democratic forces which could initiate real changes in Russia are not yet in power, and these democratic forces have very little influence as a political factor in Russian politics.

After Boris Yeltsin's departure from Marxism-Leninism and his decisive actions toward democratisation of the political system and liberisation of the economy, it was thought that the Russian Federation would have the resolve to break with traditions of Russian imperialism. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

The will of the Chechen people for independence has been easily dismissed by the Russians as merely a mafia power struggle. Just as Czarist armies marched into Chechen territories and Stalinist armies deported an entire nation from its land, today, the army of the new "democratic" Russia is invading the Chechen capital of Grozny.

As these thoughts are put to paper, it is possible to watch newsbroadcasts where old Chechen women plead with Russian soldiers not to take aggressive actions. The women shed tears in vain, because "Moscow does not believe in tears".

Moscow does not believe in tears and the world community should not believe in Russia's empty promises. The Chechen crisis is a test for Moscow. Russia should recognise Chechnya's right to self-determination and thereby respect its national and human rights. Or Russia could resort to old habits and after Chechnya start suppressing every sign of self-determination of nations still imprisoned within the Russian Federation or crush the independence of former captive nations of the old Soviet empire and thereby return the wheel of history to a new Cold War.

Mr Yeltsin, the choice is yours!

## CHECHEN REPUBLIC – ICHKERIYA

Capital	– Grozny (population over 400,000)
Population	– 1,500,000
Territory	– 17,000 square km.
Administrative Division	– 17 Districts and 6 Towns
Religion	– Islam (Sunna)
1859	– Loss of Independence by Ichkeriya
November 30, 1922	– Foundation of the Chechen Autonomous Province
January 15, 1934	– Foundation of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Province
December 5, 1988	– Foundation of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR
November 1, 1991	– Restoration of Independence of the Chechen Republic – Ichkeriya

The Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya is situated in the Eastern part of the North Caucasus. In the West it borders with Ossetia and Ingushetia, in the North with the Slavropol region of Russia, in the North-East with Daghestan, and in the South with Georgia. The Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya has an advantageous geographical location. Its territory is crossed by important transportation lines, connecting the principle districts of the North Caucasus with Transcaucasus and Eastern Europe. Its earth is rich in various minerals, oil and gas.

The Ichkeriya region where the Chechens live now since prehistoric times has been called Chechnya in the 16th century. Ichkeriya was conquered in 1859 after half a century of long hard resistance and incorporated against the will of its people into the Russian Empire.

Ichkeriya was completely occupied by Russian forces. The Czarist administration confiscated for the Treasury all the forests and about half of the arable land which was distributed to Russian officers, representatives of native corrupted nobility and mainly to Cossacks. The Chechens responded to this expansionist policy by a series of rebellions.

Chechens have never reconciled with Russian domination. Each successive generation has mounted rebellions against the Russian colonial system. In the late 1870's, in the first years of the 20th century, and after the 1917 Revolution, each generation saw a new wave of resistance to Russian domination, most often led by men with religious status.

Like several other North Caucasian peoples the majority of Chechens refused to submit voluntarily to imposition of Soviet authority following the 1917 Revolution. They fought against the White Forces of General Denikin and the Red Army as well. Some remote areas of Ichkeriya were not subdued until the 1920's.

For all Chechens the October Revolution of 1917 and the Civil War were a continuation of the national-liberation struggle against Russian domination.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks promised to return the mountaineers their lands and national statehood. Carried away by Lenin's promises a small part of the Chechen population had sided with the Russian revolutionary proletariat. But since the middle of the twenties the Bolsheviks unleashed a war against the Chechens, abandoning all the promises and commitments. The war was not honest and open but consisted of a secret

haul of requisitions, mass disarmaments, the uncovering of the *kulaks* (rich peasants), and the revealing of “anti-Soviet” plots etc.

Though the German forces did not occupy the Chechen territory during the Second World War, the Chechens were accused of collaborating with the Nazis in 1942-1943, and together with their neighbours, the closely related Ingush, were deported to Central Asia in February 1944. The Checheno-Ingush ASSR was abolished and reformed into the Grozny region.

In January 1957 the Checheno-Ingush ASSR was restored, but the repatriated were denied access to certain mountain areas of Ichkeriya. The mountain people were removed to the plains and Cossack villages. The Chechens who lived in Daghestan were deprived of their national district (Aukh).

The first concepts of the future political development of the republic appeared in the period of *perestroika*.

On 26 1990 the All National Congress of the Chechen People (ANCChP) adopted the Declaration of Independence of the Chechen People. On November 27, 1990, the ANCChP induced the communist Supreme Soviet of People’s Deputies of the Checheno-Ingush ASSR to renounce the autonomous status of the republic and to approve the Declaration of Independence of the Checheno-Ingush Republic.

In August-September 1991 the Congress of the Chechen people pressed the communist Supreme Soviet of the People’s Deputies of the Checheno-Ingush Republic to dissolve itself and proclaimed the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya. The All National Congress of the Chechen People executed the first democratic election of the President and the Parliament of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya.

On November 1, 1991, the President decreed the state of sovereignty of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya.

The difficult and complicated process of founding the state and establishing institutions is taking place at present. The Republic is oriented to democracy, pluralism and a market economy.

The constitution of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya is unequivocal and guaranteeing citizenship, equal rights and full political freedom to all citizens of the republic irrespective of their ethnic or religious status. There is no political party or public organisation that is promoting a “Chechnya for Chechens” programme or advocating discriminatory measures against Russians and other nationalities.

The basis of the republic’s modern industrial complex is its oil industry. In 1991 the oil workers extracted more than 4 million tons of oil and about 1,5 billion cubic metres of gas. The high quality of the oil made the Chechen Republic of Ichkeriya one of the main suppliers of aviation oils – up to 90% of the production in the CIS. Refining yearly up to 16 million tons of oil, Grozny is one of the main suppliers of benzine, kerosine, diesel fuel and black oil for the whole of the North Caucasus, Transcaucasus and a number of regions in Ukraine and Russia.

Ramified pipelines bring oil and gas from West Siberia to Grozny and transport benzine and diesel fuel to consumers in other regions. Lubricants, acetone, lenol, synthetic tanners and alcohol, low-pressured polyethylene and catalyzers, fodder are produced in the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya and transported to more than 600 enterprises in the CIS and other countries. Chemical petroleum complexes in Grozny produce more than 14 varieties of paraffin.

Chechen machine-building plants produce complex oil extracting and chemical equipment, technological equipment for the fuel industry, medical equipment, tractors, trucks, apparatus and office appliances, as well as transforming stations. Automated systems in leading technological processes in microbiological, medical, oil extracting, all-chemical, cement-production and other branches of industry are supplied to 45 cities in the CIS and abroad.

The republic has favourable conditions for producing various building materials, high quality clay ensures brick production. Sand, gravel, limestone and marble are only a few of the raw materials for the building industry.

Forests cover about 2,000,000 square km. Timber supplies are estimated as 18 million cubic metres. The main species are beech, pine, birch, there are also hornbeam, ash, lime, oak and maple. There are up to 90 species of various herbs in the forests and alpine meadows, many of them being medicinal.

Soil fertility and the warm climate allow good crops of grapes, tobacco, grain, sunflower, sugar beet and various fruits and vegetables.

From early times agriculture and cattle breeding have been the main occupations of the Chechen people. Twenty two percent of the republic's territory is comprised of crop fields, i.e. 434,000 hectares. Steppe and mountainous pastures of Ichkeriya are good for distant cattle breeding. Pastures of 654,000 hectares and over 72,000 hectares of arable lands allow to keep up to 200,000 heads of cattle and up to 1,000,000 heads of sheep and to produce 15,000 tons of meat, 2,500 tons of milk and 200 tons of wool a year.

Until 1991 up to 80% of the industrial plants of the Checheno-Ingush ASSR were military oriented. There were a lot of oil and chemical plants under Soviet control in Grozny. All currency received from oil export went into the Soviet Union's budget. The Checheno-Ingush ASSR budget had only 2% of the whole industry income. The ecological problems were just ignored and neglected. Moreover, they built a secret plant not far from Grozny "Rodon" intended for storing solid liquid and radioactive waste.

Because of the disastrous ecological state, the republic has the highest rate of infant mortality among the countries of the former Soviet Union.

There are about one hundred medical establishments for over 12,000 places in the republic. That means ten places for every one thousand inhabitants. There are also 600 medical dispensaries, polyclinics and over 20 sanitary inspection stations.

Before the 1917 Revolution there were no higher education schools in Grozny. After the revolution an Oil Institute, a Pedagogical Institute, a University, a Music and Cultural College were opened in Grozny.

At the present time there are an Academy of Sciences, seven higher educational institutions and many research institutions. There are two drama theaters, a puppet show, a philharmonic, music and dance companies in the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya.

The President, Dzouar Douaev was born in 1944 in the small Chechen village of Valkhari. Shortly after his birth, all the Chechens, including his family, were deported to Central Asia. The would-be president spent the first thirteen years of his life in Kazakhstan living in the Petropavlovsk and South-Kazakhstan regions. After rehabilitation of the deported people by the XXth Congress of the CPSU Douaev and his family were allowed to return to their native land in 1957.

