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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



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THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM

In 1988 Ukrainians around the world will be celebrating the millennium of the official adoption of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine. In 988 Volodymyr the Great, the ruler of the mediaeval state of Rus', had the inhabitants of his capital, Kyiv, baptised. This has traditionally been taken to represent the birth of the Kyivan Church, even though Christianity had established a presence in Rus'-Ukraine several centuries earlier. The Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches of today are true successors of the Church established in Kyiv a thousand years ago.

Meanwhile, also in 1988, Russians will aspire to observe the thousandth anniversary of Russian Christianity. To the Westerner, unless he is steeped in the history of Eastern Europe, this may be perfectly understandable, since he probably regards Ukraine as just a part of Russia. But Ukrainians and Russians are two different nations. Furthermore, Russia, and even its predecessor, Muscovy, had not yet come into existence in 988...

So whence the "Russian Millennium"?

The period of Kyivan Rus' is an integral part of the history of Ukraine. It is, however, often misrepresented as being the first chapter in the history of Russia, as a result of Muscovite and Russian claims to the Kyivan heritage made over the last five centuries or so.

Russia, in fact, has its origins in an independent political formation which emerged on the north-eastern periphery of Rus'. At that time, this region was inhabited predominantly by Finns, as distinct from the Slav population of Rus' proper and of the Byelorussian principalities and Novgorod republic in the north. In the 12th century the main city of the region, Rostov, became the hereditary property of one branch of the dynasty which ruled Rus'. The first independent local ruler, Yuri Dolgoruky, began to colonize his lands with Slavs, who settled and intermarried with the indigenous Finns. His son, Andrei Bogoliubsky, intensified the separate development of the area and finally broke completely with the Kyivan tradition.

During the 14th century Moscow became the dominant city in the region and gained control over most of the north eastern territories, thus forming the state of Muscovy. In subsequent centuries the expansion of Muscovy continued in all directions. In 1713 the state was officially renamed "Rossiya" (English: "Russia") and eight years later the Russian Empire was proclaimed. Since then, the terms "Rus'" and "Russia" have often been confused — unknowingly by some, intentionally by others.

Parallel with the evolution of Muscovy-Russia in the north, the Ukrainian nation was formed as the embodiment of the Kyivan heritage. The name "Ukraine" gradually replaced the term "Rus'" and now denotes the territorial and national entity of which the 9th to 13th century Kyivan state was a historical predecessor. During the Mongol invasion of Europe in the 13th century, Kyiv lost its position of pre-eminence, but the Rus' traditions and institutions were preserved in the Western Rus' principality of Halych-Volhynia.

Later, Kyiv flourished once more and regained its place as the political and cultural centre of Rus'-Ukraine. Later in the 15th century, however, Muscovite publicists began to propound the theory that the Kyivan legacy had, in fact, been inherited

by Muscovy. This theory was further elaborated in Imperial Russia and now forms part of official Soviet doctrine.

It is ironic that the Russian millennium celebrations in 1988 will be based on such a claim to the Kyivan heritage when, in fact, Muscovy-Russia itself was born precisely as a result of the rejection of this heritage in the 12th century.

Persecution of Ukrainian Churches

The irony underlying the “Russian millennium” is compounded when one considers the fate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic (Eastern-rite) Church, descendants of the Kyivan Church established in 988. In 1654 Bohdan Khmelnytsky, head of the Ukrainian state at that time, entered into a military alliance with Muscovy. The latter, however, exploited this agreement in order to gain control over Ukraine. Turmoil ensued, and eventually Ukraine was partitioned: the lands to the west of the river Dniro (Dniepr) fell to Poland, those to the east — to Muscovy. Since then the independence of the Ukrainian Churches has gradually been eroded:

■ In 1685 the Orthodox Church in Eastern Ukraine was subordinated to the Muscovite Church, which had previously separated itself from the Kyivan Church.

■ During the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, most of the Western half of Ukraine was ceded to Russia, while the province of Halychyna (Galicia) came under Austro-Hungarian rule. Whilst the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Halychyna enjoyed relative freedom, in the lands newly acquired by Russia, it was officially dissolved.

■ Towards the end of the First World War, Ukraine won a brief period of independence, during which an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church was restored. By the middle of the 1930s, however, this Church had been annihilated by the Moscow-based Soviet regime.

■ Following the German occupation of much of the Soviet Union during the Second World War, Ukrainian Orthodox bishops restored an independent Orthodox Church. But when Ukraine was reoccupied by the Red Army in 1943, the independent parishes were incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church and many of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and lay Church leaders were executed or deported to labour camps.

■ Between the two world wars, the Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to function in the Western Ukrainian lands which were occupied mainly by Poland. During the Second World War these lands were incorporated into the USSR. After the war, the Soviet authorities, in collaboration with the Russian Orthodox hierarchy, dissolved the Ukrainian Church and ordered its clergy and faithful to join the Russian Church. Those who refused were subjected to ruthless persecution, imprisonment, exile or execution.

Despite the devastating experiences of the last 300 years, the Ukrainian Church still exists in Ukraine, albeit clandestinely... and its faithful will undoubtedly find their own ways of celebrating the millennium along with their compatriots in the free world.



A theme constantly stressed in this short exposition has been the distinction between Ukraine and Russia. Owing to the centuries old misrepresentation of the



histories of these two nations, the world at large is often unaware of this distinction, and Ukraine is often regarded as a part of Russia. It is true that Ukraine today is part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but the USSR is not synonymous with Russia: Ukraine is not a part of Russia, and Ukrainians are not Russians. The Soviet Union consists of 15 republics, of which Ukraine and Russia are but two. According to the 1979 census, only 52% of the USSR's population of 260 million was Russian, and this proportion is decreasing. Ukraine has a population of around 50 million and, with the exception of Russia, its territory is larger than that of any other European country.

The Ukrainian Millennium Committee in Great Britain

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WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANIZED IN 988?

by

**His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky
Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

**Published by: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
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7 DECADES OF SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE

It was an anniversary few remembered. On November 6th, the media world, if it had wanted to, could have recognized the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik “revolution” in Russia. It is sometimes called the October revolution because of the confusion between the Gregorian and the Julian calendar, but in fact it was more of a coup d’etat, being the overthrow of the Social Democratic government which had been formed on February 17 by Alexander Kerensky. For seven decades, the Bolshevik revolution has marched across the globe spreading its poison of communism, and with an unparalleled military might conquered one nation after the other.

The people of Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the people of Ethiopia and Angola, the people of Vietnam and Cambodia join 1.5 billion people in nations throughout the world which today are part of the most inhumane system of terror the world has ever seen. In an era of supposed “glasnost” (openness) and spurious detente in preparation for the upcoming summit between the two leaders of the free and the unfree world, it is useful to recall the victims of communism during these long decades of communist expansionism. The continued invasion and suppression of the right to freedoms and independence of the Afghan people is a telling and concrete example of the brutal reality of communism today as 120,000 Soviet soldiers continue the occupation of that land.

There are many who want so desperately to believe in glasnost that they fail to see the brutality and cynicism beyond the current public relations moves by the Kremlin masters. The attempt by the Soviet Union as well as by Nicaragua to show a “human face” to the world is merely a sham to fool the “nutzige Idioten” (useful idiots) of which there always seems to be an abundant supply in the West.

When the first communist state was created on November 8, 1917, it promised to give independence and guarantee the sovereignty of those neighboring nations that had become the victims of Russian imperialism of the Tsars: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. But between 1919 and 1922 all of these independent republics were conquered by the Bolshevik armies which led to the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922.

The United States joined the fray in Europe’s Second World War in order to help neutral nations conquered by Hitlerian holds, only to see large parts of central and eastern Europe conquered by the Soviet Red Army and lose their freedom. The Yalta, Potsdam, Teheran and other post-war agreements stand as perennial reminders of the “nutzige Idioten” of the West who never really understood that “good old Joe” (Stalin) was someone who could not be lulled into democracy by the winning smile and the withered hand of a Franklin D. Roosevelt. The people of Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and others are chafing today under the repression of communism, which we helped to create for those millions of our fellow citizens of the world.

Nor has the record since the Vietnam War debacle been much better. 1976-1977 were years of renewed colonization and repression of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and in Africa, Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique. In all these countries, the victims of the international system of subversion and suppression which we know as communism now number 160 million. Of these perhaps the Soviet Union has been

GLASNOST AND THE SUMMIT

How far can we trust the Russians?

(Statement issued by the Ass'n. of Ukrainians in Great Britain)

Today Mr. Gorbachev is passing through this country on his way to Washington for a summit meeting with President Reagan on the elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons. Although our Association and the Ukrainian community in Britain welcome all attempts to rid the world of nuclear weapons, and hence the potential threat of nuclear armageddon, we wish to express several deeply-felt concerns regarding the credibility of Moscow's promises.

Firstly, to date, Soviet Russia has an extremely poor track record of adherence to any international treaties its leaders have signed in the past. Thus, although a signatory of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Accords, Moscow continues to subjugate millions of people — whole nations in fact — who live under continuous political, religious, social and economic oppression in the USSR. Russian adherence to the SALT agreements fared no better.

Despite Mr. Gorbachev's public statements on "glasnost" and "perestroika", in practice nothing seems to have changed in the Soviet Union. As regards the all-encompassing role of the party, reaching down to all walks of life, the wide-ranging arbitrary powers of the KGB, the suppression of basic freedoms and human rights, and the persecution of the independent-minded — it is business as usual. In a recent letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, former Ukrainian political prisoner, Vyacheslav Chornovil, who served 15 years of incarceration, addressed the Soviet leader with these words: "And though you call the current changes in the country revolutionary, unfortunately one has to concur that at the moment it is only 'a revolution in words'". Thus, out of the huge number of Ukrainian political prisoners, so far only a handful have been released, at the same time as dozens of others were arrested and imprisoned. Attempts by Ukrainian intellectuals, who, taking advantage of the proclaimed "glasnost" tried to publi-

▶ responsible for the deaths of almost 70 million and the Communist Chinese regime responsible for at least 63.8 million dead since 1949.

Communism is no longer something that concerns only the people of Europe and Asia. It has moved to our hemisphere as well, continuing to expand and solidify its position in Cuba, Nicaragua, Suriname, and attempting the violent overthrow or the subversion of its neighbors in the Caribbean area and in Central America.

Many democratic and anti-communist organizations, such as the American Freedom Coalition, have called on their fellow citizens in the United States (thus far mercifully spared the horrors of communism) to declare a "Day of Mourning" in remembrance of the millions of victims of communism. The purpose of this ad-hoc organization "for remembrance of the victims of communism" is to remind the world of the human costs of communist aggression and subversion. We call on the U.S. Congress to declare a day of mourning. We call on our fellow Americans to renew the vigilance so urgently needed that we might assure that this nation will never, as so many have done, become the victim of communism, but remain forever, "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

cize the intense Russification of the Ukrainian language and culture in the press in Ukraine is silent about the burning issues of national, culture, social and religious oppression in that country. Letters written by Ukrainian political prisoners to Mikhail Gorbachev remain unanswered, censorship of mail continues on a scale far larger than before, and the freedom of movement of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR is still extremely limited.

Mr. Gorbachev's "revolutionary reforms" do not seem to apply to Ukraine and the other subjugated nations in the USSR, particularly to individuals like Yuriy Badzio, who raise their voices in defence of the rights and interests of their nation. Mr. Badzio, a philologist and journalist, who is currently serving a term of exile (after completing a 7-year term of imprisonment) asked permission to visit his dying 82-year-old mother, who suffered a stroke earlier this year, which left her paralysed on one side and causes her to lose consciousness. He was allowed to travel only as far as Kyiv, having previously been granted permission to visit his mother, where, on specific instructions from Moscow, he was detained for a month and denied the right to see her. This was probably her last chance to see her son, whom she has not seen for over 8 years. Such is the essence of "glasnost" and democratisation.

We therefore, ask the government of this country and the US. as well as the British and American people, to take into account the points that we have raised above and to avoid being misled by the wide publicity, which "glasnost" has received in the West, into vain expectations of radical changes for the better in the Soviet Union. The sole factor that can bring about lasting peace and security in the world and complete nuclear disarmament is the dismantling of the USSR into independent national and sovereign states of the nations currently subjugated by Moscow.

December 7, 1987

PLIGHT OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

*Statement delivered by Canadian M.P. Mr. Andrew Witer
at the House of Commons Debate on October 20, 1987.*

Mr. Speaker, Yuriy Shukhevych has spent 33 years in Soviet labour camps, prisons and internal exile. He was first arrested as a 15-year-old boy and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for the crime of being the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. After serving the original 10-year sentence, Yuriy was re-arrested in 1958 for his continued refusals to condemn or renounce his father.

Shukhevych's plight has earned him the title of "The Eternal Prisoner". After years of imprisonment his health has suffered greatly. In 1980 part of his stomach had to be removed, followed by operations for cataracts and detached retinas in 1982. He has lost 99 percent of his vision.

Shukhevych's plight is a warning to us all. As long as the Soviet Government continues to violate the fundamental human rights of its own citizens, the western nations must continue to view the so-called policy of "glasnost" with suspicion. I call on the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) and the Government of Canada to use all of the resources at their disposal to effect the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych and to send a clear reminder to the Soviet Government of its obligations as a signatory of the Helsinki Accords.

UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA FORMED

News has recently reached the West about the formation of an unofficial group of independently minded members of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia. Calling itself the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI), its aim is to promote the development of Ukrainian culture outside Ukraine's official cultural structures. The association's inaugural declaration is signed by fourteen well-known Ukrainian dissenters, who include poets, writers, and artists, the majority of whom are former political prisoners. They are, for the most part, victims of crackdowns on Ukrainian national assertiveness in 1965 and 1972-73.

The UANTI appears to have been founded sometime at the beginning of October, that is before the series of recent attacks in the Soviet Ukrainian press on nationally minded intellectuals engaged in unofficial cultural and social activity. It is the second "informal" group to have been established in Ukraine by Ukrainian dissenters concerned with injecting "glasnost" and "democratization" into Ukraine's cultural and public life — the first being the Ukrainian Culturological Club, which was organized in Kyiv at the beginning of August.

Explaining the reasons why they have set up the UANTI, its founding members state:

It is our firm conviction that the official unions for writers, artists, theatre workers, and cinematographers of Ukraine do not represent the fullness of the spiritual, literary, cultural, and public processes that are spreading and gathering increasing momentum among the intelligentsia in Ukraine. They are in fact being braked for extraliterary reasons by the formal unions for people active in culture.

Announcing the formation of the "new voluntary association" of Ukrainian writers, artists and cinema and theatre people, the signatories of the inaugural declaration declare that they intend to publish the works of the UANTI's members (all of the authors in the association are still proscribed) as well as literary-cultural periodicals and almanacs, organize art exhibitions, publicize the association's activities, and "support all those who desire to put their talent and civic courage at the service of the good and the spiritual development of the Ukrainian people, and the national life of Ukraine." They also elaborate that they see their commitment to these national goals "in the context of general human ideals."

The signatories of the UANTI's first declaration, who describe themselves as an "initiative" or "action" group, include the following honorary members of the International PEN Club: Ihor Kalynets, a poet; Mykhaylo Osadchy, a writer and poet; Mykola Rudenko, a writer, poet, and the chairman of the now defunct Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group (now in the West); Yevhen Sverstiuk, a literary critic and essayist; Ivan Svitlichnyj, a literary critic and poet; Iryna Senyk, a poet; and Vyacheslav Chornovil, a writer and journalist, who is also the chief editor of the *samvydav* journal, the *Ukrainian Herald*.

The other signatories are Vasyl Barladyanu, an art historian; Mykola Horyn, a psychologist and philologist; Panas Zalyvakha, an artist; Iryna Kalynets, a poet;

Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynska, a literary critic; Pavlo Skochok, a former journalist with *Radyanska Ukraina*, now on the editorial board of *Ukrainian Herald*; and Stefania Shabaturova, an artist and designer.

The sort of activity that can be expected from the UANTI can be seen from a recent appeal by three of its members to the President of the International PEN Club, Francis King. The signatories — Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Svitlychnyj and Vyacheslav Chornovil, all of whom are honorary members of the international writers' organization — request that the International PEN Club and UNESCO observe the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary on January 6 of the birth of the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus. Before his death in September 1985 in a Soviet labor camp at the age of forty-seven, the International PEN Club had campaigned on his behalf. It is worth noting that the text of this appeal was also approved by a meeting of the Ukrainian Culturological Club held in Kyiv on October 18.

The formation of the UANTI, like that of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, attests to the revitalization of Ukrainian cultural and public life brought about by *glasnost*. In both cases, dissenters who were formally persecuted because of their Ukrainian patriotism have sought to work within the new limits ostensibly offered by the Gorbachev leadership's policies of "openness" and "democratization." The fate of these "informal" associations will be an important litmus test of how seriously the authorities take "glasnost" and "democratization" in a republic where manifestations of national assertiveness have rarely been tolerated.



Former Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Svitlychnyj in internal exile. Photo from 1962.



Former Ukrainian political prisoners Iryna and Ihor Kalynets, in internal exile in 1979.

THE TRAGIC FATE OF VASYL STUS

January 6, 1988 marked the 50th anniversary of the birth of Ukrainian political prisoner, outstanding poet and a prominent member of the national and human rights movement in Ukraine, Vasyl Stus. After serving twelve years in Soviet prisons, psychiatric hospitals, concentration camps and internal exile, Vasyl Stus, who had been seriously ill for some time, died on September 4, 1985 in the special regime camp No. 389/36-1 in Kuchino, Perm, due to medical neglect on the part of the camp authorities.

On September 7, 1972 Vasyl Stus was sentenced to five years of forced labour in Mordovia, to be followed by three years of Siberian exile. While there, Stus summed up the beginning of his ordeal:

“... When you are crucified in your native land for your love of it and for dedicating your life’s work to your people, then you must reconcile yourself to the idea that you may have a native land, but not a mother country. It has become the country of your bondage; it turned you into a slave, tearing you away from your land by force.

Beyond hundreds of barbed wire fences lies my land, Ukraine, appearing only in painful dreams. It shines like a distant star in the Mordovian evening sky. And your path of enslavement unfolds even farther from my land — beyond the gray ridges of the Urals, beyond the Siberian horizon. The torturers test you: will your heart endure? Will it rend under stress?

I will remember how the chief interrogator Sapozhnikov cursed and beat me because I shouted: “They are taking Vasyl Stus to the Pavlivsky Insane Asylum!” when they were dragging me through the hallway of the interrogation isolator in Kyiv on May 5 (1972). The reason for this was that I refused to give any testimony and called the KGB interrogators “Stalinist dogs.”

(Notebooks of the Ukrainian Samvydav, 1980)

Even during his imprisonment, Vasyl Stus continued to protest against Moscow’s persecution and repression of Ukrainian writers and cultural activists in Ukraine.

In 1975 Stus managed to smuggle out of the Dubrovlag camp a righteous indictment of the KGB 1972 pogroms in Ukraine. In this “J’accuse” Stus denounced his arrest and those of many other Ukrainian patriots as based on obvious KGB provocation — the “Dobosh affair”* which was not even mentioned as an ostensible charge at his interrogation. He demanded that those responsible for this lawlessness be made to answer before a court of law:

“... Since the Dobosh case is a total fabrication, I declare that the subsequent indictments and convictions based on it were analogous to the fabricated charges and prosecutions of the 1930s conducted according to the techniques of Yezhov and Beria.

The scope of the falsification shows that the authors of this murderous scenario are to be found at the KGB office in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. Therefore (it is this institution) that should be blamed for falsifying evidence in order to conceal the real criminals while discrediting those persecuted for their convictions.

*Stus was charged with participation in a conspiracy called “the Dobosh affair”, a KGB provocation that netted them scores of Ukrainian intellectuals under the flimsiest pretext of a spying conspiracy.

During the police search of my apartment all that I wrote for the last seventeen years was confiscated: my poetry, literary critiques, essays, articles, translations, and prose... the case against me was based subsequently on those of my writings that dealt with the persecutions of the 1920s and 1930s with the genocide of Ukrainian peasants in 1933, the destruction of Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1930s, the utter impoverishment of the collective farm workers in the 1930s and following decades. My description of the internal passport system that prevents peasants from moving freely within their own country as a new form of serfdom was classified as anti-Soviet by the court...

By classifying all those statements as anti-Soviet, the KGB took upon itself the role of direct culprits of past crimes and accomplices in the exploitation of the people by the state. By concealing the well-known facts of unprecedented repression in the past, today's KGB maintains its kinship with the banditry of Yezhov and Beria, and assumes responsibility for their crimes.

I deem the KGB a parasitic, exploitative, and pernicious organization, on whose conscience lie millions upon millions of souls, shot, tortured, and starved to death...

I accuse the KGB of being openly chauvinistic and anti-Ukrainian because it deprived my people of word and voice. The trials of 1972 and 1973 put human thought, humanism, and filial love for one's nation on the deck. The generation of young Ukrainian intellectuals that was transformed into a generation of political prisoners was brought up on ideals of humanism, justice, freedom: these are its faults, these are all its bad intentions... only such progeny brings glory to the nation, now and forever.

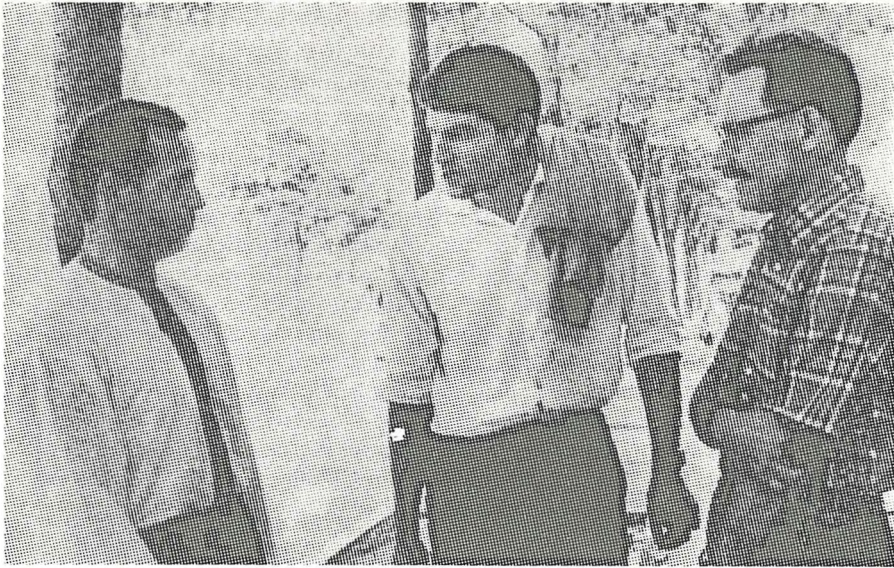
I am sure that sooner or later the KGB will be judged as a criminal organization, openly hostile to the nation. I am not sure that I will live to see this judgment passed upon it. Therefore, I beseech those who will judge this criminal organization to include my testimony and my accusations into the many volumes of its dossier..."

(Notebooks of the Ukrainian Samvydav, 1980)

In July of 1975 Stus was attacked and severely wounded by a former Nazi collaborator, Nidelnikov, and had to be taken to the camp's infirmary where he remained for some time. Common criminals, thieves, murderers, rapists and genuine Nazi collaborators enjoy a favored status in the Gulag where they are used by the KGB to terrorize political prisoners. In addition to the wounds suffered at the hands of this criminal, Stus suffered from a gastric ulcer, a condition he had since 1956. This made him doubly vulnerable to the tender mercies of the KGB. He described the medical attention in the Dubrovlag thus:

"The camp infirmary is a strange institution. Its purpose is to combine the KGB cruelty with the duties of a physician. It's not so easy to reconcile the two. Many of the physicians serving there say "Above all, I'm a *chekist* (original name for the Soviet secret policeman), and then I'm a physician. However, no KGB man would say "Above all, I'm a physician, and then..." The wife of the camp's political officer Samsonov shouted at the sick prisoners: "You ought to be shot, not treated," and she was among the camp's medical personnel.

After two-and-a-half years I haven't seen proper medication for a gastric ulcer. Instead, those so afflicted are given novocaine (and similar anesthetics). Since these drugs are useless for ulcers, I requested many times that I be given permission to obtain proper medication either at my own or at my family's expense. These



Ivan Hel, Vasyl Stus, and Ivan Svitlychnyj in Kyiv, late summer of 1968.

requests were denied. I appealed to the Ministry of Health and was totally ignored. The Soviet Red Cross notified me that such matters were beyond its competence...

... it seems that one of the purposes of the camp infirmary is to ensure a prisoner's quiet death, as far removed from fellow prisoners as possible. In the infirmary everyone dies silently and almost always in total solitude. A death without witnesses is (considered) the best kind of death for a prisoner: it is his duty.

... it must be said that under the camp circumstances, death has lost all its tragic attributes and became a humdrum event..."

(Chronicle of Camp Days, 1976)

During his incarceration in 1976, Vasyl Stus went on hunger strike to protest the confiscation of about eight hundred of his poems. Stus demanded that his poetry be returned to him, that he be allowed to write, and his correspondence not be stopped (letters to him and from him were routinely confiscated). In addition to the hunger strike, Stus wrote a letter to the Supreme Council of the USSR on August 1, 1976:

"... Today I concluded that I have been deliberately reduced to the state of a KGB chattel. Besides, to be a Ukrainian patriot in the USSR is simply forbidden. In this case I am guaranteed KGB surveillance for life.

Therefore, I declare that I do not consider it possible to remain an USSR subject any longer, and request to be placed outside the borders of a country in which my human rights are grossly ignored..."

(Notebooks of the Ukrainian Samvydav, 1980)

Recently, three members of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI) appealed to the President of the International PEN Club, Francis King, with the request that PEN and UNESCO observe on January 6 the 50th anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Stus. Before his death in September 1985, the International PEN Club campaigned on his behalf.

Ukrainian former political prisoner, Ivan Hel, recalled the following about his friend, Vasyl Stus, in a letter sent from internal exile to a Western correspondent. The entire text of the letter concerning Vasyl Stus was published in *The Ukrainian Herald*, which recently reached the West:

“... One day Vasyl said: if the situation had not called on him to be a poet, he would have ploughed the fields and cultivated bread. This was not a fictitious statement. Vasyl’s whole life was geared by a Symbol of Faith towards cultivating our daily bread — through his own self-sacrifice towards strengthening the life of the community, and not only ours. Today Vasyl is a universal figure — an Enlightener and Guardian of nations from evil... To us, Vasyl’s many friends, his life’s mission was understood as far back as 1968. I stress this, since not everyone eventually revealed themselves as worthy of being denoted as ‘people of legend’. The heavy burden of the life of many was sloping downwards. But Vasyl created poetry and he created himself... Literature, art, spirituality — these eternal values of a nation are at the same time a nourishing environment for it. Therefore, it is an infinite grief that one of the most outstanding poets of Ukraine and its self-sacrificing social activist passed away so prematurely.”

Vasyl Stus

IN MEMORY OF ALLA HORSKA

Burn bright, my soul, burn bright, and do not weep!
Black frost has covered the Ukrainian sun,
and you must seek the guelder rose’s haunt,
her shadow red on waters dark and deep.
For we are very few. We are a pinch
of earthly salt that lives to hope and pray.
The Fates have warned us since the early days
that blood of guelder roses is as hard,
and just as bitter as the blood that flows
in our veins. The grapes of pain that slide
into the depths of white frost’s keening white
inflict a legacy of deathless woe.



Oh, memory of mine, return to me!
Return, so that my heart may feel the burden
of my land imbued with gentle sorrow,
so that the thrush’s heart may bloom with song
in groves of night. Return, oh memory
with scent of thyme and summer’s torridness
in which the apples that await the fall
appear with ruddy roundness in my dreams.
Then may Dniπρο in awesome flow appear;
At least in my delusions let it stream.
And I will shout. And then my land will hear.
Oh, memory of mine, return to me!

MYKOLA AND RAISSA RUDENKO IN THE WEST

"I would not be able to live, nor could I live, if I did not believe that one day our people would achieve real independence."

Mykola Rudenko

On December 16, three days after arriving in the West, former Ukrainian political prisoners Mykola and his wife Raissa Rudenko, held a press conference in Munich. Mykola Rudenko has spent 10 years in Soviet concentration camps and internal exile. He was arrested in 1977 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to seven years in special regime camps and five years internal exile. Soon after his imprisonment, his wife Raissa was also arrested. In May of this year, both were released and allowed to emigrate from the USSR.

Mykola Rudenko was a member, co-founder and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Ukraine, and member of the Moscow branch of Amnesty International. It was Amnesty International who organized the press conference in Munich, at which Mykola Rudenko read a press statement and answered questions from the press. He described the forceful Russification in Ukraine and in the other non-Russian republics, as well as the struggle of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in defense of the Ukrainian language and culture, spoke of the fate of former Ukrainian political prisoners and of those who are still suffering in prisons and concentration camps. Answering journalists' questions, Mykola Rudenko presented his views on current events in the Soviet Union.

The Rudenkos have left four grown-up children in the USSR and many grandchildren. "They are suffering on my account because they are being harassed at work and in their everyday life," said Rudenko. About their future life in the West, Rudenko said: "Before we came here, we were thinking of settling in the United States, but it is far too early for us to say where we will end up." Mr. Rudenko did, however, make it clear that he intends both to keep writing and to continue promoting the cause for which he sacrificed so many years of his life.



Mykola Rudenko

LET US NOT ALLOW OUR CONSCIENCES TO LULL

*Statement read by Mykola Rudenko at a press conference
upon his arrival in West Germany*

I am fortunate that I have the opportunity on this earth to thank you personally, and in the name of my colleagues, other political prisoners, for all your efforts in the defense of human rights.

The release of some 200 prisoners of conscience from behind barbed wire is due to your daily efforts. Without your support, the support of words and everyday deeds, the struggle against the oppression of political prisoners would become impossible.

Today, the world is talking about the significant agreement on the elimination of medium range missiles, and this is truly a joyous event. It is also good that

“glasnost” is gaining in the USSR. This allows the belief that finally the day will come when there will be no prisoners of conscience in Soviet prisons and concentration camps.

But we must draw attention to the concentration camp in Kuchino, in the Ural region. There is no prison on earth as horrible as the severe regimen camp in Kuchino in the Urals. The prisoners in this camp have called upon the Soviet government to abide by its own rules, to abide by this “glasnost” which is so revered today. That is their crime. This torture chamber in the Urals is a death camp. Only since 1985, four Ukrainian prisoners have died there, among them the prominent Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who froze to death in an isolation cell. They were all killed by their jailers.

Even now, regardless of the well publicized “glasnost”, Ukrainian intellectuals who protested against the violent, state organized Russification of Ukraine, languish in dark cells. They protested peacefully, without calling for any violence. Religious believers are still persecuted in Ukraine, Orthodox, Evangelists, all denominations, but Catholics in particular, because their Church has been outlawed since 1946.

The West today writes admiringly about the liberal atmosphere in Moscow, but no one knows that in other republics, especially in Ukraine and particularly in Ukraine, former prisoners of conscience are beaten and threatened with new arrests because they have demanded the release of their colleagues from behind barbed wire.

Ukrainian journalists Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhaylo Horyn and Ivan Hel were taken off the train from Lviv bound for Moscow as they were en route to a seminar on “glasnost” and human rights in Moscow. They were arrested under the pretext that they were carrying narcotics. Human rights activists from Kyiv, Odessa and Vilnius were also prevented from attending the seminar. Today the world applauds Gorbachev, and perhaps to a certain degree deservedly, but at the same time killing continues in Afghanistan and in the prisons and concentration camps in the Soviet Union itself.

Therefore I call upon you, ladies and gentlemen, let us not allow our consciences to lull, it must bother and torture us night and day, because day and night people are suffering behind prison gates.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Russification in Ukraine

Q: What is the significance of the nationalities’ question in the USSR in light of the formation of a separate Ukrainian Helsinki Group?

Rudenko: Ukraine has never been in such a terrible situation with regard to national culture and language, as in the last twenty years. Russification has spread so far, inasmuch as it is artificial and forcibly imposed by the state, that today, in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Donbas there are no Ukrainian schools left at all. The population of Ukraine is 50 million, making it a large European nation, yet it does not even have its own institutes of higher and secondary learning where teaching is conducted in Ukrainian.

However, there has been a substantial growth in the Ukrainian intelligentsia, whose representatives are prepared to lay down their lives in defense of their nation, its culture and its language. This forceful process of Russification was implemented in the last 20 years, during Brezhnev’s reign. The Russification of Ukraine was also



Mykola Rudenko (far right) with ABN President Slava Stetsko, Nino Alschibaja (Georgia) and Anton Jakovlevic (Croatia)

implemented with special diligence by Ukraine's current leader, Shcherbytsky. This great and terrible disgrace will forever lie on his conscience.

Q: Can ferments similar to those in Ukraine with regard to the nationalities' question be found in other republics, for example in Georgia?

Rudenko: Yes, absolutely. Georgians are very active. There is only one difference, namely that the Georgians preserve their national unity more firmly and do not become Russified as quickly as eastern Ukrainians, I stress eastern Ukrainians, and not all Ukrainians. Russification has spread so violently in Ukraine because the Russian empire fears Ukraine's independence.

Q: Is there any chance that the Ukrainian people will become independent?

Rudenko: I would not be able to live, nor could I live, if I did not believe that one day our people would achieve real independence. But the way to this is neither easy nor short. I believe that it is not possible for empires to exist any longer in this world. Only one great and terrible empire exists today, which calls itself a Union, although in fact, it is no Union at all.

Some people consider "perestroika" as a good will of the Kremlin. In reality the fact is that this empire has reached a precipice that if we imagine it being a cart, then two wheels are already hanging over the edge, especially in the branch of economy.

Repressions against Ukrainian Patriots

Q: You were a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. What is the fate of the other members of this group?

Rudenko: The Ukrainian Helsinki Group existed for almost three years. Its members were arrested, and were replaced by others who continued to be active, but they too were arrested. Approximately 50 people have been arrested for their activity in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Some members have recently been pardoned, even though they did not request this. However, a great number are currently in prisons, camps and internal exile. Three of them have died: the famous Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, my co-worker Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, and also Valeriy Marchenko, who was not a member of the Helsinki Group, but an associate. To speak frankly, they were deliberately killed in the Kuchino No. 36 camp in the Urals.

Today, one of our best known and greatest martyrs, Levko Lukyanenko, is serving a term somewhere amidst the snows of Siberia. On December 12, his second term of imprisonment ended. He was first sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment only because of his convictions, nothing else, just his convictions, his love for Ukraine, his native language, his people — 15 years. He was even sentenced to death, to be shot and spent 40 days in the death cell. Later his death sentence was changed to 15 years of imprisonment. His second sentence was the result of his activities in the Helsinki Group, which he served in a particularly harsh prison, incarcerated in a cell for 10 years and suffering terrible maltreatment. This prison can be called a torture chamber, or even a death camp. He is currently in exile and his address is not known to us. In addition, many members of the Helsinki Group still remain in this terrible, inhuman death camp. Their names are: Ivan Kandyba, who received the same sentence as Lukyanenko, that is altogether 30 years of imprisonment, merely for his convictions. The others are: Vasyl Ovsienko, Petro Ruban, Ivan Sokulskyj, Hryhorij Prykhodko, I. Skalycz, who is now in his 80s, Petro Saranchuk, Vitaliy Kalynychenko and Mykola Horbal. At the moment their fate is unknown to us, their letters do not reach us and they are not allowed visitors. It seems that they are conducting some action of protest. Each one of them has spent no less than 17 years in prison for his convictions, and some much longer, as much as 30 years, like Petro Saranchuk and some others.

Q: Could you tell us something about the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych? It is 40 years since he was first arrested.

Rudenko: The only thing I know about the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych is what Levko Lukyanenko and some of my other friends have told me. It is a terrible fate, a great injustice has been done to a man merely for being the son of an outstanding activist and military leader of the Ukrainian nation.*

Q: What are the nationalities of political prisoners in the USSR?

Rudenko: Most of the political prisoners are Ukrainians. It was always so. During the Stalin and post-Stalin era no less than 200,000 Ukrainians fighters for national independence — the *banderivtsi* (followers of Stepan Bandera) as they are called today, passed through the Mordovian camps, where many of them perished.

The second largest group of political prisoners, according to size, are the Baltic peoples — Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. Russians constitute only a small

*Yuriy Shukhevych has been persecuted and imprisoned for the last 40 years simply for being the son of Roman Shukhevych, better known under his nom de guerre as General Taras Chuprynka, the leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during and after World War II.

percent. There are many Jews. But I must add that the Jews in the camps are holding out well and are allies of the Ukrainian and Baltic prisoners.

The Nationalities Question

Q: What practical effects will “perestroika” have on the non-Russian nationalities?

Rudenko: The practical effects of “perestroika” is a very complex matter. “Perestroika” is taking place in spheres of cultural, literary and spiritual life of the peoples. The extent to which it will affect the economic sphere is a separate matter and extremely complex. Whether there will be any relaxation of such a democratic character, or whether our activists will once again be imprisoned, is a question which I cannot answer. The whole KGB apparatus, in its complete composition, has remained the same. On the anniversary of Dzerzhinsky, Viktor Chebrikov himself spoke out threatening dissidents.

Q: Are the recent demonstrations in the Baltic States a threat to the authorities?

Rudenko: From what I have understood about the nationalities question, how it is treated and planned by the new leadership, I believe it is useless to expect any relaxation (on the part of the authorities). Gorbachev himself, whom as a person I respect, did not say anything interesting regarding his nationality plans and it seems as if he had thought very little about this. Meanwhile, there is only reservation, both on his part and on the part of his *aparatchiks* — do not think that there will be any relaxation.

Q: Why, at a time of “perestroika” are there no demands for the decolonization of the Soviet Union? The article on decolonization, adopted by the UN on December 14, 1960, was applied to all Western colonial countries, but not to the Soviet Union.

Rudenko: The fact is that in the West there exists a long, and even a pre-October revolutionary stereotype with regard to Russia. People in the West are not fully aware of the real demographic situation in the Soviet Union. Whenever I met people from the West, they very often did not know about Ukraine, about its existence and thought that it was the same as Russia. It is very convenient for Russian chauvinists to support such concepts about the Soviet Union. I would be happy if they knew more about the real situation in the Soviet Union and raised these questions in the United Nations. This is the dream of all of the Ukrainian, Baltic, Georgian and Central Asian intelligentsia, striving towards independence. If something can be done in this direction, then this would mean a great deal to the national intelligentsia in the Soviet Union.

Religious Freedom

Q: What in your opinion, will be the attitude taken towards religious groups during Gorbachev’s rule? It is known that the constitution guarantees to right of beliefs, yet in reality this is not so.

Rudenko: As far as I know from my son, who is active in this, some privileges have been promised, and even some cooperation. But these are only promises, which require loyalty. Those religious activists, who somewhat deviate from the political line held by the Soviet government, and who wish to think independently, and the more they attempt to assert this — are persecuted.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE VII SUPREME ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

The VII Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the highest organ of the Ukrainian liberation movement, was convened in the fall of 1987. The proceedings examined and analyzed the OUN's flourishing role as the leadership of the revolutionary struggle against the Russian occupier and colonizer of the Ukrainian nation, and probed the continuing strength and endurance of the Ukrainian nation in its unceasing demand for the reestablishment of a free, independent and sovereign Ukrainian State, with its territorial integrity and national unity intact.

Having assessed the critical situation in Ukraine, stemming from the continued occupation by Bolshevik Russia, with its ruthless repression of the Ukrainian people, and its systematic attempts to destroy the OUN both politically and physically, in the vain hope of extinguishing Ukrainian nationalism and obliterating Ukrainian national identity, the VII Supreme Assembly reaffirmed the actuality of the OUN Revolutionary Program for the total mobilization of the oppressed Ukrainian people on the basis of national unity and self-reliance. Fully conscious of the fact that this struggle is one upon which the very survival of the Ukrainian nation depends, the OUN and the Ukrainian people are not deterred by the merciless onslaught of the occupation forces, in their struggle to vanquish the tormentor of Ukraine.

The VII Supreme Assembly renders homage to our valiant brothers and sisters in Ukraine for their steadfast and unshakable fidelity to the sacred cause of national liberation despite immense suffering and deprivation. Our deepest sympathy is extended to the families of the countless martyrs who have heroically given their lives in the quest to free their countrymen from colonial bondage and oppression. Their sacrifice and that of so many others, such as Yuriy Shukhevych and Lev Lukyanenko, underscore the savage ferocity with which the Russian occupier is prosecuting the campaign of terror against the whole Ukrainian nation. Nonetheless, countless brave Ukrainians have followed in their footsteps, aware that maltreatment, torture and all too often death await them in KGB dungeons, concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, rather than submit to the indignities, humiliation and degradation of Russian chauvinist and racist colonial rule.

In confronting the Russian occupier of our country, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has further galvanized the popular resistance into a united national revolutionary front that has spread across the broad expanse of Ukraine. The underground activities and actions of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement are exacting an ever higher price from the colonial occupier. Whether it be in the cities and towns, or in the villages and countryside, using all available means, including armed resistance, the Ukrainian people are demonstrating that they shall never yield to the usurpation of our inalienable national rights, nor to the colonial exploitation or Ukraine's human and natural resources. The moral and political bankruptcy of the Russian regime is exposed before the world by the fact that only by brute force can it sustain its colonial rule over indomitable Ukraine.

The VII Supreme Assembly noted with profound concern that the nations of the free world have, at their own peril ignored the crimes against humanity being

perpetrated against the Ukrainian nation and the other non-Russian nations in the Bolshevik Russian empire. Tragically, Russia's campaign of disinformation, propaganda, subversion, and ideological warfare, coupled with naivete and self-deception on the part of the free nations of the world, has led to the spectacle of the ultimate protagonists in the Kremlin being hailed and even praised in the world media and by certain government spokesmen. It is incredulous that Moscow's propaganda campaign, alleging that its abhorrent policies and practices are being "reformed" and that it is on the road to "democratization", is given any credibility.

The reality of the situation in Ukraine belies such contemptuous claims. In Ukraine and throughout the vast Soviet Russian empire, the overwhelming majority of the population is deprived of the most fundamental rights and is repressed by a colonial military and police establishment. No sphere of human endeavor is exempt from the pervasive totalitarian system of colonial domination.

The basic structure of the Ukrainian economy is typically colonial, as it is totally subordinated to the interests of the Russian aggressor state. Whether in the sectors of agriculture, mining, heavy industry or manufacturing, Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations are unremittingly subjected to the physical exploitation of resources and labor to bolster the empire, particularly its military forces. At least 70% of Ukraine's gross national product is annually expropriated and taken out of the country by the Russian colonial regime. The standard of living in Ukraine is below that of some third world developing nations. The chronically poor economic performance in the empire is as much the result of the non-Russian labor force refusing to boost production, as it is due to the inefficiency of centralized control from Moscow. Strikes, work slowdowns and other passive and active forms of economic sabotage have undermined the economic viability of the empire. Consequently, today there are 4,000,000 slave laborers, working out of permanent and mobile concentration camps at major economic enterprises throughout the empire. It is only in this way that the colonial regime can sustain major construction and mining projects. Furthermore, there is systematic infusion of Russian workers into the industrial centers of the non-Russian nations, accompanied by the deportation of indigenous non-Russians to Siberia and other under-developed areas for labor intensive projects.

The goal of the Russian colonialists is not only to implant a Russian work force to sustain key industrial operations, but it is also an integral aspect of the insidious policy of Russification, that is, the obliteration of the national consciousness of the non-Russian peoples, and the imposition upon them of the Russian language and culture. Every weapon at the disposal of the Russian occupier is employed to enforce this policy, including genocide, mass deportations, and physical removal of children from their parents and families. Nonetheless, Ukrainians have not succumbed and are successfully opposing the attempts to dissolve and absorb their nation into the Russian monolith. Centuries of tsarist Russian Russification and exploitation, followed by the Bolshevik Russian policies and practices of genocide, especially the genocide perpetrated against Ukraine in 1933 which claimed the lives of over 7 million nationally conscious Ukrainians, the physical liquidation of millions more during the Great Terror of the late 1930s and during the Second World War, and the millions executed or imprisoned after the war, many of whom continue to languish in Siberian concentration camps to this day, all of these crimes confirm that the Ukrainian nation

has withstood the greatest barbarism ever experienced by any colonial nation in the annals of human history.

Despite the carnage, death and destruction, the Ukrainian nation has heroically maintained its commitment to national independence and sovereign statehood in a united Ukraine. Ukrainians know that the struggle has been long and bitter, and yet they will continue to wage that struggle, whatever the cost.

The VII Supreme Assembly, having analyzed the woefully inadequate response of the free nations of the world to Bolshevik Russia's enslavement of Ukraine and other non-Russian nations, its domination over the nations of Eastern Europe, and the extension of its totalitarian system to the nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America, is constrained to express its concern over the palpable threat that the Bolshevik Russian empire represents for global peace and security, and for the very survival of humanity. This seeming inability and unwillingness of the industrialized democracies and the independent developing countries to comprehend, much less act effectively to overcome the mortal challenge to global freedom and economic and social progress posed by the Bolshevik Russian empire, is the ultimate paradox of the 20th century.

With regard to the industrialized democracies, the VII Supreme Assembly is constrained to characterize these governments' policies as essentially reflecting a pathetic eagerness to prove their sincerity to the Russian regime, believing that apparently it only awaits a sign of Western good faith. Time and again, Western societies have been persuaded by the transparent ploy of playing on the fears of war and on the hopes for peace. This has resulted only in granting more time and concessions by the West to the Russian regime, allowing it to consolidate its imperial rule and to extend its domination. No effort has been spared by the Western governments to devise policies of coexistence, appeasement and detente, promoting totally untenable expectations of the eventual convergence of the political, economic and social structures that shape the world view of the diametrically opposed systems.

The dangers inherent in the concept of convergence have already manifested themselves in the ascendance of the perception in the democratic societies and in those of independent developing nations, that there is a "moral equivalence" between the West and the Bolshevik Russian empire. Inexplicably, the governments of the free world have done little to dispel such myths. On the contrary, their policies of containment, balance of power and spheres of influence have only lent credence to this pernicious notion, thereby undercutting the will and ability of their peoples to face up to the awesome responsibilities of defending themselves and promoting universal freedom and justice.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Russian regime has played on the uncertainties and doubts, on the confusion and questions in free societies which the regime itself has fostered and promoted by contending that: if only the West would cooperate with the empire in enough ways and spheres; if only the West would recognize the empire's legitimate global interests; if only the West would accept the inviolability of the empire's frontiers, then a self-generating atmosphere of goodwill would be created and global peace preserved.

The free nations of the world must rid themselves of such tantalizing illusions of how to deal with the real Bolshevik Russian regime. Indeed, it is long past due to concede that time and talk, exchanges and trade, will not transform the empire into a partner with whom to work for common aims. It is long past due to accept that the

Bolshevik Russian empire is the sword of Damocles hanging by a thread over an unsuspecting and unbelieving world.

There is and can be no compatibility between free and independent nations and an imperial regime which enslaves and ravages the fundamental human and national rights of the colonially subjugated nations. There can be no convergence between a democratic system grounded in respect for human rights and individual liberties, for the unfettered expression of moral and cultural values, and a totalitarian system where moral values and cultural freedoms are defined and imposed by official decree, where human labor and life itself are treated as renewable resources to be totally subordinated to the state and exploited mercilessly to expand and enhance imperial power in the quest to be the Third Rome.

The onus of accountability before history will rest squarely with the industrialized democracies, if they continue to temporize over the predatory and criminal nature of the Bolshevik Russian empire. For to do so, they may well temporize themselves out of existence as states and join the terrifying lot of Ukraine and the scores of other colonial nations under Bolshevik Russian domination, and to whose liberation the OUN is dedicated. These nations are not only the Achilles' heel of the empire, but they are also the free world's most reliable allies, for they aspire to the same rights and liberties, individual and national freedoms, justice and spiritual fulfillment that national independence and sovereign statehood has guaranteed for the still free nations.

The resistance to Russian colonial rule by the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations remains the greatest threat to the stability of, and the most potent weapon against the Russian empire. The costs of sustaining the empire dominate all other domestic and foreign policy issues facing the Kremlin. The West must increase these costs by supporting the struggle for national liberation being waged by the non-Russian nations.



*Estonians protesting inclusion of Baltic Countries into the Soviet Union,
Tallinn, Estonia, August 23, 1987.*

WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY GIVEN TO UKRAINE DURING THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

A brief but a very apt answer to the question “What has Christianity given Ukraine during the First Millennium?” can be found in the superb *Discourse on Law and Grace*, written by Ilarion, the first Ukrainian Kyivan Metropolitan of Ukraine-Rus'.¹ The *Discourse* was first delivered by the Metropolitan at the solemn dedication of St. Sophia's Cathedral around 1050 in the presence of the Great Prince Yaroslav, the Wise, his family, members of government and the representation of the people of Ukraine-Rus'. In this *Discourse* Metropolitan Ilarion pointed out among other things, the following:

“The Blessed faith has been spreading throughout the whole earth and it reached, finally, our Ukrainian-Rus' people. ... And now already, together with all other Christian nations we may praise the Holy Trinity. ... And now we are no more pagans, but Christians. ... We do not build anymore pagan temples but churches of God. We do not bring anymore each other in bloody sacrifices to demons, but Jesus Christ brings Himself as a sacrifice for us...”

And then, praising the monumental work of Great Prince Volodymyr, the Baptiser of our nation, Metropolitan Ilarion remembered him by the following words:

“Look at the city (of Kyiv) how it sparkles with greatness; look at the blossoming churches; look at the growing Christianity; look at the city lighting and sparkling with holy icons; the city engulfed in incenses and in divine praises, and extolled by divine songs. And after having seen all that glory, rejoice and take a delight and praise good God, that...”²

These words of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Ilarion supplied a full answer to the question of what Christianity gave to Ukraine. They fully illustrated the very instance of the great contribution of Christianity to the growth of Ukraine, in the course of not a full three quarters of a century after the official acceptance of the Christian faith by the Ukrainian people. Their spiritual life underwent a complete transformation and, in particular, their capital city of Kyiv was transformed into a center of high level Christian culture of the newly baptized nation. An impressive development of church architecture and, connected with architecture, growth of church painting, church mosaics, and subsequently, singing and literary creativity

* Very Reverend Monsignor (Mytrophorny Protoyerei) Gregory Udod, graduate of St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg, and University of Saskatoon, author of several scholarly works, such as *The "Unification" of the Ukrainian Church with Moscow's Patriarchate* (1972) and *Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon* (1973), and many articles and contributions to collective works in Ukrainian and English.

¹ Metropolitan Ilarion, “Discourse on Law and Grace,” Evaluation of the Treatise: D. Chyzhevsky, *Istoria ukrainskoi literatury*, New York, 1956, pp. 73-78; also, V. Radzykevych, *Istoria ukrainskoi literatury*, Detroit, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.

² The text of the *Discourse*; A. Ponomarev, *Pamiatniki drevnierusskoi tserkovno-uchitelnoi literatury*, St. Petersburg, 1894-1897, pp. 59-76.

began. Along with the impressive growth of those fields of Ukrainian Christian culture, the holy Christian mode of life was to an even greater extent engulfing the Ukrainian people through Church preaching, Christian inspired state legislation, and, even more, through the personal, exemplary way of life, generosity, devotion and dedication of the upper social crest of the nation, and particularly, of the nation's rulers, Great Princes of Kyivan Ukraine-Rus'.³

In order to fully comprehend the reasons of the astonishing and rapid development of those areas of national, ecclesiastic and cultural life processes in the relatively short period of time since the official acceptance of Christianity by our nation, one must turn towards the origins of Ukrainian Christianity. Christianity came to Ukraine from Byzantium, which at that time was the most civilized and the most powerful nation of the globe. At the time of the Christianization of Ukraine, Byzantium was experiencing a rebirth of all fields of its national, political, ecclesiastic and cultural life. Moreover, the fact that Christianity came to Ukraine and was not brought by some military foreign force and introduced by compulsion is important. It was accepted by the sovereign Ukrainian people through their own free will and free choice, after careful and thorough analysis and after learning various, well-known religious denominations and movements of that time.

What is more, since the Ukrainian people not only accepted Christianity voluntarily, having chosen it from among other religious denominations, but they actually fought a warfare under the leadership of their ruler, Great Prince Volodymyr, in order to receive Christianity in such form that was most suitable for the national features of the people and most adoptable for their religious, cultural and political life processes. As a result of that warfare, Christianity came to Ukraine in its most favorable form for our nation and in its most needed and advantageous content for its multilateral growth.

Let us quote the story told by the chronicle. Ten wise ambassadors of Great Prince Volodymyr went to various lands to study the religions of those lands and peoples and while in Constantinople, in St. Sophia's Cathedral, they were deeply moved by the beauty of the Divine Liturgy. When they returned to Ukraine, they related to the Great Prince, that while at the Holy Mass of the Greeks, they lost their perspective and did not really know whether they were on earth or, perhaps, in heaven.⁴ It happened that way because the Ukrainian people by their very nature, have always been deeply touched by beauty; since esteticism has always been a part of the essentially Ukrainian world acceptance.

The decision of the Great Prince and the Council of Nobles of Ukraine-Rus' to receive Christianity from Byzantium was adopted voluntarily as consequence of a victorious war, as pointed out. Ukraine, in this way, somehow acquired the right to become a Christian nation in its most perfect version of Christianity. Without doubt, that decision had a most profound impact on all later history and historical developments of the Ukrainian nation.

³ Volodymyr the Great: N. Chirovsky, *An Introduction to Ukrainian History*, New York, 1981, Vol. I, pp. 118-124; G. Vernadsky and H. Karpovich, *A History of Russia*, Vol. II, *Kievan Rus*, New Haven., 1951, pp. 56-74, 69-70.

⁴ Chirovsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 216-219; N. Polonska-Vasylenko, *Istoria Ukrainy*, Munich, 1972, Vol. I, pp. 117-118; Yu. Fedoriv, *Istoria tserkvy v Ukraini*, Toronto, 1967, pp. 39-41.

The decision not only brought to Ukraine a beautiful ecclesiastic rite, a specific constitution of ecclesiastic and religious life and a very high cultural level, but in particular, it introduced to our nation a special divine blessing in the form of a harmony and symbiosis between the Church and the State and the close cooperation of both.

Ideally speaking, it actually should be this way. In the *Code of Civil Laws* of Emperor Justinian I, of the 4th century is the following statement: “The Church and the State are two Divine gifts for mankind, which originate from one and same source, from God’s will, that constituted them. These two Divine gifts should act in full harmony with each other. The Church should manage the Divine and Heavenly affairs, while the State — the worldly and human ones. At the same time the State should extend universal care of ecclesiastic studies and priestly honor, while the clergy, together with the State should channel all social life in the ways leading to God.”⁵

At the time in Byzantium, that harmony was only an imaginary ideal, far from reality because the State constantly attempted to dominate the Church. In the Christian West, the opposite at times was true, namely, the Church tried to dominate worldly affairs. In Ukraine that harmony fully developed, starting with the first days after the country’s Christianization, and lasted throughout the centuries, to the present time. Great Prince Volodymyr always looked to bishops’ and clergy’s councils in all ecclesiastic affairs. He never introduced any law without the Church’s approval, and at the same time, he was giving all-comprehensive moral and material support for the Church in its development and activity. Prince Volodymyr became an ideal example of a Christian ruler for his people then and thereafter. Immediately after his baptism, because he was loyal to the teachings of the Holy Scripture, he gave a tithe of his wealth for financing the construction of the grand church of the Holy Assumption (Dormition) of the Virgin Mary in Kyiv, known as the Church of the Tithe. Then, following the example of the Grand Prince, other Ukrainian princes and nobles (*boyars*), began to build holy churches and monasteries in all the towns of Rus’-Ukraine.

Christianity came to Ukraine in the form of the Church of Christ of the Ukrainian people. Hence, from the first days of its existence that church became the great moral support of the Ukrainian Kyivan empire. Under the Church’s moral leadership and with its active support, in a relatively short period of time the Ukrainian state authorities were able to reconstruct the whole life process of the society and put it on the path prescribed by the Almighty God. Then, the Ukrainian people were moving through the centuries under the leadership of the Church, along that God blessed path that made them able to successfully overcome whatever historical storms and misfortunes occurred.

Christianity, by means of the Church, spiritually united separate Ukrainian tribes of the vast territory of the Kyivan Empire which extended from the Carpathian Mountains to the Volga River and from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the shores of the Black Sea. It unified all of the tribes into one nation, which successfully entered

⁵ Impact of Christianity on Legislation. W. Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*, New York, 1884, pp. 144-153; Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 66-71, 204-207; H. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 468, 521, 524, 525 and 584.

the international arena and the circle of the most civilized and politically powerful nations of the world of that time.⁶

By the way of the Church, Christianity initiated schools and an educational process in Ukraine. The first schools were established by Grand Prince Volodymyr in Kyiv and by a decree, he bound the princes and *boyars*, the nobles, to send their children to these schools to study. Volodymyr did not hesitate to use compulsion with respect to school attendance, since he was aware of the urgent need to educate future Ukrainian priests and state officials in order to secure their own people to serve national interests. Starting with the first schools, established by Prince Volodymyr, education spread tremendously throughout all of Rus'-Ukraine. It is a well known fact that even later when the Ukrainian people were robbed of their own statehood, the Church continued to remain the very center of the educational enlightenment by way of the church brotherhood schools and academies. Such church-based schools as the Ostroh and the Kyivan-Mohylian Academies became well known throughout the whole civilized world of that time. The educational activity of the Church of Christ of the Ukrainian people was best illustrated by the very fact that during the times of Hetmans Khmelnytsky and Mazepa, illiteracy was almost nonexistent in Ukraine.⁷ Even today, in the Ukrainian diaspora in the Free World, the task of supporting and spreading education and enlightenment is largely the responsibility of the churches and their subsidiary communities and organizations.

With the education sponsored by Christianity in Ukraine, by means of the Church-Slavonic language, generally understood by the people then, the high-leveled Ukrainian national awareness and assertion, national pride, and particularly, the self-consciousness of the land to be called by God to be the defender of Christianity and Christian civilization of the West against the East, especially the Tatars and Turks, developed splendidly. That national and Christian awareness expressed itself later on in a complete identification of faith and nationality in the expressions of "Rus'ian Faith" and "Rus'ian people." They became identical and of the same meaning later on under the Polish domination as well.

Without a doubt, the harmonious cooperation between the Church and the State in Ukraine promoted a swift and fundamental transformation of the whole social life of the people in the sense of Christian ideals. While equal rights for women even today remains an unreachable ideal in many countries, in Ukraine, the women received fullness of equal rights in all social matters under the impact of Christian teaching and Christian legislation at the times of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, and in particular, at the time of Volodymyr Monomakh. The outstanding example of the faithful Ukrainian princesses, who were married to various rulers of the European kingdoms, fully testified the very fact of high social position of the Ukrainian woman at that time.⁸

⁶ The unifying power of the Church: B. G. Pekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, Moscow, 1944, p. 392: "Christianity accepted from Greece, though at that time not yet separated from the West, ultimately became neither Byzantine nor Roman, but Rus'ian (Ukrainian)"; Polonska-Vasylenko, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 118-122.

⁷ V. Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from the VI to XX Century*, New York, 1953; Paul of Aleppo, 1654-1656, attested that the population of Ukraine was literate (p. 95); Jul Just, Danish envoy, being in Ukraine in 1711, "... was greatly surprised to see Ukrainian peasants in many villages going to church with prayer books, indicating that they were literate (p. 132)" Schools at that time were largely run by the Church.

⁸ Elevated position of the Ukrainian woman: M. Holubets, *Velyka Istoria Ukrainy*, Lviv, 1935, pp. 281; Vernandsky, *op. cit.*, Vol II, pp. 154-157.

Presently, in the second half of the 20th century, the abolition of the death sentence is also still an unreachable ideal in very many countries of the world, including many Christian countries. In Ukraine, however, capital punishment was abolished one thousand years ago under the influence of Christian teaching and a full harmony between the Church and State legislation. It has been most clearly expressed in Prince Volodymyr Monomakh's *Instruction for Children*, who, as was generally known, was the most outstanding example of an ideal Christian ruler in all Ukrainian history. He wrote in his *Instruction* to his children and all his descendants: "Do not punish anybody by death; either a guilty or not guilty one."⁹

Under the impact of Christian teaching, family relations were regulated and well established. The sanctity of the family, respect for parents and the elders, in general, and marital fidelity were firmly built in the social life of our people. Marital fidelity became lasting and proper for the Ukrainians under any circumstances of their fate to the present day.

Furthermore, the institution of slavery was abolished as a result of Christian teaching and harmony, as well as the general social attitude toward the less fortunate, the so-called *izgoi*, was changed to a more charitable one. Slaves consisted of prisoners of foreign wars, people sold into slavery for any reason, criminals sentenced by courts for their heavy crimes, as well as debtors in default, unable to pay their debts. By law these elements became slaves of almost all lands in those days. The position of slaves was extremely difficult and unfortunate, until the Christian teachings about man as the image of God Almighty, about the equality of all men in Christ, quickly and fundamentally changed the whole perception and induced a complete liquidation of the institution of slavery. At the same time, perception of the dignity of man and individual freedom immediately became proper for the Ukrainian people and has been their lasting feature for the entire millennium of their national development.

The Christian Church and the Ukrainian State, acting in perfect symbiosis and harmony, soon introduced in the life process of the people a kind of system of social security. Almost on the next day after the official introduction of Christianity in the Kyivan Empire, the Grand Prince ordered his officials to deliver food and other necessities to the hungry, poor and needy of the city of Kyiv and its surrounding regions. Subsequently, through the churches and monasteries of Ukraine, the orphanages and nursing homes for the elderly and invalids were organized. The princes and nobles were leaving parts of their wealth and landed estates to those churches and monasteries to enable them to care for the needy. The Church essentially initiated a social welfare program, using modern terminology. The tradition of helping the needy has been preserved in Ukraine through all the periods of her national life, and one can easily detect its consequences today in the well-known Ukrainian hospitality and unceasing concern for the right of the poor and needy.

Of course, Christianity gave to the Ukrainian people a rich Christian culture, which has been the pride of the people throughout the millennium, and the fruits of that culture were lavishly shared by the Ukrainians with other nations. The contemporary Ukrainians live by that cultural heritage; the people in Ukraine under the tyranny of the atheistic and godless Soviet Russian regime, as well as the part of the nation living

⁹ *Instruction for Children*; Chyzhevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-109; text: Ponomarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-76; also Radzykevych, *op. cit.*- Vol. I, pp. 44-46.

in the diaspora in the foreign and spiritually different environment, share that rich cultural heritage. Moreover, in spite of the prolonged foreign domination and particularly, in spite of persistent and all-comprehensive attempts of our national enemies and adversaries to totally destroy all Ukrainian cultural treasures, especially in the 20th century, the foundations of the Ukrainian Christian culture proved to be so unbelievably strong, that the national culture has experienced recurring revivals and heights, whenever any periods of freedom, no matter how slight and short-ranged, followed in intervals. That very instance produced, therefore, a firm belief, that those cultural treasures are indestructible, and that the future generations of Ukrainians would live by that Christian culture in the future and in the forthcoming millennium as well.

The marvelous examples of Ukrainian church architecture, as manifested by the Church of the Tithe, the Church of St. Sophia in Kyiv, the Church of St. George in Lviv, and many, many others found all over the Ukrainian land, are well known throughout the world. Many of these churches have existed for many centuries as the product of Christian spirituality.

Not less marvelous examples of Ukrainian church architecture are currently found in churches erected in various countries throughout the world where Ukrainians settled in the diaspora, after having escaped either Tsarist or Soviet Russian oppression. All of them are creations of the Ukrainian Christian culture, the roots of which came to Ukraine from Byzantium.¹⁰ Yet, that architectural creativity was deeply modified by the Ukrainian spirituality and penetrated by the Ukrainian national cultural elements and Ukrainian genius. By now, they all became an inseparable part of the culture of the world. Furthermore, the outstanding Ukrainian art of painting, particularly the Ukrainian mosaics, the most beautiful examples of which could be found in Ukraine's capital city Kyiv, are another example of Ukrainian cultural creativity on a Christian basis.

Christianity brought the art and skill of homiletics (preaching) to Ukraine. In only sixty years after the official Christianization of Ukraine, the Christian world received the chance to hear the outstanding *Discourse on Law and Grace* of Ilarion, the first Ukrainian to become Metropolitan of Kyiv. Even today, the *Discourse on Law and Grace* amazes everyone, even contemporary theological scholars, by its deep theological meaning and its patriotic content, as well as, through through its outstanding form of presentation.¹¹

Christianity also brought to Ukraine Church singing and Church music. Because they developed on the fertile Ukrainian artistic ground, they became the most cherished ingredients of the country's spiritual culture. They were particularly growing in consequence of ingenious Ukrainian composers' musical creativity in the last two centuries, such as Bortniansky, Vedel, Lysenko, Leontovych, Stetsenko, Koshyts and many others.¹²

Christianity also gave the original literary creation to the Ukrainian people. The first literary works were, of course, translations from the Greek language of various

¹⁰ Architecture: I. Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, Munich, 1957, pp. 196-201; V. Yaniv, *Narys Ukrainskoi kultury*, New York, 1961, pp. 41-44; Chirovsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 240-243; Vol. II, pp. 79-81, 276-279.

¹¹ Chyzhevsky, *op. cit.*, 73-78.

Christian writers. However, under the impact of the national spontaneous spiritual elements, original Ukrainian literary works soon appeared. These works were a far cry from the Byzantine pessimism and ascetism. They were full of the joy of life, hope and national patriotism. These original literary creations called not only for works, leading to the redemption of souls, but also to the fulfillment of social responsibilities in the earthly fatherland. The most beautiful examples of that Ukrainian Christian literary creation were, of course, the outstanding *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Lay of Ihor's Campaign), from the medieval times of princely Ukraine, and the beautiful poetic creations of Taras Shevchenko, a Christian poet of the 19th century.¹³

The Christian era initiated the Ukrainian historical studies. Not at any other place, but in the Kyivan monastery, the Pecherska Lavra, the Ukrainian monks began to write the first chronicles. They were followed by monks in other monasteries and other centers of the Ukrainian cultural life. Even today, those *litopysy* (chronicles) are a rich source of information about the life process of the Ukrainian people in different periods of their historical past.¹⁴

During the troublesome era of the interprincely quarrels in Ukraine, the Church and its metropolitans, bishops and clergy were frequently the authority which many times put a stop to those quarrels, especially those internal warfares among brothers. These Church leaders brought peace among the warring sides. The Church frequently warned those warring princes about what tragedy such bloody strife could lead to and what ruin it could mean.

A number of statements, recorded in the chronicles, brought witness to the instances of the warnings expressed by the metropolitans to bring the princes to their senses, for example: "We are called by God to tell you, O Prince, that you do not act properly, when you pour Ukrainian blood on the Ukrainian soil." The princes, frequently, though not always, followed that Church advice. It must be assumed, that only those interventions enabled the Kyivan Empire not to fall because of the bloody strifes, and continued to prevail until the Mongol invasion. After the Mongol invasion of Rus'-Ukraine, the Church of Christ was the only unifying and centralizing force of the Ukrainian people. The Church kept the nation unified in the course of the later centuries, despite its being divided among and occupied by several foreign states, who developed politically on the ruins of the Kyivan Empire of the 9th to the 14th century.

The early system of harmony and symbiosis between the Church and State was transformed later after the fall of Kyiv, into an even stronger and more organic unifying entity. The fortunes of the Church of Christ in Ukraine and the fate of the Ukrainian people merged into one inseparable entity. During the time the people had no national state of their own and were nationally, socially and religiously captive by foreign powers, Ukraine experienced the most difficult era of her history. Yet, despite the fact that from 1595 to the present day Ukrainian Christianity has remained divided in two branches, Orthodox and Catholic, its very end has remained intact and is the

¹² M. Fedoriv, *Obriadovi spivy ukrainskoi tserkvy*, Pt. II, *Liturchichni spivy*, Philadelphia, 1983, pp. 221-244; also, P. Matsenko, *Narys do istorii ukrainskoi tserkovnoi muzyky*, Winnipeg, 1968, pp. 12-74.

¹³ Chyzhevsky, *op. cit.* pp. 181-197; Radzykevych, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 53-60; T. Shevchenko, *Song out of Darkness*, Trans., by V. Rich, London, 1961.

¹⁴ *Povist' vremennykh lit*, V. Adrianovaia-Perets and D. Likhachev, eds., Moscow, 1950, 2 vols.; also S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Cambridge, 1953.

same; namely to serve the Ukrainian people by Christian ideals that it was called by Divine Providence to disseminate throughout the whole world.

At the time of the Great National Liberation War of the Ukrainian people under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian people again united themselves into one powerful monolith. At that time it seemed that with the construction of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetman State, the country returned to those blessed times which prevailed in the first centuries after its Christianization.¹⁵ Yet, the strength was inadequate. Despite heroism and sacrifice and the national resolution to be free, the Ukrainian people could not defend themselves against the foreign hostile and aggressive powers who wanted to enslave them. Again Ukraine and her Church were divided among the neighboring countries; at first between Poland and Muscovy; and then, between Muscovy-Russia and Austria. And the historical fate of the Church and the Ukrainian people were again separated from each other.

Even during the most trying times of national captivity, however, the Church has always remained the bearer and the custodian of the national tradition. Whenever more favorable circumstances developed, the Church transferred that tradition back to the people in order to start anew the process of national revival, which has continued to the present. The Western branch of our Church gave Ukraine Markian Shashkevych while the Eastern produced the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood and Taras Shevchenko. From there the national revival of the Ukrainian people victoriously began.¹⁶ In that revival process the Church played an extremely important role. The Church has blessed the undertakings and has led the people to the heights of national and religious awareness. The Church has experienced all the successes and downfalls with the people; she directed the process of the revival on a God-pleasing path and in so doing, she secured for the Ukrainian nation ultimate victory in its never ceasing endeavors.

Presently the Ukrainian people face a deadly threat of physical and spiritual genocide like they have never faced before in the course of their thousand year long history. This threat comes from the ruthless and criminal Soviet Russian terror, aimed at creating one Soviet Russian people no matter what price it may involve. The present time and the present conditions demand from the Ukrainian people, and particularly from their organized segments as well as their Church, exceptional efforts and exceptional feelings of responsibility. Therefore, the early example of symbiosis and harmony between Church and state in Ukraine should presently inspire unified actions of the Church and the organized segments of the people, facing the deadly threat of the Moscow inspired genocide.¹⁷ The Church, no matter what her branch or name, must today be first a Church of Christ among the Ukrainian people; she must feel the pains of the nation and should always remain a National Ukrainian Church. She was given by Christ, the Savior, to the Ukrainian people to be their spiritual leader, to bring them to the life ever lasting, and to secure for them in the most effective way the best possible development in the present, earthly world.

¹⁵ The Church in the Cossack-Hetman State: Chirovsky, *op. cit.*, New York, 1984, Vol. II, pp. 252- 263.

¹⁶ The national revival in the 19th century: Polonska-Vasylenko, *op. cit.*, Munich, 1976, Vol. II, pp. 351-384.

¹⁷ L. Poltava, ed., *Russification of Ukraine*, New York, 1984: a comprehensive coverage of the subject matter.

The Ukrainian Church cannot and may not resign from any national aspirations and responsibilities toward the nation in the name of some kind of anonymous or other universalism. She was designed by a Divine plan to serve the interests of the Ukrainian people. The Church of Christ of the Ukrainian people has a solemn obligation to pray and cry with and to be anxious about the fate of each and every Ukrainian person whether he or she dies a physical death in Siberia, or dies a spiritual death in the West either by assimilation or alienation from his or her ethnic stock. The Ukrainian Church, when fulfilling her honorable responsibility as a spiritual leader of the people in the present trying circumstances, should receive all-comprehensive support and assistance of all Ukrainian national organizations and institutions in the Free World, particularly such organizations as the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The Church has a right and a responsibility to mediate any internal disagreements and antagonisms and remind Ukrainian leaders what our ultimate ends and goals are.

Summarizing these thoughts, one must realize that the Ukrainian national survival in these troublesome times and the national progress to the bright future hinges upon the very realization of the need to all-comprehensive efforts of the Ukrainian Churches and all secular organizations and institutions to preserve the fundamental spirit of Ukrainian Christianity. Then, "the forces of hell would not prevail over our Church and nation." The one-thousand year old historical past of the Ukrainian people and their Christian Church certainly gives some kind of guarantee that the forces of evil could not overpower them in the future, either.¹⁸

¹⁸ Briefly on the Church history: J. Madey, "Church, History of the Ukrainian Church," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Toronto, 1984, pp. 472-485, Chirovsky, Vernadsky, Chubaty, Vlasovsky and other authors.



*Participants in the WACL/APACL Executive Board Meeting,
January 21-24, 1988. Taipei, Taiwan.*

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Pre-Conference Meetings of WACL Executive Board & APACL Executive Committee

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Executive Committee of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL), representing peoples of all world regions — including youth and those held captive behind the Iron Curtain — assembled in Taipei, Republic of China, during January 19-21, 1988. Amongst other things in these three days, which came during the ROC's week-long annual World Freedom observance, was a thorough review of the global situation in general and conditions on the Chinese mainland in particular. Unity with harmony was fully demonstrated as the participants worked out major details in preparation for the general conferences of the two Leagues later in the year.

Emphatically stressing the perverse conduct of the Soviets in continuing their arms development and aggressive expansionism whilst concurrently agreeing with the United States on the elimination of medium-range missiles from Europe, and the Chinese communists' persistent reiteration of their faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism whilst they also talk loudly about "modernization", "the relaxation of control" and "external openness", members of the WACL Executive Board and the APACL Executive Committee have therefore resolved to issue these calls to free nations and peoples everywhere:

- Beware of Mikhail Gorbachev's "peace offensive" and low-profile Chinese communist united front moves. All should see what harm will probably be done to the free world when Moscow and Peking reunite the world communist movement, as they are seeking to do through one round of consultations after another.

- See unequivocally that although attempting economic reforms, the Chinese and Russian communists will take few, if any, steps towards establishing free economic or democratic systems. There must be a definite understanding that the two Red regimes are trying to improve their economies only that they may better continue their drive for global communist domination.

- Strengthen the free world's regional security systems and carry out a forceful global strategy against all communists everywhere. Common security shall thus be achieved through freedom and the strength of free peoples.

- Step up economic cooperation, market development, technology transfer and cultural intercourse amongst the free nations of the world. Through investment, technical endeavor, the easing of protectionism and the removal of tariff barriers, industrialized nations should ensure that modernization and industrialization are effectively continued by developing countries.

- Promote and encourage the cooperative actions which the six-nation Arab Gulf Council is taking to ensure the restoration of peace to the Middle East, in conformity with the determinations of the international community.

- Actively enforce the implementation of embargoes against communist regimes, making sure that none of them receive capital, facilities, weapons or advanced know-how from the free world, in order that free nations' strength is not thereby undermined.

- Speedily and positively step up spiritual, political and material support to the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, the Baltic states, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and other captive states who are struggling for independence and democracy with full national dignity and sovereignty.

● Actively help the one billion Chinese mainland people to start an all-out struggle for Chinese national reunification in freedom, with democracy and the equitable distribution of wealth. Strong support must continue for the struggle of the residents of Hong Kong and Macao to safeguard their ways of life with rights and interests in freedom and under democracy. It must be ensured that these people never fall prey to totalitarian rule.

● Provide aid in every possible way to the anti-communist freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Indochina, so that they can, without delay, bring down Red tyrannies.

● Support with the utmost earnestness the Republic of Korea's national unification endeavor to bring peace and democracy to the entire Korean peninsula. In the meantime, all-out support must be given for the successful holding of the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

● Strongly condemn international terrorism. The Pyongyang regime particularly deserves strong and universal denunciation for the November 29 barbaric bombing, by its agents, of a Korean Airlines plane over waters near Burma, which took the lives of 115 innocent victims.

● Congratulate Philippine President Corazon Aquino and the Filipino people for completing the final phase of establishing democracy in the Philippines by the holding of relatively peaceful and widely supported elections.

● Take strong countermeasures to stop the increasing growth and activities of the Soviet Navy and merchant fleet units in the South Atlantic Ocean and the South Pacific Basin, and draw to the attention of the world the Soviet violation of the peaceful Antarctic Treaty provisions by the establishment of Soviet bases on the White Continent in support of the growing global Soviet naval geostrategic offensive against the West.

The Executive Board of WACL and the Executive Committee of APACL decided to hold the 21st conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Geneva, Switzerland, in August 1988, and the 34th Conference of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League at an appropriate time and place in the latter half of the year. The conference themes will be "Freedom Above All!" (Liberté d'abord!) for WACL, and "To Promote Unity, Freedom and Prosperity!" for APACL.

Deeply saddened by the passing away of President Chiang Ching-kuo, recognizing how valiantly the late President strove all his life for freedom and democracy, how successfully he led the Republic of China on the road to modernization, keeping the nation always at the forefront of world anti-communism, and how he was respected and admired both at home and abroad, the Executive Board of WACL and the Executive Committee of APACL, hereby express profound sympathy and deep condolences to his family and nation.

The Executive Board and Executive Committee participants also express special respect and gratitude to all those of the WACL/APACL ROC Chapter for their warm hospitality and efficient meeting arrangements in the midst of national mourning.

MODERNIZING CHINA — A Comparative Analysis of the Two Chinas

by Dr. Anthony Kubek

Hardback, illustrated, 250 pages. Published by: Regnery Gateway, Inc., 1130 17th St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20036, USA, Price \$17.95.

THE VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM

Speech delivered during a demonstration in front of the Soviet Mission in New York on November 7, 1987, commemorating the victims of 70 years of Bolshevik communist rule.

My name is Linda Shapiro. I thank all of you for coming today and listening to my story. I thought that this Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Communism would be an appropriate time for me to share with you something about my husband.

As you all know, a few days ago, on Tuesday, October 27, the world received a report that my husband, the filmmaker Lee Shapiro and his soundman, Jim Lindelof, had been killed in Afghanistan.

As you may imagine, I cried for Lee, and I felt crushed when I finally came to the conclusion that Lee is dead. But at the same time, I felt very proud of him. I feel that he and Jim are genuine heroes. These two men went to Afghanistan because they were concerned for the plight of the people of that beleaguered and suffering country.

I was really worried before Lee went. But he told me not to worry, because he believed in God and in God's protection. And he added that, if the worst thing did happen and he was killed, then that would be the best way for him to die because he would be on the front-line, working with the people he was trying to help.

People often ask, "Why didn't the West do more during World War II to prevent the Holocaust? Why didn't the West speak out?"

Since World War II there have been many additional genocidal actions committed while the world continued to look the other way. Only a decade ago, people were unwilling to believe what was happening in Cambodia until half the nation's population was dead. Then, after it was too late, many regrets were voiced along with the slogan, "If only we knew!"

Lee was concerned about the brutality and murder committed by totalitarian communist regimes. Three years ago he went to Nicaragua and lived for a number of months among the Miskito Indians, making a film that documented the systematic and brutal murder of those gentle and innocent people at the hands of the Sandinistas.

Today, perhaps the most brutal atrocities ever are being committed in Afghanistan. The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army has been going on for seven years, with no letup in sight. During this time, the Soviets have massacred over a million innocent civilians, and have driven more than five million into exile in refugee camps, out of a country of fifteen million people. They have induced famine and poisoned the land, turning it into a desert. Helicopter gunships demolish entire villages. Tiny land mines disguised as children's toys are dropped in villages, for the purpose of maiming the children. Soviet ground forces, some of them special units, go into villages to rape, burn, murder and mutilate, leaving behind the message: submit, get out, or die hideously.

These facts about the Soviets' behavior are not-unknown to the West. They have been reported often enough that there should be no question in anyone's mind about their accuracy. But the West has paid little heed.

Lee and Jim were in Afghanistan making a film that would show, in a deeper and more thorough way than ever before, the suffering of these people.

One man who had been Lee's companion on an earlier trip has said that Lee was filming constantly, documenting the frequent combat, the devastated villages, the streams of refugees, the makeshift hospitals, the casualties, the death. Lee was always in front filming. He was right around the shooting, with bullets coming like rain. Lee and Jim knew the danger and experienced it daily. The Russians are out to kill journalists who try to document their brutality in Afghanistan, especially Americans.

On October 5, 1985, the Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan was quoted as saying: "I warn you, and through you all of your journalist colleagues, stop trying to penetrate Afghanistan with the so-called mujahideen. From now on the bandits and the so-called journalists — French, American, British and others — will be killed, and our units in Afghanistan will help the Afghan forces to do so."

But Lee and Jim gave this project the full measure of their devotion because they cared, and hoped that their work would provoke others to care, and even to change. Lee was a very happy person by nature. He was always laughing, he loved comedy, and he wanted to make people happy. He went into filmmaking because he felt that films create happiness and inspiration. Then he visited Central America and saw the plight of the people. He decided to use his filmmaking skill to aid them. He wanted the world to understand, to be moved, and to change.

On this day we mourn the victims of 70 years of communism. Lee and Jim are just two of the 150 million or more victims of that evil ideology and inhuman system. Their friends and I will miss Lee and Jim very much. I thank all of you who have cried for me and for Lee and for Jim. But please, do not cry any more for me or for them. Please cry, instead, for the people of Afghanistan, of Nicaragua, of Eastern Europe, of China, and yes, for the peoples of the Soviet Union itself. My husband's sacrifice, and the sacrifice of Jim and his family, should not be forgotten. They gave their lives for something greater than themselves. It is for us, now, to take courage and determination from their example and their sacrifice. To go forth from here, determined and committed to carry on their struggle for them, in solidarity with all the millions of people around the world who still live under this oppressor's brutality. Determined that we will do everything possible, even to giving our lives as they did, in order that the world may know and the world may change.



An Afghan child — mutilated by Soviet Russian "toy bomb".

DENOUNCING THE VIET CONG EXTORTION SCHEME

Since the day Vietnam was placed under communist rule, the Viet Cong regime has carried out the most brutal, backward governing policy against the Vietnamese people. The result of this policy is that today, Vietnam has become one of the five poorest nations on earth. Ironically, the regime, in the meantime, maintains the fourth largest army in the world. Each year Hanoi receives from Moscow more than two billion dollars to upkeep its arrogant military machine, while the people continue to live their miserable lives day after day in the most backward society.

Persistent backward economic policies and counter-productive management methods of Hanoi derived from outmoded communist ideology, coupled with our people's determined efforts to fight against the regime's exploitation, have pushed the Viet Cong to the worst economic crisis. The prices of goods rise every hour. The inflation rate reaches 800 to 900 percent each year. Production and distribution of goods are severely disrupted. The national budget suffers unrecoverable deficits. Workers' wages are no more than bundles of worthless papers. The regime keeps switching between policies, as well as changing personnel from the top ranks to the local level. No matter what the regime has tried to do, there has not been much success. On the contrary, economic measures taken by the regime often backfire and have placed the economy of the whole country on the brink of total bankruptcy.

The Viet Cong regime today is in greatest danger. The danger is not from starving people, for they have been living in starvation since the Viet Cong took over twelve years ago. The danger comes from within the communist apparatchik Party members who have already lost faith in their leaders. The system is badly decayed by widespread corruption, the lives of cadres and their families are in danger of starvation, something they would never encounter in the past. The Viet Cong now realize they must come up with something quickly to save themselves from near collapse.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has its own problems. Facing another severe economic crisis, the Kremlin has ordered Hanoi to improve its management system and find a way to break the diplomatic isolation in order to seek assistance from Western countries instead of continuing to be a burden to its masters.

A long-term goal outlined in the Sixth Congress of the Viet Cong held in December, 1986 is to "continue pushing forward the revolution in production relations", meaning to continue carrying out established policies aimed at impoverishing the population in the quest of building an absolute totalitarian society faithfully following the Soviet course. Of course, the regime skillfully camouflages its scheme with some measures loosening the control of local economy to encourage a production increase. The purpose of this new scheme, which is to use people's labor to save the regime, is not different from that in the Soviet Union.

Evidenced by the persistent problems such as continuing scarcity of resources needed for production, shortage of foreign currency required for investments, and many more, the schemes have not been of much help to Hanoi. The regime now looks to Western nations and overseas refugee communities as its last hope. This old trick is

quite familiar to Moscow, which always counts on profits made from the Western World to expand its military might, but not for social or economic improvements.

The goal is the same, but the method is more deceptive. The communist regime in Vietnam has drafted and is now ready to launch a systematic money-raising campaign abroad. New problems will be created for people at home when receiving consumption goods sent by relatives overseas. This practice will remain for a long time to come so that hard currency instead of supplies will be sent home, through channels set up and controlled by the regime. More devious will be a plan to urge refugees to send home equipment and raw materials for production purposes. Overseas, Viet Cong agents will convince refugees to help relatives at home “successfully carry out economic projects to improve their living step by step”. These agents will also advertise investment opportunities, trips to Vietnam, or joint ventures with their state run companies. All this is for extortion purposes. People at home are held hostage for ransom paid by relatives abroad who will eventually be made permanent milk cows for the regime.

Furthermore, not to deviate from Moscow’s master plan, Hanoi will try to escape being isolated in international relations and target Western countries for much needed currency. Promising troop withdrawal from Kampuchea thus paving ways for a political solution for this country, proposing economic projects to build “a prosperous Indochina” showing good faith by cooperation with the U.S. government on the MIA issue, organizing propaganda cultural shows, are only a few tricks of Hanoi, aimed at deceiving the world to end the economic embargo imposed by Western nations.

Hanoi’s move to target all of us for money deserves our attention and concerns. The communist regime in Vietnam oppresses the Vietnamese people causing a mass exodus still lasting today, invades neighboring countries, threatens the security in the region, and now it wants our money to consolidate its power and support its military aggression. Should the Vietnamese refugees help out the Viet Cong with their money? Definitely not!