Doudaev finished secondary school and worked as an electrician but continued his education by attending night school in Grozny. In 1960 he attended classes of the physics-mathematics faculty of the Vladikavkas State University and left it in order to enter into officer training. Then, a year later, he entered the Tambov Military School of Long-Range Aviation from which he graduated in 1966 earning the title of pilot. In 1974 he completed post-graduate work at the prestigious Yu. Gagarin Military Aviation Academy in Moscow.

It was at the Military Academy that General Doudaev achieved the rank of Major General, responsible for the Baltic and Siberian regions. After assignments in Siberia and Ukraine, he became the commander of a garrison in Tartu, Estonia, where he was in charge of a strategic, long-range air division. Among his many military roles was the management of select nuclear arsenals and military intelligence. In Estonia he earned the reputation of a “mutinous general” after he refused to carry out orders to assist military actions against the Estonian Parliament and television studio during the bloody events of January 1991.

Since November 1990 Doudaev was a member of the Executive Committee of the Congress of the All National Congress of the Chechen People (OKChP). Since March 1991 Doudaev has been the leader of the Executive Committee of the OKChP. In May 1991 he resigned from active duty in the Soviet army in order to take a more active role in his people’s national movement.

He has twelve government awards, including the Order of the Red Banner, Order of the Red Star and an order of a foreign state. He is married with three children – two sons and a daughter. He is a member of the Unrepresented Nations and People’s Organisation and the Committee of Human Rights.

### **Parties and Public Organisations of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya**

- The Vainakh Democratic Party, headed by Mr. Z. Yandarbiev
- The Democratic Reform Movement, headed by Mr. S. Xhadjiev
- The Youth Movement for National Revival, headed by Mr. D. Unarov
- The World Democratic Union, headed by Mr. A. Aduiev
- The Popular Front of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya, headed by Mr. Xh. A. Disultanov
- The Independent Women’s Union of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya, headed by Mrs. A. Hagomelkhadjleva
- The Social-Political Association “Oulam”, headed by Mr. H. Edelbiev
- The Social-Political Movement “Balmehk”, headed by Mr. I. Umhaev
- The North Caucasus Department of the International Society for Human Rights, headed by Mr. Kh. Aglev
- The Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya Committee of Social Defense of IGFM, headed by Mr. S. E. Ibragimov
- The Defense of the Chechen Republic Citizens’ Union, headed by Mr. A. Avturkhanov
- The Cossacks of the Grozny Section of the Terek’s Union, headed by Mr. G. Galkin
- The Youth Union of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya, headed by Mr. Kh. Bugaev
- The Chechen Republic Union of Islamic Youth, headed by Mr. L. Sarimsultanov
- The Ethnic Union of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya, headed by Mr. D. Asaturov

## STATEMENT ON THE EVENTS IN CHECHNYA

From the Georgian Friendship Group of the Parliament of Finland

To the President and the Government of Russia and

To the President and the Government of the United States and

To all Governments and Parliaments of the UN and the CSCE States

The Russian Government is strongly escalating military actions against the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya. Russian forces have attacked Chechnya using more than 40,000 men, military aviation and heavy armoured technique. Several towns and villages have been bombed, unarmed citizens have been killed, the number of refugees is increasing and a hotbed of a new long war in Europe is becoming apparent.

The Georgian Group of the Finnish Parliament denounces the Russian assault against the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya and insists on the immediate discontinuation of bloodshed. We appeal to President Yeltsin and the Russian Government, urging them to spare no effort to put an end to the military conflict by way of negotiations.

According to the principles of the UN and the CSCE, human rights violations can never be internal affairs of any state. We urge the President and Government of the United States and all Parliaments and Governments to use every power in their competence to cease violence in Chechnya.

The Georgian Friendship Group of the Finnish Parliament:

Heikki RIIHIJÄRVI (Finnish Front)  
Eero PALOHEIMO (Greens)  
Hannu SUHONEN (Free Group)  
Eeva-Liisa MOILANEN (Christians)  
Johannes LEPPÄNEN (Centre)  
Kalle RÖNTYNYEN (Centre)  
Markku LAUKKANEN (Centre)  
Pirkko LAAKKONEN (Christians)  
Martti KORHONEN (Left Wing)  
Gunnar JANSSON (Åland)  
Markku ROSSI (Centre)  
Raili PUHAKKA (Centre)  
Bjarne KALLIS (Christians)  
Kalle NÄSI (Centre)  
Tina MÄKOLÄ (Free)  
Raimo VUORISTO (Soc. Dem)  
Matti VÄHÄNÄKKI (Soc. Dem.)  
Jukka GUSTAFSSON (Soc. Dem.)  
Riitta MYLLER (Soc. Dem.)  
Satu HASSI (Greens)  
Maija RASK (Soc. Dem.)

Helsinki, December 16, 1994.

# APPEAL TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE CHECHEN GOVERNMENT

Members of the Parliaments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania express their support for the legitimately elected Parliament of the Republic of Chechnya and to President Doudaev of Chechnya. The imperialistic provocateurs against your State are well known to us regarding their origin and cannot deceive the world public. The opposition forces against Chechnya, which are being supported, incited and armed outside its borders, the economic, financial, transport and information blockade and the slanderous propaganda spread internationally cannot force the people of Chechnya to have a sovereign and independent state of their own and to enjoy full international recognition.

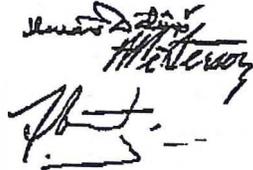
We wish you courage and the strength of spirit to withstand the attacks of your enemies.

**Your freedom is also our freedom!**

Merle KRIGUL  
Avro VALTON  
Andrus VILLEM  
(Members of the Estonian Parliament)



Ilmars DALINS  
Aleksandrs PETERSONS  
Juris SINKA  
(Members of the Latvian Parliament)



Algirdas ENDRIUKAITIS  
(Member of the Lithuanian Parliament)



Riga, 16.09.1994.

*"In a clash with the Communist world, the West can only gain a victory if it supports the national fight of the subjugated peoples in every possible way and proclaims a programme for the disintegration of the Russian imperium and the restoration of the national states."*

From *The Truth about ABN* by Niko NAKASHIDZE.  
Published in Munich, 1960.

# A P P E A L

## to the Assembly of the Baltic States

Honorable Ladies and Gentlemen, Representatives of the Baltic States!

You convened to discuss and solve the questions concerning your states, became free from imperialism and came to the way of free independent development. You, in reality, became the subjects of international law. Therefore, as we understand it, it is easier for you to solve all general problems, because you are striving for the same goal – the strengthening of your statehood and sovereignty. We wish you every possible success in this just endeavour.

The Chechen Republic Ichkeriya is going along its difficult way towards freedom and independence. Every hour and day we feel your fraternal support. We could not bear the bad turn of events in Ichkeriya if we did not feel your support. The Chechen people will never forget this invaluable support and we extend a sincere “barkalla” – thanks to all Baltic peoples!

Honorable Participants of the Baltic States' Assembly!

The Government of the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya

– proceeds from the fact that the Chechen people never signed any documents with Russia about its voluntary entry into the structure of Russia;

– convinced in the fact, that Russia internationally deprived Chechnya of the status of colony to the UNO for defending the legal rights and interests of the Chechen people, the recognition of its independence and statehood;

– taking into account the fact that the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya, according to article 41, Pact about Civil and Political Rights, article 5, from the Facultative Report, is practically deprived of the possibility of addressing the UNO and its specialized departments, but the other ways of addressing are unreal because of the preventative measures of the Russian side to the sides expressing the desire to help Ichkeriya in solving this question;

– follows peoples' right for self-determination, free setting of their political status and free guarantee of its economic, social and cultural development – settled in Pacts about people's rights;

– wishing to avoid the military conflict with Russia, which is provoking it during four years to Civil War with the purpose of commitment to Chechnya their troops as it was in Ingushetia, which can lead to the beginning of the second Caucasian war with its unfortelling consequences;

– expressing its adherence to the purposes and principles of the UNO Charter, appeals on behalf of the Chechen people the Assembly of the nearest UNO session the question of the Chechen Republic Ichkeriya's entry into the world community as a subject of international law, i.e. *de jure* of the Chechen statehood.



**STATEMENT**  
**BY THE FACTIONS OF THE SEIMAS OF**  
**THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA**  
**CONCERNING RUSSIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST**  
**THE CHECHEN REPUBLIC OF ICHKERIYA**

In November of this year, the armed forces of Russia launched hostile attacks against the official government and population of the Chechen Republic. The attempts of Russia to present these events as an internal Chechen conflict fail to correspond to the facts.

We denounce the Russian assault against the Chechen Republic and insist on the immediate discontinuation of bloodshed.

We appeal to the Governments of the Baltic States and the Council of Europe, and urge them to send observers and use every power of their competence to cease the violence in Chechnya.

R. Ozolas (Centre Union)  
J. Tartilas (Faction of the Democratic Party)  
I. Uzdavinys (Christian democratic Faction)  
B. Gajauskas (Faction of Political Prisoners and Deportees)  
A. Sakalas (Social Democratic Faction)  
L. Milcius (Faction of the Nationalist Union)  
A. Kubilius (Faction of the Homeland Union – Conservatives)

Vilnius, November 28, 1994.

"Without an understanding of the spirit of the bearers of Russian imperialism, it is impossible to understand Russian politics or the strategy of Russian aggressions".

Yaroslav STETSKO: *"The ABN's Political Strategy to Counter Russian Expansionism"*, *The West's Strongest Allies*, 1985

**STATEMENT  
ON THE EVENTS IN CHECHNYA  
1 December 1994  
Vilnius**

The events of the last weeks in Chechnya which attracted the attention of the world public have now reached the culmination point – battles are raging in Grozny and other towns of the republic and civilian residents are being killed. According to the data of international information agencies, Russian military and their military equipment are being used in the armed conflicts.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, expressing its deep regret at the turn of events in Chechnya, calls for an immediate stopping of the bloodshed and urges that all problems in dispute be settled only by peaceful means. The Seimas appeals to the Federal Council of the Russian Federation and the State Duma urging them to spare no effort to put an end to the military conflict by way of negotiations.

We urge international organisations – first of all the institutions of the CSCE and the Council of Europe – to immediately send international observers to Chechnya, to call a halt to bloodshed and violations of human rights and to eliminate a new hotbed of war.

Speaker of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania

Ceslovas Juršenas

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**Appeal**

**by the Political Parties of Lithuania  
to the Political Parties of Europe**

The Russian Government is escalating military actions against the Chechen Republic. Military aviation and heavy armored technique have been used. Towns and villages have been bombed, citizens have been killed, the number of refugees is increasing, a hotbed of a new, long war in Europe is becoming apparent.

We appeal to the European political parties directly or through their governments to exert influence upon the Russian Government to cease acts of violence against the Government of the Chechen Republic and the citizens supporting it. It is necessary to seek peaceful settlement by way of negotiations.

R. Smetona – Lithuanian National Union

J. Tartilas – Lithuanian Democratic Party

B. Gajauskas – Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Deportees Association

R. Ozolas – Lithuanian Centre Union

P. Katilius – Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party

R. Dagys – Lithuanian Social Democratic Party

V. Landisbergis – Homeland Union-Lithuanian Conservatives

## Appeal to All Parliaments and Governments of the CSCE States

**Honorable Parliament Members,  
Members of Governments,**

We, members of the Lithuanian, Estonian, Georgian and Finnish Parliaments, appeal to you in order to express our deep concern about the attempts of Russia to get the international mandate for its so-called peacemaking activities on the territory of the former Soviet Union. From our point of view, these strong attempts of the Russian Government are only attempts to legitimise internationally the right to "settle" the conflicts, in which Russia has deeply involved itself. Moreover, most of these conflicts are either created or at least fomented by Russia in order to keep under control concerned territories. The latest example of Russian intervention can be seen in the Chechen Republic.

All the disastrous results of Russian interference in these regions have been widely documented. The Georgian people, for example, have against their constitutional will expressed in three free elections, lost their legally elected government, sovereignty and territorial integrity due to this interference. We would like to emphasize, that international legitimation of the above-mentioned activities would severely reduce the hope of restoring peace and stability in these regions and badly harm the very idea of international legitimacy and the reputation of international structures responsible for it.

Heikki Riihijarvi, Finland

Kalevi Lamminen, Finland

Algirdas Endriukaitis, Lithuania

Merle Krigul, Estonia

Merab Kiknadze, Georgia

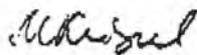
Arro Valton, Estonia

Kyosti Toivonen, Finland

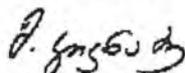
Erkki Pullianen, Finland



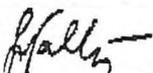
*Heikki Riihijarvi*  
*Kalevi Lamminen*  
*A. Endriukaitis* *Algirdas*



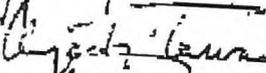
*Merle Krigul*



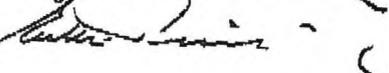
*Merab Kiknadze*



*Arro Valton*

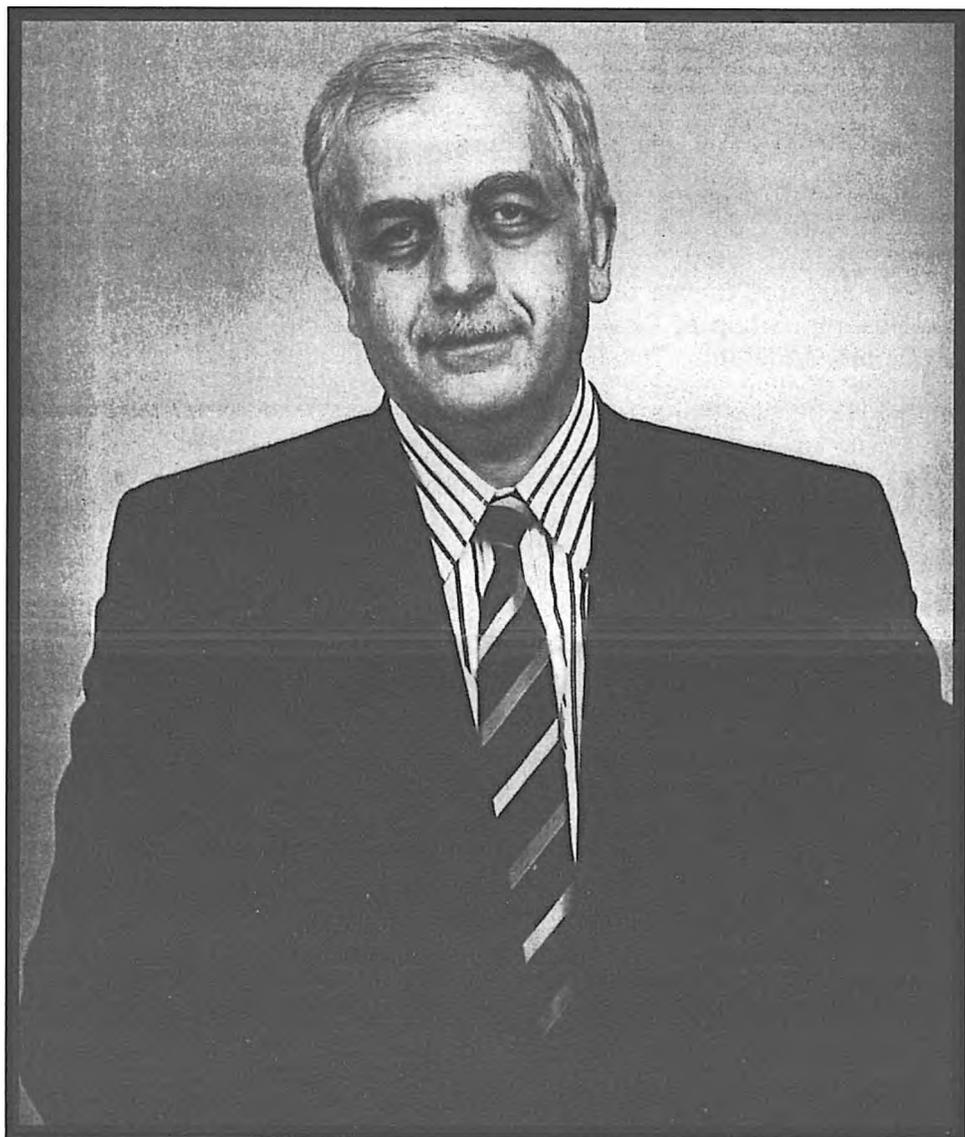


*Kyosti Toivonen*



*Erkki Pullianen*

Helsinki, December 8, 1994



*The first democratically elected President in the Soviet Union died as a victim of the Western Democracies, United Nations, CSCE, the international press and highly respected Human Rights Organisations. This picture was taken in Helsinki, in December 1992, after a year long heavy struggle for the freedom of his people and country. President Gamsakhurdia was in the West for the first time in his life, and also for the last; Germany, France, Britain and Switzerland refused to give a visa to a legally elected president whom 87 percent of Georgians wanted as their leader.*

**His Excellency,  
President of the Republic of Georgia  
Zviad Gamsakhurdia  
31.3.1939 – 31.12.1993**

**Zviad Gamsakhurdia** was born in Tbilisi in 1939, the son of the well-known writer Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. When still at school he was arrested for his patriotic and antidictatorship activities. In 1976 the Helsinki Group of Georgia (now Helsinki Union), – was established under his leadership. The Group published the illegal periodicals *Okros Satsmisi* (Golden Fleece) and *Sakartvelos Moambe* (Georgian Herald). Their editor was Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

In 1977 the members of the Helsinki groups were arrested all over the Soviet Union and Zviad Gamsakhurdia with them. In 1978 the United States Congress proposed Zviad Gamsakhurdia as a candidate for the Nobel Prize of Peace, together with other members of the Helsinki organisations in the Soviet Union. On his release from prison in 1979 he continued his political activities. Gamsakhurdia was one of the main organisers and active participants of all the protest acts held in Georgia. In late 1989 Gamsakhurdia greatly contributed to the development of adoption and realisation of laws governing multiparty elections.

On October 28, 1990, an absolute majority supported the *Mrgvali Magida* (Round Table) political organisations and its acknowledged leader Z. Gamsakhurdia, and at the first National Parliamentary Session he was unanimously elected Chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council. In 1991 the Supreme Council elected him President of Georgia, which was confirmed by the nationwide election held on May 26, 1991.