We propose the following measures to counter the money raising scheme of Hanoi now taking place in our communities:

- Urge relatives and friends not to support the Hanoi regime by any means.
- Boycott and urge others to boycott all business transactions, travel trips or investment ventures beneficial to the regime.
- Boycott and condemn firms doing business with, or promoting business for the regime.
- Support the Vietnamese people in their struggle to overthrow the Viet Cong regime and to liberate Vietnam.

Cao Thang Tran

The Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties

MELLOW OFFENSIVE
A Global Strategy to Restore Human Order
By
General Wego W.K. Chiang
Publisher: Society for Strategic Studies
Republic of China

NEWS & VIEWS

DEMONSTRATIONS IN WASHINGTON

Amid the euphoria over the summit meeting and the signing of the treaty eliminating medium-range missiles, representatives of the subjugated nations held demonstrations in Washington D.C. to remind the world that for them and their nations, there is no "glasnost".

The protesters were Ukrainians, Afghans, former "refuseniks", Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians. Ukrainian demonstrators carried seven black coffins, representing 70 years of Russian communist oppression, and the death of over seven million Ukrainians during the 1932-33 artificial famine created by Moscow. The famine was engineered to break the Ukrainian national spirit and quest for independence.

Representatives of The Freedom Foundation, a coalition of 23 national groups whose native lands have been taken over by the Soviet Union held a press conference in Washington. Their intention was to give Western reporters and journalists a true picture of what "glasnost" means to the people of the subjugated nations and to counter applauding statements by Soviet Russian officials who had been holding press conferences in Washington. While the rhetoric pouring out of Moscow has been



Congressman Steny Hoyer addressing the demonstration in Washington, D.C.

pleasing to the gullible Western ear, in reality it has not changed the oppressive situation of the nations under Russian communist occupation.

The greatest number of demonstrators in Washington on December 7 was Ukrainian and Afghan. Both national groups carried placards demanding freedom for their nations and an end to the Soviet Russian colonial occupation. Congressman Steny Hoyer, the chairman of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe addressed the demonstration. He stated that more needed to be done in the area of human rights in the Soviet Union and that “glasnost” had still to be realized in Ukraine.

Earlier, smaller protests were held in Moscow by “refuseniks”. The demonstrators were roughed up by the police, some were detained and the rest forced to disperse.

ARMENIAN NATIONALIST PRAISES STUS

It was with great interest that I read the open letter by the Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, written to you on August 5, 1987. I applaud the decision of Chornovil (and his colleagues) to re-start *The Ukrainian Herald*. I also fully support Chornovil’s wish: “To bring the body of the poet Vasyl Stus from his camp grave in the Urals and bury it in his fatherland — in Kyiv.”

This one should do with all those who have died in the past in this way, in particular in recent times: Ili Habaya, Yuriy Halanskov, Valeriy Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, Mykhail Furasov, Ischana Mkrtychana, Anatoliy Marchenko and others, who have died in the Mordovian and Perm camps, Vladimir and Chistopol prisons.

There is one thing I cannot agree with in Chornovil’s letter. Stus’ name will remain forever, but not only in the history of Ukrainian literature. Our memory of him — a memory about a poet-crusader, patriot and true internationalist — will be preserved (I have no doubts about this) among a large generation of Armenians.

Vasyl Stus was the first member and sympathiser of the United Armenian National Party (the organization of those who support an independent Armenia). Together with Stus, from 1976, we received solidarity from a large group of Ukrainian, Baltic, Russian and Jewish political prisoners. Vasyl Stus created the foundation for a new cooperation between the spiritually subjugated representatives of our nations.

The death of Vasyl Stus — an incredulous individual with a refined spirit — is a loss to us all. “Guard, I feel very ill, call a doctor”. With these final words he heard in reply from the prison orderly of the 36th Perm strict regime camp: “You will not die.”

Stus is no longer with us... Neither one hundred nor ten years ago. The obligation lies with those who have remained, to aim to publish all of his works in his fatherland. This will be the greatest way to remember Stus.

I trust that you understand and will help in this matter.

Moscow, August 20, 1987
Airikyan Paruir Aranvirovych

(Paruir Airikyan is a member of the United Armenian National Party for which he was sentenced in 1974 to 7 years camp and 3 years exile. His activities in the camp for national and human rights earned him an extra 3 years imprisonment. He ended his sentence in January, 1987.)

GORBACHEV AND NEMESIS

The following commentary by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova appeared in The Baltimore Times on December 4, 1987. They are a husband and wife team of historian-journalists.

What is Mikhail Gorbachev's historical mission? The point is not how to appraise the current shifts in the USSR — whether positively or negatively — but the very principle of our approach to them. A superficial onlooker impatiently expects immediate and simple results — the conservatives a failure, the liberals a success — but what is in fact happening is a lively complex, contradictory and paradoxical process with an X-factor in the end: its outcome.

And what is left for us, the spectators of the next act of the Russian drama, to do? We can either emphasize, like a chorus in an ancient Greek tragedy, with the protagonist, Mikhail Gorbachev, who has taken on the Herculean task of cleaning out the Augean stables of the last empire on earth, or we can try by putting the present Kremlin leader into the context of Russian history, to understand what historical mission he is carrying out; and then, depending on that mission, to define our attitude toward him. In any case, however, day to day occurrences must not overshadow the historical unfolding.

By now it has become plain, not only to American ill-wishers, but on the testimony of the glasnost-era Soviet press, that Mr. Gorbachev inherited from his predecessors an empire in a grievous state.

No matter what American right-wingers intone about a communist empire, the communist ideology has not taken root on the immense territory of Russia. It is easier to find true believers in any other country (including the United States) than in the Soviet Union. Literally no one there believes any longer in communist slogans — neither the General Secretary nor the man in the street.

Pentagon claims about military parity between the superpowers are also dubious: the Soviet economic crisis is so severe that any competition with the United States is out of the question. For all practical purposes, the Soviet Union has quitted the world arena as an equal not only to the US but of the West as a whole.

Apart from ideological and economic problems, the chief political problem of the polyglot Soviet empire is that it has more nations than the UN, and the only thing that unites them is hatred of the imperial nation, the Russians, who according to the last census just barely accounted for half of the population of the country they rule. By the end of the millennium they will have become a national minority, thanks to a low birth rate among the Slavs and a high one among the Moslems.

Unable to overcome the national-demographic contradictions, Mr. Gorbachev, through glasnost has revealed and aggravated them. Signals of a renaissance of national consciousness come from everywhere. A year ago there were anti-Russian riots in Kazakhstan. This year witnessed a powerful movement by the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland; demonstrations in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia demanding independence from the “older brother”; separatist movements in Georgia and Ukraine, and discontent in the Moslem republics of Central Asia.

The minoritarians are not at all opposed to Mr. Gorbachev's restructuring, but they want to restructure independently from Moscow, in their own national way. It is their historical mission to be Mr. Gorbachev's antagonists. He wants to strengthen the

empire and restore its economic and military might and its political prestige. But the leaders of the nationalists' movements want that gigantic anachronism to follow as soon as possible the imperial precedents of Persia, Rome, the Ottomans, Britain and the others — and vanish.

In short, Mr. Gorbachev's mission looks quite different in a historical light than viewed on a strictly political plane. He has undertaken a task which is beyond his strength. This is because he is opposed not only by his own *oblomovs* (to borrow from Goncharov the famous image of a totally apathetic person), among both bureaucrats and *hoi polloi*, but also by history itself.

History is not his ally but his implacable enemy. As all its predecessors did, the Russian empire has reached its sunset years: its ideological, economic, political and demographic degeneration are historically inevitable. No palliatives can help the empire, no halfway measures will save it. It is possible to cure even a gravely ill person, but not one who is dying.

Leonid Brezhnev tried to freeze the process of imperial decay. Mr. Gorbachev, to the contrary, has revealed that process, thus terrifying the people, who in the main prefer to live without that oppressive knowledge and therefore oppose, more and more openly, the policy of glasnost. While striving to strengthen Russia economically by means of decentralization, Mr. Gorbachev is in fact shaking it loose politically. But even the economic results of his reforms are questionable, and the people are already dissatisfied with both the impending price increases and the ever longer waiting lines for foodstuffs and other bare necessities.

If Mr. Gorbachev's experiment in the forced introduction of limited democracy leads to economic chaos and political anarchy, or even seems to threaten to do so, his place will be taken by his adversaries, who will try to hold together the collapsing imperial conglomerate with an administrative and police clamp-down. They have just succeeded in dislodging the most determined reformist in the leadership, Moscow Party boss Boris Yeltsin, who was Mr. Gorbachev's protégé and key lieutenant. His ouster was an unequivocal warning to Mr. Gorbachev himself. The cyclic nature of Russian history also whispers that it is usually a despot who comes to take a liberal's place.

The question now is: what degree of decay will the Russian empire have time to reach under Mr. Gorbachev? Ironically, while striving for one thing, he achieves, involuntarily, its very opposite. What metamorphoses, stranger even than Ovid's, have not occurred in politics? A professional fireman may become an involuntary arsonist. Mr. Gorbachev appears as a provocateur: while trying to check the course of history and save his empire from collapse, willy-nilly he hastens that collapse.

VOICES OF HOPE

“Latvians will never accept their incorporation into the USSR!” These words were spoken by Rolands Silaraups, former head, and now, after his deportation from Soviet-occupied Latvia in July 1987, the official foreign representative of the Latvian Helsinki 86 monitoring group. Mr. Silaraups appeared at “Voices of Hope”, a program highlighting current Soviet opposition literature, sponsored by the Ukrainian Students Association of Mykola Michnowsky (TUSM) on November 14, 1987 in New York.

Mr. Silaraups, who spoke with the aid of a translator, provided interesting glimpses into Mikhail Gorbachev's new “glasnost” policy, stating that “No one should trust

Gorbachev. There is nothing new in the Soviet Union, except, perhaps, less persecution of free thought." He also commented on the mass demonstrations which Helsinki 86 organized this year to commemorate the forced annexation of the Baltic republics into the USSR. Mr. Silaraups assured the audience that KGB efforts to destroy Helsinki 86 have continually failed. Before his deportation, a replacement was selected.

The Byelorussian presentation, given by Vitaut Kipel, centered around the issue of heightened Russification of the Byelorussian language and culture. Mr. Kipel used two letters sent in December 1986 to Mikhail Gorbachev from nearly 150 of Byelorussia's leading intelligentsia in defense of their language which they say has experienced the "destructive process" of Russification which in the "last two decades... has accelerated". They concluded that "the Byelorussian language is one of the foundations upon which the statehood of the Byelorussian people rests".

Mrs. Sirje Ainso of BATUN (the Baltic Appeal to the United Nations) spoke on the tragic plight of Mart Niklus, Estonia's leading human rights activist who, now in failing health, "hangs on only to hope; our hope and prayers are with him too."

Excerpts from the letters of Lithuanian nationalist activist Viktoras Petkus were read by Ms. Ginte Damusis, director of the Lithuanian Information Center.

Formerly incarcerated Ukrainian activist Sviatoslav Karavansky used the testimonies of recently released Ukrainian prisoner of conscience Yosyp Terelya and Anatoliy Koryagin to describe the continued use of psychiatric medicine for punitive purposes. Mr. Karavansky spoke about Zinoviy Krasivskyj, who was forcibly admitted to a psychiatric hospital for his Ukrainian patriotic activities. Mr. Volodymyr Kurylo concluded the program by tracing the life and writings of well-known Ukrainian poet and patriot Vasyl Stus, who died as a result of physical torture and lack of medical attention in the notorious concentration camp in Kuchino, Perm region in the Urals in September 1985.

SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVES CALL FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Forty-two senators and 103 members of the House of Representatives, in separate letters to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, have urged the release of five women prisoners of conscience and the 16 political prisoners remaining in a brutal Soviet labor camp. Both letters were prepared in response to actions by Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

Sent on the eve of the U.S.-Soviet summit, the senators' letter stated: "An important issue on the agenda is the discussion of human rights. We are bringing to your attention the situation of five women who are imprisoned or in psychiatric hospitals in your country. They are: Sirvard Avagyan (Armenian), Valentina Pailodze (Georgian), Hanna Mykhailenko (Ukrainian), Elena Sannikova (Russian) and Anna Chertkova (religious activist)."

The representatives' letter expressed "deep concern for the status of the prisoners held in special-regimen labor camp 36-1 in Permskaya Oblast. Sixteen political prisoners remain in Perm camp 36-1, including several well-known Ukrainian Helsinki monitors. The names of the political prisoners in camp 36-1 are: Gunars Astra, Mykola Horbal, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukyanenko, Vasyl Mazurak, Mart-Olav Niklus, Vyacheslav Ostroglyad, Vasyl Ovsienko, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Boris Romashov, Petro Ruban, Semen Skalych, Ivan Sokulskyj, Enn Tarto, Fyodor Trufanov."

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

DEMONSTRATIONS IN ARMENIA

Two major demonstrations took place in October, 1987, in Yerevan, Armenia's capital. On October 17, some 2,000 people demonstrated for the closure of a chemicals factory which they said has polluted the area for forty years. Two days later, police broke up a crowd of 1,000 people demonstrating for the return to Armenia of two territories now located in the Azerbaijani SSR.

The issue of the protection of environment, once a taboo subject, was raised in an open letter to Gorbachev in March 1986, signed by 350 Armenian intellectuals and scientists, in which environmental pollution in Armenia was discussed. Although this letter was not publicised in the official media, it became widely known in its *samizdat* form. Since then, this matter has been raised by the First Party Secretary, Karen Demirchyan, as well as by journalists' reports in *Literaturna Gazeta* of June 24, 1987 and *Sovjetskaya Kultura* of July 4, 1987.

The demonstrators on October 17 included members of human rights groups and carried banners with the slogan: "Save Armenia from radioactive and chemical genocide". They also demanded the arrest of Soviet Chemical Industry Minister, Yuriy Bepalov, on criminal charges.

The one thousand strong demonstration that occurred in Yerevan a couple of days later demanded the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Nakhichevan Autonomous SSR from the Azerbaijani Soviet republic to Armenia. A petition of 75,000 signatures was organised earlier this year to support the demand for the return of Nakhichevan ASSR to Armenia. Both territories were promised to Armenia under an agreement signed in December 1920, after the establishment of Soviet Russian power in Armenia.



BYELORUSSIANS DEFEND NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Two *samvydav* documents reached the West in 1987 concerning the critical state of the Byelorussian language and the development of Byelorussian culture as a whole. Both documents are open letters to Mikhail Gorbachev, expressing the view that decisive measures are needed to improve the status of the Byelorussian language and culture, thus saving the Byelorussian people from spiritual extinction.

The first letter, dated December 15, 1986, was signed by 28 leading Byelorussian cultural activists, including writers, journalists, artists, actors, composers and teachers. The activists stressed that there has been a recent notable growth of national consciousness as a reaction to the tragic state of the Byelorussian language and culture. This in turn, has evoked a negative reaction from the republic's bureaucracy. Byelorussians who consistently and consciously use their native language are frequently accused of nationalism. Therefore, even everyday use of the mother tongue demands a certain amount of civil courage.

The letter demands that the Byelorussian language be reintroduced as the official language in Party and state organs and institutions in Byelorussia, thus changing its status as a secondary language to that of the main language of the republic.

The letter calls for the compulsory teaching in the mother tongue in kindergartens and schools and the instruction of Byelorussian in institutes of culture, art, theatre, as well as in agricultural and humanitarian faculties at universities. In this way, the Byelorussian language will be preserved and these changes will help in the reinstatement of the Byelorussian language as the native language of the Byelorussian people.

The second open letter to Gorbachev sent 6 months after the first, was signed by 133 Byelorussians. This time the list of names includes not only leading cultural activists, but also people who identify themselves as manual workers. The letter takes up issues already raised in the previous letter and states that the Byelorussian Party leadership has drawn hardly any notable conclusions. The letter refers to the speech delivered by the 1st Secretary of the CP of the BSSR, Sokolov, in which he maintains that there are no problems at all in issues concerning the Byelorussian language and culture.

The signatories of the letter draw attention to the fact that in 1979 Byelorussians made up 71.5% of the population, yet there is not a single Byelorussian school remaining and that Byelorussian schools in rural areas are really only Byelorussian in official reports and on nameboards. There is no trace of "bilingualism" in the system of higher, secondary, special and professional technical education in universities, institutes and colleges. The training of all specialists for the economy, culture and education is conducted in Russian. Even in philological faculties all subjects except those directly concerned with Byelorussian language and literature are taught in Russian. As a result, not a single teacher has been trained specifically for Byelorussian-language schools since 1945. Virtually all official correspondence in the republic is conducted in Russian. The letter further states that the continued failure to recognise the pressing needs of the national language and culture is fraught with serious consequences both for the culture itself as well as for the cause of internationalism in the country. The policy of the Byelorussian Party leadership can only be viewed as shortsighted and as running directly counter to the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which proclaims that national cultures shall flourish and that all languages shall have the freedom to develop equally. The writers of the letter end in expressing the hope that this time their appeal will not be ignored and that the Byelorussian leadership will finally take decisive measures to save the national language and culture of the Byelorussian people from complete extinction.

BYELORUSSIAN DEMONSTRATION IN MINSK

Sovetskaya Belorussiya of November 17 reported that at least 200 nationally-minded Byelorussians took part in an open-air public meeting in Minsk on November 1, that turned into a political demonstration. The gathering was organized by young people belonging to two "informal" patriotic associations and attracted well-known members of the Byelorussian creative intelligentsia. Among other things, participants referred to the mass repressions against Byelorussians in the 1930s as genocide, and called for the identification of all those responsible for the crimes of this period, demonstrating the growth of a national movement in Byelorussia.

The meeting took place on the morning of November 1 in Minsk's Yanka Kupala Square in order to revive the Byelorussian tradition of *Dzyady*, whereby on the first Sunday in November, the dead are honoured. One of these "informal" groups is made up of young literati and calls itself "Tuteishyia", which literally means "the locals" and

was the perjorative term used for Byelorussians in the Tsarist Russian Empire. The other is called "Talaka", a Byelorussian term for self-help.

The meeting attracted "well-known poets and writers, scholars, artists, theatre workers, and Party and Komsomol officials". A stirring verse by Byelorussia's national poet, Yanka Kupala, was read at the official opening of the meeting, which was followed by readings of poems by members of the "Tuteishyia" association, statements from some of the participants; and lively discussion and debate. "Dozens" of names of prominent Byelorussians who perished during the repressions of the 1930s were recalled. An appeal was read out by one of the speakers which was presumably going to be addressed to the authorities from the meeting's participants. It urged that the full truth about the past be uncovered and, among other things, that "all the names not only of the victims of the years of repression but also of those who were responsible for the crimes" be published and that the latter be identified as "criminals", with all that this implies. The appeal also included a demand for ensurance "that there is full knowledge about the underlying mechanism that made it possible in the eyes of the entire nation to transform its best sons into "enemies", and the remainder into "a terrorized mass."

The participants also raised questions on the current situation of the Byelorussian language and culture, the need to teach the younger generation "the full historical truth," and the disastrous effects of the Chornobyl nuclear accident on Byelorussia.

It is clear from the information provided by *Sovetskaya Belorussiya* that the recent resurgence of Byelorussian national assertiveness has affected not only the nation's writers and that the concerns of nationally-minded Byelorussians go much further than the issue of the status of the Byelorussian language. What is so striking about the article is its emphasis on the role of the youth in the burgeoning Byelorussian patriotic movement. According to *samizdat* documents that have been received by Byelorussians abroad, an unofficial association of patriotic Byelorussian youth called "Spadchyna" (Heritage) was active in Minsk until it was broken up by the authorities in December 1986, and seems to have been the precursor of "Talaka".



THOUSANDS DEMONSTRATE IN PRAGUE

Czech political police broke up a meeting of leading dissidents in Prague on November 22. The purpose of the gathering was to make detailed preparations for the commemoration of U.N. Human Rights Day which falls on December 10. All the male participants at the meeting were taken to various police stations for questioning. They were warned that: a) the planned demonstration was known to the authorities; b) certain (unspecified) "elements" were ready for the occasion to commit acts of violence and even terrorism; and, c) they would, consequently be held responsible for all "disturbances of public order".

In these circumstances, the Charter 77 spokespersons decided to leave to the discretion of each individual whether to go, or not, to the Old Town Square in Prague on Thursday evening, the tenth of December. At the same time they issued a statement, distributed at various points in Prague and handed over to Agence France Presse in Prague. In turn, all the Western radio stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak carried the item, including the date, hour and place of the planned demonstration. As a

result, some 1,000 people swelled by hundreds of onlookers, assembled at the foot of the statue of Jan Hus, the Czech national hero, shouting slogans such as “Svoboda!” (Freedom), “Lidska Prava!” (Human Rights). The police, both in uniform and plain clothes, massed at the square and in neighboring streets and attempted to drown the demonstrators’ shouts in loud, amplified music. Everybody attempting to get to the square was asked for identification and turned back. As for the leading dissidents, the great majority of them were under house arrest, police officers broke into their homes or appeared at their workplace early in the morning and kept them under surveillance throughout the day. The demonstration lasted about an hour-and-a-half. Although the police refrained from breaking up the gathering, some 35 Chartists who succeeded in joining the crowd were arrested and later released, though one among them, Jiri Gruntorad, was brutally beaten up.

Two days earlier, on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of John Lennon’s death, some 500 young people gathered, as in past years in Hroznova Street, each with a burning candle in hand and singing. This time, the police charged and dispersed the participants to adjacent streets.



PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH IN SOVIET OCCUPIED LITHUANIA

As we celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Christianization of the Lithuanians, who were the last Europeans to accept Christianity, it is problematical whether there will be a 700th anniversary.

The Lithuanian nation survived 123 years of Russification and proselytizing by the Russian czars from 1795 to 1918. After only 22 years of regained independence between the two World Wars, Lithuania was occupied by the USSR as part of Stalin’s pact with Hitler.

Under Soviet Russian communism for the past forty-seven years, except for three years of Nazi occupation (1941-1944), the Lithuanian people have been subjected to Russification and persecution for their religion on an unheard of scale. The clandestine *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, which has been carefully documenting the persecution of religion and the violation of human rights by the Soviet Russian occupants of Lithuania reports that the 3.25 million population of Lithuania is at least 90% baptized Roman Catholic, 85% receive First Communion, and about 66% practice their Catholic Faith. This is in spite of laws forbidding youth under the age of eighteen to attend Church unaccompanied by an adult. It is against the law for priests to teach catechism. All religious orders and organizations are banned. Half the churches have been closed or secularized by government order. Only one seminary is allowed to function, with intolerable interferences from the Soviet government. The communists carefully keep the number of priests ordained annually below the number who die. As a result of this government-imposed shortage of clergy, 156 churches in Lithuania are without priests of their own. Clergy appointments are strictly controlled by the Soviet government.

In forty-four years of communist occupation, only 9 books for Catholic believers in Lithuania have been published, for a grand total of less than 500,000 copies, in a country which has at least 2 million Catholics. That is less than one book per person in almost half a century! And no religious literature is allowed to be imported.

In communist ruled Lithuania today, religion is involved in a life-or-death struggle, against overwhelming odds. Without assistance from the Free World in the form of prayer and pressure of public opinion on the Soviet government, the Catholic Church of Lithuania, now celebrating its 600th anniversary, may not survive to celebrate its 700th anniversary.

Rev. Casimir Pugevičius



RECENT UNRESTS IN RUMANIA

At least 10,000 people demonstrated in the central Rumanian city of Brasov on November 15 against the State and Party leader Ceausescu. This was the first protest on such a large scale since the communist takeover in 1947 and was probably staged at the time when a three-day Rumanian Communist Party conference was due to begin in Bucharest.

This year saw the rationing in Rumania of coal and electricity, as well as lack of meat, coffee, flour, sugar, butter and other essential food provisions. On November 22, 100,000 workers stopped work in Brasov and with slogans such as "Away with dictatorship!", "We want bread!", "We want to live!", proceeded from the factory complex where they worked and marched to the city council. Other citizens joined the protest march along the way. Entering the city council premises, the protesters tore down all official portraits and communist slogans, destroyed a great amount of property in the offices of the local communist officials, demolished cars, windows, etc.

At the beginning of December, government opposers using petrol-soaked car tyres set fire to a Lenin monument in Rumania's capital, Bucharest. "Give us back our country" was written on the marble monument in large letters. There were also reports about smaller demonstrations staged by workers and students in various towns, including Bucharest and Temesvar.



GLASNOST AT WORK

Attacks Against Ukrainian Activists and Informal Groups in Ukraine

"Glasnost" is not only the term which has come to be world known since Gorbachev launched it as his platform. "Glasnost" is also the name of a press club in Moscow, which was formed in 1987 by former political prisoners and other activists. The press club had organized a seminar to be held from December 10 through 13, 1987, the agenda of which was to address topics from social and economic rights to freedom of speech and religion. The organizers of the seminar also invited human rights activists from Western Europe and the United States to participate, some of whom were denied visas by the Soviet Russian authorities. At least seven members of the preparatory committee had received official warnings from the office of the Public Prosecutor, informing them that the seminar was illegal.

Three Ukrainian former political prisoners, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn and Ivan Hel boarded the train from Lviv bound for Moscow. They were on their way to attend the seminar. With them was the Armenian former political prisoner Paruir Airikyan. Airikyan and Chornovil were scheduled to chair a section of the seminar dealing with the nationality question. As soon as the four men boarded the train, they

were arrested by the police. The charge was a trumped up narcotics offense, one the authorities frequently use in persecuting political activists. The four men never reached Moscow. The authorities succeeded in preventing them from attending the seminar.

Meanwhile, in Vienna, the CSCE conference was continuing. Upon learning of the above arrests, Western diplomats expressed concern that these arrests appear to be a serious step backward in the situation in the USSR, and they raised the issue with the Soviet Russian delegation. The chairman of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Congressman Steny Hoyer criticized Moscow for detaining the four men. There was no satisfactory response from the Soviet delegation regarding the arrests. So much for "glasnost".

"INFORMAL" UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB UNDER ATTACK

An "informal" group in Kyiv was formed last August to serve as a discussion club for nationally minded citizens. Known as the Ukrainian Culturological Club, it has organised several meetings on questions connected with Ukrainian history and culture. In October 1987, however, the club was denounced in the pages of the local newspaper and its organizers warned that it would no longer be tolerated unless it effectively put itself under official control. Members of the club have resisted this pressure and are insisting that the existence of their informal organization is a test case for "glasnost" and "perestroika" in Ukraine.

While most of the newly formed unofficial groups and organizations in Ukraine appear to be concerned with pop music or sport, some are evidently concerned with the preservation of the Ukrainian historical and cultural heritage, ecology, and peace and disarmament. At least two unofficial groups are known to have been formed that seek to apply "glasnost" to the nationalities problem as it exists in Ukraine. These are the circle in Lviv, headed by the former political prisoners Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhaylo Horyn, which has resumed publishing the *samvydav* journal *The Ukrainian Herald* and established an "Action Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience" (see *ABN Correspondence*, No. 6, 1987) and the Ukrainian Culturological Club, which held its inaugural meeting in Kyiv on August 6, 1987.

The main organisers of the Ukrainian Culturological Club are a group of former Ukrainian political prisoners, and the club has generated considerable interest in Kyiv's cultural circles. Its inaugural meeting and first public discussion on the theme of "Ukrainian culture: facade and reality" is reported to have drawn 200 people. Among the issues raised at this meeting was the question of relations between Church and State.

The club's four subsequent meetings dealt with "The Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovorada" (August 20); "Pressing ecological problems" (August 27); "Problems of the preservation of historical and cultural monuments of the Ukrainian nation" (September 11); and, "Blank spots in the history of Ukraine" (October 4).

On October 19, the local newspaper *Vechirnyj Kyiv* published a long article by O. Shvets attacking the Ukrainian Culturological Club. The author attacks the idea of building a monument to "Ukrainian patriots" who suffered hardships and died at the hands of the authorities, which the author claims is no different from campaigns in defence of human rights heard over Western radio stations. The author deliberately tries to discredit the individuals involved in the club, as well as insinuate that there is something sinister behind the stated desire of the club to defend Ukrainian culture and study "blank spots" in Ukrainian history. The author also castigates the organisers of

the last meeting for calling on the audience to observe a minute's silence in memory of Ukrainian political prisoners who have died in Soviet Russian concentration camps in recent years. Furthermore, the author informs us that speakers discussed the artificial famine of 1933 as one of the many blank spots in Ukrainian history and objects to the use of terms like "genocide", "the system of totalitarian rule", "the struggle for human rights and the rights of nations", "regime", and "Mordovian camps". The author also personally attacks one of the club's members, Yevhen Sverstiuk, claiming that during World War II, two of his brothers were members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), thereby attempting to link the club, in a roundabout way, to Ukrainian nationalism.

The day after the appearance of Shvets' article, the leadership of the Ukrainian Culturological Club wrote a letter of protest to the editors of *Vechirnyj Kyiv*. They described the attack on their club as a repudiation of the entire tone of "perestroika" and demanded the right to reply in the pages of the newspaper. Soon afterwards, the local authorities forbade the club to hold any more meetings until it was formally registered. However, as a precondition of registration, the authorities demanded that the club amend its statute to include a commitment to Marxist-Leninist ideology and an undertaking to combat "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

Members of the club have refused to yield to this pressure and have appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They have continued to meet in small groups, although on November 15 a large open-air gathering of some 150 people took place. On November 17, another attack against the Ukrainian Culturological Club appeared in the daily *Robitnycha Hazeta*, which also revealed that the article in *Vechirnyj Kyiv* drew over a hundred letters to the editors, some of which stated that the attack against the Ukrainian Culturological Club signalled "the end of democratization".

Meanwhile in Lviv, the campaign has intensified against members of the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald*. On November 13, an article appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina* attacking Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn, accusing them of working for Western radio stations. The defamatory article was based on an interview between Chornovil and Horyn, and an American journalist, whose video cassette of the interview was confiscated on her departure at Kyiv airport. A Ukrainian television program also attacked the editors of the *Herald*.

On November 30, two of the editors, V. Chornovil and Pavlo Skochok, wrote a letter to the international press in which they stated that at a time of "perestroika", they will continue to defend their independent publication in spite of the dirty campaign against them in the official Soviet media. They further appealed to the international press to stand up in their defence against threats such as the one received by another editor of *The Ukrainian Herald*, Vasyl Barladianu, on his way from Lviv to Odessa on November 28. He was threatened with his life if he ever returned to Lviv again. At the beginning of December, Ukrainian activist Mykhailo Osadchyj was brutally beaten up. The unknown attackers broke down the door to his apartment. This just shows that the KGB is reverting to its old methods of terrorizing with the help of hooligans. The defamatory articles against Ukrainian activists in the Soviet media, the terrorist acts organised by the KGB and finally the arrest of members of the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald* are alarming signs of intensified repression against Ukrainian patriots.

TRIBUTE



Mr. James Jenkins

On September 20, 1987, in Derby, England, a great friend of Ukraine's liberation and all subjugated nations, Mr. James Jenkins, JP suddenly passed away. Throughout his life, he was dedicated in his fight against the evil yoke of Russian communism. As a young man he battled against communists within the Trade Union movement and in 1970 he became an honorary member of the Association of Ukrainians in Derby, helping the community in their struggle for freedom and in the defence of Ukraine and other nations enslaved by Moscow. In fact, he was constantly active promoting the plight of Eastern Europe until the last days of his life.

He helped to form the European Freedom Council (EFC) Branch in Derby and was chairman for the last five years of his life. He also held the position of Vice-Chairman at the National Executive level for two years, deputising for the former MP Stefan Terlezky (chairman for the EFC in the UK), nobly and honourably participating at distinguished functions, such as the EFC International Conference in Munich in 1987.

Through his hard work and efforts within the EFC and the Ukrainian community he became a recognised figure nationally and internationally. He always referred to the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe during his many engagements as he kept a constant dialogue with various British organisations — condemning the lack of liberty and basic human rights given to individuals living in the USSR for their political and religious beliefs. He remains a shining example for younger generations, always underscoring to them his fear of total domination of Russian communism throughout the world. Not only will the Ukrainian community mourn his death, his love for the Ukrainian nation and dedication to its freedom and freedom for all subjugated nations will be an inspiration for all of us.

He was a devout Christian and appealed for us to pray to the Virgin Mary so that she may one day help the peoples of the Soviet Union to be converted and free again. His active support will be cherished forever. Please pray for him.

*Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
EFC Derby Branch Committee*

IN MEMORIAM



Mr. Julian Zablockyj

It is with deep sorrow that we inform our readers and all friends of ABN that on January 5, 1988, after a severe illness, Mr. Julian Zablockyj passed away in London, Great Britain.

Mr. Zablockyj was born on November 11, 1911 in the city of Hlyniany, near Lviv, Ukraine. He entered elementary school in his native city, gymnasium and university in Lviv. In the beginning of the 1930s he became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. For his activities in the nationalist underground movement he was arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment by the Poles. He came out of prison in 1939 and reached Ukraine, which was then under German occupation. Once in Ukraine, Mr. Zablockyj took an active part in the preparation of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the OUN against German and Russian invaders. As a leading member of the OUN Task Forces, he was authorized by the leadership of the OUN to pronounce the Restoration of the Ukrainian State in the nation's capital — Kyiv in 1941. En route to Kyiv he was captured by the Gestapo and imprisoned in the concentration camp at Auschwitz and others, from which he was freed only after World War II ended.

For some time after the war Mr. Zablockyj lived in West Germany, later in France, and from 1958 he settled and lived in England until his death. He devoted all his time and energies to working for the cause of the liberation of Ukraine, in leading OUN positions as well as in the social and cultural spheres of the Ukrainian community in England.

Mr. Zablockyj was the co-organizer and active participant in six conferences of the Foreign Sections of the OUN and three Supreme Assemblies. He was a member of the National Leadership of the OUN in France and in Great Britain. In 1957 Mr. Zablockyj headed the ABN Diplomatic Mission to Free China whose task was to strengthen the cooperation between the peoples of Europe and Asia who are subjugated by communism.

Mr. Zablockyj was a man who was patriotic, deeply religious, hardworking and dedicated to his nation. His home and his family was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian community. He was warm and friendly, outgoing and charitable, but where the enemy was concerned, he was steadfast and uncompromising. He will be greatly missed by all of us who knew him and worked with him.

Funeral services took place on January 12 in London in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral. Mr. Zablockyj was buried at Gunnesbury cemetery.

May his memory be eternal!

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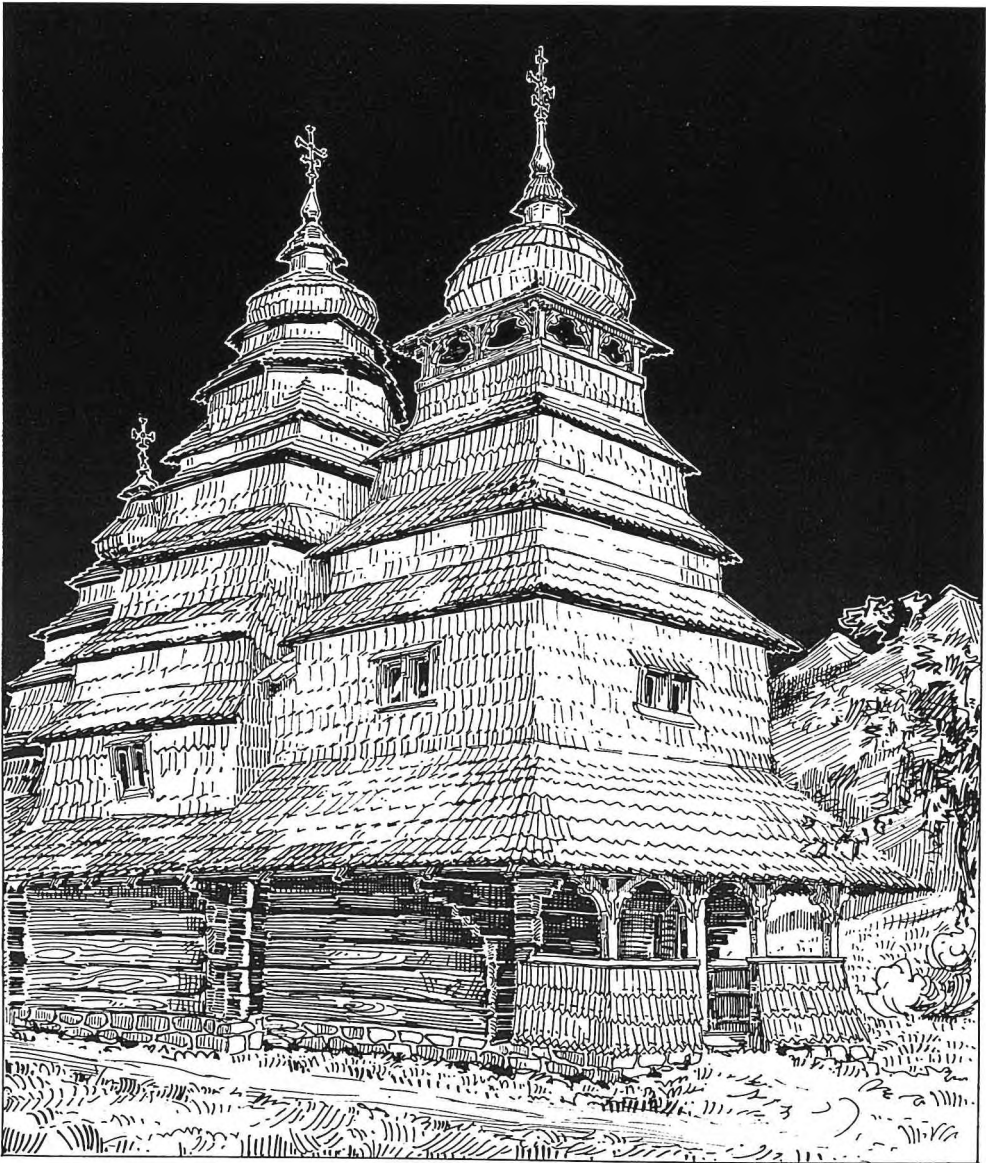
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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



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	<i>Cover: Ukrainian wooden church from the village of Mokhnate, 1794. Drawn by T. Obminskyj, architect.</i>	

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THE EMPIRE STIRS

Hundreds of thousands of Armenians demonstrated in the Armenian capital of Yerevan from February 15-22, while factories stood silent and schools were empty. For several days, the demonstrators gathered before the Opera House holding banners proclaiming slogans such as: "Moscow decide fairly", "One nation, one republic", and singing patriotic songs. In a telephone call, a dissident Armenian leader from Yerevan told Western journalists that "we are not slaves of Moscow". The Armenian demonstrators were demanding the return of the Nagorno-Karabakh region to Armenia. Presently this region is in Azerbaijan. The Nagorno-Karabakh region had belonged to Armenia, but in 1921 Moscow incorporated this region into the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic. The protests began when the authorities tried to open a new synthetic rubber factory in Abovyan, 15 kilometres outside Yerevan, to replace an old one in the capital that is scheduled to close. The protesters complained that the old factory was still working, endangering health and the buildings of Yerevan, and made it clear that they did not want the new one.

During the protests the official regional newspaper *Sowyetskiy Karabakh*, had demanded that the question of the annexation of the Nagorno-Karabakh region to Armenia be raised at the meeting of the regional Communist Party. However, the Central Committee of the CPSU had decided that the demands for "revising the existing national and territorial structure contradict the interests of the working people in Soviet Azerbaijan and Armenia and damage inter-ethnic relations." "If Gorbachev can't manage this cleverly, it will be his first big failure", said a Western diplomat with long service in Moscow.

In the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, people marched out into the streets recently to mark the 70th anniversary of the restoration of their independence, calling for national independence from Russian rule. In the Estonian capital Tallin some 20,000 people marched through the streets in defiance of a government ban. Some demonstrators reportedly shouted, "Get the Russians out!" Last summer in the capitals of the Baltic republics, people held mass rallies in protest over the Russian-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939 which resulted in the annexation of these states to the Soviet Union.

In Byelorussia, an upsurge of Byelorussian national assertiveness is also taking place, following a political demonstration held in Minsk last November, organized by informal groups of nationally-minded Byelorussian youth. Recent items in the Byelorussian press confirm that the concerns of Byelorussian patriots go far beyond the language issue and extend to the historical and cultural spheres — in particular to the question of Byelorussia's former statehood and to the repression and destruction experienced by Byelorussia during the Stalin era. What is particularly interesting in this broad movement in defence of Byelorussia's national rights is that it involves both leading members of the Byelorussian intelligentsia and young people.

Ukraine is also stirring, and not only since Chornobyl. The majority of political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps are Ukrainian patriots, a fact which has been published in the unofficial journal *The Ukrainian Herald*, edited by former Ukrainian political prisoners which reached the West last summer. In their publication, the editors demand the release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union, the freedom of press and speech, and an end to the Russification policy in Ukraine. On the first anni-

versary of the Chernobyl disaster, university students in Kyiv distributed a leaflet containing bold, political demands. The leaflet found its way to the editors of the independent journal *Glasnost* in Moscow and together with a commentary by Sergei Grigoryants, was passed on to the West. The leaflet discusses the nationality question in Ukraine, the possibility of creating a multi-party system, and the threat of nuclear power to Ukraine's existence.

During British Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe's recent visit to Kyiv, Ukrainian human rights activists handed him a letter in which they ask him to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainian people on matters concerning the realisation of restructuring and democratisation in Ukraine. The signatories of this letter demand the release of political prisoners, in particular those who are members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The other points in the letter call for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the establishment of a Ukrainian service at the BBC external services, safeguarding the existence of independent clubs and publications in Ukraine, opening up centres for foreign correspondents in Kyiv, setting up a British consulate in Kyiv, supporting the free development of Ukrainian culture, and defending the right for the use of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of life.

If we add all this to the December 1986 riots in Alma Ata in Kazakhstan and the recent unrests there protesting the appointment of a Russian, Kolbin, as the republic's Communist Party leader, as well as last year's demonstrations in Moscow's Red Square of Crimean Tatars demanding the right to return to their Crimean homeland, it is evident that the nationality problem of the non-Russian republics, which has been brewing for 70 years, has finally come to a boiling point.

Yet this is no sudden and impetuous show of national feeling due to Gorbachev's glasnost policy. Since the forceful incorporation of each nation into the Soviet Union, the Kremlin leadership has constantly tried to suppress national feelings by grossly violating human, national and religious rights. Now as Gorbachev tries to rescue the Soviet Russian empire by introducing some economical reforms and allowing some degree of glasnost in order to induce the people to work more productively, these national feelings have come to the fore. These national expressions of the subjugated nations can only escalate and will continue as long as it takes for all the nations presently enslaved in the Soviet Russian empire to achieve their long-awaited national sovereignty and independence.

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

CREATION OF AN ESTONIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY

The Estonian Communist Party has been unable to represent the interests of the Estonian people for nearly fifty years. Estonians are now becoming a minority in Estonia; the economy, educational system, culture and natural environment have deteriorated to a point where the continued existence of the Estonian people is jeopardized.

Therefore an objective need has developed for an alternative grouping that would represent the interests of the Estonian nation. We propose to establish the Estonian National Independence Party, whose goal would be the restoration of the sovereign and independent Estonian nation-state.

Had the independence of the Estonian state continued, all our greater and lesser life questions would have been solved on Toompea,¹ not in the Kremlin. Mass deportations, forced collectivization, the forced mass flight of Estonians from their homeland, the sending of Estonians to fight in Afghanistan, the danger of phosphorite mining, all would have been impossible. Every people can best represent and defend its own interests only under conditions of independence.

The Estonian National Independence Party would defend the interests of the Estonian people in the current political situation until the independence of the Estonian national state has been re-established, and would serve as a nationally-minded opposition to the Estonian Communist Party.

We consider it necessary that the Estonian National Independence Party support the following aspirations:

I. The restoration of historical truth.

1. The publication of truthful materials that would be available to everyone (regarding):

a) The establishment of the Estonian Republic and the era of self-rule (the history of the War of Independence, the Tartu Peace Treaty, national culture, national heroes, etc.); the years 1939-40 and the liquidation of independence; the war years; the attempts to restore independence in 1944.

b) Illegal repressions against the Estonian people beginning in 1940 (terror, imprisonments, deportations, collectivization, etc.).

II. The struggle of the national state to preserve the preponderance and importance of the native national population.

1. The restoration of the role of the Estonian language in everyday life and in official business — the establishment of the Estonian language as the state language of Estonia.

2. The establishment of ESSR citizenship (the right to citizenship would be automatically granted to all those who held Estonian citizenship up till August 6, 1940,² and their descendents, but also, based on defined criteria, to individuals who can read and write Estonian).

3. ESSR citizenship must guarantee certain privileges to ESSR citizens with respect to others. Only those individuals with ESSR citizenship may work in the state apparatus.

¹ Toompea was the site in Tallinn of the government of the Estonian Republic and later the ESSR.

² The date on which Estonia was formally "accepted" into the USSR.

tus (state and governmental bodies). Only ESSR citizens may have the right to vote.

4. The end to the large inflow of migrants, taking care that the Estonian nation as the primary nationality would be in a marked preponderance in its own homeland.

III. The struggle against the destruction of the natural environment of Estonia.

1. The struggle against exploitative excavations and the senseless waste of natural resources, against the pollution of the air and ground and surface waters.

IV. The economy

1. The reorganization of an inflexible planned economy to a market economy.

2. The transfer of Estonia to complete self-management and self-financing.

3. The explorations of possibilities for the development of promising branches of industry for the 21st century in Estonia.

4. Putting an end to the extensive (i.e. heavy industry and raw-material based — trans.) economy (end the artificial expansion of industry; attempt to liquidate already existing economic foreign bodies, for which raw materials and labor are imported), develop the intensive economy.

5. The creation of a sensible industrial and agricultural system (based on experience with previously developed industry and agriculture), which would support a rise in the standard of living, and a rise in the pay of the worker and in the amount of available goods for the consumer.

6. The creation of freedom to establish private enterprises (also the restoration of the right to farm ownership along with the donation of land for its basic use), the elimination of limitations on private enterprise and growth.

7. The establishment of normal trade relations (on a state as well as private enterprise basis) between foreign nations and Estonia.

V. Human Rights

1. Constitutionally and legally guarantee the unarguable respect of rights specified in all international agreements (the UN General Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,³ the final act of the Conference of European Security and Cooperation,⁴ the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,⁵ etc.) dealing with human rights (freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, freedom for gatherings and associations, the right to freedom of one's convictions and the right to the free expression of those convictions, the right to leave one's homeland and to return there, etc.).

2. To make conditions in prisons and places of internment humane. Arrest and punishment may not be accompanied by the degradation of human dignity or cause physical suffering. ESSR citizens convicted by the court will serve their sentences in Estonia.

VI. Culture and Education

1. The raising of school and university education to a level that guarantees a standard of true education corresponding to world culture.

2. Carrying over into the educational system a corresponding treatment of Estonian culture and national character.

3. The creation of the possibilities and prerequisites for the unconstrained development of Estonian culture (freeing culture from the ideological control exerted till now,

³ UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of Dec. 16, 1966.

⁴ i.e., the "Helsinki Agreement".

⁵ UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of Dec. 14, 1960.

freedom to create, unhindered cultural contacts abroad, the freedom to obtain an education abroad, making available the cultural achievements of Estonians in exile).

4. The establishment of new young peoples' organizations.

5. Giving minority peoples (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, Finns, Germans and others) the right to cultural autonomy (the right to establish native language schools, cultural establishments, etc.).

VII. Health Care, Social Security and Welfare.

1. Guarantee the opportunities for receiving high level and efficient medical care. Allow doctors to establish private practices and clinics.

2. Eliminate social inequality regarding the work-disabled and pensioners, and guarantee them an adequate income.

3. Care for the creation of living conditions worthy of human beings and end the construction of degrading living environments (sections of cities consisting of large, depressing panel-constructed apartment houses).

VIII. Armed Forces

1. Military service for citizens of the ESSR will take place within the territory of Estonia and the language of military service will be Estonian.

2. People who for reasons of conscience cannot bear arms will be permitted to do alternative service.

IX. Legislation and Legal Procedure

1. Work out a procedure for elections, which would guarantee real choices among many candidates (mandatory debates among candidates).

2. The laws and constitution of the ESSR need not copy all-Union versions, but rather should reflect Estonian cultural traditions, meeting the requirements of local conditions and needs. The compilation of these laws must remain within the competence of ESSR legislative bodies. All rights enshrined in the constitution must also be guaranteed by legislation.

3. Endeavor to enshrine the various points made in the proposal at hand in the constitution and legislation of the ESSR.

X. International Representation

1. Apply for Estonian representation in the United Nations.

2. Restore Estonian diplomatic representation to larger foreign states. Restore Estonian representation to the International Olympic Committee.

XI. Proclaim February 24, the Date of the Proclamation of Estonian Independence, as a National Holiday

We invite all those concerned about the future of the Estonian land and people, and all who feel an inner responsibility to improve Estonian life to support our proposal. We present these minimal national demands for general public discussion.

The text of the Proposal along with the signers' names and addresses also has been sent for publication to the ESSR mass media and the ESSR Council of Ministers has been informed.

Signed: Vello Väärtnõu, Eke-Pärt Nõmm, Ärvi Orula, Eve Pärnaste, Heiki Ahonen, Erik Udam, Urmas Inno, Karim Inno, Endel Ratas, Mati Kiirend, Kalju Mätik, Rein Arjukese, Mati Vilu, Ants Pindis, Ain Saar, Arvo Pesti

*(Translated from the Estonian by
Tomans Hendrik Ilves)*

STATEMENT OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *THE UKRAINIAN HERALD*

To the participants of the CSCE Conference in Vienna,
The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights,
The International Federation of Journalists

The announcement of the policy of restructuring and *glasnost* by the new leadership of the USSR gave birth to hope for real democratic changes in our country, as well as for a healthy international atmosphere. However, positive changes in the USSR are being halted, and furthermore, recently, a reversal has been noted. This is particularly noticeable in Ukraine, where the leadership, unchanged since the times of Brezhnev, is attempting to turn the republic into a bastion of opposition to restructuring.

In recent years this has been further corroborated by the unprecedented campaign of provocation and repression against the first independent press publication in Ukraine — the uncensored journal *The Ukrainian Herald*.

The details of this pogrom are already known to the international community. We would merely reiterate that uninterrupted slanderous attacks on us on the pages of inter-republic and local press, radio, television, at meetings and gatherings organized by the government, have continued unabated for several weeks. Stooping to lies and all sorts of fabrications, they are attempting to set the Ukrainian people against us, by depicting us as agents of foreign intelligence, and sympathisers of fascism and terror. They do not hesitate to use blackmail and threats against the editors and authors, threats of beatings, murder, detainment, short-term arrests (from several hours to several days) under the pretext of possession of weapons or narcotics, suspicion of murder, etc. It seems that the recent past is returning, when members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and other human rights activists were placed in psychiatric hospitals or imprisoned under trumped-up criminal charges. We feel that the corrupt Soviet party bureaucracy of Ukraine is maliciously settling scores with us under the smokescreen of “ideological struggle”, in an attempt to hide its crimes before society.

With relation to the recent threats of arrest and deportation beyond the boundaries of Ukraine of the editorial board of the journal, which have appeared on the pages of official press organs and which have been voiced by representatives of governmental repressive organs, we appeal to the democratic societies of the world, first and foremost to the activists in the Helsinki movement and to fellow colleague journalists, do not allow the suppression of the first independent press organ in Ukraine.

For our part, we denounce the slander and defamatory accusations directed at us, and affirm that the platform of our activity has been, and will continue to be the principles and ideals of the international Helsinki movement. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, even during the times of severest repression, never announced nor did it cease its activity, even though many of its members are, to this day, either in strict regime camps, in exile, or were forced to leave their homeland.

With the aim of stimulating the weakened activity of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we declare that the editorial board of “The Ukrainian Herald”, individual members of which have been members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, now are all joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and we declare our journal the official organ of the group.

The world can judge from the official Soviet attitude towards us, the Soviet leadership's real attitude to the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

We hope, that in the midst of the complex situation in Ukraine, where the forces of stagnation and reaction are attempting a counterattack, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and its journal will not be left abandoned.

Vasyl Barladianu, Mykhaylo Horyn,
Pavlo Skochok, Vyacheslav Chornovil



KAPHEDRA NEW SAMVYDAV PUBLICATION FROM UKRAINE

In January of this year, the first issue of a new samvydav publication, *Kaphedra* (The Cathedral), 120 pp., appeared in Ukraine under the aegis of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI). *Kaphedra* publicises the works and activities of the members of the Association.

A permanent feature of this new literary and cultural journal is a section entitled "Problems and Discussions". In the section "Works" we find 'Franko', a philosophical poem by notable Ukrainian literary critic Yevhen Sverstiuk, 'Autumn Magdalene', an emotional poem by Ihor Kalynets, and a selection of poetry by Stepan Sapeliak from Kharkiv.

Mykhailo Osadchyj's 'Intermezzo' and 'Aureola', Vasyl Barladianu's story 'Mykola's Son', as well as an extract from Mykhailo Horyn's reminiscences about Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Lytvyn, who died in a Soviet Russian labour camp in 1984, also appear in this issue of *Kaphedra*.

The new publication features an article entitled 'The Mind' by Vyacheslav Chornovil, editor of another samvydav journal *The Ukrainian Herald* (issue 9-10 of which has now reached the West), about genuine commentary and commentary written to the taste of the authorities, from his book *Literary Study Behind Barbed Wire*, written in Yakutsk in 1983, as well as selected works of several authors, who joined UANTI after it was founded. For instance, Athena Pashko's 'Cranberry Rubies', a collection of lyrical poetry, Bohdan Horyn's reminiscences about his meeting with Vasyl Symonenko (notable Ukrainian poet of the 1960s), and Valentyn Stetsiuk's impressions of the almanac *Yevshan-Zillia*, appear in the publication, as well as the short stories of Vasyl Rozlutskyj, a new literary figure in Ukraine.

Under a separate heading, "Ukraine in defence of the exaltation of its ancient national language", the reader will find a review of the local central Ukrainian and Donbas press on the situation of the Ukrainian language in these regions.

The chronicle "Activities" features addresses by members of UANTI, as well as other information. The section "Literary Apocrypha" acquaints the reader with *Chukhrayintsi*, a little-known work by Ostap Vyshnia (notable Ukrainian writer, satirist and humorist), published some 60 years ago.

Kaphedra is illustrated with photocopies of the paintings of Panas Zalyvakha, featuring a condensed review of this notable artist's works, as well as photos and autographs of the contributing authors. The photographs were taken by Zinoviy Krasivskyj. The first issue of *Kaphedra* was compiled and published by Mykhailo Osadchyj.

HOW LONG AM I TO LIVE IN MY NATIVE LAND IN HUMILIATION?

On December 9, 1987, Pavlo Skochok, a Ukrainian journalist and an editor of the independent journal *The Ukrainian Herald* was arrested. The charge was robbery of a store, but in reality, he was arrested only to be prevented from attending the seminar on *glasnost* and human rights being held in Moscow. After being held in prison for 9 days, Skochok was released, however, he continues to be persecuted.

In his statement, which Skochok has passed on to the West for dissemination, he calls upon the Western press to support the representatives of independent Ukrainian thought in Ukraine at this critical time of renewed persecution.



The command of my conscience and journalistic responsibility have obliged me to travel throughout Ukraine, collecting materials about independent Ukrainian thought for our journal. Therefore, I have become accustomed to being constantly watched by the “government eye” during my numerous trips, and take it all in calmly.

But today, after 9 days of debasement on filthy prison bunks, my calmness has been shaken. On December 9, 1987, I was insolently shoved into a patrolling police car in broad daylight, on suspicion of robbing a store in Kyiv. This happened shortly after I had met with the head of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, Serhiy Naboka and we had both agreed to try to reach Moscow together and attend the seminar on human rights. We agreed to do this despite the fact that yesterday, three of our members, V. Chornovil, M. Horyn and I. Hel, whom I was to join, were pulled off the train in Lviv.

After three hours of detention the authorities showed me an authorization for a month’s arrest signed by the procurator of the Kyiv city region, S. Vynokurov, this time charging me not with robbery, but with vagrancy without a passport. Such a clumsily constructed metamorphosis did not surprise me a bit. My procurator (our procurators are always with us), being also a prosecutor in the Kyiv public prosecutor’s office, on the orders of the KGB, in this period of stagnation, cleverly put together an entire case against me based on Statute 187.1 of the Criminal Code of the USSR. Is it complicated to fulfill the confidential request of a known administration at the expense of a victim and sentence him for a month or a year for “vagrancy”?

The conditions under which I submitted my passport in the summer of 1985 to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are well known to the readers of *The Ukrainian Herald* from my previous publications. This late official police reaction of my mighty country to my individual *démarche* of my passport, degrades it, rather than this humble servant. I still don’t understand how they could have dared to commit similar police dirty work at a time when the leader of the USSR was meeting with the American President before the eyes of the civilized world. But neither our journal, nor I, its active co-editor are so defenseless.

Having demonstrated over nine sleepless days and nights in a smoky prison cell their hospitality which is already well known to me (with the help of this hospitality political prisoners destined to psychological exile are sent along to special psychiatric

hospitals in a semi-conscious state), late on the evening of December 17, 1987, the authorities released me. (Was I released through the help of God? Or with the help of my friends from the Ukrainian Culturological Club who raised an alarm after my mysterious disappearance, or were the authorities simply intimidated by this unyielding *Ukrainian Herald* which has become a thorn in their side?) I was given an official order to settle in my native town and begin any kind of unskilled labor. (Enough of wandering through Ukraine with *The Ukrainian Herald* in my briefcase.)

So they released me, however, they confiscated all the editorial papers from my also arrested briefcase, passed them on to the local prosecutor and ordered me to appear before him on Monday, December 21, 1987. The confiscated papers were letters from the readers of *The Ukrainian Herald*, their articles, accusations, searches for truth, they even took away the original of my article, well known in the West, "Report from under the walls of a special psychiatric hospital".

It would appear that an analysis of the first restructured offshoots and flowers from the wandering editorial briefcase of *The Ukrainian Herald*, the flagbearer of independent Ukrainian thought should help in providing an answer to the very serious question: "Will free press exist in Ukraine, or will it not?" Because of the particular urgency of this question for my native land, as well as for the civilized world, I appeal to the world press to support us in this critical moment, before the final verdict is reached.

Originally, I titled my by now well known article "Goodbye restructuring" from the VII issue of *The Ukrainian Herald* "Adieu restructuring — Bon Jour Paris?" I thought the questioning intonation of the title, split deliberately, was understood. My unused pen, scorned by stagnation and restructuring, and after being away from journalism for 20 years, wants to serve my native land. It is more likely that our country did not accept my noble gesture, and it is apparent from the most recent police provocation, and is definitively pushing its citizen to emigration.

But what then with the loud conversations about restructuring? Who will complete it? Who is to rescue the dying system?

Perhaps rather than awaken brutally humiliated on a prison bunk it would be better to go meet the dawn in the Mecca of the civilized world, and each day, instead of "Dobryj Den" (Good morning in Ukrainian) to say "Bon Jour Paris" from the window of the European office of *The Ukrainian Herald* in the capital of the pluralistic world? But is it not a sin to desert your hard working people, exploited by socialism?

These are not easy questions. My homeland — a stepmother, is in no hurry to provide answers. Therefore, to ease, at least minimally my being pushed around my native land, fulfilling the will of the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald*, I promised myself to bring my wretched passport to a definitive explanation of my status. However, it is doubtful whether with hammer and sickle in my pocket, I will be able to live through this latest humiliation, where in your native city, like a scraggly dog you are forced into the dog pound. But is the passport, a simple piece of paper, really the issue? How long am I to live in my native land in humiliation? That is the question.

Pavlo Skochok
Kyiv
December 19, 1987

APPEAL FOR THE RELEASE OF UKRAINIAN POET IVAN SOKULSKYJ

Letter from Pavlo Skochok, member of the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald*,
to the French daily newspaper *Le Monde*.

The newspaper *Moskovskiy Novosti*, which has recently become the mouthpiece for Soviet *perestroika* abroad, in its January issue this year, loquaciously described the almost paradisiacal life of political prisoners in the harshest camp in the “country of Soviets” VS389/36-1 in the Urals. We have no information how foreign gourmands have appraised this Russian “delicacy” in the *Moskovskiy Novosti* package, however, we do know for a fact that the wives of political prisoners received news of this exclusively propagandistic trick with an unpleasant aftertaste.

I recently spent Christmas eve with the wives of Ukrainian political prisoners in the apartment of the widow of renowned Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, murdered in the notorious 36-1 camp. During the day, we lit candles together in the St. Volodymyr Cathedral to the health of the last martyrs of the “period of stagnation”. I observed the women’s ardent prayers. I do not know whether these prayers reached the Almighty, but I would like to make use of the opportunity presented to me with the aid of an European newspaper, to inform as large a number of people of good will as possible about the women’s grief. I am basing my report on the materials from my conversations with the wives of Ukrainian poets-political prisoners Mykola Horbal and Ivan Sokulskyj — Olha and Orysia.

The former, had just returned from a 24-hour visit with her husband, the latter has not heard anything from her husband for almost six months. I have no idea why *Moskovskiy Novosti* hailed “hosanna” to a political concentration camp, which was completely liquidated at the beginning of December last year and transferred to camp no. 35 in the notorious Chusovsky district in the Urals. Such a mechanical transfer from the 36th sector of camp paradise to the 35th sector has in no way whatsoever eased the fate of the prisoners. In this new zone, they are watched by the same old guard which has been transferred in full to the new zone. And the guard from camp no. 36 is well-known to the civilized world. On its conscience lie the murders of renowned Ukrainian poets and writers Valeriy Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhyj, Vasyl Stus and Yuriy Lytvyn. It is not true to say that the world is in no way defending the last martyrs of this “period of stagnation”. The day before yesterday, I heard about the demonstrations in the United States in defence of Ukrainian prisoners and about the fate of the poet Ivan Sokulskyj. It would be desired to hear even more anxiety about his fate. Sokulskyj is the only Ukrainian in the new camp who is kept in solitary confinement. He is completely isolated from the world.

The fate of Ivan Sokulskyj is particularly tragic. Before actual *perestroika*, the Dnipropetrovsk KGB attempted to break him by persuading him to make a semi-compromising statement entitled “Enlightenment” to the local press. The appearance of this statement is dubious, it did not result in the author’s release. It only added another three years to his sentence, and from that time Sokulskyj is not allowed out of prison cells and solitary confinement.

Sokulskyj’s statement is well-known in the West, therefore I will not begin to repeat it here. We, Ukrainian dissidents, are refraining from a final appraisal of this zigzag on



Ivan Sokulskyj

the fate of our friend and his return to freedom. Regarding him as still in our ranks, we have presented his works in the last issue of *The Ukrainian Herald*, where we have published his new camp poems.

Sokulskyj's wife, Orysia, is heroically fighting for her husband's release, and I am passing on her photograph together with a portrait of Ivan Sokulskyj (the work of a famous Ukrainian dissident and artist, Panas Zalyvakha from Ivano-Frankivsk) to the newspaper *Le Monde* for its use. Although the female pride of Orysia Sokulska was hurt as a result of her husband's unsteady step, she, like a true Ukrainian Catholic, continues to actively fight for his release at all Soviet instances. Just recently, on December 12 last year, Orysia Sokulska attempted to talk about her husband's fate to the participants of the international seminar on human rights in Moscow. However, she was not allowed to attend the seminar. She was taken off the train from Dnipropetrovsk in Moscow and that same day she was forcibly sent back home.

Sokulskyj's daughter, Marika, is also helping in fighting for her father's release. The 12 year-old schoolgirl has regularly been sending her father paintings for eight years. With complete unchild-like conviction, she writes in her school exercise books in English language lessons: "My father is a poet. He is suffering in prison..."

It seems that the possibilities for Orysia Sokulska to save her husband from inevitable death in the Ural camp have been depleted in her native Ukraine, and she is now prepared to emigrate in order to personally attempt to free her husband with the aid of a coordinated campaign. If my word, the word of a person, who has personal guardian angels in France that have defended my creative fate for years, means anything to *Le Monde* and the Ukrainian Press Service in Paris, then I ask them both to arrange an invitation for Orysia to emigrate to France. The necessary details required for such an invitation are: Sokulska Orysia Vasylivna, born on March 10, 1952 in the village of Voloshky, Dolynskyj *rayon*, Ivano-Frankivsk *oblast*; daughter: Maria Ivanivna, born on October 29, 1975 in Dnipropetrovsk, vul. Marshall Konev 3. The invitation should be sent to this address. Orysia Sokulska tried to attend today's meeting with the correspondent from *Le Monde* in Moscow, Mme. Silvia Kaufmann, but guessing her intentions, the authorities gave her no leave from school, where she teaches mathematics. Therefore, I am carrying out her wishes: Freedom to Ukrainian poet Sokulskyj! Shame to *perestroika* for keeping poets in concentration camps for writing poems!

Pavlo Skochok, Moscow, January 18, 1988

HORYN, CHORNOVIL WANT TO REMAIN IN UKRAINE DESPITE OFFICIALS' THREATS

Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil, editors of the *samvydav* journal *The Ukrainian Herald*, who have recently been the targets of a disinformation campaign conducted by Soviet authorities through the official Soviet press, have written an open letter to the heads of governments that signed the Helsinki Accords, stating unequivocally that they wish to remain in Ukraine.

In their letter, Messrs. Horyn and Chornovil state that they face the threat of deportation from the Soviet Union for their human rights activities, but that they do not wish to leave Ukraine, even under threat of imprisonment for their defense of human and national rights. Thus, they ask the Helsinki Accords signatories to deny the Soviet Union permission to deport them to their countries.

As previously reported, the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald* — which is headed by V. Chornovil and includes M. Horyn, Vasyl Barladianu and Pavlo Skochok — proclaimed the *samvydav* journal the official organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and announced themselves as members of the Helsinki Accords monitoring group.

According to the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group based in New York, the editorial board members have been subjected to blackmail, physical attacks, arrests, slander in the press and at public meetings, and other forms of harassment.

During the past several months, the External Representation noted, Soviet authorities have resorted to influencing the populace to demand the deportation from the USSR of Messrs. Horyn and Chornovil.

Several Baltic human rights activists have already been deported from the USSR in accordance with this new tactic of dealing with dissidents — particularly those demanding national rights.

Following is the full text of the December 31, 1987 letter by Messrs Horyn and Chornovil to the leaders of governments that signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords.



We ask that you familiarize yourselves with the appeal to the world public sent December 30, 1987 by the editorial board of the independent journal *The Ukrainian Herald* — the organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (text enclosed). In conjunction with the real threat of forcible deportation from the USSR of two members of the editorial board, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn, we state that, as patriots of our homeland, Ukraine, we do not wish to emigrate — even under threat of imprisonment for our activities in defense of rights.

If the Soviet government appeals to you for permission to deport us to your country, we ask that you do not grant such permission and that you point out to the Soviet government the complete incompatibility of such actions with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference of which the USSR is a signatory.

**Mykhailo Horyn
Vyacheslav Chornovil**

APPEAL TO PEOPLES SUBJUGATED AND THREATENED BY MOSCOW

**Peoples, subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism!
Fighters for independence and freedom for your nations!**

The VII Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which took place in the autumn of 1987 in one of the Free World countries, sends you its cordial greetings. Throughout many decades the Ukrainian people and the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and others in the USSR have been conducting an incessant struggle against the Russian occupation of their countries and for the restoration of their sovereign states and for freedom of the individual. Similar liberation struggles are being conducted by peoples under communist Russian authority — the Poles, Bulgarians, Mongolians and by peoples under communist totalitarian regimes — Cubans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Laosians, Kampuchians, North Koreans, Croatians, Slovenians, Serbs, Albanians, Nicaraguans, Ethiopians and others.

From the very beginning of its existence, first under the leadership of Yevhen Konovalts (in 1929), the OUN considered it vital to look for cooperation with the liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by communist Russian imperialism. The concept of the establishment of a common front was clearly resolved at the VII Supreme Assembly of the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in April 1941, where the resolution reads: "The OUN is fighting for the freedom of all peoples subjugated by Moscow and for their right to their own state life... The OUN stands at the head of those Ukrainian revolutionary movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and those states which strive for the complete disintegration of the USSR." The OUN and its military arm — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — under the leadership of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, organized a conference of nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany in 1943 in Ukraine, which was attended by representatives of 12 nations. This conference was the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

Forty-four years have passed, yet the slogan from that time "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for the Individual" still remains vital today. Together, at that time, we called a movement to life, a movement which developed internationally. Today, a struggle for our common ideas of liberation is taking place on a world wide scale. These are ideas of state freedom for every nation, superiority of spiritual life over material life, freedom of the Church and religious faith, formed by every nation throughout the centuries, the freedom of preserving national cultural values, state sovereignty of the people, which would guarantee human rights, a just social and economic order, peaceful relations safe from aggression, between several states, and others.

A long time was needed after the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, after the insurgent detachments in the Baltic countries, the uprisings in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, after the communist aggression in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Korea, Laos, Cuba, the Russian invasion and ethnocidal occupation of Afghanistan — to evoke a reaction from the free nations, and with this, the need to help the nations subjugated and threatened by Russia. After so many years of blood stained experience,

people in leading circles of the Free World are coming to the conclusion that the liberation struggle of nations subjugated by Russia is a struggle, which is advantageous to their own existence. This is due to the fact that Russian aggressive imperialism has not renounced its former aims of subjugating the whole world, the aims of Lenin and the Russian czars, whereby Russia has to become the centre of the world. Proof of this is seen in Moscow's constant kindling of new fires of disintegration, terrorism, chaos and decay. Hence, Western moral and material aid to the Polish national government, military aid to the Afghan, Angolan, Nicaraguan and other liberation movements.

The national idea opposes the imperialist idea courageously and constantly more vigorously. In Europe, Asia, Africa and America the peoples subjugated or threatened by Russia and communism are rising in struggle for their freedom, independence and God-given rights. We are not only witnessing a conflict between superpowers, but in particular, between a world of freedom-loving nations and a world of enslavement, colonial exploitation and terrorist lawlessness of Russian imperialism. In spite of the fact that Western democracies are attempting to destroy totalitarian communism by evolutionary strategies and to lessen the threat of a nuclear war, many of their leaders today are aware of the fact that the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations are a real alternative to the disintegration of the Russian empire without a nuclear war.

The Kremlin leadership headed by Gorbachev is trying to stop the West from rendering aid to the liberation movements, while at the same time attempting to introduce reforms in the backward economy, administration and technology. With peace-loving gestures and promises of democratisation, Moscow wants to lull the awareness of the free nations and dissolve the national liberation movements under the guise of "glasnost" and "legalisation", while preparing for new devastating attacks on the enslaved nations and strengthening its offensive positions for new aggressions.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists appeals to all neighbouring countries and Ukraine and nations with the same fate for closer cooperation between our liberation movements, to strive with even greater fervour towards forming a real strong front against the Russian imperialists based on the strength of our own nations. The Russian empire is in a critical phase, since even Gorbachev has seen the need to try and save it with the help of reforms, namely *perestroika*. We affirm the gradual increase of freedom-loving forces of our enslaved nations, proof of which are the ever more frequent spontaneous outbursts, such as the ones which occurred in Alma Ata, Georgia, the Baltic States and Ukraine. With joint forces we must attain the destruction of the imperialist colonial economic structure, put an end to the exploitation of our peoples and future cultural and material mendacity. The criminals responsible for the terrible famine of the 1930s, the massacres in the second half of the 1930s and beginning of the 1940s should be brought to justice, as well as those responsible for the Chornobyl crime, the criminal destruction of thousands of our youth in the futile war in Afghanistan.

Dear friends in the subjugated nations! We would like to turn your attention to the fact that in 1988 the Ukrainian people will be celebrating the millennium of the official adoption of Christianity in Ukraine. We appeal to you, your Churches and religious societies to express your solidarity with the Ukrainian people by commemorating this victory of God over Satan, the spirit over materialism, the theistic world over the materialist atheist world! Moscow is conducting an unprecedented disinformation

campaign throughout the world in order to steal this great historical Ukrainian event for themselves. We ask you to join efforts in refuting this Moscow lie. May the Ukrainian Christian Millennium strengthen all of us spiritually in the struggle against the forces of the Antichrist!

Subjugated peoples of Islamic faith! We greet the growth of the faith, for under the sign of Islam you will be victorious over the Russian sign of the hammer and sickle! We also note with joy the increased struggle of national masses for their own national languages against the forceful introduction of the Russian language. We note the powerful striving towards regaining the rights of private ownership, plundered by totalitarian Russian communism. Nations are increasingly fighting for their own national Churches against imperial atheism and the installation of the regime's Russian Orthodox "Church". We are all striving to achieve just state orders for our nations, based on the sovereign will of each nation with a guarantee for human rights.

Let us jointly tell the world about Moscow's crimes, about the countless victims of Russian ethnocide, the millions of victims in prisons, Gulags and psychiatric prisons, about the destruction of national cultures, the plunder of national values, the destruction of God's churches, Russification and linguicide, and finally about the colonial exploitation of non-Russian peoples. Let our common voice serve as a menacing warning to the Free World and to our peoples as a mobilising appeal for continuous opposition and struggle for regaining state independence and freedom. Let us strengthen our joint efforts to persuade the Free World not to trade with the USSR, not to provide Moscow with its scientific, technological and economic achievements because sooner or later, Moscow will use all these acquisitions against the Free World.

We assert that the OUN completely supports the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which has been active for decades and has achieved a great deal for all the subjugated nations, in particular under the long years of leadership of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the last Ukrainian State. The ABN is currently under the promising leadership of Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

In preparation for great decisions in the world and on the territories of our countries, let us reinforce our work together and with joint forces of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Mongolia, China, East Germany, Albania and all other nations subjugated and threatened by Russia and communism, let us prove our solidarity in the struggle against our common enemy — Russian imperialism.

We appeal for tighter coordination of our activities against disinformation and subversive actions by the KGB and its lackeys!

The VII Supreme Assembly of the OUN appeals to all the liberation movements to help our brothers in subjugated Afghanistan in their military liberation struggle and spread this struggle onto the territory of the whole Soviet Russian empire!

We appeal to all national minorities, who live on the territory of Ukraine to join the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people! We appeal to Ukrainians living on territories of the other subjugated nations to work closely with their liberation movements. We appeal to the peoples in the satellite states to strive towards full rights for the Ukrainian minority and the minorities of the other subjugated nations. All these measures will not only reinforce our front against our common enemy number 1,

MARKO RUBAN IN U.S. FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT

On January 13, 1988, Marko Ruban and his mother Lydia arrived in the United States. Marko Ruban, aged 12, has been paralyzed from the waist down since a truck accident in 1982. Soviet physicians told Marko's parents that there was nothing more they could do for their son and further treatment could only be obtained in the West.

His parents have been appealing for permission to travel to the West for medical treatment for the last four years. Permission has always been denied. However, two days prior to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington, Lydia Ruban received oral permission to travel with her son to the United States for medical treatment.

Marko's father, Petro Ruban is a political prisoner in Perm camp 35. He was sentenced in 1985 to nine years' labor camp and four years' exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Prior to that Petro Ruban was also arrested in 1976 for carving a model of the Statue of Liberty, intended as a gift to the American people during the U.S. Bicentennial celebration. His son Marko has expressed interest in seeing the original Statue of Liberty.

Lydia Ruban was asked about her husband's reaction to the permission to seek medical treatment in the West and she replied that she had not seen him so happy in a long time. She last visited her husband on December 28. Mrs. Ruban expressed concern for her husband's health. The move of the Kuchino camp no. 36-1 which was in the lowlands of Perm to camp no. 35 at a higher altitude has caused further deterioration of his health. In response to a statement issued by Ruban, the camp authorities incarcerated him in a cell where he suffered a heart attack.

Marko and Lydia Ruban were met at Kennedy International Airport in New York by an entourage of Ukrainians, bearing flowers and gifts. In the group were former political prisoners Nina Strokata and Nadia Svitlychna, the recently released human rights activist Raisa Rudenko and others. Also present were the news media as well as Dr. Lubomyr Kuzmak who will be Marko's personal physician during his stay in the United States. J. D. Philips, the president of the St. Barnabas Hospital in Livingston, New Jersey, with which Dr. Kuzmak is affiliated, has offered cost free care for Marko.

The arrival of Marko and Lydia Ruban in the United States was reported by the Fox Television Network, the USA Tonight channel, CBS local news and *The New York Daily News*, *The Star Ledger* and *USA Today*.

▶ but will also create a basis for future international order of peaceful relations without an empire and without hostility. We appeal to the Russian people to finally stand up against their own imperialism and join the common front of struggle for the "Freedom of Nations and Freedom for the Individual!"

May the friendship of the nations subjugated by Russia live and thrive!

May the common front of liberation movements

— the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — grow in strength!

Freedom for Nations — Freedom for the Individual!

May independent states be established on the ethnographic territories of all nations!

**The VII Supreme Assembly of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists**

October 1987

PERSECUTION OF RELIGION IN THE USSR

The 9th issue of the independent journal *Glasnost*, which is edited by Sergey Grigoryants and published in Moscow, recently reached the West. It is almost totally dedicated to the current religious situation in the USSR.

Most of this issue deals with Russian Orthodox activists, who have refused to work together with the authorities and wish to remove the Russian Orthodox Church from under the influence of the atheist state. In their appeals and open letters, they turn to the leadership of the USSR demanding a change in the legislation "for religious cults".

The principal law which determines the lawful statute of the Church in the USSR, is seen in the April 8, 1929 resolution of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and Soviet of the Peoples' Commissars of the RSFSR "on religious societies". According to this resolution, religious activity is limited to the actual execution "of religious cult", and all other activity is forbidden, in particular the teaching of religion.

This legislation, of course, does not include the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches because they are completely forbidden in the USSR, therefore, the law does not effect them. In addition, Ukrainian Churches are not only persecuted for religious reasons, but also, and utmost, for national reasons. This is particularly emphasized in a letter by former Ukrainian political prisoner, Vitaliy Shevchenko, in which he demands the "Reestablishment of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Churches", which he sent to the editors of the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*. The letter was not published in *Izvestia*, but has now appeared in the 9th issue of *Glasnost* magazine.

Glasnost has also published the contents of the 21st issue of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, and informs us on the basis of eye-witness reports about the destruction of the church of the Nativity in the village of Hrabivka, in the Kaluskyj district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, which occurred in May 1985.

The journal also provides information on the situation of the Georgian Church and the persecution of the "Hare Krishna" movement and that of other religious denominations in the USSR.



THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN AND BYELORUSSIAN CHURCHES

Unpublished letter by Vitaliy Shevchenko to *Izvestia*

Next year will mark the 1000th anniversary of the official Christianization of Rus. The Russian Orthodox Church is making preparations to mark this great occasion with numerous celebrations.

However, the direct successor of ancient Rus is not only Russia, but also Ukraine and Byelorussia. Meanwhile it seems to me that the situation of the Churches of both of these republics is unprecedented. Judge for yourselves. The Russian Orthodox Church functions in Ukraine and Byelorussia (and in fact, there is a multi-million Russian minority in both republics), yet here, the activities of both Ukrainian and Byelorussian Orthodox Churches are forbidden.

The same situation existed in Tsarist times, when Ukraine and Byelorussia were completely denied an independent existence. This was probably one of the reasons why later in February 1917, the first military unit which went over to the side of the

rebellious masses in St. Petersburg was the Volyn regiment, which was mostly made up of Ukrainians.

In the 1920s in Soviet Ukraine, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was active. It was liquidated by Stalin in the 1930s. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was then called the Greek-Catholic Church, was “re-united” with the Russian Orthodox Church (in Halychyna in 1946 and in Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) in 1949). In accordance with such logic, the Russian Orthodox Church could have been “re-united” with any Chinese, not necessarily Orthodox, Church.

This liquidation of the Church was accompanied by mass repressions against priests, who refused to switch over to the Russian language. Any attempts to reestablish the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Orthodox and Catholic Churches has been curtailed until present times. Until the beginning of 1987, Yosyp Terelya — a member and one of the organizers of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Zakarpattia — was serving his seven-year sentence (plus five years’ exile) together with me in the corrective labour camp no. 37 in Perm.

In America and Australia there are almost three million citizens living there of Ukrainian descent. Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches function there — among the latter are the autocephalous and those under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople. There are appropriate institutes of education, publishing companies, periodical publications. There are 50 million Ukrainians living in the Soviet Union, yet there is none of this here, except for the journal *Pravoslavnyj Visnyk* (Orthodox Herald), which I have only seen in the possession of a friend of mine — a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine — in a kiosk, but I have not seen it subscribed anywhere.

I am an atheist. I regard the prohibition of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Churches in the first place, not as a means concerning an anti-religious struggle, but as a part of the activity aimed at the Russification of Ukraine and Byelorussia. The reestablishment of these Churches would be an act of justice. Besides, in today’s world, I regard the Church as an ally in the struggle for a higher moral state of society, in particular youth.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the Bible. In freedom and during my imprisonment I saw several Soviet publications of the Bible in Russian in the possession of various people, but not once did I see such a publication in the Ukrainian or Byelorussian language. I am aware that there have been several publications of two translations of the Bible into Ukrainian. But today, the Bibles in the Ukrainian language, which are sent from abroad to citizens of the USSR, even when there are no comments written in the book, do not reach the addressee, but are returned to the sender.

Most of the Bible is “The Old Testament”, which is not only the Holy Scripture for the Judean and Christian faiths, but an excellent acquisition of ancient Jewish literature. Having once read many books by Ukrainian writers, in particular Hryhoriy Skovoroda, but also Russian literature — Mikhail Bulgakov’s novel “The Master and Margarita” and Chinghiz Aymatov’s novel in Russian, I realized my great deficiency: my lack of knowledge of the fundamental source — the Bible.

In my opinion, the Bible should be published together with comments not only by religious, but also by literary and historical publishing houses.

After my release from the Perm camp on February 5, 1987, and my return to Ukraine, I wrote some letters to several Soviet newspapers, introducing my proposals



The faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the blessing of the Easter bread at a clandestine Easter service in 1984 in a forest near the village of Kryvorivnya, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, Western Ukraine.

for the long awaited *perestroika* on various aspects of our society. Until now none of these letters have been published, and I received no reply from the editors to most of them. It appears that I have no rights to have any claim to the press organs on this matter. It seems to me that at a time of democracy and glasnost the flow of letters to Soviet newspapers has greatly increased, but the amount of publication has remained the same as in the past years during the period of stagnation.

In the situation which has arisen, I think it would be useful for periodical publications to appear, which raise the question of restructuring, partly cooperative journals, the first among them being *Glasnost*. Maybe someone somewhere will take an interest in my letters, which are probably now in the editorial archives and which were not worthy of an answer.

Vitaliy Shevchenko
Kyiv, May 17, 1987

KYIV UNIVERSITY STUDENTS SET DEMANDS

On the first anniversary of the catastrophe at Chornobyl, students from the Kyiv University, who are also members of the Komsomol group “Perestroika” distributed a leaflet containing bold, political demands. This leaflet found its way to the editors of the independent magazine *Glasnost* in Moscow and together with a commentary by the editor of the magazine, Sergei Gregoryants, was passed on to the West. The leaflet is interesting in that it reflects the mood of a part of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia, which despite being subjected to Bolshevik “international” upbringing, nevertheless feels a sense of responsibility towards its nation and voices its alarm over the future of Ukraine.

In their address to the residents of Kyiv, the Komsomol students discuss the questions of ecology and nuclear energy in Ukraine, demand political decisions as to the status of the Ukrainian language in the republic, demand an end to the war in Afghanistan and center their attention on the national question in the USSR. Furthermore, they demand public discussion on the possibility of creating a multi-party system in the country.

Referring to last year’s student demonstrations in China, the Kyivan students claim that in the matter of increasing democracy — freedom of the press and open discussion — “we are lagging behind not only the Americans but also the Chinese” and they ask: “Have we seen the students of Kyiv University demanding freedom of speech, freedom of the press or open discussion of the decisions of the Communist Party of Ukraine? Have we supported the demands of Ukrainian writers about greater dissemination of the Ukrainian language in schools and institutions of higher education, or even in our own Kyiv University?”

Pointing to the economic disorder in the country, in their leaflet, the Kyivan students assert: “Is it not a sad fact that Ukraine is not even able to keep an adequate amount of grain to feed itself? Not to speak of the thousands of tons which are exported out of our country to feed the Vietnamese, Cubans or the Afghans. Who bears the responsibility for such economy?” they ask.

Addressing the national question, they write: “Don’t we read in *Radyanska Ukraina* that the national question is already decided? But we hear from the Writers’ Union that with regard to this question in particular, we stand on the verge of a crisis? Are the riots in Alma Ata not an excellent example of the “celebration of the friendship of nations?”

Further, the Komsomol members demand an end to the war in Afghanistan, where, as they write: “more than 30,000 young Soviet men have perished, and among them a large number of post-graduates of the Kyiv University.”

The students call upon the residents of Kyiv to openly express their anxiety about the future of the country and to consider the issues which the students have presented in five points, which are listed below in full.

1. *Glasnost* will be of significance not only in the carrying out of new economic reforms, but also as a guarantee of political freedom. We understand political freedom

as the right to express ourselves without any restrictions, through the spoken and written word, and also to criticize the Communist Party and its role in our society.

2. For us, the members of the Komsomol of Ukraine, the national question is one of the most pressing issues of the current time. We are not isolated from Ukrainian society and therefore we see all of these serious matters and divergences which oppress our lives. Therefore we are convinced that *glasnost* will give us the opportunity to speak freely and honorably about the status of the Ukrainian nation in socialism. To date we cannot accept the amiable declaration of the Communist Party that “the nation is blossoming” because all of the meetings of the Communist Party are conducted in the Russian language and 90% of the lectures at the Kyiv State University are also held in Russian.