On December 22, 1991, the military *coup d'etat* started against the legal authorities of Georgia. Since it became evident, that the putchists supplied by the Russian military would not be easily defeated and in order to avoid further bloodshed the President, Parliament and government members of Georgia left Parliament House on January 6, 1992. Breaking through the circles of armed putchists, President Gamsakhurdia managed to escape with his family and supporters first to Armenia and later to Chechenia.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia continued the struggle for the independence of his country in exile. The national liberation movement has never stopped working in Georgia since the coup. Due to the strong public resistance to Shevardnadze's criminal regime the first democratically-elected President of Georgia was able to return to his country in September 1993. The legal government and Parliament of Georgia renewed their activity in Western Georgia gaining tremendous public support. The Shevardnadze regime, doomed to failure was backed by Russia and the United Nations. In October-November 1993 Russian troops occupied

Western Georgia. President Gamsakhurdia had to leave Zugdidi, since he was hounded by the junta. On December 31, 1993 Zviad Gamsakhurdia died under tragic circumstances.

Besides his political activities President Gamsakhurdia was a writer and translator, a philosopher and theologian. He was married and had three sons.

The following is a brief bibliography of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's works in Georgian:

Translation of Acts I and II of William Shakespeare's *King Lear*, 1969

*An Anthology of American Poets*, 1971.

*20th Century American Poetry* (a monograph), 1972

*Konstantine and Zviad Gamsakhurdia. David Gareja cannot wait* (on the protection of the monastery), 1973.

Collected poems of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, signed for printing at the Merani Publishing House but banned and destroyed by censorship in 1973.

*Literary Articles* (dealing with literary criticism, essays, Shelly's lyric, the conception of tradition in T. S. Eliot's works, Walt Whitman, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, E. A. Robinson, W. Morris, Pre-Raphaelitism and O. Wilde's Fairy Tales, the old Irish saga and mythos, etc.), 1976.

Translation of N. Gogol's *Terrible Revenge*, 1983.

Translation of Charles Beaudelaire's *Petits Peomes en Prose*, 1984.

*Rustaveli and the Catholicos Anton I* (a scholarly study), 1984.

*The Man in the Panther's Skin* in English ( a scholarly and critical study of the English translations of Rustaveli's poem), 1984.

*Cult of the woman in "Tamariani" and "The Man in the Panther's Skin"*, 1985.

*"Goethe's Weltanschauung from the anthroposophic point of view"*, 1985.

*Praise and Glorification of the Georgian Language*, 1987.

*"Tamariani" and "The Man in the Panther's Skin"* (series on language and literature), 1987.

Translation of Leonard Cottrell's *The Wonders of Antiquity*, 1987

The symbolic onomantology of *"The Man in the Panther's Skin"*, 1987.

*Fables and Tales*, 1987.

Toward a perfect edition of *"The Man in the Panther's Skin"*, 1989.

*The Betrothal of the Moon* (poetry collection), 1989.

*Collected Articles and Essays*, 1991.

Tropology (Image Language) of *"The Man in the Panther's Skin"*, 1991.

Translation of Charles Beaudelaire's *"Petits Peomes en Prose"*, 1991.

## **Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the Treacherous World**

### **A Freedom Fighter Whom the West Betrayed**

I met President Gamsakhurdia twice – in Tbilisi in the victorious days of the Georgian Independence Movement, and in Helsinki as he was head of a government in exile seeking, in vain, justice for his country. Before the collapse of the Soviet empire I had already acquired some knowledge about the man through letters and telefax messages – the Helsinki group of Finland was assisting its Georgian sister organisation, of which he was the Chairman, with certain Western contacts, i.e. the International Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt. My impression was of a calm, cool thinking champion in the struggle for national independence and rule of law, a man living up to his convictions. A man who had internalised the Western values of national and individual liberty well, perhaps, too well. He was a learned man, who knew well the values from literature, he had suffered for them in Soviet prisons, he knew them also through the friends he had made in Western countries – but what he did not know was the cynical duplicity of Western political leaders, giving lip service to high values. The only fact that everywhere the safeguarding of **our** freedom and **our** wellbeing is more important than **your** freedom and **your** wellbeing when it comes to a choice. We Finns had to learn this in 1939 and in 1944; the lesson was also learned by Georgia in 1921, but that was a long time ago.

Can anybody maintain that human rights and the freedom of nations are guiding principles in the foreign policy of democracies? The friends of these principles – friends of Georgia, friends of the Baltic nations, friends of the Kurds, friends of Eastern Timor – can only shake hands and look on, they have no power. Surely Gamsakhurdia – like every Soviet citizen with a minimum of contacts – knew of the strong and long-standing connections between the Soviet power-brokers and the Western media, but he could hardly know the persistent strength even here? We have now seen the steamroller of disinformation at work not only against Georgia, but against the Baltic nations and Ukraine as well – and surely alot of that stuff has escaped our notice.

I saw the tremendous popularity of Gamsakhurdia in Tbilisi in 1991, when he was elected President of the Republic of Georgia by a vast majority of votes. The independence movement, of which he was the leader, had before that won a referendum on independence and the first free general election in the history of the Soviet empire. The poll was free and internationally supervised every time. At the press conference following the presidential elections I presented a positive report on the international supervision team, and after the press conference I received confirmation from the representatives of the International Society for Human Rights and the

American Embassy in Moscow (both had their observers there operating independently of our international team) that they had come to the same conclusion as us.

I also saw the posters and offices of the competing candidates in Rustaveli Boulevard. I even saw a miracle happen immediately after the presentation of the report from the international supervision team, a representative of an opposition group that received only a marginal percentage of votes took (and was allowed to take) the floor in front of the press and started to tell lies as if there had been no supervision at all, and immediately got the ear of a negatively predisposed press corps (bad news is always "good" news – and how, after all, could an election in a former Soviet country be free?). The opposition – or at least the dominant group in opposition, representing six percent of the vote – showed from the first moment that it had no intention to submit to the verdict of the democratic ballot and to wait for a new chance in the next election. It announced quite scrupulously that its aim was to overthrow the government, and a minor disturbance was organised already, the same evening in front of the hotel where foreigners (the journalists!) were staying.

Guided to a look-out post on a mountain slope, I had a bird's eye view of a Soviet military base a few miles from Tbilisi: extended rows of tanks and artillery. From the road only a very high fence of steel could be seen. The real opposition in Georgia was housed there. The openly Moscow-minded grouping got only about two percent of the vote in the presidential election; "the opposition group which received six percent" got most of its votes from the villa suburbs of Tbilisi – I even visited the astonishingly magnificent Soviet-time dacha of a nomenclatura artist – consisted of nomenclatures who had nominally been converted to supporters of national independence but were really only interested in preserving their former benefits. They were the Tbilisi "intelligentsia" whose statements were a crucial ingredient in the disinformation with which the West was fed.

The smear campaign started from the first instance. Gamsakhurdia had "political prisoners". What kind of people were they? They were members of a private army called *mhedrioni*, which by now has been universally recognised as a terrorist organisation. They had all been caught with weapons, many of them with blood on their hands. Evidence of a widely propagated censorship of the Georgian press has been asked for but has never been submitted. As the government tried to govern the country with authority given to it by the electorate, the minority yelled accusations of dictatorship, to my knowledge in their own broadcasting and TV programmes as well as in their own newspapers. We were told that Southern Ossetia was cruelly oppressed, while the Ossets who flew the Soviet flag and worshipped statues of Lenin, when they had already disappeared from other areas in Georgia, were not willing to accept any other solution than Russian rule. They belonged to the same category of migrants from Stalin's times as the Russians in Narva (in Estonia) and in Moldavia, and they behaved rebelliously under the same protection from beyond the frontier.

If Gamsakhurdia was a poor administrator and economist, he, surely, was not the first scholar, poet and freedom fighter to whom the bureaucratic routines were foreign. If Gamsakhurdia put his trust in the wrong people in choosing his advisors, we may ask which government has succeeded in avoiding all the pitfalls of incompetence and corruption – and we may also consider how big a group of people did Gamsakhurdia have to choose from, especially if he wanted to avoid favouring the corrupt Soviet elite in his country. Perhaps this was a crucial element which brought about his downfall! He was, on no account, given the chance of a fair try, and the benefit of the doubt, so cherished in Anglo-Saxon justice, was never allowed to influence world opinion in his case. The smear campaign started at once. The opposition started shooting in September.

After the Tennis Court Oath, the simple-minded sister of King Louis XVI of France told her brother to arrest a couple of the worst “troublemakers” and have them executed so as to achieve the restoration of peace. Louis, a decent man, did not do that – and quite a lot of heads rolled later on.

The French Revolution was perhaps unavoidable, it would have happened one way or another. Gamsakhurdia, as a decent man, honoured, so I think, the Western values of life – for they, as well as his own national traditions had suffered heavily – and he obviously believed that the Westerners were living in accordance with their teachings. If he had acted like a dictator, as he was accused of doing – shutting the mouths of his critics, jailing his opponents – he hardly would have been overthrown, at least not in such a way, at least not so quickly.