3. Today, the ecology of Ukraine is in a pitiful state. The water resources of the republic are on the verge of a catastrophe. The recent events on the river Dnister have brought about serious problems. Chornobyl has ruined thousands of acres of fertile soil. The pollution of Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk have brought about many diseases and the danger for our children increases daily. Is the Party capable of relieving this danger? We demand immediate efforts towards a decision about our ecological problem.

4. A great number of nuclear missiles are situated in Ukraine today. This means that the republic is a constant target for Western nuclear arsenals, and in time of war, Ukraine could be destroyed in a matter of minutes. Therefore we demand an immediate and open inspection of our defense system with the participation of Komsomol and other organizations. We recommend that Ukraine be declared a nuclear-free zone in the same sense of our government’s demand that the southern part of the Pacific Ocean be a nuclear-free zone. We feel, that that which is good for the islands of Fiji, is also good for Ukraine.

5. We demand social discussion in the press, radio and on television about the possibility of creating a multi-party system in our country and ensuring the rights of the people to decide their own destiny. After 70 years of rule by the Communist Party, we see that the Party has brought the country to the verge of technological and economic backwardness. We are not insisting on a change in the social system of our country, but on a review of the role of the Communist Party in our everyday lives. And as Ukrainians we want to assess the role of the Communist Party in Ukraine and its guilt before the Ukrainian people.

At the end of their leaflet the student members of Komsomol demand a full investigation of the actions of the KGB and a clear designation of its role in society.

From the full text of the leaflet, which reached us in the Russian language, it is clear that following Ukrainian writers, who raised their voices in the defense of their native language, culture and historical truth through official channels, Ukrainian youth is also stepping forth in the defense of the rights of their native land. What is striking, is that the demands of the Kyivan students do not simply focus on the narrow circle of liberalization in the cultural sphere, but raise such important issues as the national question, the possibility of creating a multi-party system and the threat by nuclear energy to Ukraine’s existence.

KUCHINO SPECIAL REGIME CAMP

The following document is an excerpt from an interview by Mykhailo Horyn, former inmate of camp VS-389/36-1, given to the unofficial *Ukrainian Herald* (No. 7, August 1987). Since his release earlier in 1987, Horyn has joined the editorial board of the journal and was one of the editors detained on a fabricated drugs charge when he attempted to board a train for Moscow in Lviv, to attend the December 10 human rights seminar sponsored by the Press Club *Glasnost*.

Q: Let's get back to the subject of the Kuchino special regime camp. It seems as if no one has yet stressed the obvious fact that this most horrific of the political camps has been turned, in effect, into a camp for Ukrainians. What can you say about the personnel line up in the camp?

A: At the moment there are eighteen men left; ten of them are Ukrainians. I can tell you not only their names but also the number of their cell:

1. HORBAL, Mykola: cell no. 19, where I also was kept until my release.
2. RUBAN, Petro: the same cell.
3. LUKIANENKO, Levko: cell no. 18.
4. PRYKHODKO, Hryhoriy: the same cell.
5. SOKULSKYJ, Ivan: cell no. 17.
6. SKALYCH, Semen: in the hospital.
7. KANDYBA, Ivan: under the regime where no cell is assigned (bezkamernyj rezhym).
8. OVSIENKO, Vasyl: the same.
9. KALYNYCHENKO, Vitalij: the same.
10. POLISHCHUK, Evhen: the same.

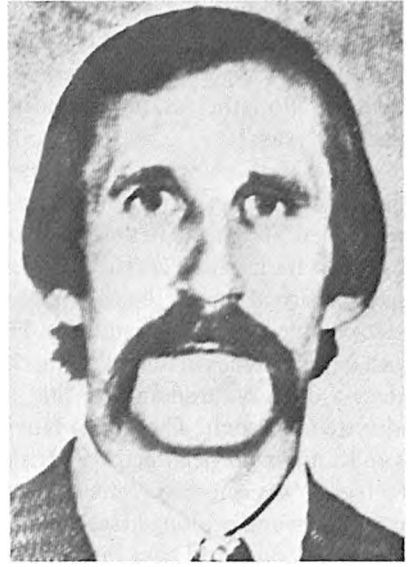
The above listed are Ukrainians. Apart from them, there are in Kuchino, three Russians: Mykhail ALEKSEEV (cell no. 17), Viktor SHMELYOV (cell no. 12), Yaroslav OSTROGLYAD (no specific cell); two Estonians: Mart NIKLUS (cell no. 18) and Enn TARTO (no specific cell); two Armenians: Ashot NAVASARSHYAN and Azat ARSHAKYAN (no specific cells); a Latvian: Gunar ASTRA (no specific cell).

Q: What can you tell us about the conditions in the Kuchino political camp?

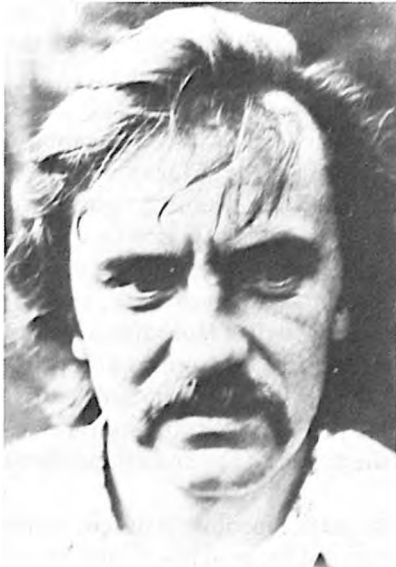
A: Conditions are far from comfortable. Those who have investigated prison conditions have come to the conclusion that the Kuchino special regime camp has a much more severe regime than the Chistopol prison. Moreover, most of the prisoners are older and ill. Semen SKALYCH is an invalid. He is suffering from tuberculosis of the bone, angina and he is suspected of having stomach cancer. Levko LUKIANENKO is suffering from angina, Hryhoriy PRYKHODKO has tuberculosis of the lungs with complications in his legs, Vasyl OVSIENKO survived hepatitis and has angina. Many are in the same state of health. Semen SKALYCH is now in his eighth year of total isolation: he does not write or receive letters, he has refused to sign any documents and therefore is not allowed to receive packages, parcels or purchases from the prison store. Ivan KANDYBA, Hryhoriy PRYKHODKO, and Levko LUKIANENKO have not had a single visit. Visits were often cancelled for Vasyl Ovsienko. But the strict isolation has not broken their spirit.



Gunar Astra



Vitalij Kalynychenko



Mykola Horbal



Ivan Kandyba

Q: What kind of effect has the much publicised policy of democratisation and glasnost had on the regime in the camp? We understand the sensitive nature of this question: under a system of real democratisation, political prisons would be just a bitter memory. Nonetheless, have conditions improved for the prisoners at Kuchino in the past two years?

A: Let the facts speak for themselves. About a year ago, a few days before the Reykjavik summit, an official from the central apparat of the KGB arrived in Kuchino, a man called Veremeev. In the course of conversation I asked him: "When will 'restructuring' get a look in our corridor?" Veremeev replied with a question: "Don't you think that my arrival signals the beginning of restructuring here?" So you see, nobody intended to change the former traditions. The administration continued to increase the tensions with daily searches in the cells, searches of the prisoners which sometimes take place five times a day. We understood that this was a means of repression. Even our guards admitted as much. The guard Novitskiy, displeased with the new place of work for Ivan Kandyba, proclaimed: "I'll frisk him out (zashmonayu). He'll soon be out of here." To frisk, "zashmonaty," means to attempt to break a prisoner by means of repeated harassment and prolonged searches. The late Vasyl Stus suffered many of these punishing searches. You could hear his indignant voice all over the corridor: "Another search!"

As a rule, they introduced psychologically incompatible prisoners into the cells. To organise conflicts they used former criminals. It was very difficult to transfer from one cell to another, even with the consent of conflicting prisoners. Vasyl Stus spent two stretches of 15 days in the punishment cell and used other radical methods, and only then did they separate him from Romashov, who threatened to kill Vasyl. This same Romashov suddenly attacked the Lithuanian Balys Gajauskas, knocked him out with an iron bar, and when he fell he hit him twice in the heart with the blade of a large mechanical screwdriver, and the political prisoner escaped death by sheer chance.

As before, they continue to punish political prisoners for not fulfilling their work norms. If someone does not fulfill their work norm 100 percent for a couple of days, then he's due for the punishment cell. In June this year Ivan Sokulskyj ended up in the punishment cell for this reason and Mart Niklus was there twice in a row.

Then there was the event of June 17, 1987. They took some of the inmates of cell no. 18, Levko Lukianenko, Mart Niklus, Hryhoriy Prykhodko to cut wood. The captain, Gatin, said with pleasure that the pieces were to be used for the security reinforcements. All three prisoners refused to do this, keeping to the long-standing right of prisoners not to work on the strengthening of the fortifications of the prison (until that point nobody had forced us to do such work). They were all thrown into punishment cells. As an act of protest, Sokulskyj, Alekseev and I refused to go to work, and Sokulskyj and Alekseev announced they were going on hunger strike. Horbal and Ruban announced that they were refusing to prepare food for the prisoners unless the procurator were called immediately to sort out the dispute. The procurator came and endorsed the actions of the administration although everybody told him that the conflict had been a set-up and possibly planned to coincide with the amnesty; anyone who violated the regime would not have their sentence cut.

Although our prison camp has become small, the punishment cells do not stand empty. Perhaps they put people in there so that the guard at the post has something to do: there is a separate guard for the punishment cells. The relations between those serving a term and those who are guarding them at Kuchino is paradoxical. In the four



Levko Lukianenko



Vasyl Ovsienko



Mart Olav Niklus



Hryhoriy Prykhodko

cells there are nine political prisoners left (I was the tenth) and in the corridors there are fourteen officials, half of them officers: the director of the camp, a major (in addition there is another director for the two camps — ours and the strict regime camp); the officer in charge is a captain; the operational official, a senior lieutenant; the censor, also a senior lieutenant; the regime officer, a major; the KGB officer, a major; the director of the special section, a captain. Apart from them, there are three or four officials, a craftsman, a librarian-postman, a doctor, a storekeeper, not to mention a bookkeeper, the norm-setter (normuvalnyk), and the official in charge of the canteen. Then there are the guards on the watchtowers and around the fences. They guard us with hope! There are certainly enough people to engineer conflicts.

As before, all efforts are directed towards stringent isolation: between the cells (they punish for conversations; I was deprived of visits for a year because of one such case), those in cells and those not under the cell regime; the camp and freedom. The last is especially harshly punishable; if there has been any kind of conflict in the camp, you can forget about seeing your relatives. They will either decree a quarantine in connection with a typhoid outbreak which never took place (such was the case with Horbal's visits) or they will take you to the hospital where visits are not allowed (this happened to myself and Fedorov), or else they will simply forbid visits. Major Dolmatov told the late Valeriy Marchenko straight out, "As long as you are here, you will have no visits."

The fear of information getting out is so great that they do not stop at degrading body searches of the women who come for visits. They conducted such body searches with the help of a nurse on Petro Ruban's wife and also on my wife. In reply to a protest, the procurator of the Chusovskiy district stated that the administration would be punished for such arbitrary actions. It is possible that these gynecological examinations will be stopped, but how can the constant prohibition on visits be stopped?

In the struggle to prevent information getting out our correspondence and notes suffer. They limited our correspondence to a circle of our closest relatives, and even then, they confiscated some letters by us and to us. None of us managed to decipher what was meant by the ambiguous phrase "characters contained in the text"; which appeared in many of the hundreds of acts upon the confiscation of letters. We did not receive any letters from our friends, let alone any letters from abroad, all were confiscated. Thus the guarantee by law of the right to correspond with anyone (the number of letters written by us is limited, not the letters sent to us), is in practice grossly violated.

Recently, the administration declared a real war against our notetaking (notes from works we had read or notes of an entirely neutral character). Levko Lukianenko had all of his notes taken away, I had 80 percent taken. Others went through the same thing. These measures paralyzed not only any creative scholarly work, but also attempts at self-education. For political prisoners who had spent years in systematic intellectual work, this kind of "restructuring" came as the worst blow.

These are the facts. Do they speak of any turn towards legality in the corridors of Kuchino? Not at all. The winds of change do not reach there. The people "below" in the prison system do not hurry to find out what is being said above. It is true that recently there have been no cases of punishments for resting on your bed after work (for such a "violation", on false information moreover, Vasyl Stus was thrown into the punishment cell from which he never emerged alive). In the last few months searches of the cells have become less frequent. But that is the sum of the new policies brought by the winds of restructuring into the cells of the Kuchino special camp.

KUCHINO SPECIAL REGIME CAMP TRANSFERRED

At the end of December 1987, news reached the West about the transfer of concentration camps nos. 36, the special regime camp 36-1 and 37 in the Urals to camp no. 35 in Vsesviatsk in Perm. Around 100 political prisoners are currently serving terms in this camp, and they are to be joined by 20-22 prisoners from Mordovia. The special regime camp no. 36-1 was transferred in full to the new premises together with the guards on December 8, 1987.

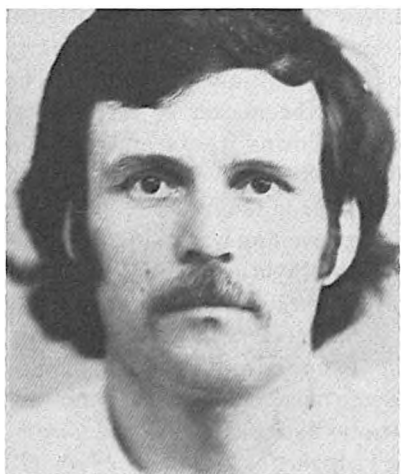
In camp no. 35 the political prisoners are accommodated in the following way: Mart Niklus and Ivan Sokulskyj are in solitary confinement. Petro Ruban, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Mykhail Alekseev, Borys Romazhov are in cells for four people, Mykola Horbal, Ivan Kandyba, Gunar Astra, Enn Tarto, Vasyl Ovsienko, Vitalij Kalynychenko are allowed to leave their prison cells.

Since the publication of the interview by Mykhailo Horyn given to *The Ukrainian Herald* in August 1987, the status of some of the prisoners has changed. On December 8, 1987 Ukrainian lawyer, Lev Lukianenko was sent into exile after 10 years of camp imprisonment. Today he is probably in the Tomsk region of Siberia. In October 1987, the Ukrainian Catholic Semen Skalych, who has tuberculosis of the bones, was released from the camp. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for writing religious poems. In December last year he arrived worn-out in his hometown of Drohobych.

Out of 12 political prisoners who are subjected to special regime treatment, 7 are Ukrainians, all members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, two Russians, two Estonians and one Lithuanian. They are all "recidivists", that is prisoners who have already spent many years in imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

On November 7, 1987, Petro Ruban declared that he considers himself a political prisoner and refuses to do penal work. In a statement, which covers 18 points, he demands that he be transferred to a Ukrainian penal camp, since he was sentenced by a Ukrainian court, the abolition of the harsh restriction on receiving and writing letters and visits, the abolition of penal work, the compulsory hair-cuts and prohibition on growing beards.

The camp administration's reply to such a statement was to incarcerate Petro Ruban in a cell, where he suffered a heart attack.



Petro Ruban



Enn Tarto

GREATER NATIONAL ASSERTIVENESS INCREASINGLY EVIDENT IN BYELORUSSIA

Since the political demonstration that was organized in Minsk on November 1, 1987, by “informal” groups of nationally minded Byelorussian youth, there have been more indications in the Soviet press that an upsurge in Byelorussian national assertiveness is taking place.

Recent items in the Byelorussian press confirm that the concerns of Byelorussian patriots go far beyond the language issue and extend to the historical and cultural spheres — in particular, to the question of Byelorussia’s former statehood and to the repression and destruction experienced by Byelorussia during the Stalin era. Indeed, the Soviet Byelorussian press has now begun issuing warnings against going too far.

The Tuteishyia Group

More details have emerged about one of the “informal” Byelorussian patriotic associations that organized the demonstration of November 1, 1987, and that has since then in effect staged a second demonstration. Composed of young literati, the association calls itself the **Tuteishyia**, which literally means “the locals” and was a pejorative term used for Byelorussians in the tsarist Russian empire.

According to a report in a recent issue of the weekly *Litaratura i Mastatsva*, the unofficial society was formed at the beginning of last spring with the aim of uniting young authors who wish to work for the good of Byelorussian literature and culture. It is apparently linked to the Byelorussian Writers’ Union.

On December 10, 1987, the **Tuteishyia** held their first literary evening in the House of Literature in Minsk, and *Litaratura i Mastatsva* has provided coverage of the event. It describes the literary part of the evening as having been “genuinely interesting” and praises the more than dozen young authors who read out their works as potentially important contributors to the development of Byelorussian literature. Most of the account, however, is taken up with criticism of extraliterary themes that were sounded in the second half of the program and that, in the view of the newspaper’s unsigned correspondent, marred the proceedings. From the report it is evident that the literary evening turned into another demonstration of Byelorussian patriotism. The newspaper admonishes the organizers, and especially the master of ceremonies, Anatolii Sys, on several counts. Why did Mr. Sys use archaisms, it asks, and what did he mean by declaring that Byelorussia is currently living between two cultural “golden ages,” one in the historic past and one that is still to come in the future.

Furthermore, the newspaper asks whether a literary evening was a suitable occasion for reading out a statement announcing that the **Tuteishyia** are calling for a meeting of the republic’s “informal” groups. What seems to have irritated the newspaper’s correspondent the most, though, was the fact that the organizers ended the program with the singing of M. Bagdanovich’s stirring poem “Pahonia” which evokes memories of Byelorussia’s ancient past and castigates those who have “sold out” their motherland. This song is a virtual national anthem for patriotic Byelorussians, and *Litaratura i Mastatsva* asks pointedly: Has this poem become “a hymn for the young, or what?”

The newspaper concludes that despite Mr. Sys’s denials, the **Tuteishyia** had in fact sought, as it puts it, to “politicize” the literary evening.

In Defense of National Emblem

The same issue of *Litaratura i Mastatsva* also provides other evidence of greater interest on the part of nationally minded Byelorussians in their history and in ways of affirming it. The newspaper carries both an article by a historian and a letter from a group of writers and cultural workers that come to the defense of an ancient Byelorussian emblem (also used by the Lithuanians) recently described in another Soviet Byelorussian publication as being a symbol of “nationalism and groveling before foreign masters.” The emblem was also the symbol of the ruling dynasty of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It portrays a knight on horseback pursuing the enemy. Hence its name — “Pahonia” which means “in pursuit”.

The article in question is written by A. Titou, who teaches history at Minsk’s Institute of Culture. Responding to an attempt to discredit the “Pahonia” by a certain U. Begun in a recent issue of *Politichesky Sobesednik* (No. 5, 1987), Mr. Titou stressed that Mr. Begun should not claim to speak on behalf of all Byelorussians. The symbol of a mounted knight “in pursuit,” he asserts, “appeared as an official emblem at the very beginning of the formation of the Byelorussian nation.”

He goes on to argue that the “Pahonia” should not be considered taboo just because it was also used as a national emblem by the creators of the short-lived Byelorussian People’s Republic in 1918 and by other Byelorussian nationalists. “The idea and sense of defending the motherland from the enemy, which was embodied by our ancestors in historical symbols,” Mr. Titou declares, “lives and will continue to live on.”

The letter, or rather extracts from a letter, published alongside Mr. Titou’s article, was written jointly by E. Agunovich, U. Krukouski, Ia. Kulik, A. Marachkin and other representatives of the Byelorussian cultural intelligentsia. Rallying to the defense of the “Pahonia” as a national emblem, they also call for a “thorough and thoughtful” approach to their nation’s past that would be in keeping with the proclaimed aims of the official policies of glasnost and democratization.

Both Mr. Titou’s article and the joint letter demonstrate the growing pressure from Byelorussian intellectuals for a more honest and frank depiction of Byelorussian history.

Byelorussia and Stalin

Such pressure is especially evident with respect to the Stalin era. Here it should be noted that this issue is being couched in terms not only of the mass repression during this period but also of the tremendous destruction to Byelorussian national-cultural life. One of the most notable statements on this and the subject of history generally was made by the first secretary of the Byelorussian Writers’ Union, Nil Hilevich, in an outspoken address at a plenum of the board of the union on November 3, 1987.

Mr. Hilevich assailed those “historians” and “ideologists” who are forever searching for “ideological mistakes and deviations” in the works of prominent Byelorussian intellectuals and who stand for the erasure of Byelorussia’s national distinctiveness. Citing as a concrete example of the sorts of issues that should be taken up today, Mr. Hilevich spoke of the “apalling damage” done to the Byelorussian language as a result of the changes to Byelorussian orthography during the Stalin era. These, he stressed, had been introduced “by decree” in 1933, “at a time when the pogromists of national culture were at the height of their frenzy.”

There have been calls for “the full truth” to be told about the numerous Byelorussian writers and cultural activists who were liquidated under Stalin and for the memory of them to be suitably honored. For instance, on December 25, 1987, *Litaratura i Mastatstva* published a letter from the writer Pavel Prudnikov, who insisted that just as there is a memorial plaque in the House of Literature with the names of 26 Byelorussian writers who were killed during World War II, there should be one with the names of those who were victims of the Stalin terror.

Mr. Prudnikov points out that three times as many Byelorussian writers were killed under Stalin than lost their lives during the war and lists quite a few examples. Calling on the Byelorussian Writers’ Union and the authorities to ensure that the memory of “those sons of our nation who died innocently at the height of their creative powers” is properly honored, Mr. Prudnikov suggested that streets could be named after some of them and that, at the very least, memorial plaques could be put up on the buildings where they lived.

The most candid discussion of the Stalin terror so far in the Byelorussian press, and for that matter one of the most forthright treatments of the subject in the Soviet press generally, was a roundtable organized by the newspaper *Zviazda*, extracts from which were published on December 22, 1987. The participants were a doctor of philosophical sciences, V. I. Boush and the writers S. I. Grakhouski, U. M. Konan and I. A. Skrygan.

Among the subjects raised by the discussants was the methods used in the 1930s to tbreak the resistance of arrested Byelorussian intellectuals and to extract “confessions” and denunciations from them. It was noted that there is a tendency to simplify things by blaming Stalin, or a group of his associates, for the arbitrary terror, when what is needed is more knowledge about “the mechanism of repression” and what led up to it and made it possible. Mr. Boush, for example, stressed that historians should be given access to the party records, as was the practice in the 1920s.

The Language Issue

Concern about the status of the Byelorussian language continues to preoccupy nationally minded Byelorussians. Not surprisingly, this question figured at the plenum of the board of the Byelorussian Writers’ Union at the beginning of November 1987.

One of the speakers, Vasil Zuenak, declared that “party duty” demands that “voluntaristic narrowing of the use of the Byelorussian language” be opposed and that the use of this language in the republic’s schools be restored.

He also attacked Byelorussian historians, philosophers and sociologists for having neglected to clarify the distinction between “national” and “nationalistic” and for not having examined critically the implications inherent in the idea of the eventual “fusion” of the nations of the USSR.

Another indication of the broad interest in the language question was provided by the response to a roundtable discussion on this theme published last fall in *Zviazda*. The newspaper received numerous letters about the discussion, and it published a sample of them on November 15, 1987.

Further confirmation that the language issue has galvanized patriotic Byelorussians was provided by Tamara Chaban in a brief survey of Byelorussian literary life during 1987 in *Druzhba Narodov*. She recalls that an article by Kastus Tarasou in September 1986, sparked “a sharp discussion of the language problem in Byelorussia” in the pages of *Litaratura i Mastatstva* and other publications that has had a considerable

resonance among readers.” Ms. Chaban reveals that publicistic writings of this sort today enjoy far greater interest among Byelorussian readers than literary works per se.

Ms. Chaban is honest enough to admit that the interest in publicistic literature reflects not only the current national assertiveness of the Byelorussians but also the catastrophic situation of the Byelorussian language. She points out that despite the fact that Byelorussian authors like Vasil Bykou, Ales Adamovich and Viktor Kozko enjoy considerable success in the all-union Russian-language periodicals, the level of interest in Byelorussian literature has fallen over the years to such an extent that in a republic of “10 million” journals with a circulation of 10,000 to 15,000 are far from sold out.

Thus, she implicitly raises the question of what has caused this drastic decline in the prestige and status of the Byelorussian language, an issue that was addressed more directly and forcefully in the two open letters that Byelorussian intellectuals have sent to Mikhail Gorbachev during the last year or so.

Warnings On Going Too Far

While the new Byelorussian national assertiveness is still being tolerated, there have been signs recently that the authorities are not about to allow matters to get out of hand. The criticism of the *Tuteishyia* group’s literary evening has already been mentioned. Since that criticism was made, *Sovetskaya Byelorussiya* has returned to the events of November 1, 1987, in Minsk and given a second and much less sympathetic account of what happened. In fact, the long article by Valentin Pepeliaev published by the newspaper on December 29, 1987, seems to be a clear warning to patriotic Byelorussian activists.

A large part of Mr. Pepeliaev’s article is preoccupied with conjuring up the bogey of Byelorussian “bourgeois nationalism.” The organizers and participants in the meeting in the Yanka Kupala Square, whose professed aim was to revive the tradition of *Dzyiady*, whereby the dead are honored, are reminded how Byelorussian emigres allegedly attempt to use national traditions in order to fan nationalist sentiment.

Mr. Pepeliaev also emphasizes that while it is important to remember the past, there are events and people in Byelorussia’s history — that is, those that do not fit in with the officially prescribed interpretation of Byelorussia’s history — that deserve only to be denounced. Byelorussian patriots, he cautions, should not lose sight of the distinction between “good repute” and “ill repute.”

Unlike the author of the initial account of the demonstration on November 1, 1987, A. Maisenya, Mr. Pepeliaev names and attacks the participants who in his view went too far. The three people whom he singles out are: the above mentioned Anatolii Sys, who is described as an employee of Byelorussian State Radio and Television; Konstantin Tarasou, who is on the staff of *Litaratura i Mastatstva* and is the author of a book dealing with Byelorussian historical legends; and, Piotra Sadouski, a candidate of philological sciences and instructor at the Minsk State Pedagogical Institute.

Significantly, all three have been prominent in defending Byelorussian national rights. Mr. Sys is an activist in the *Tuteishyia* group, while both Messrs. Tarasou and Sadouski were instrumental in triggering the campaign in defense of the Byelorussian language.

Accusations Against Activists

What then are the specific accusations leveled by Mr. Pepeliaev against Messrs. Sys, Tarasou and Sadouski?

Mr. Tarasou is taken to task for alluding to “the Byelorussian army” that fought for Byelorussian independence against the Bolsheviks and for implicitly upholding the “bourgeois nationalist” view that “the reunification of Byelorussia with Russia at the end of the 18th century” was “the greatest tragedy in Byelorussia’s history.”

Mr. Sys is criticized for claiming that a policy of genocide was directed against the Byelorussians in the 1930s, for allegedly viewing his nation’s history as part of the USSR only in terms of “repression” and “tragedy,” and for speaking positively about Byelorussian activists who were opposed to Soviet rule.

As for Mr. Sadouski, he is accused by Mr. Pepeliaev of making statements improper for a man holding his position — namely, questioning why Soviet war losses were so high compared with Germany’s and pointing out that those who gave their lives during the war also inadvertently made possible the perpetuation of the negative phenomena in Soviet life.

Mr. Pepeliaev’s attack on some of the participants in the meeting in Yanka Kupala Square sheds some more light on what occurred. Clearly, some of the statements that were made at the meeting were even bolder and more political in nature than Mr. Maisenya had let on.

To judge by the publication in the Byelorussian party daily over a month later of a second long article about the demonstration on November 1, 1987, one that takes a much tougher line than the first, it would appear that the event caused quite a stir and that there are those who would like to see a firmer stance adopted against the more outspoken Byelorussian activists.

One final point about the meeting on November 1, 1987. It now turns out that as many as four “informal” Byelorussian associations took part in it. According to a brief report in *Niva*, a newspaper published in Bialystok for Byelorussians living in Poland, apart from the **Tuteishyia** and the **Talaka** groups, two other previously unknown unofficial associations called **Niamiga** and **Galinka** also participated.

Niva hails the gathering in Yanka Kupala Square as evidence of the “growth of national consciousness” among the nations of the Soviet Union in the new conditions of democratization. As further proof of this, it reports that books dealing with Byelorussia’s history (including Mr. Tarasou’s “Pamiat Pro Legendy”) have suddenly become very popular in Byelorussia. For instance, a recent book by M. Tkachov titled “Castles of Byelorussia” sold out in three days.

Conclusion

During recent months, what began over 15 months ago as a spontaneous campaign in defense of the Byelorussian language seems to have developed into a broader movement in defense of Byelorussia’s national rights. What is particularly interesting is that it involves both leading members of the Byelorussian intelligentsia and young people.

If the views expressed by Messrs Sys, Tarasou and Sadouski are representative of what the nationally minded Byelorussian intelligentsia thinks, then the Soviet authorities may well have quite a problem on their hand — and that in a republic where national consciousness was until recently, regarded as being almost dormant.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

The Independent Counsel on International Human Rights made up of six international jurists released their final report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan to the United Nations and the United States Congress. The report will be used by the United Nations in conjunction with the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan during the upcoming debate on the human rights situation in Afghanistan. In November, 1987, the United Nations voted to condemn the Soviet Russian occupation of Afghanistan.

Report of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights

In order to assist governments considering the question of the current state of human rights in Afghanistan, the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights present this report on their recent inquiries in this area.

Background of The Independent Counsel On International Human Rights

The Independent Counsel on International Human Rights is an independent ad hoc multinational panel of experts in international law. In particular, the members of the group are scholars who have special expertise in the law of international human rights, especially humanitarian law.

Professor Göran Melander is Assistant Professor of International Law at the University of Lund in Sweden and Director of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law. Professor Melander has written articles and books on the subject of human rights law, with particular emphasis on refugees. He has made many trips to Africa and Asia to assess conditions in refugee camps against international legal standards.

Professor W. Michael Reisman, another member of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights, is Hohfeld Professor of Jurisprudence at Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A. Professor Reisman has published many articles and books in the field of human rights and international law. He has also been an expert witness on international legal issues before numerous U.S. and international judicial bodies.

Miss Françoise J. Hampson is a Lecturer in Law at the Centre of International Human Rights Law at the University of Essex in the United Kingdom. She did her postgraduate work in international law and armed conflicts and has written on various subjects in the field, including works on mercenaries and international crimes. Professor Hampson regularly presents cases to the European Commission of Human Rights.

Dr. Mark A. Miggiani is a lawyer in private practice in Malta. In addition to his post-doctoral work on the laws of booby-traps and mines at the Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva, Dr. Miggiani was the rapporteur of the United Nations Conference on the Removal of War Remnants from North Africa.

The staff of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights consists of Charles H. Norchi and James J. Busuttil. Mr. Norchi, who directs the project, is currently Visiting Scholar in residence at Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A. He has studied widely in the area of international human rights and has visited Southwest Asia on many occasions. Mr. Busuttil, the rapporteur of the project, is an attorney in private practice with the law firm of Porter & Travers in New York

City, specializing in international matters. Two research associates, Rebecca Thompson of Canada and William R. Sims of the United States, and an Afghan interpreter, Moossa Rafey, have also assisted the Independent Counsel.

SCOPE AND NATURE OF INQUIRY

A. LEGAL TERMS OF REFERENCE

It is apparent that the human rights situation in Afghanistan is a complex one. The state of armed conflict which exists in many parts of the country and the fact that the country is effectively closed to world media makes a general analysis of the status of human rights problematic. Nonetheless, questions have been raised by international institutions, including the United Nations, and certain non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, about the adequacy of the protection of fundamental human rights in Afghanistan and a number of disquieting reports concerning the situation have been published. The Independent Counsel is concerned about violations of human rights and humanitarian law by anyone, including governments and opposition groups. Governments have the responsibility for dealing with such abuses, acting in conformity with international standards for the protection of human rights and humanitarian law.

The Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan appointed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has provided much needed information on the situation in Afghanistan. However, his visits to the area, most recently including a stop in Afghanistan, have been brief and his access to persons limited. In their inquiry into the state of human rights in Afghanistan, the Independent Counsel have sought to provide a broader perspective than can be provided by a single individual working within certain constraints and with only limited time and resources.

Disagreement is possible concerning what constitutes the full spectrum of internationally protected human rights which should be available to the Afghan people. This disagreement arises in part because of the state of armed conflict which exists in Afghanistan. The scope and content of certain internationally protected human rights may be open to some legitimate debate, but it is also beyond doubt that there exists a core of rights from which no derogation is possible without censure. The Independent Counsel wished to limit themselves to those fundamental rights which apply in the current Afghan context without any question. As its point of departure, and as its main reference, the Independent Counsel therefore adopted Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, the relevant text of which follows:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above mentioned persons:

- a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
- b) taking of hostages;

c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment;
d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.

2) The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for.

Although Common Article 3 of the Geneva Convention does not need much elaboration, it is appropriate to sketch its terms quickly. The scope of application of Common Article 3 is to armed conflicts which are not of an international character. The fundamental safeguards which it provides and from which no derogation is possible have been accepted by the 165 states which have ratified the Geneva Convention. The basic tenet of Common Article 3 is the affirmative obligation to treat humanely all persons taking no active part in hostilities. Among the outstanding features of Common Article 3 applicable to the Afghan situation is its prohibition of torture and extrajudicial executions.

In addition to Common Article 3, certain other provisions of international humanitarian law and of international human rights law applicable during times of armed conflict completed the legal terms of reference of the Independent Counsel. Two of the fundamental customary principles of international humanitarian law which have also been enshrined in the Regulations annexed to the 1899 Hague Convention and the 1907 Hague Convention are that parties to an armed conflict do not have an unlimited choice of methods and means of warfare and that the use of weapons which are calculated to cause unnecessary suffering is prohibited. As these customs developed at a moment in time when hostilities were conducted exclusively between sovereign, independent states, the Independent Counsel have therefore kept in mind that these norms do not necessarily apply automatically in their totality to the Afghan situation; similarly for the provisions of the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases (especially as it relates to the use of chemical warfare against civilian populations) and Protocol II to the 1981 United Nations Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (which relates to the use of mines, booby-traps and other devices directed against civilians). These provisions have, nonetheless, provided the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights with guidance as to what is internationally expected and demanded of belligerents in contemporary armed conflicts.

In addition to the foregoing rules of international humanitarian law, the non-derogable provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were within the terms of reference of the Independent Counsel. In particular, Articles 6, 7 and 18, which to some extent overlap and reinforce humanitarian law principles already discussed, were used by the Independent Counsel. Article 6 protects the right to life, including within its terms protection from extrajudicial executions. Article 7 prohibits torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Article 18 protects the right to freedom of religion. The Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment provides further guidance in this area.

B. THE FACT-FINDING TRIPS

These legal terms of reference were applied by the Independent Counsel during their visits to the region. It was clear to the Independent Counsel that a short visit would not be sufficient to adequately assess the enormous amount of information available on the human rights situation in Afghanistan. A series of trips was therefore planned. A preliminary trip to establish contacts and make an initial assessment was to be followed by a trip by the full group and then another visit would be undertaken to fill in missing or incomplete information and confirm other information, all within a relatively short period of time. This would provide as complete a picture as possible and allow a full and fair analysis of the status of the protection of human rights in Afghanistan within the legal terms of reference which the Independent Counsel have adopted.

Because of the complexity of the situation, the staff undertook a three week trip to Pakistan in January 1987 to establish initial contacts with those persons who would be able to assist the Independent Counsel in their fact-finding missions. The Project Director and the Rapporteur spent five days in Islamabad, meeting with diplomatic agents and United Nations officials involved in the relief operations among the Afghan refugees. They then travelled to Peshawar, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan, and spent two weeks among the Afghans there. They visited refugee camps in Baryalai and Motta and a camp located in the immediate vicinity of the Afghan-Pakistan border, interviewing in depth over 170 persons who provided first-hand testimony concerning their experiences in Afghanistan. These refugees came from many provinces including Balkh, Kunduz, Baghlan, Herat, Ghardiz and Nangarhar. In Peshawar, more than a dozen persons from Kabul, Paktia and Wardak Provinces who claimed that they were victims of torture were interviewed. Most claimed to have been held in Pul-e-charki Prison in Kabul, although other prisons were also mentioned as places where torture took place. The staff also visited a number of relief organizations, such as the Saudi Red Crescent, Aide Medicale International, Médecins Sans Frontières, Afghan Aid, International Committee of the Red Cross and German-Afghan Committee. Representatives of these organizations and journalists who had spent time in Afghanistan were able to represent both analytical information of patterns of activities in Afghanistan based on their organizations' many contacts with Afghans and direct evidence grounded in personal experience.

The Independent Counsel of International Human Rights visited Pakistan for approximately three weeks during March 1987. The panel spent three days in Islamabad meeting with officials of the Government of Pakistan and diplomatic agents. Nine days were spent in Peshawar where the Independent Counsel visited Monda and other camps. During these interviews with refugees, persons from Nangarhar, Qandahar, Farah, Parwan, Kabul, Lowgar, Laghman, Kunduz, Herat, Kapisa, Kunar, Badghis, Ghazni, Wardak, Takhar and Jowzjan provinces provided testimony. Over 40 torture victims from Kabul, Takhar, Lowgar, Parwan, Kunduz and Baghlan Provinces were interviewed by the psychiatric Centre for Afghans in Peshawar. These persons claimed to have been tortured in Pul-e-charki, Saddarat, Shashdarak and other prisons. In all, the Independent Counsel interviewed over 150 Afghan resistance groups, workers in international relief organizations and representatives of the Government of Pakistan active in Afghan refugee affairs. The Independent Counsel also spent four days in Quetta, capital of Baluchistan Province. While in Quetta, the Independent Counsel

visited a number of refugee camps including Pishin/Sorhab, and interviewed over 100 Afghan refugees from Badghis, Helmand, Qandahar, Zabul, Takhar, Jowzjan and Kunduz Provinces. They also met with former officials of the Government of Afghanistan and representatives of international relief organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Following this visit, the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights wrote to the Government of Afghanistan on May 18, 1987 requesting permission to visit Afghanistan in order to continue their investigations inside the country. The Independent Counsel recognized the desirability of receiving information on the human rights situation in Afghanistan from citizens of Afghanistan who are still in their country and not yet in exile. The Independent Counsel have not yet received a response to their letter.

In order to confirm certain facts and update information, the Project Director and Research Associate spent three weeks during August and September 1987 in Pakistan. The Staff spent three days in Islamabad, speaking with officials of the Government of Pakistan and diplomatic agents. They spent four days in Chitral, visiting Orghoch, Dughshora and Goram Chasma camps. While in Chitral, they interviewed 22 persons from Kunar, Kapisa, Kunduz, Badakhshan, Laghman and Takhar Provinces who described events within Afghanistan occurring during 1987. The balance of the Staff's time was spent in Peshawar, where they interviewed over 50 persons from Parwan, Kabul, Nangarhar, Kapisa, Badakhshan, Kunduz, Kunar, Lowgar, Paktika, Paktia, Ghazni, Balkh, Takhar and Laghman Provinces. Relief workers, journalists and diplomatic personnel were also interviewed in Peshawar. Following this trip, the Staff also visited the Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanica Foundation in Liestal, Switzerland to continue its research.

In all, during 1987 members of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights spent 177 man-days in Pakistan and uncounted days outside that country investigating the human rights situation in Afghanistan.

C. INVESTIGATIVE TECHNIQUES

Aware of the gravity of the matter which they were investigating, the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights sought to use methods which would allow them to make an accurate evaluation of the information which they received. The Independent Counsel interviewed many persons, seeking in numbers to ascertain patterns of testimony that evidenced truth rather than focusing on individual events. Geographic diversity was also sought and persons from nearly every province of Afghanistan have been interviewed by the Independent Counsel. Among the Afghans in exile, there are seven major parties, and persons from all such parties were interviewed. The Independent Counsel visited camps spread along the Afghan/Pakistan border from Chitral to Quetta.

Many interviews took place in a random fashion, with the Independent Counsel stopping in a hut or tent and conducting interviews with the persons who inevitably gathered around. So as to further minimize the possibility of coaching of witnesses, guides were not informed of areas of interest to the Independent Counsel and questioning ranged over a number of topics. The persons interviewed included village elders, mujahideen commanders, ordinary Afghans and children. Some witnesses were uni-

CRIMEAN TATARS RESUME DEMONSTRATIONS

According to information received from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, demonstrations by Crimean Tatars took place on January 3 and 10 in three Central Asian cities.

The first demonstration took place in Bekabad on January 3. The demonstrators demanded the release of imprisoned Crimean Tatar activists Reshat Ablayev and Sina-ver Kadyrov, and protested the beatings of Sabrie Seutova.

The demonstration in Bekabad was dispersed by means of force, many people were beaten and were hosed down by water from fire engines. In protest, the Crimean Tatars organized other mass demonstrations in Chirchik and Yangiul on January 10. From 1,500 to 2,000 people participated in each of them. To stop them, police again used fire engines, but news of arrests has not yet been forthcoming.

The immediate reason for the new wave of demonstrations was the beating of Sabrie Seutova in Moscow on December 15. Ms. Seutova came to Moscow as a representative of the Crimean Tatars to take part in the international Independent Seminar on Humanitarian Problems. She was stopped by police and plainclothes KGB agents on the street who took her and beat her head against a police car.

Ms. Seutova lost consciousness and was taken by the police to a psychiatric hospital where the doctors refused to admit her, diagnosing her as having suffered a brain concussion. The same day she was sent by plane to Tashkent to a specialized clinic. She was discharged on January 15 by decision of the chief doctor, despite the opinion of her doctor, who insisted on continuing treatment. According to her relatives, there was no improvement in her health after a month in the clinic. Physicians associated with the human rights movement are concerned for Ms. Seutova's health and insist on hospital treatment. Ms. Seutova is 32 years old, a member of the Journalists Union of the USSR and works as a senior editor at the journal *Yildyz* (Star), published in the Tatar language.

Another activist in the Crimean Tatar national movement, Reshat Dzhemilev, 56, is now being held in the hospital of the Tashkent medical institute. He has terminal arteriosclerosis and diabetes (as a consequence of multiple prison terms). His relatives in New York have sent him an invitation to come to the U.S. for medical treatment, but Soviet authorities have refused him an exit visa.

► versity educated, while others were peasants or artisans. All interviews were taped so that the translations could later be checked. Except for certain torture victims, no witnesses were pre-screened. Witness demeanor was very important, with some testimony being rejected because of witness' behavior and credibility. Arrangements were sometimes made to interview a witness again. An adversarial, probing interview technique was adopted which, because of the Afghan cultural emphasis on speaking the truth among peers, occasionally met with surprise and anger. Anything other than eyewitness testimony was discouraged and discounted. Taken together, the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights believe that these methods, applied during the lengthy period of their investigations, provide them a firm basis for the conclusions which they have reached concerning the situation of the protection of human rights in Afghanistan.

(To be continued in the next issue.)

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT CHIANG CHING-KUO OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

We are deeply saddened by the passing away on January 13, 1988 of President Chiang Ching-kuo of Taiwan, and we would like to express our most heartfelt condolences to the whole Chinese nation. President Chiang Ching-kuo died of heart failure at the age of 77.

The son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo grew up barely knowing his father, who was away most of the time making a career in the military. He was educated in the Soviet Union, but later Soviet authorities made Chiang a virtual hostage, banishing him to Siberia and the Urals. In 1937, Chiang Ching-kuo was finally allowed to return home after twelve years in the Soviet Union. He served in a succession of government posts and in 1949 joined his father and 2 million other mainlanders in a mass retreat across the Formosa Strait after the communists seized power in Beijing. Chiang Ching-kuo then presided over a political-warfare department that defended the island against mainland communist infiltrators.

Upon the Generalissimo's death in 1975, Chiang, already Premier, succeeded him as Chairman of the Kuomintang. Given the title of President in 1978, he wisely encouraged active people's participation in the island's surging economy, thereby promoting political stability. He also gained considerable personal popularity, mixing regularly with farmers, labourers and fishermen.

President Chiang's dream was to recover the mainland. Last summer, at the President's behest, the state of martial law that was imposed to combat the constant threat from the mainland was finally ended. With that, the groundwork was laid for an era of political normality for the Republic of China.

The President's body was laid out in state at the Martyr's Shrine, where unprecedented homage was paid by millions of Chinese people. Many foreign dignitaries also paid their respects and homage to the late President. They included 150 foreign dignitaries from 50 nations who participated in the International World Freedom Day, as well as participants of the WACL and APACL Executive Board Meetings. The latter held a memorial gathering in tribute to the late President on January 23, where eulogies were delivered by the following speakers: Hon. Buz Lukens, U.S. Congressman; Dr. Osami Kuboki, President of APACL/WACL Japan Chapter; Mr. Shakeeb Amawi, representative from Saudi Arabia; Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN President; Hon. Francisco Solano Benitez, M.P. from Paraguay; Gen. John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom; and Sir Eldon Wylie Griffiths, M.P. from Great Britain.

A public mourning ceremony for president Chiang Ching-kuo took place on January 29 and was attended by some 23,000 representatives of the government, the armed forces and civic organizations. Over one million people attended the state funeral on January 30.

President Chiang Ching-kuo has been succeeded by Vice President Lee Teng-hui as President of Taiwan, who has called on his fellow citizens to "unite together and fulfill the mission that Mr. Chiang was unable to finish".

NOT TWENTY MILLION, NOT RUSSIANS, NOT WAR DEAD

In the aftermath of the superpower summit there is a new season of goodwill towards the Soviet Union. At such a moment of hope, it might look churlish to be sceptical. Memories of the Grand Alliance of 1941 have been stirred and the fact of the "20 million Russian war dead" has been reiterated to fire our sympathies. But Norman Davies argues that the famous statistic about the Soviet war losses, is to say the least, misleading. Norman Davies is a professor at the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London and he wrote this article for *The Independent*, published December 29, 1987.

With *Pravda* warning this week against "liberalisation in the western sense" and *The Sunday Times* desperately trying to redefine Mr. Gorbachev's liberal traits as those of a "kind tsar", the inevitable media hype surrounding the "Gorbachevian revolution" is perhaps beginning to ebb. Whilst welcoming the present phase of renewed détente and dialogue, it would be unwise to base our optimism on continuing misconceptions about the Soviet system and Soviet history. Too few commentators pay heed to the realities which constrain all would-be renovators and which have complicated the Soviet record even in its supposedly finest hour.

No reputable historian can deny that more human beings perished in the Soviet Union during the Second World War than in any other country. Poland, Yugoslavia and European Jewry can claim higher losses in percentage terms, but not in sheer numbers.

Yet the "20 million Russian war dead" has become one of those magical statistics that are endlessly repeated but rarely examined. It is one of the few items on the credit side of the Soviet balance-sheet that can offset some of the equally terrible items on the debit side — the Civil War, the Volga Famine, the Collectivisation Campaign and the Ukrainian Terror-Famine, the Purges and the *Gulag*.

The "20 million" figure is recruited for the most varied purposes. Soviet commentators use it to support their thesis that, since the Soviet peoples have suffered appallingly from war, the Soviet government is incapable of militarism. Anti-communists have used it to increase our fear of an implacable adversary who can only be stopped by nuclear weapons. Politicians like Mr. Livingstone use it in their arguments for unilateral western disarmament. Sentimental Russophiles like Peter Ustinov use it to heighten the pathos of their tall tales about innocent "Holy Russia".

To date, the practitioners of *glasnost* have largely confined their revelations to the peacetime horrors of the 1930s, when in all probability similarly vast numbers of Soviet citizens were done to death as during the war. Gorbachev has not called for a revision of either of the Leninist period or of "The Great Patriotic War". Yet the Soviet terror machine was created not by Stalin but by Dzierżyński; and no one switched it off in 1939. If *glasnost* persists, the wartime horrors will have to be examined as well. They are of special concern to us, since from 1941 to 1945 the Soviet Union was our ally.

In 1945, when the Allied governments were collating the statistics of war, Soviet officials maintained with some force that their own losses were incalculable. Later, in

the 1950s, when the western powers were seen to have won the war with only minimal loss, the Soviets were eager to follow suit. The figure of 20 million did not emerge until Khrushchev's time, when the Soviet census of 1959 revealed a colossal gap in projected demographic growth since the last pre-war census. Before the war, a similar gap of 17 million had been briefly published for the period 1929-37, until the director of the census, together with his entire staff and their results, had disappeared in the Purges. It was not long before the awesome statistic was related not just to the population gap but to "war deaths" and to "victims of Fascism".

Soviet sources are generally more cautious than the western enthusiasts. The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, for example (Third Edition, Moscow 1979) states: "The Soviet Union incurred enormous losses. More than 20 million Soviet people perished during the war." True to form, it adds an ideological gloss about "world civilisation" being "saved from Fascism"; but it offers no details about which categories of Soviet citizens were killed, or by whom.

Estimates of Soviet military losses can reach as much as 13 million — almost four Red Army-men killed for every German casualty. Recent disclosures have confirmed the old suspicion that the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact was not used to prepare for war with Germany, and that the Red Army's unpreparedness resulted in its inflated casualty rate, especially in the initial phase. Among the overall losses were some five million Soviet prisoners captured by *Wehrmacht*. And their fate is particularly instructive. Roughly 80 percent of them were systematically starved to death by the Nazis. The surviving million or so were classed by Stalin as traitors, and, on repatriation to the USSR in 1945, were sent straight to the *Gulag*. It is a nice question whether these men, who had defied Hitler only to be killed by their own side, can properly be counted among the victims of the struggle against Fascism.

The ethnic breakdown of Soviet losses poses other problems. Although ethnic Russians provided an absolute majority of casualties in the military sector, they formed a minority in the civilian sector. Western historians, who obstinately persist in thinking of the Soviet Union as "Russia", often ignore the fact that the *Wehrmacht* never penetrated beyond the outer fringe of Russian settlement, or of the RSFSR. The lands which bore the brunt of the German attack in 1941 had only just been annexed from Poland and the Baltic States in 1939-40, and did not contain any significant Russian population. The area of German Occupation in 1941-44 was very largely confined to the non-Russian republics. The victimised population was made up overwhelmingly of Balts, Poles, Jews, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. What Soviet sources correctly report as "Soviet losses", western laxity translates into "Russian losses".

In this regard, despite traditional Soviet coyness about the ethnic breakdown — and a special reluctance to discuss Jewish losses on Soviet territory — it is clear that the Soviet nationality which sustained the greatest civilian losses during the war was the Ukrainians. Quite apart from the millions of Ukrainians who fought and died with the Red Army, a Soviet source has recently estimated civilian losses in Ukraine at 5.485 million, as compared to 1,793 million in Russia, including presumably the 800,000 at the Siege of Leningrad. Of course, not all the inhabitants of Ukraine were Ukrainians; but it seems reasonable to conclude that Ukrainian war losses were at least of the same

order, i.e. 5-6 million, as those of European Jewry, or of ethnic Poles. Anyone who has been misled into thinking of the Ukrainians merely as concentration camp guards, as “pro-Nazi nationalists” or as members of the one Waffen-SS Galicia Division, should think a bit harder.

The vast category of Soviet civilians who perished in the period 1939-45, but were not killed by the Nazis, contains many cohorts. After all, the *Gulag* continued to consume perhaps a million human beings per annum throughout the war years. The life expectancy of a deportee did not exceed one winter. Others, like the 15,000 Polish officer-prisoners of 1939-40, were shot outright.

There were the 1-2 million Polish civilians deported from eastern Poland following the Soviet invasion of September 1939. There was a proportionate number of deportees from the Baltic States and from Bessarabia, annexed in 1940. In each of the newly occupied regions, there were mass deportations of former state employees, “bourgeois nationalists”, “class enemies”, “ideological diversionists” and even of “persons having foreign contacts” (down to stamp-collectors and esperantists).

When the German attack came, the Soviets’ scorched earth policy condemned whole towns and factories to forcible evacuation beyond the Urals — 4 million people from Ukraine alone. Entire nationalities, among them the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tartars, were driven from their homelands. Amidst these vast tides of uprooted humanity, the least hint of dissent earned the fatal label of “spy” or “saboteur”. In 1943-45, when the Red Army’s counter-offensives brought the NKVD back into the “liberated areas”, the process was restarted, and extended into Eastern Europe. Anyone who had dealt with the Germans, willingly or unwillingly, stood to be eliminated as a “collaborator”. The non-communist resistance movements, such as the Polish Home Army were rounded up *en masse* for “illegal activities”. Men and women returning from Nazi concentration camps, or from slave labour in the Reich, were faced with the ominous question, “Why are you alive?”

It lies in the nature of the problem that the victims of Soviet wartime repressions cannot be easily quantified. The records of the victorious Soviets, unlike those of the defeated Nazis, have never been opened for scrutiny. Whether the fraction of Soviet civilians who perished at the hands of their own regime was one quarter, one third or even one half of the whole will never be firmly established until the Soviet government itself comes clean. Perhaps that is too much, even for *glasnost*.

Continuing western reticence on this issue is less understandable. Forty years after the war, it should surely be possible to recognise the full extent of Stalinist crimes, whilst still giving credit to the heroic sacrifices of the Red Army which saved our skins from Hitler. There may be those with a vested interest in preserving the Nazis’ reputation as the most murderous regime in history, and others who cannot bear to see a former ally in the same dock as the hated enemy. There are many who still see the Grand Alliance of 1941-45 as “the cause of all good men”, rather than a desperate partnership for survival. Nowadays there should be other priorities. So long as western discussions of Soviet history do not assume a vindictive tone, they can only hasten that act of internal expiation which alone can free the Soviet peoples from fears and burdens of their terrible past.

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

ESTONIA

Estonian Dissidents Face New Threats

Estonian human rights activist Lagle Parek, released last year during the wave of the new human rights policy, might be returned to jail. It was reported from Tallinn that she was told by the deputy procurator of the Estonian Republic, that the procuracy had already appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia to revoke the decree under which Ms. Parek was pardoned in the spring of last year. She is now facing a two-year jail term to be followed by three years of exile in Siberia.

Another pardoned Estonian dissident, Heiki Ahonen, was given the choice of emigrating or taking part in the restoration project at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant for three months — dangerous work performed by drafted army reserve personnel. Ms. Ahonen chose the latter and was ordered to report on February 1.

Ms. Parek and Ms. Ahonen are the leaders of the group which is pressing for publication of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact under which Estonia was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. The group is also planning to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror and has gathered more than 10,000 signatures on a petition seeking official permission for this project.

The KGB is thus trying to prevent the public activities of the members of the initiative group planned for February 2, which is the anniversary of Estonian independence.

Ms. Parek and Ms. Ahonen were convicted in 1983 for their public statements advocating the independence of Estonia. Ms. Parek received a nine-year sentence, Ms. Ahonen was sentenced to seven years.

Other Estonian activists, imprisoned for similar activities in the early '80s, are still in detention. Among them are the biologist Mart-Olav Niklus and the philologist Enn Tarto, who are confined in the special-regimen block of the political labor camp in Perm.

HUNGARY

Demonstration Follows Arrests of 4 Dissidents

On Tuesday, March 15, 1988, more than 10,000 people marched through Budapest, chanting "Democracy" and demanding reforms. This is believed to have been the largest unofficial demonstration in Hungary since the uprising in 1956. There were no attempts by the police to obstruct or break up the march.

The march took place only hours after the arrest of at least four leading members of the opposition on subversion charges. They had been arrested in a series of dawn raids said Ferenc Koeszeg, an underground publisher. He further stated that the four arrested were Gabor Demszky, also an underground publisher, Tamas Molnar, Otilia Solt, a sociologist and Miklos Haraszti, a writer.

The demonstrators carried banners with slogans such as "Real Reforms", "Freedom of Assembly" and "Press Freedom". They draped the banners around statues along the way of the march. In addressing the protesters, Gaspar Miklos Tamas, a dissident philosopher said: "In 1848, 1918 and 1956 we tried to achieve the aims of freedom, equality, independence and a place in the community of civilized

nations. We are still far from these aims.” Many of the protesters wore rosettes in the Hungarian national colors of red, white and green.

A similar march took place last March 15, in which some 2,000-3,000 Hungarians participated. Since 1956, this had been the first time that the authorities had tolerated such an open expression of dissent.

150 Hungarian journalists and 50 academics have submitted an application to set up a “Glasnost Club”, which the authorities have opposed. The aim of the Club would be to improve public information.

LATVIA

New Activist Group Founded In Latvia

An independent activist group calling itself “GOD, TRUTH, NATION” has announced its formation in Soviet occupied Latvia.

In a statement of principles dated December 8, 1987, group founders characterize themselves as “united by the belief in a Creator and engaged in a quest for truth in the hopes of becoming spiritually and physically complete.”

Citing the “bitter experiences” of the Latvian human rights group Helsinki 86, the new group “has decided not to reveal any information about its members at the present time.” Since its formation in 1986, almost all of the publicly known members of the Helsinki 86 group have been forced by the Soviet authorities to emigrate to the West.

In their statement, the new group states: “Membership in the group will also be granted to representatives of other nationalities that have mastered the Latvian language, seek spiritual completeness and have an interest in helping promote the aspirations of the Latvian people to preserve their national identity within the framework of a socialist society.”

The group promotes the independent analysis and evaluation of spiritual and social questions, including “the development of the restructuring period in our society,” and vows to “unmask the tellers of half-truths, the hypocrites and the demagogues.”

The group lists among its concerns, ethnic assimilation, preservation of Latvian culture, heritage and history, cultivation of traditional religious folk singing and ecological preservation.

Party Member Joins Latvian Helsinki Group

Juris Vidins, the chief physician of the city and district of Rezekne, Latvia, and a Latvian Communist Party member since 1974, has joined the Latvian human rights group Helsinki 86.

In a letter to Helsinki 86 leader Linards Grantins, Mr. Vidins states that he supports the group’s activities and would “view it as an honor” to participate in the work that was begun by the group in 1986 to “aid the rebirth of our national self-esteem and defend human rights in Latvia.” Mr. Vidins also adds that “The ‘revolution’ which has begun ‘from above’ by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, will bring results, if we, liberated from fear and inaction, actively support it from below...” Mr. Vidins endorses the idea that new groups of private citizens should be formed to monitor constitutional violations by government agencies.”

Mr. Vidins closes his statement acknowledging that, "I am fully aware of the consequences that my actions could bring to myself and my family, but we can no longer continue to live this way."

According to Mr. Grantins, Mr. Vidins was accepted into the group on January 2, reported the World Federation of Free Latvians.

Since its inception in March of 1986, several leading members of Helsinki 86 have been forced to emigrate to the West. Mr. Grantins, who recently served a six-month term in prison for refusing to report for military duty, is expected to leave Latvia on February 6. According to Mr. Grantins, Helsinki 86 will continue to work after his departure. In addition to Mr. Vidins, several other new members have since joined the group. Western representatives of Helsinki 86 claim that in addition to the eight announced members of the group still in Latvia, there are many who have chosen not to reveal their identities.

Mr. Vidins, 51, comes from a family of doctors and journalists who have long been associated with Latvia's intelligentsia. He is the first active Communist Party member to join the Helsinki 86 group.

UKRAINE

Ukrainian Catholic Liturgy Broken Up

The church in Kalynivka belongs to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite (known also as the Uniate Church), which has been illegal in Ukraine since 1946. The church in Kalynivka was closed down in 1960 during Khrushchev's persecution of religion. It has stood deserted for many years until the believers broke the locks and bolts on the doors and, without asking for permission, began to renovate the church themselves. Eventually, they began to regularly celebrate the Holy Liturgy there.

During the liturgy, the local commissioner in charge of religion, local Communist Party leaders, a school teacher and Komsomol activists broke into the church. They began to shout loudly that the believers should immediately leave the church. The Rev. Petro Zeleniuk stopped the service. Several of the activists approached the altar, while others started to forcibly push people out of the church.

As soon as somebody attempted to protest against this act of violence, the activists called the militia under the pretext that the "believers are opposing the authorities and are causing disorder." According to as yet unconfirmed reports, some parishioners were detained by the militia and have not yet been released.

The Rev. Zeleniuk belongs to a group of Ukrainian Catholic priests who have recently emerged from the underground, where they have existed since 1946. He openly declared that he is a priest from the Ukrainian Catholic Church and demanded its recognition. He recently travelled to Moscow and attended a press conference organized by the Russian Orthodox dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov.

Ivan Hel, the new leader of the Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine was also present at the press conference. He had delivered a new petition to the Supreme Soviet, signed by two bishops and more than 1,500 faithful, calling for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

YURIY SHUKHEVYCH RELEASED FROM EXILE

On January 11, after 35 years of imprisonment, two months prior to the expiration of his term, Yuriy Shukhevych was released from internal exile. The 55-year-old Ukrainian political prisoner, who had lost his sight as a result of the harsh camp regime, was serving his sentence before his release in the camp home for invalids in the Tomsk region of Siberia.

Yuriy Shukhevych was first arrested in accordance with Article 58 of the Criminal Code, when he was 15 years old, in 1948. He was released in 1968 and remained free until 1972. During this time he married and had two children. He was re-arrested in 1970 in accordance with Article 70 for writing his memoirs and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in a special regime camp and five years of exile. After a year, he was sentenced once again to 15 years of imprisonment for attempting to pass on his new notes to the West. In such a way another year was added to his original 15-year sentence. Shukhevych's sentence was due to expire in March, 1988.

'BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM' LIVES ON

Ukrainian 'bourgeois nationalism' is the greatest of all evils in the Soviet Union. Hardly a day passes that nationalists are not viciously attacked in the Soviet press. Ukrainian nationalists are portrayed as criminals, bandits, egoists, and remain among those who are persecuted the most. To this day former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are sentenced to death for their activities.

In a standard attack upon Ukrainian nationalism in the newspaper *Kultura i Zhyttya* on November 22, 1987, the existence of two previously unknown Ukrainian nationalist youth groups was revealed. The author of the article toured Western Ukraine with an "agitprop" show that was designed to discredit Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalists". The standard attacks describes Ukrainian nationalists as bloodthirsty bandits and traitors, working for foreign interests, who have brought nothing but suffering to their people.

The author expresses concern that the younger generation in Western Ukraine does not share this negative view of the Ukrainian nationalist movement during the 1940s. In many cases they have a sympathetic view of it and are susceptible to "ideological diversion" from Ukrainian emigres. The author warns that Ukrainian nationalism is not a thing of the past, that its adherents abroad are continuing their work and that they have targeted the youth in Soviet Ukraine.

The author provides two examples of the danger posed by Ukrainian nationalism when two underground groups were uncovered in the Ternopil region. A student at a pedagogical institute, whose grandfather had been punished "for contacts to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists", grouped together with three friends to form a "group for active struggle against the existing order". They drew up a program and a statute, and a draft copy of a membership card. Their first "action" was to have been the hoisting of the Ukrainian national flag over a government building.

The other group was composed of young people from the town of Zbarazh, "almost all of whom had higher education". They decided to distribute anti-Soviet leaflets for which they had written the texts, collected addresses and printing equip-

ment. Both groups were uncovered by the authorities and their founders were let off with reprimands.

UKRAINIANS, ARMENIANS, UNITE IN RIGHTS GROUP

The Ukrainian and Armenian committees in defense of political prisoners have united to form a joint Ukrainian-Armenian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. An announcement about the group's formation appeared in the September issue of the independent journal *Glasnost* published in Moscow. The text of the announcement follows.

• • •

A working group for the defense of Ukrainian political prisoners has been formed in Ukraine. The head of this group is Mykhailo Horyn, a former political prisoner. Representatives of both this group and the Armenian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners have agreed to form a joint Ukrainian-Armenian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. After final agreement is reached with the Georgian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, an all-union Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners will be formed. We call upon all similar committees in other republics to organize themselves in the same manner and join us.

The basic aim of our joint committee is the release of all political prisoners in the USSR and the creation of guarantees to halt political repression in the future. The activity of the all-union committee will be publicized in the journals *Ukrainian Herald*, *Armenian Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners News* and *Glasnost*.

For the Armenian committee:

Paruir Airikian

For the Ukrainian committee:

Vyacheslav Chornovil

LEVKO LUKIANENKO GRAVELY ILL

According to Oksana Meshko, the current chairperson of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a former political prisoner, who arrived in Melbourne, Australia on February 25 for medical treatment, Levko Lukianenko is in extremely poor health.

Lukianenko was visited by his wife Nadia on January 30 of this year after he arrived at his place of exile in the Tomsk Oblast. His address there is: **636614 Tomskaya Oblast, Parabylyskiy Raion, Pos. Berezovska**. In a letter to his family in Chernihiv, Lukianenko wrote that he is afraid that under such difficult conditions, he will not survive his 5-year term of exile.

Lukianenko began the long trip to Tomsk where he is to serve a 5-year-term of internal exile on December 8, 1987. That same day the inmates of the notorious 36-1 camp in Kuchino were transferred to camp 35. The difficult trip from Kuchino to Tomsk took almost two months, and Mr. Lukianenko arrived completely exhausted.

He was assigned "severe regimen exile" according to official documents, although such a designation is unheard of according to the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Born on August 24, 1928, Levko Lukianenko was first sentenced to 15 years for "treason" and "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for advocating secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, a right guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. He was arrested again on December 12, 1977 after joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and tried and sentenced to another 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". As a consequence of the severe conditions of the long years of imprisonment, Lukianenko suffers from gastritis, heart disease as well as kidney and liver ailments.

APPEAL

Collection for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Liberation Fund

Friends!

Every other year we appeal to you to make a generous donation to the Fund of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The ABN Fund is your contribution to the struggle for the restoration of the independent and sovereign states of the many nations subjugated by Moscow. This contribution is a gauge of the subjugated nations' desire for their own national states and an expression of their understanding of the need to conduct a wide-scale international action — an indispensable part of the general liberation process.

The path towards the ultimate attainment of our goal is long and hard. It demands continuous effort and personal sacrifice. Thousands of the most noble and most generous members of our subjugated nations have sacrificed their whole lives for this cause. Because of the moral-ideological and political achievements of our predecessors, the national-liberation struggle is still going on today. Every year it brings more and more positive results.

In the international field we would like to note the ABN's cooperation with the Afghan anti-Russian liberation movement and the radio broadcasts with a high-level ideological content to the non-Russian soldiers of the Soviet Army of occupation in Afghanistan. Despite the painful loss of the President of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, a successful ABN Conference was organised in Toronto, Canada in 1986. The European Freedom Council (EFC) also held a successful conference in Munich, West Germany. Throughout the period of one year, delegates of the Central Committee along with numerous representatives of our subjugated nations participated in two world conferences of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) in Luxembourg and Taipei, Taiwan. When Moscow's disinformation campaign reached its heights, we forcefully stood up against those responsible for the defamatory allegations brought against member nations of the ABN and in many instances, put an end to their defamatory activity.

The external activity of the ABN is manifold: apart from the above actions, we publish an English-language periodical, *ABN Correspondence*, our members intervened at the Vienna Conference for the review of the Helsinki Accords, and a mass action was conducted in Germany to counteract Russian disinformation about the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. We also publish various books in English, French, German and other languages, informing the world about the terrible plight of our nations under Russian occupation. In May of this year we are planning to hold a large ABN Conference in Washington, D.C., USA.

All this work on the international forum demands immense expense which almost never brings us any financial profit. For this very reason, Friends, we appeal to all of you to make a generous donation in support of the activity of the ABN which is being conducted for the benefit of our subjugated nations. **Please send your donations and/or subscriptions for *ABN Correspondence* to: ABN Bureau, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 München 80, West Germany. Please make all cheques payable to: Anna Dankiw, Deutsche Bank, Munich, Neuhauserstr. 6, Account No. 3021003.**

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

IN MEMORIAM



Dr. Dymitr Waltcheff

It is with deep sorrow and regret that we inform our readers and all friends of ABN that on March 6, 1988 Dr. Dymitr Waltcheff, a great Bulgarian patriot and ABN Central Committee member passed away in Munich.

Dr. Waltcheff was a noted national statesman, nationalistic ideologist, publicist and uncompromising politician and fighter for Bulgaria's independence and the independence of all other nations subjugated by Russian communism and imperialism.

The ABN has lost one of its most noted co-founders in the Western world, an unremitting Bulgarian representative in ABN's Central Committee. For many years Dr. Waltcheff was the chief editor of the German edition of *ABN Correspondence*, as well as the author of many essays and articles. He was an outstanding speaker and promoter of ABN ideas, a gifted politician and able participant in many diplomatic meetings with fellow politicians and statesmen.

Dr. Waltcheff studied law at the German universities in Berlin, Greifswald and Heidelberg. He was politically active from his youth, first in the Bulgarian National Liberal Party in which he served as state secretary in the Ministries of Industry, Trade and Labour. After the dissolution of the Party in 1934 in Bulgaria, he became an active member of the Bulgarian National Legion. As an outstanding publicist, he set a wide area of activity in motion. In 1944 he left Bulgaria before its invasion by the Soviet Russian Army. For his anti-Soviet and anti-communist activities, he was sentenced to death three times by the Bulgarian communist court.

In the West he was the co-founder of the Bulgarian National Front and the publisher and chief editor of its journal *National Bulgaria*, which became the flag-bearer of ideas in Bulgaria's struggle for freedom amidst the Bulgarian emigration.

Dr. Waltcheff defended the Bulgarian cause in many articles, essays and speeches at international forums, always linking his work with the united front of nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. Based on the concepts of ABN, Dr. Waltcheff constantly interceded in humanitarian aspects for the well-being of his Bulgarian compatriots. He will always be remembered as a great statesman, not only of Bulgaria but of the nations enslaved by Moscow. He was one of the closest friends and co-workers of the late ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko.

The funeral services took place on March 9 at the Ostfriedhof cemetery in Munich. The ABN Central Committee mourn the passing away of this great Bulgarian patriot. May his memory to be eternal!



Mass Nationalist Demonstrations in Armenia.

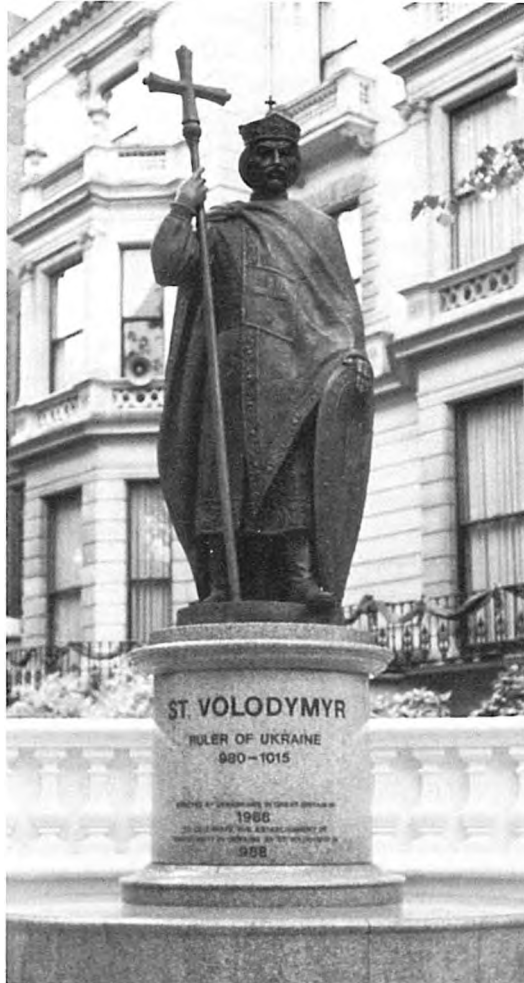
**One of the first photographs to reach the West, taken by Finnish tourists in Yerevan,
on Wednesday, February 24, 1988.**

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



**Monument of St. Volodymyr the Great, Ruler of Ukraine 980-1015,
erected by Ukrainians in Great Britain in 1988
to celebrate the establishment of Christianity in Ukraine in 988.**

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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SUMMIT ROUNDUP

Summit 4 between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev could have been a historic forum for the American leader to proclaim and explain to the Kremlin hierarchy the United States' unshakeable support for national, religious and human rights as well as to chart the free world's course into the third millennium, but it turned out to be pardoning the system for its crimes, pointing out to the students of Moscow University that the system is not corrupt or criminal, only its bureaucracy, its management.

Does President Reagan really believe that 7 million Ukrainians were killed because some bureaucrats naively confiscated the farmers' foodstuffs? Does he really think that an archaic group of middle managers has been keeping Ukrainians from praying to the God of their choice in the 1,000 year-old rite of their ancestors? Is it truly a cobwebbed administration that is subjugating Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Armenians, Georgians, Afghans and other nations of the world?

Is it the bureaucracy, or is it the national legacy of Russian imperialism which is not rooted in Marxism-Leninism but has been adopted, adapted and improved by Lenin? To say that a bureaucracy is responsible for the cold-blooded murders of as many people, if not more, as were killed by Nazism insults the sanctity of their sacrifice.

Why did the President absolve the Russian empire of its crimes at a time when nations are still being held captive, held in bondage by Moscow, totally dependent on the Kremlin for their existence. The peoples of the subjugated nations and the satellites are still dominated by Moscow, and the Iron Curtain still stands. The President met with Ukrainian human and national rights activists, but did not accentuate the plight of the Ukrainian nation as he said he would.

However, part of a Ukrainian delegation who attempted to travel to Moscow on Saturday, May 28 to meet President Reagan at the U.S. embassy was detained by local authorities and prevented from proceeding to their destination. The delegation was composed of eleven persons who boarded the train bound for Moscow at Lviv. Shortly before they reached Ternopil, the militia ordered the delegation out of its compartments and into a corridor, where a check of identity papers was made. Members of the delegation were forbidden to converse with one another during the identity check. Five members were removed from the train: Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, Frs. Mykhailo Havryliv and Mykola Simkailo, Hryhoriy Simkailo (all of the Ukrainian Catholic Church), and Zinoviy Krasivsky, a prominent Ukrainian oppositionist. They were taken back to Lviv to the procurator's office and afterwards released. (Bishop Vasylyk is one of three publicly-known bishops of the still outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church).

Six persons continued on to Moscow: Vyacheslav Chornovil and his wife Atena Pashko, Mykhailo Horyn and his wife Olya Horyn, Ivan Hel and Petro Ruban. It is not clear where Ruban joined the other five travellers. He had just been released from imprisonment and arrived in Kyiv on May 25.

At the U.S. embassy reception Vyacheslav Chornovil sat next to President Reagan and told him that, in his opinion, the national question was the single most important problem facing the Soviet Union.

As part of his emphasis on religious and human rights at the Moscow summit, President Reagan made special mention of the banned Ukrainian Catholic and

Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in his speech at the Danilov Monastery May 30. Speaking before Western and Soviet press, Reagan said “Our people feel it keenly when religious freedom is denied to any one anywhere, and hope with you that soon all the many Soviet religious communities that are not prevented from registering or are banned altogether, including the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, will soon be able to practice their religion freely and openly and instruct their children in and outside the home in the fundamentals of their faith.”

Though Reagan acknowledged some progress in recent years in increasing religious and political freedoms, he emphasized that the “commitment of the United States will nevertheless remain unshakeable on human rights. On the fundamental dignity of the human person, there can be no relenting, for now we must work for more —always more.” While the Soviet media decided to simply downplay the Danilov visit, Reagan’s reception with the dissidents was completely dropped from all listings of the official summit agenda.

President Reagan has said that he knows that millions of Americans trace their heritage to countries in Eastern Europe, that many left as political or religious refugees. He has acknowledged that though he may be addressing a Moscow audience, he also speaks to people in the United States. In a recent interview that he taped for Soviet television, Reagan pointed out that “those people can rise up and oppose” any agreement he makes with the Soviets, if they feel that “the country of their ancestry” is allowed to suffer.

In his speech at Moscow State University on May 31, Reagan told the students, “Our ties to you are more than ones of good feeling. They’re ties of kinship. In America, you’ll find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, peoples from Eastern Europe and Central Asia... We can only hope that it won’t be long before Ukrainian-Americans, Baltic Americans, Armenian Americans can freely visit their homelands, just as this Irish American visits his.”

While the President was maneuvering between being an anti-communist and a pro-Gorbachevite, his counterpart in the Kremlin stood fast in his convictions, not fearing to scold Reagan for interfering in an area “where he has no right to be”. Gorbachev began reprimanding Reagan long before Summit 4. Most recently he warned, “We have so far been showing restraint, but if we reciprocate — and we can do so over a very wide range of issues —the atmosphere in Soviet-American relations can become such that it will make it no longer possible to solve any further issues.”

Basing its future course on its ideological past, Gorbachev quite boldly announced that he is not really interested in perpetuating human rights but merely in getting on with politics and international or bilateral relations, unfettered by America’s persistent and annoying concern with freedom. Moscow’s interpretation of freedom is different from Washington’s, and the two shall never meet.

The West must understand that freedom cannot come of Soviet Russia without it being totally changed and torn apart. Freedom for individuals and nations will not become commonplace in the USSR because of glasnost and perestroika, but when the captive nations win their independence, when the Russian empire is decolonized. Glasnost and perestroika are giving freedom to a few selectively chosen people, freeing one small group and arresting or detaining others. We are sorry that President Reagan, who seemed to know and understand this formula, did not stand fully by this pledged commitment.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Mr. President:

On the eve of your trip to Moscow, we the delegates and participants at the International Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), convened in Washington, D.C. from May 13-15, 1988, are compelled to express our profound concern over the colonial policies and practices of national annihilation perpetrated by the Soviet Russian regime against the non-Russian countries, nationalities and ethnic groups which comprise the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Likewise, we are distressed by Soviet Russia's imperial domination over the countries in Eastern and Central Europe. We are equally concerned with the extension of Moscow's communist empire to the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Central America and the Caribbean.

As the representatives of the nations struggling to free themselves from communism and Russian imperialism, firmly united under the ABN credo: "Freedom For Nations; Freedom For Individuals", we are dedicated to the restoration of liberty, justice and independence for Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Hungary, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, Vietnam, and all other subjugated nations throughout the world. We should like to emphasize that the ABN has consistently upheld the inalienable rights of all peoples, including the Russian nation, to freedom and national independence. Regrettably, Russian groups, both inside and outside the USSR, have spurned this principled position. Instead, encouraged by the Kremlin itself, they continue to harbor anachronistic chauvinist, racist and colonial ambitions.

It is heartening to us that the American people and Government have consistently demonstrated their support for the Captive Nations, including the promulgation of Public Law 86-90, passed by the Congress of the United States in 1959. This historic statute, annually affirmed and reaffirmed by every President since its adoption, states:

...the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world... it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive...

Therefore, on both ethical and strategic grounds there exists an imperative for the United States, as the leader of the Free World, to support the increasingly forceful demands of the subjugated nations for an end to the oppression, terror, deprivation and death to which they have for so long been subjected. Nothing can justify indifference on the part of the free nations of the world towards the crimes against humanity that have been and continue to be committed by communism and Russian imperialism.

There can be no compromise in the struggle against these twin evils. The communist totalitarian system cannot be reformed or incrementally improved upon. It must be dismantled in its totality, in all of its forms and manifestations. Furthermore, long after the other imperial powers have relinquished their colonies, colonialism is far from dead. In the Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe, the Russians, the one truly imperial nation left on earth, maintain the last empire of the by-gone era and its dissolution must be ensured.

The industrialized democracies and the independent developing countries must recognize that peace and stability cannot co-exist with communism and Russian imperialism in their midst. Moscow's incessant acts of aggression and occupation, destabilization and subversion, disinformation and infiltration demonstrate that it poses an unprecedented threat to international peace, regional stability and national security. From Afghanistan to Cambodia, from Ethiopia to Cuba, from Angola to Nicaragua, Moscow continues the unabated expansion of its domination throughout the world. Despite the pronouncements of "glasnost" and "perestroika", the Kremlin has simultaneously maintained that it neither has any intention to decolonize its vast empire, nor to renounce its hegemonistic designs.

There are those who argue that Moscow has committed itself to gradually, over the years, institute certain changes and improvements in the communist system and that such incremental reforms should be encouraged. They point to the relaxation of economic constraints, the abolition of certain repressive laws and the restraints placed on some of the more barbaric practices of the KGB. The record, however, shows that three years after the introduction of "democratization" and "restructuring", only a limited number of political and religious prisoners have been released. The majority, who are overwhelmingly non-Russian, continue to endure the cruelty, torture and all too often death in the KGB-run prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric institutions. These individuals remain incarcerated for refusing to submit to the indignity, humiliation and degradation of Russian chauvinist and racist colonial rule.

Moreover, in this year of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the atheistic Soviet Russian regime is cynically attempting to exploit this sacred event to conceal its relentless anti-religious and anti-national campaign. Except for the Russian Orthodox Church, which in its present form is an obedient partner of the Kremlin, all churches and religions of the non-Russian nations are banned or severely restricted. Their clergy, lay leaders and faithful, be they Christian, Moslem or Jewish, are subjected to severe persecution and arrest.

Similarly, the insidious policy of Russification, namely, the systematic and ruthless attempts to obliterate the national consciousness of the non-Russian nations and the imposition upon them of the Russian language and culture, has been accelerated. Economically, the situation in the non-Russian nations remains typically colonial, with huge proportions of their gross national product annually expropriated to support Moscow's military build-up.

After decades of colonial abuse, the physical environments of the subjugated nations have been despoiled to such an extent, that many areas have become unfit for human habitation, as exemplified by the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe.

Hence, the Kremlin's record of incessant internal repression and external aggression, only confirms that the purported reforms are nothing more than cynical attempts to temporarily blunt the resistance of the non-Russian nations, to co-opt certain segments of the population, and again to deceive the Free World.

Yet, there are those who still believe that through the revival of detente, unilateral trade concessions, technological transfers, academic and cultural exchanges, Moscow can be persuaded to transform itself. The same record shows, however, that such an approach, far from causing the Soviet Russian regime to relent has, on the contrary, only emboldened it to manipulate these concessions and contacts to bolster its imperial rule. In an empire where colonial domination and communist exploitation is made the supreme determinant of political power and legal order, it cannot be hoped that its leaders can be moved by offers of economic and technological assistance, much less by appeals to their sense of justice.

Therefore, because of our acute concern for the plight of our nations suffering under the yoke of communism and Russian imperialism, as well as for the liberty and security of the Free World, we appeal to you, Mr. President. We urge you to insist that the Kremlin match its pronouncements about reforms with concrete deeds, specifically:

- the immediate and unconditional release of Levko Lukianenko (Ukraine), Mart Niklus (Estonia), Ashot Navasarshyan (Armenia), Borys Kakubava (Georgia), Kayrak Riskulbekov (Turkestan), Mikhail Kukobaka (Byelorussia), Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius (Lithuania), who have come to symbolize the indomitable will of their nations to be free, and all other political and religious prisoners.

- an end to religious persecution; the reinstatement of the religious and national churches of the non-Russian nations; and the return to the faithful of their sacred shrines and churches.

- the renunciation of the policies of Russification; and the restoration to the writers, artists, scholars and scientists of the subjugated nations the right to the unfettered development of their national cultures, languages, histories, economies and physical environments.

Most importantly Mr. President, we urge you to express the abhorrence of all Americans towards the continued colonization of the subjugated nations; and the commitment of the United States Government to support the struggle of these nations to secure the same inalienable rights and liberties, individual and national freedoms, cultural and spiritual fulfillment that national independence and sovereign statehood has guaranteed for all free nations.

Convinced that you, Mr. President, share both our fears and aspirations, we ask, on behalf of the subjugated nations, that you give earnest consideration to this appeal. We hope that it will encourage your own efforts to go forward and reach conclusions which will promote the shared fundamental interests of the people of the United States of America and the peoples of the subjugated nations. For our common destiny to be realized, we must strive together with determination for a future of liberty, independence, dignity, prosperity and freedom for all nations; freedom for all individuals.

“WILL THE SOVIET UNION SURVIVE?”

From May 13-15, 1988, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations hosted an international conference in Washington, D.C. entitled “Will the Soviet Union Survive?”. The primary aim of the conference was to underscore a profound concern over the continued imposition of colonial policy by the Soviet Russian regime both in the non-Russian countries subjugated within the USSR and the so-called satellite states of Eastern and Central Europe, to protest the extension of Moscow’s domination over nations in Asia, Africa, Central America and the Caribbean.

In light of President Reagan’s upcoming visit to Moscow, the conference’s 300 delegates and observers, representing 24 member nations from 4 continents, sent an open letter to the United States President, urging him to express the abhorrence of all Americans toward the Kremlin’s refusal to end its subjugation of the nations held captive by Moscow.

The letter insists that the President demand concrete deeds from the Kremlin, including:

1. The release of all political and religious prisoners;
2. The termination of Moscow’s anti-religious campaign of annihilation;
and
3. The removal of all vestiges of Moscow’s policy of Russification which seeks to destroy the national consciousness of all the non-Russian peoples currently imprisoned by Moscow’s colonial rule.

The conference was held under the patronage of Church leaders, numerous United States Senators and Congressmen, as well as parliamentarians from Canada, Great Britain and Europe.

The conference received the support of President Ronald Reagan who issued a special greeting to the conference participants in which he echoed a promise to recognize the aspirations of ABN for freedom and national independence for all subjugated nations.

The program of the conference addressed various aspects of the conference theme “Will the Soviet Union Survive?”, including national reports, discussions of East-West relations, and analyzed the myths and realities of “glasnost” and “perestroika”. The conference also presented practical solutions to contemporary geopolitical problems and made long-term projections for the future.

Among the guest speakers who addressed the conference were experts in strategic studies, academicians, journalists and military officers. Arnaud de Borchgrave, the editor of *The Washington Times* addressed the topic “Glasnost and Perestroika from a Western Perspective”. Dr. Maurice Tugwell, the director of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda in Canada spoke on “Political Warfare in the Era of Glasnost”. In a panel entitled “Current Developments in the Countries under Soviet Russian and Communist Domination”, 13 representatives of subjugated and “satellite” nations presented national reports in which they assessed the latest developments in their native countries.