The troops of Shevardnadze are the troops of Moscow! Who asked the Georgian “opposition” where it got the tanks and guns from with which it utterly destroyed the beautiful centre of Tbilisi? Even the National Army of Georgia which was still taking its first steps did not own such weapons. Tbilisi could be taken by surprise only with the heavy weapons of the Soviet garrison which I had seen. The “opposition” (the word is in quotation marks because of the inclusion of Shevardnadze and the “big Northern electoral district”) focused all searchlights on the “dictator hiding inside Parliament House”, Gamsakhurdia. Who asked the questions about the whereabouts of the MPs (even they were in the building)? Who asked their opinions while Western TV cameras showed interviews with representatives of the opposition and pictures of Soviet tanks outside Parliament House?

The legal President of the Republic of Georgia escaped from the besieged parliament and into exile. The majority of the legal Parliamentarians also followed him into exile and has held since then plenary sessions with a quorum in the capital city of neighbouring Chechenia, a country also striving towards liberation from Russia. Who in the West has been interested in telling the story of their struggle?

The legal President of Georgia was never invited into any Western capital, not before or after the coup d'état in Tbilisi – such a hot potato, the first state to secede from Moscovian rule was to the Western powers

competing (then as well as now) for the friendship of Moscow. He was not welcome to the follow-up conference of the CSCE in Helsinki in 1992.

Finland did not grant him permission to enter the country, on the recommendation of the superpowers of the East and West, as far as is known. Later he could have arrived in England as a private guest and did defend the independence and democracy of his country in a dignified manner before the media, even on TV. Apart from Finland he could only get an entry visa to Austria, a neutral country as well, in Western Europe – the Western bloc slammed the door in his face unanimously. Defenders of democracy, par excellence!

The West has without protests accepted in Georgia the overthrow by armed violence of a President and a Parliament, both chosen in elections which were internationally accepted as fair and clean. This has not only been mutely accepted – Bloody Eduard has been invited as a guest to the CSCE as well as to the White House. Both the United States and Germany hastened to send their foreign secretaries – not seen in the offices of Gamsakhurdia – to see him, and they had to close their ears in order to avoid hearing the crowds shouting “Zviad, Zviad!” at a distance of one hundred yards from the site of the ceremonies and the rattle of Kalashnikovs in the hands of *mhedrioni* guardsmen shooting into the crowds. All of this can be seen on video tapes (and probably has been shown on some TV channels). Who is asking questions today about political prisoners and the murders of dissidents (reports on the situation of human rights are already seeping through, although it has been surprisingly difficult for Western delegations to seek any chance to acquaint themselves with the prison conditions or to listen to what the survivors of shootings have to tell, to say nothing of the absence of appeals on behalf of the victims)? Who today is worried about the lack of TV time allocated to the opposition, about the closing down of opposition newspapers, the smashing of their printing offices, the beatings of their journalists? Who from the Western TV is conducting interviews with the Georgian opposition, the “zviadists”, those bandits?

The West has, with only slight irritation accepted the enormously curious “general election” organised by Shevardnadze, an election where any freedom of putting forth candidates was absent and where the counting of the votes resulting in stuffing the new Parliament” with old Communist elites who were defeated on the previous occasion. Even the former Party Secretary of Tbilisi, responsible for the notorious massacre in the city in April 1989, got “elected”. Shevardnadze had to throw aside even this Parliament when he on his own decision alone returned Georgia into the CIS during his visit to Moscow some months ago. The debt had to be paid: international reports show that the popular uprising in Georgia last autumn would have restored the power of the legal government, had not the Russian army, navy and air force given their assistance to Shevardnadze. Now the U.S. State Department is pondering, as far as is known, “how to increase the independence of Shevardnadze vis-a-vis Moscow”. Is it too daring to bet that Shevardnadze will ask for a fat bunch of dollars – and will get as much too?

Money and reconstruction are surely needed in Georgia – as well as, probably, a strengthening of the American-trained bodyguards of Shevardnadze.

The West has thanked Shevardnadze for the ending of the Cold War (as if it would not have ended with the collapse of the Soviet power anyway) and for the tearing down of the Berlin Wall (as if the East Germans would not have torn it down anyway) at the expense of democratic Georgia in such a manner that a Western democrat can hardly avoid blushing when the truth at last will be brought out into the open.

Part of the Western media is without doubt following the lead of the cynical assessments of the governments in Bonn, Washington and in other capitals, concerning the “national advantage” in relation to Moscow and Shevardnadze. The facts of the situation in Georgia (among others) have meanwhile been known to the governments all along, however – the facts have been relayed to them and shown to them in pictures. I happen to know something about the Sisyphean work that the International Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt has been doing in order to influence the government in Bonn (and I have seen a video recording of a stooped foreign minister Genscher vanishing into a black sedan murmuring “no comment” as shots, fired by Shevardnadze’s guards, were rattling towards the demonstrating people in Tbilisi after the handshakes of the high and mighty).

Another group of representatives from the Western media pundits has eaten and is eating out of the hands of Muscovite sources either as ideological or paid or just lazy servants. Today we see it most clearly in the persistent propaganda concerning “oppression” of ethnic Russians in the Baltic States. But we are asked also to learn from our newspapers that life in Ukraine is “miserable” (building of foundations for the reunion of Ukraine, or part of it, with the “mother country), that the national movements opposing the Communist rulers in Central Asia are composed of “Islamic extremists”, that an “opposition” is mounting in Chechenia against the country’s “criminal dictator”, etc., etc. according to the current needs of the day.

The more distant a place the more easily it becomes a target for disinformation. All former Soviet republics are again seen only as a part of the CIS. It is only in Estonia and Kyrgyzstan where the present heads of state are not former(?) Communists. A cry of distress by the Estonian President Meri was recently published as a special article in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the biggest daily in Finland – and caused irritation in Moscow. Everybody knows that the old boys’ network of former leaders of the KGB and of the military-industrial complex is in good shape in the former Soviet empire, they have their contacts with their friends and influence agents in the West in place, as well as their fat bank accounts. And the performers of the West in Georgia, Bosnia, Somalia is inviting a broad smile on the faces of any present or future Milosevic, Gaddafi, Saddam, Shevardnadze.

I do not believe in the suicide of Gamsakhurdia. He was a confessed Christian and a symbolic national figure at that. Of course, he had deep

reasons to feel himself betrayed by the world, the free world, but he could feel the support of his people to the end. Why is nobody asking where are all the others who were with him when the end came? Were they all butchered? On the other hand I do believe that the widow is not admitting anything, in order to protect her children. We know the ways and means of mobsters taking their revenge.

The dictatorship of Shevardnadze and the nomenclatura seems to have deteriorated further into an arbitrary rule of *Mhedrioni* and the mafia. It cannot go on forever. The free nation of Georgia – as well as the other nations freeing themselves from the evil empire – will rise again. The continuation of its suffering depends to a large extent upon the blindness of the West and upon the influence of paid agents of the East working in the West. It is a shame on power-brokers in the West and on the Western media. And when this is some day revealed, the ladies and gentlemen of the press will be awkwardly asking for forgiveness, just as today the shameful serenades sung in favour of Stalinism are a cause for embarrassment.

I am honouring the memory of a great man and a great freedom fighter. I regret the fact that in the Sodom and Gomorrah of the West there was not a sufficient amount of righteous people, there were only some few powerless friends.

*(A translation from Finnish by the author).*

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Aila NIINIMAA-KEPPO

## I Knew Zviad Gamsakhurdia

On July 10, 1992 I was sitting in the courtyard of the house reserved for guests of the government in Grozny, the capital of Chechenia. Next to me sat the President of the Republic of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who only a year earlier had been elected into his high office by an overwhelming 87 percent of the total poll. The lights were switched off, around us the barrel of a gun or a cigarette flashed from time to time. The President had had his usual walk around the premises. It was possible only at night to get the area sufficiently darkened so that the snipers could not aim their guns at their target. Only some days ago the house had been attacked. The Chechens had arrested four armed Georgians who had confessed that they had been sent there by their government.

Meanwhile in Helsinki a follow-up conference of the CSCE was convening, the statesmen were gathering to formulate documents concerning democracy and human rights. The representative of Georgia at the meeting was Eduard Shevardnadze, a communist and a General of the KGB, a man who only a short time ago, with an armed coup d'état, had toppled the first democratically elected President and Parliament on the soil of the former USSR. A man, who had never in his native country, been elected to any office and who had been nicknamed Bloody Eduard by his own people. Foreign Minister Paavo Väyrynen of Finland welcomed the dictator warmly to the conference,

although, the Charter of the CSCE unequivocally condemns even the slightest cooperation with a regime which has assumed power by a coup.

As a Finn, I found it difficult to see eye to eye with a man, who in the CSCE would have had a stronger backing, measured by democratic elections, than any other of the heads of state who had been accepted as participants.

I was ashamed for the Western leaders who had sought their imaginary advantage at the sacrifice of a whole nation.

I was above all ashamed for the blind, irresponsible, incompetent and naive Western press. The lie campaign of Shevardnadze directed against the violations of human rights allegedly committed by Gamsakhurdia would never have succeeded without the assistance of the international media. I felt ashamed also when Jaba Ioseliani, a convicted murderer and Shevardnadze's deputy, in unabashed triumph declared on TV that the Western press has always supported him. Thus it had given its support to a brutal criminal, not to a university professor of literature, a man who since his youth had campaigned for human rights, risking his own life in this struggle!

Everybody who had even the slightest personal contact with Zviad Gamsakhurdia knew what kind of a person he was. Of course, he was not a dictator, not a man to trample human rights underfoot, and not a fanatic any more than Vaclav Havel, not even when on the tribune making speeches – I had the opportunity to listen to many of them. It is somewhat strange to notice that when an Estonian is praising his country in emotional terms this is considered sublime. But when Gamsakhurdia is doing the same, the correspondents were portraying him as a fanatical nationalist – although scarcely understanding a word of what he was saying.

Then one cannot avoid wondering why the news agencies did not describe the "election campaign speech" that Jaba Ioseliani delivered standing on a tank in October '92. Surrounded by his armed mobsters, the mafia boss roared out, among other things, that "every Zviadist will be shot down in the street". In this general election the participation of the political parties which had won the previous election, as well as the personal candidacy of Gamsakhurdia, were prohibited. But, if we have to believe the correspondents and the American observer team, this election was the only one in the former USSR where no irregularities were perceived!

My world view has been totally altered in the last three years. The destruction of peoples in the USSR was well known to me, but it could never have occurred to me that I should see such an amount of carelessness, hypocrisy and outright wickedness as the West has shown in its dealing with Georgia. And I am hardly capable of appreciating the depth of the disappointment and of the pain felt by President Gamsakhurdia and the people of Georgia in gathering their experiences of all that. Throughout the era of Soviet power the West declared that it solidly supports democracy and freedom of all peoples. As Gamsakhurdia, then as the leader of an opposition, led his country to liberation from the yoke of Communism, peacefully in a free general election on October 28, 1990, the west, as a solid bloc, did a turnabout to support the crushing of that democracy there.

Today the word democracy is a laughing stock – with an embittered laugh – in Caucasia. The *kalashnikovs* in the hands of the mobs of Shevardnadze are called "democratizators" by the people. The bullets that are hailing on Zviadists week after week are called "Bakers" and the German shepherd dogs unleashed at the crowds are "Genshers" by the same token.

My own shame is crushing too. Even I did not believe the message when President Gamsakhurdia, Prime Minister Gugushvili, some MPs and many other Georgians, already in the winter of '91, kept telling me about the coming coup, organised according to their information by Shevardnadze, the Kremlin and the big powers of the West. I did not believe it when my interlocutors assured me that the CIA, the FBI and the Delta Forces were "training", among others, the *Mhedrioni*, the worst criminal mob in Georgia, to become the shock troops of Shevardnadze. Not until the autumn of '91, as I, at a distance of a couple of hundred yards only, watched the street mob attacking the Parliament and the death or wounding of dozens human beings, did the things fall into place. Not a single Western government condemned the attack on a legally elected Parliament. I travelled to Tbilisi, because the TV news had for weeks on end conveyed a picture of a war raging all over Georgia and a whole nation rising against dictatorship. I felt an urge to see with my own eyes if the media really can lie that much. Oh yes, it can.

A popular uprising against Gamsakhurdia was as much an untruth as was the support given by thousands of Georgians to Shevardnadze in September '93, circulated then by the news. The media lie, together with falsified TV pictures, went through the whole Western press world. The testimony of two Finnish eye witnesses, one of them a jurist, the other a journalist, had no weight whatsoever, when against them stood again, prestigious news agencies – those tools of their respective governments, sticking to their lies, worrying more about their own front of infallibility than over the destruction of a whole nation.

The Finland-Georgia Society has tried to report on the real situation in Georgia as far as resources allow. Many think that we ought to have allowed the run of the mainstream.

To demand, that is tantamount to asking an eye witness of a murder to keep quiet because it was not seen by anybody else.

I feel proud that I had the opportunity to be a friend of President Gamsakhurdia.

I know that today he is where he never wanted to be: above us all.

This world did not deserve him.

*(Translated from Finnish by Heikki ESKELINEN)*

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## Russia Continues Soviet Spying in Sweden

The latest report by Swedish Police Counter Intelligence (SÄPO) indicates that Russia and many other countries continue to have many spies in Sweden. GRU has kept the same number of agents after the Soviet collapse as before. A Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman says that it is especially noteworthy because Moscow claims that relations with Sweden are to be on a "cultured level". Russia has returned to the same conspirational behaviour as before the collapse. The present state of Russian defence might make the GRU agents willing to work harder to be able to remain in the West. SÄPO believes that there is limited threat to Sweden from international terrorism. There are, however, signs that Swedish territory is used by terrorist groups in preparing attacks on other countries. The number of warnings to foreign embassies and travel agencies by SÄPO in Stockholm have increased during 1993-94.

*DESTA Vol. II, No. 4*

## G-7 Lends Hand Ukraine Earns Aid Pledges of \$1.2 Billion

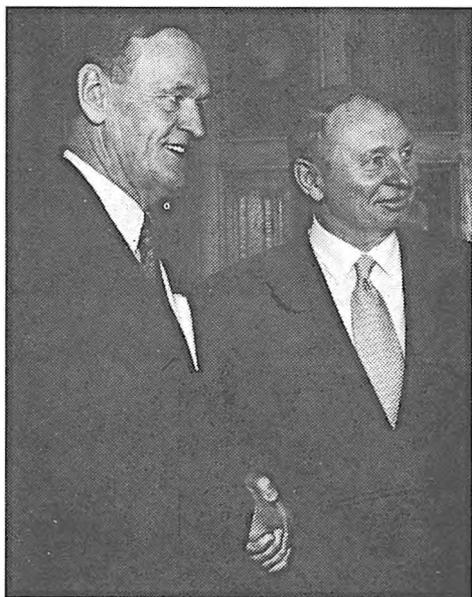
The World's most industrialised nations gave Ukraine a \$1.2 billion boost along the road to economic reform yesterday, but Russia immediately laid claim to part of it. The G-7 nations hinted that another \$2.2 billion could be coming within the next few months.

The aid came as Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma said the country will need up to \$7 billion to make it through the next two years. "I hope you will understand... we will need more," he told officials from Canada, the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia and Turkmenistan. But Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, after promising Ukraine \$700 million in aid in the form of debt referral, ruffled some feathers.

Russia will defer Ukrainian debts on oil and natural gas for four months but, in exchange, Kozyrev suggested future aid should be used to pay that debt. "We assume that the forthcoming international financial assistance will be used by Ukraine, at least part of it, for paying her debt and other obligations to Russia," he said. Canadians of Ukrainian descent shuffled in their seats and rolled their eyes.

Senior and mid-level officials from the ten countries met for hours behind closed doors looking at ways to help Ukraine move away from the centrally planned economy to a more market-driven capitalist system.

After reviewing a comprehensive Ukrainian plan to restructure its economy, the International Monetary Fund announced it would immediately extend a \$365 million US loan. Canada followed by increasing its assistance by \$50.7 million and the United States announced \$70 million US to help Ukraine immediately.



Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien in Ottawa

"In future, we when people talk about the Winnipeg conference, it will be seen as a milestone in Ukrainian history," said Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Quillet.

Conditionally, the traditional members of the G-7 have pledged about \$4 billion over the next two years. That package, U.S. treasury undersecretary Lawrence Summers said, should lure more than \$3 billion in private capital and export credit agencies over a two year period. In the months to come, Summers added, the IMF is expected to announce it will back a new Ukrainian currency with a \$1.5 billion US guarantee, the world bank will approve a \$500 million US emergency loan and Japan and the European Community will increase its assistance by \$100 million US each.

*Winnipeg Free Press, October 28, 1994*

## **Ukraine receives security assurances, signs Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty**

*KYIV* – The world became a safer place on Monday, December 5 – with the assistance of Ukraine – as the United States and Russia formally put into force the first accord to reduce long-range missiles.

“It’s hard to overestimate the importance of the event that has just taken place”, said Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, after signing the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and receiving security assurances from three nuclear powers – the United States, Russia and Great Britain. The ceremony took place on Monday, December 5, in Budapest during a two-day summit of the 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which intended to examine the future of the 19-year-old organisation, the only institution in which NATO and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact nations come together to discuss security and human rights.

It was indeed a watershed event in the history of arms control. Ukraine’s accession to the NPT will allow for the implementation of the START I treaty and eliminate more than 9,000 warheads controlled by the United States and the countries of the former Soviet Union. This, in turn, will allow for the U.S. and Russian leaders to act on the START II agreement, which will provide for even further reductions of nuclear weapons.

U.S. President Bill Clinton called Ukraine’s agreement “a bold move away from the nuclear precipice,” and hailed the event as “the arrival of a new and safer era.”

President Kuchma, addressing leaders gathered in Budapest, pointed out that “this decision was not too easy for Ukraine,” explaining that the nation of 52 million, the third largest nuclear power in the world, voluntarily gave up its nuclear status and acceded to the NPT. “I would like to underscore that our decision to accede to the NPT became possible thanks to the depository-states’ understanding of Ukraine’s unique situation, and their issuance of security assurances,” he said, personally thanking U.S. President Clinton, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and British Prime Minister John Major.

The memorandum offering Ukraine security assurances reaffirms the commitment of the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom to respect the independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. It also reaffirms their obligation to refrain from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and asserts that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

It goes on to reaffirm the three states' commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the Principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.

If Ukraine should become the victim of an act of aggression or the object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used, the three states vow to seek immediate U.N. Security Council actions to provide assistance to Ukraine as a non-nuclear state party to the NPT.

The security assurances also provide, in the case of Ukraine, the signatories' commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear weapon state party to the the NPT except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state. Lastly, the three states report that they will consult in the event a situation arises which raises a question concerning their commitments.