On Friday evening, May 13, a congressional reception was held, which provided the delegates with an opportunity to meet informally, exchange ideas and develop new contacts.

Several conference panels as well as individual addresses were devoted to the examination of the myths and realities of "glasnost" and "perestroika". One such panel, chaired by Mr. Evdokim Evdokimoff, a member of the ABN Central Committee, discussed this topic as it pertains to the USSR and the "satellites". Representatives from Afghanistan, Georgia, Lithuania, Turkestan and Ukraine all agreed that "glasnost" and "perestroika" as such do not exist, they are merely the latest ploys designed to maintain the Soviet Russian empire. Tengiz and Eduard Gudava, recently released Georgian political prisoners and activists who had testified before the American CSCE Commission in October, 1987, called the new policies of Gorbachev a travesty; while the Soviet Russians are taking advantage of the world's desire to see humanity in the Soviet beast, they are at the same time forbidding Georgian and other activists to bring these policies to life.

The second part of the panel examined "Glasnost and Perestroika vis-a-vis the Free World", and was chaired by Dr. Manfredo Borges of the Ethnic American Council. The panelists, Reed Irvine, Chairman of Accuracy in Media spoke about communist infiltration of the media; Les Csorba, Executive Director of Accuracy in Academia discussed the topic "Communist Infiltration in Colleges and Universities" and Dr. Robert Morris analyzed Soviet Russian penetration on the global scale.

Four distinguished speakers presented individual addresses under the general theme of "Perspectives and Projections in Future Soviet-West Relations". Mr. Herbert Romerstein of the United States Information Agency spoke on the topic of "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost". John Wilkinson, a member of the House of Commons of Great Britain and President of the European Freedom Council addressed the topic of "Securing Freedom and Security in Europe after the INF Accord", Mr. Bertil Haggman, member of the European Freedom Council Executive Board and a writer and expert on psychological warfare addressed the topic "Glasnost as Tactics: Continuing Soviet Pressure in Europe", and Captain Jerry Burke from the Pentagon spoke on Soviet military might.

A banquet was held on Saturday evening, May 14. Led by Prof. Yarema Kelebay of Montreal, Canada as master of ceremonies, the banquet featured a tribute to the late Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN, delivered by Mr. Bertil Haggman. Dr. Robert G. Grant, National President of the American Freedom Coalition delivered the keynote address. Other addresses were presented by General George Keegan, former Chief of Air Force Intelligence and present Chairman of the Congressional Advisory Board, and by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the President of ABN. The message of greeting from President Ronald Reagan was read and warmly received by the banquet guests. John Wilkinson, M.P. delivered a greeting from the European Freedom Council and Dr. Osami Kuboki from Tokyo, Japan, greeted the conference on behalf of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. The banquet also featured cultural entertainment by a Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble.

On Sunday, May 15, 1988, Dr. Algis Barauskas from AF ABN in Detroit, Michigan chaired a panel entitled "New Frontiers in National Liberation". Representatives from 6 countries presented reports about the resistance movements in their countries.

Dolf M. Droge, a freelance lecturer and consultant on national and international affairs presented a speech on the topic "New Frontiers in National Liberation". David Finzer, the Secretary General of the World Youth Freedom League addressed the

topic of “Civil Rights as a Tool of National Liberation”. Both speakers stressed the importance of grassroots work; it is only when enough individuals raise their voices in protest that a strong united front is created.

General John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom and long-time friend of the ABN presented a luncheon address on the topic “Legal Terrorism — the Latest Communist Weapon”. As a token of gratitude, all guest speakers were presented with an impressive new publication, *The Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity*.

Conferences such as this are very important for many reasons. They provide us with an opportunity to establish new contacts, exchange ideas and strategies, form networks and consolidate energies in our common struggle for freedom. They provide us with a forum to the media and they enable us to lobby prominent and influential political leaders. It took many people to make this conference a success, the organizers, the delegates, the guest speakers, the patrons, the financial and moral supporters. Mrs. Slava Stetsko thanked all of these persons in her concluding remarks and underscored the importance of all of us continuing our work in our cities, work which the conference has made more vital and for which it has provided fresh new ideas and goals.

24 participating member nations took part in the conference. The representatives who spoke in the panels on behalf of the subjugated nations were as follows:

Afghanistan	Habib Mayar, Ghulam Wardak, Linda Shapiro, Henry Kriegel, Zalmay Aziz
Angola	Marcos Samondo
Bulgaria	Evdokim Evdokimoff
Byelorussia	Constant Mierlack
Croatia	Dr. Srecko Psenicnik
Cuba	Dr. Manfredo Borges
Estonia	Toomas Trei
Georgia	Tengiz Gudava, Eduard Gudava
Hungary	Dr. Hoka
Iran	Shapoor Ardalan
Latvia	Dr. Gunars Subins
Lithuania	Dr. Jack Stukas, Dr. John Genys
Mozambique	Dr. Antonio Zengazenga
Poland	Marek Ruszczynski
Romania	Dr. John Halmaghi
Slovakia	Dr. Oktav Bazovsky
Slovenia	Dr. Ciril Mejac
Turkestan	Nimet Begis, Rusi Nasar
Ukraine	Dr. Anathole Bedriy, I. Chalupa, Prof. Wolodymyr Zaryckyj, Roman Zwarycz
Vietnam	Dr. Do Van Hoi

The conference was organized by two preparatory committees: a United States committee under the leadership of Roxolana Potter and a Canadian committee under the leadership of Orest Steciw.

THE WHITE HOUSE

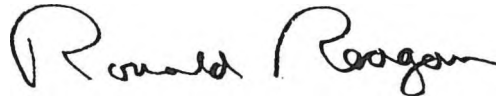
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1988

I am proud to greet everyone gathered here in Washington, D.C., for the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations International Conference, and to welcome our guests from abroad.

You are a company assembled from every continent to tell the peoples and governments of the world about your firsthand knowledge of the fruits of the totalitarian ideology of communism. You share a common experience of the failures and false promises that the deprivation of liberty entails. You possess as well a profound understanding of freedom's countless benefits for individuals and nations alike. Your love of liberty and your desire to see it flourish everywhere are reminiscent of Abraham Lincoln's wholehearted belief in freedom's promise that "in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

Your witness truly brings hope to mankind. I can assure you that this cause will accompany me in the coming weeks. You have my best wishes for a successful meeting and for the years to come. God bless you.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

“ABN’S CONSTANT GUIDING FORCE”



*Tribute delivered by Mr. Bertil Haggman
at the
ABN International Conference banquet,
May 14, 1988 in Washington, D.C.*

It is a great honour for me to pay tribute to the Right Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, a great chief of men and women, not only in the tradition of the great hetmans, the Mazepas and the Orlyks, but as the president of ABN. Tonight, we honour him in the last capacity.

Since the day the ABN was conceived in the forests of sovereign Ukrainian territory, insulated from colonial Nazi or Bolshevik occupation by the armed forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, one individual has been the ABN’s constant guiding force and its vital inspiration. This individual dedicated his entire life to the cause of freedom and national independence. He expanded every cell of spiritual and voluntarist energy to bring national independence and basic human liberties to the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism within the USSR and its so-called satellite states.

Not only did he author the well-known ABN revolutionary slogan and guiding principle — **Freedom For Nations! Freedom for Individuals!**, but he breathed real vital life into the universal human ideals of freedom and justice, encapsulated in this slogan, by forging the ABN into a powerful multi-national alliance. The revolutionary alliance represents the only realistically acceptable alternative to the total nuclear obliteration of humankind, since it strives to dismantle the Russian prison of nations from within, thereby ridding the world of the only existing threat of nuclear war.

This individual is none other than the late ABN President, the Prime Minister of the Sovereign Ukrainian National Government, and the Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — the Right Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko.

Yaroslav Stetsko always reminded us that: “Ideas can never prevail on their own. The ideas of freedom and justice can only triumph when they inspire adherents to struggle for their effectuation.” The name of Yaroslav Stetsko has become synonymous with the ideals of freedom and justice. Yaroslav Stetsko, his irrepressible, free and always young, revolutionary, indomitable spirit, is alive in the hearts and minds of every person who values his/her freedom and human dignity, and is repulsed by any injustice committed against peoples or individuals.

Long live the memory of Yaroslav Stetsko! Long live the idea of national liberation for which he lived and fought! Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE IS INEVITABLE

On the 40th anniversary of ABN and the 25th anniversary of the Captive Nations observance, in his address to us in the White House, President Reagan stated:

...Today, we speak to all in Eastern Europe who are separated from neighbors and loved ones by an ugly iron curtain. And to every person trapped in tyranny, whether in Ukraine, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Cuba or Vietnam, we send our love and support and tell them they are not alone. Our message must be: your struggle is our struggle your dream is our dream. And someday, you too, will be free...

Many things have changed in the five years that have passed since. The Russian nation has become a minority in the USSR. We must always bear in mind one basic fact: that the non-Russian nations in the USSR constitute a majority of the population of the Soviet Union and they aspire towards the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent and sovereign, democratic states. The non-Russian nations are voicing their national demands louder and more and more. Thousands of initiative groups defending their national culture, language, religion, heritage and nature have spread throughout the whole of the empire, revealing, that the empire is trembling on a huge scale. Despite the ruthless extermination of the national elite in the non-Russian republics, a young generation is born without fear, determined to continue the road to freedom.

Mr. Gorbachev, the new Russian tsar, with the skill of Peter the First dreams of profiting from the high level of Western economy and technology to rescue the dilapidating Soviet Russian empire. The West, however, is busy working to preserve it. We ask, why, for whose sake should it be preserved? Or does the West nourish the illusion that this totalitarian communist empire can be changed into a democratic one? Or do they, like some Russian emigrees, favor the recipe that the empire can be transformed into a democratic federation of nations?

Even the communist dictators were compelled to structure their prison of nations into the form of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and thus acknowledging the separate national entities. What this means is that they could not extinguish the nations which inhabit these separate republics.

70 years of communist tyranny have been unable to liquidate the non-Russian nations despite such atrocities as the man-made famine which claimed 7 million Ukrainian lives, despite mass purges during the reign of Stalin, despite the deportation of entire nations (Crimean Tartars, North Caucasians), despite decades of trials and millions dying in concentration camps, the indomitable spirit and strength of the subjugated nations has not only survived, but has become revived, as we are witnessing today.

This new strength and revival of the subjugated nations is not a product of the imagination, it is a fact. Therefore, the West must accept this basic truth, what is good and just for the Western nations, is good and just for those nations which are still subjugated. The subjugated nations have the same inalienable right to national independence as the West, and only in their own free and independent states can their human rights be guaranteed. There is no happy medium or middle way.

The French political analyst Besancon is right in asking the West to be prepared for the dissolution of the Russian empire, which is imminent. He writes in *Le Monde* and *L'Express*:

... The empire cannot be reformed and it is doomed to collapse. If Gorbachev succeeds in persuading the West that he is a champion of demilitarization, he can get the material aid which the USSR needs to preserve its status as an empire. But it is not the first time that the West has cherished the hope for new reforms. Western credits help the regime to exist. The West should help the nations in the Soviet Union to liberate themselves which — not the West — will liquidate this system. Why shouldn't the West extend its hand to the Baltic nations, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and others? Shouldn't we, as Western de-colonizers, tell the peoples of Central Asia that we do not recognize the legitimacy of the Soviet empire? Russia too may be liberated when the other nations which she tries to Russify and which hate her will be granted the right of self-determination. The West does not endanger peace if it keeps to its clear positions, nor does it endanger peace if it breaks off its close ties with the Russian empire. This is the French advice to the West...

Milovan Djilas, an expert on communist affairs, also maintains that the dissolution of the Russian empire is inevitable and that the main role in this will be played by the non-Russian nations in the USSR.

Those who expect a new, liberal course concerning the nationalities from Mikhail Gorbachev are also naive. In his speech to the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Gorbachev clearly declared that the main task of "educating the Soviet people of all nationalities" is to strengthen within them "feelings of internationalism and Soviet patriotism". This means to re-shape them into a "Soviet people" with one Russian language and culture. "Let those" threatens Gorbachev "who want to win at nationalist or chauvinist prejudice have no illusions and await no relaxation on this point." Our request to our American friends and to the people of the West is: do not help Gorbachev to accelerate the process of converting the non-Russian nations into one Soviet-Russian people, because millions have given their lives for the existence of these nations, and despite the declared era of "glasnost" and "perestroika", are still dying for their nations.

Recently, four prominent Ukrainian activists died as a result of their long imprisonment in the strict regime camp at Kuchino: Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus. All were killed by the same method of the KGB. Former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists are being put on trial and sentenced to death. Their crime is that they fought against the Nazis during World War II and then against the re-imposition of Soviet Russian rule. The most viciously attacked are the Ukrainian nationalists.

Pavlo Skochok, a Ukrainian journalist and an editor of the Ukrainian independent journal *The Ukrainian Herald* asks "How long am I to live in my native land in humiliation?" and calls on the Western press to support the representatives of independent Ukrainian thought in Ukraine at this critical time of renewed persecution. The continued arrests and imprisonments attest to the strength of the resistance against the communist Russian oppressor.

One million Armenians, one third of the population, demonstrated in the Armenian capital, demanding the return of the Nagorno-Karabakh region. In Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia people marched out into the streets to mark the 70th anniversary of the restoration of their independence, calling for national independence from Russian rule. An Estonian National Independence Party has been established demanding independence for Estonia. In Byelorussia, following a political demonstration in Minsk last November organized by nationally minded Byelorussian youth groups, national awareness and determination have become strengthened.

The majority of political prisoners in Soviet Russian concentration camps are Ukrainian patriots, a fact which also has been published by the unofficial journal *The Ukrainian Herald*. On the second anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster, university students in Kyiv distributed a leaflet containing bold political demands. Nationality questions, a multi-party system and the threat of nuclear power to Ukraine's existence were the main topics of the leaflet.

The thousands upon thousands of religious and nationalist prisoners represent the continuing danger facing the Russian rule — that despite persecutions, despite all attempts to Russify, Moscow has failed in destroying the identity of Ukraine and its striving for national sovereignty.

Culturally, Sovietization and Russification have made little headway in Turkestan. In a recent statement to *Literaturnaya Gazeta* Chingiz Aztmatov, a Turkestan author states: "The immortality of a people lies in their language". Hence the question of the right of national languages has been raised throughout all the republics in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Islam and communism cannot be reconciled. In the USSR there are 50 million Moslems, in Turkestan, the Caucasus and in the Volga regions.

The vitality of the non-Russian nationalities and their striving for independence were also made evident during the December 1986 riots in Alma Ata, in Kazakhstan, the Tartar demonstrations in Red Square in Moscow, demanding the right to return to their Crimean homeland. All these events clearly demonstrate not only the vitality of the non-Russian republics, but underscore that the nationality problem is the most crucial problem facing the Soviet Russian empire, a problem which will, sooner or later, bring an end to the empire itself. Nations which have been forcibly incorporated into a totalitarian, tyrannical empire cannot forever tolerate the violation of their human, national and religious rights by the Kremlin overlords. The most sacred desire of these subjugated nations has been and remains national independence and sovereignty which can only be attained through the dissolution of the hated empire.

In the spirit of our complete support for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire, we express our full support for the heroic liberation struggle of the Afghan nation and appeal to the free world to render modern military assistance and other means of support to the Mujahideen. We further express our solidarity with the striking Polish workers of "Solidarity".

At this critical time, it is most important for the United States to render its moral and political support of the subjugated nations' struggle for liberation as expressed by the Resolution on the Captive Nations (Public Law 86/90, 1959). It is in the common interest of all of us to do so. By doing so, in a common, united front, we shall, at last, make the ABN slogan — Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals — at long last, a reality. God speed that day.

“GLASNOST” AND “PERESTROIKA” AS TACTICS — CONTINUING SOVIET PRESSURE IN EUROPE

The Soviets are attempting to sell “peaceful coexistence”, that well known strategy, in a new shape, calling it “glasnost” and “perestroika”. But the subjugated nations and their peoples know what peaceful coexistence means in reality: continued occupation of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and all other peoples in the prison of nations that have a rightful claim to independence, freedom and cultural heritage. How evident is this subjugation in 1988 when the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine is celebrated. Moscow is using the heritage of subjugated Ukraine to claim for itself a christianization that took part not in the outlying regions around uncivilised Moscow, but in the heartland of Slavic culture, in Ukraine.

In Russian, “perestroika” means restructuring and it is the restructuring of the Soviet military that is the most important part. The Soviet plan is to drive deep into European territory in the event of a war in Western Europe with conventional forces using at the same time Spetsnaz commando units to attack rear bases and destroy command, control and communications. A quick capture of Western Europe is the purpose of “restructuring”.

Detente, we know, is a way of psychologically disarming the leaders in Western Europe and the United States. Heading this disarmament is a new type of leader, “the new Soviet man”. Gorbachev is trained by the old guard, by Michael Suslov and Yuri Andropov, make no mistake about that. Behind the smiling face is the mask of the Chekist in the Dzerzhinski tradition. Mr. Gorbachev has no personal memories of the man made famine in Ukraine that cost almost ten million lives or of the Stalinist purges in the 1930s.

In his recent so-called best-seller *Perestroika* Mr. Gorbachev attempts to have the reader in the West believe that there was never a Lenin doctrine of imposing communism throughout the world or conquering the whole of Europe. He may fool some naive people but he can never fool those who have experienced Soviet aggression, the subjugated peoples and their relatives in the free world and one country in Scandinavia that managed to survive the onslaught of the Red Army in 1939, a nation of four million, Finland. The brave Finnish people then withstood the armies of the mighty Stalinist empire.

What can we expect from “perestroika”? There will be a concentration on strategy and tactics, on deception and on “active measures”, the last one being the component that is least costly and pays the highest dividends and where Western vulnerability is at its greatest: subversion, the agents of influence, the front organisations and propaganda. One is almost afraid that Mr. Gorbachev is a likely candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. That would be the ultimate slander of those peoples who suffer subjugation in the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

Let us dwell on an area shortly where there is little “glasnost” and “perestroika”: Scandinavia, the newest Soviet target. Since World War II the Soviet Russian empire has accepted the so-called Nordic Balance in Northern Europe, the tacit agreement that Sweden and Finland remain neutral while Norway and Denmark have a limited participation in NATO in return for Soviet restraint. During the 1980s Sweden and

Norway have been the subject of an active, provocative Soviet policy. With submarines in the Baltic Sea and in the Norwegian Sea, in the North Atlantic the Russian navy is testing the reflexes of Scandinavian defence to see how good it is. The Soviet navy wants to demonstrate the futility of resisting Moscow's military might. Another possible purpose of the submarine provocations is intelligence gathering to find suitable landing places for the Russian murder squads, the Spetsnaz troops and finally it is a matter of extended mine-laying probes. The Soviets have always stressed mine warfare, a cheap fighting system. Under these circumstances, how could the Scandinavian peoples believe in "glasnost" and "perestroika" with Moscow's war preparing activities right in their back-yard.

Another side of the new strategy and tactics used by Soviet Russia is the fanning of economic dissension among so-called capitalist countries. Let me quote from a Soviet source: "A certain community of interests may exist between socialist countries and small capitalist countries, in the struggle against big imperialist states." Examples of such countries mentioned by Soviet sources are: Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands. All these countries, according to Moscow, are leaning towards neutralism. Other European possibilities among so-called "less developed capitalist countries" are mentioned as targets: Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain (*Kommunist Vooruzennykh Sil*, January 1987). The classification of countries is communist. I myself would refrain from such classifications.

In each area of the world Soviet Russia is identifying "weak spots" where the balance of power can be overturned in favour of communism.

Gorbachev's foreign policy includes an important innovation: using the tactics of communist front organisations in the field of international relations. The whole system of interplay between nations is to be subverted by the Soviets and their client states. Proposals put forward in this spirit are: the creation of nuclear free zones. Northern Europe is a special target here. There have since the 1950s been continued proposals by Moscow or by Moscow clients to create a Scandinavian nuclear free zone. Naturally this zone would only exclude nuclear weapons from Scandinavian territory not the massive nuclear weaponry in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Leningrad military district, not to mention the Murmansk area in the far north where the new Soviet submarines are stationed, the awesome Typhoon floating arsenals 30 miles from the Norwegian-Soviet border in the Arctic. Another Moscow tactic in the "perestroika" spirit is the support of refusals to pay debts by Third World nations and accept recommendations of the International Monetary Fund. Campaign against so-called "nuclear elitism" and American protectionism are other examples of these innovative tactics. Typical is the so-called Delhi declaration, which was signed by two European countries, non-aligned Sweden and Nato-member Greece, both governed by Socialist parties. India was an "initiator", a country close to Moscow.

"Democratisation of international relations" is another pet Soviet new tactic. Moscow suggests that neutral and non-aligned European countries should take part in the solution of disarmament problems. In NATO, Moscow suggests, small countries should have a say in the decision-making process of NATO.

In *Pravda*, Hungary's leader Kadar has declared: "We consider that small and medium countries can do a lot to maintain dialogue and to reinforce trust". The Polish communist leader Jaruzelski's plan contained "trust building measures" in Poland, West Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Hungary, the Benelux countries and Denmark. The

purpose: to isolate the nuclear powers in Europe — England and France. Bulgaria promotes the idea of “denuclearized” Balkans.

Moscow has instructed communist parties in Western Europe to:

— use a strategy of “openness” towards other left-wing forces and the centre using the slogans of peace, ecology, anti-racism, etc.

— to return to conspiratorial practices and infiltrate, for instance, trade unions, immigrant organisations, etc.

In France, the Communist Party in 1986 instructed activists to locally campaign with “apolitical” candidates. In Portugal in 1987 the Communist Party advocated a “large coalition of democratic union”. In West Germany the Communist Party declared it wanted to campaign in the elections with a “peace list” instead of presenting their own list for the Bundestag. The Italian Communist Party is popular in Moscow because it is to be used to infiltrate the European left. The small West German Communist Party is also popular in the Kremlin. It is a model of conspiratorial organisations.

Direct contacts city-to-city is also a favoured model. Odessa is the twin city of Vancouver, Canada. Vancouver was one of the first cities to proclaim itself a “nuclear free zone” and “city of peace”. Soviet contacts on the Faroe Islands, the small Danish group of islands in the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom Gap (GIUK-gap), six years ago resulted in a Faroe Islands-Soviet Friendship Society. Now, *Pravda* is boasting, the inhabitants have declared the islands a “nuclear free zone”. Similar events have taken place in Portugal, on the Azores Island, strategically important, and in Greece.

The purpose of this is as follows:

— to persuade Washington D.C. that containment is not valid any more and that it is necessary to cooperate with Moscow;

— to encourage American isolationism and agitate against the United States in all countries where there is a US presence.

Let me present an incomplete list of the disinformation and deception used by the Soviets to make us believe in the lie that Gorbachev is a liberal in the Western sense:

— Gorbachev is trying to free himself from the Soviet military industrial complex;

— sometimes Gorbachev has to be “hawkish” to calm down the so-called conservatives in the Kremlin;

— if “perestroika” fails, it will be terrible for all of us, there will be a new “cold war”;

— trust must be built immediately, not step by step. If the USSR makes a goodwill gesture, the West must answer;

— the conservatives in Western Europe and the United States have to be removed from positions of power. They are hindering the process of “perestroika” towards trust between West and East;

— the Soviets have given up their attempts to rival the West in the Third World. There should be cooperation instead of competition.

Personally, I don’t know if I am to laugh or cry when hearing or reading such nonsense. The reality is that the Western world is entering a very dangerous period. Gorbachev is inviting chaos in the Soviet Union and the West must have a clear policy to cope with the new situation. There may be a split in the CPSU, the voices of the nationalities will be heard like in Armenia and Azerbaidjan but the Baltic States and

Ukraine are a potential boiling pot not speaking of the Eastern European countries where the recent strikes in Poland could be the first signs of the volcano erupting. The road open to Gorbachev is to try to force Western Europe to finance and feed the communist empire by intimidating the smaller countries.

We know, all of us here today, that there is only one road to lasting peace and prosperity in the world — liberation of all countries that are not oppressed in the Russian prisonhouse of peoples. Therefore — Freedom For Nations — Freedom For Individuals. We must see the Soviet deception for what it is. European freedom depends on a firm American commitment to aid and defense of Europe together with the Europeans against Soviet expansionism. The tactics could be peaceful coexistence or glasnost or perestroika — the goal is still there — to dominate the world.

THOUSANDS RALLY IN LVIV

On June 16, 1988, a large gathering took place in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv, at which a series of burning issues were raised. 6,000 to 8,000 people gathered at the monument to renowned Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko. The militia did not disrupt the rally.

One of the reasons why the rally was convened was to discuss the problem of the nomination of representatives to the Communist Party Conference in Moscow. Three of the already appointed delegates, namely, the academician Yukhnovsky, the chairman and first secretary of the local communist party Pikhota and Volkov spoke at the rally.

The meeting was organized by an initiative committee headed by Makar, who also presented the speakers. Vyacheslav Chornovil, Bohdan and Mykhailo Horyn spoke from the unofficial journal *The Ukrainian Herald*. Makar introduced them as fighters for restructuring in the 1960s and 1970s, and the participants greeted them with applause.

Chornovil spoke critically of the delegation already appointed from the Lviv region to the Moscow party conference. He said that this delegation could not represent the regional population because it included people such as Pohrebniak, who was the first secretary of the regional communist party during Brezhnev's time, and Malyk, the head of the KGB in Lviv, who took part in the repressions of the 1970s. Another appointed delegate, Yelchenko, is regarded as a destructor of Ukrainian culture and a strong advocate of Russification. The participants fully agreed with Chornovil's comments. Mykhailo Horyn stated that as long as people continue to remain in concentration camps for their beliefs, there can be no talk of real restructuring, glasnost or democratization. Bohdan Horyn declared that the people are expecting the Moscow conference to condemn the Stalin and Brezhnev periods as counter-revolutionary. The participants at the rally spontaneously applauded the views held by Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn. Bohdan Horyn also demanded that a status of state be established in the republics, so that the USSR could finally become a real union of republics, and not only in name. He also criticized the privileged position of the party bureaucracy, as well as the activity of the KGB.

The participants of the rally resolved to meet in future by Ivan Franko's monument to discuss current burning issues. A large meeting was planned for June 21 in the *Druzhba* stadium, which holds up to 50,000 people.

POLITICAL WARFARE IN THE ERA OF “GLASNOST”

In his recent writing about the Soviet leader, George Urban noted that Mikhail Gorbachev “is the Soviet Union’s most potent single weapon in its contest with the Western world”.² Urban considers it likely that the Soviet leader requires the Western world to accept the USSR as a moral as well as a military equal; that we are to acknowledge Marxism-Leninism as a system to be admired.

A friend in Toronto who is a retired senior army officer and president of a strategic institute was surprised earlier this year to receive an invitation to visit Moscow. His invitation, of course, was part of the current Moscow policy of courting moderates and conservatives. During his visit he was told by Georgii Arbatov that the Soviet Union was “taking away the enemy image”.

Soviet political warfare is undoubtedly undergoing a face lift. It is too soon to say with assurance how it will develop, but here are some ideas based on the Soviet Union’s past performance, and current indications.

The Asymmetries

If we were fighting a nuclear or a conventional war, which thank goodness is not the case, East and West would be playing to roughly the same rules, if only because there are scarcely any rules when survival is at stake. In political warfare, that is diplomacy, propaganda, economic competition, subversion and “active measures”, the rules by which the West must play are quite different from those governing the USSR. The difference arises from the asymmetries between our two systems. Although these are well known, I question whether we look at them hard enough and appreciate their operational significance. Perhaps I may summarize them as follows:

In the USSR, foreign and defence policies are decided in absolute secrecy by the top party leaders; even quite senior officials are kept in the dark. The outside world, including the West, has rarely had the slightest inkling of the Politburo’s plans and intentions.

In the democracies, such policies are openly debated. Actual operational plans are graded secret, but security is often so sloppy that even these find their way into the media. Because of the open nature of Western societies, agent penetration has also been relatively simple.

The asymmetry here brings obvious results: the West is always guessing at Moscow’s real intentions; the East knows with fair certainty what we have in mind. Thus Soviet planning is soundly based, while ours has to rest on hypotheses. In addition, Eastern secrecy provides the Kremlin with a firm base for deception, consisting of dissimulation, or hiding the real, plus simulation, creating a false picture of reality. Having the first as a given, the Soviets enjoy great powers to deceive.

In the East, publics have no influence whatsoever over foreign and defence policies. Glasnost has not altered this, as the Party, the KGB, defence and foreign affairs are all

¹ Maurice Tugwell is the Director of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda in Toronto. His book on the peace movement, *Peace with Freedom*, will be published this fall.

² George Urban, “Gorbachev: Can the Revolution be Remade?”, *Occasional Paper No 33* (London: Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, 1988), p. 13.

off limits for debate. In any case, there is no possible way for public opinion to make any impact, as there are no real elections and Party leaders have no need to please their constituents. Moreover, glasnost notwithstanding, Western statesmen, spokesmen, and the like have very limited and tightly controlled access to Soviet publics; they cannot hope to influence them to any great extent. So it is that the Politburo can pursue its aims free of domestic considerations.

In the West, our publics are open targets for Soviet influence, both overt and covert, factual and deceptive. Suitably primed, these publics can influence and ultimately decide their countries' foreign and defence policies. Thus, through propaganda and deception, Moscow could come to control the West's agenda.

Communist ideology provides the East with a clearly stated mission — to convert the world to Marxism-Leninism. Thus the Kremlin has only to address one question — how? The single-minded pursuit of power, coupled with the dogma that “history” is on the side of the revolution, making eventual victory inevitable, results in an open-ended commitment that is impervious to argument, amendment or compromise. Perestroika carefully preserves the historical imperative (indeed it is stressed), while providing to the West the illusion of fundamental change.

Democracy is an idea that can succeed only by community endorsement; consequently it cannot be an ideology, nor can it express itself through propaganda.³ A flourishing democracy is bound, by its very nature, to attend primarily to domestic needs, looking to its defences only to the extent of minimum safety and not always that.

The East can accordingly devote to its armed forces, secret police, propaganda apparatus and other instruments of foreign policy as many resources as the leadership considers necessary; the West typically devotes only what is left over when all competing claims on the budget have been met. While there are exceptions in time of war and mortal danger, over the long haul defence is difficult for democracies to maintain. As for a god-given mission in the world, each and every one of us in the West is free to find his or her own.

Lenin's legacy absolves communists from any moral constraint in the history-given cause; the good end justifies all means.⁴ Restraints developed over the centuries that separate mankind from a brutal past were dismissed by Lenin as “bourgeois morality”.

The West, conversely, subscribes to these moral codes and is constrained by them — even to the point of finding it objectionable to question the good faith of communists. When individuals or groups in the West act in disregard of the norms, retribution is severe. Moreover, the guilt generated by these transgressions tends to paralyze national wills and to stimulate self-hatred. Because they have become subliminally accustomed to the idea that the Soviets are exempt from moral restraint, judging the West against its best traditions and absolving the East because it does not share this heritage.

The commitment to world revolution led, immediately after October 1917, to the creation of the Communist International, comprising communist parties with overt and covert members throughout the Western world. Although the name has changed,

³ For a discussion, see Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: the Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965), Vintage edition, 1973, pp. 232-258.

⁴ Vladimir Bukovskii, *To Build a Castle; My Life as a Dissenter* (New York: Viking, 1978), passim.

this huge apparatus of treason and subversion — the greatest Trojan Horse the world has ever known — is now stronger and more tightly controlled from Moscow than ever before. The asymmetry is total; the West has no equivalent organizations in Eastern countries.

The USSR and clone nations possess dual power structures — the Party, which rules, and the State, which executes party orders. Moscow operates on two fronts: the party, secret police, clandestine front which uses the international traitor network as its web; and the state-to-state relations of the civilized world.

Democracies have only the second apparatus, although from time to time private enterprise, secret services, and maverick individuals or groups within the public service have created frail and short-lived mirror images of the Soviet party front, Oliver North's private army being a recent example. This asymmetry provides the Soviets with additional flexibility.

Truth, for communists, must submit to the same test that judges other behavior — if it advances the cause it is good; if not, it is bad. Good truth is called “objective truth”, or in these days of glasnost, “constructive truth”. Bad truth cannot be truth at all and is suppressed.⁵ Under glasnost, the categories of truth that are deemed to serve the cause have been substantially widened and a great deal of ideological confusion has resulted. The basic rule, however, has not changed. The fact that the Soviets were researching a system equivalent to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative was truth for many years, and denied by Gorbachev.⁶ When in December 1987 the Soviet leader decided that the cause would be better served by admitting the research, the same fact became objectively good for communism, thus earning the title of truth.⁷

Lenin's precondition for “real peace” is the victory of communism; “peace” in a world divided into “socialist” and “capitalist” camps can only be a truce or interlude.⁸ There is no evidence that Gorbachev has tampered with this golden rule, which underpins the whole structure of party legitimacy. A book published in 1986 by the USSR Ministry of Defence stated that “Communists never have been pacifists and they cannot be pacifists... Socialism and peace are indivisible”.⁹ It follows that in the current period of undeclared war, no “peacetime” restrictions limit Soviet behavior, and for all practical purposes, the words “peace” and “victory” are synonymous for Moscow.

The West views war and peace as distinct conditions and feels constrained in its activities unless there is a state of war. If constraints are kicked aside, as in the U.S. action in Grenada, France's in Chad, or Britain's in the Falklands, there is heart searching and domestic political opposition. The usual outcome is that while the democracies seek peace through negotiation and compromise, the Soviets see no contradiction in the phrase “fighting for peace”. All Soviet treaties are therefore

⁵ See Alex de Jong, *Stalin and the Shaping of the Soviet Union* (London: Collins, 1986) Fontana edition, pp. 135-136.

⁶ In a 5 July 1985 letter to the Union of Concerned Scientists, Gorbachev denied that the USSR was developing a large-scale ABM system or laying the foundations for one.

⁷ Quoted *Washington Times*, 1 December 1987, p. 1.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, Third Printing, 1977), p. 386; J. A. Emerson Vermaat and Hans Bax, “The Soviet Concept of ‘Peace’”, *Strategic Review*, Fall 1983.

⁹ S. A. Tiuškevič *Vojna i sovremenost* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), pp. 203, 210, cited Françoise Thom, “Moscow's ‘New Thinking’ as an Instrument of Foreign Policy”, *Mackenzie Paper No. 4*, 1987.

necessarily tactical in purpose and deceptive in character. For the Soviets, the treaty banning medium-range missiles is a step toward victory; for the West, a step toward a more peaceful world. Only in the communist lexicon are the two ambitions the same.¹⁰

These, then, are the uneven terms under which we have to conduct political warfare in the age of glasnost. What form is the Soviet political offensive likely to take?

Lessons from Soviet History

Marx observed that war was the midwife of change, but he did not insist that such wars need always be between communists and capitalists. The war that enabled Lenin to seize power was, in his terminology, an imperialist war. It created a fluid situation in Russia that made change easy. To consolidate the change, Lenin made peace on the enemy's terms: otherwise, the Bolsheviks would have suffered the same fate as the social democrats.

It seems at least possible that Gorbachev has noted that communism has made slow progress during periods of overt antagonism towards the West — the post-World War I attack on Poland, the post-World War II cold war hostility, Khrushchev's adventures over Berlin and Cuba, Third World revolutions relying too heavily on Soviet or proxy forces, Afghanistan. In contrast, he may be more impressed by periods when the USSR seemed no longer to menace the West and was seen as progressive — the New Economic Policy, the initial impact of "Socialism in one country", the antifascist "popular front", Khrushchev's early days, detente, and, most striking of all, the Grand Alliance of 1941-1945.

A Soviet military historian has recently written of the war period:

"as an extremely important consequence of the second world war, a radical shift in the correlation of forces took place, an unprecedented reinforcement of the world's progressive forces occurred... The world socialist system was created... in capitalist countries the communist movement was significantly reinforced".¹¹

Françoise Thom has pointed out in this regard that Gorbachev asked at the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution: "If in the past when faced by the fascist threat an alliance between a socialist state and a capitalist state was possible, is this not a lesson for today,....?"¹² Gorbachev went on to mention the nuclear threat, but the words quoted are the significant ones.

In World War II, Hitler's Germany was, through Western eyes, a totalitarian menace motivated by National Socialism, a mutation of Leninism. It was on the same side of the fence as the USSR — the wrong side — so far as democracy was concerned. But to the Kremlin, Nazi Germany was part of capitalist imperialism, a part that had fallen out with its neighbors. Although Stalin hoped to stay out of the war while the Axis and the Allies destroyed each other, Hitler decided otherwise. The German attack nearly destroyed communism, but when with Western assistance the USSR prevailed, she emerged as victor over far more than the original enemy.

¹⁰ The asymmetries appear in Maurice Tugwell, *Peace With Freedom* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, forthcoming, September 1988).

¹¹ Ju. Ja. Kiršin, V. M. Popov, R. A. Savuskin, *Politiceskoe sodержanie sovremennykh vojn* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), p. 243, quoted Thom, cited.

¹² Thom, cited, p. 13.

What sort of alliance, we may ask, has Gorbachev in mind today?

New Antagonists

Gorbachev is quite openly dividing the world into two classes that equate to, but in propaganda terms eclipse, the old exploiting and exploited classes. These are the peace forces and the classes that “benefit by war”. Additionally, by “removing the Soviet threat” from the minds and literature of the Western world, he may hope to transmogrify into warmongers and oppressors all in the democracies who continue to support strong defences, who doubt the goodwill of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and who refuse to accord moral equivalence to the USSR. These are not new ambitions, Ponomarev and his like have been trying them on for ages. But in the aftermath of the 1980s peace offensive, in the age of “New Thinking”, and under the new prince of peace, Gorbachev, they just might lift off.

If they did, there could be severe internal divisions within the democracies — conceivably a sub-revolutionary situation in some. Additionally or instead, the United States might be isolated as the new “fascist” enemy, a proper object of hate to justify a new Grand Alliance of antifascist forces, this time led by the USSR.

This alliance might be strengthened by Third World “peace” forces. Here, disaffected West European nations could be instrumental in mobilizing non-communist support for the new crusade. The campaign might not take an overtly warlike form, but the conditions for effective political warfare would be much improved, from the Soviet viewpoint. Alternatively, the campaign might hinge on an ideological struggle — a latter day Spanish Civil War — and there are plenty of candidate countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America where the new international brigades could be called into being.

While communist and near-communist peace movements would play important roles in generating hatred and division in Western societies, at the same time fear and an awareness of helplessness would be relied upon to paralyse the wills of the élites who would be persuaded to seek security within the Soviet power structure, not against it.

Such a strategy seems quite possible, but cannot be proven as yet. Given the severe domestic difficulties facing Gorbachev, and the Soviet aptitude for removing the mask just as some victim strays within reach, its chances of success are modest. The outline is worth considering, however, as a yardstick against which to measure future events.

Current Developments

Already, in Canada, we see the peace movement expanding its operational area into support for Stalinist “Just Wars” throughout the world. Next month, during the big seven Economic Summit meeting in Toronto, the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, backed by all the usual suspects, is hosting a rival summit called “Crimes of the Official Terror Network”.

Guenter Lewy’s analysis of communist deception during the Vietnam War¹³ identifies three primary deceptions that were instrumental in defeating United States policy in the region. In the first, the communist role in the war in the South was denied and the National Liberation Front was presented to international audiences as a non-aligned, non-communist, nationalist group. Second, United States military operations

¹³ In David Charters and Maurice Tugwell (eds.), *Deception Operations in the East-West Context* (London and New York: Pergamon-Brassey’s, forthcoming, 1989).

'WILL THE SOVIET UNION SURVIVE?'

ABN International Conference, May 13-15, 1988, Washington, D.C.



Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN President



*Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave, Editor,
The Washington Times*



Captain Jerry Burke, The Pentagon



Mr. Marcos Samondo, UNITA



Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble performing at the banquet.



Part of the Vietnamese delegation to the ABN Conference.



*Mr. Orest Steciw,
Chairman, ABN Canada*



*Dr. Osami Kuboki, President,
Asian People's Anti-Communist
League, Chairman Victory
Over Communism (Japan)*



*Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN President, Dr. Robert G. Grant, National President,
American Freedom Coalition and Mrs. Roxolana Potter,
Conference Preparatory Committee Chairman*



Mrs. Nino Alschibaja, ABN Secretary General, Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain), President, European Freedom Council, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Bertil Haggman (Sweden), EFC Executive Board member, and Mrs. Roxolana Potter.



General John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom addressing the conference



General view of the conference hall.

in Indo China were presented as deliberate, sustained genocide, relying on massacre and terror for their effect. These two deceptions effectively deprived the American war effort of legitimacy. When the United States was looking for a way out, the third deception came into play. This provided the illusion of a benign North Vietnam that had no ambitions in the South, would permit the NLF to govern a separate non-communist state, and did not ill-treat its prisoners of war. Thus, it was safe as well as wise for the U.S. to pull out and abandon the Saigon government, because no ill could come of it. The Congress and many Americans bought this one too.

“Crimes of the Official Terror Network” may not be an important demonstration in its own right, but it is noteworthy that it echoes the second Vietnam deception, particularly the part in it played by the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal. Meanwhile, of course, the first Vietnam deception — the one denying the existence of a communist threat — forms the main theme of current Soviet propaganda. If the West, or parts of it, can be persuaded that communism as now practised under Gorbachev is benign, the pattern could be repeated.

Deception

One of the most depressing consequences of studying propaganda and deception is to know that, however many times a trick has been pulled and subsequently exposed, its chance of working the next time is never diminished. Indeed, it is the deceiver who gains experience and confidence. As one wag wrote many years ago, expanding on Walter Scott:

“O, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practice to deceive!
But when we’ve practised quite a while
How vastly we improve our style.”

Thanks to the work of historians such as Jack Dziak, Natalie Grant and George Leggett, we now know quite a lot about the classic deception and provocation operations conducted during the years when Felix Dzerzhinskiy ran the Cheka.¹⁴ Many of these had the aim of weakening or destroying the émigré resistance to the Soviet regime, and discouraging opposition by Western countries. The constant theme stressed the perilous state of Bolshevism, the imminence of change towards some more liberal and even democratic form, and even the existence of effective opposition forces inside the USSR. Emigre Russians opposed to communism were lured back inside Russia to their deaths; Western governments were persuaded that, as change for the good was already in evidence, hostility would be counter-productive. Indeed, the New Economic Policy deserved support.

When these deceptions had run their course, their exposure completely demoralized external opposition forces as well as Western intelligence agencies. It became almost impossible for analysts to distinguish genuine from false intelligence.

¹⁴ John J. Dziak, *Chekisty* (Lexington: D C Heath, 1988); Natalie Grant, *Deception, A Tool of Soviet Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Nathan Hale 1987); George Leggett, *The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police* (Oxford, 1981).

We cannot say with certainty that today's "new thinking" and perestroika (in their external presentation), the Russian group called Pamiat (Memory), and the recent reports of an independent political party in Moscow represent a return to the methods of Dzerzhinskiy. If they do, they could fit the same glove, being used to encourage opposition forces in the democracies to trust organizations that are covertly controlled by the KGB. Provocation in some form could follow, in the course of which external opponents would be effectively discredited and broken. The West would be forced, in Natalie Grant's words, to "compromise with some tenets of communism". Faith in reform within the USSR would at the same time persuade Western governments that the process could be encouraged through trade, opening the door to technology transfer and credits. It seems likely that Gorbachev and his team, coached by Yakovlev and Dobrynin, are confident that the West cannot resist sophisticated deception. The past record supports that conclusion.

The ball is in our court.

Response

Henri Bergson wrote that "time given to refutation in philosophy is usually time lost. Of the many attacks directed by the many thinkers against each other, what now remains? Nothing, or assuredly, very little. That which counts and endures is the modicum of positive truth which each contributes. The true statement is of itself able to displace the erroneous idea, and becomes, without our having taken the trouble of refuting anyone, the best of refutations".

Democracy has all the good tunes. Communism would not have to borrow virtually every one of them were this not the case. However, because of the nature of democracy, it cannot convert its ideas into effective propaganda, nor can any U.S. administration — never mind the Alliance — sustain a campaign of public diplomacy in the same tireless manner that comes so naturally to the USSR.

There has, however, been a shift in the balance in this area. Communism, like any revolutionary movement, has always claimed the future while confining its ideological enemies to the past. I suspect that the reason Legachev and others are worried about glasnost is the effect it may have on communism's capacity always to be judged by the radiant future. The West ought to shift the agenda in every ideological debate to the communist record, comparing it with democracy's achievements. We should show no mercy whatever. The system has failed, by the clear admission of its leaders.

In Bergson's manner, we should also assume the initiative. Borrowing heavily from the ideas of Vladimir Bukovsky, we should be the ones encouraging the Kremlin to come into the civilized world, but only by first adopting civilized standards. Instead of confining East-West dialogue to arms control, the real issues that divide us ought to be resolved, by the Soviets taking the following steps:

To announce that antagonism between nations or between groups on the basis of "class" is out-moded, and that consequently the whole notion of a struggle between "capitalism" and "socialism" is obsolete.

To repudiate such errors and crimes as the collectivization of agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s; to allow the administration of justice in the USSR to be independent of Party and government; to release all political prisoners; to permit real freedom of religion; and to abolish the hideous abuse of psychiatry as a means of repression and punishment.

To repeal the article in the Soviet Constitution that obliges the USSR to support “the struggle of peoples for national liberation”, and withdraw Soviet troops and support from Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, and so on.

To revise relationships between the USSR and the Central and East European states to permit the Yalta agreement to be implemented and free elections held, while maintaining security through a defensively oriented Warsaw Pact and a Finland type of bilateral relationship. Subsequently, to observe the clause in the Soviet Constitution that permits republics to separate from the USSR, should they wish to.

To abolish the International Department and all its front and subversive organizations, and sever links between Moscow and non-ruling communist parties throughout the world.

To permit citizens of the USSR to emigrate if they want to, and if they have somewhere to go. In this respect, Bukovsky has suggested removing an article from the Soviet Penal Code that makes it a crime no different from military desertion in the face of the enemy for a civilian to leave the USSR without authorization. Bukovsky considers this implies a state of “war” between Soviet citizens and the rest of the world.¹⁵

These are fruitful areas for acting. If the Soviets refused, they would have no further claim to be considered even remotely equivalent in the moral sense. If they complied (and there would have to be verification), then we would be getting somewhere.

Without action by the Soviets in these areas, there is little purpose in pursuing arms control; by their own admission, so to speak, the Soviets would have told us it is all a sham. If the Soviets really did correct these abuses, arms control would overnight become unnecessary, because, with neither side threatening the other, who would want arms? Disarmament would simply happen.

I would like to leave with you the idea that it is in the political and ideological arena that today’s battles are being fought. To borrow a military phrase, the West must fight on ground of its own choosing.

¹⁵ *Encounter*, January 1988.

LATVIAN WRITERS CALL FOR SOVEREIGNTY

In one of the boldest nationalist appeals ever issued by an official Soviet group, unions representing writers and other cultural figures in Latvia have called on Moscow to make the republic a sovereign state within the Soviet Union. In a proclamation published in Latvian newspapers, the cultural leaders demanded that Latvia be allowed to have separate representation at the United Nations and the Olympic Games and to control its own press and foreign travel procedures. They also pressed for closer ties with Latvians abroad and for greater control over military and secret police activities. The statement also called for making Latvian the primary language in the republic and giving local authorities the power to limit the influx of Russians.

The Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party met in the middle of June in a special session to discuss growing nationalist feeling in the Baltic republic, and party officials reportedly clashed over how to deal with it.

The Latvian demands are the latest in a series of attempts by the non-Russian nationalities to test the limits of glasnost by pressing long-festering grievances against Moscow’s rule.

GUNARS ASTRA DIES AFTER YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT



Gunars Astra

***28.12.1931 — +6.4.1988**

The death of Latvian human and national rights activist, Gunars Astra, 56, on April 6, 1988 in Leningrad Military Hospital, has resulted in the American Latvian Association urging the U.S. State Department to submit a request to the Soviet authorities that a U.S. physician be allowed to participate in his autopsy. Livija Astra has expressed concerns about the circumstances of her husband's death and has asked that a U.S. doctor be present at the autopsy. In March, Gunars Astra had expressed the same wish in the event of his death.

Astra had been released from a Soviet prison camp on February 1, 1988. He became seriously ill with an infection of unknown origin approximately one month later while visiting friends in Leningrad.

At one point Astra's illness was diagnosed as endocarditis, although Soviet physicians also suspected blood poisoning. A week before his death Astra underwent an operation to replace one of his heart valves, and had been in intensive care.

In March, during his convalescence, Soviet authorities received telegrams from Senators Paul Simon, Don Riegle and Congressman Edward Feighan, urging that every effort be made to speed his recovery.

Aristids Lamberg, President of the American Latvian Association has sent telegrams to Secretary of State Shultz and Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter, asking that the U.S. Consulate General in Leningrad make every effort possible to provide a U.S. physician at Astra's autopsy.

On April 7, sources from Sweden reported that the autopsy had already taken place and that the cause of Astra's death had been embolism, phlebitis and endocarditis. Meanwhile a specialist from Denmark was willing to attend a second autopsy on Mr. Astra, but this was refused.

When the second autopsy took place, Mrs. Astra and her nephew went to Leningrad to make sure that it was her husband on whom the second autopsy was being performed by Soviet experts from Moscow. Mrs. Astra had to sign a protocol stating that she has permission to see her husband in the mortuary. After a long wait and many excuses, she did not see her husband's body. She was told that Soviet press correspondents were at the mortuary. When she asked whether it would be possible for her to speak with them, she was refused. Mrs. Astra was requested to be at the mortuary on April 16 at 9:00 am in order to travel with her husband's coffin from Leningrad to Riga in a heavy goods vehicle by road.

The funeral of Gunars Astra took place on April 19 in Riga. An estimated 5,000 people attended. The coffin was draped with the Latvian flag. Wreaths and flowers were in abundance, many arranged in the colours of the national flag. People spontaneously started to sing the forbidden Latvian national anthem. Several Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Crimean Tatars, Armenians and (concentration camp) friends from Leningrad also attended. About 200 people were invited for the funeral repast, which turned into a political gathering with patriotic speeches and songs. No uniformed police were present at the funeral but known KGB officers attended in civilian clothes. The funeral ceremony was allowed to take place peacefully.

Gunars Astra had been sentenced in December 1983 for anti-Soviet activities which according to charges filed against him, included possession of George Orwell's "1984". He had previously served 15 years in a strict regime labour camp, from 1961-1976, on charges of anti-state and anti-Soviet activity.

Astra was the best known and most widely respected of Latvian political prisoners, and was the last to be released by the Soviet Russians.

"My alleged crimes are the photocopying of a history monograph, possession of the photo negatives, the transfer of three negatives to Mr. Freimanis, the translation of a manuscript, showing a book to another person, and the possession of a few other books. Also considered were the authorship and possession of a purely personal manuscript, the recording of some radio programs and the possession of these recordings.

For these crimes the State prosecutor has asked for a seven year sentence under special strict incarceration (generally applied only to especially dangerous recidivists — habitual criminals) and an additional five years in internal exile. All of this is certainly superfluous, since in view of my age and health, seven years under such confinement in the USSR is tantamount to a certain death sentence.

Are my "crimes" really so serious as to warrant such draconian measures? No! The real reason I am not forgiven, is my failure to give full and detailed testimony against my friends and other persons, and my refusal to change my convictions. No one else has been implicated. No one else can be brought before the courts because of my testimony. That is the truly unforgivable offence. As the prosecutor stated: "A crime against my people and my motherland". This blasphemy needs no comment.

I fervently believe that these nightmarish times will end some day. This belief gives me the strength to stand before you. Our people have suffered a great deal and have learned how to survive. They will outlive this dark period of their history."

*From the Final Statement of Gunars Astra
delivered at the end of his trial in Riga on December 15, 1983.*

IN DEFENCE OF NATIONAL RIGHTS

Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian Human Rights Activists Unite

Ever since the so-called dissident movement in the USSR became well-known in the West, it was always associated with Russian anti-regimists. The leading representatives of this movement were considered to be Solzhenitsyn, Maksimov and Zakharov, who together with their adherents opposed the negative sides of communist rule, the violation of human rights and religious persecution, but without ever disputing the right of the existence of the multi-national state under Russian rule.

News about the opposition movement and the struggle for national rights seldom emerged from behind the Iron Curtain to appear on the pages of the Western press. The West has become accustomed to regard the Soviet Union as a monolithic Russia, ignoring the existence of other nations within the USSR.

Only after the national disturbances in Kazakhstan, protests in the Baltic States, demonstrations by the Crimean Tatars and Armenian mass protests demanding the return of the Nagorno-Karabakh region to Armenia, a change in the usual Western opinion of the USSR occurred. Even the Soviet press, under pressure from these strong expressions of national consciousness on the part of the non-Russian nations, was compelled to use a different approach in dealing with the nationalities question and had to admit that this matter has not yet been resolved.

With a growing interest in the nationalities problem in the USSR, there has also been an increasing interest in the national movements of the non-Russian republics. In order to prevent information from being disseminated on the real situation in the countries subjugated by Moscow, the state security organs have always attempted to continue to try to isolate the non-Russian activists by preventing them from coming to Moscow where Western correspondents are usually to be found.

Moreover, they want the Russian dissidents, who keep silent on the nationalities question, to remain the leading force in the human rights movement. The Russian dissidents frequently hold similar views to those of the Soviet Russian authorities on the nationalities question. This also plays a role in the repressive measures against the human rights movement. When the Russian dissident Andrey Sakharov was placed under house arrest while in exile in Gorki, Ukrainian fighters for national rights, such as Valeriy Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn and Vasyl Stus were perishing in special regime camps.

Unlike the aim of the Russian human rights movement, that of the subjugated nations was also the main reason for the establishment of an Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in November of last year. Members of this committee are Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian human rights activists.

The activities of this Inter-Republican Committee were drawn up in November of last year at a meeting of the representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian human rights movements. At this meeting, details were discussed on the work of the previously announced union of national committees for the defence of political prisoners, and it was decided that meetings were to be held at least once every two months.

Appeal from the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners to the Government of the USSR

On January 12-14, 1988, the first meeting of the representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian subcommittees of the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners took place in Yerevan, Armenia. The Ukrainian subcommittee was represented by Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the editorial board of the unofficial journal *The Ukrainian Herald*

The participants of the meeting accepted three documents: a communique on the aims and agenda of the meeting, an appeal from the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners to the Government of the USSR, and an appeal to human rights activists of all the nations of the Soviet Union, calling upon them to form national subcommittees and to unite their forces in the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners.

The text of the appeal to the Soviet Government follows:

The national composition of political prisoners in the prisons, camps, and special psychiatric hospitals of the USSR has never corresponded to the ratio between Russians and the other nationalities of the Soviet Union. This was true under Stalin and Brezhnev, and is, unfortunately, still the case today, as the question of political prisoners in the USSR has still not been finally resolved. For example, out of the 13 political prisoners held in the particularly severe regime camp, known to the whole world as the death camp 36-1, there are only two Russians.

The fact that the national problem in such a multi-national centralised state as the USSR has not been resolved is a constant source of oppositional feelings and possible repressions, as it is impossible to suppress the natural aspirations of every nation to a broad self-determination (in cultural and economic matters) and later to national statehood. Unfortunately, the new leadership of the country has so far not displayed a desire to extend the idea of perestroika to national problems, but rather, on the contrary, the centralisation of economic and state life is becoming even more intensified. Characteristic of the attitude towards the national aspirations of the non-Russian nations at the public seminar on humanitarian issues which recently took place in Moscow, was the fact that the authorities did not permit the section of national relations to carry out its work, resorting even to preventive arrests and fabrications in the spirit of the times of stagnation.

Taking into consideration the direct connection between the repressive policies of the authorities and the fact that the national problems have not been resolved, the meeting of the representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian subcommittees of the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, which took place on January 12-14 in Yerevan, puts the following minimal demands before the Government of the USSR:

1. To introduce into the constitution of every union republic a clause whereby the native language of each republic would become its state language, and to strictly adhere to this principle, that is to guarantee the invaluable function of national languages in all walks of state and social life of the republics without exception, leaving

the Russian language outside the borders of Russia with the sole function of a means of communication between the inhabitants and institutions of the various republics;

2. To guarantee the national and cultural needs of small stateless nations (and representatives of other union nations which live on the same territorial area or in significant numbers among other nations, including the Russian minority in non-Russian republics): pre-school and school education in the native language, a national press, national cultural and educational institutions, and so on;

3. To repeal the discriminatory clause in the USSR's law on schools, still in force, and to introduce the compulsory learning by all inhabitants of the language of their republic on a scale which would guarantee the full participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, in the work of state and social institutions and in the attainment of professional and higher education in the state language of each particular republic;

4. By law and in practice to put an end to the consequences of Stalin's "resolution" to the national-territorial question — to return to their native land and renew the statehood of forcibly deported nations, and to establish the borders of the national republics and regions justly and from the national viewpoint;

5. To guarantee the rights of national minorities, the majority of whose population lives outside the Soviet Union, where they have their statehood, to become united with their nations (regardless of the existence of family ties);

6. Not to permit the further construction (and in some cases to dismantle those already constructed) atomic power stations, chemical works, large hydrotechnical structures in republics which a small territory or those that are densely populated or industrially overburdened already (Armenia, Moldavia, Estonia, Georgia, Ukraine and others);

7. During industrial planning and construction to take into account the local workforce in order to prevent the deliberate alteration of the ethnic composition of the population of the non-Russian republics, and also the forced migration of large groups of a particular nationality beyond its republic.

While examining these demands, which are generally regarded as minimal and in complete conformity with the inter-republican legal norms established by the Soviet Union, we reserve the right to draw up and send you a more detailed document which would take into account all the aspects of the national problem in the Soviet Union.

The second meeting of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian human rights activists was held on March 19-20 in Tbilisi, Georgia. Representatives from Ukraine were Mykhailo Horyn and Pavlo Skochok. The participants reported on the situation in their countries. The work of the Ukrainian subcommittee for the last two months had involved efforts in attaining the release of prisoner of conscience Hanna Mykhailenko and political prisoners in the special regime camp in Vsesviatsk. In their press statement, the Ukrainian subcommittee discussed "specific conditions of the process of restructuring in Ukraine," which, in their opinion, "is threatening to turn into a new wave of repressions". However, the subcommittee also pointed out that there is a revival of national consciousness among the people.

In the final document of the March meeting, the Inter-Republican Committee presented 7 points to the Soviet leadership on national and human rights of the non-Russian nations.

Conclusion

This union of Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian human rights movements is probably the first coordinating centre of an inter-republican human rights movement outside Moscow, namely in the capitals of nations subjugated by Moscow. This testifies to the fact that no common ground could be found with Russian dissidents with regard to the nationalities problem. An even more significant factor is that the Inter-Republican Committee clearly expresses its doubts on whether the nationalities problem could ever be resolved within the current structure of the USSR. In the concluding lines of their appeal they write: "If in the very near future there will be no radical changes in the nationalities policy, then we shall have to acknowledge the fact that the USSR, in its current form, is neither capable of safeguarding a natural development of nations with equal rights, nor providing a guarantee against assimilation and genocide."

UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS ANNOUNCE CHAIN OF HUNGER STRIKES

At its third conference in mid-June in Lviv, the Inter-Republican Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners in the USSR announced that a consecutive chain of hunger strikes will be undertaken to demand the release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The conference was attended by representatives of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Georgian subcommittees. Members of the Armenian subcommittee were unable to attend, due to the national unrest in Armenia.

The defense action is being conducted in the form of a relay. Each rights activist will hold a 24-hour hunger strike, and then pass on the mantle to other activists, forming a chain of solidarity throughout the participating republics.

This action was initiated by the Ukrainian subcommittee under the leadership of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a former political prisoner who met with President Reagan during the Moscow Summit. Orysia Sokulska, the wife of political prisoner Ivan Sokulsky, began the chain of hunger strikes on June 13, in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine. On June 14, Olya Stokotelnia in Kyiv, joined the chain of solidarity. The hunger strike schedule is: June 15, Y. Krukovskis, Lithuania; 16.6, S. Khmara, Ukraine; 17.6, A. Terletskas, Latvia; 18.6, P. Skochok, Ukraine; 19.6, Z. Krasivsky, Ukraine; 20.6, I. Zhukovskis, Latvia; 21.6, B. Horyn, Ukraine; 22.6, P. Klahle, Estonia; 23.6, V. Matkis, Estonia; 24.6, M. Kostava, Georgia; 25.6, V. Chornovil, Ukraine; 26.6, M. Horyn, Ukraine; 27.6, I. Hel, Ukraine and on June 28, the last day of the Chain Hunger Strike, O. Serhiyenko, Ukraine.

According to a spokesperson for the UCC in Kyiv, "This defense action was initiated because everyone expected President Reagan's meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev to bring about the release of all people who were in fact imprisoned for the very ideas encompassed by the concept of perestroika, namely, reform and restructuring. For their efforts they were sentenced to terms in prisons and concentration camps. This is a paradox! It is barbaric that these individuals continue to languish behind bars. Our defense action is necessary to direct world attention to this inhuman situation. How long can we be expected to suffer in this way? It is as though the world has grown accustomed to this barbarism and accepts it as the norm. Either there is to be restructuring and democracy, or there is no reason to continue to deceive society."

UKRAINIAN SCIENTISTS REJECT PLANS TO EXPAND NUCLEAR POWER IN UKRAINE

In a letter to the Soviet Ukrainian newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina* (No. 3, 21.1.1988), which was published under the heading “And what prognosis for tomorrow? Atomic power in Ukraine”, 13 Ukrainian scientists, economists and engineers were bitterly critical of the further expansion of nuclear power in Ukraine, particularly of plans to expand the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear power stations. Their arguments and criticisms were based on a series of important ecological, social and economic problems ignored by the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR in its plans to develop and expand the nuclear industry in Ukraine. The authors of the letter (Messrs. Alymov, Amosov, et. al) paid particular attention to the problems and dangers of amassing high concentrations of nuclear power in one place, especially in densely-populated areas.

First and foremost, they point out that the territory of Ukraine has the highest level of economic production in the USSR and that the high level of concentration of industry and agriculture in Ukraine already exceeds the permitted levels of air and water pollution. In addition, the overall density of the population in the republic is today 10 times greater than the average anywhere else in the Soviet Union and Ukraine is an important recreational area for 22% of the population of the USSR every year. “The saturation of the territory of the republic with a dense network of atomic power stations will inevitably lead to the increase of background radiation. In the conditions of the intensification of power it is unavoidable that an increase in the pollution of agricultural produce in Ukraine by radiation, which threatens not only its population, but also the population of the whole country (USSR), will occur”.

A no less important series of problems arises in connection with the shortage of water and ground resources, which is rapidly becoming more acute. Eight nuclear plants (including the nearby Kursk and Smolensk plants in Russia and Byelorussia) with an annual consumption of some 1.5 billion cubic metres of water — an irretrievable loss to the republic’s water supplies — are being built in those regions, which provide the water resources for the whole of Ukraine. Such a concentration of large energy sources in areas deficient in water resources will inevitably result in the thermal and chemical pollution of water, as the water used for cooling the nuclear reactors flows into nearby rivers. This will be particularly disastrous in times of drought when the water for cooling the reactors will be in insufficient supply. “It is also no secret”, write Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et. al, “that the authorities’ demands for the control and protection of water at both functioning nuclear plants and those under construction, are being ignored, which causes a marked deterioration of the ecological conditions that have arisen”.

To back their arguments they give three specific examples — the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear plants. The water used for cooling the Rivne power station flows into the river Styr, its temperature exceeding regulations by 5 degrees centigrade. The Khmelnytskyi plant is situated on the upper reaches of the river Horyn, which is the main source of water for the population and industry of the whole Rivne region. Today, however, the river has become so shallow that below the point where water is pumped to the power station it has completely dried up. During the

construction of the South-Ukrainian nuclear power station, a system of water supply that threatens the water in the river Buh and the Dnieper-Buh estuary with pollution was put into operation. The construction of reservoirs for the Oleksandriv and Kostiantyniv plants has been delayed. There are no prognoses for the effect on sub-soil water and the bedrock.

In the planning stage, the fact that the water reserves in the rivers Horyn and Styr were insufficient even to assure the perceived power output of the Rivne and Khmelnytskyi power stations was taken into consideration. Plans were elaborated for three types of water supply for the nuclear plants. Two of them proposed to supply the plants with water from the Dnister and Western Buh by means of pipelines. The third proposed the utilisation of sewer water from Lviv. Although the latter type would appear to be the most up to date and ecologically expedient method of supplying water to the power stations, the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR decided that it was best to supply the plants with water from the Dnister through an underground pipeline 240 km long and a series of pumping stations. The main argument for this decision, according to Messrs. Alymov, Amosov, et. al., appears to be that construction companies have acquired experience in building large-diameter underground pipelines and have promised to build the pipeline in question for 100,000 karbovantsi within five years. "Thus the department is once again trying to push through the policy of the quantitative expansion of the bulk of construction, instead of a qualitative argued approach, to say nothing of ecology", write the authors of the letter. "Obviously it is easier to dig up half the republic than to utilise these costs for the development and construction of purification systems for the utilisation of sewer water from Lviv. But what will be the consequences of removing more than 100 million cubic metres of water from the Dnister on the border with Moldavia or a disastrous breakdown of the pipeline? It is difficult to foresee. It is of vital importance to ask the opinion of scientists and experts of the Moldavian SSR".

As the authors point out, discussions, such as those held on August 25, 1987, on the issue of the expansion of nuclear power in Ukraine, have revealed certain problems, which have not been adequately resolved. Social, geological and economic questions, as well as the problem of the perceived utilisation of the nuclear plants have not been seen through to the end. "So", they ask, "how can one explain the fact that the cost per kilowatt at the nuclear power stations, which are planned and built in Ukraine, is two to three times lower than in developed capitalist countries? Such marked differences in cost point only to the fact that much has not been taken into consideration in the calculations of our experts, including the cost of nuclear waste disposal and the dismantling of power stations that have used up all their resources". In their opinion it is now time to "review these calculations, in particular taking into account the long-term social-ecological factors.

With the increase in seismic activity in the western and southern regions of Ukraine — manifestations of karstic processes and flooding — the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR has no reasonable geo-ecological arguments for its siting of the nuclear plants. Today, the dangerous geological processes (the karstic process, flooding and landslides) are present in between 40 and 70% of the territory of the regions adjacent to the plants and have a tendency to increase under the effects of the nuclear power stations — the outflow of water, the heating up of the ground and water, the huge constructional and mechanical overload, and others. It was only recently that experts

from the Academy of Sciences and the Ministries of Geology and State Construction of the Ukrainian SSR rejected plans for the construction of a reservoir at the Rivne nuclear plant because of the very imminent danger of the activation of karstic processes. The effects of radiation on the ecological features of the geological surroundings (soil and subsoil water) have not been studied and there is no prognosis for the radio-chemical and geo-chemical effects of the nuclear plant on the environment as a whole.

It is “completely unclear” to Messrs. Alymov, Amosov, et. al why “the experts of the Ministry of Atomic Energy ignore a concept such as the ecological spaciousness of the environment, which does not allow the established levels of power of the atomic power stations as a whole throughout the republic to be exceeded...”. As far as they are concerned this is not a theoretical concept, but a practical one measured by quantitative indices of the balance between land and water and the levels of the pollution of the environment by thermoelectric and nuclear power stations, as well as the mining, metallurgical, chemical and other branches of industry. It is also “very difficult to comprehend the sceptical attitude of the Ministry of Atomic Energy to the ecological aspects of the construction of nuclear power stations in Ukraine”.

They go on: “And how can one explain the invariable goal of certain officials to attain the ratification of their departmental ambitions whatever the cost, their aspirations to ignore the warnings of scientists and experts and the bitter lessons of Chernobyl? By only one possible explanation” they say, “the desire to maintain the system of the dictatorship of the manufacturer over the consumer, to preserve his privilege of unquestionable authority — a system that is slipping away! The problems of the development of atomic power still remain a forbidden issue for public analysis and discussion in the press”.

Despite the arguments of scientists and experts and the unanimous conclusion of the members of the many institutes of the Academy of Sciences of both the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR that nuclear plants with a capacity of more than 4 million kilowatts should not be built, the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR persists in its plans to expand nuclear power in Ukraine. Deputy Minister of Atomic Energy, O. L. Lapshyn, explained that although in the initial projects nuclear power stations with an output of up to 4 million kilowatts were built, time dictates its own conditions. “Why should we look for new sites for nuclear power stations, build on empty spaces”, he said, “when we already have bases for further construction and assembly, settlements, communications and experts at existing ones? People settle down and make themselves at home. What will we do with them once the construction of the planned reactors has been completed?”. This is probably the Ministry’s strongest argument.

As far as the Ministry is concerned, the well-founded approach of the scientists, a precise study of the social-ecological and economic issues involved and the expediency of such a huge concentration of power are not essential. The main thing is to secure the ratification of its plans. “But where are the guarantees”, ask the authors of the letter, “that in five years the Ministry of Atomic Energy will not demand the expansion of power to 8, 10 or 20 million kilowatts? There are no such guarantees”.

These are serious problems, which greatly perturb scientists and experts in Ukraine today. But, inspite of the persistent attitude of the Ministry of Atomic Energy, the authors of the letter believe that the times are changing. “It is not so easy to wave aside reform”, they say. “Everyone needs to reform”. In their opinion the time has come to

review "the very concept of the development and siting of atomic power in places, which consume electricity, that is in densely-populated districts with fertile agricultural land and close to big cities. Today one can very clearly point out the flaws of the theory of 'guaranteed safety', with which certain renowned physicists, leaders and experts from particular departments have lulled public opinion over the last 20 years, and pushed through this economically and ecologically unsound concept, completely rejecting the possibility of siting the nuclear power stations in more distant regions of the country, with energy supplied to places of consumption by means of high-voltage electric powerlines".

Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et. al. believe that the time has come for a thorough reform of all the levels of the national-economic complex of Ukraine, with the aim of the reduction of the size of power stations, the concentration on a far less energy and resource consuming technology, the reduction of the allocation ground resources away from agriculture, and so on. Because the potential for the development of thermoelectric power, especially with the exploitation of new high-yield coalfields in Donbas, is far from exhausted, they suggest the construction on Ukraine of specific types of thermoelectric power stations with highly effective modern means of purifying the fumes from various kinds of debris, nitrous and sulphur oxide. Finally, the authors of the letter point out that one cannot fail to take into consideration the moral and economic consequences of the disaster at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant and ignore its psychological effects on the population of Ukraine.

The letter is concluded with a firm rejection of the Ministry of Atomic Energy's plans: "Therefore, we deem it necessary to reject the plans for the expansion of the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear power stations and appeal to the Council of Ministers of the USSR to hear out our opinion and to examine the whole complex problem of the development of nuclear power on the territory of the Ukrainian SSSR".

The letter was signed: O. M. Alymov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Doctor of Economics; M. M. Amosov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, corresponding-member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, Doctor of Medicine, Hero of Socialist Labour; A. M. Hrodzynskyi, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Biology; D. M. Hrodzynskyi, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Biology; Ye. P. Dyban, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Technology; S. I. Dorohuntsov, Candidate of Economics; H. O. Klymenko, Candidate of Technology; A. M. Panov, engineer; V. V. Zorin, Doctor of Technology; O. O. Rusynov, engineer; V. M. Shestolapov, Doctor of Geological and Mineral Sciences; O. M. Shcherban, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Technology; Ye. O. Yakovlev, Candidate of Geological and Mineral Sciences.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR *ABN CORRESPONDENCE*

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

NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATIONS HELD IN LITHUANIA

The 40th anniversary of the largest mass deportations from Lithuania was publicly commemorated at four churches on May 22 in Kaunas and Vilnius, the largest cities in the Lithuanian republic. These commemorations were organized by the League for the Liberation of Lithuania, an underground nationalist movement.

The commemorations consisted of evening church services which were followed by peaceful street processions and the singing of the outlawed Lithuanian national anthem.

Western historians estimate that some 400,000 Lithuanians out of a total population of some 3 million were killed or deported after WWII by Soviet forces in an attempt to destroy opposition to the illegal occupation and forced incorporation of Lithuania by the USSR.

Lithuania has been rocked by a series of large nationalist demonstrations in the past year. Underlying each of those demonstrations is a growing willingness to publicly oppose the Soviet Russian regime and publicly support national independence. This theme has lately been supported by Moscow-based dissidents. A new political party, the Democratic Union, formed in Moscow, advocates the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Lithuania, which the party considers to have been illegally occupied.

Leading Lithuanian dissidents and Roman Catholic priests supported the demonstrations held on Sunday, May 22, in Lithuania's two largest cities. The dissidents and priests issued an open letter of invitation to the Lithuanian population to participate in these demonstrations and called on every church in Lithuania to hold special memorial masses. They also condemned the fabric of lies the regime had constructed to justify and minimize the tragedy and the continued discrimination and persecution directed at individuals and the families of the victims.

This discrimination is continued to this day. Children of the victims are even today refused permission to work in science-related fields or to assume positions of responsibility.

The letter was signed by nine Lithuanian Catholic activist priests and twenty-one leading Lithuanian national and human rights activists.

OPEN LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC ACTIVISTS AND DISSIDENTS FOR DEMONSTRATIONS ON MAY 22 IN LITHUANIA

The appeal by the League for the Liberation of Lithuania to the Lithuanian and Polish people to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the largest mass deportations from Lithuania between May 20-22 in 1948 was being distributed to the nation. It is well known that the Stalin-Snieckus regime (Antanas Snieckus was the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party from 1936 to his death in 1974) carried out the greatest act of genocide in the history of Lithuania. Some 200,000 civilian inhabitants of Lithuania, men and women, young and old, Lithuanians, Poles and Jews, were deported without any criminal charge or trial, to the furthest reaches of the USSR. They were condemned to physical and spiritual extermination.

This Stalinist act cost Lithuania thousands of dead, the health of more thousands broken, and the lives of many more destroyed. The Lithuanian nation continues to suffer its moral consequences to this day and will continue to do so for many generations to come. May 20, 1948, is one of the most tragic pages in the history of Lithuania.

Some of the surviving deportees returned to Lithuania after 10 or more years. However, only 10% of the victims were declared to be innocent and were returned to their homes and property. The other 90% of the returnees had to buy back their own homes from the state.

Officialdom in Lithuania is shamefully silent about the Stalinist repressions or tries to justify them as mistakes or overly zealous initiatives. To this day, the exact number of people deported is kept secret (even though such figures have been published in Latvia and Estonia). According to estimates by Lithuanian scholars, no fewer than 400,000 Lithuanians became victims of the deportations. (This figure refers to deportations after the end of WWII out of a total population of 2.4 million).

To this day, the names of those who made up the lists of persons to be deported have not been published and they have not been turned over even for moral judgment by the nation. To this day, no monument has been erected in Lithuania to the memory of the victims.

On the contrary, extra-legal sanctions are applied to the children of those who were deported. They may not work in science-related fields or occupy positions of responsibility (unless they are among the 10% who were rehabilitated). Stalin continues to take vengeance on our nation from the grave.

Every effort by the Stalinists to fake history or to censor the national memory and conceal their crimes is in vain. This is shown by the rally which took place on August 23 of last year in Vilnius. (Ed note: This rally, which initiated the last series of nationalist demonstrations in Lithuania, condemned the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939 which allowed the Soviet Russians to occupy and annex the Baltic states. The pact is also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact). The initiative of the League for Lithuanian Liberation speaks to that same theme.

We support the League's appeal to honour the victims of mass deportations on May 22, 1948. But we also suggest that commemorations be planned that day not only in Vilnius and Kaunas, but in every church throughout Lithuania, that we remember the souls of all those who were killed or died of hunger or cold. Let us also remember current inmates of concentration camps and exiles who are even now suffering for God and Country such as Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, Boleslovas Lizunas, Jonas Pakuckas, Petras Grazulis, His Excellency Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, Viktoras Petkus, Balys Gajauskas, Gintautaus Iesmantas and others.

May this be our protest against the continuing Stalinist slavery. We suggest that in the named churches of Kaunas the Lithuanian national anthem be sung and in those of Vilnius the Polish national anthem be added. Afterwards silent processions should go out into the streets.

In March of 1949, during the deportations in Latvia and Estonia, the Latvian and Estonian intelligentsia did not stand aside. During the Lithuanian nation's difficult times, our poets and writers were those who strengthened and maintained our spirit. We welcome the re-awakening of our writers from decades of lethargy. We invite the writers and the entire Polish and Jewish intelligentsia, as much as they are able, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the terrible deportations from Lithuania.

UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB MARKS SHEVCHENKO ANNIVERSARY

(UCIS) — In March of this year, the Ukrainian Culturological Club held a meeting in Kyiv dedicated to the life and works of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), Ukraine's greatest poet and political thinker of the 19th century. The meeting was held on the anniversary of the poet's date of birth. Below follows a report by Oles Shevchenko, a member of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club.

For the first time since 1971, a meeting unsanctioned by the authorities, dedicated to the anniversary of the date of birth of the Ukrainian poet and genius, Taras Shevchenko, was held in Kyiv on March 4. Around 150 representatives of the independent public gathered at the square opposite Kyiv University. A wreath of red guelder roses and wheat, with the inscription "To the Great Kobzar (Bard) from the Ukrainian Culturological Club", as well as dozens of bouquets of flowers, were laid at the foot of a statue of Shevchenko. In their address, Ihor Bondar and Serhiy Naboka stressed the particular significance of the person and works of the poet-martyr and his humanitarian ideas for the Ukrainian nation. Their words were received with bitterness and grief for the tragic state of our native culture today. They urged all patriots to strive towards the renaissance of national values in brotherly unity and Christian love.

Oles Shevchenko urged the public to boycott the official decision to transfer the "Shevchenko commemoration" from the Ukrainian capital to each of the regional centres in turn, to be held two months after the actual date of the anniversary. During the meeting, the Kobzar's poems were read out and songs composed to his words, particularly "Dumy moyi" (My thoughts) and "Zapovit" (The Testament), as well as various national songs were sung.

The head of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, Serhiy Naboka, announced that, in accordance with tradition, the next "Shevchenko commemoration" will take place at the same venue on May 22, 1988.

People in civilian clothing and militia officers, who were observing the meeting, stood aside and did not interfere. After the meeting, however, which lasted half an hour, they escorted the participants away.

The next day it became clear that rumours are already circulating around some ideological institutions that members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club were supposedly urging the people before the monument of Taras Shevchenko, to "kill the Russians". Well, what can one say? I'll just quote the poet's own words: "Had you learnt as you should have, then knowledge would have been ours too...". But it appears that he heard the bell, yet he does not know where it is. How many times now have they incriminated the poet's work "The plundered grave", read out by an honest Ukrainian girl in national attire.

Kyiv, 10.3.1988

The Ukrainian Culturological Club held the next Shevchenko anniversary commemoration on March 13 in Podol, in a private house on Oleh Street, where a meeting dedicated to the memory of the late poet, Vasyl Stus, had been held last January.

Around a hundred people had gathered there to mark the Shevchenko anniversary. The opening address was delivered by notable Ukrainian literary critic, Yevhen Sverstiuk. His interpretation of the life and works of Shevchenko was completely



Vyacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko and Mykhailo Horyn at the Shevchenko commemoration

different from the officially accepted interpretation of the poet. During the evening, Shevchenko's poems were read out and independent artists sang several of his songs. Oles Shevchenko reminisced about his childhood in the Zhytomyr region, where schools still marked "Shevchenko Day" and the "Shevchenko tradition" was still very much alive. Sverstiuk quoted a piece from the Kyiv newspaper *Prapor komunizmu* in which a reporter gave an account of his visit to Kyiv high school no. 109, named after Shevchenko. He asked the pupils and the teachers what day it was, but no one had remembered that it was the poet's birthday. Oles Shevchenko concluded his address with these words: "So this is what the national-nihilists have led to".

Also present at the Shevchenko commemoration were: the first secretary of the Podillia district committee of the party, Ivan Saliy; head of the department of culture of the region, Kateryna Volynets; secretary of the district committee of the party, Nadia Petrenko, as well as reporters. Ludmyla Byeletska from *Komsomolske znameno* and Serhiy Todma from *Vechirniy Kyiv*.

The head of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, Serhiy Naboka, asked the district first secretary to say a few words. Saliy said very little and asked the members of the Club's council to remain behind after the commemoration of Shevchenko's anniversary. The first secretary expressed his disapproval of Yevhen Sverstiuk's address at which point Oles Shevchenko asked the 15 members of the council to express their approval with a show of hands. The result was unanimous. Shevchenko then stated that if the Ukrainian party functionaries toed the line set by the Politburo of the CC CPSU, the Soviet government and Gorbachev, who had underlined on several occasions that democratisation is the basis of reform and free discussion is the basis of democratisation, then the Club could have any form of meaningful discussion with them. However, he said, as they were all, from the first secretary of the CC Communist Party of Ukraine right down to the first secretaries of district party organisations, reactionaries and Brezhnevites, then no discussion of consequence could be held with the local authorities.

ECOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATION IN KYIV

Commemorating the second anniversary of Chornobyl, approximately 500 people marched out onto the streets of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv in protest of the nuclear policy in Ukraine. The demonstrators carried banners bearing slogans such as: “Nuclear power stations — out of Ukraine!”, “Glasnost and democracy to the end”. The militia and KGB officials snatched the banners from the demonstrators. Around thirty people were arrested.

According to information passed onto the West by Pavlo Skochok, a member of the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald*, 10 days prior to the second anniversary date of the Chornobyl catastrophe, members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club turned to the Kyiv authorities asking for permission to stage an ecological demonstration on October Revolution Square. No written reply was received. Moreover, three leaders of the Club, including former political prisoner Oles Shevchenko, were summoned to the prosecutor’s office and told to put a stop to the Club from engaging in any more of “all this anti-Soviet activity”.

Pavlo Skochok reported that on April 26 at 6:30 pm out of 100 members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, 60 came to October Revolution Square. They carried banners bearing slogans such as: “Chornobyl must not be repeated”, “Let us turn Ukraine into a nuclear-free zone”, “We don’t need dead zones”, “The UCC opposes nuclear death”, etc. The militia snatched the banners from the demonstrators on the side streets even before they reached the square. Meanwhile nothing spectacular was happening in the square. Half of the square was barricaded by the militia, behind which some construction work was going on. On the other half of the square, also barricaded by the militia, people were rehearsing for the 1st of May parade. The demonstrators filled these places and opened up the placards which were taken out from under their garments. They were also joined by members of informal groups, including those from the registered ecological group “Green World”, whose frightened leaders refused to participate in the demonstration, but its ordinary members attended.

The demonstration, or rather, the disruption of the demonstration, lasted about an hour. The demonstrators were dispersed by the militia, KGB and “internationalist-Afghans” — an association of former fighters in Afghanistan. This was not the first time that this association had acted as “a national group” to disrupt the activities of the Ukrainian Culturological Club. The disruption of the demonstration was carefully observed by specialists, who diligently separated the “lambs from the goats”. The noise from the stands attracted much attention from the people in the square and many of them did not merely observe what was happening, but also showed an interest in joining the demonstrators and noting their slogans. These people were detained and pushed behind the militia barriers into an underground tunnel leading from the square, and then released. Those members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club who were detained were shoved into cars or small buses and driven away. Altogether around 30 people were thus removed from the demonstration.

Several leaders of the Ukrainian Culturological Club were arrested, including Oles Shevchenko, Klym Semeniuk and Vasyl Hruzan. Before his arrest, Oles Shevchenko managed to read out loud the article from the constitution guaranteeing the right to stage such a demonstration. After being detained for several hours, those arrested were released.

MILLENNIUM CELEBRATIONS IN LONDON

On Sunday, May 29, 1988, a statue was ceremonially unveiled in London. The bronze statue by the sculptor Leonid Molodozhanyn from Canada depicts Volodymyr the Great, holding a shield with the Ukrainian symbol of the trident in one hand, and a cross in the other. The pedestal of gray granite reads: St. Volodymyr, Ruler of Ukraine, 980-1015.

The statue of St. Volodymyr is a worthy commemorative monument to the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. The monument is the result of the efforts of the Ukrainian Millennium Committee in Great Britain, which raised \$270,000 to erect the statue.

The ceremonies of the blessing of the statue took place in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral and in the Church of the Transfiguration of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivskyj, Archbishop of Lviv and Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church led the Catholic services and Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, the leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church led the Orthodox services.

Ceremonial addresses were delivered at the unveiling by Mr. Jaroslaw R. Hawrych, chairman of the Ukrainian Millennium Committee in Great Britain, Mr. Petro Savaryn, president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and Mr. Wasyl Oleskiw, chairman of the St. Volodymyr Monument Building Committee.

The Lord Mayor of Chelsea and Kensington officially unveiled the statue. Cardinal Lubachivsky and Metropolitan Mstyslav conducted the rite of the blessing of the statue together, assisted by members of the clergy of both Ukrainian Churches.

The unveiling and blessing of the statue was followed by a gala concert of Ukrainian Church music at the Royal Albert Hall. The auditorium which seats 5,000 was filled to capacity. The program was led by Richard Baker, a distinguished broadcaster and BBC TV newsreader and presenter of radio music programs.

Five choirs presented a rich repertoire of Ukrainian religious music from the 17th through the 20th centuries. The choirs were the Millennium Choir, which was formed especially for this year's Millennium celebrations and is made up of several permanent Ukrainian choirs from various parts of Britain: three Manchester based choirs: Homin, Rusalka Dnistrova and Trembita; Boyan and Zahrava from Nottingham; Verkhovyna and Voloshky from Coventry, Dibrova of Bradford and Lastivka from Leeds. The other choirs were the Utrecht Byzantine Choir from Holland, the Vesnivka choir from Toronto, Canada and the Dumka choir from New York. The choirs have been preparing for the Millennium concert for over one and a half year. Three dancing ensembles also performed at the concert, they were the Orlyk ensemble from Manchester, Howerla from Derby and Veselka from Coventry.