Mr. Kuchma also informed the gathering that on December 4, the government of China had also offered Ukraine the same security assurances provided by the three signatories of the memorandum in Budapest.

Rounding out the nuclear club of nations, the French government offered Ukraine the same guarantees on a bilateral level during the Budapest summit, where Mr. Kuchma met with French President Francois Mitterand.

However, Mr. Kuchma also made it clear that Ukraine "has the right to count on financial, technical and other forms of aid from nuclear states, in particular those who were signatories of the tripartite agreement on January 14, in the process of its nuclear disarmament."

President Kuchma noted that Ukraine's action was "without precedent", adding that "any signs of good will from the CSCE participants in the process of denuclearisation of Ukraine would be not only a big-hearted gesture toward Ukraine, but also a brilliant example of what awaits other countries that may come across the same choice we had – to be or not to be a nuclear state," he said.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, said the security assurances received by Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, the three countries that inherited nuclear weapons after the break-up of the Soviet Union, were due largely to the persistence of the Ukrainian Parliament and Ukraine's President.

According to a report from a correspondent for Interfax-Ukraine who travelled with the Ukrainian delegation to Budapest, the signing of the security assurances almost did not happen.

Upon arrival in the Hungarian capital, Russia's delegation expressed concern about conditions imposed by Ukraine's Parliament on accession to the NPT. Russia required that Ukraine include a diplomatic note that would certify that the country has nuclear-free status.

Ukraine's law on accession to the NPT reserves for Ukraine the right

to possess the nuclear weapons it inherited from the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian delegation provided Russia with a diplomatic note to that effect.

"The note may calm our counterparts down," said Ukraine's Foreign Minister Gennadiy Udovenko, reporting that the entire package of documents is in accordance with the resolution and conditions attached by the Ukrainian Parliament. "We cannot touch the conditions imposed by the Parliament," he added.

But the Russian delegation posed problems not only for Ukraine. Russian Federation President Yeltsin lashed out against the United States about the expansion of NATO toward Russia's border. "It is a dangerous delusion to suppose that the destinies of continents and of the world community ... can somehow be managed from a single capital," he told President Clinton, attacking the United States for exerting undue influence.

"We are concerned about the changes that are taking place in NATO," said President Yeltsin. "Why sow the seeds of distrust? After all, we are no longer enemies, we are partners now."

President Clinton suggested that NATO's doors were not shut to Russia, but added that he would not let Russian objections prevent entry for former Soviet satellites. "NATO will not automatically exclude any country from joining," he said. "At the same time, no country outside can be allowed to veto NATO expansion."

President Kuchma told the CSCE summit that a rapid increase in NATO membership could disturb the balance of power in Europe and promote division. Mr. Kuchma said Russia would never agree to Eastern European countries rapidly joining the North Atlantic Bloc, adding that the process should be slowed down. However, he did agree that no state outside the NATO bloc can veto another state's membership.

Mr. Kuchma told reporters at a December 7 news conference that a joint declaration on European security was also adopted at the Budapest summit, which called for cooperation in developing a system of security that would include all CSCE members in an indivisible Europe. He said he wanted Ukraine to be a "civilised bridge between the West and the East, including Russia, but not a "cordon sanitaire."

Marta Kolomayets is a correspondent at the Kyiv Press Bureau for the *Ukrainian Weekly* newspaper.

"The struggle against Russian imperialism is the fight for the existence of freedom itself and the right to self-determination of all nations which have been oppressed by Bolshevism and it is the struggle not only for basic human rights and freedoms of the masses but of every individual".

Stepan BANDERA, *Do zasad nashoyi vyzvolnoyi borotby*, p. 45.

## Looking to the Future of Romania

The only real success the Romanian Government can claim in its purported efforts to overthrow communism is in the eradication of the word “communism” itself. During President Iliescu’s recent visit to the UK not one single reference was made to communism in his speeches. Instead “communist” has been replaced by the buzz-word “centralist” or “command”.

In a government-financed propaganda magazine the *Observer* from 30th October, sixteen pages of derogatory text devoted to the twenty-four year dictatorial misrule of Nicolae Ceausescu. Despite references to the past it was as if forty-three years of communism never existed.

The implication of this deserves closer inspection in order to predict future Romanian political development.

It is now well known that President Iliescu – himself a former minister under Ceausescu – has packed his government with former communist ministers and officials. Positions of influence in economic enterprises at the state and local levels have been filled by members of the old communist party, now named the Party of Romanian Social Democracy. The old network is effectively in place.

Around Eastern Europe successors to the communist party have regained power in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Lithuania. They have generally been open about their predecessors and most appear to carry with them a genuine desire for a modern social and economic reform. Time will tell.

In Romania, with no interim reformist break in the power structure during these last five years, the intentions of President Iliescu are somewhat different. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that by taking the example of the aforementioned countries as a mandate, Iliescu is determined to preserve the centralised system of government and economic power – a system which formerly carried another name: communism. Why, for example, is it that only two companies have been privatised in five years? Why is it that the layers of bureaucracy and legislative confusion appear positively to discourage Western investors? Iliescu wants Western money, but not at the price of relinquishing a system that he knows, understands and can control. The secret police still exist. Television, according to the Helsinki Human Rights Watch, is no more than a propaganda tool of the government. Farmland ownership has not been redistributed. Confiscated properties have not been restored. No-one has been found guilty of killing thousands in December 1989.

The purging of the word “communist” from any blame for the appalling human rights and economic records of the last forty-seven years must be in preparation for its rehabilitation as an acceptable system. Already the socialists’ Workers Party, openly communist, forms part of the Romanian ruling party’s coalition. It must be surely only a matter of time for the Party of Romanian Social Democracy also to come clean – if that is the word – and pronounce communism once again alive and well.

## The Soviet Union Received Information From Swedish Social Democratic Ministers

Bo Peterson, Ph.D. is the author of the recently published book *Med Moskvas ögon* (Through Soviet Eyes, Stockholm, 1994) based on documents from archives in Russia. A leading informant was Foreign Minister Östen Unden. He was regarded as "loyal" to the Soviet Union and also socialist Finance Minister Ernst Wigforss was among those favoured. Peterson had access to files in the archives of the former Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the CPSU.

One of the Soviet Ambassadors in Stockholm with the best access to Swedish government ministers was the Stalinist ex-Admiral and Ambassador Konstantin Rodinov. In May 1951 Rodinov was visited by Swedish Defense Minister Allan Vought. He told the Ambassador that the government had decided that in case of an attack they would immediately establish military cooperation with Denmark and Norway. Peterson's conclusion is that it is indeed remarkable that a Swedish Minister volunteered such information to a Soviet Ambassador.

Another socialist minister, Sven Andersson, was also a willing talker at the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, even during the height of the Cold War. He told the Soviets that opening fire on military planes flying over Sweden did not necessarily mean that the purpose was to shoot them down.

The Minister of Social Affairs, Gustav Möller, was even more forthcoming when talking to Ambassador Rodinov. Danish air bases were, so Möller revealed, to be used for bombers attacking the Soviet Union and Norwegian airfields would be available in reverse for operations against Soviet targets in the North. Torsten Nilsson, then the Minister of Defense (often accused of alcoholism when he was later Foreign Minister) told the Soviet writer, Ilja Ehrenburg, in 1953 that the Swedish government was involved in persuading Norway and Denmark to leave NATO. Swedish neutrality had, according to Nilsson, been "one-sided" in favour of the West and this had now to be corrected.

Ministerial Under Secretary Arne S. Lundberg and government minister Professor Gunnar Myrdal were regarded as "useful idiots" by the Russians. Both of them, on occasion, told the Soviets that American foreign policy was "clumsy and stupid". The entire Swedish Government and "all right thinking people" were interested in the dissolution of NATO. The policy of Finland towards the Soviet Union, according to Professor Myrdal, was "exemplary". One leading socialist, Reverend Harald Hallen, continuously told the Soviet Ambassador about what had been said during meetings of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee.

There is much evidence in Dr. Peterson's book on how socialist government ministers told the Soviets that they wanted Denmark and Norway to leave NATO, that the Swedish Government would appreciate it if Soviet policy weakened the EEC and that Moscow's policy was wise and reasonable in regard to Finland and Germany. The government ministers responsible for these statements were the real important names of the Social Democratic Party (SAP): Tage Erlander, Gunnar Lange and those mentioned above. The archives in Moscow probably contain much more on the friendly policy of the socialists. The book is highly recommended.

## Victory and Disaster

The fall and complete dissolution of the USSR surprised almost everyone, especially many converted sovietologists, creators of their own field of study. Only exceptions such as Helene Carrere d'Encausse, the French professor at the Institute of Political Sciences in Paris and Polish born American academic and former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski dared express their view and conviction that the USSR's demise was imminent. "Dared" indeed, because the majority of sovietologists belittled and even mocked those heretics who expressed their views concerning the collapse.

This geopolitical change brought a general (not absolute) belief among leading political scientists that the construction of a new order, socio-political and state system in "one sixth of the world" would be a difficult and painstaking process. This reasoning resulted from seventy-five years of Soviet reality.

Universally accepted norms and structures were not only destroyed, but values were nulled and the timeless spiritual growth of nations and people were both purposely arrested. In addition to this, the Russo-Soviet system aspired to metaphase persons into totally new, previously unknown "Soviet people", a "Soviet nation".

It was only natural that a new national state rose from the ruins of the fall to succeed the Russo-Soviet system. That which had been so ardently persecuted in the USSR would now be voiced. The class-dominant society was replaced by the domination of the nation; the Communist Party by the State. This "natural" transformation proved to be a difficult task. Most, if not all, former Soviet republics provide clear examples among which Ukraine is especially vivid.

The Ukrainian nation built a mighty state in the era of the Kyivan Rus on the threshold of the second millennium A.D. This state was similar in many aspects to the Carolingian Empire of Western Europe and in time could have matched its power. It was not to be, for the onslaught of numerous Asian clans, ending with the Tartars, who increasingly invaded Europe, wiped out the Kingdom of Kyivan Rus.

The Ukrainian people have tried to rebuild this state in numerous historical contexts: the Cossack state; the Ukrainian National Republic in the period after World War One; the Declaration of the Ukrainian state at the beginning of the Russian-Soviet-German War in 1941. All these attempts, including the attempt to spark state construction from Carpathian Ukraine, were fruitless (in that they did not perpetuate a viable Ukrainian state). Ukrainian forces were inferior to those with which they were matched. But the motivation of the Ukrainian nation to build its own state survived and persisted. New forces in the nation aimed for this and were prepared to enforce its existence. The declaration of independence on the 24th August 1991 by the Ukrainian Government and the subsequent results of the December referendum, in which the government action received overwhelming endorsement, confirmed this.

After a short triumph the construction of the new state met with ever-increasing problems. The combination of objective difficulties and of subjective mistakes by the governing elements of the young Ukrainian state has led it to a crisis situation. As usual, such a double-edged sword may present the bearer either danger or reward him with

opportunity. Mistakes were plentiful, among the main ones, the ambiguity surrounding the apex of power and decision-making which should rest in the Ukrainian state has been damaging. secondly, the toleration of governing bodies in relation to Communism and the Communist Party has been self-destructive. Communism has not been denounced or held accountable for its past, its role in society has not been liquidated and as a result it has rejuvenated itself and holds an equal status with other political factions and parties.

The toleration of the Communist Party and its membership infrastructure of approximately four million the real governing element in the Soviet system, has taken advantage of the power vacuum and managed to sustain its power. In three years since the declaration of Ukrainian independence no new substantial legal measures have been taken which could undermine the Communist Party's ability to hold on to its power. National democratic forces have failed to take advantage of the past three years and have grown to become a powerful element of society. The elections came and the demobray forces lost, the Communists were no weaker than before. Disaster came!

The events of the past three years have brought us full circle. Ukraine finds itself in 1994 where it was in 1991. The Communists were and now remain the dominant force. National democratic elements will find that now, after the election, progress will be increasingly difficult; in fact, survival may become a struggle. That is why Ukraine is in need of aid today more than at any time in the past. Every form of aid is needed, but the cooperation of the democratic world coupled with Ukraine's own effort is the only possible resolution to a difficult situation.

Ukraine lies in the geostrategic sphere of the operation of Europe, Asia and even to a small extent, Africa. It is clear that the wide circle of nations on these three continents should have vested interests in Ukraine staying within the parameters of the democratic world and take an active part in the construction of the New World.

*J. Haywas is a retired newspaper editor and former Executive Director of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in New York.*

"The ideological grounds for Russian aggressions can be found in various artificially formulated historical concepts such as Pan-Slavism, Moscow as the "Third Rome", defense of Orthodoxy, or the world communist revolution. They may even be found in the misuse of the ideas of national liberation or of the need to reunify divided nations on this side of the Iron Curtain, or in the conjectured defence of social justice. All of these concepts serve as a form of camouflage, as a historical "justification" for Russian messianism-imperialism".

Yaroslav STETSKO: *"The Philosophical and Ideological Foundations of Russian Aggression", The West's Strongest Allies, 1985.*

## **On Behalf of Georgian Political Prisoners**

On the 10th December, 1994, having got assured that no court of justice can pass a death sentence against Victor Domukhovsky, a political prisoner arrested nearly two years ago on entirely false accusations, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze seems to have decided to avenge himself of his political opponent in another way. A group of criminal prisoners was allowed to enter Mr. Domukhovsky's cell who beat him terribly and mocked him. It is already the third time that Victor Domukhovsky has got a heavy concussion of the brain. Leaving the cell, the bandits had hidden weapons and narcotic drugs there which were soon "discovered" by the inquiry commission workers. It is clear that now a series of new "accusations" will be brought on Mr. Domukhovsky.

I know Mr. Domukhovsky well enough (he has been one of my closest friends for years) to declare that he is no criminal at all, and I ask: how long will all mankind indifferently observe a blood-thirsty KGB General killing an absolutely innocent man whose only "guilt" is that he has had (just in the same way as I have) a feeling of great sympathy to the National Liberation Movement of the Georgian People and when being the Chairman of the Law Committee of the Democratic Government of Georgia (headed by President Zviad Gamsakhourdia) published in the press unknown materials shedding light on some crimes against humanity by Mr. Shevardnadze as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia?

Mr. Domukhovsky's fate and terrible sufferings are being shared by dozens of other political prisoners while the media of the so-called "Free World" (with a few exceptions) carefully hide the truth about the tragedy in Georgia. But a society lacking freedom of information cannot be free, and those who deprive people of this freedom, willingly or not, are complying in crimes committed against the Georgian people.

On behalf of political prisoners' and their families  
and of the European Group of Georgian political emigrants:  
Sergey Serebriakov

Munich, 15th December 1994.

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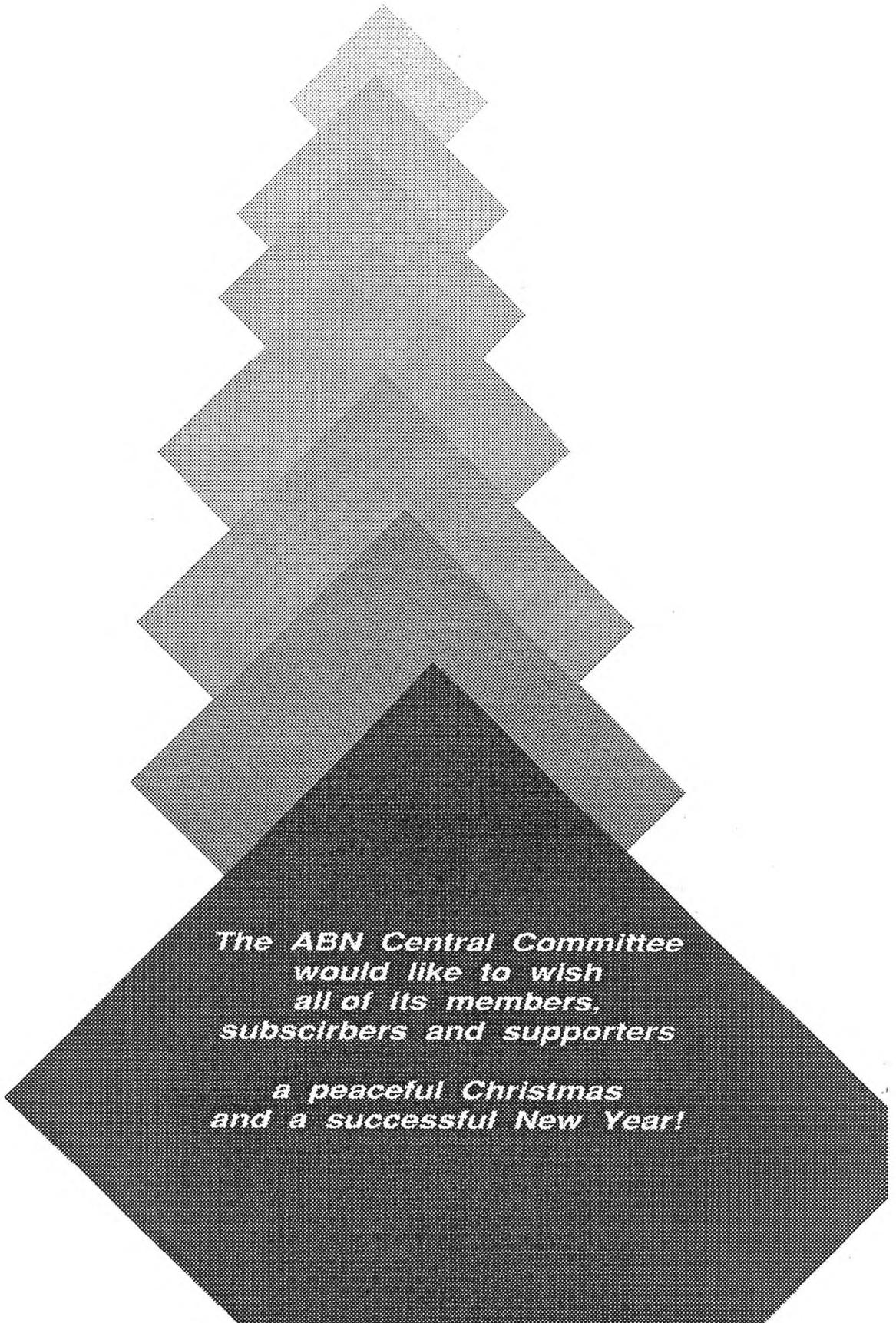
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and a successful New Year!*