Ukrainians from throughout Europe and North America travelled to participate in the Millennium celebrations. All those in attendance verified that the concert was a tremendous success and combined with the unveiling and blessing of the statue of Volodymyr the Great, a fitting way of celebrating the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

The statue of St. Volodymyr is pictured on the cover of the present issue of *ABN Correspondence*.

NEWS & VIEWS

A Holier Russia May Not Be Good News

It was the cause of Holy Russia that helped Stalin to win the fight against Hitler, just as it helped Alexander I to win against Napoleon. Now it looks as if Mikhail Gorbachev may intend to tap the same kind of neo-religious, patriotic, Slavophile emotions. If this means more freedom for Christianity, this must be a good thing for Russians. But the rest of the world would do well to remember that the Russian Orthodox Church has never been in the least democratic or pacific; rather less so, as it happens, than is the Communist Party. A greater degree of influence for the Church in Russia might make that country even more autocratic and chauvinistic than it is today, by releasing forces deep in the soul of the Russian people which communism has never been able to reach in peacetime, let alone harness. Western Europe might have every reason to find a Holy Russia type of foreign policy even more worrying than the present Soviet type of foreign policy aimed at world revolution.

Peregrine Worsthorne in *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), June 12, 1988

Ukrainians Stage Protest

KYIV — A Ukrainian dissident group organised an unofficial celebration of the millennium of the baptism of Kyiv yesterday, Andrew Brown writes. Around 200 people gathered around the statue of Prince Volodymyr whose baptism in 988 in the River Dnipro, is celebrated as the beginning of Christianity in what is now Russia.

Flowers were laid on the statue, while a recording of bells was played. An official from the Ministry of Religious Affairs protested when the demonstrators tried to light candles at the statue, claiming that it constituted an illegal religious service. So the music was turned off but the candles could not be lit anyway in the muggy wind.

During speeches afterwards one of the organisers of the meeting, Oles Shevchenko, appealed for the recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was suppressed in 1946. A young girl read Ukrainian patriotic poetry. Militiamen watched the demonstrations but made no attempt to interfere. The demonstration was organised by the Ukrainian Culturological Club, a nationalist pressure group.

June 6, 1988, *The Independent*

Church Leader Slams 'Sham' Soviet Policies

The leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has called the Kremlin's liberalising policies towards the Soviet-controlled Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) a "politically-motivated sham". He said he would have preferred Vatican delegations not to attend the official celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity starting in Moscow on Sunday. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is banned in the USSR.

Rome-based Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, in London for the unveiling of a Millennium statue of Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv, told *The Universe* he was afraid the Soviet authorities and the ROC Church would see the Catholic delegations as an "approval".

"It is not the Russian Millennium, it is the Ukrainian Millennium. The Russians want to make Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians all one nation, but that Russia grabbed them doesn't mean she owns them!" the Cardinal said. He criticised President Reagan for "changing his view" that the USSR was an "evil empire". He said the Pope was doing all he could but that some of the Curia thought they could gain something from the Communists.

June 3, 1988, *Catholic Herald*

CHORNOVIL APPEALS TO *SUNDAY TIMES*

LONDON — The Ukrainian Press Agency has received a letter from the editor of the unofficial journal *The Ukrainian Herald*, Vyacheslav Chornovil, addressed to the London based newspaper, the *Sunday Times*.

The letter spells out the reason for Chornovil's resignation from work and asks the editors of the *Sunday Times* to accept him as their own correspondent. Unless Chornovil, who received the Nicholas Tomalin award in 1975 from the *Sunday Times*, finds work, he runs the risk of being arrested for parasitism.

According to Chornovil's letter, and other reports coming from Ukraine, other members of *The Ukrainian Herald* are being subjected to harassment at their place of work. In Odessa, another member of the editorial board, Vasyl Barladianu, is being harassed at work.

In addition, the editor of the unofficial literary journal *Kaphedra*, Mykhailo Osadchiy, was summoned to the KGB and told that both *Kaphedra* and *The Ukrainian Herald* are "anti-Soviet" publications.

Chornovil has written a statement to the director of the school where he is employed as a stoker. The statement was in reply to a meeting, called by the director during which Chornovil's behavior was severely criticized. Chornovil was not informed of the meeting and is critical of the way it was organized. He has also threatened to sue the editors of two Ukrainian Communist Party newspapers, one of them *Radyanska Ukraina*, for slandering him in public.

According to the reports, there is continuing harassment of persons in Lviv, who read *The Ukrainian Herald*. Recently, a teacher who was spotted with a copy of *The Ukrainian Herald* was told to hand it over to the procurator's office by the KGB.

Despite the unceasing pressure and harassment on the editors of *The Ukrainian Herald*, the journal continues to be published. In the 9-10 issue they reported that yet another unofficial literary journal called *Yevshan Zilya* is being published. The journal is named after a magic herb, the scent of which is supposed to restore the memory of one's native land. The journal will publish the works of writers who are being ignored by the official press.

NON-COMMUNIST PARTY FORMED IN ESTONIA

The first large-scale political group outside the Communist Party has been formed in Estonia. In less than 2 months the newly formed Peoples Front of Estonia already includes 40,000 members. On June 17, 1988 the Peoples Front held a rally on the festival grounds in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, at which more than 100,000 people participated.

The Front has endorsed a platform of economic independence which would effectively sever Moscow's control over Estonian industry and agriculture. They also fully support making Estonian the official language of the republic.

The Front intends to maintain its independence by banning members of the Communist Party and government officials from holding leadership positions within the Front. Organizers plan to nominate their own candidates for local and national elections and lobby for changes in the law and to promote referendums. The formation of the Peoples Front is one of the most significant developments in what continues to be growing resentment of the Russian domination of Estonia.

THIS IS NOT A DRILL !!!

General Jack Singlaub Needs Your Help Today!

There are still a few genuine American Heroes left in America. Maj. General John K. Singlaub, U.S.A. (Ret.) is one of them.

In World War II, working for America's O.S.S., young Jack Singlaub parachuted behind the Nazi lines to help lead the French Resistance. His control officer in London was young Bill Casey. After Europe, 'Jumping Jack' volunteered and dropped behind the lines in one Lion's Den after another — in Japanese prison camps — in China, in Korea. Throughout his brilliant, spotless military career, the good General has led the fight against Communism from Vietnam to Afghanistan to Nicaragua.

Whenever, wherever Freedom and America's interests have needed him, Singlaub has picked up his assignment papers, saluted his flag and marched to the Front. But now that Front is right here. In America. In our own backyard. In our Country's Congress. In the Press.

The new brand of terrorists are courthouse terrorists and the new battlefield is our confused, bizarre courtrooms. Singlaub is their target. But America is their aim.

The Christic Institute, The Congress and Daniel Ortega

As soon as the Ollie North-Singlaub network was disclosed, Daniel Ortega and his American public relations team went to work. 21 Congressmen got the IRS to revoke Singlaub's tax exemption for supporting the Contras. The Christic Institute launched a \$23 million suit against Singlaub as a 'public interest' act. Guess where they announced it? Correct. At the same public relations firm hired to represent the Sandinista government.

Congress has given the Leftists the power to file *private* R.I.C.O. (Racketeering, Influence Corruption) suits as harassment for supporting democratic resistance movements! Incredible! This suit charges that for 25 years (during the Korean War,

The Vietnam War and in Nicaragua) Singlaub has been as mass drug dealer. Who are they kidding? **Not one government anywhere on the face of this earth, at any time, has ever accused Singlaub of anything immoral, illegal or unethical. Ever.** They have announced this case as an American 'Show Trial'. They claim it is illegal for private citizens to support the Nicaraguan Resistance — or any resistance. How can Singlaub possibly defend himself? It takes hundreds of thousands of dollars to simply go to trial. The General lives modestly and proudly on his military pension. He draws no salary for his notable Anti-Communist activities. But Singlaub refuses to roll over and play dead. He and his friends are determined to rise to the occasion and beat the Christics at their new game.

He needs our help, we cannot let him down. Otherwise what example do we set for our children? The leftist courthouse terrorists are well-organized and well-funded. They have orders to 'bury' Singlaub and in so doing, destroy an important symbol. We cannot let that happen.

Please contribute **whatever** you can and as much as you can afford to the General Singlaub Defense Fund. We want to wage an offensive battle and file suits for defamation to demonstrate the **real** motives of the Christic Institute and lack of any factual basis for their outrageous lies. We want to show them that even in our weak, wimpy, bizarre legal system, they cannot win.

The General must raise \$200,000 to defend himself! Send your contributions today!

Please make checks payable to:
**"GENERAL JOHN K. SINGLAUB
DEFENSE FUND"**
and mail to:
c/o FRIENDS OF GEN. JOHN K.
SINGLAUB
801 Brickell Ave., Suite 1901
Miami, Florida 33131

IN MEMORIAM



Dr. Alexander Suga

It is with deep sorrow and regret that we inform our readers and all friends of ABN that on April 22, 1988, Dr. Alexander Suga, a great Rumanian patriot and ABN Central Committee member passed away in Antwerp, Belgium.

Dr. Alexander Suga was born in 1914 in Hatcarau, Rumania. He studied law in Bucharest, but had to flee his country in 1941. Shortly before the end of the war he joined the army in order to fight against the Russians. After the war he finished his studies in Germany, though he had to earn his living with hard, manual work. He defended his theses on "The international law of Bessarabia in the history of the country", which was subsequently published as a separate work.

For many years Dr. Suga worked at the radio station Deutschlandfunk. In his work, he was continuously devoted to his country, Rumania. He helped where he could and he was truly respected by everyone. It is due to him that a Rumanian Orthodox community flourishes in Cologne.

Dr. Suga was an active member of the ABN Central Committee. For several years he was the ABN representative in New Delhi, India.

Dr. Suga suffered a heart attack in October, 1987, and died after an operation in Antwerp on April 22, 1988.

Modest as he was, he wanted everything for others and nothing for himself. He leaves behind his wife, daughter and grandson. His last appeal to the Rumanians was "No flowers, no condolences, do something for your country".

The Central Committee of ABN



Borys Oliynyk, Ukrainian writer, welcoming Kyiv residents to the

ABN

CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



Mass meeting on July 21, 1988 at the Ivan Franko monument in Lviv. Ukrainian human and national rights activist Vyacheslav Chornovil is addressing the crowd.

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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EAST-WEST RELATIONS: AT WHAT PRICE?

An Open Letter to the Governments of the Free World

The world is in a decisive stage of East-West relations. This applies to the military sphere — the INF Treaty, negotiations on additional disarmament initiatives, etc. as well as to the economic, technological and political spheres.

The gravity of the situation is marked by the fact that even statesmen who up until recently had recognized the communist danger for the free democratic order of the West and the hegemonic aspirations of the Kremlin, now seem to give credence unconditionally to Gorbachev and his “glasnost” and “perestroika”.

This forces us — the representatives of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states — to raise our voices. It is the voice of the victims of Soviet Russian imperialism: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, Serbia, Slovenia, Albania, Cuba and Afghanistan. That is why their admonitions should not die away disregarded like the prophesies of Cassandra.

These countries have made countless sacrifices in defense of their freedom. Yosyp Terelya¹ reported to the American Helsinki Commission that more Christians probably died in the Soviet Gulag than in the time between the birth of Christ and 1917.

Another witness, Danylo Shumuk², stated before the same commission: “In order to break the will of the Ukrainian nation to fight for its independence, the Russian communist empire starved to death over 7 million people between 1932-33.

The desire for peace with fewer weapons is justified and understandable! However, disarmament and weapons are not the reason, but rather the result of strained relations between the East and the West. The real reason lies in:

1. In Moscow’s aggressive ideology, in Marxism-Leninism which preaches world-wide revolution and exploits every opportunity for its expansion in the world.
2. In the enslavement of millions of people and dozens of nations who will not rest as long as basic human rights and the rights of national independence are not realized.

The enslaved nations have not ceased their fight for liberty — at first as an open, partly armed resistance movement and later in the underground. They are fighting for basic human rights and for their right to national independence. Especially now, since Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU is propagating his “glasnost” externally, the enslaved nations are attempting to take advantage of this and demand their freedom.

The demonstration in the Baltic countries in which the demand for national independence is repeatedly made, the establishment of an Estonian national independent party which demands the restoration of sovereignty and the independence of the Estonian State, the demands of Byelorussia in 2 open letters to Mikhail Gorbachev to raise Byelorussian to the official national language, the establishment of independent groups of intellectuals in Ukraine who demand the recognition of the Ukrainian language as the official national language and defend their culture, are only a few typical examples.

Mykola Rudenko, founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, who was recently released into the West, stated during a press conference in Munich: "A new class of intelligentsia has grown up in Ukraine which is prepared to sacrifice its life for its homeland, culture and language."

The mass demonstrations by the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Lithuanians, Crimean Tartars, Georgians and Cossacks are additional, very current examples of the fact that the enslaved nations in all of the Soviet republics demand real democratization in all facets of life and particularly in the national issue.

Yuriy Badzio³, who is still in exile, writes in an appeal to the West: "A democratization of the Soviet Union is not possible without democracy for Ukraine, that is to say, without national freedom for the Ukrainian nation and its real and unlimited power over its own historical existence."

Ivan Sokulskyj⁴, while still imprisoned, wrote: "Only on the condition of a free state can national interests be assured."

According to Mykola Rudenko "a last heinous empire still exists today, which finds itself economically on the brink of disaster." The communist system has also drawn the nations of the satellite states into the economic calamity. Here it is especially worthy to note Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland.

In order to rectify the appalling economical situation in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev is taking pains to implement new reforms. Changes or solutions to the national issue are for him or for the Kremlin undoubtedly, not a topic of discussion. Even Grigoryants⁵ and other Russian dissidents reproach him for this.

However, this does not mean that the West should persist in taking a passive and negative position and waive its manifold possibilities of influence for the purpose of positive development even in the national and human rights issues. We are warning however, of the danger of entering into the dialogue with the Soviet Russian empire with false hopes, exaggerated optimism or blind trust! The Western politicians would be well advised to approach this matter with caution and perspicacity.

Proof of the matter is that in the history of the Soviet Union, an intensification of Moscow's politics with regard to the non-Russian nations has always followed every "thaw". There were certain signs of a détente under Khrushchev. He criticized Stalin, the highest Soviet authority, far more than Gorbachev dares today and he announced the abolition of concentration camps. Brezhnev followed him then with his notorious Brezhnev Doctrine, with intensified measures against human rights and with an extensive enslavement of non-Russian nations. The situation in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Mozambique and Ethiopia also bears witness to this fact.

The reinforcement of the Berlin Wall as well as the intensification of the KGB and the police apparatus in the communist ruled countries, despite "glasnost" and "perestroika" are proof of this matter. "Perestroika" defiantly leaves the basic, national issues on sovereignty for the subjugated nations open, just as before. The testimonies of the political prisoners recently released out of Ukraine, the Baltic countries and Georgia, similarly as those of Jews who have left the Soviet Union, should be considered more thoroughly.

Tengiz and Eduard Gudava⁶ state: "Gorbachev is playing with the West's desire to discover a human face in the picture of the Soviet monster. The global danger of the present "glasnost" politics of the USSR results from the preservation and support of

the criminal nature of the Soviet system. The entire KGB apparatus continues to exist, just as those paragraphs in the criminal code which continue to allow terror to be used against the dissidents. We hear nothing about Moscow's about-face in regard to the rights of the Georgian nation for a democratic process in order to solve the very fundamental issue: the sovereignty or non-sovereignty of Georgia.”

The warnings of experienced politicians, as those of the former U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, should be heeded. The governments of the Free World in their dialogue with the Soviet Union should also use their head start in technology and economy to prevail upon the USSR to explicitly and definitively renounce the world-wide revolution and the Soviet Russian hegemonic claims.

The Free World should demand the national sovereignty for the subjugated nations not only out of moral and political obligation, but also in its very own interest. Only when the USSR is decolonized, the enslaved nations liberated and their independent states are re-established on their ethnographic territories will the best groundwork for mutual trust be laid and a guarantee for the abolishment of aggression and existential threat in the East-West relations be assured.

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

¹ Yosyp Terelya was chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics. After many years in detention he was released into the West in the autumn of 1987.

² Danylo Shumuk is a Ukrainian national rights dissident who was released into the West in the autumn of 1987 after many years of incarceration.

³ Yuriy Badzio, a Ukrainian national rights activist, sent an appeal to the Free World on August 31, 1987.

⁴ Ivan Sokulskyj, a Ukrainian national rights dissident, was imprisoned for years. In May 1986 he wrote a letter to Gorbachev which managed to reach the West. He was released in August 1988.

⁵ Sergei Grigoryants is the editor of the independent magazine *Glasnost* which is published in Moscow.

⁶ Tengiz and Eduard Gudava, members of the Georgian Helsinki Group, were released into the West in the autumn of 1987 after many years in prison.



FATHER SIGITAS TAMKEVIČIUS SENT INTO EXILE

Leading Lithuanian Catholic priest Fr. Sigitas Tamkevičius was sent into exile from labor camp in June, 1988, reports the Lithuanian Information Center. He is now living at 636310 Tomskaya oblast, Krivosheinsky rajon, p-o Volodino, der. Starosainakova.

The 49 year old priest was in transit close to a month: he left the Urals on May 18 and arrived in Volodino on June 13. There he was taken to Starosainakova village, where he now reportedly works on a pig farm. According to his letter, just received in Lithuania, Tamkevičius has been assigned to room with two drunkards in unsanitary living accommodations. On June 20, he underwent a hernia operation.

The former pastor of Kybartai parish in Lithuania was sentenced to 6 years strict regime labor camp and 4 years exile in December 1983 for his part as a founding member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believer's Rights in Lithuania, an unofficial group which documented Soviet violations of religious rights in Lithuania. Among the charges filed against him — “inciting young people to take part in anti-social acts”, this being a Christmas party Tamkevičius organized for parish youth.

Fr. Tamkevičius' sentence was reduced last year and he is now due to be released in May 1990. Twice brought to Vilnius during his imprisonment to sign a confession, he steadfastly refused on grounds of innocence.

John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain)
President of the European Freedom Council

SECURING FREEDOM AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AFTER THE INF ACCORD

At the beginning of May, 1988, an anniversary passed virtually unnoticed in Western Europe, almost totally unobserved. Since V.E. Day in 1945, a generation in Eastern Europe has grown to middle age with no experience of freedom, and in Western Europe its counterpart has reached middle life with no experience of armed intervention in their countries by foreigners.

In Western Europe a prosperity unimaginable to previous generations has been widely shared and is assumed as a right. In Eastern Europe material hopes are never realised and a Marxist-Leninist process of institutionalised impoverishment prevails. A continent which throughout the ages has been in geographic, historic, religious, cultural, economic and in essence political terms, too, a unit, remains artificially divided not by the wills of its people but by the continued application of the Soviets' preponderant military power.

The inglorious Yalta agreement enduringly transformed not just the map of Europe, but Europeans' own perceptions of themselves and their destiny. Our North American friends whose heritage of democracy, individual freedom and the rule of law we Western Europeans share have by considerable sacrifice — from the Marshall plan and the Berlin airlift to their consistent support of the NATO Alliance, underpinned the territorial integrity and the liberty of the nations of Western Europe.

The presence of 300,000 United States servicemen and a smaller number of Canadian soldiers and airmen in Western Europe, plus the US nuclear guarantee to its security have ensured the Western European nations a period of peace longer than almost any period in their history. It is an achievement taken all too much for granted in Western Europe, where a complacent public opinion believes, in the words of General de Gaulle in the *Fil de l'Épée* (the edge of the world) about public opinion in France before World War II, "that war is an outdated activity for no better reason than that you wish it to be so."

Nuclear deterrence has proved effective in Western Europe since World War II. Soviet expansion in Europe has been contained but at the price of buttressing the sphere of influence of the USSR east of the Iron Curtain. Soviet successes have been around and in some cases far beyond the central European glacis — in the Near and Middle East, Horn of Africa, Indo-China, Southern Africa and Central America.

Feeling secure in their own Eastern European backyard, the Soviets have been confidently able to forge the instruments of long range power projection with a blue water Navy and intercontinental air transport force, as well as to concentrate on the mobilization of surrogates such as the Cubans and Vietnamese to their offensive purposes backed by policies of political manipulation, subversion and well orchestrated strategies of deception, propaganda, infiltration and psychological pressure, to instill gullibility, discord, false hopes, complacency and disinformation among the Western Allies.

Into this context the INF Accord fits neatly. First the Soviets built up a new and dominant capability of mobile, multiple targetted land based missiles — the SS 20s.



Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. delivering his address at the ABN International Conference in Washington, D.C. May, 1988.

The process of response on the part of the West could only be sold to West European electorates as a twin track decision of arms control negotiations on the one hand and deployment of new systems of GLCMs and Pershing IIs by NATO on the other. The Western bluff was called and the process of NATO INF modernisation halted in its tracks by the INF Accord whose outlines were reached in principle over the heads of the Europeans at Reykjavik: in the case of the Netherlands even before any cruise missiles were actually put in place.

The elimination of a whole category of nuclear land based missiles with a range of 500-5000 km is an important achievement. So is the acceptance by the Soviets of the process of intrusive inspection. However, as is already apparent, the accord will make it much harder to persuade West European political and public opinion of the continuing need to keep NATO's arsenals of tactical nuclear weapons up to date and effective in spite of the reassurance given on this vital point in the anodyne communique issued after the NATO Summit in March and the recent meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group. NATO's strategy on INF has resembled that of the Grand Old Duke of York who in the English folksong had ten thousand men — he led them up to the top of the hill and he led them down again.

West Europeans have never been willing to spend as much as NATO planners would wish on their own defence. This has entailed a correspondingly high reliance on nuclear weapons to compensate for lack of manpower, inverted the nuclear threshold and made the doctrine of flexible response less effective for lack of conventional forces. The new Soviet policies of supposed political openness and economic reform have brought no diminution whatsoever in military modernisation and enhancement of offensive capability in Europe on the part of the Warsaw Pact. The SS 20s are being replaced by more air launched systems and there is evidence that Soviet submarine launched nuclear systems as well as new ICBMs such as the mobile SS 24s and SS 25s are being targeted against Western Europe.

At the same time American economic difficulties are beginning to be reflected in cuts in the US defence budget. US public opinion is increasingly sensitive to the allegation that its NATO allies do not bear a sufficient share of the burden of the effective defence of the West. This growing resentment is reflected in the Congress and the US Administration itself has recently sent Deputy Secretary for Defense Taft around West European capitals to share some of these preoccupations with West European Defence Ministers and planners.

The West European record is by no means totally negative. Following the INF accord the importance of the British and French independent nuclear deterrents is heightened and both are being modernised, not just the strategic nuclear elements but their nuclear capable air forces also. Five Western European countries have deployed naval forces to help keep the international sea lanes of the Gulf open and the West Germans have sent two destroyers to the Mediterranean in compensation. Both the Western European Union and the IEPG are being strengthened to concert West European security policies on strategy and on European weapon procurement more effectively within the NATO Alliance.

Last but not least the successful French intervention in Chad to repel the forces of Colonel Gaddafi and the successful recapture of the Falklands by the British from Argentina demonstrated a continuing capability and willingness on the part of at least two West European nations to use force to secure their security interests. Their respective force modernisation plans — on the part of the French to acquire nuclear powered aircraft carriers and on the part of the British to acquire a large air tanker fleet demonstrate their continuing interest in influencing events favourably outside the NATO area which should reassure the Americans who have been feeling increasingly lonely in the role of global policemen, particularly so as even after their enforced withdrawal from Afghanistan the Soviets will retain a formidable capacity to intervene at various levels far beyond the Eurasian landmass.

On the negative side in Western Europe the problems stem largely from the complacency born of success. For example, the recent Danish general election revealed a dangerous ambivalence between support for NATO and distrust of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence which is at the heart of NATO's defensive strategy. The Spanish decision to require a U.S. air wing of F 16 aircraft to leave the country has not been compensated for fully by its interest to join the Western European Union.

In West Germany, the trauma of a divided nation, coalition government, the aggregation of forces including nuclear weapons on either side of the German border, a strong neutralist, leftist and ecologist element in national politics as well as a certain conflict of identity between its present situation as the economic giant in the EEC and its traditional role as the dominant economic power in Central Europe, make the domestic policies and international security policy of the West Germans particularly critical for the future of Europe — East and West.

Gorbachev's strategy depends on creating a climate of confidence in the West which will facilitate through generous credits and liberal technology transfers, the modernisation of the Soviet economy and potentially the Soviet war machine also. This accords with West German Ostpolitik which has literally bought out ethnic Germans from Poland, the USSR, East Germany and Rumania and accepted, before the 1975 Helsinki Accords legitimised them on behalf of the West as a whole, the postwar frontiers of Eastern Europe put in place not by the processes of international

law or the free self-determination of peoples but by the straight forward application of force majeure by the Red Army.

West Germany has much to gain economically and thereby politically in taking the leading role in modernising the economies of the USSR and Eastern Europe. For the Germans it is nothing new — they did the same for the economy of Imperial Russia in the Czar's time before WWI.

However, Gorbachev's grand design comes up against certain insuperable obstacles. Could the West Germans really accept Finlandisation in political terms as the price for reunification of Germany and how could the citizens of the Federal Republic who have sipped so freely and headily from the cup of liberty these past 40 years come together with their slavishly orthodox and rigidly communist East European brethren?

How do the Czechs, who since 1968 have had all glimmerings of economic or political reform repressed safely embrace *perestroika* and stay communists. Anyway, the medicine does not seem to work. The Hungarians have practised goulash communism for years and have found it the ideal recipe for building up political cynicism at home and debts overseas. The Rumanians are impoverished beyond measure and restive, but mistrust the Russians. The Poles, strong in the Roman Catholic faith and united too in their dislike of the Russians are fighting an undeclared war of their own against a Marxist Leninist economic system which is reducing them to penury and a communist dictatorship which they deeply despise. In the Soviet Union from Azerbaijan in the south to the Baltic States in the north west, in Byelorussia and Ukraine, there are the stirrings not just of national dissatisfaction or political alienation but of a deeper revolt — of nations longing to be free.

We in the West found the legacy of Yalta all too convenient. The principles of democracy, self-determination, individual liberty and the rule of law we cherish deeply for ourselves, but have not dared actively to promote them for our brethren beyond the Iron Curtain. We rationalised our timidity in the face of superior Soviet force by adducing as inviolate the spheres of influence laid down at Yalta.

Yet we in the West have voluntarily dismantled our own empires — so why should we tacitly connive at the perpetuation of a Soviet Russian Empire which is so manifestly loathed by its unwilling citizens? Yaroslav Stetsko's faith and vision so admirably maintained by Slava are now seen to be profoundly based... Events are unfolding in the USSR of a scope and scale and drama before our eyes which are the harbinger of dramatic changes in an empire which many in the chancellories in the West, though not in the ABN, thought of as monolithic and immutable.

Empires in decline are at least as dangerous to peace as empires in the heyday of their power. The process of accomodation by Western Europe to the eventual disintegration of the USSR and the liberation of its Eastern European satellites will be a challenge to the statesmen of tomorrow.

The risks in a nuclear age will be great, and the task of persuasion of the Soviets that peaceful change is possible, will be daunting. The process of voluntary relinquishment of power and accession to the wills of the people does not come naturally to Marxists. However, in the longer term it may be possible. The alternative of seeking to put down by force many simultaneous uprisings and revolutions would be a war that the Soviet Russians could not win. This is the lesson of Afghanistan and this is why in every sense the message of the ABN has right on its side.

Address delivered at the ABN International Conference in Washington, D. C. May, 1988.

STATEMENT OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE NATIONS IN THE USSR

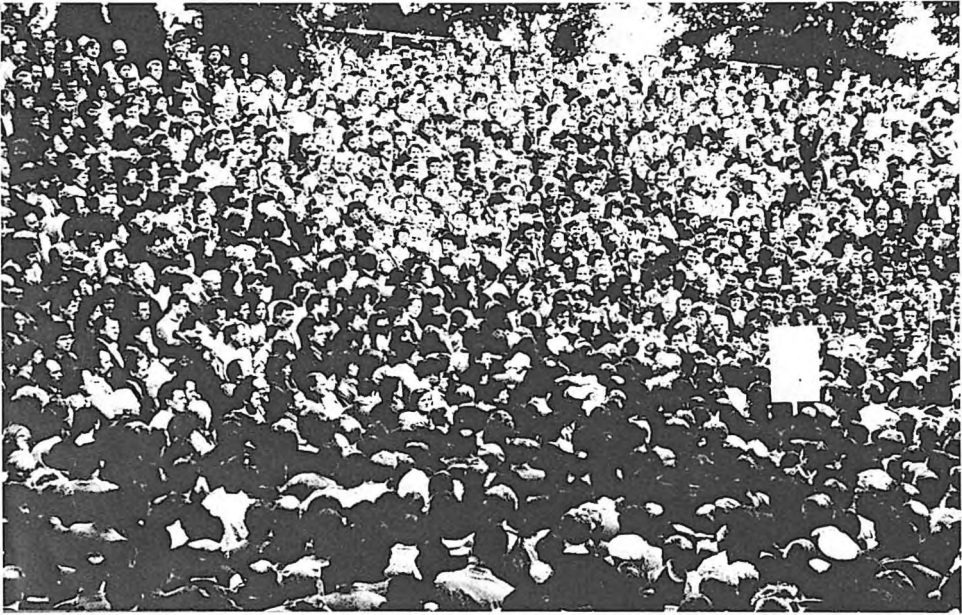
The representatives of national-democratic movements of the nations in the USSR held a meeting in Lviv, Ukraine, June 11-12, 1988. The participants approved a joint statement, the text of which follows:

We, the participants in the meeting of representatives of national-democratic movements of nations in the USSR; which took place in Lviv on the initiative of the Inter-Republican Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, having heard the reports about situations in Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia, and having familiarized ourselves with documents about the national movement in Armenia, representatives of which could not make it to the meeting but support our goals, we confirm the inability of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government to resolve the most complex issue of a multi-national country — the national problem.

We perceive the trampling of the aspirations of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and the essentially government provoked medieval carnage in Sumgaite, as well as the rejection by the so-called "Gromyko Committee" of the demands of the repressed Crimean nation which longs for the return to its homeland and the renewal of its statehood, as ominous forebodings for all the nations forcefully annexed to the Soviet Union, who joined their hopes with the new course of the Soviet government. The so-called elections to the Party Conference which were held in our republics according to a Stalinist-Brezhnev pattern have also evoked deep disenchantment in all of us. The result of these elections is that the fates of our nations will be mainly decided by people of yesterday, who bear the direct responsibility for today's miserable situation of the Soviet Union and our republics in particular.

The participants of the meeting, representatives from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia support the demands set forth to the Soviet Government in the statement issued on January 12, 1988 by human rights activists from Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine. Those demands called for the following:

1. Granting the national languages of the republics the status of state languages;
2. The thorough study of these languages by the entire population of the republics and the sanctioning of these languages in all spheres of state and community life in the republics;
3. Cultural-national autonomy for national minorities including the Russian minority;
4. The return to their homelands of all evacuated nations and the exact delineation of borders between the national republics and provinces;
5. The reunification with their nations of representatives of those nations who have their statehood beyond the borders of the USSR;
6. Taking preventive measures against ecological genocide;



50,000 attend mass rally outside Lviv's "Druzhba" sports stadium.

7. Ceasing the policy of intentional intermixing of population with the aid of centralized economic planning.

Together with this, having exchanged thoughts about the situation in our six republics and based on our experiences from participation in the national-democratic movement, we have come to the conclusion that beside the aforementioned issues, other questions have arisen before our countries.

In particular, those questions are: the establishment and the clear determination of statehood of each republic; the limiting of entry to the republics of representatives of other national groups for permanent residence and in separate critical situations (as for example, in Estonia, Latvia and other republics) a complete stop of entry and even re-emigration of sections of the population. There is also the problem of securing complete sovereignty of the republics in matters of religion including the restoration of destroyed national churches in some of the republics; instead of the centralized economy that is being liquidated, a complete republican settling of economic accounts; a review of corrective labor legislation and the entire punitive system, with the elimination of the possibility of using the subjugated labor of prisoners beyond the borders of their respective republics; in the structure of the Soviet Army, the creation of national military formations which would carry out military service in times of peace on the territories of their own republics.

All of these demands are unavoidably tied to the total political and economic decentralization of the Soviet Union, which we envision in the future as a confederacy of separate sovereign states.

To exchange experiences among the national-democratic movements and to promote agreement of common actions among future meetings, we have decided to

create the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of Nations in the USSR. One of the tasks of the Coordinating Committee is the concrete elaboration of the above listed demands based on materials from all our republics.

The meeting devoted particular attention to the yet unresolved question of Soviet political prisoners and to the attempts at restoring the repressive politics of the past, an example of which is the arrest based on political charges of the well known Armenian human rights activist Paruir Airikyan and the young Estonian patriot Sivert Zoldin. Special statements were approved in this matter.

The next meeting of representatives of national-democratic movements of nations in the USSR will take place in September, 1988 in Latvia.

Lviv, June 12, 1988

Signed by the following national representatives: Georgia, Merab Kostavia, Society of Illya Chauchavadze; Latvia, Ivor Zhukovskis, Helsinki '86; Antanas Terletskas, Eugenius Krukovskis, National Democratic Movements of Lithuania; Ukraine, Mykhailo Horyn, Bohdan Horyn, Zenoviy Krasivsky, Oles Serhiyenko, Pavlo Skochok, Stepan Khmara, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian Helsinki Union and Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (Ukrainian Subcommittee for the Defense of Political Prisoners); and Estonia, Lahle Parek, Vilu Matis, the National Independent Party of Estonia.

FINAL STATEMENT FROM THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF NATIONS IN THE USSR

We, the representatives of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR, the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia, having discussed the effects of the political struggle for democracy and national self-determination of individual republics assert that within the last few months the evident growth of a mass movement has taken on peaceful democratic forms.

The meeting notes that the communist authorities have not ceased their attempts to prevent expressions of freedom of our peoples using illegal means and even resort to provocations and acts of repression.

As a result of the existing political situation, the meeting sets the following tasks for the national democratic movement:

1. To enact the existing political pluralism.
2. To demand reforms for an electoral system based on real democracy.
3. To enact international pacts in their full context, with regard to human rights eliminate political concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals, exclude articles from Criminal Codes of the republics on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and slanders, eliminate the repressive apparatus of political persecution.
4. Regard the Church as an important integral part of the national democratic movement, reform its legitimate relations with the state by safeguarding the Church's conditions on accomplishing missions on the moral recovery of nations.
5. The meeting resolved that real cooperation between the national democratic movements safeguards and brings closer the attainment of set goals.

6. Taking into consideration the specific conditions of the Baltic region, a regional consultative committee was formed at the meeting, which is a member of the international coordinating committee of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR.

STATEMENT ON EVENTS IN TRANSCAUCASIA

The meeting notes that reports about the events in Transcaucasia are presented by the official means of mass information in a very deficient and detrimental light. Considering the importance of the events taking place there, as well as the fact that the government of the USSR has not employed all possible measures to politically regulate the conflict, has sent in troops in preparation for a state of war and uses them as a means of oppression against the people's expressions of freedom, we protest the use of military force for such aims. We demand a halt to repressions against political leaders in Armenia, the arrest of Paruir Airikyan and call for his immediate release. We appeal for a decision to resolve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh by political means including the freedom of its population.

10 July 1988

Abrahcsiems, Latvia

Signed by the following national representatives: Latvia, Yuris Vidimkh, representative of the Helsinki '86 Group; Lithuania, Povilas Pychelionas, representative of the national democratic movement; Ukraine, Mykhailo Horyn, representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union; and Estonia, Yuri Adams, representative of the constituent party committee of national independence for Estonia.

PRESS RELEASE OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The meeting planned for 8:00 p.m. on July 24, 1988 by the Ukrainian Culturological Club in the October Revolution Square in Kyiv was not widely advertised and had no pretensions to loud publicity. The organizers of the meeting wanted to once more call to mind the definitively unresolved issue of political prisoners — a real blind spot on the side of perestroika; we wanted to gather a number of signatures under an appeal for the immediate release of all prisoners of conscience. That was all. The latest effort of the members of the Kyiv Culturological Club gained loud resonance only through the reaction to it by the security organs.

One to two days before the announced meeting, the KGB began to summon Club activists, began to persuade and threaten them and even to promise that in one to two weeks all Ukrainian political prisoners would be free even without our meetings. But such preventive measures seemed too small to the KGB men and they resorted to measures unprecedented in Ukraine in recent years.

On July 24, 1988 from 4:00 o'clock, on one order in all of Kyiv, the apprehension of the activists of the Ukrainian Culturological Club began. People were hunted down by their own homes, on the streets, by stores, they were forced into cars and driven to various regions of the Kyiv and Chernihiv oblasti (provinces), where they were forced out of the automobiles and left in the middle of forests and fields, far from populated places. The people hunt worked: the hunters did not cite violation of any statutes, did

not identify themselves, did not enter into conversations, did not react to protests and refusals to get into the automobile were met with fists (as happened to Anatoliy Bytchenko).

A particular act of violence was committed on Larysa Lokhvytska, whom they injected twice with strong doses of a psychotropic drug, the effects of which were reminiscent of the notorious use of the drug halopyridol in psychiatric prisons. In this state, Lokhvytska was thrown out of the car close to the Kyivan village of Osokorke.

Others, upon being driven to deserted places, were threatened with murder (Oles' Shevchenko, Anatoliy Bytchenko, the minor Vyacheslav Omechinskyj, Serhiy Naboka). Others were cruelly mocked: Arkadiy Kyryev was thrown out on a country road by the Kyivan village of Chabany, five kilometers from the highway. His belt was taken away from him and all the buttons on his trousers were cut off.

Among the people who were hunted down and driven out of Kyiv were those who had not intended to go to the meeting, who happened to be in the October Revolution Square by coincidence.

The victims of this attack on Kyiv tried to return to Kyiv as best as they could, some only succeeded in returning to the city on the following day. To date the fate of Hryhoriy Prykhodko, former political prisoner recently released from severe regime camp, is unknown. Prykhodko was picked up together with Yevhen Proniuk on Bauman Street and thrown into a police automobile, license plate number 38 42 КИР.

Beside the aforementioned persons, it is known that the following persons were also rounded up and driven to deserted, unpopulated places as far as 100 kilometers away: Leonid Milianovskyj, driven into the Kaharlyckyj region of the Kyivska oblast; Orysia Sokulska, the wife of political prisoner Ivan Sokulskyj was driven into the Roketnianskyj region and thrown out at night in the middle of a field; Demil Tolicha, whose philosophical articles prepared for official publication were confiscated; Tetyana Bytchenko; Pavlo Skochok; Oleksander Karaklivskyj; Marian Biel. Altogether, 16 persons.

These KGB people hunters naively tried to present themselves as "informal hunters", who were settling accounts with "dissidents" on their own initiative. But the real initiators and perpetrators of this attack were betrayed by the well organized character of this action, by the walkie talkies visible under the clothing of the hunters as well as the specific code words used by them, and by the adamant unwillingness of the militia and the KGB to use any means to help when approached by the families and acquaintances of the captured persons, despite the fact that they were able to name witnesses and give some license plate numbers.

Is this riot of anarchy only a "sovereign" initiative on the order of Shcherbytskyj and Halushka, who are attempting to rescue the huge tower of bureaucracy shaken by restructuring in this particular manner? Or is this a new "post-Karabakh" policy of Gorbachev himself with regard to non-Russian republics who want to have equal rights? Maybe the reaction to the appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev and General Procurator of the USSR, Sukharev, by these latest victims will become the answer to this disturbing question.

Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

DEMONSTRATORS VIOLENTLY DISPERSED IN LVIV, WESTERN UKRAINE

*The following is a press release of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union
of August 5, 1988, which recently reached the West.*

Brutal Reckoning

Scarcely had the inhabitants of Lviv felt what glasnost and a lawful state were, when a cold northern wind began to blow, and the local authorities began to extinguish the political activities of the people of Lviv with the iron grip of the state. Disregarding the several reports in the press about a ban on the meeting, announced by the Public Initiative Committee, several thousand people gathered at the Lviv State University of Ivan Franko on August 4, at 7 pm. This time they were not even allowed to the tightly closed palisade, predictably constructed by the Ivan Franko monument. The whole university street was occupied by the militia, and the civilians were squeezed onto the pavements along the 17th September and Mickiewicz Streets.

The violence began at 7 pm. Well-trained soldiers from the sixth special task force threw themselves among the people, snatched a predetermined victim and dragged him off to a car. One woman, who desperately resisted, was grabbed by the head and bashed against the edge of the car. Another woman was dragged off to a militia car by her braids. Another was pushed against a car with such force that she fell to the ground and fractured her knees. A youth was carried away by his legs and hair. A teenage boy, who clicked his camera, was dragged away while his mother wept desperately. Incited dogs tore the shirts and dresses off people's backs. A dense row of militiamen and soldiers began to forcefully shove the people of Lviv in the direction of 17th September Street. Several thousand people were huddled together there.

"Why don't you disperse? What do you want?!" a militia colonel commanded. "Meeting! Meeting! Meeting! Release Makar!" The chairman of the Initiative Committee, Ivan Makar, had been detained that same day at 9 am. "There won't be any meeting!" the colonel decisively retorted. Someone cried out "Freedom for Ukraine!" and the crowd of several thousand began to chant "Freedom! Freedom!" And suddenly the special task force came down upon the crowd and was met by several thousand voices shouting "Shame! Shame!"

Squeezing the people from the pavement, the dense rank of militia forced them into a single column, and the people, taking each other by the hand, started to head in the opposite direction — towards the opera house and Lenin's monument, singing the cossack song "The reapers are reaping on the hill". The crowd came to a stop on the boulevard opposite the opera house. Someone began to sing again, the others joined in. They sang "The wide Dnipro roars and moans", "An old oak tree stands by a tall castle", and other patriotic songs. But as soon as the demonstrators sang "The International", they were assaulted by the trained storm troopers in grey uniforms — the 6th special task force. The soldiers skillfully beat people in the liver and kidneys, punched and kicked them. After several punches, a tall man with thick grey hair collapsed, and was dragged away by his feet with his head hanging. And all this was happening before thousands of people. The defenceless crowd cried out "Fascists!" in despair and scattered in all directions away from the furious attack of the special task force.

The barking of dogs, the wailing of children, the desperate cries of women added the final touches to the picture of “Democracy and restructuring Ukrainian-style”. The criminals swept away all the traces. Twisting the arms of a girl holding a camera, they dragged her away to a car. Noticing a boy taking photographs of the carnage, they attacked him. Unceremoniously, they snatched away cameras and exposed the film. Among those taking photographs was a member of the Initiative Committee of the meeting, the communist Yaroslav Putko. On his way home, he was attacked by three people who dragged him to his porch and took away his camera.

Thus, on August 4, 1988, for the first time in many years, the first drops of blood fell on a Lviv boulevard, and together with them the last illusion of the people, whom the authorities had treated as enemies. Everything fell into place: the people had demanded their legal rights — the authorities had answered them with their bloody Thursday. The violence committed on the participants of the meeting, which turned into a demonstration, gave the results of the first stage of restructuring in Ukraine. It is not difficult to predict what the second stage will be.

TELEGRAM

The Kremlin, Moscow

**To the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU
M. S. Gorbachev.**

On Thursday, August 4, 1988, the organs of the militia, KGB and the 6th special task force violently and cynically dispersed a meeting at the Lviv University. They set dogs on the people, dragged them off to cars by their hair and feet, beat many of them including women and teenagers. Such suppression of expressions of freedom of citizens, who have reached out for civil life after 60 years of silence, reminds us of methods of reckoning used by the most reactionary regimes.

We protest the violation of the most elementary human rights. We demand the guilty persons of this anti-democratic pogrom to be brought to justice.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union:

V. Barladianu, B. Horyn, M. Horyn, O. Shevchenko, V. Chornovil

Lviv-Kyiv, August 6, 1988

Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

Preamble

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as a federative union of self-governing human rights groups and organizations in the provinces, districts and towns of Ukraine and beyond its borders, is being formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and affirms its loyalty to the human rights principles of the group's declaration of November 9, 1976.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers it vital to define as the principal aim of its activity the defence of national rights, first and foremost the right of a nation to self-determination, provided by Article 1 of the international pact on civil and political rights ratified by the Soviet Union (“all peoples have the right to self-determination.

On the strength of this right they can freely establish their political status and freely safeguard their economic, social and cultural development”), for without the freedom of a nation, it is impossible to obtain true personal security. If a person is not a means for the realization of some or other ideological concept but the aim and crown of creation, then a nation is the only natural social environment in which a person can completely develop his talents and accomplish his destiny on earth.

As experience has shown throughout the sixty-six years of Ukraine’s existence as part of the USSR, neither the government of the Ukr. SSR, which has never been a sovereign government, but only an executive organ of the central authorities, nor the Communist Party of Ukraine, which is merely a regional subdivision of the CPSU, were able or wished to protect the population of Ukraine from complete starvation, from the barbaric destruction of productive forces and the intellectual potential of the nation, from denationalization of Ukrainians and non-Russian minorities, from the artificial transformation of the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. These facts of direct genocide and the continuous ethnocide of the indigenous population of Ukraine, even in conditions of current democratization, confirm the indisputable truth that no party should monopolize the right of resolving crucial problems, which concern the very existence of nations. Without alternative, (in general, or in separate questions) oppositional organizations to the governmental policy and the ruling party, a real guarantee of human and national rights is impossible.

Not being a political party and not aiming to take over power, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers its task in thoroughly activating the popular masses and producing in them a mechanism of people’s participation in governing the state and a reliable control of the state apparatus.

By supporting all constructive ideas of the authorities with regard to restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union reserves the right to democratic opposition as an active form of stimulating democratic processes within the society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is not a political party with an obligatory program for each member, and it allows for pluralism of views and membership in other political parties and organizations. Instead of a program, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union proposes a Declaration of Principles, which could become the basis of uniting democratic forces in the struggle for restructuring society, for human and national rights (non-acceptance of separate clauses of the Declaration, yet with the adoption of its general direction, does not exclude participation in the work of one of the sections or local organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union).

Basic Principles

1. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that the re-establishment of Ukrainian statehood, which exists today only on paper, would be the principal lasting guarantee of safeguarding the economic, social, cultural, civic and political rights of the Ukrainian people as well as those of the national minorities, living on the territory of Ukraine.

2. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that under the guise of a Union of sovereign Soviet republics Stalin built an absolute centralized, authoritarian state, the character of which has not changed in essence to this day. Therefore, for a real democratization of Soviet society, not so much individual changes are required, but a

radical restructuring of the state order. We imagine a possible future coexistence of peoples in the USSR in a form of a **confederation of independent states**, a transitional stage to which could be a **federation** of sovereign democratic republics where the term "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" would imply the true contents with the help of a maximum political, economic and cultural decentralization.

3. By supporting these legislative changes introduced by the ruling party of the USSR, the democratic character of which will not raise any doubts, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union will also propagandize the necessity of a complete annulment of anti-democratic, centralized, Stalin and Brezhnev-styled constitutions and call for the **drawing up on a new basis of a constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the republics.**

4. The new federal constitution of the union only has to guarantee, without the current discriminatory limitations, the basic rights and freedoms of citizens, set out in international UN human rights pacts and ratified by the USSR, and in the Final Helsinki agreement in 1975, as well as constitute the general principles of federal ties between the union republics, but without unifying and regulating the organization of economic, political and cultural life in the republics, as it is done in the existing constitution of the USSR. Instead of all-union committees, ministries and other social-central administrative organs, we propose the establishment on a union level of only consultative and coordinating organs, having directly handed over complete leadership of economic, political and social life to the sovereign republics. After the transfer of all current legislation to the republican parliaments (Supreme Councils), the federal legislative organ could be a unicameral parliament (Federal Council) with an equal representation of republics, regardless of the amount of population and the administrative-territorial order. The centre of the union, where the permanent federal organs will be located, cannot simultaneously be the capital of one of the equal republics, and the sessions of the federal parliament (Federal Council) should be convened in each of the capitals of the republics in turn. There can be no place in the new constitution for the imperialist term "Soviet people", but this should read "peoples of the USSR".

5. We propose to introduce an Article on **Ukrainian citizenship** into the new constitution of Ukraine, which should also include the principles of international documents on human rights, as well as experience of national and customary law of the people. This Article gives the right to elect or to be elected to the Councils, as well as to be employed in state institutions of the Ukrainian Republic. Anyone can be a citizen of Ukraine with obligatory and adequate knowledge of the state language of the republic and who lived on this or on other Ukrainian territory before its inclusion into the USSR, as well as their descendants at least from one side; Ukrainian emigrants and re-emigrants from other republics outside the Ukr. SSR, all other persons, who always lived on the territory of the republic for no less than ten years and who recognize the state language and constitution of the republic.

6. Without establishing any restrictions for non-citizens of Ukraine, except for the above mentioned, we are at the same time opposed to an artificial intermixing of the population of the Union with the aim of changing the ethnic composition of the republics through means of incessant transfer of "cadres", centralized planning of industrial construction, and not including local labour resources and others. While opposing closed borders such as those between the socialist countries of eastern

Europe, we nevertheless propose to introduce as a precautionary measure against the long term Russification policy certain **limitations on entry for permanent residence in the republic with the aim of obtaining citizenship.**

7. We demand the immediate **constitutional recognition of the status of Ukrainian as the official language of the republic** and its introduction in all spheres of social life of the republic — in the state and economic apparatus, pre-school education, school education, higher and professional education, in the military and other schools, thus supporting the nationwide movement, which today has encompassed wide strata of Ukrainian society.

8. At the same time we support all guarantees on the rights of national minorities in Ukraine (Russians, Jews, Poles, Byelorussians, and others), as well as national-cultural autonomy (national associations, schools, theatres, museums, press, the Church, etc.). In cases of compact settlement (of Hungarians, Greeks, Gagauzis, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Russians, etc.) we also support the establishment of national-territorial administrative units in villages, urban boroughs and districts. We call for the immediate re-establishment as part of the Ukr.SSR of the Crimean ASSR settlement, and the organized return of the population of the autonomous republic, which had been persecuted by Stalin, to its place of former settlement.

9. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is extending its activity onto the territories, populated by **Ukrainians beyond the borders of the Ukr.SSR**, while demanding protection from the government of the republic over ethnic Ukrainians in the RSFSR, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and others, as well as beyond the borders of the USSR (in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia). Within the borders of the Union only the complete guarantee of the national-cultural needs of Ukrainians from Beresteyschyna¹, Voronizhchyna², Kuban and the regions along the banks of the River Dnister in the Moldavian SSR will remove the painful question of reviewing the borders of the republic according to ethnic principles from the daily agenda. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will attempt to reach a constructive dialogue of widespread cooperation on all levels (from governmental to personal contacts) with the Ukrainian emigration in the West instead of carefully sustained hatred by ideological dogmatists, which emerged under Stalin's conditions.

10. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will raise the question before the government of the Ukr.SSR and the governments of countries which signed the Helsinki Declaration, on the full **representation of Ukraine as a sovereign state on international arenas**, on the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries on the level of embassies and consulates, on mutual representation (organs of mass information, international agencies, firms, corporations), on a separate representation of Ukraine at international scientific conferences, Olympic Games, art festivals and other international events.

11. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the transfer of the present authority in the republic from the hands of the communist party to the **Council of people's representatives elected democratically**. Elections to the Councils at which one candidate will be nominated for one position should be regarded as invalid. This situation should also extend to the elections of the President (Head of the Supreme Council) of

¹ Brest region — BSSR.

² Voronizh region — RSFSR.

the federation and President of the Supreme Council of the republics, who should be elected directly by the electorate for no longer than two consecutive terms. All parties, unions, unofficial societies and even initiative groups of citizens should have the right to put forward candidates as deputies, if beforehand they manage to collect a stipulated amount of signatures from electoral districts in support of their candidate (for instance, 1,000 signatures). The Ukrainian Helsinki Union intends to put forward its candidates from as many electoral districts as possible at the elections of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the spring of 1989.

12. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers that the people of Ukraine should become the real **masters of their natural wealth and resources**, and strengthen ties with the other republics of the Federation and with other states on the principles of mutual benefits. The basis of the national economy of Ukraine should be the republican economic budget and self-financing. All-Union ministries should be abolished and replaced by coordinating committees with limited functions of review, mediation and exchange of economic information.

For stimulating the economic prosperity of the republic, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers it imperative to encourage private initiative as much as possible, which can manifest itself in the conversion of some state industrial enterprises into joint-stock companies and cooperatives, in the voluntary withdrawal of peasants from membership in collective farms with land for private farming or the creation of various types of cooperatives, run by elected individuals, and of cooperatives and unions for acquiring means of production. The state may only intervene in economic life by economic stimulation (credits, tax reductions, etc.) and not by pure administrative measures. Market economy should prevail with a free price list formation. In conditions of republican economic budget, it will become impossible to continue to increase industrial potential by extensive means in economically over-saturated districts and the government of the Republic, being independent from the centre [Moscow] will on the other hand have the means to stimulate the economic development of backward districts with concealed unemployment, thus allowing for neither the loss of population on a significant scale beyond the borders of the Republic, nor the organized centralized planning of the economy from the deliberate flow of the population from other republics (first of all from Russia) in order to reduce the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. Industrial enterprises, corporations and cooperatives should have the right to economic ties with foreign enterprises and corporations. It would be useful to attract material means and the economic experience of the Ukrainian emigration.

13. In protecting the **social-economic rights of individuals**, the state should guarantee minimal material welfare for those who need it (setting the poverty line, helping the unemployed). Voluntary work by community organizations and individuals should be encouraged. However, attempts to even introduce a relative equality in wages and income would lead to the stagnation and regression of the society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union does not see the revival of social justice in wage-equalization, which was one of the main reasons for the economic depression, but in a drastic reduction of the bureaucratic apparatus ("of the new class"), which is nothing more than a parasite on the peoples' necks, in the abolition of all social privileges, without exception, of the Soviet party bureaucratic apparatus (special shops of products and industrial goods, special hospitals, special health resorts and relaxation

zones, personal cars, trips abroad paid by the state, privileges for children and relatives on acquiring an education and getting a job, obtaining housing by not waiting one's turn, and others).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will try to obtain a just system of social security (pensions for workers and invalids — not below the average wage in the Republic and with the additional proportional level of inflation; equalize the right to guarantee pensions to citizens of all professions and from all social strata according to age and length of service, including the army, militia, security organs, with exceptions only for workers employed in particularly strenuous and harmful jobs; as well as adding to the length of service work in concentration camp complexes). The health care system requires complete restructuring, which is currently a reason for the high death rate, in particular that of babies and shortened life expectancy.

14. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that in connection with the malevolent centralized policy of the Union government and Union ministries, which did not take into consideration the interests of the population of Ukraine, the Republic is now confronted by the **threat of ecological genocide (ecocide)**. We will strive not only to halt the construction of new nuclear reactors, but also to reduce the already constructed atomic power stations in Ukraine and exchange them for alternative sources of power and discontinue to export electrical energy from the territory of Ukraine. We wish to review the structure of Ukrainian industry, with a gradual abolition of harmful products (first of all chemical products) in zones of industrial oversaturation, halt the construction of ecologically dangerous hydrotechnical works, to present every larger project of industrial construction for a nationwide discussion.

15. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will demand the strict compliance with the general declaration on human rights, the UN pacts and the Final Helsinki Agreement on the basic rights and freedoms of citizens, first of all the freedom recognized by the whole civilized world of expressing one's own views and the spreading of ideas irrespective of the borders. This axiom of democracy should be guaranteed by constitutional law which would persist the creation of independent public organizations, including organizations opposed to the government and the ruling party, and endowed with the right to constantly make use of mass information by state means, produce own independent publications, which guarantee the necessary material base; the right to organize meetings, gatherings, discussions; and the right to free access to all information (excluding clearly outlined matters of military secrets), but including access to archive materials, all statute acts, diplomatic documents, which are presently hidden away in special safes; the right to have access to radio broadcasts, books, periodicals from other foreign countries, which inform about problems and events from different ideological viewpoints.

16. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union recommends a **review of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR** and the exclusion of anti-democratic articles from it, namely: article 62 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"), article 187 ("slandorous fabrications against the state system"), articles which result in punishment for religious activity, for so-called "dawdling" the violation of passport regulations and others, for a harsh reduction in punishment with regard to imprisonment, for the abolition of the death sentence. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will strive to obtain the release of all political prisoners, the complete rehabilitation of all those who had been sentenced for their convictions, the liquidation of special psychiatric prisons. The KGB must be dissolved

or curtailed and reorganized with the removal of all its functions as political police. **Court proceedings must be reorganized** and the three-man law-court should be replaced by democratic forms of proceedings (for instance, by a jury). Legal defence should be taken up from the moment charges have been brought. It is imperative to humanize the corrective labour system. Prisoners should serve their sentences at the place where the crime was committed and the transfer of prisoners beyond the borders of the Republic is prohibited.

17. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the reduction of military forces to reasonable limits, necessary only for defence, and direct the savings towards raising the welfare of the people. Military service should take place on the territory of the Republic in **own republican military formations**. We foresee the transformation of military service on a voluntary and paid basis, as in some democratic countries in the world.

18. The right to work is required in the creation of proper conditions and its valuable realization. Compelling someone to work with threats of conviction is a form of slavery, which contradicts international legal norms. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the creation of **independent trade unions** as the most efficient organ of social security of a person (the achievement of normal conditions at work, proper wages, etc.).

19. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union defends the unrestricted rights of believers to establish religious communities of their religious creed and supports the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the restoration of the destroyed Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. We demand an end to the persecution of evangelical Christian-baptists, pentacostals, disciples of Krishna and other religious denominations. The Council on Religious Beliefs and its local sections, which will be instrumental in persecuting the faithful, should be abolished. A right should be guaranteed, not only for anti-religious, but also for religious propaganda.

20. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will strive to make the authorities effectuate human rights guaranteed by international documents, which were ratified by the USSR, the right of **free choice of residence**, (abolition of the passport system and obligatory travel permits), of **free entry and exit** into and out of the Republic, with this applying to other Union republics and any other country in the world.

21. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that in most important matters concerning the interest of the whole population of Ukraine, or a significant part of it, it is necessary to conduct **nationwide referendums**, reserving beforehand the necessary time and possibilities for discussing the problems, and free propaganda.

The Declaration of Principles, as well as the additional Statute of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union have been drawn up by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group which has existed since 1976, and which hands over its mandate and joins the Ukrainian Helsinki Union with its full membership.

The Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Statute are operative for the time being until their ratification at the Constituent Assembly of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which will take place after the organization of provincial councils of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Future changes in the Declaration of Principles and Statute can be introduced by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and on submission by the provincial organizations.

July 7, 1988

Ukrainian Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

STATUTORY PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union (The Ukrainian Helsinki Federation or Union), was founded on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which has existed since 1976 to this day. In its activity, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union keeps to the principles recognized or ratified by the government of the Ukr. SSR which had been initiated by international documents on human rights — declaration on human rights, UN agreements on economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civic and political rights, the Final Helsinki Agreement on security and cooperation in Europe of 1975, and also the declaration of principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union elaborated on the basis of these legal documents.

While promoting the viability of these positive processes of democratization, which have begun in the USSR, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union also simultaneously strives to deepen and disseminate them, criticizes the inconsistency and conservatism of the organs of authority and ruling party on resolving concrete matters of restructuring and positions of constructive democratic opposition to the administrative-bureaucratic system, which formed and became consolidated into the USSR.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union functions on the territory of Ukraine, defending political, social and economic rights of the Ukrainian people and other nationalities, who live permanently on the territory of the republic. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union can create groups or organizations beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR on territories of mass Ukrainian population, and also among the Ukrainian emigration, where there exists an external representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is formed on the principles of federalism with a wide self-government of autonomic organizations. Each of these organizations may have its own statute, drawn up with the inclusion of these statutory principles and specifications of its work.

It is recommended that members of the autonomic organizations of the Union should be citizens of different nationalities from 16 years of age, who are basically in agreement with the declaration of principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and want to work in human rights activities, which they have chosen themselves. Disagreement with individual points in the declaration of principles upon the approval of its general direction does not exclude membership or work from the autonomic organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union except for its leadership. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is established on the basis of individual and collective membership. Separate individuals can be accepted into the Union, for instance those who can unite in territorial (village, district and regional) organizations as well as informal societies (clubs, associations, unions, societies of national minorities etc.), who share the basic directives of the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Membership in any other party or organization in such a case cannot be an impediment for membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The rights and duties of members of the Union are determined by the statutes of local autonomic organizations. Abidance by the basic democratic principles is the only rule equally obligatory for everyone, (the right to elect and be elected to leading positions, the right to express one's thoughts or positions of the minority, or others).

With regard to the increase of members in the Union, local coordinating councils are to be established, which comply with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the statutory principles, draw up the statutes of regional organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Such coordinating councils (CC) are established on territories with a considerable Ukrainian population beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR (for instance, the Kuban Council, Moscow Council, and others). Collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (informal clubs etc.), who operate within the borders of the region, elect their representatives to the regional Coordinating Council, and informal inter-regional and All-Ukrainian organizations elect their representatives directly to the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council (ACC).

Members of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council are: one representative from each regional organization of the union of All-Ukrainian informal societies — collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, and leaders of the principal sections of the Union elected at the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The first body of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Committee, after the establishment of the Union, also includes members of the initiative group for the creation of the Ukr. Helsinki Union from members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The principal sections of the Union could be: state and legal section, sections on human rights, economics, social security, international, ecological, youth, linguistic, cultural-educational, religious problems, Ukrainians in the diaspora, and if necessary, others. The number and names of sections are determined by the local regional organizations.

The All-Ukrainian Council appoints from its membership a permanent executive committee comprising three executive secretaries and section leaders.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council is elected at the conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for three years. The A.C.C. appoints from its membership an executive committee also for three years with successive leadership of the secretaries (that is, no longer than one year in succession). To avoid authoritarianism in a position, we also recommend a change in leadership (no more than three consecutive years) for regional coordinating councils and sections.

The All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukr. Helsinki Union will be convened no more than once every three years, and necessary decisions on important questions will be made by three quarters of the vote of members of the A.C.C.

The task of the coordinating councils, executive committee of the A.C.C. and other elective organs is only consultative (collection of information, etc.). It is not compulsory for all members of the Union to comply with their decisions.

Financial means of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are made up from compulsory membership fees of Union members, donations, possible profits from publications or other activities. The membership fees and other means of receiving and distributing expenses are determined in the statutes of the autonomous organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Ten percent of the income received by the regional organizations is submitted for disposal of the executive committee and the A.C.C., the rest is kept.

The tasks and activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are the following:

- a wide collection of information on all aspects of human rights activity, set out in the Declaration of Principles and making use of the collected material by passing it on to the regional coordinating council;

- appeal on behalf of the regional and other autonomic organizations of the Union to the local and republican organs of authority;
- appeal by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council and its executive committee to the government of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR demanding legislative and other decisions;
- appeal by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council in agreement with all the regional organizations to the governments of the countries who signed the Helsinki Agreements, on all serious cases, at a time when in spite of an appeal to the government of the USSR, basic human and national rights continue to be violated;
- we are making the same appeals to the world public and the international Helsinki Federation, whose members we consider ourselves to be;
- a wide propaganda of ideas and demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union by means of mass information (if possible), meetings, gatherings, demonstrations, signed letters, leaflets, independent press, information agencies and the press of countries which signed the Helsinki Agreements, and others. For a more operative review of the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and on demands of the Union at the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union a press service of the UHU is being established, which will operate on the basis of the journal *The Ukrainian Herald*.

These statutory principles, together with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, are put into effect for the time being until they are ratified at the constituent assembly of the Union, which will take place after organizing the regional councils of the UHU. Further changes in the statutory principles and Declaration of Principles of the UHU can be proposed by the Union conference, or by a unanimous vote of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council on the request of the regional organizations.

The agenda of the elections at the conference and its procedure will be fixed at the constituent assembly of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

July 7, 1988

Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union



As a supplement to the above documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Information Service provides the following information and excerpts from documents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists:

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, Ukrainians established the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) (17.3.1917), convened a Ukrainian National Congress (17.4.1917) and proclaimed autonomy (23.6.1917). The Russian provisional government acknowledged Ukraine's autonomy on July 16, 1917. Shortly after the takeover of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia on November 16, 1917, Ukrainians took over complete power in Ukraine and on November 20, proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Soviet Russia recognized Ukraine and its right to independence on December 16, 1917. However, at the same time Lenin gave an ultimatum, which was rejected by the Ukrainians. On December 20, 1917 war broke out between Russia and Ukraine. Having established a Soviet government in Kharkiv in opposition to the Ukrainian government, Soviet Russia conducted its war against Ukraine under the guise of helping this "Soviet government of Ukraine".

In the middle of November, 1920, the Ukrainian army and government were forced to leave Ukrainian territory. The period of Ukraine's independence had come to an end.

In December 1922, the Russian Communist Bolshevik Party with the aid of local communists (there were very few of them in Ukraine) decided to establish a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which also included the Ukrainian SSR, which was occupied by the Soviet army. It should be stressed that the USSR was formally established on the basis of an agreement whereby the parties concerned — Soviet Russia, Ukrainian SSR, Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian Federation — had reserved the right to voluntarily secede from the USSR. This point in the agreement was entered into the Constitution of the USSR and simultaneously into the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR. However, even today, any kind of hint on the right of the Ukr. SSR to secede from the USSR and become a separate state, is severely punished by the Soviet Russian authorities. Persons who refer to this right are severely persecuted.

After Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Ukrainians took advantage of the situation and on June 30, 1941 proclaimed the reestablishment of the Ukrainian Independent State. However, the German occupational authorities proceeded with harsh repressions, imprisoned Ukrainian leaders and suppressed the Ukrainian liberation movement by all possible means. The Ukrainians organized a resistance, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, created in October 1942, fought against the occupiers until the withdrawal of the German army. It continued the struggle for the independence of Ukraine against Soviet Russian occupation until 1952.

The initiator and chief leader of this struggle was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose main principles of struggle are elucidated in the following excerpts from documents:

(...) 9. The condition, which secures a nation's active participation in the world arena, is a political organization most adapted to the complete interests of national life, namely, a sovereign state (...)

(...) 13. The main postulate for the Ukrainian Nation in its state of political enslavement is the creation of a legal political organization, defined as the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State...

(From the decisions of the Supreme Assembly of the OUN, 28.1-2.2.1929)

(...) e) we stress the ideas of an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State, which is an absolute necessity in life, and the eternal yearning of the Ukrainian Nation, taking into consideration that only a just solution to the Ukrainian question can balance the power in Eastern Europe and condition the free life of peoples subjugated by Moscow (...)

(From the decisions of the 2nd conference of the OUN, April 1942)

1. The current war in the East, which was started in the name of imperialist interests of German national socialism and Russian Bolshevism, is being conducted for anti-national reactionary aims, the transformation of countries and peoples into objects of colonial exploitation and plunder, which carries with it spiritual-moral, social-economic and national-political exploitation and oppression, that is, into the complete subjugation of nations and the individual. In the first place this is the war for Ukraine, which both imperialisms treat as a central problem of their imperialist policy in Eastern Europe in their colonial plans, and as a coincidental basis for further conquests. (...)

6. Presently Ukraine is lying between the hammer and the anvil of two hostile imperialisms — Moscow and Berlin, both of which equally treat it as a colonial object. In its liberation struggle for independence, the Ukrainian nation comes across a series of obstacles in the scope of its international actions, which is a result of other countries' lack of information about Ukrainian matters, counter activities of Ukraine's historical enemies, and a result of the fact that the current war is being conducted in the interests of great imperialist states, which subject other nations to their aims and disregard their right to national and state independence. Therefore, it appears to be an inevitable demand for the Ukrainian nation to continue the struggle against both imperialisms with the support of its own forces, and place as the basis of its cooperation with other nations their recognition of our right to our own state and in this field seek the common interests of western and eastern nations in a common struggle against German, Russian and other imperialisms. (...)

(From the decisions of the 3rd conference of the OUN, February 1943)

(...) 1. The USSR, as a new form of Russian imperialism, subjugates, exploits and destroys Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in all spheres of life, having surpassed in this all previous examples. Communist Bolshevism serves the Russian empire as its current doctrine and system for the total subjugation and exploitation of captive nations and as a diversive instrument among other nations in preparation for future conquests. The communist Party has become the most brutal organization of despotism in history and a ruthless realizer of Russian imperialism. (...)

(From the decisions of the OUN, April 1951)

(...) We acknowledge that:

a) Every nation has the right to national independence and statehood, on its own ethnographic territory.

b) Every person should be guaranteed human rights, assigned to him by the laws of nature and God.

c) Every nation has the right to manage its own life according to its own taste, own decision and own expression of freedom.

d) The sovereignty of a nation demands all the attributes of this right and privilege, and their realization in practice by its own army, own diplomatic representations, legislative organs, elected by the people's free expressions of freedom; complete independence from any imperial centre and the removal of all occupational forces from its territory.

e) All kinds of violent state inventions, such as "unions", "alliances", "federations" — are historical anachronisms. In their place independent national states must arise. We reject the idea of self-determination in the sense of a choice between independence and its substitute in the form of a "federation", "confederation", "union" or "alliance" as a feigned slogan of the imperialists aimed at deceiving peoples.

f) Without the sovereignty of a nation there are no human rights. Only the dissolution of any empire can realize human rights, — when a subjugated nation becomes a sovereign and democratic state.

g) Every imperialism, colonialism, chauvinism and racism, every "big-brotherhood", subjugation, exploitation — must be abolished.

h) The UN Charter, the UN Resolution on decolonization and the Universal Declaration on human rights must be brought into practice throughout the world. (...)

15. A national state is the “principle right of every nation”. The Ukrainian State must be a sovereign state and completely independent from Russia — the Russian state and Russian unique indivisible influences. (...)

The OUN is fighting against the Russian empire, and not against the state of the Russian people on its ethnographic territory. The OUN does not exclude from the common front against Russian imperialism and communism those Russian forces, which will be fighting for a Russian national state within its ethnographic borders. We consider that the natural allies of Ukraine are in the first place nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, in particular neighbouring states both near and far. (...)

(From the decisions of the 5th Supreme Assembly of the OUN, Autumn 1974)

(...) And that which concerns the sovereignty of the so-called Ukrainian SSR with its membership in the United Nations in nothing to boast about, for the delegation of the Ukr. SSR in this international institution is a blind executor of orders coming from the imperial ministry of foreign affairs in Moscow and does not represent the interests of the Ukrainian people. Ukraine owes its membership in the UN first and foremost to the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), where Stalin wished to have the legitimation before the world, that Ukraine was a sovereign state and therefore there was no need for its liberation. Furthermore, there was also the matter of extra votes in the UN for the Soviet Russian empire. (...)

(From the decisions of the 6th Supreme Assembly of the OUN, Autumn 1981)

LITHUANIAN FREEDOM GROUP EMERGES FROM UNDERGROUND, ANNOUNCES PROGRAM

A Lithuanian nationalist group has emerged from the shadows of the underground to make public its political program and announce its leadership.

In a July 3 statement recently received by the Lithuanian Information Center, a U.S. organization that tracks current events in the southernmost Baltic state, the Lithuanian Freedom League unveiled a five point program covering political, cultural, economic, historical, and human rights issues.

The League says that implementation of its program will create the “preconditions for the reestablishment of Lithuania’s sovereignty and independence... The Lithuanian Freedom League stresses that its ultimate ideal is a free Lithuania in a confederation of European nations.”

Among the specific “preconditions” listed in the League’s program are the following:

- Legalization of Lithuanian citizenship and exclusion of non-citizens from top government positions.
- Recognition of Lithuania’s right to raise its own army.
- Renewal of Lithuania’s ties with foreign countries.
- Establishment of Lithuanian as the official state language.
- Introduction of Lithuanian currency.
- Limits on migration to Lithuania from other Soviet republics.
- Erection of monuments to commemorate partisans who resisted Soviet rule in the 1940s and 1950s.
- Legal accountability for those who implemented genocidal policies in Lithuania during Stalin’s reign.

- Freedom of conscience and genuine separation of Church and State.
- Freedom for all political prisoners.
- A halt to construction of a nuclear reactor and huge chemical plants in Lithuania.

The League says it emerged from the underground, ten years after its establishment, because of “the process of democratization under way in the USSR and with the changes that have occurred in the political and social climate in Lithuania.” However, its statement cautions that “there is no serious reason to believe that the Soviet leadership in the near future will condemn Stalin’s aggression in the Baltic republics.” The League statement adds that although a portion of the Russian intelligentsia has come to accept the Baltic states’ right to independence, the Soviet regime continues to adhere to a “centuries-old imperialist Russian viewpoint toward ‘small’ nations.”

The eighteen-member national leadership council of the League includes sixteen men and two women, most of them living in Vilnius, Lithuania’s capital. One of the signatories is Mr. Antanas Terleckas, a former political prisoner who was invited to the Spaso House meeting with President Reagan during the latter’s visit to Moscow.

The League has asked Dr. Algrdas Statkevicius, a Lithuanian Helsinki monitor now living in the United States, to serve as its foreign representative.

IVAN SOKULSKYJ’S LETTER FROM PERM CAMP 35



Ivan Sokulskyj

Ivan Sokulskyj, a Ukrainian poet and journalist from Dnipropetrovsk, who was serving a 15-year term of imprisonment in a labour camp in Perm, (Sokulskyj was released in August 1988) refused to carry out forced labour and declared that he had gone over to the status of a political prisoner. This is regarded as a violation of the camp regime by the Soviet authorities. In May, Sokulskyj’s family received a letter from Perm camp 35. The text of the letter is given below.

Good day!

I have not written to you for a long time, as the camp officials regarded the letter I wrote in February, when I was no longer in the punishment cell, as the one to which I was entitled in April.

I thought about complaining, but unlawfulness alone is not the case here! I regard the fact that, although I was sentenced for political reasons I am incarcerated in a regime for common criminals, as the most serious unlawfulness. Even in this time of

restructuring, I decided not to come to terms with this, not to wait for relevant instructions to come from above, but to make demands and make use of my legal rights. In doing so, I base my arguments on international laws ratified by the USSR, that is, I refuse to carry out forced labour, which in itself is inadequately paid, etc. I have a moustache. It is like having my own face back again.

I have written to the procurator general about the reasons behind this decision. I uphold only those requirements of the regime that do not contradict the status of a political prisoner. This is not anarchy or anti-social activity. The fact that I am no criminal, but am being held here unlawfully also compelled me to take this decision. In the case against me, there is no proof of any guilt on my part, even when going by the criteria of the years of stagnation. I am also basing my decision on the Geneva accords (26.4.1987) on the non-implementation of terror and other means of punishment and humiliation, ratified by the Soviet Union.

No notice was taken of any of my letters, and I was thrown into the punishment cell (solitary confinement) immediately after submitting my declaration (6.4.1988), where I remained for 23 days. So, the punishment cell has not forgotten me, even though the last time I was there was almost a year ago (Sokulskyj spent nearly a year in solitary confinement).

This is all the news I have. I think you will understand that I had no other choice.

They continue to write injunctions against me and promise to go on punishing me... I spent Easter in the punishment cell, although not by myself. We receive letters in the cell, so I could read all your letters in good time.

Goodbye. I have to break off here. I have no time to finish. My kisses to you.

4.5.1988

Ivan

“OPEN LETTER” TO GORBACHEV DENOUNCES SOVIET SYSTEM

“Radical and Universal” Upheaval Demanded

The past couple of years have seen a flood of letters, appeals and memoranda addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev by concerned Lithuanians and by the members of the patriotic and religious movement. The most extensive (53 typewritten pages) and most thoroughly documented letter was signed on November 2, 1987, by 145 Lithuanian, 6 Latvian and 4 Estonian participants in the August 23, 1987 demonstration in Vilnius, against the Hitler-Stalin Pact. They cite almost exclusively Soviet sources in support of their devastating critique of the Soviet system. Following are excerpts from this letter, which was recently received in the West.

Participants in Demonstrations Persecuted. The writers complain that ever since the demonstrations of August 23, the participants have been incessantly “slandered and scorned” in all the USSR mass information media and in meetings organized by communist activists. Many participants are “blackmailed, fired from work, ridiculed, tortured, beaten, threatened.”

Continuation of Bolshevik Campaign Against Men and Women. “We understand very well that this is merely a continuation of the Bolshevik campaign against men and

nations, peace and humanity that began 70 years ago,” the writers say. They reject as “abnormal” the labelling of Baltic patriots as “nationalists” and point out the self-contradictions of the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, whom they call as being alien to sound Marxism.

“We Do Not Recognize the Imposed Citizenship.” “We believe that we no more have the right to be silent while the occupying power and its puppets go on raving,” the writers assert. “We don’t recognize the citizenship imposed on us as a result of the Russian occupation and we consider ourselves citizens of the democratic Independent Lithuania established on February 16, 1918.”

Persecution of Lithuanian Patriots — Neither “Democracy” Nor “Openness”. The writers say that they support the “perestroika”, but remind that preventing those who think differently to organize public meetings and reserving mass information media to the regime media is neither “democracy” nor “openness”. They challenge Gorbachev’s recent statements in support of national self-determination by pointing to the continued subjection of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Citing KGB chief Chebrikov’s statement that reconstruction will remain within the limits of communism, they assert that this negates all of Gorbachev’s announced principles: “democracy, openness, new thinking.”

“Even Hitler Was Not As Arrogant.” The writers take strong issue with Gorbachev’s statement in Riga (February 19, 1987), when he compared those challenging Moscow’s rule of the Baltic nations with “barking dogs”. They note that even Hitler was not as arrogant as to conduct fictional elections in Nazi-occupied territories and to declare that Holland, Belgium or Norway “had voluntarily joined the Reich”. And they ask if this does not mean a “mindless and stubborn continuation of the criminal traditions of Hitler and Stalin?”

The Reality Behind “Soviet Internationalism.” What is the reality behind the highly touted concept of “Soviet internationalism?” — the writers ask. In reply, they point to the gradual disappearance of the Byelorussian language, the extinction of Lithuania’s history in Lithuanian schools, the ban on Lithuanian-language schools in the Kalinin-grad area, and the arrogance of the “Russian Nazis”.

“One-sidedness of Education” and “Intellectual Isolation.” What is the value of the “history offered by communist functionaries?” The writers cite the distinguished Russian historian Juri Afanasev, who denounced the “one-sidedness” of Soviet education and the “intellectual isolation”.

“Soviet Justice” Amounts to “Juridical Nihilism.” Soviet “justice?” The writers scoff at Gorbachev’s 1987 statement to the French parliamentarians that the Soviet Union assigns the “greatest significance to the guaranteeing of human rights”. They cite several official Lithuanian jurists to the contrary. One of them, Deputy Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, M. Ignotas, sums up the fruits of Soviet-type justice as follows: “The result was a universal disrespect for the law, a kind of juridical nihilism.”

Lopsided Economy. “Soviet economy?” According to the writers, “it is very powerful in one respect (military industry) and completely weak and constantly ‘limping’ as regards guaranteed material well-being for the people. Seventy years after the October revolution, 40% of the families of the USSR subsist on wages below 100 rubles per month.”

“Conscious Deception” and “Evil Aggression.” Contrary to Gorbachev’s professions on the importance of truth, the writers say, “conscious deception has flourished” and “evil aggression was concealed behind the slogans of peace.”

Soviet Philosophy — Stereotypes and Isolation. What were the “victories” of communism in the field of philosophy? The writers cite a typical occurrence, “The Department of Philosophy in the Latvian State University was liquidated 3 years ago, because the country needs more meat and milk, and not philosophy” (*Voprosi filosofii*, Moscow, No. 7, 1987). Soviet philosophy, according to the leading Soviet Russian practitioners, is more and more drifting apart from the culture of world philosophy, it is scholastic, dogmatic and focused on stereotypes. The writers’ conclusion: “You, just like Stalin in his own time, have launched a reconstruction in total disregard of genuine philosophy and of morality based on the principle of humaneness.”

Occupation of Baltic States with Hitler’s Help. What about the “gains” of the Lithuanian nation under the Soviet system? The writers remind Gorbachev of his statement to a delegation of U.S. legislators on February 4, 1987: “It is impossible to impose anything on anybody.” However, “slavery” was imposed on all the nations that are now part of the USSR right after the October Revolution, and on Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonian during and after World War II, with Hitler’s help. In spite of the “perestroika”, the apparatus of coercion keeps growing — in addition to large numbers of militiamen, KGB agents and special army units for internal affairs, in 1986 there were 170,697 vigilantes (*druzhinniki*) for the maintenance of internal order (*Tiesa*, June 12, 1987).

Peace Incompatible With Enslavement of Nations. “The problem of peace?” A genuine peace, the writers maintain, is absolutely incompatible with the enslavement of men and nations. “The main goal of the Soviet Union is a safe and just peace for all nations,” Gorbachev said at the conclusion of the 27th CP Congress. But is a “safe and just peace” possible in a slave-slaveholder relationship? — the writers ask.

Young Generation — “Culturally Deprived, Dehumanized, Lost.” What were the Lithuanian cultural gains under Soviet rule? In Soviet theory, culture in the USSR is flourishing, while under “capitalism” it is decaying. The writers remind that things are quite different in practice. They quote from numerous articles published in Lithuania during 1985-1987, which take an extremely critical view of Soviet education and culture. The authors of these articles mention the drastic reduction of the teaching of literature in high schools, obsolete and dogmatic textbooks and the decline in morals. As a result, the writers of the letter say, the young generation has become “culturally deprived, dehumanized, lost.” They quote A. Butkus, who wrote in the September 5, 1987 issue of *Literatura ir Menas*: “Our social ills are not merely remnants of the bourgeois system. One cannot call the plundering of socialist property a survival of capitalism, and the narcotics addiction and prostitution among young people — an import from the West.”

“Who Crippled Us and For what Purpose?” As a result, the writers continue, members of the Communist Youth Organization, who have been “shamelessly manipulated and deceived” are ready to ask the leading red functionaries: “Who were they who crippled us, and for what purpose?” They quote the writer S. Kasauskas who said in the magazine *Moksleivis* (The Student, No. 8, 1987): “Lying, shoddy products, fawning, conniving, speculation, crudeness, denigration of human dignity have become the norm of our life.”

“Arrogant Assault” Against Religion Continues. According to the writers, the “arrogant campaign” continues against religion, which is a special factor of cultural progress. While Roman Catholicism is being maligned, the communist authors are puzzled

about the rise of criminality, delinquency and apathy among the young. The “permanent crisis” of culture in communist lands constantly nourishes the ecological crisis.

“Apartheid” and “Extreme Bureaucratism”. What has been the role of the “working people” during the 47 years of Soviet occupation? On September 29, 1987, Gorbachev told the representatives of the French society that “the first distinction of socialist democracy must be that it guarantees the decisive word to the working people.” What are these “interests of the working people” in reality? It is a “two-tier apartheid based on class and national foundations. It is a legalized discrimination against the intelligentsia.” The so-called “interests of the working people” have led the “gigantic slave empire to such an extreme bureaucratism that even you expressed your horror at the fact that at present there is already one manager for six, seven people” (*Tiesa*, Oct. 3, 1987).

Catastrophic Increase of Mentally Deficient Children. The writers also recall a pamphlet published in 1979, which stated that during 1950-1979 the number of children born with symptoms of mental deficiency and unable to attend regular schools increased 13 times, i.e. by 1300%.

“Physical and Spiritual Genocide in Afghanistan.” Recalling Gorbachev’s recent emphasis on the “common interests of mankind,” the writers ask him if the “action of physical and spiritual genocide against Afghanistan,” which is conducted under the cover of “international assistance,” is not an “extremely grave crime against humanity?”

“Evil Empire” — An Accurate Description. In view of all this, the writers ask who can dare to maintain that the USSR is not an “evil empire” and that Ronald Regan was wrong to characterize it as such? This empire has earned the just condemnation of the entire world and a “Nuremberg process in Moscow.”

“Radical Upheaval” — the Only Way for the USSR. The writers maintain that for the Soviet Union, this “totally rotten state” and for its ideology, there is no other way than to embark on a “radical and universal upheaval.” They conclude their letter as follows:

“Although in this open letter we address ourselves to you in a tone full of indignation, yet we are not speaking to you as an enemy, but as a friend who is committing errors. We want only one thing: that you, having taken a small but courageous step towards humaneness, should completely renounce the inhuman practices.”

Elta Information Bulletin, May 1988

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL DEFENDS HISTORICAL TRUTH ABOUT UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

**Rectification by V. Chornovil
to the editors of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.**

In connection with the mass meetings of the citizens of Lviv, the All-Union newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* attacked Ukrainian human rights activists, accusing, for instance Vyacheslav Chornovil, of being connected to the subversive centre of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) abroad. The author of the article demanded the conviction of Ukrainian human rights activists, whom he called “a group of Western supported, previously convicted (human) rights defenders”. An interesting phenomenon: whenever the same newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*

reports about meetings somewhere in Kuybeshev or Saratov (both in the Russian FSSR), it writes that this is democratic, that they were right to criticise, but when the matter concerns Ukraine — the chauvinist tongues hang out.

V. Chornovol reacted to this article and wrote a rectification to the editors of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, which we are printing below in English translation:



The July 10, 1988 issue of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* contained a piece by your Lviv correspondent Vitaliy Panov, entitled “Father Makar’s Fables”, in which the meeting of the citizenry of Lviv, which took place by the statue of Ivan Franko was portrayed in a twisted light.

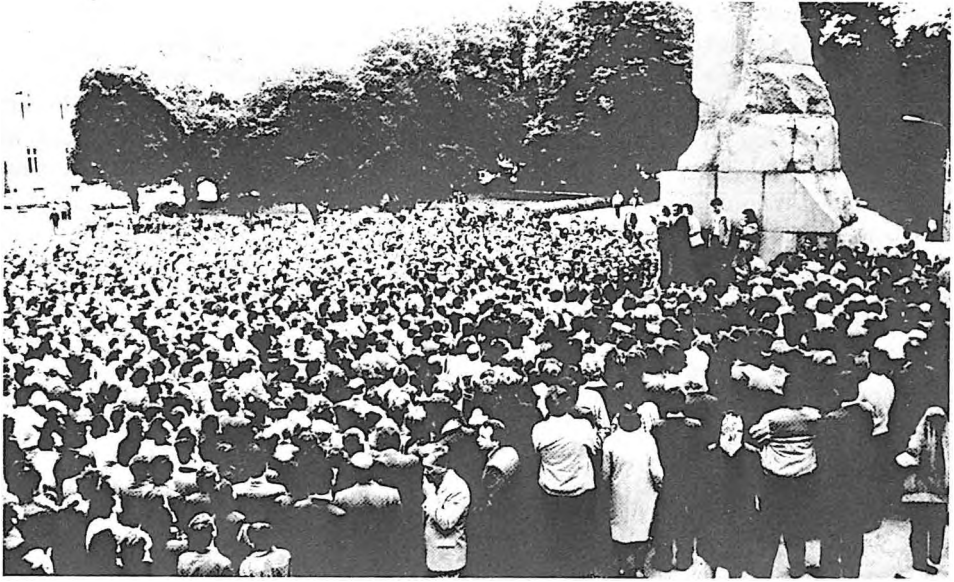
If your correspondent is to be believed, the official topic of the meeting — saving the city’s historic monuments, was seemingly countered with the theme “immortalizing the memory of the Banderivtsi (Bandera followers, i.e. revolutionary OUN, ed. note) by “a group of formerly sentenced human rights activists nurtured by the West, including V. Chornovol (that is the proper spelling of his name), all of whom are connected with the foreign, subversive center of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The fact that in reality, the Initiative Committee of the meeting (to which I do not belong), many times during the course of the meeting raised the question not of the Bandera followers but the issue of the necessity of creating a “Democratic front for the promotion of restructuring” was not even mentioned by Panov. Even the local press, which is completely subservient to the Provincial Party Committee, mentioned this fact in its reports about the meeting.

As to the “Banderivtsi”, one member of the Initiative Committee mentioned them in passing, when discussing the proposition to erect a monument to the victims of Stalinism in the following context: that the participants of the mass armed movement in Western Ukraine in the 1940s and 1950s, in reaction to the horrors of the Stalin-Beria terror after the partition of Poland and the annexation of Western Ukraine to the USSR, should be included among these victims. The annexation was accompanied by mass deportations of the population, the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, torture, executions, the destruction of thousands of innocent people by the NKVD without trials or due process of law, before the retreat during the first days of war with Germany. Actually, it is high time to speak about the horrible events which shattered any trust in the Soviet rule among the population of Western Ukraine and impelled them to armed struggle.

Having heard only a mention about the Banderivtsi at the multitudinous meeting, your correspondent expanded that mention into an entire article. In doing so he has demonstrated his total lack of knowledge of generally known facts of history, prescribing to the Banderivtsi “service to German fascism”, the creation of the SS division Galicia (Halychyna) (this division was definitely not created by the Banderivtsi), and even participation in the destruction of the Lviv and other ghettos, destruction of prisoner of war camps for Soviet soldiers, the “deportation of young men and women into captivity” and other similar things.

Working permanently in Western Ukraine, it is shameful not to know these facts, about which objective researchers in other socialist countries not entirely sympathetic to the Banderivtsi (for example Poland) are writing. It is shameful not to know that the



Mass demonstration in Lviv, which took place on June 16, 1988 by the monument of Ukrainian writer and poet Ivan Franko. The meeting was convened to discuss the problem of electing delegates to the Party Conference in Moscow. The people of Lviv were dissatisfied with some of the nominated delegates because they had belonged to the repressive organs in the past and did not act in the interests of the people. In addition, burning issues were discussed on the process of democratization in Ukraine. The meeting was addressed by Ukrainian national and human rights activists, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Bohdan and Mykhailo Horyn. Around 8,000 people attended the demonstration.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought great battles against the fascists from 1942 to 1944, in particular in Volyn', which resulted in the liberation of Soviet prisoners of war (for example the POW camp by Horokhiv, Volynska province); that Banderivtsi themselves were captured into German concentration camps; that they had no connection with the deportation to Germany of "hundreds of young men and women", and even less so with the liquidation of the ghetto. The fascists were assisted in these deeds not by the Banderivtsi, but by policemen, the same policemen that later became "camp activists" in the concentration camps in Mordovia and Perm, who informed on political prisoners, faithfully and truthfully serving their new "masters" and receiving favors for doing so. Isn't this truly moving cooperation?

In falsely connecting us, the activists of the Ukrainian national-democratic movement to the Banderivtsi, and falsely accusing the latter of the liquidation of the ghetto, Panov is attempting to sow enmity between us and the Hebrews in exactly the same manner as the local press, which explained our call for the reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood as "hostile to the local Russian national minority."

I personally would also very much like to explain exactly with which "foreign subversive OUN center" I am connected. Or perhaps, Mr. Panov will explain this in court, if I turn there to seek protection against slander.

And finally, in the matter of my last name, the spelling of which for some reason interests Panov a great deal. Let the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* correspondent once again turn to the KGB, where they have already told him about my contacts with the “subversive center” and let him ask them for my passport, which they took away from me when they arrested me in January of 1972. There he will see my proper surname in Russian and Ukrainian orthography (Chornovyl in Russian and Chornovil in Ukrainian. Surnames are not translated from one language to another, in such a case, citizen Panov would be turned into Panin or Panenko in Ukraine). Having taken my old passport away and arbitrarily translated my surname in the verdict at my sentencing to a concentration camp in Russia (an interesting display of sovereignty of the USSR), they performed the same operation on me as they performed on thousands of Ukrainians in Kuban in the beginning of the 1930s, turning them into Russians”...

I hope that my rectification will be printed. As to the suitability of the post occupied by your correspondent, the collective will decide whether it is suitable to the spirit of the times.

July 15, 1988

With respect,
Vyacheslav Chornovil, editor of *The Ukrainian Herald*
organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATION BLOCKED IN LITHUANIA

Tens of thousands were prevented from attending a demonstration on July 12 in Vilnius' central city square, confirmed two sources in Lithuania, one of whom was detained by police.

In a telephone interview with the Lithuanian Information Center, Mr. Vytautas Bogušis, editor of the independent bulletin *Vytis*, said that Gediminas Square in the Lithuanian capital was surrounded by four police cordons. At least 1,000 people broke through police lines to mark Lenin's July 1920 recognition of Lithuanian independence and his renunciation of Soviet claims to Lithuania “for all time.”

The demonstration was organized by the Temperance Movement, a group whose work has been hindered on and off by Soviet officials until 1985 — the start of Gorbachev's campaign against alcoholism. The Movement has been active in Lithuania for 8 years.

Though not affiliated with the teetotalers group, Mr. Antanas Terleckas, a leading Lithuanian nationalist, nonetheless was arrested at home together with Mr. Vladimir Bogachev, a representative of the recently formed opposition party “Democratic Union” who was visiting from Moscow. They and three members of the Temperance Movement — Mr. Juozas Kančys, Mr. Vladas Šiuparis and Mr. Gediminas Jakubčionis — were detained at the Vilnius procurator's office for five hours. Kančys, who is the president of the Temperance Movement, was warned by city officials last week to cancel today's event.

Since the key organizers were under detention when the demonstration began at 6:30 pm, Vytautas Bogušis opened it, he said, by reading a proposed resolution about Lithuanian independence. “Freedom is never granted as a gift by one nation to another. Freedom is always won at the price of great sacrifices... We appeal to the

Supreme Soviet of the USSR to officially recognize the September 28, 1939 secret protocol between Hitler and Stalin as an act of aggression...”, he said. The 1939 nonaggression pact between Stalin and Hitler contained secret protocols, which consigned the Baltic States to the Soviet sphere of influence and led to the forcible incorporation of the Baltic states into the USSR. Bogušis said the crowd approved the resolution by acclamation and that it would be sent to the Supreme Soviet.

The crowd cheered Yuri Skubko of Moscow from the opposition party “Democratic Union” when he called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the occupied Baltic states and for a multi-party system, said Bogušis. And, as at previous unofficial demonstrations in Vilnius this year, buses with loudspeakers blaring loud music were stationed by the square to drown out the speeches, which lasted about an hour.

The demonstrators, some of them brandishing pre-1940 Lithuanian flags of yellow, green and scarlet at the rally site and in the streets surrounding the square, chanted “Gorbachev, Gorbachev — Shame on Stalin, Shame on Stalin” and “Lenin, Lenin.” When demonstrators carrying portraits of Gorbachev and Lenin were prevented from entering the square, they marched toward the Lenin monument for a flower-laying ceremony, where the militia also blocked their way. Some demonstrators responded to militia pressure by sitting down in the street. Groups of hundreds reportedly held separate demonstrations, while others made their way past the “Lietuva” tourist hotel singing the national anthem of independent Lithuania. Bogušis and Terleckas reported that in addition to militia, soldiers of the Ministry of Interior were also in the streets.

The Initiative Group to Support Perestroika, a group of intellectuals and party members, staged a demonstration on Saturday, July 9 in Vilnius, which, by official count, was attended by 100,000. The Initiative Group refused to extend its support to the July 12 unofficial demonstration, considering it too radical.

Lithuanian Information Center, July 12, 1988

COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF PETRAS GRAŽULIS

“On February 2 of this year, in Kapsukas city court, 29-year old Lithuanian rights activist Petras Gražulis was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment. The reason for his arrest: Gražulis refused to complete military exercises in protest against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church and the war in Afghanistan. The Pravieniškės labor camp administration, led by colonels Arlauskas and Gruodis, began to harass the young prisoner of conscience. He was placed in solitary confinement, assigned to a homosexual brigade, and when Gražulis began a protest hunger strike, he was given a second term in solitary confinement. The inhuman actions of the prison camp have endangered the life of Petras Gražulis. Realizing the gravity of the situation and fearing that he faces the same fate as those who have died in Soviet prisons — A. Marchenko, V. Stus, O. Tykhyj and J. Kukkk, we the undersigned establish the Committee in Defense of Petras Gražulis. It will regularly report on the status of this prisoner of conscience, appeal to appropriate international agencies and the mass media for his release, and organize campaigns on his behalf. We urge all who hold dear Christ’s name, truth, and freedom of conscience, to support us. Only the active solidarity of people of good will can save an innocent person’s life. We demand an alternative option of service for those young adults, who refuse compulsory military service on grounds of conscience. Freedom for Petras Gražulis.

June 24, 1988, Fr. K. Gražulis, R. Grigas, A. Ogorodnikov, N. Sadunaite, V. Senderov

National Self-Determination Featured Highly In 1988 Captive Nations Week Proclamation

Hoisting the banner of support for national self-determination over his administration, President Reagan presided over the 30th observance of Captive Nations Week and declared that “the yearning for national independence has not been extinguished by the totalitarian state. And the tide of history has been revealed to all mankind to be a rising tide of freedom and national liberation.”

In his opening remarks, Reagan, with Vice-President Bush at his side, reiterated that America has never forgotten the plight of the captive nations and emphasized that the United States will continue to support their aspirations for freedom.

“I want to say to the men and women within the captive nations who labor for truth and freedom that the American people hear you as well. We follow your struggle, we see your writings, we remember you in our prayers, we watch what happens to you,” the President said. “Your struggle is our struggle; your dream is our dream. And one day you will be free.”

About 220 representatives of many ethnic groups, as well as several elected officials, braved the blistering July heat to attend the Rose Garden ceremony.

President Reagan was joined in signing the Captive Nations Week proclamation by several political leaders, among them Sen. Robert Dole, Rep. Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.), Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif.) and Herbert Rickman, special assistant to Mayor Ed Koch of New York City.

The righteousness of national self-determination assumed a primary position in the President’s opening remarks, though he didn’t specify from whom or what the captive nations are seeking their independence. Reagan, in his introductory remarks, generally referred to the oppressor as being the communist system. He scorned the totalitarian nature of communism by quoting Lenin’s comment that “the interests of socialism are above the right of nations to self-determination.”

However, Reagan contrasted this legacy with a letter he received from Pavlo Skochok, in which the Ukrainian said, “We can hardly envisage the struggle for human rights without a struggle for the national rights of nations. And as today, so in the future, the freedom of nations is one of the main guarantees for human rights — we are convinced that true history is not written on paper but in the hearts of people, and the good Lord reads these.”

The President believes that today the captive nations have the best opportunity to assert their demand for independence. Saying that the “tide has turned,” Reagan indicated, “despite decades of suffering, the will to freedom is alive, it has survived its tormentors, it will outlast the communists.”

Emphasizing that the communist idea is discredited and new progressive forces are surfacing, the President added, “I can think of no time in my adult life when the prospects for freedom were brighter than they are today. The free world is strong and confident.”

Proof of what Reagan described as “hopeful signs” in the Soviet bloc, was a comment by a Soviet official who said that the Brezhnev doctrine is “completely unac-

ceptable and unthinkable.” While these are “encouraging words,” the President challenged Moscow to strengthen by tearing down the Berlin Wall.

According to this year’s presidential proclamation, “During Captive Nations Week, we honor the courage, faith and aspirations of the millions of people the world over who suffer under Soviet domination. They desire, seek, and deserve, as the common heritage of humanity, the liberty, justice, self-determination and independence we Americans and all free peoples cherish.”

During Captive Nations Week, the proclamation also noted, Americans, “pause to express our solidarity with those who strive at great personal risk and sacrifice to win justice for their nations.” Among the freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for liberty, the President listed in the proclamation Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus. Reagan also mentioned the plight of Lev Lukyanenko, who remains in internal exile.

In addition to paying tribute to those nations that are fighting for their independence, President Reagan placed a great deal of responsibility for their success on the United States. He indicated that if America stops “striving for the freedom of other nations,” American freedom would be questioned.

“America will continue to encourage the movement toward freedom, democracy, and reform by holding firm to our principles and speaking openly and truthfully about human rights and the fundamental moral difference between freedom and communism. And America shall light the path as the whole world climbs out of the dark abyss of tyranny to freedom,” Reagan declared.

And in the Captive Nations Week proclamation itself, the President stated, “We continue to stand ready to cooperate in meeting the just aspirations of the oppressed and needy of the world. We will remain forever steadfast in our commitment to speak out for those who cannot, to seek justice for those to whom it is denied, and to assist freedom-seeking peoples everywhere.”

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1988

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

During Captive Nations Week, we honor the courage, faith and aspirations of the millions of people the world over who suffer under Soviet domination. They desire, seek, and deserve, as the common heritage of humanity, the liberty, justice, self-determination, and independence we Americans and all free peoples cherish. The citizens of the captive nations daily hear the mighty call of freedom and answer it boldly, sending an echo around the globe to remind totalitarians and all mankind that their voices cannot be quelled — because they are the voices of the human spirit.

Across the continents and seas, the cry for freedom rings out and the struggle for its blessings continues, in the republics of the Soviet Union, in the Baltic States and throughout Eastern Europe, in Cuba and Nicaragua, in Ethiopia and Angola, and in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. It also continues in Afghanistan, despite initial Soviet withdrawal, because the Najibullah regime imposes its will upon the Afghan people. We in America, who have held high the torch of liberty for two centuries and more, pause during Captive Nations Week to express our solidarity with those who strive at great personal risk and sacrifice to win justice for their nations. We commemorate as

well the many freedom fighters and individuals such as Polish Father Jerzy Popieluszko and Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus who have given their lives in the imperishable cause of liberty. We cannot and will not shirk our duty and responsibility to insist on the speediest end to subjugation, persecution, and discrimination in the captive nations. We repeat our call for all governments to respect and honor the letter and the spirit of the United Nations and the Helsinki Accords.

Last year's Captive Nations Week Proclamation mentioned four people in the Soviet Union imprisoned for their struggle for national rights. Now, one year later, two of them, both Helsinki human rights monitors, remain in internal exile — Viktoras Petkus, a Lithuanian, and Lev Lukyanenko, a Ukrainian. Another Helsinki monitor Mart Niklus, an Estonian, is still in a labor camp. The last, Gunars Astra, Latvia's highly respected national rights activist, was released in poor health earlier this year after 19 years in Soviet labor camps. He died several months ago at 56 years of age.

America is keenly aware of, and will continue to encourage, the great tide of democratic ideas that now sweeps the globe. We cannot forget decades of tragedy, the tens of millions of lives lost, or the enormity of the suffering inflicted on the innocent. We applaud the courage and faith that have sustained countless people and kept alive the dream of freedom against unthinkable odds. Despite starvation, torture, and murder, the indomitable human spirit will outlast all oppression. We continue to stand ready to cooperate in meeting the just aspirations of the oppressed and needy of the world. We will remain forever steadfast in our commitment to speak out for those who cannot, to seek justice for those to whom it is denied, and to assist freedom-seeking peoples everywhere.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week".

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim this week beginning July 17, 1988, as Captive Nations Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their devotion to the aspirations of all peoples for justice, self-determination and liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirteenth.

RONALD REAGAN

Reagan Welcomes Ukrainian Ruban At Captive Nations Week Program

This year's 30th observance of Captive Nations Week at the White House on July 13 took on added significance with the presence at the ceremony of Ukrainian political prisoner Petro Ruban, who arrived here the previous day. According to a White House aide, the administration has been working for Ruban's release for more than a year. His arrival at this time, however, was called unexpected.

Welcoming Ruban to the United States, President Reagan, in his opening remarks, recalled that at last year's Captive Nations Week program he spoke of this Ukrainian national rights activist. The President said:

“In 1976, the Ukrainian Helsinki monitor fashioned a wooden replica of our Statue of Liberty, to be a gift to America on our Bicentennial, and for that he was taken away. Later he was arrested again for criticizing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — and for demanding that his son, who was crippled in an accident, be permitted to come to America for medical treatment.”

Moscow authorities allowed his son, Marko, to emigrate to the United States last January for such treatment. The youngster was accompanied by his mother, sister and grandmother.

Reagan continued, “When Marko got off the plane, his first words in his new country were, ‘I want to be able to stand on my own two feet.’ In his hands he held something that he had labored on during the long plane trip from the Soviet Union. The boy whose father had been imprisoned for making the Statue of Liberty had embroidered Lady Liberty onto his towel.”

Speaking with *The National Tribune's* correspondent (the *Ukrainian Echo's* correspondent), Ruban briefly described the devastating wave of Russification that has engulfed Ukraine.

“In Ukraine, we, Ukrainians, are foreigners. Russification is rampant and glasnost is not relieving it. The people fear and loathe the regime,” Ruban said.

Among his requests of the Ukrainian diaspora, Ruban asked, “The only thing that we in Ukraine would want is a complete consolidation of Ukrainian political strengths. We also request support for Ukrainian political prisoners and your efforts to have them freed.

NEW ARRESTS OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC ACTIVISTS

A prominent Ukrainian Catholic activist, Yuriy Rudenko, 42, was arrested on August 8 in the Western Ukrainian town of Kalush. He was charged with violating laws banning religious activities. A representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Moscow told Western press agencies that Yuriy Rudenko had attended church services, but had not organized them. Another prominent Ukrainian Catholic activist, Father Mykhailo Havryliv, 39 was also arrested on August 13, in the city of Lviv as he stepped off a train from the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. No one has heard from Havryliv since his arrest. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forcibly merged with the Russian Orthodox Church by Stalin in 1946. From then on it has existed in the catacombs. Pope John Paul II has called on Moscow to recognize the Ukrainian Catholic Church and allow its members full freedom of worship.

Ivan Hel, a Ukrainian Catholic activist has told Western press agencies that there has been an increase in police activity against Ukrainian Catholic Church practices recently. In a telephone interview from Lviv on August 9, he said that police had broken up services and warned church groups that they face fines if they hold unauthorized meetings.

The official Soviet human rights commission has asked the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for an amnesty for people imprisoned under some laws governing religious activities.

Yuriy Rudenko is the son of former political prisoner, the Ukrainian writer and philosopher, the founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko, who left the USSR a year ago and is now living in the United States.

THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE

March 24, 1988

Warm greetings to Byelorussian Americans and to everyone marking the 70th anniversary of Byelorussian Independence. This observance salutes the determination of the people of Byelorussia to live in freedom and independence. It also pays tribute to the proud and ancient heritage you do so much to perpetuate.

I join you in commemorating the heroism of Byelorussia in the face of war and oppression through the years. The Soviets continue to persecute those who speak in defense of their religion, language, history, culture and God-given human rights.

Brave and eloquent voices still attest to Byelorussia's unconquerable spirit; I look with you to the day when the people of Byelorussia will again be free to realize their national aspirations.

God bless you, and God bless Byelorussia.

Ronald Reagan

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Byelorussian Independence Day, I would like to extend my warmest greetings to all of you. The Proclamation of Byelorussian Independence still expresses the hopes and aspirations of Byelorussians everywhere and until Byelorussian independence is restored, March 25 shall always serve as a reminder of freedoms that were taken away.

The Soviets continue to deny Byelorussians the most fundamental rights of political, cultural and religious freedom. During a time in history when other nations are rapidly joining the world community as independent democracies, Byelorussia and other Soviet occupied nations still live under a harsh totalitarian system.

This day reminds Byelorussians and non-Byelorussians alike that the yearning for freedom has not diminished. Byelorussia is not forgotten. We know of her plight and offer support to her people in their struggle.

On behalf of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, I offer our fervent commitment to the principles for which all Byelorussians stand and we join you in solidarity with the Byelorussian people in their quest for liberty and national independence. With best regards,

Anna C. Chennault

Chairman, National Republican Heritage Groups Council

MEMORANDUM OF THE BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

**His Excellency Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York, N. Y.**

Your Excellency:

The elevation of Mikhail Gorbachev to the leader of the USSR some two years ago originated expectations in the Free World for changes in the direction of liberalization of the existing despotic system in the USSR. Currently promoted slogans of "glasnost"

— publicity, freedom of expression, and “perestroika” — rebuilding, changes in economy, are evoking various assumptions and hopes for changes to more human conditions within the USSR, and also more civilized relations with the outside world. Diplomatic promotion of some nuclear disarmament between the USSR and USA is also raising hopes for a more peaceful and cooperative attitude of the new Kremlin leadership.

However, a closer examination of the present activities of the USSR leadership is presenting a different picture. It is notable that even a discussion is not proposed by Gorbachev with respect to the basic oppressive conditions existing in the USSR, such as: a) totalitarian state structure of the USSR; b) exclusive omnipotent communist party rule; c) government rule of the entire economy of the country; d) colonial status of the non-Russian nations subjugated by the USSR; e) Russification of those nations by destruction of their distinctive national entity by deliberately transforming them into Soviet Russians; f) domination of the Central European “satellite” countries; g) continuing USSR expansionism in the Free World — occupation and bloody pacification of Afghanistan; support and leadership of communist activities in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia, Yemen, etc.

The activities connected with the slogans “glasnost” and “perestroika” are intended for improvement in Soviet society and economy, and for strengthening the expansionist forces and aggressive capabilities of the USSR. The medium-range nuclear rocket disarmaments are planned by Gorbachev with the intention of weakening the defensive capabilities of Western Europe against the USSR. Instead of medium-range nuclear rockets, Russians will direct long-range nuclear rockets from behind the Ural Mountains against Western Europe, retaining the same military supremacy in this area.

The celebration by the Kremlin Government on November 7, 1987 of the 70th anniversary of power seizure by the Bolsheviks in the Russian Empire was completely identical with the celebrations in the previous years. Of course, the Kremlin rulers are proud that the Soviet Russian colonial empire has presently the largest territorial extension of all times in Russian history. It oppresses, exploits, and dominates over 130 nations, nationalities and ethnic groups. Its military capacity and might is built to such magnitude that the entire Free World, except the USA, is vulnerable to its aggression. The Soviet Russian rulers are envisioning the approach of their world domination.

Consolidation of all forces and unification of enslaved non-Russian nations into one single Soviet Russian people is being done with deliberate pressure and is progressing constantly. To achieve this goal, many-sided methods are used. Byelorussia represents an example of this process. To weaken the Byelorussian national substratum, the country is partitioned among its neighbors. About a third of Byelorussian ethnographic territory, with the cities of Smolensk, Bransk, Vyalikya Luki, and others, is annexed to the Russian SFSR. Parts of Byelorussian lands are attached to Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. The Byelorussian SSR, organized by the Kremlin Government on the rest of Byelorussian territory is completely subordinated to the Moscow Government. It is colonized, ruled, and exploited by Russians. The Russian language is enforced in the entire life of the country. Use of the Byelorussian language is dangerous in Byelorussia, due to an easy accusation as Byelorussian bourgeois nationalism. At this time of Gorbachev’s rule, the Byelorussian writers are expressing cautiously and fearfully a wish for reintroduction of the Byelorussian

language in public life in Byelorussia. However, the Russian administrative apparatus in BSSR is ignoring this desire. The few remaining monuments of old Byelorussian architecture, especially churches, are constantly remodeled and used for husbandry purposes. They are destroyed as monuments of the distinctive Byelorussian architecture. Instead, Byelorussia is covered with buildings designed in Moscow and Leningrad in all-Russian character, thereby unifying Byelorussia with Russia.

There is no change in the governmental economy of the country. The misery suffered by the population during the past 70 years of Moscow rule in Byelorussia is continuing.

The permanent Soviet Russian terror against Byelorussian people is not diminishing during Gorbachev's leadership. In the city of Vitebsk, BSSR, a public court show recently took place. The defendants were V. Barshchevski and F. Katovich, Byelorussian workers. They were accused that some 45 years ago, when they were illiterate peasant boys, they committed untold crimes against the Soviet country — mass shootings and torturing of Soviet people, burning them alive in special cars, taking Soviet people to slavery into Germany. Not far from the village of Trastsianets, near Minsk, there are 34 long common graves of murdered people. In the area of Blahaushchyna, there are known to be some 150,000 victims of terror. Those victims are also tied to the defendants. It is obvious that crimes of such character and magnitude could be committed by German Gauleiters or by NKVD only. But the prosecutor omitted to tell the truth, that those boys were fighting against Soviet Russian guerrillas in Byelorussia. Prosecutor Tarnavski publicly accused those Byelorussians of uncommitted crimes, Judge Dashuk passed the verdict of capital punishment, and the victims were murdered. This "justice" of Gorbachev's time is similar to the "justice" of Stalin's time. Comrades of Lenin — Rykov, Bukharyn, Kamenev, Zinovyev, Tukhachevski and many others, were charged by the infamous prosecutor Vyshynski with fabricated accusations that they were spies for a foreign country and subsequently they were executed in 1937.

This terrorist action, annihilating Byelorussians working for national independence, is going on constantly. During 70 years of Kremlin rule, over 6 million people were liquidated in Byelorussia.

The falsification of history in Gorbachev's time is going on as previously. The Patriarch of Moscow, obviously on demand of the Kremlin, is preparing for the 1988 celebration in Moscow of the Millennium of Christianity in Russia. However, 1000 years ago, the city of Moscow and the Russian state did not exist. In 988, Christianity was adopted by the principality of Kyivan Rus, the present Ukraine, and subsequently by the principalities of Polatsk, Turau, and Smalensk, presently ethnographic Byelorussia. Usurpation by the Russian nation of Ukrainian and Byelorussian historical events is nothing else than plain falsification.

Propaganda tactics and the cosmetic actions of Gorbachev are not changing the established imperialist policies of the USSR government. As long as the Soviet Russian empire will remain intact, it will be the source of international tensions, aggression and terror for the Free World. To avoid this situation, the USSR must be decolonized, the Captive Nations must be liberated and their independent states must be restored on their ethnographic territories. The Russian state, limited to its ethnographic territory, will not be able to conduct the expansion of present proportions.

Very respectfully yours,

Michael Sienko, Secretary

John Kosiak, President

SLOVAKIAN APPEAL TO THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, DR. HELMUT KOHL

The movement for the Independence of Slovakia (HNS) addressed an open letter to the German Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl, before his meeting in Prague with President Dr. Gustav Husák, a Slovakian.

Among Husák's "violations against human rights" the letter especially points out that in Slovakia out of 7 dioceses, 3 bishoprics have been vacant for 26 years and two dioceses for 38 years. Also, the archbishopric of Trnava (Tyrnau), which was established in 1977 as a Slovakian metropolis, has so far not received a regular archbishop, because Husák has refused the proposals of the Vatican, and has therefore violated the Church law.

Out of the 6 existing dioceses in Czechia, only the archbishopric of Prague is occupied. Dr. Husák and his government are directly responsible for this "anomaly and disharmony in the relations between state and church".

Finally, the letter urges the German Government to similarly and rightly defend the right to self-determination for Palestinians, Namibians and Afghans, and to stand up for the 5.5 million Slovaks in Central Europe.

SLOVAKS DEMONSTRATE IN BONN

On March 19, 1988, the National Council for the Liberation of Slovakia organized a demonstration of Slovaks before the Czecho-Slovakian embassy in Bonn, West Germany. The demonstrators were protesting the annexation of Slovakia in 1945 into communist Czecho-Slovakia with the help of the Red Army. The Slovak National Council issued a statement on this occasion deploring the fact that the western media completely disregards this forceful annexation, although it rightfully condemns the annexation of Austria into the German Reich 50 years ago.

However, since 1955 Austria has been an independent republic with full sovereign rights. But there are still many countries which were forcefully incorporated 43 or even 70 years ago either into the Soviet Union, such as the Baltic States, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, and others, or countries such as Slovakia, incorporated into Czecho-Slovakia in 1945.

It is also a historical fact that Slovakia became a sovereign state on March 14, 1939 and was diplomatically recognized not only by Berlin, but also by Bern, Rome, Helsinki and Moscow.

The statement further reads: "This spring, 43 years have passed since Slovakia was annexed and since self-determination of the Slovaks has ceased to exist... In Bonn, Vienna and in other political centres, the unsolved question of Palestine is being deplored, they expect a quick solution in Afghanistan, but tragically enough there is no mention of either the annexation of Slovakia, the Baltic States, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia...

"Therefore, we demand the foreign occupational forces to be withdrawn and leave Slovakia to the Slovaks. The Slovaks only wish to realize their right of self-determination, they want their own democratic state as, for example, the Swiss or the Austrians, and to become a member of the free states of Europe."

51 CONGRESSMEN CRITICIZE ABUSE OF SOVIET MILITARY RESERVE DUTY TO PUNISH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

Fifty one Congressmen sent a letter on April 14 to the top military prosecutor in the USSR, protesting the imprisonment of a Lithuanian religious and national rights activist who refused to report for military reserve service and asking him "to investigate the abuse of military reserve duty as a method of political repression."

In a letter to Military Procurator Boris S. Popov, the legislators said they believed that the sentencing of 29-year old Petras Gražulis to a 10-month term in ordinary regime camp was the result of a scheme to punish the church employee for his religious and political activities, and called for his release.

According to the Congressmen, "the Gražulis case fits into a disturbing pattern of punishing political dissidents with military reserve duty or prison for refusing such duty." As evidence, the authors of the letter referred to the recent cases of three Latvians and one Estonian who were either ordered into the military or told to report to military authorities in the wake of their involvement in human rights activities.

The letter to Popov details the circumstances surrounding Gražulis' arrest. He was told to appear before the local military commissar's office last November 18, the day on which he planned to be in Riga, Latvia, participating in a peaceful demonstration to mark the anniversary of Latvia's pre-Soviet independence period. Gražulis chose to go to Riga. Following his return to Lithuania, he was called up for three months of reserve duty. He responded with an open letter to Soviet Defense Minister Dmitry Yazov which pointed to the government's persecution of the Roman Catholic Church community and the Soviet Army's occupation of Lithuania as the reasons why he would not heed the call to report for service.

Gražulis was convicted by a court in Kapsukas, Lithuania, on February 2. According to eyewitness accounts, he was beaten in the courtroom for attempting to announce a hunger strike. Outside the courtroom, militia with police dogs charged an estimated 200 supporters of Gražulis, detaining 10 on charges of "hooliganism". In their letter, the Congressmen expressed concern that the violence against Gražulis in the courtroom might carry over into his treatment in labor camp.

The use of military reserve duty to punish national and human rights activists is a tactic which, though not unique to the Gorbachev regime, has come to be used with increasing frequency, reports the Lithuanian Information Center. The Soviet press in Lithuania recently acknowledged that military reserve duty has been abused in the past by the Soviet leaders for political reasons. In a March 5, 1988, interview with the Lithuanian Communist youth daily *Komjaunimo tiesa*, a government prosecutor recalled how two government officials investigating a bribery case were called up for reserve duty in the Far East shortly after the case was closed.

The Gražulis trial attracted considerable attention because it was one of the few political trials initiated during the period of glasnost. The U.S. Catholic Conference sent an appeal to the Soviet Procurator General Aleksandr Rekunkov in early February, asking that Gražulis' case be reconsidered. At the same time, Amnesty International launched an "Urgent Action" letter-writing campaign on behalf of the Lithuanian.

At a Capitol Hill press conference yesterday, called to voice support for a recent U.N. report on religious intolerance, Congressman John Miller referred to the Gražulis trial as evidence that, despite glasnost, "there is not that much difference on the ground" regarding Soviet government policy toward human rights activists.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Part 2, Continued from ABN Correspondence No. 2.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL

Torture

Torture has been defined by the United Nations General Assembly (G.A. Res. 3452) as "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or at the instigation of a public official on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or confession... Torture constitutes an aggravated and deliberate form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Article 4 (2) of the ICCPR specifically precludes any derogation from Article 7, even in time of war or other public emergency. Afghanistan acceded to the ICCPR in 1983 and the USSR ratified the treaty in 1973. Afghanistan also signed on February 4, 1985, the United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment which has recently entered into force. The prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment is absolute.

Torture is prohibited under Article 30 of the Fundamental Principles (the provisional constitution), and is punishable under Article 275 of the penal code, of Afghanistan and is also contrary to Article 3 of the Afghan law on the Implementation of Sentences in Prisons (1982).

The Human Rights Committee, in its General Comment on Article 7 of the ICCPR noted "that it is not sufficient for the implementation of this article to prohibit such treatment or punishment or to make it a crime. Most states have penal provisions which are applicable to cases of torture or similar practices. Because such cases nevertheless occur, it follows from Article 7, read together with Article 2 of the Covenant, that states must ensure an effective protection through some machinery of control. Complaints about ill-treatment must be investigated effectively by competent authorities. Those found guilty must be held responsible, and the alleged victims must themselves have effective remedies at their disposal, including the right to obtain compensation."

In July 1985, during the consideration of Afghanistan's initial report under Article 40 of the ICCPR by the Human Rights Committee, reference was made to the allegations of torture cited in the February 1985 report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan. The Afghan representative stated that the information in the report was "totally fallacious" but gave no information to indicate that the allegations had been investigated or that effective action had been taken against those responsible.

It has been alleged that Afghans captured by the KHAD (Khedamat-e-Etelâ at-e Dawlati, i.e. State Information Services) are routinely tortured, particularly at KHAD bases in Kabul. Soviet advisers are allegedly often present, either in the same room or in an adjacent room. In addition, there have been reports of Soviets torturing Afghan prisoners. The conditions in Pul-e-charkhi prison are claimed to be both inhuman and degrading.

The Independent Counsel received the testimony of over forty alleged torture victims. Most had been captured in their homes. In most cases, the KHAD were seeking a specific individual but some were arrested as part of a general roundup of villagers. Only one person interviewed was detained immediately following a military operation. Those arrested outside Kabul were usually taken initially to the KHAD center in the nearest city before being transferred to Kabul. Torture is reported from such centers as Jalalabad and Qandahar. Some prisoners were sent straight to Kabul. The most common pattern is for people to be taken to the KHAD headquarters at Shashdarak for initial interrogation, then being transferred to the central interrogation office at Saddarat, where the interrogation may extend over a few months. Torture is reported at both these centers and also at other KHAD offices in Kabul (e.g., "No. 5") and at Khad-e Nezami, the military intelligence wing of KHAD.

The alleged torture was sometimes accompanied by interrogation and in other cases occurred between periods of questioning. The information sought included links with the mujahideen and details of foreign involvement in the conflict.

A common pattern emerged from the testimonies. Torture begins with a "softening up" process, consisting of beating (with wire cables and/or sticks) and kicking. Several witnesses stated that they had lost teeth and in some cases one or more of their nose, ribs or fingers were broken. One person reported having his hands crushed under a table leg. Torture then escalates. Several people reported having been subjected to electric shock treatment, in some cases to the point of unconsciousness. One witness reported having to sit in a chair in a small room and being forced to put his hands on the arms of the chair, through which he received a shock of such strength as to throw him out of the chair. More commonly, an instrument resembling a telephone with a handle was used. Wires from the machine were attached to the prisoners' fingers and/or toes and the handle was turned to produce the electric shock. In some cases the wires were attached to the prisoner's tongue, testicles or penis. Another technique involves wires from sockets in the walls being attached to the prisoner. The electric shocks were usually administered from two to five times a day for around twenty minutes at a time. This continued from a few days to a few months. Torture by electric shock was most commonly reported from Shashdarak and Saddarat but was also occasionally reported from other locations.

Some witnesses reported that doctors were present whilst they were tortured. Their function appeared to be to say when torture could take place and when it had to stop on account of the condition of the prisoner. The torture was usually administered by Afghans. In one case, the witness reported that Doctor Najibullah, then head of the KHAD and now leader of the Afghan Communist Party, came eight times to watch. In many cases, witnesses reported that Soviet "advisers" were in an adjacent room whilst the torture and interrogation took place. They knew they were Soviets by their language and appearance. They gave instructions to the interrogators. In some cases the "advisers" were present in the room during interrogation or torture, or both. The witness captured after a military engagement was allegedly interrogated and tortured at the 37th Division of Afghan troops in Kabul by Afghans during the day and Soviets at night. One of the Soviets was a Tadjik and spoke a little Farsi. The other was a Russian. The prisoner was kicked, beaten, subject to electric shock treatment and mock executions.

CONCLUSIONS ON TORTURE

There are inherent difficulties in the proof of allegations of torture. The Human Rights Committee has said that where specific allegations of torture and ill treatment are made and the respondent government merely dismisses them as “totally fallacious” (as did the Afghan government) giving no specific response or any indication that it has even investigated them “the Committee cannot but draw appropriate conclusions on the basis of the information before it.” The evidence given to the Independent Counsel strongly suggests a systematic practice of torture carried out by members of the KHAD in the presence sometimes of doctors and of Soviets. In addition, evidence was received in one case of torture by Soviet officials. Using the Human Rights Committee’s standard of proof, the delegation concludes that Afghans who are detained are routinely subjected to torture during interrogation.

TARGETING OF CIVILIANS

It has been alleged that civilians have been both the victims of indiscriminate attacks and also purposefully targeted. In some instances, it has been claimed that the latter has been by way of reprisal. Women and children, entitled to special protection under humanitarian law, have allegedly been the object of attack.

INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS

It has been claimed that attacks have been launched against targets such as villages which make it impossible to distinguish between military and civilian objectives and that weapons have been used which are either indiscriminate by nature or have been used in an indiscriminate fashion.

One of the fundamental rules of the laws of war is the principle of distinction. Combatants are obliged to distinguish between civilians and combatants. Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions also requires that “persons taking no active part in the hostilities... shall in all circumstances be treated humanely”. Furthermore, Article 6 (1) to which no derogation is permitted under Article 4 (2), provides that “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life”. Deaths resulting from *indiscriminate* attacks in breach of the laws of war would appear, from the very nature of the attacks, to represent an arbitrary deprivation of life.

As discussed in another section of this report, the use of aerially dispersed mines is widespread in Afghanistan. Carpet bombing frequently occurs and the Independent Counsel received numerous testimonies that prolonged bombardment of villages for from 3 hours to 5 days invariably precedes a ground attack by Soviet troops.

The evidence received by the Independent Counsel confirms that in the Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights (A/41/778), who reported that “the action taken against the opposition movements and civilian population has been intensified since last year... The bombardment of villages, attacks on convoys of civilians heading for Pakistan in search of refuge and regular house searches make it impossible for the civilian population to lead a normal life.” (para. 37) In the annex to that document, at para. 28, the Special Rapporteur lists typical examples of indiscriminate attacks resulting in high civilian casualties. The Independent Counsel received evidence that such attacks had continued even after the announcement of “National Reconciliation” by the Government of Afghanistan in January 1987.

PURPOSEFUL TARGETING OF CIVILIANS

It is claimed that civilians have been the target of attacks. Such attacks must be distinguished from those which occur during hostilities between combatants or against military objectives. In this context, it is alleged that troops in a position to distinguish between mujahideen and civilians, including women and children.

The evidence presented to the Independent Counsel suggests that there are three distinct situations in which groups of civilians find themselves the object of attack. The first seems directed to the depopulation of areas of strategic value. The second involves the killing of individual civilians as part of a general attack on the civilian population of a village. The third situation is that of attacks on individual civilians, such as village elders or religious leaders, usually as a form of punishment or warning.

Heavy bombardment of frontier regions close to Pakistan, Iran and the Soviet border appears designed to prevent civilians, including the injured, from seeking refuge outside Afghanistan, as well as to protect borders from infiltration. For example, the Independent Counsel received evidence of the flattening of a village in Kunduz Province by bombardment in order to clear the area and establish a Soviet post. The village was bombed and then surrounded at night by a mixed force consisting principally of Soviet troops who attacked the next day. Many persons were killed in the bombardment and more were killed in the land-based attack. The crops were burned, livestock killed and most of the houses destroyed. This pattern is repeated in many border areas. Similarly, a 3 kilometer-wide band has apparently been cleared along the Salang Highway to protect the movement of troops and equipment from the Soviet Union to Kabul. The attacks appear designed to clear the areas in question of all persons, including civilians.

In addition to these strategic attacks, the Independent Counsel heard much credible testimony that villages with no connection to the resistance were attacked. In fact, a number of witnesses claimed that attacks were launched against villages in which there were no mujahideen, the fighters being based in the countryside away from settlements precisely in order to spare civilians from attack.

Frequently, individual civilians are chosen for execution by Soviet troops upon their occupation of a village. In certain circumstances, persons are killed in retaliation for a mujahideen operation nearby, especially if there have been Soviet casualties, or because they are related to a suspected mujahideen. Just as frequently, village elders or religious leaders are rounded up and killed. Although in most cases these persons are shot, one popular technique appears to be to burn village leaders alive, with the Independent Counsel receiving a number of reports of persons being thrown while alive into a room filled with burning wood.

ATTACKS ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The situation of women in Afghanistan deserves special note. It has been alleged that Afghan women have been raped by Soviet soldiers. There are more than the usual difficulties in investigating such claims in Afghanistan. It is not merely that Afghan women do not want to talk about such attacks, but that there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of Afghan men who feel shamed by their inability to protect their women. Evidence which corroborates this abhorrence of rape throughout Afghan society and which helps to explain why allegations are made against Soviet and not DRA troops, came from one eyewitness to an attack on a village in Jowzjan Province by mixed So-

viet-DRA forces in January 1987. Soviet soldiers were searching house to house for draft-age men. A twelve year old girl who ran away was caught by a Soviet soldier who started dragging her screaming to a tank. A DRA soldier shot and killed the girl while she was in the hands of the Soviet soldier. The witness was adamant that the Afghan was not trying to shoot the Soviet soldier, no least because there were many more Soviet than Afghan soldiers.

In addition to rape, the Independent Counsel occasionally heard testimony of other types of attacks on women. One particularly startling report was given by a former Afghan Air Force pilot. A fellow officer's wife had been found praying. Her husband was on duty at the time. The following morning the pilots were called together and given a political lecture and told that their families should not be praying. The breasts of the pilot's wife were then dropped in front of him in a plastic bag.

Certain weapons which are of an indiscriminate nature appear to be particularly designed to injure children. In this category fall the various "toy bombs" and attractive booby-traps which are discussed in greater detail in a subsequent section of this report. The hospitals and streets of Peshawar and Quetta are filled with Afghan children who have lost limbs to these deadly "toys".

CONCLUSIONS ON TARGETING CIVILIANS

In a conflict being fought within one state where the non-government forces are suspected of having the support of the civilian population, it may well be difficult to distinguish between military and civilian objectives. Based upon their investigations, however, the Independent Counsel seriously question whether *any* attempt is being made to distinguish between military and non-military targets by Soviet and DRA forces. On the basis of the evidence received by the Independent Counsel and confirmed in general terms by the reports of the United Nations Special Rapporteur, the Independent Counsel can state that civilians have been the victims of indiscriminate attacks and attacks by means of indiscriminate weapons in violations of the laws of war and international human rights law.

The evidence presented to the Independent Counsel further suggests the regular breach of each of the prohibitions of paragraphs 1 (a), (c) and (d) of Common Article 3 during the course of deliberate attacks on civilians. Under the Geneva Conventions, States are obliged to seek out and bring to trial alleged perpetrators of grave breaches of the Conventions and can be held responsible for the failure to do so. The State is certainly responsible for the acts of its armed forces when those acts recur in a consistent fashion over the course of time. The evidence that massacres of civilians by Soviet troops are a not infrequent occurrence in Afghanistan suggests at least the tolerance and quite possibly the encouragement of the state of affairs on the part of Soviet officers all the way up the chain of command.

(To be continued)

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR *ABN CORRESPONDENCE*

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Memorial service held for the victims of Stalinism in the Lychakivskyj cemetery in Lviv on June 23, 1988. Some 6,000 people participated in the service. Fathers Mykhailo Havryliv and Petro Zeleniukh conducted the service. Ivan Hel also participated in the service. The following day the two priests and Hel were summoned to the procurator's office and fined 50 rubles for participating in an unauthorized religious service.

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



200,000 demonstrate in Vilnius, Lithuania, on August 23, 1988 marking the 49th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which resulted in the Soviet Russian occupation of Lithuania.

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CHANGES IN MOSCOW

Despite denials by Gorbachev and several other Soviet politicians of the existence of any deep-rooted differing opinions within the Soviet leadership in their discussions on "restructuring", the sudden recent changes in Moscow, or more precisely, the re-shuffle in the Politburo and the Communist Party Central Committee, has evidenced that these differences have reached a deep conflict. There were even unfounded rumours that the opponents to Gorbachev's "restructuring" policy, headed by Yegor Ligachev, were making attempts to remove Gorbachev from power and this was why such a sudden and hasty meeting of the Central Committee was convened. Gorbachev emerged victorious and in one day alone (September 30) he managed to demote his deputy and leader of the conservative fraction, Ligachev, as well as re-shuffle several other possible candidates to the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee. Ligachev was transferred to the thankless post of overseeing the Soviet Union's troubled agricultural sector, and his job was taken over by Gorbachev's supporter, Vadim Medvedev. Andrei Gromyko stepped down just as fast, apparently due to old age, (or perhaps he was "removed"). A day after the Central Committee meeting, the Supreme Soviet hastily convened to approve the re-shuffle and Gorbachev was unanimously elected as head of the Supreme Soviet, or president of the USSR.

This whole hasty procedure has the classical character of peaceful "house revolutions", which have been practiced in the USSR since Khrushchev's times and clearly reflect the intrigues behind the scenes, which, in spite of glasnost and democratization, continue to be such an intrinsic part of the Soviet Russian system, where changes cannot occur on the basis of open political conflicts and struggle, but only within the framework of such a "socialist and totalitarian mafia". This is also a logical display of a single party system, or to be more exact this leadership, which has the last say in this system. It also decides on its own internal conflicts secretly in its own surroundings.

In spite of the current glasnost and democratic phraseology, the actual system and the internal procedure have not been far removed from the typical Soviet Russian tradition. This was clearly evidenced in the outcome of the last Central Committee plenum and Gorbachev's "election" as Soviet president during the meeting of the Supreme Soviet. First of all, everything proceeded in haste and was kept secret from the so-called Soviet citizenship, which was placed before a fait accompli, although Gorbachev has recently been indulging in words defending glasnost and democracy, as well as in the necessity to stir up the people and to restore to them a decisive role in matters of state. On the other hand, a classical Soviet "democracy" and a flock-like conformity flourished at both meetings. According to official Soviet reports, everything was voted on "unanimously". It seems that even those who had been "cleaned-up" voted "for". A contradiction of Gorbachev's democracy is the fact that he now has, just as Brezhnev had, two posts: he is president of the USSR and the General Secretary of the Communist Party. This, in spite of the fact that prior to his election as president Gorbachev had publicly spoken out on the necessity to separate state and party power.

There is no doubt that Gorbachev's strengthened position and the removal of the main opponents of restructuring can have a great influence on hastening various internal and external changes, planned by Gorbachev, in the main spheres of political, cultural and economic life. It is known that more has been spoken about "restructur-

ing” than concrete measures taken in that direction. The only noticeable positive effect of “restructuring” so far has been to some extent in cultural life, in more freedom of expression, which, however, is still being halted by opponents of “restructuring”.

There has been a notable increase in pressure in matters concerning national revival and the realization of demands granting full national rights to the non-Russian republics. A meeting of representatives of independent national movements (the Baltic States, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Crimean Tatars and Moldavia) recently took place in Riga, at which the representatives of these movements came to a unanimous decision, namely that not only are national demands not being realized and the process of Russification is not ceasing, but there exists an intensified terrorist pressure on independent national organizations and their leading representatives, energetic measures are being enforced to completely suppress any expressions of free will and speech. This concerns Ukraine in particular.

Now, after the removal of Gorbachev’s opponents, it seems that some basic changes in Soviet nationality policy will occur in the realization of at least the minimal demands, which have been put forward by writers, for example in Ukraine, and which have been met with a widespread and positive response. From Gorbachev’s fairly unclear statements during the meeting of the Supreme Soviet it seems that he is planning to “guarantee the rights of every nation to decide its own fate”. How this will look in practice, time will only tell. We should not forget that even in the new Kremlin leadership, Russians have the monopoly of power, except for a few lackeys like Shcherbytskyj (the Ukrainian Party leader), who retained his post, and Shevardnadze. If we take into account that the nationalities policy in the USSR to date has been conducted in the style of old Russian imperialism and that these “traditions” are deeply rooted in the Russian mentality, then it is doubtful whether the present Kremlin “liberals” have rid themselves of the imperialist approach to the non-Russian nations of the USSR.

It seems that Gorbachev wants to bring about his reforms not only with the help of the party, which is to remain the only political force, but also with the help of so-called popular fronts, mass organizations, in which non-party members should also have a decisive say. These popular fronts should “mobilize” the popular masses for the benefit of “restructuring”. Yet, only party members in these fronts will have the final say, which immediately reduces these organizations to a subordinate assenting role. Thus, Gorbachev does not resign from a “leading” role in the communist party and its monopolizing authority. How he expects to “democratize” the empire, by granting the nation and people more freedom, when in future everything is to be decided on by the party and its leadership — remains his “secret”. The practice of all dictatorships, disregarding the ideology used to cover them, reveals that no democracy is possible without political pluralism. In this respect, there will be an increasing worsening of internal conflicts.

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KILLED TWICE

(The KGB covers its traces...)

The material prepared by Anatoliy Shcherbatiuk, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Ukrainian Culturological Club which we propose to our readers and press organs, will not take much time and needs no commentaries. However, we want to note the diligence with which the Kyivan party apparatus and the KGB, even today in the time of restructuring, demonstrate their solidarity with their predecessors and spiritual brothers from the years of “the glorious Stalinist five-year plans” covering the traces of their horrible crimes.

Two days after the occupation of Kyiv by German forces, two women from the Kyivan village of Bykovnia took their cows to pasture, as they usually did. The solid green fence separating a large section of the pine forest from the pasture was no longer guarded by anyone, and the women dared to enter what until now, had been a “forbidden zone”. They were compelled by an old curiosity from 1937, the times of the first Stalinist “selections”, when every week, usually at night, undercover automobiles would arrive here, and the silence of the forest would be shattered by gunfire. A day before the arrival of the Nazis the inhabitants of Bykovnia saw an entire colonnade of weary, emaciated people herded into the forest behind the green fence — and the forest again resounded with gunfire.

Behind the fence the women saw a huge ravine, completely filled with partially decomposed corpses. The bodies on top had not yet begun to decompose, they were covered with some type of crystals, similar to salt, according to the women. Later, on the request of the village elder, a priest conducted a memorial service in the forest for those killed. The German commandant of the town of Brovari summoned witnesses from the village, and in their presence, the grave was covered with sand.

The war ended, years passed, the sand settled and was washed away by rain, and the living were once again reminded of those who were killed. Among the living a particular category of person appeared, the gold seekers who stalked the forest at night and secretly opened graves, looking for gold crowns. The gold fever reached its apogee in 1970. The authorities were forced to take measures, the location of former executions was surrounded by internal security troops. For more than a month no one was allowed in the forest. When the troops finally left, the local inhabitants saw numerous traces of excavation and a mound covered with sand and pine branches, surrounded by a fence. On May 20, 1970 an article appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina* informing that yet another mass grave of Soviet citizens brutally murdered by fascists had been discovered near the village of Bykovnia.

However, it turned out that the number of victims was much larger, tens, if not hundreds of thousands. After decades, the living were once again reminded of those who were killed. Human tibias, skulls and backbones once again began to emerge from the mound. In 1987 Mykola Hryhorovych Lysenko, a local villager, took several photographs of the mounds of bullet-pierced skulls, mixed with the remains of clothing and footwear. He wrote an accompanying letter and delivered the letter and the photographs to the writer Ivan Drach. Drach, together with S. Plachynda and B. Oliynyk came to the forest. According to Lysenko, the writers, upon seeing the thousands of skulls protruding from under the sand like eggs, gasped in horror. The writer

passed the materials collected by Lysenko on to the Department of Culture of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Their reaction was the same as the reaction of the authorities in the 1970s. In the autumn of 1987, internal troop divisions once again surrounded the place of execution. All through November, December, January, February and all of March the troops redug the sand, searched for bones and collected them in one common pit. This time the sand mound and the surrounding area were covered with black earth and sown with grass. The mound was surrounded with slabs of granite and a huge granite cube was erected, with "Eternal Memory" carved in the center in large letters. Beneath, in much smaller letters the following was added: "Six thousand twenty-nine Soviet soldiers, partisans, members of the underground and peaceful citizens, murdered by the fascist occupants in 1941-1943 are buried here".

On May 6, 1988 the opening of the monument took place. Functionaries from Kyiv brought wreaths to lay on the common graves, the ribbons bearing dedications: "To the Soviet patriots from the City Party Committee", "To the Soviet patriots from the Provincial Party Committee". Only lacking perhaps, was a wreath from "veteran Chekists"... The war veteran and writer Avtomonov delivered a speech, and already on May 12, *Literaturna Ukraina* announced the untimely death of the well-known writer and former hero-intelligence man, Paul Avtomonov. Perhaps his conscience suddenly killed him?

On July 16, 1988, members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club gathered beside the grave of the victims of Stalinist terror. Valentyn Maciash, a Ukrainian Culturological Club activist, born in 1949, grew up in the vicinity. His parents and grandparents were all from here. He told those present about his mother's recollections, who had lived some two kilometers from there. In the course of the four pre-war years, his mother heard gunfire resounding from the forest dozens of times. The place of execution was constantly and unchangingly watched by the same guards — Russians and Uzbeks. His mother recounted to Valentyn that among the last prisoners herded behind the green fence, there were many women and children. As for the partisans, they were never here. The elderly villagers associate the executions with the year 1937, however, they speak about the "green fence" reluctantly. Last year, KGB co-workers who were in the village showed great interest in those who were too talkative. KGB agents were also present at the gathering of the Ukrainian Culturological Club. They sat beside the grave and listened with all their might. The UCC gathering picked an initiative group of six persons whose purpose is to gather new evidence about the covered-up Stalinist crime from among the local inhabitants and to appeal to the government of the Ukrainian SSR, who purposely erred in the date and the naming of the responsible party for the tragedy which occurred near Bykovnia.

The members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club honored the memory of those killed with a moment of silence, and slowly began to walk out of the forest. The KGB men also got into their cars and began to leave. Today, they did not shoot in Bykovnia. A skull, unburied for some reason, lay on the side of the road.

In the words of Valentyn's mother, the people who were brought here last in 1941, were somehow special. Their exhausted faces bore the seal of spirituality. Perhaps there is a higher sense, insubordinate to bullets and time — the elite of a nation, its intelligentsia and intellectuals who were led to death along this dirty sand path, communicated a part of their vision to this simple village woman, and she in turn, shared it with her children and grandchildren.

Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union Press Release No. 14, Kyiv, 30.08.1988

THE DEAD DO NOT ALWAYS STAY BURIED

An article which appeared in the June 3, 1988 issue of *Litaratura i mastatstva*, the official organ of the Byelorussian Writers' Union, addresses the thousands, perhaps millions of Byelorussian dead who cannot be forgotten. Those dead are the bloody, cruel legacy of Stalin.

Zyanon Paznyak and Yavgen Shmygalev, two historians, along with a team of archeologists and others have spent much time investigating the mass graves at Kurapaty. The results of their work is the article which appeared in *Litaratura i mastatstva* entitled "Kurapaty — The Road Of Death".

Kurapaty is the Byelorussian word for an anemone, a flower which blooms in great abundance in the spring in that particular area, hence, the name Kurapaty. In 1957 a road was being laid through Kurapaty. During the digging, human skulls and bones were unearthed. Further excavation uncovered many common graves, so many, that they could not be counted.

In the 1970s Kurapaty became a popular recreation spot. Being close to Minsk, Byelorussia's capital, the resort attracted many visitors. There are many sinkholes in the earth at Kurapaty, places where the ground caved in over decomposing bodies. One day, children at play, pulled a human bone out of the ground, followed by a skull with a bullet hole through it. Although these human remains had been first uncovered in 1957, nothing had been done about the matter. However, in 1988 events took a different turn.

A group of archeologists from the History Institute of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences began an unofficial excavation on May 5. Upon opening up some of the common graves, they found them empty. It became clear that the perpetrators of this horrible deed had attempted to hide their crime. However, there were so many human remains that they could not remove all the bodies. According to an elderly witness, soldiers were sent to exhume the bodies and dispose of them somewhere else at the end of World War II. However, the soldiers did not dig deeper than two meters, and the common graves were much deeper, the dead had been buried in layers.

Excavation and research into these mass graves revealed several things. First, most of the graves were three meters deep. In one grave, the deepest layer which had not been unearthed by the cover-up attempts contained 23 persons. All the skulls were pierced by bullets either in the nape of the neck or the temple. The bullet holes were from a 7.5 caliber pistol. Empty cartridges from a revolver with the same dimensions were also found in the grave. The NKVD forces were equipped with such revolvers in the 1930s, a long standard issue in the Soviet Russian army. Eyeglasses, toothbrushes, women's shoes, rubber galoshes with factory labels from 1937 were also found in the graves, along with packets of people's belongings.

In another grave fifteen skulls with bullet holes were found, along with footwear and galoshes stamped with the year 1939. It is estimated that many of the pits which have been filled and levelled by bulldozers contain thousands, perhaps millions of executed Byelorussians — all victims of Stalinist terror.

Paznyak and Shmygalev are of the opinion that a place of such immense tragedy as Kurapaty should not be a vacation resort, rather, a memorial should be erected for those in the graves and those responsible for their death should be named and held accountable.

Horrors are nearly impossible to forget and the people from the Kurapaty area remember when in 1937 they heard gunfire every day, morning, noon and night. According to testimony of people who lived in the area 50 years ago, truckloads of people who were brought daily to the Kurapaty woods from the NKVD prison in Minsk. They were routinely executed and buried in layers, each layer separated by only a few inches of earth. One woman said that the trucks arrived from Minsk so often that the dirt road was quickly packed as tightly as if it had been paved by asphalt. The new arrivals were promptly executed. Another person recalls how as children they would go to the place of executions and watch with horror as the sand moved on newly covered graves.

One villager cried as he spoke to the investigators. He said his entire village was terrified and could not sleep at night for five years because of the shootings. The executions were carried with precision, day and night. During the first half of 1937 the executions took place in the morning, the afternoon and again in the evening. However, later in the year, a different schedule was implemented, afternoon, evening and all night long. The engines of the trucks were run while the executions were carried out.

Since the publication of the article and photographs of the victims' skeletal remains in the June 3 issue of *Litaratura i mastatstva*, the newspaper has received countless letters from readers expressing gratitude for the article, providing information about similar places where mass graves exist, letters from relatives of the victims recounting how their family members and friends disappeared.

Subsequently, articles dealing with Kurapaty have appeared in the June 10 and the June 24 issues of *Litaratura i mastatstva*, those being for the most part, reactions on the part of the public to the initial article. An unofficial public meeting also took place at Kurapaty, attracting thousands of Byelorussians. All of this has taken place at a time when Byelorussian intellectuals have been increasingly becoming more vocal in calling for a complete disclosure of the genocide perpetrated against the Byelorussian people during the reign of Stalin. The official line has been that no such genocide had taken place. In exposing the graves in Kurapaty, Paznyak and Shmygalev have provided concrete evidence of the crimes, which can no longer be denied.

We may never know exactly how many Byelorussians perished during Stalin's reign of terror. But these bullet pierced skulls were once living persons, and the relatives and fellow countrymen of these people, today, at last are demanding justice and a guarantee that their death not be forgotten. Whether the executioners are still alive and whether they can be brought to justice is another question which is being raised by the Byelorussians. Raising a monument in memory of those victims of Stalinism is another topic under discussion.

Today, a great deal of rhetoric and writing is devoted to the denunciation of Stalin as the great and evil tyrant and dictator who caused millions to die. What is overlooked is the evil nature of the system which produced a tyrant like Stalin. The dead deserve their place of honor in history and in the hearts and minds of their countrymen. But as long as communism coupled with Russian imperialism remains the ruling system, there can be not even the remotest chance of a guarantee that such horrors will not occur again. The only way to ensure such a guarantee, is to rid Byelorussia, the satellite countries and all the republics in the USSR of communism and its potential for evil and genocide once and for all.

I.X.

FOURTH MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF NATIONS IN THE USSR

The representatives of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR held a meeting in Riga, Latvia, on September 24-25, 1988. The participants reviewed the situation in their respective republics and adopted a series of resolutions and statements, a report on the actual meeting, a concluding statement and other documents.

REPORT ON THE MEETING

of representatives of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR in Riga on September 24-25, 1988.

The following representatives attended the meeting: from **Latvia** - Ints Zalitis (Informal People's Front), Yuris Ziyemelis (Helsinki Group '88), Eynars Repshe (Movement of National Independence of Latvia), Hirts Ozolipsh (Environmental Protection Club - Latvia), Lidia Doronina (correspondent from the journal *Auseklis*); from **Lithuania** — Yonis Dunaite (Lithuanian Catholic Church), Vitautas Bogushis, Antanas Terleckas, Andrus Tuchkus (League for the Liberation of Lithuania); from **Ukraine** — Stepan Khmara, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko (Ukrainian Helsinki Union); from **Estonia** Lagle Parek (Estonian National Independence Party). A member of the **Rumanian National Movement of Moldavia**, Hryhoriy Himpu, and members of the **Crimean Tatar Movement**, Niasi Selimov, Server Tavarchi, Abdureshid Cheparov, Sadyk Berberov, all participated in the meeting as observers since they did not have time to obtain mandates. The representative of the **Georgian National Democratic Party**, Merab Kostava, could not attend due to events in Georgia but was kept informed about the meeting by telephone. The tense situation in **Armenia** prevented representatives from attending from this republic.

During the first day of the meeting, representatives from Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Moldavia addressed the participants. Crimean Tatar and Estonian representatives spoke on the second day (a short report on all the addresses will be published in the meeting's bulletin). At the end of the second day, the following documents were adopted:

- Concluding statement of the meeting;
- Appeal to governments of member-countries of the Helsinki Agreements and to the International Helsinki Federation on political prisoners in the USSR;
- Appeal to the Vienna Conference reviewing the implementation of the Helsinki Final Agreements on matters of nuclear energy in the USSR;
- Resolution on the state of the Churches and the rights of believers.

The meeting appointed the following members to the new Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements: Nijole Sadunaite and Vitautas Bogushis from Lithuania; Sadyk Berberov and Niasi Selimov from the Crimean Tatars; Oles Shevchenko and Hryhoriy Prykhodko from the Ukrainian Helsinki Union; Mati Tirend from Estonia; Ints Zalitis and Yuris Ziyemelis from Latvia. Representatives from Georgia and Armenia were appointed in consent.

The next meeting of representatives of National Democratic Movements of Nations in the USSR will take place in January 1989 in Lithuania.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT OF THE RIGA MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF NATIONS IN THE USSR

We, the representatives of the meeting of National Democratic Movements of Nations in the USSR, gathered in Riga on September 24-25, 1988, having listened to reports on the situation in Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Moldavia, Estonia, on the Crimean Tatar movement and on Georgia, have come to the conclusion about the instability of the political situation in the USSR during the whole period since our June meeting.

On the one hand, having taken advantage of some liberalization in internal political life, the National Democratic Movements of our nations have taken significant steps forward: the Constituent Congress of the Estonian National Independence Party has taken place; the League for the Liberation of Lithuania has emerged from the underground; mass organizations similar to the People's Front (general or informal) have been formed in the Baltic republics. In Ukraine a wave of mass meetings have taken place in Lviv and the Ukrainian Helsinki Union has been formed. The upsurge of the growing national movement in Georgia has seen the emergence of the Georgian National Democratic Party, just one day before our meeting.

On the other hand, we apparently have the inconsistency of the "new policy" of the CPSU and attempts by the bureaucratic party apparatus to defend their positions. This has been reflected, in particular on the decision of the 19th ruling party conference, which adopted half-way or blatantly reactionary, anti-democratic decisions (for example, the decision to even formally subject Soviet Power to the Party). We consider the decision by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerning Nagorno-Karabakh a disgrace, which has disregarded the will of the whole Armenian nation, and the behaviour of General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU Gorbachev during the meeting of the Presidium was such that it discredits him as a leader of the "new policy". We place all responsibility for the continuing tragic events in Armenia and Azerbaijan on the central apparatus of power alone. We also believe that it is only Moscow that stands as an impediment to a just solution to the Crimean Tatar problem, which can be confirmed by the result of the work of "Gromyko's Commission", which was conducted in a complete un-glasnost-like atmosphere.

The transition of the "new class" of party bureaucracy and the forces of chauvinism to a counter-offensive is also evidenced by the adoption of the anti-democratic decree on August 3, 1988 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the order of conducting meetings and demonstrations, analogical decrees on the spot and the ensuing harsh reprisal on the participants of the peaceful meetings in Ukraine in July-September 1988; "bloody Sunday" of the Crimean Tatars in Tashkent on July 26 and their reprisal on September 11 in the Lenin region of the Crimea, numerous administrative arrests and trials. The continuing release of only individual prisoners, who have only been pardoned instead of completely rehabilitated, has coincided with the first political arrests in this period of so-called democratization, in particular with the criminal persecution of Latvian patriot Modris Luyans and Ukrainian Ivan Makar for participating in peaceful meetings. We ascertain that out of all the republics represented at the meeting, the situation has particularly worsened in Moldavia and Ukraine, where the positions of Brezhnev's apparatus have remained completely secured.

In these diverse conditions of multi-power centers in the USSR, we, the participants of the Riga Meeting, reaffirm the demands to the Soviet government presented in the appeals of the meetings in Yerevan (January 1988), Tbilisi (March 1988) and Lviv (June 1988), which are as follows:

- The settling and clear definition of citizenship in each republic; a restriction on entry to the republics for permanent residence of population from other republics, and in individual cases which threaten the indigenous nation (Estonia, Latvia, and others), a complete stop to such entry and even the re-emigration of part of the population;
- The security of complete republican economic dependency instead of the decreed centralised economy;
- Granting official status to the national languages of the republics, their compulsory learning by the whole population of the republic and the introduction of the national languages into all spheres of public life in the republic;
- Culture, national autonomy for national minorities (including Russian);
- The return to their homeland of resettled peoples and the specification of borders between the national republics and provinces according to an ethnic principle;
- The right for representatives of nations to become reunited with their nations, if they are currently citizens of another country outside of the USSR;
- The prevention of ecological genocide (ecocide) of our nations;
- The cessation of the policy of deliberate intermixing of population with the aid of the centralised planning of the economy;
- Securing complete sovereignty of the republics in religious matters, including the renovation of ruined national churches in some of the republics;
- An investigation of the reformatory legislation of the whole penitentiary system, the prohibition of exploiting forced labour of prisoners beyond the borders of their republics;
- The release of all prisoners of conscience with complete rehabilitation (starting from the Stalin repressions);
- The exclusion from criminal legislation of articles, which provide the possibility of persecuting for political motives;
- The establishment of national military formations within the Soviet army with military service in peace time on the territory of their republic.

We believe that the realization of these demands is impossible without complete political and economic decentralisation of the USSR and the guarantee of the true rights of every **indigenous nation** (and not the population of a region) to political self-government. We oppose the use of the imperialist term "Soviet people" instead of "peoples of the USSR". The Baltic nations are demanding the recognition as effectual the peace talks of 1920 between Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Soviet Russia.

We intend to continue to employ only non-violent and legal democratic means of struggle for achieving our aim.

We consider the creation of democratic structures as one of the main tasks of our movements summoned to consolidate and unite on a common national platform all the strong forces of each of our nations.

Since we consider it of utmost importance to change the totalitarian political system in the USSR, we will promote this aim by all possible means, among which we consider as important a possible struggle for a democratic electoral system and the participation of our movements in elections to the supreme and local organs of

authority with the proposal of our own candidates. In addition, we warn that until the passing of a just law on citizenship of our republics, we will continue to regard even democratic elections as a school of the political education of masses and not as an instrument of true expression of the will of our nations.

We will strive to achieve the introduction into the USSR of real freedom of expression instead of decreed ownership. In order to attain the freedom recognised by the whole world for each citizen to express his own views and spread his ideas disregarding borders, we will continue to develop the network of uncensored publications, demand the safeguard of an independent press with material means for multiplying and disseminating, and proportional access to means of mass information of the state. In case of a refusal to comply with these demands, we will continue to use the means of mass information of democratic countries in the world to propagate our ideas, seeing this as a norm for a democratic society, and not as some crime.

We demand a halt to the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts, as well as the barbaric method of ideological struggle. Since we consider the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of August 3, 1988, on meetings and demonstrations as anti-democratic and such that it not only contradicts international legal norms, but even the Constitution of the USSR, we demand its immediate abolition, we do not consider it compulsory to comply by, and we regard the application of force for suppressing the democratic rights of our nations to express a collective thought as a crime against humanity.

We oppose attempts of ideological dogmatists to disunite each of our nations according to a class, ideological or territorial principle. Every Latvian, Ukrainian, Armenian and others is a representative of his very own nation, united by unique national aspirations no matter what part of the world he may end up in.

We will also oppose attempts to disunite our movements and deal with each of us individually. Only in a united front of all oppressed nations will we be able to attain our aim. We appeal to the participants of national democratic movements of other nations in the USSR to join us, and gather under the motto which has always united the nations of the world, which had suffered internal and external violence:

FOR YOUR AND OUR FREEDOM!

September 25, 1988, Riga.

Signatures: from the Informal People's Front of Latvia — Ints Zalitis, from Helsinki Group '88 — Yuris Ziyemelis, from the Environmental Protection Club (Latvia) — Hirts Ozolipsh, from the unofficial journal *Auseklis* (Latvia) — Lidia Doronina, from the Movement of National Independence of Latvia — Dans Titaus, Herta Lilia Astra, from the Lithuanian Catholic Church — Yonis Dunaite, from the League for the Liberation of Lithuania — Vitautas Bogushis, Antanas Terleckas, Andrus Tuchkus, from the Ukrainian Helsinki Union — Stepan Khmara, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko, from the Estonian National Independence Party — Lagle Parek, from the Georgian National Democratic Party — Merab Kostava. Members of the Crimean Tatar National Movement, personally, Niasi Selimov, Server Tavarchi, Abdureshid Cheparov, Sadyk Berberov. Member of the Rumanian National Movement of the Moldavian SSR, also personally — Hryhoriy Himpu.

Note to the concluding statement of the Riga Meeting of representatives of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR. The delegations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia point out that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact — criminal in its secret clauses

ANOTHER MEETING DISPERSED IN LVIV

A public meeting was once again dispersed by the militia and special task force on September 1 in Lviv, Western Ukraine, and people were arrested. (The last meeting which was violently dispersed in Lviv was on August 4). The September 1 meeting at which 3-4 thousand people participated, was held on the 40th anniversary of the UN's Declaration on Human Rights. Although the meeting was duly reported in accordance with the requirements of the new repressive "decrees on organizing and conducting demonstrations in the USSR", the authorities would not give permission for this demonstration to take place and provided no written reasons for refusing.

In spite of the refusal by the local executive committee, the people began to assemble on the evening of September 1 in front of the Lviv University. A large number of militia were present. The deputy head of the militia began to drive along the street announcing through a megaphone that the meeting was not allowed to take place. When someone called out in support of holding the meeting, he was taken away and thrown into a car. The people began to chant slogans, such as "Shame!", "Fascists!", "Freedom for Makar!", and after a while, storm troopers from the so-called sixth special task force appeared wearing green helmets and carrying rubber truncheons. They began to seize individual people, in particular those, who were crying out or applauding the cries. As a result, several cars were filled with people, who were taken to the Lenin regional militia station in Ivan Franko Park, and to other regional militia stations. People were tried that same night and the following day. In addition to investigations by the law-court, the militia also conducted their own investigations and inflicted punishments. This time the fines were much higher than previously, and even reached up to 250 *karbovantsi*, which is equal to 2 months' wages.

Among those arrested were two 14 year-old schoolboys, who were driven to the Lenin regional militia station, where they were beaten and forced to admit that they had thrown stones at the militia, which was completely untrue. The boys wept and refused to sign such a document. After having been beaten and scared, their mothers were called to come and pick them up.

In connection with the dispersion of this meeting an announcement appeared in the official Lviv newspaper *Vilna Ukraina* on September 6, which stated the following: "25 people were taken to the militia station for violating public order. Their case was taken to court and investigated. 6 men were fined, 8 were subject to 15 days of administrative

▶ created favourable conditions for the occupation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and their forcible incorporation into the USSR, as a result of which the above mentioned republics should be considered as occupied territories, where the occupational power is camouflaged by apparently electoral forms of state government.

The delegations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia point out that the first and utmost task of the democratic forces of these republics is the liquidation of the effects of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

September 25, 1988, Riga.

Signatures: Ints Zalitis, Yuris Ziyemelis, Hirts Ozolipsh, Lidia Doronina, Dans Titaus, Herta Lilia Astra, Yonis Dunaite, Vitautas Bogushis, Andrus Tuchkus, Antanas Terleckas, Lagle Parek.

arrest. One was sentenced to two months of corrective labour with 20% of his wages being deducted. One was reprimanded by the court. The cases of 8 men were investigated by superiors of the regional branches of the Ministry of the Interior of which 5 received various fines. One case is still being investigated. The prosecuting magistrate's court in Lviv acknowledged the actions of the militia as lawful."

On September 1, in connection with the investigation of the case against Ivan Makar (who was arrested on August 4), Bohdan Horyn was summoned to the Lviv regional procurator's office. In a statement in which he refused to answer questions put to him by the employees of the Lviv procuracy, B. Horyn gave an evaluation of the significance of the Lviv meetings and the repressive acts of the authorities. The meetings have re-awakened the nation and stopped people being afraid, at the same time enraging the bureaucrats and making them feel that their privileges were threatened, hence they turned the authorities against the participants of the meetings.

STATEMENT CONCERNING THE ARREST OF I. MAKAR

To the Lviv Regional Procurator's Office
From Horyn, Bohdan Mykolayevych,
Lviv 54, Kulchytskoyi 15, kv. 94
Place of work: Lviv picture-gallery,
senior research worker.

During the last 2-3 years a democratic-patriotic movement for restructuring has been emerging and successfully developing (to a greater or lesser extent, depending on specific conditions) in many republics in the USSR, including Ukraine. "Restructuring and glasnost", writes *Pravda* on August 30, 1988, "has increased the people's activity, raised their hopes and released their social energy." These words do not only concern Estonia, where "a reinterpretation and analysis of the historic past, an intensive search of new forms of workers' participation in the governing of the republic" are actively taking place, but also Ukraine and its leading towns.

During June and July 1988 a series of meetings took place in Lviv, at which the citizens discussed important matters pertaining to social, national and cultural construction. These meetings became a place of a collective search for a means of solving many burning issues.

During these mass meetings the people began to stop fearing the nightmare of political accusations, which had been used to scare them during the Stalin and Brezhnev eras. Such activity of a re-awakened nation, enraged the bureaucrats. They began to feel their own unlawful privileges threatened by this increasing democratic movement for restructuring and by the numerous displays of civil courage. Having coordinated their actions, the bureaucracy turned the militia, the sixth special task force, dogs trained in attacking people, the KGB, lawcourts and procuracy against the participants of the meetings, not neglecting to use brutal physical force, just as at the harsh reprisal against the people on August 4, 1988.

In the morning of this day, the Lviv engineer Ivan Makar was arrested. Since he had been held in the procurator's office, he had also been unable to attend the meeting on July 28. The other June-July meetings, at which he had participated, had not been banned by the authorities. On the contrary, the authorities had stood next to the head of the initiative committee (of meetings), one of the meeting's leaders, Ivan Makar, yet

for some reason no one from the authorities was able to discuss the problems raised. Is this not the reason why the regional procuracy — a reliable defender of the Lviv intellectually infirm bureaucracy — introduced a criminal case against the activists of these meetings, while having previously dispatched their representatives as far away as Khar-kiv to defend the criminal activities of the former head of the Regional Professional Council, Bizhyk, the case of which had appeared in the all-union press?

It is evident that the procuracy, which had stood in defence of lawlessness and which did not start criminal proceedings in the case of the harsh reprisal against the peaceful population on August 4, 1988 — cannot at the same time defend lawfulness. The best evidence of this is the arrest of Ivan Makar. It suffices to become acquainted with Article 187-3 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (under which Makar is charged), to be convinced that Ivan Makar did not violate a single point in this Article, just as he did not break any other laws of the existing legislation. The unfounded arrest, due to absence of the corpus delicti, can only be explained by one motive — an attempt to divert public attention from crimes committed by the privileged caste, newly created class of bureaucrats, which in the person of the regional procuracy has a reliable defender.

Since Ivan Makar's arrest is an arbitrary act and since I am not aware of any fact which could witness Ivan Makar's violation of the existing legislation, I refuse to answer any questions put to me by the employees of the Lviv procuracy.

September 1, 1988

Bohdan Horyn

RECENTLY RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONERS

Long term Ukrainian political prisoner **Petro Ruban** was released from special regime camp no. 35 and flown to Kyiv on May 25. Ruban, a religious and national activist, has spent most of the past 20 years imprisoned and was to be released in October 1998. Ruban's wife Lydia and son Marko, who is paralyzed from the waist down were allowed to travel to the USA earlier this year to receive medical treatment unavailable in the USSR. Petro Ruban, after his release, was allowed to emigrate and join his family.

Halyna Maksymova, a Ukrainian, was released after spending 4 years of imprisonment for attempting to emigrate. In May 1985, she was resented in the camp again to an additional 5 years. She is known to be in very poor health.

Hanna Mykhailenko was released from imprisonment after being sentenced in 1980 for religious and national activities to confinement in a psychiatric hospital.

Hanna Vasylivna Mykhailenko was born in 1929 in Western Ukraine. In 1951 her entire family was forcibly resettled in the Odessa region. There she continued to teach the Ukrainian and English languages. She also wrote many letters in defense of those who were being unjustly arrested and imprisoned in Ukraine. Hanna would eventually be arrested herself, but not before enduring a decade of persecution and harassment by the KGB starting in 1970. In 1977, with her health failing, Mykhailenko was dismissed from her teaching post. Three years later, in 1980, she was arrested. The formal accusation for her arrest reads: "While working for the Odessa school system, Hanna Mykhailenko demanded that too much attention be given to the Ukrainian language." She was imprisoned on February 22, 1980 and has lived in psychiatric prisons ever since. For many years human rights groups in the West petitioned on her behalf, and there were also several years when her whereabouts were unknown.

Hanna's sister, Praskovia Vasylivna Smolii, wrote many letters to the Soviet authorities, appealing for her frail sister's release. In a 1987 letter she writes: "My sister is indeed a very ill person. She has for many years suffered from bronchial asthma and is very prone to various tumors. In 1976 she had a tumor removed from her left breast, and in 1979 a lymphocyst was removed from under her left shoulder blade." She reports that Hanna is once again having problems with her left breast. She goes on to claim that "not a single one of them (medical board members) have the courage to declare my sister sane — her fate is in the hands of the KGB, and the KGB has decided that it is not time for my sister to be freed yet," and that "the forced treatments she receives undermine her health even now."

In a letter to her sister dated July 1987, Hanna Mykhailenko herself writes about her condition: "I move very little and cannot do more — by now I forgot how to walk, and sit like a hen." It may be noted that Hanna Vasylivna Mykhailenko is only one of about 500 political prisoners in the USSR, all suffering a similar fate to that of Hanna Mykhailenko, a woman who because of her concern for justice, wasted away in Soviet psychiatric hospitals.

Ukrainian political prisoner **Hryhoriy Prykhodko** was released from imprisonment on July 8. Born on December 20, 1937, Prykhodko, an electrician, is married with two children. He was imprisoned in 1973 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile. During this time Prykhodko renounced his Soviet citizenship and said that he wished to be regarded as a Ukrainian nationalist.

Prykhodko was rearrested in July 1980 on the same "charge" and sentenced in January 1981 to 10 years of strict regime camps and 5 years' exile. He served his sentence in the Vladimir prison and Perm concentration camps no. 36-1 and 35.

Prominent Estonian nationalist and human rights activist **Mart Niklus** arrived in the Estonian capital, Tallinn, on July 13, after his early release from Perm Camp No. 35. Mr. Niklus who was extremely moved by the sight of formerly forbidden blue, black and white flags of Estonian independence flying freely in his hometown of Tartu, was greeted by hundreds of well-wishers and members of the Estonian resistance. From Tartu, Mr. Niklus was taken to Tallinn where he addressed a rally of several thousand people.

Mr. Niklus had served seven years of a 10-year sentence in a special regime Soviet Russian labour camp which was to be followed by five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Mr. Niklus had spent half of his adult life in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps for criticizing Soviet policies and for peacefully demanding freedom and the restoration of sovereignty to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. While in the Gulag, Mart Niklus joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

An ornithologist, Mr. Niklus' case had received worldwide attention. He was championed by Amnesty International, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, International PEN Clubs, and other groups active in human rights issues. The Reagan Administration as well as many members of the US Congress have taken an active interest in his case. His case was raised at Helsinki Accords follow-up meetings, in Captive Nations proclamations, and on other occasions.

Placards demanding the release of Mart Niklus and fellow Estonian human and national rights activist Enn Tarto were seen in Estonia, including at the August 23,

1987 mass rally and even in the official May Day parade in Tallinn. Beginning July 1, Estonian activists had been picketing the Supreme Court Building in Tallinn demanding changes in the Soviet Criminal Code as well as the release of Messrs. Niklus and Tarto. The picketers who have temporarily suspended their protest action, succeeded in gathering over 6,000 signatures supporting their demands. Mr. Niklus attributed his release to international pressure on the Soviet government. He is no longer interested in emigrating to the West because of the dramatically altered political climate in Estonia and because his aging mother needs help. Mr. Niklus' eyesight is failing due to the many years of neglect and bad conditions in the concentration camps.

Ukrainian poet and journalist **Ivan Sokulskyj** was released in August. He was first arrested in 1969 for writing an appeal entitled "Letter from the Creative Youth of Dni-propetrovsk", in which he presented examples of widespread Russification in the Dni-propetrovsk region. Ivan Sokulskyj was arrested for the second time and imprisoned in 1980 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was charged with participating in the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and was to be released in 1998.

On August 25, Ukrainian political prisoners **Mykola Horbal** and **Vasyl Ovsienko** were released from Perm camp no. 35. Until 1971, Mykola Horbal, a composer and poet, was employed as a teacher at the technical school of agriculture in Borshchiv. He spent 5 years of imprisonment (1971-1976) and 2 years' exile (1976-1978) charged under Article 62-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. After his release he lived in Kyiv employed as an elevator operator. He became active in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, although he did not join. In October 1979, he was arrested once again for his activity in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and sentenced in January 1980 to 5 years of strict regime camps. In 1984, while imprisoned, he was sentenced to a further 8 years of concentration camps and 3 years' exile. After his release in August, Horbal went to live with his mother in Ukraine.

Vasyl Ovsienko, a philologist, was arrested in 1972 on charges of publishing *The Ukrainian Herald*. Ovsienko spent 5 years in imprisonment. After his release in 1977, he was sent home to his village, Lenine, where he worked as a painter on a collective farm. In February 1979, he was sentenced on a fabricated charge to 5 years of imprisonment in a strict regime camp. In August 1981, he was arrested in the camp and sentenced to an additional 10 years of concentration camps and 5 years' exile.

Ukrainian national and human rights activist **Ivan Kandyba**, was released from imprisonment in August. Ivan Kandyba, a lawyer, was born on July 7, 1928, and first arrested in 1961 and sentenced to 15 years of strict regime concentration camps. He was arrested again in 1981 and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment. Ivan Kandyba is one of the founders of the Kyiv Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1976.

Recently, the following former political prisoners of the Soviet Gulag received permission to emigrate to the West: Stephania Sichko, Rev. V. Romaniuk and his son Taras arrived in Canada; Petro Ruban arrived in New York to join his wife and son who arrived in the USA earlier this year for medical treatment.

AIRIKYAN PRESS CONFERENCE

Deported to Ethiopia on July 21 for his activism in Armenia's national self-determination movement, Paruir Airikyan gave a press conference in Paris on August 5. Known for his sympathies for all the subjugated nations in their struggle for independence, Airikyan told the representatives of the press about himself and his activities of the last few years.

Airikyan began the press conference by telling a bit about himself. "I am 39 years old. 18 of those years I have spent in Soviet political prison camps and in exile. All my years of imprisonment were the result of my desire to attain improvement in the life of Soviet society, that is, freedom and independence for my homeland. Our activities included, and naturally so, human rights and the right of nations to decide their fate freely.

"Let us not talk of the past," continued Airikyan, "today's period of glasnost and restructuring evokes a greater interest.

It all began with my statement to General Secretary Gorbachev in March of 1987. In the statement I asked him whether supporters of democracy and in particular of the self-determination of nations, in this age of glasnost, could have their own organizations on the basis of the Soviet constitution. Two months later, in May, I received an official response from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union advising me that my question would not be answered. I considered the lack of an answer to also be the lack of prohibition and already in May we began to organize a committee for the defense of political prisoners, and eventually, in October, in an official statement we announced the creation of the Union for National Self-Determination. This organization concerned itself with all aspects of life of the Armenian nation. The basis for its activity was the realization of the right of the Armenian nation to self-determination. We began to publish two journals and one weekly. Our organization planned to achieve such progress in the coming years that we could conduct a referendum in the matter of the secession of Armenia from the USSR.

The Karabakh issue was also within the realm of our activity; the unjust separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia was clear to all Armenians. We did not examine this issue as a territorial question. This was not a territorial pretense: we relied on the right to self-determination of the citizens of Karabakh. From the first days of separation from Armenia, the people of Karabakh have been struggling to be reunited with their homeland. In recent years, using all their experience, the people of Karabakh have been trying to find a means of expressing their freedom within the system of Soviet possibilities, within the system of democratic institutes in the USSR. That is, through the party rule, local soviets and provincial soviets. Mikhail Gorbachev had a unique chance to demonstrate the great possibilities of "Soviet" democracy. But it seems to me that fear of democracy, of real democracy, obscured everything and the Soviet centralized, monopolized press began a campaign, an information war against the democratic movement in Armenia. With the help of this campaign, the common people of our neighboring brother nation rose and the result of this was Sumgait.

Airikyan continued: "Inasmuch as in February in Armenia our organization was the strongest and best organized community organization, we joined the Karabakh movement, however, the Karabakh movement arose without our suggestion or incitement. We simply tried to convey the true information to the world community and to

save the spontaneously arisen movement from provocation. We paid particular attention that hatred towards the Azerbaijanis and towards the Moslems in general not arise, particularly after Sumgait. I would personally like to emphasize this, as I have been accused in the Soviet press of inflaming national enmity.

On March 12, before my scheduled flight to Moscow, my passport and flight ticket were taken away from me, as a result of which, from March 12 to March 25, the day of my arrest, I was a person deprived of all rights. My passport was taken away from me so that I could not travel to Moscow and meet with foreign correspondents who were awaiting my arrival. This should be emphasized in light of the fact that all correspondents were forbidden to travel to Armenia and Karabakh.

However, I was fortunate enough to reach Moscow other than by airplane. There, I gave two press conferences during which I explained the events in Karabakh and Sumgait. I was arrested, but the authorities did not want to imprison me in Moscow and risk publicity, so I was sent to Armenia. On March 24 the last meeting of our organization took place at which we examined a document connected to the events in Sumgait and on March 25, I was arrested.

Initially they charged me with "disseminating defamatory rumors against the Soviet social order". They proposed that I take advantage of the right I already had to emigrate to America. In these circumstances, I refused to take advantage of this right and wound up in the KGB prison. Accompanied by six KGB men and one doctor, I was deported to Ethiopia in handcuffs, because no other country would agree to receive me without my personal consent."

Paruir Airikyan and his family intend to emigrate to the USA. At the end of the press conference in Paris, Airikyan showed the journalists an official form, an appeal for permission to return to the USSR. He has not reconciled himself to this act of arbitrariness, has not reconciled himself with his forced expulsion from the USSR, he wants to continue the struggle for the sovereign independence of Armenia in his homeland.

CANADA

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Historic Events

Mr. John Oostrom: Mr. Speaker, on August 23, 1939, 49 years ago today, a few days before the start of World War II, Stalin and Hitler signed a pact which divided Eastern Europe between them. As a result, 300 million Europeans became enslaved by Soviet communism. The International Black Ribbon Day Committee marks this day to push for fundamental freedoms behind the Iron Curtain.

The ABN credo is freedom for nations, freedom for individuals. It is dedicated to the restoration of liberty, justice and independence for Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Hungary, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, Vietnam, and all other subjugated nations throughout the world. World peace can come only when all the people are set free.

TWENTY YEARS LATER

On August 20-21, 1968, Soviet Russian led Warsaw Pact troops and tanks invaded Czecho-Slovakia. The "Prague Spring" came to a quick, brutal end. The streets of Prague were then filled with thousands of young people shouting their contempt for the invaders and chanting their loyalty to the ideals of the Prague Spring.

20 years later the people of Prague once again took to the streets to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the invasion of their country. Some 10,000 persons began a march on August 20, beginning at St. Wenceslas Square. The march followed a spontaneous rally where a petition calling for the withdrawal of Soviet Russian troops, democracy, human rights, free elections and an end to censorship was signed by hundreds.

This was the largest public march Prague had seen since 1969. Thousands of on-lookers joined the marchers as they walked through the streets of Prague waving flags and shouting slogans such as "Freedom", "Russians go home!", "Dubcek! Dubcek!".

There was no police intervention during the first half hour of the march, but as the marchers neared the university, the police blocked their way. During the course of the demonstration, at least five people were detained at different sites.

A group called the Independent Peace Initiative held discussions in the square and drew up a 10-point petition. As the petition was read aloud hundreds of people applauded loudly, in particular the point calling for an end to censorship. The group intends to send the petition to the government and party leaders as well as to the state-run press. As the people were signing the petition at one point a policeman passed through the crowd and grappled with those who were signing. The crowd mocked the police and shouted "Shame!". Tear gas was also sprayed into the face of at least one person, according to reporters.

Charter 77, the human rights group, also attempted to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the invasion. Two representatives of the group, Tomas Hradiled and Eva Kanturkova, followed by some 200 persons, tried to lay flowers by the statue of King Wenceslas. The police pushed and shoved the two activists and the others who tried to lay flowers in memory of those who were killed after the 1968 invasion. The crowd sang the Czech and Slovak national anthems as the police removed the flowers the demonstrators had just laid by the statue.

A similar demonstration almost took place in Moscow on the same day. Before the protesters even had an opportunity to hoist their placards denouncing the 20th anniversary of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in a central Moscow park, the police and national guard troops swept upon them and dragged them into police buses. Bystanders shouted "Shame!" and "Fascists!" as the police dragged people away. There was no word in the Soviet Russian newspapers about the 20th anniversary of the 1968 intervention in Czecho-Slovakia, not even in the most outspoken of publications.

Twenty years ago it was the government of Czecho-Slovakia headed by Alexander Dubcek that was embarking on a course of reform and change. The experiment which came to be known as "socialism with a human face" lasted all of eight months.

Twenty years later one is struck by an "inescapable irony: invaders and invaded have swapped political roles." writes Michael Dobbs in *The Washington Post*. Any possibility of change or reform was shattered when the Soviet tanks rolled into the streets of Prague. An "era of stagnation" set in. Today it is precisely those who came and crushed the hopes and dreams of change and improvement in Czecho-Slovakia

that are embarking on changes of their own. It appears that the only type of change which is tolerated is one that is generated in Moscow.

The era of stagnation resulted in the economic failure, ecological destruction and political anesthetization of Eastern Europe. After the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia the communists attempted to improve the living standards of the people, as if by giving people more bread and better housing they could make them forget that they were occupied. The end result of this has also been a dismal failure, because the price paid was total political obedience and no discussion about changes of any kind.

According to Zdenek Urbanek, a prominent writer and one of the original signatories of the Charter 77 human rights document, the result of this type of repression has been a kind of spiritual death. He says: "People in the West think that repression is a matter of bloodshed and going to jail. But it's more complicated than that. *You die alive here*. In these conditions, it needs almost a heroic endeavor to stay true to yourself and keep freedom alive in your mind."

Members of Charter 77 and the people who took to the streets of Prague to denounce the invasion of 1968 have not died alive. The Charter was signed by 241 people when it first appeared on January 1, 1977. Today it has more than 1,500 signatories. The Charter was seen as a voice which would provide people with a force "to straighten up as a human being once more after being humiliated, gagged, lied to and manipulated."

Vaclav Havel, a leading playwright has been involved in the Charter 77 movement from its inception. Imprisoned three times since the 1968 invasion, Havel is committed to the idea of truth to the point of obsession. That idea of truth is intrinsically tied to the 1968 invasion. According to Havel, change cannot occur in Czecho-Slovakia without opening up the theme of 1968. He also sees Gorbachev through extraordinarily lucid eyes, with complete realism. "Gorbachev speaks about democracy and pluralism, but he believes in the one-party system" says Havel.

For Havel, supporting the ideals of Charter 77 is "living in truth", i.e., being faithful to one's principles and convictions in a totalitarian system of inflexible herd views. "The strength of Charter 77," says Havel "is drawn from the truth it articulates, a truth which is on the whole shared by society." It is this truth which in Havel's view is like a virus, capable of eating away and eventually destroying unhealthy social organisms.

The recent unrest in Eastern Europe and throughout the USSR prove that "the truth" is alive in millions of people. Freedom is a contagious and volatile virus, once savored, a person needs more. If it gathers full strength, there won't be enough tanks in the Soviet Russian arsenal to suppress it.

VIOLENT UNREST SPREADS INTO GEORGIA

The next Karabakh in the Transcaucasus is already erupting in the Georgian region of Marneuli, south of Tbilisi, near the Turkish border. Meanwhile, the general strike in Karabakh is still in effect, and mass Armenian protests in Yerevan continue every week. For months in Marneuli, KGB-run gangs from the region's 80% Azerbaijani majority have organized violent raids against the 20% Georgian minority, bringing the situation to a flashpoint. On October 4, 5 and 6, upwards of 50,000 Georgians demonstrated in the region, demanding the expulsion of the Azerbaijanis. Such violent unrest in Georgia, as in Armenia and Azerbaijan, would serve as the pretext for the next round of heavy Soviet military reinforcements pouring into the Transcaucasus, this time along the Turkish border, opposite the Kars region of Turkey.

RUSSIFICATION RESULTS

It is a well-known fact that after 1917 Turkestan was conquered by the Red Army for the second time. At that time the same slogan was restituted as now in the case of Afghanistan: "The working population and farmers of Turkestan are calling for our help, and we will not deny them this aid." After the Russian conquest, Turkestan was divided arbitrarily into 5 regions in 1924-25. The 5 Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmen, Tadzhik, Kirghiz and Kazakhstan were created. They have their very own presidents, ministers of foreign affairs, state security service etc., which in reality are ruled by Moscow.

The sovietization and Russification in Turkestan has been conducted by all ways and means for 70 years. At first the name Turkestan was forbidden and thus the concept of "Middle Asian Soviet Republics and Kazakhstan" was introduced. The school system was also changed: the very own alphabet (Arabic and later Latin) was abolished and the cyrillic script introduced. At the same time the Russians paid special attention to the fact that in the various Turkestan Soviet republics divergent spelling was instituted with the result that the new generation can only read literature and newspapers from the other Turkestan Soviet republics with great difficulty.

The Russian language was officially proclaimed as the second native tongue. Today even the children in kindergarten must learn Russian, sing Russian songs and listen to Russian fairy tales. In all of the administrative offices from the Party apparatus up to the government agencies, kolkhozs, sovkhozs etc. work is conducted in Russian. The result is that, from a linguistic point of view, chaos prevails in the government and Party administration, in economy and industry; for, many officials, directors, even some ministers, especially simple employees, cannot speak perfect Russian and, therefore, often do not understand the instructions, documents and reports.

Russification also has other negative results which are now being publicly treated in the Soviet press in Uzbekistan under the banner of "glasnost" and "perestroika". The official organ of the Ministry of Culture of the Uzbek SSR and of the Uzbek Writers' Union *Uzbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati* (Literature and Art of Uzbekistan) published various articles dated September 4, 1987, December 25, 1987, February 5, 1988 which denounced some officials, ministers, scientists, intellectuals, directors and writers, etc. who today do not have command of their very own native tongue because for decades they were forced to speak Russian.

The writer Atabay(ev) reports in an article entitled "Language is the Heart of a Nation" from the above-mentioned magazine dated December 25, 1987:

"Recently a panel discussion entitled "Come, Let's Speak Quite Openly"

- took place on television in Tashkent. This candour was supposed to orientate the population about the present situation..."

Officials from the Party, Komsomol, ministers, writers, scientists were supposed to demonstrate Gorbachev's new policy of restructuring and openness. However, it resulted in a catastrophe! Abatay reports further:

"The present responsible Komsomol leader was asked a question in the Uzbek language — his native tongue. He, however, looked to the right and

left as if to say “What is this supposed to mean?” It was assumed that he didn’t understand the question and, therefore, the question was repeated again. But he still could not answer. Later we learned that he could not speak Uzbek at all... He spoke only Russian. It was even worse that our participating minister also did not have a command of his native Uzbek tongue. He stuttered, spoke incomprehensibly in Russian and Uzbek...”

This writer and others criticize openly that all of the reports and meetings even in the smallest villages are conducted in Russian, all instructions are given in Russian and scientists write their articles in Russian just as many writers do. For this reason the native tongue is badly neglected.

B. A. Kasim(ov) gives an additional example in an article entitled “Let’s Untie the Knot” from the above-mentioned magazine dated December 25, 1987:

“Recently a member of the editor’s staff had the opportunity to speak with a high-ranking official. During the conversation the high official asked the meaning of the word “zastoinov javlenie”. I was surprised for the notable gentleman said “You are aware that we conduct all of our business in Russian... All reports and meetings are held in Russian and we are accustomed to this... It turned out that this high-ranking official apparently read neither Uzbek newspapers, magazines or books or listened to the radio... For this Russian concept is constantly used in the Uzbek press...”

Even in the villages and regions the least important meetings are conducted in Russian. This is only supposed to be “homage to the master”; for here, naturally, a great majority of the rural participants understand only very little Russian. It even goes to the extreme point that only those who speak Russian are allowed to speak. He who speaks Uzbek during the meetings is marked as a nationalist and an enemy of the Russian language.

Russification has already gained so much ground that during important meetings participants ask ahead of time if they may speak in their language. A. Kasim(ov) writes that sometimes a meeting is allowed to be conducted in Uzbek. How is it, however, “possible that an Uzbek must ask in his own, equally entitled country if he may speak in his native tongue...?”

The authors of the published articles strongly criticize these conditions and demand equal rights for the Uzbek native language. It is a known fact that 80-90% of the scientific dissertations, works, among other, are written in Russian and that many Uzbek scientists are no longer in a position to publish their works in the Uzbek language because they no longer have a command of their native tongue nor are they capable of expressing themselves in the Uzbek language.

These conditions have come about because, as the above-mentioned writers plaint, the Uzbek graduates must apply already for entrance into institutions or universities in Russian and pass an entrance examination in Russian. The dissertations must also be written in Russian.

However, now all of these writers demand equal rights for the Uzbek language and do not want to tolerate any compromises. At the same time they appeal for equal rights of all languages in the Soviet Union already demanded by Lenin.

They demand to reflect on “social justice for the Uzbek language as the official national language and its practical rights and to solve this important problem according to the principles of the Leninist nationalities politics...”

Thereby, the writers want to protect themselves by citing Lenin; for already once before, when Khrushchev criticized Stalin, there was unrest in the Turkestan Soviet Republic. At that time the Party’s politics were strongly criticized and even poems and works of national poets, who were executed, were published. At this time works like “Not the Branches Are Rotten But Rather the Tree Trunk”, or “The Dead Accuse” and “Belated Regret” appeared. This current was quickly forbidden and many fell into the hands of the KGB.

Now the appreciation and honour of the Uzbek language is demanded; for even Lenin would have said “No nation and no language are to be privileged”. Veneration must exist on both sides and it isn’t possible “that Russian children, who live with us, hardly learn any Uzbek in school... and the Russian writers and poets... who live together with us also do not learn our language...”

Hence, it is clear from this short exposé that Russification has created strong opposition and allowed a great rift to arise within the population. Chaos and confusion prevails in the language politics. The confrontations between the Turkestanis and the Russians are presently in full swing as noted in the article by Dr. K. H. in the *Uzbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati* (Literature and Art of Uzbekistan) dated February 3, 1988 entitled “Can the National Languages Be Fused?” These conditions prevail in all 5 Soviet republics in Turkestan.

SENATE PASSES RESOLUTION ASKING FOR RETURN OF LITHUANIAN CATHEDRAL

The U.S. Senate has passed a resolution calling for the return to religious use of a Roman Catholic cathedral in Vilnius seized by Soviet Russian officials more than three decades ago and this year marking the 600th anniversary of its establishment.

Resolution 385, approved September 16, calls upon the Soviet Russian government to turn over the Cathedral to Roman Catholic authorities before the end of the jubilee year. Coming on the eve of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze’s visit to Washington, the resolution also urges the President and Secretary of State to “raise the issue of the return of the Vilnius cathedral in meetings with Soviet officials.”

Soviet Russian authorities notified Roman Catholic Church officials of their intention to confiscate the Cathedral in 1950. Six years later, the religious shrine was converted into an art gallery.

The significance of the Cathedral for Lithuanians extends beyond the Roman Catholic community. As a symbolic center of religion, the Cathedral site predates the introduction of Christianity to Lithuania — the Cathedral was built on the ruins of a pagan temple.

In recent years clergy and Roman Catholic laity have petitioned the Soviet Russian government to return the Cathedral to religious use. In addition, petitions addressed to General Secretary Gorbachev and containing thousands of signatures have been collected over the course of the last 10 months in the United States.

The resolution was introduced by John Heinz (R-PA) and Donald Riegle (D-MI).

LIC, 22.9.1988

A LOST CHANCE

The recent strikes and mass demonstrations in Poland were a prime example that martial law, imposed by General Jaruzelski on December 13, 1981, has only slowed down but not stopped the resistance of Polish society to one party dictatorship and Soviet hegemony.

The first strike began in Bydgoszcz on April 25 after municipal transport workers demanded substantial wage increases to offset the effect of galloping inflation. The action developed spontaneously when workers were incensed by slanderous insults thrown at them by the enterprise's director. The Solidarity trade union was competing for leadership with the official government sponsored local trade union over the workers, who for some time pressured for talks with the management on the issue of cost of living compensation.

Most of the strikes started spontaneously. They were initiated outside the established Solidarity structures and were supported mostly by people too young to have joined Solidarity before December 13, 1981. This has resulted in the fact that strikers in Nowa Huta did not raise the issue of the re-legalization of Solidarity.

The mass protest movement was led by new activists. Its major power comes from people who are 18 to 27 years old and who represent almost 25% of the adult population. The dominating views of this generation are increasing the radicalization of the whole society. After only a notable lapse of time did the Solidarity structure join the strikes to govern them. The positive exception to this pattern was Ursus.

From the very beginning the strikes were influenced by the political opposition — mostly the Confederacy of Independent Poland (KPN), Fighting Solidarity (SW), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), and student and youth groups, such as the Independent Student Association (NZS), and, to a smaller degree, the Freedom and Peace Movement (WiP). The Political Council of the Confederacy of Independent Poland stated that strikes would spread all over Poland and that political demands should be formulated and presented.

Under these circumstances the regime arrested KPN Chairman Leszek Moczulski and deported SW Chairman Kornel Morawiecki. Jaruzelski proved again that he fears most those opposition leaders who exercise great political influence and would not compromise with the regime during the strikes. Surprisingly, Radio Free Europe has joined Jaruzelski in suppressing all information about or from KPN.

With a wave of strikes spreading all over the country, the Solidarity leadership found itself in a very uncomfortable position.

During the last months the left wing of Solidarity advisors (known as an appeasement center) and some of the historical Solidarity leaders have openly followed the policy of achieving a so-called anti-crisis pact with the Jaruzelski government. An anti-crisis pact means full support for the government shaped reforms in exchange for official limited recognition of that group by the government.

The ideological base of the anti-crisis pact, also known as a Geremek pact was explained by Geremek himself and another left wing Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik to Anthony Lewis from the *New York Times*: "injuring Mikhail Gorbachev and his

reform policy is the last thing Lech Walesa and the other leaders of Solidarity want to do at this critical moment of labor unrest in Poland”.

This had profound consequences and explains why the Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz declared that “the strikes are dangerous for the Gen. Jaruzelski reforms”. Another prominent Solidarity adviser assured that “this unrest in Poland is not the result of our policy”.

The Solidarity National Executive Commissions’s position was neither firm nor precise enough. Maintaining the position “not to appeal for confrontation” Solidarity advisers did not call a nationwide supporting strike until the very last days of the Gdansk siege. When they finally did, it had virtually no effect. Some of the regional Solidarity executive commissions did not even issue statements supporting the strikes.

In this situation the government has allowed Solidarity advisers who were engaged in the Geremek pact negotiations to remain free and visit the strike sites. Independent Polish News Service (IPNS) sources in Poland said that the government has counted on them to soften the strikers’ position.

In its efforts to end the strikes without any real concessions, the government has also dispatched to Gdansk Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, a former Solidarity adviser. Sila-Nowicki, is the only well-known opposition individual who joined a government created Consultation Council, which is widely perceived as a puppet institution without any real power but serving Jaruzelski’s legitimization.

Sila-Nowicki, who after his arrival in Gdansk maintained contacts with Security Forces and the Internal Affairs chief Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, negotiated an agreement between striking workers and the government. The proposed agreement did not include re-legalization of Solidarity, but would pledge “to continue the struggle toward that goal in various forms after the end of the strike.” The shipyard workers rejected it.

Lech Walesa did not take over the leadership when the strikes were at their height. He positioned himself as an adviser stating that he had other things to take care of. He said “I am with you but I am not the one who started the strike. I am neither for or against it, but as a shipyard employee I join it.” Such a diplomatic declaration from the Solidarity Chairman confused and disappointed the striking workers. When Walesa urged acceptance of the proposed compromise, the young workers responded by chanting “Solidarity”. For still unknown reasons, the striking committee of Gdansk decided to end the strike.

The first round of the struggle is over. Although the events of April and May have shaken Poland, the Poles expected much more. It was widely expected that within two weeks it would be possible to reach at least as much as during the strikes of 1980. A real opportunity for a fundamental change did not appear in Poland and was within reach of society. Nevertheless the strikes have ended without much of the anticipated results.

It seems that the decisive responsibility is not on Jaruzelski, but rather, on Solidarity’s leadership. It appears that Jaruzelski’s biggest reward came from his manipulation of the Solidarity leadership or rather its top advisers who were alarmed that the strikes would endanger glasnost (Michnik) or would make Jaruzelski’s reform impossible (Onyszkiewicz).

As a middle level Solidarity underground activist from Warsaw told us “it is not a lost chance, it is the biggest defeat of Solidarity since 1981. There was a potential to achieve something but there was nobody at the top to lead us to a victory or at least to organize the strikes.”

LITHUANIANS GO ON HUNGER STRIKE IN VILNIUS

Two Lithuanian dissidents conducted a hunger strike in Gediminas Square in Vilnius from August 19-26 demanding the release and rehabilitation of political prisoners. 35 members of the unofficial Lithuanian Movement to Support Perestroika staged an all night vigil in solidarity with the two dissidents. Thousands of supporters and curious on-lookers converged on the square.



Petras Cidzikas and Algimantas Andreika on hunger strike in Gediminas Square, Vilnius.

200,000 GATHER IN LITHUANIA TO CONDEMN HITLER-STALIN PACT

An officially tolerated demonstration drew 200,000 people to Vilnius' Vingis Park on August 23 to mark the 49th anniversary of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which paved the way for the Soviet Russian occupation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia one year later. Masses of people from across the country converged on the park carrying the national tri-colour flag of independent Lithuania, draped in black ribbon. "This was a day of mourning for our lost independence", explained one 60-year old demonstrator. The secret protocols of the pact were published in *Sajudzio Zinios* (Movement News) and *Literatura and Menas* (Literature and Art) days before the demonstration. The 3-hour rally was organized by the independent but officially tolerated Movement to Support Perestroika. Most of the estimated fifteen speakers condemned the pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalinist Russia and its consequences — the Soviet Russian occupation of the Baltic States and the Nazi invasion of Poland. The program in Vilnius, dominated by writers, included a Roman Catholic priest and Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Lionginas Sepetys, who pledged that those deported from Lithuania during the Stalinist era would be rehabilitated. Musicologist Vytautas Landsbergis, the leading spokesman

for the Movement, read from a letter signed by 28 US Senators reaffirming the U.S. policy of non-recognition of what they termed the “illegal Soviet occupation and annexation” of the Baltic states. The Senators’ letter pledged support for Baltic self-determination.

Landsbergis said the full text of the Senators’ letter would be published in *Movement News*. According to eyewitness Antanas Terleckas, the audience greeted the Senators’ letter with enthusiastic applause.

Widely respected playwright Kazys Saja called for the full rehabilitation of political prisoners, stressing his support for two dissidents who were staging a hunger strike in Vilnius’ Gediminas Square. Demonstrators returning home from Vingis Park were kept out of the central city square by a police and army blockade. (LIC)



*Demonstrators in Vilnius' Vingis Park,
carrying the national flag of independent Lithuania.*

LATVIAN AND LITHUANIAN GRANTED OFFICIAL LANGUAGE STATUS

As a result of a resurgence of national feeling in the Baltic region, the Latvian and Lithuanian languages have been granted official language status in their republics. Both languages were adopted as the official languages by the republics’ leaderships on October 6. The Lithuanian and Latvian national flags were also formally reinstated on October 7, which is the first time that the flags have been recognized, since the republics were absorbed, with neighbouring Estonia, into the Soviet Union in 1940. The yellow, green and red Lithuanian flag was hoisted in front of a cheering crowd of 100,000 people in central Vilnius on October 7.

The Estonian language has not yet been made official, but the Estonian leadership is working on legislation likely to be adopted later this year.

MASS MEETINGS IN ESTONIA DEMAND REFORMS

A two-day congress of the Estonian Popular Front on October 1 and 2 in Tallinn adopted a political program including demands for free elections, constitutional guarantees for private property, an end to compulsory military service and the punishment of those responsible for Stalinist crimes. The congress stopped short of calling for Estonia's independence from the Soviet Union or an end to communist rule. In contrast to Estonia, where the Popular Front has emerged as a powerful legally recognized body, similar movements in other republics have experienced great difficulty organizing and acquiring legal status.

Popular Front leaders announced plans to present independent candidates in next year's elections for new national and republican legislatures. Senior Estonian communist officials listened carefully to the debates which were held in Tallinn town hall and broadcast live on Estonian Radio. They heard demands for an end to the collectivization of agriculture and a denunciation of the forcible integration of the Baltic republics into the Soviet Union in 1940.

A meeting of about 50 informal political organizations from around the Soviet Union was held on October 3 in Tallinn at which the participants condemned "an information blockade" imposed by the central Soviet media on news of the political developments in Estonia. Newspapers in other Soviet republics have carried only sparse references to the Estonian Popular Front, which has demonstrated its mass support with meetings attended by as many as 300,000 people. This meeting also provided a unique opportunity for members of groups scattered across the Soviet Union to exchange information, and when not listening to speeches, they swapped addresses, circulated leaflets and signed petitions.

Signatures were collected on one petition by the Moscow-based Democratic Movement denouncing a July government decree that imposes severe restrictions on the holding of meetings and demonstrations. The petition, which described the decree as a violation of the Soviet Constitution, was signed by about 500 leading intellectuals. Estonia is the only Soviet republic in which the authorities have not made use of their powers under the July decree. Street demonstrations have become a daily occurrence and have been used by the Popular Front and other informal groups to win the release of political prisoners, political pluralism, the repeal of unpopular government decisions, granting official language status to the Estonian language, and calling for the independence of Estonia.

LATVIAN POPULAR FRONT CONGRESS IN RIGA

Just a week after the founding of the Estonian Popular Front, an independent political organisation, known as the Latvian Popular Front, was launched at a congress in Riga on October 8 and 9. This inaugural congress of the Popular Front was attended by some 1,500 delegates out of an estimated membership of 130,000. Most of the delegates were intellectuals in their 30s and 40s.

A charter was adopted calling for economic, ecological and cultural self-determination for Latvia. Delegates called for nuclear weapons to be withdrawn from Latvia, for any surviving officials who carried out Stalin's murders and mass deportations to be put on trial, for closed churches to be given back to their congregations

and for land to be handed to peasants on permanent contracts. The congress also demanded the right to create its own currency, the right to establish independent relations with other countries, an end to the teaching of atheism in schools and the right to control migration and foreign travel.

“For over 40 years I have watched the culture and the economy of my country slowly deteriorate,” said Laimonis Gaigals, a film maker and one of 1,500 delegates to the meeting. “The time has come for us to take back control of our own land because the loss of a true Latvia is no longer a threat; it is a real and pressing danger.”

The congress also adopted a paragraph in its founding programme declaring that: “it must be officially acknowledged that Latvia joined the Soviet Union by force and without regard to its people’s point of view”. A proposal was to be adopted for the movement to put up its own candidates at local elections.

Dainis Ivans, a 33 year-old writer from Riga, was nominated president of the Latvian Popular Front, and the delegates also elected a 100-member ruling council. Many speakers at the congress called for Latvia to be turned into a sovereign state within the Soviet Union. Others went further, demanding full independence. The congress was attended by local communist party officials and in his address to the congress participants, the newly-appointed head of the Latvian Communist Party, Jan Vagris, supported demands for greater autonomy and curbs on immigration — mainly from Russia, which has made ethnic Latvians outnumbered by Russians and other ethnic groups in their own land. Delegates said they were afraid the percentage of Latvians would decline even more unless drastic measures, such as those proposed at the congress, were enacted.

A Lutheran minister had a rapturous ovation when he told the congress that it was time the pre-war national anthem was played on radio and television again at the start of the day’s programmes.

For the first time in 30 years, a service was conducted on October 9 in Riga’s Lutheran Cathedral in support of the Popular Front. The mass, which was attended by some 2,000 people, was broadcast live on local television and radio.

Two days before the congress, the republic’s legislature declared Latvian the official state language, thereby requiring that it be used for all official republic business, although Russian is still to be used in dealing with Moscow and other republics. The legislature also authorized the official use of the Latvian national flag, which had been forbidden since 1940. The whole proceedings of the congress were broadcast live and unedited on Latvian television and radio.

Latvia’s Popular Front has been established just a week after its Estonian sister organisation held its founding congress in Tallinn. At the end of October, the “Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika” is due to be officially launched, just four months after its foundation. All three movements which enjoy vast support have a common origin: reawakened national consciousness and a surge of popular pressure to break away from Moscow. The Baltic states have historically seen Moscow as a brake on their independence and development.

Although demands for full independence are still voiced by only a handful of people, an awareness of the potential for a secessionist movement seems to have prompted the Communist Party hierarchy to adopt many of their demands for greater independence from Moscow.

21st WACL and 4th WYFL Conferences

Geneva, August 26-29, 1988

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The 21st General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), and the 4th Conference of the World Youth Freedom League (WYFL) convened in Geneva, Switzerland and were opened by the WACL Council Chairman and President of the WACL/APACL China Chapter, Dr. Clement C. P. Chang, from August 26-29, 1988, under the theme of "Freedom Above All".

President Ronald Reagan of the United States, President Lee Teng-hui of the Republic of China and President Alfredo Stroessner of the Republic of Paraguay and other dignitaries sent messages of congratulations and support, for which the participants were grateful.

The Conference reaffirmed the Free World's goals for peace with justice, national independence, economic freedom and prosperity, and social progress.

We express anxiety that after the INF Treaty signed between the USA and USSR the partial denuclearization process is under way in Europe, which makes imperative without further delay an agreement on the asymmetric reduction of the conventional armed forces between military alliances. A revision of the existing strategy avails necessary in order to replace "defense in line" by "defense in depth". The key of this strategic revision should be the "Union of Western Europe" which would constitute the European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance.

Delegates from the East European satellite states, the USSR — the Baltic States, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and others, the Indo-China states, Burma, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Seychelles, South Yemen and Mainland China all reported growing, even surging unrest and a burgeoning lunge for freedom on the part of the people.

We urge the leaders of the Free world to encourage such aspirations for national independence and for spiritual, political and economic freedom so that these brothers and sisters of ours may enjoy the fruits of liberty.

The delegates assembled recognize that Communist aggression, for tactical reasons, is assuming a political rather than an outright military form to achieve its ongoing conquests. The leaders of this still Free World should recognize that this form of aggression is more lethal because it is more difficult to identify and when achieved, political control is followed by military occupation.

We feel that it is imperative for countries of the Free World to offer military and economic assistance to freedom fighters in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and others.

The leaders of the Free World, in pursuing the goal of "Freedom Above All" should strive for unity in shaping a global strategy.

In the Philippines, the Government of President Corazon Aquino, after more than two years of her administration, is slowly moving to an economic recovery and political stability, despite Communist insurgency, Soviet-funded media and cause-oriented front groups. We firmly support President Aquino's efforts to achieve freedom, democracy and prosperity for her country.

The United States and other western nations should utilize the prestige that flows from their political and economic strength to promote world security.

The delegates urge the still free nations to curb terror, kidnappings and related crimes, and to adopt educational programs, designed to recognize skillful Communist tools of political warfare, such as propaganda, disinformation, policy subversion and character assassination.

WACL calls upon all the nations of the world to recognize that a successful and peaceful Olympic festival in South Korea is important to world order and peace.

The ongoing negotiations between the United States, USSR, South Africa, Angola and Cuba, while pursuing peace in southern Africa, should not be maneuvered into a settlement that would impose a Soviet-backed SWAPO regime on Namibia, which would destroy the UNITA freedom movement.

Welcoming the recent agreement for a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, we call on all parties involved to work sincerely and rapidly towards a permanent end to this devastating conflict in the Middle East and more particularly, to find a just and peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem.

The Conference deplores the steady growth of Soviet and Chinese Communist imperialism throughout Latin America as manifested by Moscow's support of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the genocidal terrorism of the Shining Path of Peru, the violence of the Colombia drug lords, the unequal fishing treaties imposed on the Rio de Plata nations and the virtually unopposed extensions of Castro's revolution throughout the region.

The World Anti-Communist League decided to hold its 22nd conference in an appropriate place and date in 1989. The participants assembled in Geneva are thankful to the host country for its warm hospitality and to the WACL Swiss Chapter for its effective conference arrangements under the leadership of Madame Genevieve Aubry.

ABN Participation At The 21st WACL Conference

In addition to interesting and informative addresses delivered by distinguished speakers — members of European parliaments, U.S. Congressmen, scholars and spokesmen of the subjugated nations — the regional representatives of WACL reported on their activities. ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, spoke on behalf of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union and the satellites.

Besides the plenary session, there were four working committees:

Committee 1: Current developments of anti-communist forces in countries such as Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia, etc.

Committee 2: Review on national and human rights in East European countries. ABN representatives took active part in this committee. The committee was presided over by Mr. Evdokimov (Bulgaria), vice-chairman — Col. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia) and rapporteur — Mr. Scuplak (Ukraine). After reviewing the current situation in several of the subjugated nations, the committee summed this up in a report, which also discussed national demands and human rights behind the Iron Curtain, and presented this report at the plenary session. (The text of the report is printed below).

Committee 3: Study on the Asian situation.

Committee 4: Defense measures to be reinforced by Western European countries.

Committee 5: Joint Communique and Resolutions.

The WACL regions also held their own meetings: APACL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League), NARWACL (USA and Canada), ECWF (European Council for

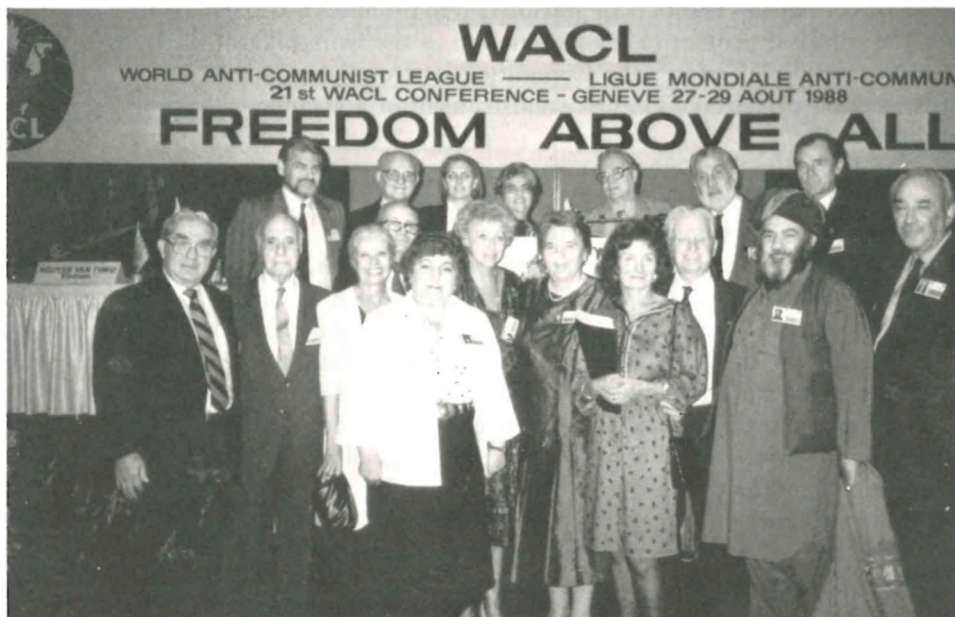
World Freedom), MESCS (Middle East), AOAFD (Africa), FEDAL (Latin America), ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) and WYFL (World Youth Freedom League).

The ABN regional meeting was presided over by ABN President, Slava Stetsko. Dr. Budisteanu (Rumania) was vice-chairman and Dr. Psenicnik (Croatia) was rapporteur. The ABN regional committee drew up concrete proposals on how WACL could support the subjugated nations in their struggle for national independence.

Report from Committee II

Review On National And Human Rights in East European Countries

A brief review on the present situation in the Russian communist empire and its satellites revealed a growing popular demand for national independence which can improve the living standards and guarantee human rights. In Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, mass demonstrations took place demanding economic and national independence from Moscow and the recognition of their languages as the official languages of the republics, as well as the acceptance of their national flags. The recent discovery of mass graves in Byelorussia provoked public protests among the population and demands by the intelligentsia for the preservation of their national heritage. Increased national aspirations in Ukraine were expressed in mass demonstrations in Kyiv and the latest being in Lviv with 50,000 participants, who demanded freedom for Ukraine. The question of the Moscow-made unjust borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan is still the main cause of unrest in this region. On the occasion of the anniversary of the Russian invasion in Czecho-Slovakia, there were demonstrations in Prague. 30,000 Slovaks participated in religious demonstrations in



ABN delegates at the 21st WACL Conference with President of the WACL Swiss chapter, Mme. Genevieve Aubry (5th from left).

Tarnava drawing attention to the critical situation of the Slovak Catholic Church. There is a constant demand for democratic reforms in Hungary. The largest demonstration since the uprising in 1956 took place in March this year in Budapest with more than 10,000 participants. More recently, in Poland, the miners and shipyard workers have been striking for better working and economic conditions and for an improvement of human rights.

The Stalinist regime in Bulgaria is under pressure from within its own party ranks for political reforms. There were popular demonstrations on ecological problems and recently a Bulgarian Helsinki monitoring group was founded. There were mass demonstrations in Rumania with slogans such as "Give us back our country" and "Away with dictatorship". The recent intention to destroy thousands of villages in Rumania, in regions populated by the Hungarian and German minorities, as well as by Rumanians, has provoked sharp condemnation from abroad. In Yugoslavia, Croats and Slovenians are demanding independence from Belgrade and also more freedom for ethnic minorities throughout the country. The Crimean Tartars, who were deported by Stalin during World War II, are continuously demanding the return to their homeland.

These events confirm not only spontaneous local manifestations of discontent and resistance to the communist regimes, but also in many cases most significant initiatives for coordinated actions between the enslaved nations. Most recently a series of meetings took place between the representatives of Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, where a common program of national demands and aspirations was formulated.

The Committee would like to point out that since the establishment of the Russian communist empire, it is the eighth time that its rulers have resorted to the false promises of reforms and that all previous seven promises ended in harsher conditions for the enslaved peoples in the empire and in the worsening of relations with the outside world. Therefore, the Committee is strongly convinced that the present glasnost and perestroika are just an instrument of a gigantic exercise in deceit and disinformation.

The Committee believes that no genuine progress in the improvement of both standard of living and human rights, can be expected from perestroika. This can only be realized in the national sovereign democratic states established by coordinated efforts of all captive nations in Eastern Europe and Asia, by taking advantage of the irreversible economic and ideological crisis in the Russian communist empire, unless the free world once again comes to the rescue of our and their common deadly enemy. It is therefore the duty of WACL to urge the governments of the free world to abstain from any economic and political actions which could lead to the consolidation of the crumbling communist regimes and to render moral support to the efforts of the captive nations in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

We, the representatives of the subjugated nations are convinced that there can be no lasting peace and security in the world as long as the Russian communist empire continues to exist. Its dismemberment would automatically offer a just solution to all other regional and local problems in the world and therefore this should be the prime objective in the combined effort of all freedom loving people.

*M. Scuplak
Rapporteur*

ABN IN ACTION

Today nobody would dare to pretend that the national problem in the Soviet Union does not exist anymore and that it gives Western politicians the right to address these 250 million people or more as a Soviet or Russian people. Oh no, — not after the clashes between the Kazakh population and the Russian overlords in Kazakhstan, after the Crimean Tartar demonstrations in Moscow's Red Square demanding their right to return to their homeland, not after the Latvian demonstrations on March 9, 16 and 25 (the latter with about 10,000 participants), and later demonstrations at which the national anthem was sung and the national flag carried. At the rally of the Estonian Popular Front in Tallinn, 100,000 people participated demanding economic independence from Moscow and the recognition of the Estonian language as the official language of the Estonian republic. For its demonstration marking the 40th anniversary of the largest mass deportation of Lithuanians (about 200,000 people) to Siberia, the League for the Liberation of Lithuania got tremendous support from the Lithuanian people. And then a Byelorussian mass youth meeting took place on Yanko Kupala square. The recent resurgence of Byelorussian national assertiveness has affected not only the nation's writers, and the concerns of the nationally-minded Byelorussians go much further than the issue of the status of the Byelorussian language. What is so striking is the role of the youth in the burgeoning Byelorussian patriotic movement. The discovery of the mass graves in Kurapaty, containing the remains of thousands of victims of Stalinism have also aroused the Byelorussian people in demanding justice for the dead and punishment for their executioners.

The fastly growing nationally-minded organisations in Ukraine and the following mass meetings attest to the increasing national aspirations: Lviv February 22; Kremen-chuk March 6; Odessa in March; Lviv in March; Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine) on March 9 and 13; Lviv March 17 and 31; Kyiv April 26, May 22, June 5, 9 and 13; Lviv June 16, 21, 23, July 7; Hrushiv July 10; Hoshiv July 17; Zarvanytsia July 17; Lviv August 4. The last mass meetings in Lviv were attended by approximately 50,000 people. The crowds shouted "Freedom for Ukraine!" One million, that is one third of the Armenian population demanded Moscow to amend its unjust imperial policy of including Armenian-speaking Nagorno-Karabakh into neighbouring Azerbaijan.

It would also be very difficult for our enemies to reject our continuous assertions that the idea of a common front of the non-Russian subjugated nations has been getting stronger and stronger behind the Iron Curtain.

The representatives of national democratic movements of the nations in the USSR held a meeting in Lviv on June 11-12, 1988, and founded the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of Nations in the USSR. A joint statement was signed by the representatives of Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine and Estonia. Among other problems the statement deals with: clear determination of statehood of each republic, securing complete sovereignty of the republics in matters of religion, settling of economic accounts, review of labour corrective legislation, the creation of national military formations, the release of all political prisoners, and other urgent issues. The first meeting was in January in Yerevan, the second in Tbilisi in March, where an All-Union Committee in Defence of Political Prisoners was set up.

On July 10, 1988 at the meeting in Latvia close to the capital Riga, the representatives of national democratic movements of nations in the USSR discussed the effects of political struggle for democracy and national self-determination of individual republics. The meeting agreed on an entire program of common goals for the national democratic movement. The meeting resolved that real cooperation between national democratic movements safeguards and brings closer the attainment of set goals. The statement of the meeting was signed by representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine.

The question arises: Will Moscow be able to stop this national desire of the subjugated nations for freedom and national sovereignty? We believe that the national idea is reassuring itself with too great a vigour to be subdued.

On December 10, 1987, over 1,000 people assembled in Prague at the foot of the statue of Jan Hus, the Czech national hero, shouting slogans such as "Svoboda" (Freedom). Some 35 Chartists (signatories of Charter '77) were arrested, but later released. On July 16 and August 21 once again Western television brought scenes from street demonstrations in Prague. 30,000 Slovaks participated in religious demonstrations in Tarnava this year, (during Bishop Jan Sokol's consecration), drawing the Vatican's attention to the critical situation of the Slovak Catholic Church.

On March 15, 1988, more than 10,000 people marched through Budapest, chanting "Democracy" and demanding reforms. This is believed to have been the largest unofficial demonstration in Hungary since the uprising in 1956. Very often today we read in the world press articles dealing with the discontent of Slovenians, Croats, as well as with the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia. Their strikes threaten the existence of the Yugoslav mini empire.

Outwardly it seems that there is calm in Bulgaria, but nevertheless the country is "simmering" under the heavy Soviet Russian "lid", made up of hordes of KGB agents. Recently a Bulgarian Helsinki Group was founded.

At least 10,000 people demonstrated in the central Rumanian city of Brasov on November 15, 1987, against the State and Party leader Ceausescu. And then, on November 22, 1987, 100,000 workers stopped work in Brasov and marched through the streets bearing slogans, such as: "Away with dictatorship", "We want bread!". At the beginning of December, demonstrators set fire to a Lenin monument in Bucharest. "Give us back our country" was written on the marble monument in large letters. Smaller demonstrations were staged by workers and students in various towns, including Bucharest and Temesvar.

In Poland, the 10 million-strong movement of Solidarity was banned, but the freedom spirit of the Polish nation could not be extinguished. Several times the mass media brought news about recent demonstrations organized by the KPN and Fighting Solidarity, and now the workers' strikes have not only encompassed Szczecin and Gdansk, but have spread to several towns throughout Poland.

Perestroika or not, it will be getting more difficult for the oppressor to continue to keep in captivity in the 20th century, the old historical nations, be it in the satellites or in the USSR itself. It was ABN President, Yaroslav Stetsko who repeatedly stated: "Afghanistan will be the beginning of the end of the Russian empire". The ABN invites you to accelerate this process.

ABN ACTIVITIES IN THE FREE WORLD SEPTEMBER 1987-1988

International ABN Conference in Washington D.C.

From May 13-15, 1988, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations hosted an international conference in Washington D.C. entitled "Will the Soviet Union Survive?" The conference was held under the patronage of Church leaders, numerous United States Senators and Congressmen, and parliamentarians from Canada, Great Britain and Europe.

The conference received the support of President Ronald Reagan who issued a special greeting to the conference participants in which he echoed a promise to recognize the aspirations of ABN for freedom and national independence for all subjugated nations.

The program of the conference addressed various aspects of the conference theme "Will the Soviet Union Survive?", including national reports, discussions of East-West relations, and analyzed the myths and realities of glasnost and perestroika. The program also presented practical solutions to contemporary geopolitical problems and made long-term projections for the future. Among the guest speakers who addressed the conference were experts on strategic studies, academicians, journalists and military officers, such as Arnaud de Borchgrave, the editor of *The Washington Times*, Dr. Maurice Tugwell, the director of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda, Dr. Herbert Romerstein from the U.S. Information Agency, General John K. Singlaub, chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom, General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force Intelligence and present chairman of the Congressional Advisory Board, Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P., a British member of parliament and the president of the European Freedom Council and others.



Bulgarian delegation at the ABN Conference in Washington, D.C. From left to right: Dr. Angel Todoroff, Mrs. Esther Docheff, Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of the delegation, Mrs. Evamaria Evdokimov and Mr. Evdokim Evdokimov.

Memorandums And Open Letters

On December 5, 1987 a memorandum was delivered to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain prior to her meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, asking her to intervene on behalf of all the subjugated nations and request the release of all political and religious prisoners in the Soviet Union, as well as the removal of the Russian occupying forces from the enslaved nations.

On December 12, 1987 a petition of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was handed over in Strassbourg to the European Parliament on the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution condemning Soviet Russian imperialism.

An open letter was sent on March 7, 1988 to the governments of the free world, NATO, the UN, the European Parliament and the European Community. The letter dealt with East-West relations in light of Gorbachev's current policy of glasnost.

In light of President Reagan's visit to Moscow, 300 delegates and observers of the international ABN conference in Washington representing 24 member nations from 4 continents, signed an open letter to US President Ronald Reagan, urging him to express the abhorrence of all Americans towards the Kremlin's refusal to end its subjugation of the nations held captive by Moscow. The letter was delivered to the White House by conference participants and a copy was submitted to the State Department.

ABN ACTIVITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

On November 7, 1987 the American Friends of ABN participated in a conference on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. A demonstration was held in front of the Soviet Mission in New York, commemorating the victims of Bolshevik communist rule.

In November of 1987 the president of ABN visited Washington and met with various American anti-communist organizations and US government officials. In that same month, amid the euphoria over the summit meeting and the signing of the treaty eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles, representatives of the subjugated nations held demonstrations in Washington D.C.

The ABN delegation in Great Britain issued a statement to the press and the British government in November, 1987, pointing out that 70 years of Bolshevik rule have been years of tyranny and oppression. The also delegation convened a meeting in December which was attended by the ABN president and many representatives of the subjugated nations.

ABN representatives in Denmark held a 48-hour hunger strike and prepared a memorandum marking the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, which they submitted to the Danish government and the governments of the free Western nations.

The Central Committee of ABN which is based in Munich, West Germany meets regularly to discuss and analyze the situation behind the Iron Curtain, issues memorandums and open letters to the governments of the free world, and its members participate in most events organized by West German political parties and anti-communist organizations to promote our cause.

Although the present situation is perhaps to some extent convenient, it demands even greater efforts on our part and on this side of the Iron Curtain to help the subjugated nations in their struggle for freedom and national sovereignty.

ABN report to the 21st WACL Conference, Geneva, August 25-29, 1988

MILLENNIUM CELEBRATIONS IN UKRAINE

In spite of the recent intensification of religious persecution in Ukraine, the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was commemorated in several Ukrainian cities, towns and villages. On June 5, the citizens of Ukraine's capital Kyiv gathered by the statue of St. Volodymyr, the place where Christianity was officially accepted 1,000 years ago. The Millennium celebration was organized by the Ukrainian Culturological Club. The people gathered around the monument which was adorned with flowers, and lit candles. Serhiy Naboka, head of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, greeted all present. The program included the recital of religious poems by Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda and Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko and Pavlo Ty-chyna. Church bells and religious music, played on a tape recorder, attracted even more people. After being approached by the local authorities, the organizers of the celebrations had to switch off the music and concentrated on recitals of religious poetry and other speeches. Oles Shevchenko, a member of the UCC council, quoted from Pope John Paul's address before the Synod of Ukrainian Bishops in 1985. Ukrainian poet Yevhen Sverstiuk delivered an address in which he stressed the significance of Christian faith for Ukrainians. The authorities once again approached the organizers and warned them that this public meeting was not allowed. However, the program continued with a choir singing religious songs. At the end of the program, many people went up to members of the UCC and thanked them for making it possible for the citizens of Kyiv to commemorate their own unofficial Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

On July 10, 6,000 people celebrated the Millennium in the village of Hrushiv. Hrushiv is widely known as the place where the Virgin Mary appears. Two days before the celebrations the local authorities opened up an Orthodox church in Hrushiv and when people began to arrive they were greeted by an Orthodox priest who began to serve mass. When the Catholics arrived, a small confrontation took place. Ukrainian Catholic activist Ivan Hel asked the Catholics to assemble at another place where they would be able to celebrate their own Millennium. Catholic priests conducted a service and around 500 faithful went to confession. This provocation between the Russian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic faithful, instigated by the communist authorities, is yet another step towards putting a stop to any religious activity in the Soviet Russian atheist regime.

In the evening, an oak cross was erected with the inscription: "988-1988 — the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine". The whole proceedings were observed by several KGB agents, but were allowed to continue undisturbed. On July 11, however, the Millennium cross in Hrushiv was dug up and destroyed. This act of vandalism is yet another sign of violent opposition to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Around 5,000 people participated in Millennium celebrations on July 16 in Hoshiv, Western Ukraine, which were organized by Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv and the Committee in Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In spite of the pouring rain, thousands of faithful listened to Rev. Havryliv's sermon on the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine and his analysis of the problems facing both the Church and the Ukrainian nation. The people formed a procession and a film of Christ's way of the



Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk celebrates the Divine Liturgy for more than 10,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Zarvanytsia. Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv is on the right, shown in profile.

cross was shown at every stop. At 1:30 am the people climbed a hill, opened up the chapel of an old monastery and began to celebrate mass. Candles were lit and the people did not disperse until 5 am.

More than 10,000 faithful, members of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church, gathered in the clearing of a forest in Zarvanytsia, Ternopil Oblast to celebrate the Millennium of the Christian faith on Sunday, July 17. This was probably the largest Catholic gathering of Ukrainian Catholics in the Soviet Union since the Stalinist regime outlawed the Church in 1946. The Sunday service was celebrated by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk of Ivano-Frankivsk. People travelled to Zarvanytsia, the site of a shrine to the Virgin Mary, and one of the most sacred places for Ukrainian Catholics, from numerous towns and villages in Western Ukraine. Some of the believers journeyed more than 1,000 kilometers and set up camp near the village of Zarvanytsia. Others, travelling by bus, were stopped by the police about 5 kilometers outside the village and ordered to turn back. The faithful refused and made the final leg of their pilgrimage on foot. The militia kept a watchful eye over the untiring flock, frequently persuading them to disperse and return to their homes. More police appeared on the morning of July 17, accompanied by numerous officials and Komsomol activists, but neither the stern warnings of the authorities, nor the heavy rains, which began at 2 am, could force the Ukrainian Catholics to break up their commemorations.

Faithful of all ages participated in a procession which wound its way to the site of the jubilee services, encircling a tall wooden cross spiked into the ground.

Bishop Vasylyk, with a handful of clergy at his side, instructed the faithful that he and his priests would hear confessions, and also offered full absolution to all who attended the service. Members of the Committee in Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were also present, collecting signatures for their petition for the legalization of the Church. The action which saw bishops of the church emerge from the underground began in August 1987. The document was sent to both Pope John Paul II and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and petitioned for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. To date, more than 30,000 signatures have been collected.

A service, which included the blessing of spring waters, began at 11 am, followed by high mass. Responses were sung by the faithful and more than 4,000 received the sacrament of Holy Communion. In his moving sermon, Bishop Vasylyk, speaking into a microphone set up for the service, addressed his persecuted faithful, stating: "Great is this day that the Lord has created; let us rejoice in it and be jubilant. With these words I greet all of you, the sons and daughters of the Catholic Church, on this great holiday, the Millennium of the baptism of Kyivan-Rus'."

The hierarch spoke of the year 988, when Prince Volodymyr brought Christianity to his people, when they cast aside their pagan beliefs and inherited a new culture, a Christian culture. It is this culture, said Bishop Vasylyk, that has borne many great men. "Fortunate are those who remain steadfast through God's trials; it is but a small cross in our lives that God's Providence has laid upon our shoulders. And fortunate are those who keep the faith, who do not stray from God's calling," said the bishop to the gathered faithful, who have endured more than four decades of persecution as members of the outlawed Church, which is known as the Church of the Catacombs.

Zarvanytsia has been regarded as a sacred site for many centuries. Although the first historical reference to the apparition of the Protectress Virgin Mary in this area was in 1458, legends date its existence back to the 13th century.

UKRAINIANS CELEBRATE MILLENNIUM IN ROME

The main Millennium celebrations of Christianity in Ukraine were held in Rome from July 8-12, with the participation of His Holiness John Paul II. Around 7,000 Ukrainians from all over the world, including 1,000 Ukrainian pilgrims from Poland, came to the Eternal City to participate in these celebrations. The Pope's presence, who had not attended the "mock" celebrations in Moscow, served as an expression of solidarity with the Ukrainian nation and with her persecuted Ukrainian Churches.

The official celebrations included Divine Liturgies at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of St. Sophia and St. Peter's Basilica, which were officiated by Pope John Paul II, His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky and Ukrainian bishops, priests and clergy. On both occasions the Pope delivered an address in the Ukrainian language in which he stressed the significance of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine and conveyed his apostolic blessing on the Ukrainian Catholic faithful.

On Saturday evening, after a service outside of St. Peter's Basilica, the faithful formed a human cross carrying candles across St. Peter's Square as a symbol of the persecuted Ukrainian Churches in Ukraine. Pope John Paul II appeared at the window of the papal residency and blessed the Ukrainian faithful.

A festive concert of Ukrainian spiritual music performed by numerous Ukrainian choirs and ensembles from throughout the world was held on July 10 in the presence of



Pope John Paul II and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church during mass outside St. Sophia's Cathedral in Rome, July, 1988

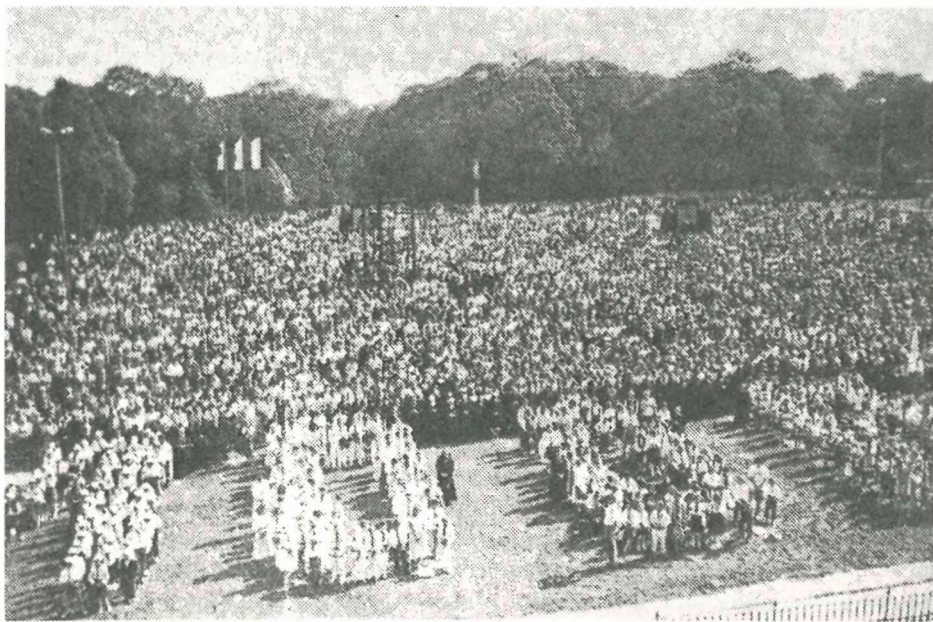


Ukrainian choirs and ensembles with the Pope after the concert of Ukrainian spiritual music, Rome, July 1988.

the Pope. A life-size statue of Grand Prince Volodymyr, the baptizer of Ukraine, was presented to the Holy Father. The culminating point during the concert was the joint performance of all the choirs (around 600 singers) who sang a greeting to the Pope. After the concert the Pope thanked all the performers in Italian and Ukrainian and blessed all present.

During these Millennium celebrations, other services, divine liturgies and concerts were also held in Rome, as well as a 10-day international gathering of 450 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association, who participated in the official festivities, as well as organized their own program on the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

These Millennium celebrations which took place in Rome, almost served as a pledge for a better future for Ukraine, when the Ukrainian people would once again be able to pray and worship in freedom in their homeland and live according to their 1000 year-old tradition in an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state.



Thousands of Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Yasna Hora, Czestokhova, Poland. The youth formed the number 1,000 in honor of the Millennium

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND CELEBRATE MILLENNIUM

September 10-11, the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Poland celebrated the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity in the city of Czestokhova. The celebrations were attended by thousands of Ukrainians who traveled from all over Poland and the religious services were celebrated by the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from Europe, U.S.A. and Canada. Cardinal Josef Glemp, the Primate of the Polish Catholic Church along with other Roman Catholic bishops, among them two other Polish cardinals, also participated in the celebrations. The celebrations included concerts of religious music and performances by Ukrainian youth and children. Pope John Paul II sent a telegram of greeting to the over 20,000 Ukrainians gathered.

THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION IN THE USSR

The main theme of an ABN Symposium held in Munich on September 3, 1988.

Faced with a crisis, and even the possible dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire, the Kremlin leaders must regard the nationalities problem as one of the most serious in the USSR today. This can be seen in the intensified demands of the non-Russian peoples of putting a stop to the continuing process of Russification and the granting of full national rights to their republics. In spite of perestroika, these demands which are clearly interwoven with the question of national sovereignty, have caused Moscow great anxiety. Recent events in the non-Russian republics, have shown that the authorities are attempting to suppress any signs of national revival and struggle for national rights.

Bearing this in mind, a symposium organized by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on September 3 in Munich focused on the nationalities question in the USSR, in particular at a time when Western public opinion, Western governments and means of mass information often approach Gorbachev's perestroika too optimistically. Although several perceptive Western observers of current events in the USSR confirm that without resolving the nationalities question, which would be based on the freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow, none of Gorbachev's plans for reform will ever be realised, too little attention is dedicated to this crucial problem.

During the symposium several representatives of the non-Russian nations living in the West, outlined the current situation in their respective republics (Armenia, Estonia, Georgia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Afghanistan) and stressed that these events are leading towards the achievement of independence. Demands are constantly being made of granting full rights to the republics in all spheres of life, as well as putting an end to the colonial and imperialist measures which have existed and continue to exist in spite of glasnost and perestroika (eg. Russification, intermixing of population, the creation of a so-called Soviet people, the false division of borders between the republics).

During a question and answer period, several disputing issues emerged, in particular with regard to the tactics and strategy of the struggle of the non-Russian nations in the USSR and the final aim of this struggle. The speaker on the Estonian national movement, Serhiy Soldatov, stated that the Estonian national movement is divided into two groups, the smaller group, already now supporting complete independence, and the larger group not emphasizing the independence of Estonia, but a wider autonomy, similar to that of Finland during tsarist times (1906-1917). These statements were met with criticisms, based on facts dealing with the activities of the Estonian opposition movement. An article appeared recently in *Pravda* warning Estonian nationalists (here *Pravda* had in mind the Estonian Popular Front, which supports widespread autonomy for Estonia). The article accused Estonian nationalists of attempts to "undermine" Gorbachev's reforms and achieve national independence.

These and other problems were raised during the discussion. The attitude of the subjugated nations towards the Russian nation was brought up by Eduard Oganessian (Armenia) in his report about recent events in Armenia. In his opinion, efforts should be made to win the Russian people over to the struggle against the Soviet communist regime, which could enhance the chances of success. Several of the participants



Panelists of the ABN symposium held in Munich on September 3, 1988. From left to right: A. Waskowycz (Ukraine), S. Soldatov (Estonia), E. Evdokimov (moderator, Bulgaria), S. Stetsko (ABN President), E. Oganessian (Armenia), A. Münnich-Maroukhian (Armenia), G. Ouratadze (Georgia), H. Ikram (Turkestan).

stressed that the matter of cooperation with Russian circles aiming for the dissolution of the Russian empire is important and also for their own benefit, but only if such political forces exist among the Russian people. However, these liberal Russian circles, which are active in the USSR today, are not very sympathetic to the idea of national autonomy or independence for the non-Russian republics and would only be willing to grant them cultural autonomy.

Some time was spent discussing the problem of the indifferent attitude towards the current struggle of the subjugated nations on the part of Western public opinion, as well as Western governments. This would apply in particular to the West German government and public, which do not show much interest in these matters. Several German participants also raised this matter, one of whom stated that too many hopes should not be raised for changing the attitude of the Federal Republic of Germany, including West German political circles, towards the nationalities problem in the USSR. They are more interested in economic cooperation with the USSR and very optimistic about Gorbachev's economic reforms.

Gorbachev's current "thaw" in the USSR has also had its repercussions on events in the satellite countries. Reports by representatives of Rumania, Poland, Slovakia and Bulgaria during the symposium dealt with this problem. They all concluded that recent unrests in their countries evidence the intensification of centrifugal national forces, which are not only striving for the abolition of Russian "protection" over the countries and the attainment of independence, but also for the abolition of the Soviet communist

LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM UKRAINE

Dear Mr. Reagan,

We, the representatives of social organizations and national movements of peoples of the USSR have carefully followed your speeches, where our national rights are defended, particularly in the course of election campaigns. Your fundamental position judging the Sonnenfeld Doctrine, has convinced us that you are deeply aware of our situation and understand that, without solving the national question in the USSR, neither democratization, nor an overall peace in the world is possible. Therefore, your visit to the USSR and your willingness to meet us is appreciated as one more expression of the direct attention toward intense national problems which have emerged in the Baltic, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine.

Mr. President: we hoped that you being aware of this, would have, in our meeting, stressed the attention you devote to the most acute problem, that is, the national problem. We recall that the United States has always been the most ardent champion for the freedoms of those nations within the USSR in comparison to other Western states — has always been the most ardent champion of freedom for the nations in the USSR; and as the truest followers of this conviction, we awaited that your trip to Moscow would help to bring a considerable change in the fate of our nations.

Unfortunately, this did not take place. In your speech, the question of freedom in its highest meaning, the freedom for a nation, was replaced by general human rights. From your answers given to correspondents, we judge that this position is not a coincidence, but your new view of the condition of national future in the USSR. Evidently, the USSR no longer is the “evil empire” for you and national problems are so insignificant these are no longer worth being mentioned.

▶ order which has forced them into an economic crisis. The Bulgarian representative raised the problem of Stalin’s and later Brezhnev’s plans to annex Bulgaria to the USSR and the intense Russification of Bulgarian schools at that time.

A question on how the ABN sees the liberation of the subjugated nations, was answered by ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko: “not with the help of the UN, nor by intervention from the West, but by the build-up and reinforcement of a common front of subjugated nations; not with words, but with a joint effort. Our appeal to the free world is: do not help Moscow — the enemy of not only the subjugated nations, but also of the countries still free in the world today.”

Around 65 people took part in the symposium, including representatives of individual emigre national groups of Eastern Europe, and quite a few Germans who are interested in the nationalities problem in the USSR. ABN President Slava Stetsko opened the symposium, which was moderated by Evdokim Evdokimov (Bulgaria). The current situation in the individual republics was presented by: Eduard Oganessian (Armenia), Serhiy Soldatov (Estonia), Gulnara Ouratadze (Georgia), Andriy Waskowycz (Ukraine), Hussan Ikram (Turkestan), Noor Agha (Afghanistan), who summed up the situation in Afghanistan and the continuing struggle of the mujahideen against the Soviet Russian occupiers. The situation in the satellite countries was presented by: Georg Baltean (Rumania), Valentino Berko (Slovakia), Tomasz Mianowicz (Poland) and Dr. Ognianow (Bulgaria).

But we, Mr. Reagan, conscious of our responsibility, state that there is no need for such reorientation. The fate of those nations inhabiting the USSR remains, the same “Nation killing”, using the exact words of Avtorkhanov, continues. It manifests itself every day in Russification, eliminating national languages from state administration, in science, education, deliberate fostering of migration, the intensification and centralization of economy, and in many other forms: all shaped by an imperial consciousness, which is centuries old.

If, according to Lenin, the Russian Empire was the “prison of nations”, then the use of such a term as “Soviet people” sounds like a requiem for the nations within the Soviet Union. The process of an internal disintegration of a nation as a complex social system, continues everywhere, because social antagonism and class hatred are being preached.

The doctrine of class hatred is particularly antichristian, because the love for fellow man, espoused by Christianity, can be achieved and overcome social contradictions. Nowadays, the philosophy of hatred has failed utterly, but mankind placed on the brink of extinction, Christian love, which means true religiosity, is the sole constructive force able to save the world. Faith will save states from two extremes: meaningless internationalism or national bestiality, both foundations of imperialism, where the second exists under the guise of the first. This is very characteristic in the centuries-old practice of the Russian Empire.

Mr. President: we can hardly envisage the struggle for human rights without a struggle for the national rights of nations. The history of mankind has convinced us that when national rights have been gained, then human rights are quickly consolidated, and not the other way around.

As today, so in the future, the freedom of nations is one of the main guarantees for human rights.

Mr. President: we are convinced that true history is not written on paper but in the hearts of people, and the Good Lord reads these, because the Lord judges not according to results but according to the clarity of challenges and intent.

We do remember your encouraging words that the United States should not stand by placidly observing the fate of nations locked in the Soviet straight jacket. Your retreat from this issue of freedom for nations in the USSR is caused by the strong resistance of Soviet authorities, particularly in this area, since glasnost and democratization in the national question will prove, beyond any doubt, that violence created and gives life to the Soviet Union which — whatever it may be — is not a union of nations possessing equal rights. But principles will guide toward the good for all only if these are realized thoroughly, to their ultimate end.

We wish a successful and honorable completion of your Presidency, and that you leave behind you the repute of the champion of freedom for all nations.

June 12, 1988

Participants of Lviv Conference.

Representatives of National Democratic Movements of Nations in the USSR
from Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Estonia and Armenia.

BOOK REVIEWS

ISLAM AND TURKESTAN UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

by
Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Dr. Hayit has collected thirty one of his articles which had appeared over the years in various periodicals published throughout the world. Born in Turkestan in 1917, Dr. Hayit worked from his youth onwards for the cause of Turkestani nationalism. He was also active as an educator, fighting for the preservation of Turkestan's national and cultural heritage.

During the Second World War, Dr. Hayit served first in the Red Army and then in the Turkestan Legion recruited by the Germans among Turkestani prisoners of war to fight against the Soviet armies. He was appointed representative of the "Turkestan National Fighting Units" at the German General Staff.

After the war, Dr. Hayit settled down in West Germany to a life devoted to study and research. He was one of the founding members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. He has since then published an impressive number of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with the history of Turkestan. Dr. Hayit has taught in various universities in West Germany, the United States and Turkey.

The English-language articles collected in this book appear under three headings:

- (i) Russian imperialism of all kinds in action;
- (ii) The tragic situation of Islam in the Soviet Union;
- (iii) Problems of Turkestan.

Price of the hardcover bound: \$50.00
Order from: ISIS Ltd.,

Kuyumcu Irfan Sok 22/2
80220 Istanbul, Turkey
Tel.: (1) 148 1471-1330112.

A RADIANCE IN THE GULAG

by
Nijole Sadunaite

In August of 1974, Nijole Sadunaite was arrested by the KGB in Lithuania for the "crime" of helping to circulate the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania* — an underground journal which records the heroism of the Church behind the Iron Curtain. Thereafter, she was sentenced to three years in the Soviet Gulag and three years in exile in Siberia. The conclusion was inevitable: a broken spirit, another crushed Catholic to be used in the communist cause.

But Nijole Sadunaite would not crush. Nourished by an ever-deepening faith and trust in God, she endured her ordeal, embracing both her fellow prisoners and her captors in Christian love — and steadfastly refusing to betray her contacts in the larger underground Catholic world.

Fighting error with truth, Nijole has managed to smuggle her story out of Lithuania. Here, for the first time, she presents the dramatic account of her precarious family life under an enemy regime, her own defense of the Church, her trial, imprisonment and exile, and her continued effort to serve Our Lord while evading the ever-watchful KGB.

A Radiance in the Gulag is the story of one woman's challenge to the vast power of an atheistic state — a truly awe-inspiring story of courage, faith and love.

On April 2, 1987, Nijole Sadunaite was arrested in Lithuania, detained for two hours and then released. She was warned that she was still subject to criminal prosecution for "evading administrative surveillance over the past few years".

An English-language edition of the book was published in 1987 by Trinity Communications Publishers, in Manassas, Virginia, USA.

CONTEMPORARY SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION

Moscow is placing increasing value on disinformation and "active measures" to weaken Western defences. In a recent published volume, *Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation* (United States Department of State, Washington D.C. 1987) the aims are summarised as follows:

1. The Soviet aim when it comes to the West is to demoralize, to wear down the West's self-confidence, to implant a sense of pessimism about its ability to maintain its values in a global competition against alternative values, and to achieve through erosion of resolve what one could term "graduated submission". Soviet propaganda therefore evokes both fear and guilt in Western societies.

2. Appeal is made to emotions in support of Soviet strategic objectives through propaganda on disarmament and arms control issues and through links with peace campaigns.

3. Much of Soviet propaganda is directed at winning support of particular groups — for example religious organizations — and to undermine the standing of individuals, groups and movements considered to be anti-Soviet. This is a well known aspect of all anti-communist organizations.

4. Propaganda in the Third World is designed to secure pro-Soviet alignment or neutrality on East-West issues.

5. Soviet propaganda has the important function to help Moscow win the semantic upper hand, that is, to gain control of the terms of international debate.

Another problem of the West is the fact that the intellectual class is pervaded by a spirit of self-blame and self-flagellation and is therefore especially susceptible to arguments critical of the

West and its civilization. Jean-Francois Revel has remarked that "democratic civilization is the first in history to blame itself because another power is working to destroy it."

The highly interesting publication presents the semantics of Soviet propaganda and disinformation, case studies and impact of domestic sensitivities of Soviet propaganda and disinformation.

Of special interest is material presented on The Operational Code of the Soviet Politburo. There is an element of ebb and flow in Soviet strategy after WWII: Late Stalinism — retrenchment; 1955-1962 — globalism; 1963-1968/69 — retrenchment; 1969-1979 — globalism; 1980-1985 — retrenchment. Soviet retrenchments seem to coincide with vigorous US military reassertion while globalism periods exist during eras of US retrenchment and retreat.

Soviet Russian defectors have given interesting figures on Soviet use of mass media. One defector, Stanislav Levchenko, claimed that in the late 1970s 50% of Soviet journalists stationed abroad are KGB. 80% of the foreign correspondents of *The New Times* are KGB. There are several reasons for the use of journalists: the profession is closer to intelligence than any other — journalists develop sources of information, very often in government offices, and this can provide intelligence. They may have personal networks, with sources they pay, which is an entree for intelligence gathering. Journalists have certain skills in putting together cogent and short analyses.

Foreign correspondents in Moscow often become dependent on "confidential sources" which are actually channels for KGB disinformation. The reports on Mr. Gorbachev who is preoccupied with reforming the domestic economy and thus too busy to conduct vigorous foreign policy may well be a theme of disinformation.

Another defected agent described a disinformation operation as a very complicated game. It is long, hard work and something special because it has either an important human target or the goal of destruction of relations between two countries.

There are several recommendations in this excellent volume on how to counteract. The best antidote to Soviet propaganda and disinformation is awareness and understanding not only of the Soviet Union itself but of the methods and intent of its propaganda and disinformation operations. For Soviet Russia to achieve its goals it is necessary that Western media is deceived and with a few exceptions media are unaware of this deception. They must know more about deception, first learning about it and then playing a role in informing and educating the public.

Organizations involved in countering communist activities have a special responsibility here providing, as they should, media and the public with material on the techniques and themes of Soviet propaganda and disinformation and communist techniques in general in this field. This can be made through arranging conferences, publishing material and meeting journalists. An important field that has not yet been fully discovered.

UPA: THEY FOUGHT HITLER AND STALIN

by

Major Petro R. Sodol

The above book has been published recently in the English-language on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the 40th anniversary of the UPA Great Raid to the West.

The 128-page book is generously illustrated with photographs, maps, diag-

rams and copies of various documents in Ukrainian and other languages. The photographs present key UPA commanders, victims of German terror, the activity of women in the underground, military awards ceremonies, officers' school members, raid divisions, etc.

The first section of the book consists of the following chapters: Genesis of the UPA; Organizational Structure; The Fighting Divisions of UPA-West and Operational Activities. At the end of the first section a partial bibliography of selected articles and publications about UPA activities in the English, German, Polish, Spanish and Ukrainian languages is given.

The second section of the book is made up of documents of the underground activity of that period in the following order: UPA publications — 17 documents; Nazi publications — 9 documents; Soviet, Polish and Czecho-Slovak publications — 9 documents. The UPA documents include leaflets, appeals, title pages of insurgent journals and copies of the woodcuts of N. Chasevych. The documents of the enemy presented here clearly show that the UPA led an active struggle on two fronts — against Hitler and against Stalin.

This publication provides the reader with a general history of the UPA 1942-49, and is an essential reference book for those who know nothing about this struggle of the Ukrainian nation. The book, written by Major Petro R. Sodol was published by the committee for the organization of the world conference of UPA members, which took place in New York on September 26-27, 1987.

The hard-bound volume can be ordered for US \$12.00 from the following:

UPA COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10276 U.S.A.

EUROPEAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

A European Freedom Campaign, under the auspices of the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett from Great Britain, has been underway throughout 1988. The campaign has been organized to remind the whole world that in December 1918 most European nations, which today are enslaved in the Soviet Russian empire, were free and independent. 70 years later, this campaign has been initiated, to demonstrate to the free world that there will never be a united Europe until all the subjugated nations in Eastern Europe are free.

The European Freedom Campaign was run by a coordinating committee which included representatives of the subjugated nations and Western European nations.

The culminating event in this campaign will be a mass rally to be held in Westminster Hall, London, Great Britain, on December 10, 1988.

Thousands of stickers in different European languages have been distributed throughout Europe to promote this campaign and the following manifest has been issued:

“A Fading Red Sunset and a Bright New Dawn”

In 1918, as World War I drew to an end, the collapse of European imperialism, especially that of Tsarist Russia, and the ensuing chaos led to the liberation of a number of long and harshly repressed national, ethnic and linguistic provinces of the dying empires. All sought one objective — sovereign rights to determine their own destiny free from alien domination. These spontaneous uprisings and declarations of independence reached their zenith in December 1918.

Then, but only briefly, there were separate countries of Ukraine, Georgia and Byelorussia, with varying degrees of sovereign statehood. The former Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia all found freedom and became and remained internationally recognised national entities, albeit always thereafter having to endure external threats to their existence; until at the end of WW II they were once again forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Empire.

As for the rest of central Europe, historic nations with proud cultural traditions of their own — Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, which all survived free throughout the two turbulent decades between the end of World War I and the start of World War II, are today no more than cruelly repressed satellites of the Soviet Union.

So in the event, 1918 proved to be no more than a tragic, illusory dawn for European freedom.

In the aftermath of World War II Free Europe became even less of a reality; it became the only continent in the world to be divided and disunited by barbed wire and minefields along an ideological Iron Curtain.

So during the decade ahead we can strive to ensure that 1988 is to be the first **European Freedom Year**. We are determined that as Soviet Marxism falters and fails, Europe starts now to regain its rightful place in the world as a repository of freedom for all, and not just some of its inhabitants; recalling Winston Churchill's prophetic 1946 Declaration — “Europe can never be truly free and democratic until not just Western Europe is still fortunate to be free as a valid historic entity, but the whole of Europe”.

The time is now surely right, 70 years after the historic date when more of Europe as a whole was briefly free from unwanted rule than at any time during the last two centuries, and with faith in Marxism at a new low ebb, to initiate a new crusade **Free Europe**. The Kremlin cannot validly plead glasnost while denying the application of reforms to its reluctant colonies and satellites inside and outside the USSR — the most important being the right to choose their own way of life.

We do not expect a rapid victory in this campaign, which only our faith and our dedication can achieve. The last barricade we have to storm is the stubborn determination of discredited and rightfully apprehensive Communist dictators to maintain their tyranny.

Quite simply we want to see a new Europe emerge during the last decade of this century, so that children growing up in the next will be able to ask their father “Daddy, what was a Gulag?”

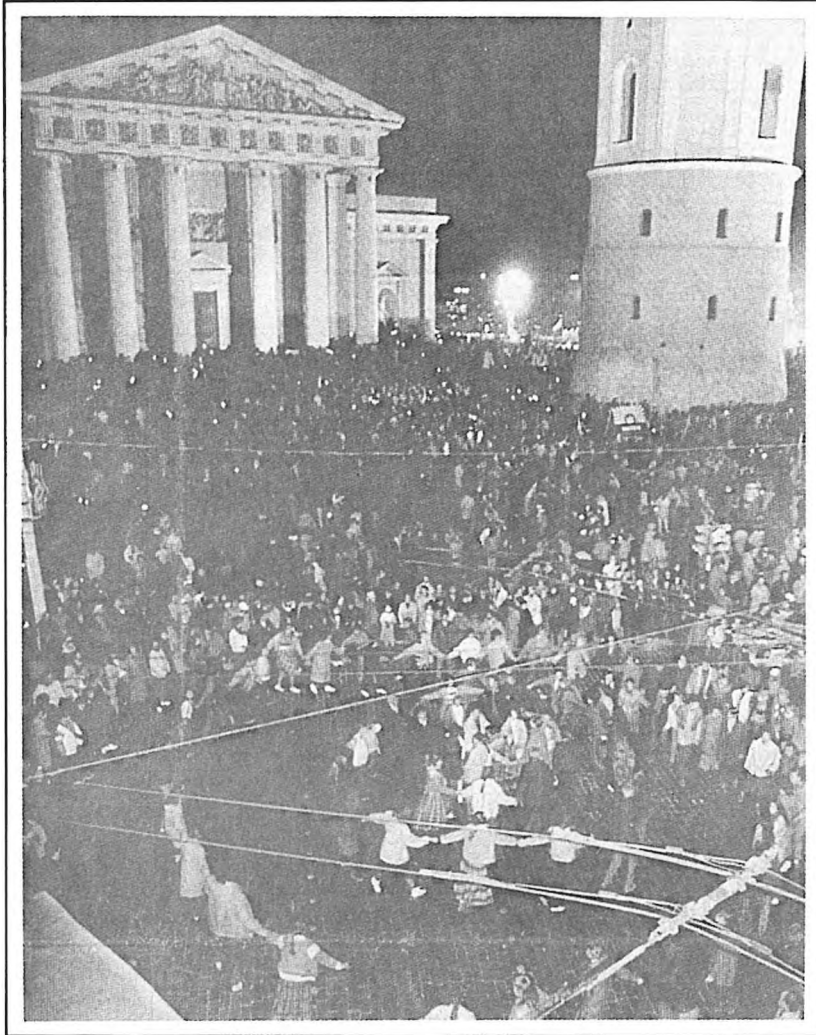


Ukrainians from throughout the world celebrate the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine outside the Ukrainian cathedral of St. Sophia in Rome, July, 1988.

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!



Lithuanians celebrating the return of the Vilnius Cathedral.

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Freedom for Nations!

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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ABN IDEAS UPHELD TODAY IN THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

On the 45th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Today, the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is becoming increasingly popular worldwide. This is evidenced not only in ABN's activities and achievements in the free world, but moreover in the noticeable increase in cooperation between the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain.

This year a series of politically significant events have taken place in Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Ukraine and in the satellite states. Frequent mass demonstrations and meetings of the newly created National Democratic Movements of Nations in the USSR have been demanding cultural, economic, religious and political freedoms and have been calling on all oppressed nations to unite in a common front against the suppression of national and democratic rights of each nation. These are political tenets upon which the ABN was founded 45 years ago.

On November 21-22, 1943, a conference of subjugated nations was held in the forests of Zhytomyr, in an area of Ukraine that had been liberated from the colonial occupational forces of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the armed underground of the Organisation of Ukrainian

“There should not be and there cannot be a Soviet nation; there can only be Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Russia and other nations. The attempt to create a Soviet nation means the destruction of national cultures and their thousand-year-old traditions and religious and national identities. To deprive nations of their spiritual roots means the destruction of morals and civilized life and the regression to barbaric ages of history.”

Yaroslav Stetsko

Nationalists (OUN). This conference was attended by the representatives of the national liberation movements of thirteen subjugated nations, that were leading a determined war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia — two of the largest military, imperialist and totalitarian powers of all times.

The conference was sponsored and organized by the UPA Supreme Command, headed by its Commander-in-Chief, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, and the leadership of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera. Its purpose was to create a coordinating political and military centre of the insurgent, national liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian and/or German imperialism, based

on a common platform of cooperation. With these aims in mind, the delegates to the conference called into being a Committee of Subjugated Nations, which later became known as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The principles of national independence and democracy, enunciated in an OUN Manifesto of 1940 and in the Ukrainian Act of Independence of June 30, 1941, were later incorporated into the platform of the ABN at its founding conference in 1943. This Manifesto called for the creation of a just international order, the cornerstone of which would be the universal principles of national independence, sovereignty and statehood, democracy and basic human liberties, against all forms of imperialism and totalitarianism. Specifically, the OUN, and later the ABN, called upon all the subjugated nations to rise up in a common front and to bring about the dissolution from within of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — and its communist system, which would result in the re-establishment of national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders.

The founding conference of ABN also appealed to the Western democracies to discard their strategy of only combating Nazism at the expense of bolstering the Bolshevik system of subjugation — the original prototype of the former — and to enter into a common front of liberation with the subjugated nations, as the only viable means of defeating both imperialist and totalitarian powers.

From the resolutions of the conference we read the following:

“1. The First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against Nazi imperialism and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.

2. The Conference deems it necessary to bring to the attention of the nations of Western and Central Europe the struggle of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Russian controlled Asia, and the aims for which this struggle is being waged.

The Conference appeals that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German army to Germany or to the fronts against the Western Allies.”

The armed forces of the UPA organised a series of so-called “raids” into the Caucasus, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Byelorussia, Hungary, Lithuania and other subjugated nations, so as to further cement the common front of liberation. The Chairman of the Committee of Subjugated Nations — Rostyslav Voloshyn, (pseudonym — Stecenko), fell in battle with Russian NKVD forces.

In 1946, Yaroslav Stetsko, a former prisoner of Nazi concentration camps, was elected President of the ABN Central Committee. Alfred Berzins, a former minister of Latvia and also a former prisoner of Nazi concentration camps, was elected Chairman of the ABN Council of Nations. Yaroslav Stetsko remained President of ABN until his death on July 5, 1986. He was succeeded by his wife, Slava Stetsko, who was elected ABN President on August 28, 1986.

In the 45 years since its inception, the ABN has played an active role in international politics. Among the primary supporters of the ABN are the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League (APACL), the European Freedom Council (EFC), the Captive Nations Committee (USA), the U.S. Council for World Freedom, and others.

Through its various activities — the publishing of informative materials, organising seminars and conferences, lecture tours, demonstrations and mass rallies, lobbying for support in the major capitals of the free world, and nurturing support for freedom fighters worldwide — the ABN has assumed the position of the coordinating centre in the national liberation strategy of the subjugated nations. Its bi-monthly journal, *ABN Correspondence*, serves as an important vehicle of communication and information.

Today, the ABN's concepts and strategy of liberation are more relevant than ever before. Many new nations are joining the struggle to achieve their national independence, civil rights, and individual liberties. In Afghanistan the war against the Russian forces and their lackeys continues. In Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Cuba, people struggle to liberate themselves from the shackles of communist tyranny sponsored by Moscow. The indigenous black population of South Africa demands the liquidation of the repressive apartheid system and seek to exercise their right to national self-determination. In Poland the Solidarity movement has intensified its struggle for liberty and justice and has adopted the new name of "Fighting Solidarity" to underscore the Polish people's irrepressible quest for liberty. In Yugoslavia the Slovenians, Croats and others are beginning to demand their rights. The Slovaks, Bulgarians, Romanians, Hungarians, East Germans and Czechs are all trying to assert themselves with increasing force and frequency. Albania is

"If the Free World is fearful of nuclear war, then it must implement the only remaining alternative: joining the national liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Russia."

Yaroslav Stetsko

simmering under the lid of Stalinism. The Chornobyl nuclear catastrophe has galvanized Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in their opposition to Moscow and has strengthened the revolutionary liberation processes. The war of liberation in Afghanistan has intensified the resolute determination of the Moslem nations captive in the USSR — Turkestan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and others — to continue striving for their national independence against Russian imperialist tyranny.

Today's support of the concepts of ABN and its activities throughout the world has found widespread resonance behind the Iron Curtain and has alarmed Moscow. The ABN is constantly and increasingly being attacked in the Soviet press and media. Pamphlets and other literature aimed at "discrediting" the ABN and its leaders, in particular the late Yaroslav Stetsko, are not only appearing in the USSR and its satellite states, but are also being disseminated in the West. Pseudo-academic works by dubious authors are being published, which, financed by the Soviet Union, are merely repeating Moscow's absurd lies about the ABN. This Soviet propaganda campaign against ABN, its ideas and activities merely goes to show that the ABN's means of struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism and communism is justified and correct. Moscow fears ABN's activities and is exerting great effort in trying to suppress them.

However, the struggle of the subjugated nations for national independence, sovereignty and basic civil and human liberties will continue until these ideals have been realized.

“WISE ACTION”

Principles of the National Democratic Party of Georgia

In July of this year, the National Democratic Party of Georgia was renewed. This renewed party intends to continue the political activity of the National Democratic Party of Georgia which was outlawed by the Bolsheviks in the first quarter of this century. After being outlawed, the NDP continued to be active in its struggle for the independence of Georgia in the emigration. This same struggle for Georgia's independence is also the main goal of the renewed NDP. In its principles, the NDP states that in no event will they compromise with the authorities. The principles of the NDP reached the West under the heading “Wise Action”.

PREAMBLE

Over the course of more than 70 years of the existence of Soviet rule in Georgia, the following has become clear to the Georgian nation:

I. The Communist Party of Georgia and the so-called government of Georgia do not manifest themselves as an independent political force and submit to Moscow unconditionally in everything. Not only do they not have any independent foreign policy, but they are also chained on all sides in their internal affairs.

II. The Georgian nation is in fact deprived of its own government, deprived of the possibility of self-defense, its wishes and rights are ignored, and the destiny of Georgia and the Georgian nation is decided by Moscow.

III. Georgia has no army, no national flag and no emblem; in Georgia there is no parliament and no statehood. Georgia is not an independent state, but a part of a foreign country. Any vital issues concerning Georgia can only be decided on after independence is restored.

IV. The spiritual life of the country is destroyed. The Church is under complete control of the authorities and this has resulted in a general moral decline along with the loss of personal dignity.

V. The Georgian nation is being methodically destroyed through the artificial violation of the demographic equilibrium.

VI. Nature is being mercilessly destroyed in Georgia. The country stands on the verge of an ecological catastrophe.

VII. Not only is Georgian not the state language of Georgia, it is in fact forced out of many spheres of social life.

VIII. Despite individual achievements, as a whole, Georgian culture stands at a very low level.

IX. The middle and higher education systems in Georgia do not need reforms or cosmetic measures, they need fundamental changes.

X. Georgian patriots are persecuted. They do not have the opportunity to publicly express their convictions nor to disseminate them. They are constantly kept under surveillance by the authorities, they are repressed, provoked and victimized through the constant circulation of slanders. All in all, in Georgia, as in all of the Soviet Union, the human rights foreseen by the Helsinki Accords are constantly violated.

XI. The authorities are doing everything possible to Russify Georgia.

XII. After the sovietization of Georgia, without considering the interests of the Georgian nation and in disdain of the totality of Georgia, a part of historic Georgian territory was taken and divided up among its neighbors. Aside from this, three autonomous regions have been created in Georgia despite the fact that the territory of the so-called Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the South Ossentian Autonomous Region sempiternally have been historic Georgian land. As to Adzharia, its population is Georgian, and the Adzhar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established with the inclusion of religious principles, which from the point of view of an atheist state, is a total surprise.

XIII. Georgia is a colony of Russia and from the economic point of view, the economy of Georgia is a part of the overall economy of Russia. Hence, the development of various branches of the national domestic economy of Georgia is determined by the interests of Russia, and not Georgia.

Soviet rule was established in Georgia by force and the Georgian nation has neither accepted its existence as a part of a foreign country nor has it accepted totalitarianism. The Georgian nation has struggled, is struggling and will continue to struggle for the restoration of its independence.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1. The National Democratic Party of Georgia is the avantgarde of the Illya Chau-chavadze Society, the political union of the most radical sections of the national-patriotic forces of Georgia.

2. The goal of the National Democratic Party of Georgia is the restoration of Georgian independence through peaceful means, the introduction of pluralism into the political, social and economic spheres of life.

3. The ideological basis of our party is theo-democracy, which besides traditional democratic values also takes into consideration the role of the Church in moral issues and control of politics.

4. Our motto is "Georgia for Georgians", which in no way means a restriction of the rights of ethnic individuals living on the territory of Georgia or a curtailing of their political freedom.

5. We have and will continue to cooperate with the democratic and patriotic forces of Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Armenia. We have a common goal, and we will obtain independence either all together, or not any one of us.

We assign great importance to cooperation not only with the existing democratic forces in the USSR, but also with truly progressive, anti-totalitarian forces abroad.

Historical established law and objective reality clearly show that with the approach of the liberation of the subjugated nations, it is necessary only to organize people, unite forces and coordinate action.

6. Violence is foreign to the NDP. We will struggle only through political channels: meetings, demonstrations, strikes, the dissemination of underground literature, proclamations, calls to national resistance and the realistic realization of this resistance —these are the means of our struggle.

Our party devotes great attention and has high hopes in the referendum, this legal act representing the will of the people. We demand that referendums be conducted on questions vital to the Georgian nation. The last referendum would be conducted with the direct participation of the representatives of the United Nations and other experts.



Georgian national poet Illya Chauchavadze

**1837-+1907*

This referendum will give the Georgian nation the chance to express its opinion as to the question whether Georgia should or should not remain in the USSR.

7. The National Democratic Party is struggling to unite the better national, democratic forces of the Illya Chauchavadze Society and to incorporate a select part of the Society into the activity of the NDP.

8. The NDP should lead the national movement of Georgia, aided by its fundamental mass organization, the Illya Chauchavadze Society.

9. Under no circumstances will the NDP compromise with the authorities.

10. The NDP recognizes three types of property: state, cooperative and private. The decentralization of the economy and the securing of market interests are a prerequisite to a healthy economy in the future of Georgia.

11. The NDP is the direct continuation of the political platform maintained by the National Democratic Party of Georgia in the first quarter of this century — the greatest national force of that period. Therefore, we do not feel that a new party has been formed, but rather that an old party has been restored. As to the points of difference between the “old” and the “new” party, they are the result of time and the new political situation.

We acknowledge the NDP in the emigration and ask that the possibility of coordination of our actions be looked into.

ESTONIA DECLARES SOVEREIGNTY

In an unprecedented move, the Estonian parliament, on Wednesday, November 16, 1988, voted and declared the Estonian republic sovereign, with the right to veto Soviet laws.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet began proceedings at noon in the 18th century Toompea Palace in Tallinn. The restrained debates were televised live throughout the republic. In their discussions, the deputies from the Communist Party and government of Estonia expounded on Estonia's need to control its land, factories and law. Too much centralized control was accounted responsible for ruining the economy and the environment of the country.

At the beginning of the session the parliament elected Indrek Toome as Estonian prime minister. Toome, considered to be one of the leading advocates of change, was the current party ideology chief.

By declaring sovereignty, the Estonian parliament rejected the Kremlin's plans to modify the Soviet constitution. According to the deputies, the changes proposed by Moscow would restrict the rights of individual republics and give Moscow unacceptable veto powers over the republics as well as over local authorities. Instead, the Estonian parliament voted to amend its own constitution.

The vote on the declaration of sovereignty was 258-1 with five abstentions. The vote came several minutes after the parliament voted on related amendments to the Estonian constitution, which were adopted 254-7. The amendments voted into effect include one which gives Estonia the right to refuse to apply Soviet legislation in the republic. Soviet laws can take effect in Estonia only "upon their registration by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in a way regulated by it".

The other four amendments include human and civil rights guarantees, claim the land and the natural resources of the republic as the property of Estonia rather than of the "state" and guarantee the right to hold private property.

The declaration of sovereignty does not declare complete independence for Estonia. It calls for a treaty to be negotiated with Moscow that would "determine the further status of Estonia in the composition of the Soviet Union".

The proposals which were voted in were presented by the Presidium, the ruling government body. The speakers at the parliamentary proceedings said that the principle of sovereignty has been supported at a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee, the party's policy making organ.

The strategy of the Estonian activists rests on the traditional claim of the USSR to be a federation of independent republics with the right to secede from the Soviet Union. The passage of such measures by the official government body of a republic is an unprecedented act of defiance of the central authorities in Moscow.

Levko Lukianenko along with other national rights activists formed a group in the 1960s whose goal was the independence of Ukraine. Secession from the Soviet Union was and remains a prerequisite to independence. All involved were arrested and Lukianenko remains in exile to this day.

There was no report or comment on the decisions of the Estonian parliament in the state-run media in Moscow.

ESTONIANS DEMAND INDEPENDENCE

Three hundred Estonians have signed and sent to the Estonian Supreme Soviet a petition asking that in light of the proposed changes in the Soviet Constitution, the Estonian SSR be declared an independent nation, separate from the Soviet Union. The complete text of the petition, released in New York by the Estonian American National Council, follows.

In connection with the publication of the corrections to the Soviet Union's Constitution, which, if ratified will nullify any of the aspirations of the Soviet republics to sovereignty and knowing of the traditional unanimous acceptance of decrees from above by the USSR's Supreme Soviet, we, the undersigned, are deeply worried about the fate of Estonia.

We propose that, before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR meets, the Estonian Supreme Soviet convene and proclaim the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic an independent nation, separate from the Soviet Union.

In the event of strong opposition or procrastination on the part of the central authorities, the Estonian Supreme Soviet should officially join the Estonian National Independence Party's Memorandum of September 17, 1988, and seek support from the United Nations for Estonian independence.

The petition was drafted November 2 by the Estonian National Independence Party. Additional signatures are still being collected. The Estonian National Independence Party is the outgrowth of the long-time democratic opposition and dissident movement in Estonia. Some of its founding members are former political prisoners, including Lagle Parek, Mati Kürend and others. In its manifesto, the Estonian National Independence Party assessed the situation in Estonia on August 20.

"We have reached a state... where we do not have enough clean air, water or earth to sustain life, let alone freedom. Add to that the danger of becoming a minority in our own ancient land... Every thinking and responsible Estonian senses a most dire threat to survival... Our demand for independence is not extremism, rather it is the most realistic, sober and illusion-free way out of our concerns and miseries... The future relations of independent Estonia with her eastern neighbor... can only be based upon the February 2, 1920, Peace Treaty of Tartu. This treaty has lost none of its legal or essential value. Treaties like this do not lose their validity through forcible occupations."

Estonians are the oldest known inhabitants of the northwestern shores of the Baltic Sea. The 13th century began a long series of foreign invasions and counter-revolutions by Estonians; an independent Estonia was finally proclaimed in 1918. Following the Estonian War of Independence, the USSR was the first to recognize Estonian independence "for all time" in 1920.

In a clear violation of international law, the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 led to the forcible military occupation and incorporation of Estonia, as well as her Baltic neighbors, Latvia and Lithuania by Soviet Russia. Most Western nations do not recognize as legal or permanent this forcible seizure of three former democracies by the Soviet Russians.

RALLY IN MINSK BROKEN UP BY POLICE

Police and internal troops used tear gas, fire hoses and dogs to break up a demonstration of thousands of people in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk on Sunday, October 30.

The meeting attracted an estimated crowd of 10,000-30,000 people. Local groups had called the meeting to commemorate Byelorussian victims of Stalinism, including the thousands executed in nearby Kurapaty between 1937-1941.

The demonstrators first assembled near a cemetery on the outskirts of Minsk on Sunday afternoon. They were forced to disperse by police using tear gas. Some participants attempted to continue the rally at Kurapaty forest, the site of the mass graves of Byelorussians murdered by the NKVD during Stalin's reign. The forest was cordoned off by the police and the demonstrators were once again dispersed. After several hours the demonstrators once again regrouped in a nearby field and attempted to hold the rally. People were listening to a speech by the archeologist Zenon Paznyak when the police once again descended upon them and used tear gas and fire hoses to break up the meeting. Paznyak was the first to reveal the massacres at Kurapaty in an article published in May. He is also the chairman of the Byelorussian group Martirolog.

Permission for the rally was initially granted by the Minsk authorities verbally. The official Communist Party and government newspaper *Sovetskaya Byelorussia* carried notice of the rally. However, two days before the demonstration was to take place, the authorities formally refused permission to hold it. The reason cited was that Minsk had no tradition of such events.

Despite the official ban, thousands of Byelorussians attended the rally. Participants included members from various informal groups, including the Minsk branch of Memorial — Martirolog, artists' and cinematographers' unions. Another purpose of the rally was also to call for a popular front along the lines of the popular fronts in the Baltic states.

Memorial was originally established to commemorate victims of Stalinism. It now also appears to be developing into a wider reformist movement to stop a resurgence of oppression.

It is worth noting that Memorial in Moscow held a weekend meeting with the full permission and approval of the local authorities, along with the support of Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev had telephoned one of the organizers of Memorial in Moscow before their weekend meeting and offered his support in the name of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

During this same weekend the demonstration in Minsk was being violently dispersed and people were being arrested. The demonstration organized by the Byelorussian counterpart of Memorial — Martirolog, could not take place in Minsk, but Memorial could meet with official permission, approval and support in Moscow. This is a further illustration of the unfair, chauvinistic, political double standard maintained by the Kremlin.

Memorial sent a telex to Gorbachev protesting the police tactics in Minsk. The Byelorussian writer Vasyl Bykov, in an interview with the weekly *Moscow News* also stated that the Byelorussian authorities were attempting to suppress the anti-Stalinist movement in Byelorussia and by declaring Martirolog illegal, were in effect, defending Stalinism.

THE ECOLOGICAL SITUATION IN UKRAINE

Appeal by the Executive Committee of the
Ukrainian Helsinki Union issued in November, 1988

Citizens of Ukraine!

Our land is threatened with destruction, our people are threatened by the spectre of extermination. As a result of the centralised criminal policy of the Stalin-Brezhnev leadership, which disregarded the interests of the republics — sovereign only on paper, and as a result of the irresponsibility of the local authorities, which sold out Ukraine to the ruling mafia, today Ukraine is oversaturated with power, extractive, metallurgical and chemical industry, which releases the greatest amount of harmful refuse.

50% of the nuclear power capacity of the Soviet Union is concentrated in Ukraine, which comprises only 2.7% of the whole territory of the USSR. Moreover, not far from the territory of Ukraine, the Voronezh and Smolensk nuclear power plants are situated in our river basins.

The ruling bureaucratic leadership has learnt nothing from the tragedy of Chornobyl, which shook the whole world: new nuclear reactors are being constructed or planned at the Rovensk, Novoukrainska, Khmelnyckyj and Zaporizhia nuclear power plants. Ignoring public protests, the construction of the Crimean nuclear power plant is being completed, and even in Ukraine's historical centre, Chyhyryn, the construction of a nuclear power plant is secretly and furtively taking place. This is happening in spite of the fact that even today Ukraine is exporting electrical energy to other countries, and even with economical management and a reduction in the industrial power capacity to international norms, the whole electrical energy of Ukrainian nuclear power plants would be superfluous. This is happening despite the fact that in many countries around the world nuclear energy is prohibited or being reduced. This is happening at a time when even such an over-industrialised state as the USA has decided to halt further construction of nuclear power plants and reduce the existing ones.

The time has come to put an end to the rapacious economical management of our country. At first, we were forced to take pride in being the all-Russian granary, then the all-Union smithy or blast-furnace. Today, Ukraine is becoming an all-Union reactor, and in a future perspective, an all-Union, or even a universal cemetery. Today, we are compelled to remind the rulers that this country has a master — its people, for whom this country is not only a means of fulfilling production plans, but was also a historical cradle in the past and a homestead for a happy life for present and future generations.

Glasnost has brought the belated truth about the terrible 1930s onto the pages of our press. However, the years awaiting us will be even more terrible if we only rejoice over the truth about the past. Just as the blood freezes in our veins when we hear about those 8 million lives taken by the artificial famine in 1933. But where is today's truth, why is it being stifled? The truth about those seven and a half million people who are among us today, but in the next ten years, according to competent scholars, will be buried prematurely? And this, as a result of only one reactor in Chornobyl? Yet, fifty such reactors are in store for us!

Ukrainian scholars, writers and public activists have appealed to the relevant authorities, then later even to the 19th conference of the ruling party demanding a halt to the further expansion of nuclear energy in Ukraine. A national referendum was suggested. However, the reaction to this appeal, or rather, the lack of any kind of reaction, has shown that nobody is taking these demands seriously and that nobody is even thinking of asking the people. Meanwhile, the Ministry for Atomic Energy is hastening on the work of putting new reactors and new nuclear power stations into operation.

People, let us stop these madmen! Let us stop them before it is too late! May this petition become a national referendum, by which the Ukrainian people and all other peoples, living on the territory of Ukraine, can express their will to live. Our country has experienced many hostile invasions. Our ancestors defended it for us. Today, the historical responsibility for Ukraine's fate lies heavily on us. So, let us free our country from the ruthless claws of centralism and from our own irresponsibility and indifference towards our fate, the fate of our children and grandchildren and the fate of our wounded land.

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

PETITION

In support of the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, we, the undersigned, demand the following from the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR:

- An immediate halt in the construction of the Crimean and Chyhyryn nuclear power plants;
- The suspension of the operation of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant and its transformation into a reserve and warning zone of international significance;
- The prevention of putting into operation any new reactors on already existing nuclear power plants;
- The preparation and publication of a perspective plan for a gradual liquidation (within the course of clearly fixed dates) of all existing nuclear power plants in Ukraine, which should be replaced by alternative means of electrical power production, and the closing down of ecologically harmful power production in zones of industrial oversaturation and dense population.

Stop nuclear evil in Ukraine!

(Petition presented with numbered signatures,
surnames, names, patronymic names and addresses.

ECOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATION IN KYIV

A Mysterious Disease Afflicts Children in Chernivtsi

Effects of the nuclear disaster in Chornobyl of April 1986 and a current mysterious disease afflicting children in Chernivtsi, were just two of the disturbing reports presented at a mass demonstration in Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, on Sunday, November 13. Around 20,000 people demonstrated in Kyiv against environmental pollution in their republic and spent three hours standing in zero temperatures listening to speeches and reports by scientists, poets and writers from all over Ukraine.

The first cases of the mysterious malady afflicting children in the southern Ukrainian city of Chernivtsi, which causes hair loss and a disturbed nervous system, were reported at the end of August this year. The situation has become so serious that the ministry of health of the Ukrainian SSR has set up a 30-member commission of specialists to investigate the causes of the disease. Soviet doctors have denied that the malady is an after-effect of the April 1986 nuclear disaster in Chornobyl, which is located 280 miles from Chernivtsi.

The mysterious illness affects only children. The first cases affected children between 18 months and seven years of age. But by November, the illness had struck newborns and teens up to the age of 15.

Rumours about the strange sickness reached the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv, where *Pravda Ukrainy* on October 30 published an alarming article. In *Pravda Ukrainy*, Ivan Penyshkevych, a health official for the Chernivtsi region is quoted as saying that "suspicions of reaction to radiation or pesticides have been excluded." He added that the authorities currently believe that the illness is caused by some chemical agent. Mr. Penyshkevych also told the newspaper that each day two or three children are sent to the hospital with the disease's symptoms, hair loss and nervous system abnormalities. He also noted that experts from across the Soviet Union had been called in to study the problem which is causing a panic among the local population.

Alarmed parents have begun to take their children out of the city. The local authorities are attempting to convince the parents that there is no reason to remove children from the city, yet the parents are distrustful of the authorities' attempts of calming down the population. Many children have been removed from the city. Up to 40% of the children have been taken out of schools in Chernivtsi.

At a Moscow press conference on November 9, the Health Minister of the USSR, Chazov, presented the results of the research commission of specialists. He stated that the symptoms of this disease are a high irritation level, accompanied by hallucinations and hair loss. The symptoms are caused by chemical agents, such as the increased level of aluminium in the air in Chernivtsi, which, when acting on the organism, causes hair loss. Other high levels of chemicals in the air and soil, currently detected in Chernivtsi, have been known to cause acute and chronic illnesses.

Children suffering from this unheard-of disease should remain indoors and wash themselves several times a day. To date, the number of sick children in Chernivtsi has reached 114.

The ecological demonstration in Kyiv also saw the creation of the Ukrainian Popular Front, with aims similar to those of the Popular Fronts in the Baltic States, demanding more economic and cultural freedom, as well as a general solution to the grievances of the people.

MEMORIAL SERVICE IN LVIV

On Tuesday evening, November 1, 1988, thousands of residents of the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv gathered in the Yaniv cemetery to honor those who laid down their lives for Ukraine.

The Yaniv cemetery at one time contained many graves of the Sich Riflemen, a military formation which fought for Ukrainian independence during the war of libera-

tion, 1917-1921. These graves were systematically destroyed during the 1970s in a barbaric fashion.

November 1 is a memorable date in Ukraine's history. When the citizens of Lviv awoke on November 1, 1918, they found the city had been recaptured from the Bolsheviks by Ukrainian forces. That day of regained freedom, has remained a historic occasion.

The memorial service conducted in Yaniv cemetery honoring those who gave their lives for Ukraine's freedom is the first one in a very long time. People arrived with lit candles and torches. The poet Rostyslav Bratun greeted those present and said that they had all gathered there "to lay down flowers for those who fought for the freedom of Ukraine". After his address four priests conducted a memorial service. After the service all present proceeded to the section of the cemetery where the ruined graves of the Sich Riflemen were located. Here, another memorial service was conducted and one of the priests delivered an address. He reminded everyone how in the beginning of the 1970s tractors and bulldozers grazed the graves, breaking the tombstones and leveling the ground. Human bones lay scattered where they had been unearthed. The Ukrainian poet and former political prisoner Ihor Kalynets read one of his poems dedicated to the destruction of these graves which he wrote in 1971. Ivan Hel also addressed those present. After the addresses those present sang songs and peacefully dispersed to visit graves of relatives and friends. The memorial gathering lasted approximately two hours. There was no interruption of the service on the part of the authorities.

UKRAINIAN ACTIVIST IVAN MAKAR RELEASED

Western press agencies reported that the Ukrainian human rights activist, the Lviv engineer Ivan Makar, was released from a three-month arrest on November 9. Makar was arrested on August 4 in connection with the mass meetings which took place throughout July this year in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv.

The 31 year-old engineer was charged under Article 187-1 of the USSR Criminal Code with "intentionally spreading false fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social order". News of Makar's arrest quickly spread throughout the Soviet Union and the West. A committee in defence of I. Makar, chaired by Ukrainian activist Bohdan Horyn, was set up in Lviv. Signatures were collected in Ukraine on petitions demanding his release. Protest actions were also taking place in other republics demanding his release. A separate appeal in his defence was prepared by the Georgian National Democratic Party. During an attempted demonstration in Moscow on October 30, organised by the Moscow-based Democratic Society (the demonstration was disrupted by the authorities), placards were carried bearing the words "Freedom for Ivan Makar". Ivan Makar was considered to be "the first victim of perestroika in the USSR".

In the West, Ukrainian communities in the U.S. and Canada were acting on behalf of Makar. Attempts were being made to arrange for his case to be defended by an American attorney and for Western lawyers to attend his possible trial in Lviv as legal observers.

The Lviv KGB, the local procurator's office and law-court were finally put in an awkward position. On the one hand, the achievements of glasnost and perestroika were being propagated, while on the other hand, a political trial was being prepared.

Due to such widespread publicity, the authorities were forced to release Ivan Makar. However, his case was passed back to the procurator's office to be re-investigated.

THE PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS INTENSIFIES IN UKRAINE

To all Christians and citizens of countries participating in the Vienna Conference for the Review of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

At the end of the second millennium since the birth of Christ and after a thousand years since our baptism, only two European nations — the Byelorussian and Ukrainian — are deprived of the right to freely confess the Christian faith, and their Churches are destroyed or outlawed. For a thousand years, the Ukrainian Church preached evangelical virtues of Christian love and charity in Eastern Europe. It united our nation with the Christian nations of Europe. Having set as its goal the destruction of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian nations through brutal and total Russification, Russian tsarism in the first place mercilessly destroyed our Churches as the most important spiritual institution of our two nations.

Stalin and his successors continued the same policy towards Ukraine. In the 1930s, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine was liquidated and its clergy physically destroyed. In the 1940s, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR was outlawed and its faithful pronounced united with the Russian Orthodox Church. The destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was being realised by the Stalinist regime. Organs of the NKVD arrested the entire hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, priors, and thousands of priests and monks — all those who refused to renounce the Catholic Church. Most of them died during imprisonment; hundreds of thousands of faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were repressed.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church went over to an illegal status, into the catacombs. In this form, on the whole, it is continuing to act even in the present time, as the policy of persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church remains, in principle unchanged. The broad campaign of the denunciation of Stalin's crimes, currently underway in the Soviet media, has not touched at all on the question of the destruction of the Ukrainian Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches, and the terror against Ukrainian Christians — Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants. Moreover, the campaign of disinformation and defamation, particularly of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its faithful, in the period of so-called restructuring, is being waged with fresh force by state officials, official propaganda, and the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. It does not differ in any way from similar attacks of the Stalin-Brezhnev period.

State policy towards the Ukrainian Church remains extremely hostile. The authorities are striving, without fail, to politicise the religious question. The reaction of the authorities to the numerous appeals and petitions with thousands of signatures for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was this. All appeals to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have been ignored. Instead, the authorities are employing new methods of combatting the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic believers is, it seems, in the spirit of the time. Everywhere, where the movement for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is

particularly strong, the authorities are trying to create parishes of the Russian Church, handing over Ukrainian Catholic churches, which have remained closed until now, to the Russian Orthodox Church. With the help of blackmail and threats, the organs of the KGB, the militia and state and party officials are trying to force the most backward and frightened believers into the Russian Church. With the aim of a propaganda coup, the authorities are employing energetic means in order to create the impression of state tolerance towards religious believers and guarantee of the right of freedom of conscience laid down in the Constitution of the USSR. At the same time, the persecution of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is becoming more intense. The KGB and the militia are disrupting religious services, dispersing the faithful, and preventing priests from celebrating Mass. Activists for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are being threatened. A legalised form of robbery in the form of levying fines against believers for participation in religious services is being practiced. Acts of vandalism are being committed, religious attributes destroyed, churches desecrated.

The authorities are trying to extend the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR regarding organisation and the holding of gatherings, meetings, street marches and demonstrations, which is already in force, to religious services of the Ukrainian Catholics, classifying them as unsanctioned meetings and gatherings. And, thus, the high-handedness of the authorities towards Ukrainian Catholics is becoming unlimited, but the question of religious believers is becoming even more profound.

As we can see, the policy of restructuring has not improved the situation of the Ukrainian Church and its faithful at all. Without the guarantee of freedom of conscience, one of the most fundamental human rights, neither the process of democratization nor the guarantee of other human rights is possible. Furthermore, the problem of the Church is an important part of the main unresolved problem in the USSR — the national problem. Without respect for the religious freedom of one of Europe's largest nations, the Ukrainian nation, progress in the field of European security and cooperation is impossible. Freedom is indivisible. The absence of freedom in our country will always pose a threat to its existence in democratic countries. A sure guarantee of the freedom and security of nations is not the number of international documents with corresponding declarations that have been signed, but the unwavering implementation of the principles laid down in these documents.

To us, Ukrainian Christians, the principle of freedom of conscience, laid down in the Helsinki Final Act and other international documents, and even in Article 52 of the Constitution of the USSR, is a mockery, as the authorities stubbornly refuse to recognise this right for Ukrainians. Our Ukrainian Church and its faithful presently find themselves in a particularly difficult and dramatic situation. We call upon all our brothers in Christ, all the citizens of the countries taking part in the Helsinki process, to express their solidarity with our struggle for the better future of our Church.

We hope that you, Dear Brothers and Sisters, will not abandon us in this predicament. We call upon you to do everything possible to convince the governments of your countries that it is pointless signing the final document of the Vienna Conference until the government of the USSR allows the Ukrainian Catholic Church to function legally and recognises the right to revive the Ukrainian Autocephalous

Orthodox Church in Ukraine. The signing of the next document, when obligations made at previous international fora are not being met, will only encourage certain parties to go on violating basic human rights in the future.

We are all Europeans, brought up on cultural and spiritual traditions based on the principles of Christian love, charity and solidarity. And hence it is our duty to resist the destructive forces, which are striving to shake or destroy these principles, wherever this threat exists.

Today, Ukraine is a victim of the intensified activity of the forces of destruction. She is calling for help to all people of good will.

On behalf of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
S. Khmara

Chervonohrad-Lviv, 15.8.1988

PERSECUTION OF REV. PETRO ZELENIUKH CONTINUES

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

Since the time the authorities handed the Catholic church in the village over to the Russian Orthodox Church, hundreds of faithful have been gathering in front of Rev. Zeleniukh's house to hear mass. The priest is being constantly fined for celebrating mass even on occasions when he was not in the village. In a protest letter to Mikhail Gorbachev he wrote: "They fine me for every Sunday, every religious holiday, even when I do not celebrate mass, when I'm not at home".

Rev. Zeleniukh and his wife Iryna, who are living off her monthly pension, find these fines particularly insufferable. In an appeal to Catholics in the free world, Iryna Zeleniukh wrote the following:

"Lately, despite the changes in our country — democratisation, glasnost and new thinking — the local authorities have turned on Rev. Petro, and with numerous fines have, in fact, led our family to a state of complete bankruptcy. In the last few months alone, my husband has been fined 40 times! Many faithful in Kalynivka help us as much as they can, but even they are no longer able to pay the priest's fines. I receive a monthly pension of 57 rubles, with which I have to pay my husband's fines and maintain the family. God is our hope and He gives us strength. So I am appealing to you, my brothers and sisters Catholics, with the plea to help my husband materially, even if with 1 cent, as well as for spiritual and material support..."

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR *ABN CORRESPONDENCE*

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

LITHUANIANS SAY NO TO NUCLEAR POWER

Between 15,000-20,000 Lithuanians, and supporters from neighboring Latvia, formed a human chain and ring of tents around the Ignalina nuclear power plant on September 16-18, calling for an international safety inspection of the facility, reported eyewitnesses. Three fires have broken out in the past two months at the Ignalina plant, beset by constructional and design defects, according to the Movement to Support Perestroika in Lithuania, which organized the event.

Environmental activist and coordinator of the two day camp-out, Zigmąs Vaišvila, said the Soviet government refused to grant a permit for the demonstration. The Movement thus sponsored community and cultural activities on the grounds, such as tree-planting ceremonies and theatrical performances. A few participants were, reportedly, even allowed inside the plant.

The government officially recognizes the Movement, formed last June by leading Lithuanian intellectuals to support Gorbachev's reform drive, but has warned it must not go too far, particularly in its campaign against Ignalina.

Initial plans to hold Mass outside the facility had to be cancelled, said Vaišvila, because "religious services in public places, outside of a house of worship, are against the law." Three Roman Catholic priests, who arrived on Saturday at the invitation of the Movement, sang a brief prayer instead.

Despite harsh condemnation of the weekend event in Ignalina by the state news agency ELTA, the Movement to Support Perestroika plans to continue a grassroots campaign to block construction of the third reactor block. The Movement is mobilizing members around the country to sponsor vigils in public squares calling for an international investigation of Ignalina. Movement spokesmen said they plan to continue this campaign until their aim to have an international panel of experts examine Ignalina is realized. Earlier in September, Algirdas Brazauskas, Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, reportedly claimed on nationwide television that his office had received a telegram from the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna announcing that an international commission would not be sent to Lithuania, on grounds that this was an "internal matter". It was not clear why the telegram was delivered to the Central Committee, since the appeal to form a commission was issued to the IAEA by the Movement to Support Perestroika.

The Movement appeal, also addressed to Secretary General of the United Nations, was issued on September 7.

LITHUANIANS REJOICE OVER RETURN OF CATHEDRAL

Lithuanian Reform Movement Sets Demands

200,000 Lithuanians gathered in Gediminas Square in Vilnius on the evening of Saturday, October 22, carrying candles, torches and the long-banned red, green and yellow flags of a free Lithuania. Lithuanians of all ages — old, young, children on their fathers' shoulders — assembled in the square singing patriotic songs, which everyone knew by heart. The mood was of rapture and awe, as the people listened to long-prohibited songs and poetry. Behind the square, half-observed by the haze of smoke and forest of flags, stood the old cathedral and Gediminas Castle on the hill above — guardians of a sovereign Catholic nation.

That same evening, the Lithuanian Reform Movement, “Sajudis”, was holding its inaugural congress across the river from Gediminas Square, in the assembly hall on the bank of the Neris. “Sajudis”, formed four months ago, is an independent movement demanding reforms and radical changes in Lithuania, such as: an autonomous Lithuanian administration and economy with its own currency, Lithuanian citizenship, its own representation abroad and its own army, including the rule that Lithuanian conscripts fulfill their national service on Lithuanian soil.

During its inaugural congress on October 22, after a series of pressing demands made on the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, it was announced that Vilnius Cathedral in Gediminas Square, used for 40 years as a picture gallery, was to be returned to the Roman Catholic Church. As the news broke, the congress was momentarily stunned into silence. Then all the 3,000 delegates and guests rose in thunderous applause, chanting *Lie-tu-va, Lie-tu-va*, or “Lithuania”, thus underscoring that in Lithuania the Church and nation are one.

At dawn, on Sunday, October 23, around 20,000 people gathered before the great white columns of the cathedral’s entrance. The darkness was filled by rhythmic chanting, Lithuanian and Vatican flags fluttered in the breeze. From the building, Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius emerged to celebrate Mass, as the sky over Vilnius gradually lightened.

The Mass was shown live on Lithuanian television in what local journalists said was probably the first broadcast of a Roman Catholic ceremony in the history of Soviet Russian occupied Lithuania.



Vilnius residents gathering for the first Mass in 40 years at the Vilnius Cathedral.

SOVIETS POLLUTE BALTIC SEA WITH NAPALM BOMBS

300 napalm bombs have recently been deposited by Soviet military forces in the Baltic Sea near Liepaja in Soviet occupied Latvia, according to sources in Latvia.

With total disregard to the health of the local inhabitants and the already badly polluted Baltic coastline, the bombs, thrown into the sea during this summer, have caused deposits of napalm to be washed up along the Latvian coastline. Napalm is a thick and highly incendiary liquid consisting of petrol gelled with aluminium soaps which is used in fire bombs, flame throwers, etc.

Because of their similarity to amber, pieces of napalm have been unwittingly collected by the local residents. The reports from Latvia state that as a result many people have suffered burns from the napalm and wardrobes and clothes at a Liepaja rest home have caught fire. Latvian television is said to have broadcast news about these incidents. To date, nobody has yet been prosecuted for these crimes.

MASS PROTESTS IN GEORGIA

Around 100,000 Georgians gathered in the capital Tbilisi, demanding independence and an end to the Russification policy in Georgia. While such demonstrations in the past were mainly attended by students, this demonstration attracted people from all walks of life in Georgia. The police did not disrupt the demonstration.

Mass protests had also taken place in the Georgian capital in September against shooting practices in a military zone, which had caused damage to a nearby monastery. Other recent protests in Georgia included such demands as an increase in the production of typewriters with characters in the Georgian language.

POLICE DISRUPT DEMONSTRATIONS IN POLAND

On the 70th anniversary of the restoration of the Polish state, tens of thousands of Poles took to the streets in Polish cities over the weekend of November 11, 12, and 13.

About 90 people went on hunger strike in Katowice Cathedral demanding the release of 50 demonstrators who had been arrested for participating in the anniversary demonstrations. 250 people sought refuge in the cathedral from the police after the demonstration had been brutally dispersed. The following morning, those not wishing to participate in the hunger strike left the cathedral.

In Warsaw, 500 young people were attacked by the police near the monument of the unknown soldier. There were at least 10 arrests. This demonstration had been preceded by a torchlight procession of more than 20,000 participants, who chanted "Solidarity" and "Independence". More than 2,500 people attended a memorial service in Gdansk Cathedral and attempted to organise a procession. However, they were attacked by the notorious special police unit ZOMO with fire hoses and truncheons.

In Cracow, 10,000 people took part in a rally. There was also a confrontation between the police and youth, who wanted to march to the Soviet consulate. There was a two-hour street fight in Poznan between the police and approximately 4,000 demonstrators, who chanted slogans and distributed leaflets. Several people were arrested. Peaceful demonstrations took place in Lodz, Wroclaw and Lublin.

THE MELLOW OFFENSIVE

Since some seven years ago I started expounding a global strategy, called the Mellow Offensive, many of my friends who either had discussions with me or read my monograph about it, have expressed their wondering about what the word mellow means and how mellow and offensive can go together. By dictionary definition, “mellow” means ripe or mature. By extension, it can mean well-timed or well-thought-out. “Mellow” also means soft and gentle; and it is here euphemistically extended to mean non-military and is used to modify “offensive”, which means an aggressive action to seize a geographical area or critical point from the enemy by means of force in whatever form. Of course also by military force but only when necessary and as small a guerilla token force as the situation calls for. Put together, “mellow offensive” means well-thought-out, and well-timed aggressive actions to seize enemy territories or to defeat enemy aggression by means of force other than military; and the main difference of a mellow offensive is that the operation will be ignited from inside of the enemy’s territory.

In military terms, offensive and defensive are the two types of military strategic operations most commonly seen and employed by military commanders in the field. Offensive operations are conducted to impose our own will on the enemy and to gain surprise as to time and space of our action. In an offensive action, the commander can always maintain his initiative and fully exploit strategic potential and resources so as to put the enemy in passive defense. Space-wise, defensive is meant to economize forces for a better concentration on the offensive front; or time-wise, to gain time needed for the preparation of offensive. It is the offensive that solves the problem, especially against a stubborn enemy. The defensive is only a support for the security on the flanks or secondary fronts in space or during the time of preparation for the creation of strengths and favorable conditions. Sadly indeed, most of the free world leaders have surrendered initiative to our common enemy, that is to say, let the enemy choose the time, space and type of operations (strength that suits the enemy best at the time).

Exactly one year and four days before the end of the First World War, the first communist regime came into being through the October Revolution (October 25, Old Style) in Russia. Since then, the world has been divided into two camps — the free world and the Communist bloc of nations. And since then, the world has persistently been beset with conflicts and turmoils. Strategic mistakes committed by Allied leaders during World War II, and ignorance of Stalin’s ambitions of world domination on the part of free world leaders have greatly helped Soviet expansionism in post-WWII years, in spite of Generallissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek’s advice and warnings.

As is well known, the three Baltic States — the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were annexed to Stalin’s Soviet empire in 1940, while another six East European states — Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, and half of Germany were shut behind the Iron Curtain right after the war. Finland is now in the process of Finlandization. Mainland China was lost to Communist control in 1949. In 1974, the United States suffered a sound defeat in Vietnam and thereby South Vietnam went over to the Communists in the north, and with it Cambodia and Laos. Communist expansion in Africa and elsewhere has been equally successful and phenomenal. Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique in Africa, and South Yemen in the

Middle East, as well as Cuba and Nicaragua in Central America all fell into the Communist hands one after another. And now many other countries of the world are trembling under the threats of Communist infiltration and subversion. This is what negotiations and peace talks have brought to the free world!

Since the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, the Atomic or Nuclear Age dawned, the United States had a first monopoly of that terrible weapon for several years. But as time passed, the U.S. advantage in this weapon eroded. And so, U.S. national strategy changed accordingly — from simple deterrence through Massive Retaliation to Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), and from Regional Defense through Containment to Flexible Response, and finally to Détente and Appeasement. It seemed then the free world would go and democracy would surrender to totalitarianism. Fortunately, the United States came back into a position of strength, and so far has reversed the unfavorable trend and successfully halted Soviet expansion.

Since Mr. Gorbachev came to the world scene in March of 1985, he has put a new face on the Soviet Union. His smiling face has won him many friends and much admiration. His *glasnost* and *perestroika* (or openness and restructuring) have greatly encouraged the free world and brought new hopes for people who have long been longing for peace and freedom. The same is true for Communist China. Teng Hsiao-ping's openness and economic reforms have excited the world, and today everybody is rushing to the mainland market. In both cases, we are reminded of Lenin's New Economic Policy in the 1920s. So, two questions will invariably be raised: Since the Communist system of government is still there, how long will such openness and reforms last? How long will Gorbachev and Teng Hsiao-ping stay in power and persist in their policy?

In my judgment, despite all the fanfares of Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and Teng Hsiao-ping's openness and reforms, the confrontation between democracy and Communism will not disappear, and conflicts between the free world and the Communist bloc will continue. Moscow will never renounce its ambition of world domination, nor will Peking. It is therefore of vital importance that the free world be fully prepared to meet the challenges. It is also my judgment, that Moscow will be ready to strike once leaders in the Kremlin tide over their economic crisis and feel that the Soviet Union is strong enough to defeat the democracies. As for the Chinese Communists, they surely have their own design on the world. Presently they are doing their best to wangle capital and technology from free nations, particularly the United States and Japan under the cover of the so-called parallel strategic interests, so as to build up their national strength. In recent years they have been active in the international society. Their smiling and peace-loving gestures have deluded many western leaders into believing that western influence of freedom and democracy can and will in time change Communist China into a free and democratic nation. Nothing can be more dangerous than this false belief. As long as they hold on to the four cardinal principles — insistence on Marxist-Leninist and Mao Tse-tung thought, on dictatorship of the proletariat, on the Socialist Line, and on Communist leadership, and as long as the totalitarian and repressive Communist system of government is there, it will be much more difficult to change Communist China's nature than to change a leopard's spots. So, I am of the conviction that sooner or later free nations will have a showdown with the Communists. How can we, free people, win this final duel? Shall we go to battle with our ICBMs and nuclear bombs? No! A nuclear war can easily destroy both sides, even the whole world! I believe that under such circumstances, unless free nations, particu-

larly the United States, change their strategies and policies, they will face a catastrophe: either defeat in war or surrender without war. I therefore, would like to propose a new strategy, the Mellow Offensive. I bring this strategy forward because I consider it the only global strategy which can restore order to human society.

The Mellow Offensive, as I have defined it at the beginning is nothing new. It is no invention of my ingenuity but the common practice of the tricky Communist regimes. Many governments of the free world have also used it wittingly or unwittingly. I have been calling on free leaders to pay attention to these old tricks and put them together to form a global strategy so that effective use may be made of them in an organized and systematic fashion, worldwide, even including the people behind the iron curtain. For the successful conduct of a mellow offensive, there is a number of requirements.

The crucial key to its success is the selection of the proper first strike strategic objective. In selecting this strategic objective area, three things must be taken into account. First, its strategic value must be such that its occupation must contribute absolutely favorably to the democratic world. Secondly, it must have the capability to absorb and return Soviet Russia's punches in case the Soviet leaders, swayed by impulse, should launch a military intervention. And thirdly, once it is under our control, it must become the operational base, not a burden, of the free world in its future military actions. The objective area must, therefore, meet seven requirements, as follows:

1. It must be a strategic point, a critical locality that is geo-strategically important. The gain or loss of its control will alter the strategic posture of the opposing forces. It is therefore, an area that the attacker must take while the defender must hold!

2. It should be as far away from Moscow as possible to make it harder for the Soviets to react; and at the same time, it must be close enough to the democratic world to facilitate support when necessary.

3. It must be a vast land area so that in case of a Soviet military intervention, "delaying strategy" may be adopted to trap the invading army in the great depth and let it tire itself out, or the people have enough space to trade for time until the free world can launch its counteroffensive.

4. It must have a large population so that "sustained resistance" is possible. Even though the resisting force is more poorly equipped, it may still be able to hold on fighting the strong invader for a long time, long enough for the democratic powers to react.

5. The people in the area must have a strong will against Communism and the Communist government system, consisting in the strong appeal of the rich culture and an ideological system that will prevail over the Communist evil ideology. This alone will make it easier to stir up an anti-Communist revolution, or even make it break out spontaneously. And this alone will foster a strong will and determination to carry on sustained resistance.

6. It is rich in strategic resources so that when freedom is restored, it can with limited help from the free world, be rehabilitated and continue developing its national strength, so that it may soon become an asset, not an economic burden of the free world.

7. There must be a strong political entity that is able to exercise powerful influence over and to provide leadership for the people inside the objective area. Its optimum conditions are as follows:

- It has a recognized national leadership group — better still, it has a leader who is well-known and respected by all its people.

- It has an effective directing organization capable of producing the best strategic planning, making appropriate strategic preparations, and providing sound strategic guidance.

- It possesses real strength, strong enough to provide adequate support to people in the area for their anti-Communist revolution. Better still, it has modern armed forces and a well organized civil defense force.

- Initially, the base of this force had better not be located in the area for security reasons. Yet, its location must not be too far away from the objective area so that timely guidance and support can be provided for revolutionary activities within the area.

- The people in the base area and those in the objective area are of one race. Better still, the former has a legal right to claim sovereignty over the objective area, so that both the internal revolution thus stirred up, and the international support given through them are legal and legitimate — national self-determination. (Internal revolution permits no outside intervention.) With these requirements in mind, let us make a survey of all the Red areas and select a First Strike Strategic Objective Area. After scanning through the European and Asian Continents, very naturally and logically, our index finger will land on the China mainland.

Why China? The answer is simple. When the China mainland is won back to the democratic camp, that is when free and democratic political and economic systems are restored to the Chinese people on the mainland, the defense line of the free world in the East will then be pushed forward to at least 5,000 kilometers (3,000) miles. Besides, the amount of trade between free nations and China will be increased in proportion to the population and/or the size of the two areas — the China mainland and the Taiwan complex. This, therefore, will solve not only the world's economic problems, but also its political, psychological and military problems. Thus, the free world will achieve the greatest success in the shortest time and at the lowest cost. This is the most valuable contribution that the Chinese people, both on Taiwan and on the China mainland, including the free and the enslaved, can make to mankind, through the endeavor of the Republic of China.

How can this common goal be achieved? The Chinese Communists have divided the China mainland into seven major military districts and deployed military forces of varying sizes in each of these districts. Their main effort forces are deployed in the Northeastern Military districts against potential threats from the Soviet Union; forces in the Southeastern Military districts are pitched against the ROC forces on the Taiwan complex; while those in the Southwestern districts are positioned to deter possible invasion from the Indian border and other neighboring states. The Chinese Communists have their strategic reserve controlled in the Central Military District. This is a good traditional field strategic concept. But this time the main pattern of war is a political one. And it is the Mellow Offensive, a war which will be ignited inside of the target area. Hence the major portion of the enemy's general reserve will be stuck with the guerilla force in the countryside areas or the urban partisans in the cities, at the moments when Chicom's strategic reserve is badly needed in any or all of the border areas.

The age of appeasement, détente and negotiation must be over. This is the age of action. I earnestly hope that the leaders of the free world will face squarely the problems we face today. For our own good and for the good of our children of generations to come and for the peace, freedom and security of all of mankind, let us join together and brave the brunt of the Communist aggression.

THE USSR IS A PRISON OF NATIONS

We are on the threshold of the 21st century — the next era of nationalism. The 20th century awoke from under the pressure of natural national forces and destroyed the conventional views about the power of empires. Empires began to disintegrate.

The non-Russian nations never for a moment ceased their armed resistance against Russia, and this resistance continues to this day. During the Second World War, uprisings arose on the territories of Ukraine and the Baltic States. The Stalin-Kaganovicz clique was scared and confused. In Western Ukraine, Halychyna and Carpatho-Ukraine, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were active. Armed detachments of forest brothers became active in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Chechens and Ingushes also raised their arms against Russia. The Kalmiks, Tatars, Circassians, Nohaytsi, Kabardinos, Avars, in fact the whole of Northern Caucasus fought for freedom and for their own national dignity. Moscow brutally suppressed these armed resistances, but was unable to suppress the will to resist. It could never destroy the nationalist underground movements in its vast empire. The 1960s brought new unexpected events for Moscow. The mass strikes which began in Ukraine in the industrial regions of Donbas and Kryvyj Rih, showed that resistance was possible and could take on new forms. At this time, combatant groups of the OUN were active in Ukraine and made it clear to the occupant that defenders of nations still existed. In 1965, Kazakhstan and Sumgait rose up in arms. In 1967, uprisings took place in Novocircassia and Kryvyj Rih in Ukraine, which were suppressed in a sea of blood. In 1968, student protests took place in Armenia, Mate-daran, demanding the return of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

The years 1986-87 showed the whole world that the USSR is a prison of nations and a dangerous enemy of mankind. All the subjugated nations demanded freedom. The Russians began to use terror to pacify the insubordinate masses. Gorbachev's government was forced to make some concessions in one region, but at the same time continued with blatant Russification and terror in another.

1988 saw the raising of national flags, first of all in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Ukraine's demands were rejected and it was in Ukraine that the Russian authorities began a new wave of arrests and terror against the Ukrainians. Moscow well understands that if Ukraine were to become free, it would not sit back and keep silent about the Russian suppression of other subjugated nations. Today, all the nations are demanding the same, namely, for the Moscow occupants to leave their land. The time we have all been waiting for has come, the time of reckoning. There should be a well-organised and united front of subjugated nations. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is such a front and the hope of the subjugated nations in the USSR. We must not waste time.

Russia has constantly proclaimed its love of peace, while at the same time conquering foreign lands. Today, the USSR is also proclaiming a policy of peace and maintains that it defends subjugated nations. Meanwhile, it continues to conduct colonial and aggressive wars, as well as instigate military coups, declared and secret wars, the murder of political opponents, the ethnocide of peoples and nations. The Russians are crying out for peace and disarmament throughout the world, while at the same time they are conducting wars in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia. They installed puppet regimes

in Cuba and Nicaragua. They destroyed national Vietnam, they are now threatening and provoking national Korea. We must remember that there can be no peace without justice, nor without even the smallest nation in the world being free. A small example: having arrived in the West I met with a lack of understanding of our problems and even a hostile attitude towards our aspirations for freedom. We clearly state that we want the Russian occupants to leave Ukraine.

In May of this year, leaflets were distributed in Ukraine with slogans, such as: We want freedom! Russian occupants — out of Ukraine! The Ukrainian people are well aware of who the deadly enemy of Ukraine is. And indeed — no one forgotten and nothing forgotten. Our enemies should also remember this: Ukrainians have not forgotten the brutal war which the Russians have been conducting against our people for the last 70 years. This has been a war of starvation. The Russians artificially caused three deadly famines in Ukraine in order to suppress opposition demanding national freedom. The first famine was in 1921, the second in 1933, the third in 1947, and yet another in 1961-1964, which has been emerging sporadically right until our times.

All sorts of bourgeois “democrats” are today “searching” for material about the famine, but where were they when the huge mass of people were perishing. Then, they kept quiet and by doing so encouraged the criminal to commit his crime. In 1921, two million people starved to death from the famine in Ukraine, and this at a time when the harvest was adequate. They took away bread from the Ukrainian peasant and gave it to the ruling Russian people. During the artificially imposed famine in 1933, eleven million people died of starvation. In 1947, Moscow instigated an artificial famine in Ukraine to punish Ukrainian peasants for their betrayal during the last world war. Yes, we Ukrainians did not want to fight against the German armies because we wanted a new occupant, but because the Russian occupant was our deadly enemy. The historical fact is that Ukrainians were the first to stand up in arms against Nazism on March 15, 1939. This historical fact is “discreetly” kept quiet in the West.

Yuriy Andropov was responsible for the famine of 1947. At the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s the empire was shaken by mass strikes and sabotages. Having strengthened their forces of opposition the nationalists began to destroy the USSR.

Then the West came to the aid of the expiring Russian socialist empire together with its pledges and technology, and with the already experimented method — famine. Bread began to disappear from the stores in the whole of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic States and in several regions of Russia... Bad harvests? No! This was a famine instigated as a means to force the disobedient population in the regions of the USSR “to forget that they were Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Estonians, etc.” Today the situation in the USSR is the same as it was in the 1930s. And once again help has reached the empire — in deutsch marks and dollars, — and once again the one and only indivisible country is being saved.

This will continue to happen until we group together and in a single front destroy the last empire in the world. Artificially created empires, such as Yugoslavia, do not count. With the fall of the Russian empire all other empires will fall, for then, nationalism will reign, and this, without a doubt. Today, when the USSR is undergoing a crisis, the West, under the slogans of perestroika and glasnost continues to help the most terrible state in the world to exist: the USSR received pledges and the possibility to survive.

This is a disgrace and an insult — quite simply, a crime. Why seek to gain favour from the deadly enemy of all mankind? We have an answer to this, which emerges from

today's life of "civilization" in the 20th century... Where in the world today does one hear the slogan: bread and spectacle? There are only some people left in the world today who place national honour and loyalty above all else. Virtues such as conscience, morality and national solidarity have long since disappeared. These virtues are only left in nationalists — these knights of bygone years. The virtues of Don Quixote. Not only do Russian imperialists destroy morality and the Church, but these values are also trampled on in the so-called free world and everything which once made nations great is held in contempt. I would like to remark that the national doctrine is feared by all imperialists without exception, be they white or red.

Today, Ukraine is stirring and demanding the right to live. In the last few months alone mass demonstrations attended by thousands have been taking place throughout Ukraine. Events commemorating national composers, such as *Vasyl Barvinskyj*; mass demonstrations in Odessa in March 1988 protesting the construction work along the city's waterfront; in Lviv in March against the continued pollution of the environment, in Kyiv, on March 9, at the Shevchenko monument in honour of the birth of Ukraine's national poet, in Lviv, on March 17, a mass meeting discussed the question of pluralism and a multi-party system, a youth meeting in Kyiv in April in memory of prominent Ukrainian cultural and historical figures at the grave of outstanding historian and political activist *Mykhailo Hrushevsky*, at the graves of historian *Volodymyr Antonovych* and poetess *Lesia Ukrainka*. On April 26 in Kyiv, the second anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster was marked by a march of hundreds of people, and a demonstration on May 22 demanded greater cultural freedom for Ukraine. On June 5, the Ukrainian Culturological Club organized an unofficial celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine at the monument of *St. Volodymyr the Great* in Kyiv.

A hunger strike commenced on June 13 and lasted until the beginning of the Party conference on June 28 to pressure the authorities to release the remaining political prisoners. They criticised the inability of the Soviet authorities to resolve the national question and urged other democratic national movements to support them. The first to participate in the hunger strike were the wives of Ukrainian political prisoners, *Orysia Sokulska* and *Olha Horbal*. On June 16 in Lviv, the Native Language Society, which had been denied access to the local House of Culture for its regular meeting 3 days earlier, organised a meeting attended by between 6,000 to 8,000 people. The gathering turned into a broad debate about the selection of delegates to the Party conference in Moscow. The participants decided to hold similar meetings every first Thursday of each month by the statue of Ukrainian writer *Ivan Franko*.

On June 21 in Lviv, 50,000 people gathered outside Lviv's "Druzhba" stadium but were denied entry. Some of them then gathered by the statue of Lenin where a verbal confrontation between supporters and critics of the Lviv authorities followed. The participants carried slogans in support of the Ukrainian language, legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the re-election of delegates to the Party conference.

On June 23, a requiem service in memory of the "victims of Stalinism" was held in Lviv, organised by *Ivan Hel*, leading national and cultural rights activist and former political prisoner, the Chairman of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The service was celebrated by two underground Ukrainian Catholic priests. The 30,000 participants said prayers for the 7 million victims of the man-made famine in Ukraine in 1933, the cultural activists killed during the 1930s, the thousands of political prisoners murdered by the NKVD in 1941, the prisoners of conscience who

suffered and died after the Stalin period. The service lasted all day. Then the participants walked to the grave of Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a popular Ukrainian composer murdered by the KGB in 1979. The security organs photographed those who attended.

On July 7, 20,000 people attended the fourth demonstration in Lviv in less than a month held next to the statue of Ivan Franko. The gathering turned into a spontaneous demonstration against the local party and bureaucracy who were completely compromised. During the meeting the Democratic Front in Support of Perestroika, which comprises all the unofficial groups in Lviv, was formed.

In July around 30,000 people attended Millennium celebrations in Western Ukrainian villages, where mass was celebrated by underground bishops and priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and patriotic sermons were delivered.

On August 4 in Lviv, 3,000 people took part in another large-scale demonstration in Lviv in defiance of the Supreme Soviet decree calling for an end to street protests. Initially, 30-40 people assembled around the statue of Ivan Franko despite the fact that a barrier had been erected around the monument and part of the square was undergoing "renovation". Van loads of militia then arrived and proceeded to warn the protesters to disperse. By 7 pm around 3,000 people had gathered around the statue. The crowd was shouting "Freedom for Ukraine!". The militia then began to disperse the demonstrators using batons and dogs. One young girl had her head beaten against a police car and was dragged inside by her hair. Dogs were used to attack the crowd. When the militia began to lead people away, the protesters began to sing the "International" and Ukrainian patriotic songs. Others shouted "fascists, fascists" at the militia. More than 25 people were detained.

The Ukrainian nation is placing demands on Moscow, among them freedom for our Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, which were forced into the catacombs. And where is glasnost? It never reached Ukrainians. In fact, while Gorbachev has been in power, brutal Russian chauvinism has begun to destroy more vigorously everything which had anything to do with the nation. So-called freedom under the control of the KGB has already been given to different sects, but our Churches were never granted freedom, and if they were to receive freedom then it would be under control... We not only should, but we have the right not to believe Moscow, for we have been convinced more than once who is who. We will not be deceived. Freedom will not be handed to us by the criminal communists, who whenever needed, will always find someone to blame as in the case of Stalin. Freedom must be achieved by one's own forces and not by waiting for the "rebirth" of communist Russia, which will never happen. The USSR is not the first where perestroika has been attempted...

We should not forget that Moscow has never rejected terrorism. A few weeks ago, the Ukrainian nationalist Dr. Khmara said: the situation in Ukraine is much worse under Gorbachev than it was previously. Moscow is pressing us with all its fury. This is additional proof of the fact that freedom is only possible by an unscrupulous struggle against the Russians, they will never give freedom to anyone. Where can such an imperialist be found, who voluntarily makes life easier for his slaves, let alone returns freedom.

Let us not forget those who died in battle, those who perished from radiation and starvation. Let us preserve our national traditions, our culture, our Churches. Let us remember that the best of our sons — leaders of the OUN, Y. Konovalets, S. Bandera, R. Shukhevych, M. Soroka, V. Horbovyj, Y. Stetsko and thousands of other brothers in arms died for our and your freedom. Glory to the nation as the highest expression of the human spirit. Glory to all those, who continue the uncompromising struggle for a nation's right to exist. Glory to the heroes!

COMMUNIST REPRESSION IN CAMBODIA

I have been so many things in my life, a trader walking barefoot on paths through jungles, a medical doctor, driving to my clinic in a shiny Mercedes. In the past few years to the surprise of many people and above all myself, I have been a Hollywood actor. But nothing has changed my life as much as surviving the brutal and inhuman Pol Pot regime. I am a survivor of the Cambodian holocaust. That's who I am: Haing Ngor.

In these recent years inside Cambodia under the Vietnamese occupation reports of torture, arbitrary, arrests and political persecution have increased dramatically and Cambodia is also in grave danger of extinction, economically, culturally, biologically and politically by Vietnamese expansion.

Today Cambodia still has one of the world's worst records for human rights violation abuses. The Khmer Rouge made the Vietnamese invade their erstwhile communist ally. It is rice and other natural resources that makes them stay in Cambodia. The Vietnamese have confirmed the fears of the Cambodians, who believe that the Vietnamese mean to simply exterminate the Khmer nation and race and indeed, recent arrivals at the border in Thailand indicate that the number of Vietnamese settlers, particularly in the Mekong Delta region, is large and growing. Many of these people already have Cambodian citizenship. The Chinese will not end their support for the Khmer Rouge, the Heng Samrin government and the Soviet Union still provide weapons to Vietnam. (Vietnam in the case of the Soviet Union, the Heng Samrin government in the case of Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge in the case of China).

The agony of the Killing Fields has not ended for the Khmer people. Torture, execution, killing, arrests and forced labor against Cambodian people over the past 9 years is not over yet. There are about 180-200,000 Vietnamese soldiers who control and terrorize the Cambodian population and there are also around 1 million civilians who have settled in Cambodia.

The situation in Cambodia is so desperate that I beg the international press and the WACL conference to examine the current political repression inside my country. The Soviet backed Vietnamese are trying to destroy the Cambodian people, to kill the Cambodian culture, to brutally annihilate my people.

From 1975-1979 3 to 4 million Cambodians died through starvation, overwork, and disease while being forced to relocate to work in the countryside. 60 to 65% of the population of Cambodia are orphans. Cambodia is the land of millions of orphans, millions of handicapped and millions of widows. During that time no Western nation lifted a finger to stop the killing, mocking the incessantly repeated post World War II vow that nothing like the German slaughter of European Jews should be allowed again.

It has always been the goal of the Vietnamese communists to invade and colonize Cambodia and Laos for their own economic and political benefits. Forget about Hanoi's sly propaganda that they invaded Cambodia to save my people. If they were concerned about the Cambodian people they should have invaded my country in 1975 and not 1979.

Cambodia is needed by the Vietnamese because of our natural resources. We have huge lakes with an overabundance of fish. Our fertile land produces more rice than Vietnam. We grow more fruits and our soil is better, therefore Cambodian land and labor is needed to feed the Vietnamese. They hate our people but they want our land and will starve and exploit the Khmer to get it. So what is life like under the Soviet backed Heng Samrin government? Atrocious on all levels.

The Heng Samrin government is composed of politically ambitious ex-Khmer Rouge henchmen, who have forsaken their own heritage and “sold out” to Hanoi. Absolutely all aspects of life are controlled by the Vietnamese who love to push Cambodian people around, whom they regard as biologically inferior all around. The average Cambodian citizen has absolutely no political rights whatsoever. He can't vote, he can't participate in or change his government and he remains a second class citizen in his own country. So who is the enemy number one in Cambodia? The Vietnamese.

Physical torture has also been reported in Pnom Penh and provinces. Arrests have definitely increased over the past 6 years according to international human rights organizations. Hundreds of thousands of political prisoners are imprisoned without any explanation, and the Vietnamese imprison small children along with their parents.

Hundreds of thousands of Cambodian civilians are forced by the Vietnamese to work on military related projects in combat zones near the Thai border. Hundreds of thousands of Khmer people have been killed in mine work, by malaria and other diseases in these remote areas while under Vietnamese supervision. Anyone resisting to work for the Vietnamese army is executed or imprisoned. Khmer villagers have been forcibly uprooted to work on Soviet Vietnamese military projects across the country. The Cambodians do all the work and the Vietnamese get all the credit.

In such a situation, what benefits can the Hanoi authorities hope to achieve in their continued occupation in Cambodia? Can peace and security of Southeast Asia and Asia Pacific be restored? How acute are their political and economic difficulties in Vietnam itself? How hard hit are the standard of living and the conditions of its people? How drastically serious is the conflict between VCP and top leaders? How strong is the worldwide condemnation of the U.N. and other international fora of aggression and the warmongering attitude which undermine peace in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific Rim? Cambodia is for the Cambodians and not for the freeloading Vietnamese.

We, Cambodians will never accept any communist regime in our country. We, must be prepared to defend our country again, for the Khmer Rouge will keep on fighting and within one generation, Cambodia will be lost to the communists once more. Why is the world still ignoring Cambodia? Why has Cambodia been forgotten?

In order for Cambodia to survive, the USSR must immediately stop its million dollar a year military aid to the Heng Samrin government and the Vietnamese can't occupy Cambodia without financial aid from Russia. The Soviet support is an international outrage and is morally unacceptable to free people everywhere.

We Cambodians want the world to help us get the Soviets and the Vietnamese out of Cambodia. The Vietnamese have exploited our land, killed our people and brainwashed our children, but they cannot and will not destroy our spirit and pride in our nation Cambodia. We Cambodians will fight to the death for our beloved homeland and we will fight and not allow the Khmer Rouge to return to power again. We Cambodians will wait and one day very soon our Cambodia will be free and will once again belong to the Khmer people.

AFGHANISTAN TODAY

For ten years the Afghan nation has been fighting a liberation struggle against the Soviet Russian troops which invaded their country and against the ensuing puppet regime in Kabul.

During that time more than 1.5 million Afghans were killed, most of them civil population. The development of the country was halted because of the destruction of the vital irrigation systems, Afghanistan being mostly pasture land. Almost all the schools were destroyed, which means that the young generation is damned to analphabetism. 80% of the towns and villages were destroyed, all buildings were torn down and all the animals were killed. Approximately 100,000 people disappeared. The treasures of the nation and Afghan culture were taken out of the country and into the Soviet Union.

However, the fearless fight of the Afghan nation against the Soviet occupation finally resulted in the defeat of the Soviets. Since May 15 the withdrawal of Soviet troops has been taking place. Yet the Soviets are leaving behind approximately 3 million mines, spread all over the country, which are a constant threat to the population. The Afghan nation has an indomitable national consciousness and will continue its fight until Moscow's puppet government and the last Soviet soldiers have left their country.

Once Afghanistan is liberated, the Afghans want to create a Council of Afghan Nations, representing all regions and tribes of Afghanistan (LOEY Jergah) in order to assure the inner peace of the country. This council will first have to establish a provisional government in order to plan the reconstruction of Afghanistan and elaborate a new constitution — a crucial necessity.

It will be necessary to enable 5 million refugees in Pakistan and Iran to return to their homeland.

To a certain extent, the United States is partly responsible for the present situation in Afghanistan. When, in the era of Eisenhower, the developing country asked for military and economic help, this help was denied. Nixon encouraged Afghanistan to approach the Soviet Union by calling the Afghans bandits and criminals after his visit to Afghanistan. This is why the badly needed economic help came from the Soviet Union, which thus gained economic, political and military influence in Afghanistan and ended in the Russian invasion on December 27, 1979. Instead of learning from their previous mistakes, the United States continues to support the wrong politics: the best example is the support of the Islamic Alliance (7 parties) in Peshawar as a future provisional government in Afghanistan. This is against the will of the Afghan nation, which does not want the political power in the hands of the Mullah. The question of the division of ecclesiastic and worldly power was already solved in Europe in the early Middle Ages.

On behalf of my country, I would like to thank the Americans and all the nations and institutions who have supported us during the past 10 years. I would like to underline the fact that any other nation with similar intentions to those of the Soviet Union will be doomed to failure because we, Afghans, will always defend our country from foreign invasion.

My last appeal is to call on all friends of Afghanistan to cooperate actively in rebuilding Afghanistan.

THE NATIONALITY ISSUE IN UKRAINE

I would like to recognize the tremendous efforts of the members of the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on behalf of my son Mark. I would like to thank the Chairman of the Commission, Congressman Hoyer, Co-chairman, Senator DeConcini as well as their staff and to extend my gratitude to Ambassador Richard Shifter as well as Ambassador Warren Zimmerman and the Vienna staff for their untiring efforts on behalf of all of us.

With the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, humankind has entered into a new era of social relations. Although state interests remain the center of concern, nevertheless human rights have at last become an important factor of global politics and international relations. In July of this year, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was created, based on the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which has never formally ceased to exist. In its Declaration of Principles the Union reaffirms the principles on human rights put forth by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group on November 9, 1976, but it goes further to say that a national democratic movement for the restoration of Ukrainian statehood will provide the most solid base for guaranteeing the economic, social, cultural and political rights of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union began its activities in defense of human rights and national freedom in the new atmosphere of glasnost and perestroika. However, the difficulties facing a true restructuring of Soviet society are not just due to the inertia of the masses, cowed by many years of terror. The fact is that the opponents of any real change are a politically cohesive force which is currently on the offensive. They are now focusing on Ukraine, for this remains the fiefdom of Brezhnev's old crony Shcherbytsky, the First Party Secretary in Ukraine. And Gorbachev has not erred by keeping him there, for whether or not "restructuring" succeeds, the Soviet empire must remain intact. This is the general line of the party on the national question, and because of its size and location, Ukraine is of crucial importance to the central authorities of the Soviet Union.

Although not well publicized in the West, the past year has seen numerous public gatherings in Ukraine. I would like to highlight only a few of those:

- May 29 to June 5, the underground Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church organized high masses near Lviv, in Western Ukraine, which were attended by 2,000 people and 5 underground priests to celebrate the Millennium of Christianity;
- June 5, the Culturological Club organized an unofficial millennium celebration by 200 people in Kyiv, with readings of excerpts from Pope John Paul's homilies, and called for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church;
- June 16, 8,000 people gathered in Lviv at a meeting organized by the "Ridna Mova" (Native Language) society. The meeting turned into a debate about the selection of delegates to the 19th party conference, continuing policies of Russification, calling for an end to party and KGB privileges, and for the Soviet republics to be given full autonomy.
- June 19, an unofficial millennium celebration was held by 300 people in Kharkiv organized by the unofficial "Vasyl Stus Friends of Ukrainian Language" club where poetry, religious and historic texts were read. The militia attempted to break up the

gathering and demanded that it be conducted in Russian and not Ukrainian, its organizer was threatened with deportation to Chernobyl;

- July 7, 20,000 demonstrated in Lviv, scheduled to have become regular monthly meetings of the “Democratic Front to Further Perestroika”;

- July 17, 15,000 Catholics gathered in Zarvanytsia, Ternopil region of Western Ukraine. The militia tried to turn back pilgrims, some of whom came from up to 1,000 kilometers away, but they continued on foot, set up camps around the traditional pilgrimage site. Underground Bishop Vasylyk delivered the sermon, over 4,000 people received confession and over 30,000 signatures were collected on a petition calling for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The list goes on, but by far the most significant event took place on June 11-12, when the Ukrainian Democratic Front hosted Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Georgian national rights representatives to form a Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR. The Armenians, fully supporting these objectives, were unable to attend.

The Ukrainian national-democratic movement is a peaceful one, within the framework of glasnost. Nonetheless, the campaign of slander against the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, *The Ukrainian Herald*, and the Culturological Club in Kyiv is growing. The authorities have even begun to spread rumors that the Culturological Club and Ukrainian “nationalists” in general, are preparing pogroms against Jews. In response, Ukrainian and Jewish activists have cooperated in preparing statements protesting this slander. A massive campaign of repression against those active in the national-democratic movement was put into effect in July of this year.

Thousands (in one case, fifty thousand) citizens participated in meetings and demonstrations in Lviv in June and July. The authorities let loose the sixth special regime militia company (special interior ministry troops authorized by the unpublicized decree adopted July 28 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet), trained dogs, the courts and the KGB against these citizens. The state’s response to the spontaneous growth of civic activism consisted of arrests, 15-day detentions, compulsory labor and initiation of criminal cases against participants. A criminal case has been prepared against Ivan Makar, an activist from Lviv, who was arrested August 4, and charged with Article 190-3 (“Organization of or active participation in group actions disrupting the peace”) — the first case of its kind during the period of restructuring. By arresting him the regime is testing the West’s resolve to defend human rights.

What about the future? Workers, peasants, and government officials are all skeptical about the new promises of the party. There is a basis for this distrust, and it is provided by Gorbachev himself, for he is clearly maneuvering, engaging in disinformation, and contradicting himself. The most contradictory element is Gorbachev’s nationality policy.

Among the measures which would be taken if the Helsinki Accords were truly observed in Ukraine, would be the recognition and restoration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and also the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church, together with the return of its confiscated property and the recognition that its forced liquidation in 1946 was a crime.

How will relations between the West and the Soviet Union develop? Will the West support the individuals and their efforts to become true masters of their fate, support the national yearnings of the peoples of the last empire in the world? As a member of

THE NATIONALITY ISSUE IN THE SOVIET UNION: THE LIMITS OF REFORM?

This discussion of nationality issues, is based on my long experience as a member of the National Unity Party, founded in 1966 in Yerevan. This was an underground national independence organization; since 1974 it has tried to attain legal status and the holding of a referendum on independence for Armenia. Over the years, 100 of its members have been imprisoned.

Last year, on the basis of this organization, a new public grassroots organization, the Union for National Self-Determination, more appropriate for glasnost and perestroika was formed. This new organization was founded with the knowledge of the Supreme Soviet. For this new organization the main principle — not just the aim — is national self-determination. Despite our scepticism towards democracy in a one party system, we were ready to assist the development of these new trends.

But the events of the past few months, particularly the attitude of the central authorities to the Karabakh problem — when the democratic expression of the popular will was ignored — showed that Moscow is neither ready for change nor for democracy. Nevertheless, we think that self-determination is the basic principle for resolving nationality issues.

In democratic societies, nationality crises cannot arise because the ethnic group as a whole, having political rights, also has collective rights to determine its future. In such cases, only extremist acts can lead to crises. And in response to such extremist-terrorist acts, extreme reaction by society is needed in order to defend its rights.

In contrast, the basic principle of Communist rule from Lenin to Gorbachev is only to maintain Communists in power. Therefore, the Kremlin lives in terror of any democratic movements. Anything which is not sanctioned by Moscow — even if it is in its interest — is feared as a threat of popular initiative. That is why the Kremlin reacted so cruelly to Karabakh, and particularly Sumgait.

The Karabakh phenomenon could have been good for Gorbachev in that it showed the democratic potential of the Soviet system. But Gorbachev did not react to this phenomenon in a positive way. Gorbachev did not think the Karabakh precedent was desirable because it showed how change could be induced from below. Therefore, the popular demand in Nagorno Karabakh to be joined to Armenia had to be punished — at least Gorbachev felt he had to refuse this demand so that it did not serve as model for other nationalities for independent initiatives.

Glasnost without liberalization of the laws can only lead to more crises. There is now a law on the books which requires public examination of important new laws. This current law, however, does not give people the right to a decisive voice. In addi-

► the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, I ask American legislators to take into consideration the fact that the nationalities problem of the republics in the USSR is one of the most serious problems in today's world. The force and timing of Western pressure on the Soviet leaders to exact a certain level of performance on human rights issues is crucial at present.

THE BALTIC STATES — A CONSTANTLY BLEEDING WOUND IN THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The three Baltic nations — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — in 1918 restored their national sovereignty and state independence. They were virtually flawless democratic countries.

As a result of the Hitler-Stalin conspiracy formalized on August 23, 1939, the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians lost their sovereignty and national independence. They were occupied by the Soviet Russian armed forces. The will of the oppressor-occupier claiming to represent freedom and determination, replaced the will of the nations undergoing oppression.

In 1951, because of my activities in defense of human and national rights I was sentenced by a military tribunal to 25 years of imprisonment in a concentration camp and to five years of exile. In all Siberian concentration camps, wherever I was held, everywhere I found that Lithuanians represented ten percent of the prisoners. This demonstrates that the Lithuanian nation, representing less than one percent of the people of the Soviet Union, offered the greatest resistance to Russian occupation and Stalinism.

The more a person is ethical, the more dangerous he is regarded in the Soviet Union. If a murderer is held imprisoned in a special psychiatric hospital for a year, a defender of human and national rights will be held for three, five or fifteen years.

For being active in the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, I was kept in the special psychiatric hospitals in Chernyakhovsk and Tashkent, together with murderers, bandits, thieves and other very dangerous criminals for almost all of seven years. During all those years neither I, nor my wife or my children were permitted to learn the details of the Supreme Court verdict that would explain why I was declared to be “a socially dangerous person”.

I am a qualified physician-psychiatrist. The treatment of the inmates in the special psychiatric hospitals both in Chernyakhovsk and Tashkent was merciless. Inmates who were weakened physically or were torn with pain were being forced, like slaves, to do heavy physical labor. A widespread practice of torture was carried out with the aid of neuroleptic drugs and mind-altering chemicals: sulphazine, aminozine, haloperidol,

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tion, there is now no law on referendums, although a draft law on this important issue has existed since 1980. Such a law is particularly important in a one-party system.

What are the future perspectives for the nationality problem in the Soviet Union today? The Soviet Union is now at a crossroads. It can move forward towards a society of laws, by adopting laws which guarantee popular self expression. In the worst case, the Soviet leadership might revert to its old principles and return to Stalinism.

In Armenia, our organization, the Union for National Self-Determination, has decided not to wait until Moscow becomes democratic. Rather, our actions, are based on international standards such as the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. In this way, we have chosen democracy and we hope to assist the development of democracy throughout the Soviet Union.

triftazine and others. The main objective of this practice was to break the prisoners spiritually and to make them mentally deficient.

The chemical substances that were administered had the effect of lowering the blood pressure of the victims. Following injections I would collapse senseless on the concrete floor injuring my head and hands. At the special psychiatric hospital in Chernyakhovsk in 1982, a bedridden patient next to me was a Russian, Tumakov. After a forced injection of these drugs he fell hitting his head severely on the concrete floor and instantly lost sight in both eyes because blood burst into his brain. He died within two days. Anatolii Ptshelovodov, the Chief of the Seventh Ward, who had prescribed this procedure for torture, did not show any feelings of remorse; for him it was merely another routine death. There were many people who hanged themselves not being able to endure the overwhelming pain brought on by the injection of drugs.

Both in Chernyakhovsk and in Tashkent, the inmates were not permitted to use lavatories and were forced to empty their bowels into plastic bags, if they had one, or through open windows.

During the seven years I spent as an inmate in Chernyakhovsk and Tashkent I met many people imprisoned for political activity. They were all held in special mental institutions for long terms because they took a stand to normalize human life in the Soviet Union and to demand respect for the provisions of its constitution; because they demanded the implementation of commitments assumed in the Helsinki Agreements and in other international treaties dealing with human rights.

Among the inmates who were imprisoned for political activities either in Chernyakhovsk or in Tashkent, I never encountered a single individual who could be regarded as being psychically ill, or could be judged even minutely as being socially dangerous.

The hospital authorities never gave me letters that came for me from my sister, from other relatives, or letters from abroad. However, during the early months of 1986, that is after the period of perestroika had begun, Dr. Babayev, the principal physician of the Tashkent special psychiatric hospital, permitted me to see a large package of letters sent to me from a number of foreign countries. He did not give me any of the letters, did not permit me to read any, and refused to tell me what the writers of the letters were saying. At the same time, he harshly demanded that I publicly denounce the letter writers in print because they were interfering in my life. If I did not denounce them he threatened, I would be kept in a mental institution until my dying day as an incurable inmate, and socially, a particularly dangerous individual.

Because of political considerations there are even now several Lithuanians who are being tortured in psychiatric hospitals. Among them three young Lithuanians, the brothers Gintaras and Mečislovas Tarasevičius and Ričardas Andrijauskas.

The oppressed Baltic republics are being forced to absorb gigantic construction projects; this is a cover for planned colonization. The industrial establishments that have been erected were built with raw materials brought into the Baltic States, and by an imported labor force whose members did not speak Lithuanian but were meant to become permanent residents of the country. This artificial technique is used to intermix populations, to carry out Russification by force, and widen ethnic erosion.

As if this was not enough, in Ignalina, an atomic generating plant was constructed for political reasons and each year it seems to perform the function of a slowly simmering atom bomb. It does not provide anyone with a feeling of an assured safe tomorrow.

The Baltic States are actively opposing Russification by colonization. For example, during the spring of 1988 a large demonstration took place in opposition to an attempt to construct an underground metro rail line in Riga. The Latvians are very anxious to have metro transportation in Riga. Nevertheless, as patriots they would rather gladly choose to live without the convenience of metro, than bear the influx of tens of thousands of new colonists contributing to the slow death of Latvian national culture. Many regions in Latvia, such as Purciems, Mezriems, Daugavpils and others have already become widespread Russian colonies. The Soviet Union has legalized not merely a class system of apartheid but also a national one. Russians are permitted to have Russian schools in all Baltic republics, but Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians are forbidden to have their own language schools in the Russian republic. In the Soviet Union this is referred to as “national equality” and “national brotherhood”.

As a result of state-sponsored practices of using slave labor-based policies, the economy of the country is constantly in a state of crisis. As a consequence of this, agriculture in the Baltic States has acquired a colonial character. Forty percent of those employed receive wages that are less than 100 rubles monthly (from “Juanimo Gretos”, 1986, No. 11, p. 2). At the same time, Gorbachev claims that women’s winter boots cost 120-130 rubles. In the Soviet Union the fist has become the basic argument against truth. That is the reason why all establishments for imprisonment are overcrowded. Not long ago I happened to be imprisoned in the Smolensk prison. There the prisoners are bedded in four tiers. The cells are small. There is not even enough room for all prisoners to stand up at one time. A resolution adopted in 1988, at the 19th Conference of the CPSU, stated that thus far “no basic turnaround in economic development had taken place” as a result of efforts at restructuring and “neither has it taken place in social and cultural development”.

However, under existing circumstances it could not have been otherwise. If, for example, during the times of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages people were persecuted because they did not adhere to ways of thinking and behavior mandated for the specified period of time, during the communist era everything is taking place the other way around: people are being repressed because they are urging the authorities to adhere to standards of thinking and behavior mandated for this period. The result is an inquisition in reverse, something akin to an inquisition in a circle.

The population, being constantly under a state of repression, is required not to see the truth as it actually is; as a result the Soviet Union has come to be similar to the “Country of the Blind”, described by H. G. Wells, where the constant assertion is made that there is nothing superior to darkness, and that a human being gains his full stature only when he is deprived of his eyes.

It is, therefore, not mere coincidence that the author S. Krasauskas wrote in the magazine “Moksleivis” (The Student, 1987, No. 8, p. 20):

“For some years we said that black was white. Now, however, for some time we’ll have to learn to think logically. Decency. Responsibility. Orderliness. Conduct. Culture. Respect for the person and the state... Lies, defects, obsequiousness, ‘blat’, stealing, speculation, boorishness, the denigration of individual’s breathing space have become norms in our lives.”

In the Soviet Union perestroika is widely admired. However, representatives of religious faiths continue to be barred from establishing religious-social organizations that can make contributions to morality, and at the same time to raising the cultural

level of the masses. There is widespread discrimination against believers; churches are desecrated; they are turned into museums of atheism, concert halls, etc.

For example, "In Pelesa the church was closed and converted into a warehouse. Deprived of a church, the people of Pelesa gather at the adjoining cemetery and recite their prayers there." ("Draugas", 1988, August 30.). "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church", published in the underground since 1972, being unwilling to submit to Communist Party dictates, continues to be published illegally.

Individuals who are completely innocent, who fought against Stalin and Stalinism, resistance members, who merely strive for freedom for their own and other nations — B. Gajauskas, V. Petkus, J. Pakuckas, B. Lizunas, G. Iešmantas, P. Gražulis, S. Tomkevičius, V. Karaliunas and a whole lineup of others are being held behind bars and in areas of exile. Former political prisoners are not permitted to return to their lands of birth. For example, after two ten-year terms of imprisonment in Stalin-like concentration camps and special psychiatric hospitals, Algirdas Žyprė even now is forced to live beyond the border of Lithuania — in Latvia.

The youth of the oppressed nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is being forced by the use of drastic measures, to swear military oaths to the occupiers and to be taken to Afghanistan to kill Afghan sons and daughters fighting a battle for their freedom. All of this is a violation of international justice.

Without any serious justifications, freedom of movement is being restricted. Relatives and families experience obstacles in being reunited. Former active fighters against Stalin and Stalinism are not permitted to travel abroad. For example, Povilas Pečiulaitis is a citizen of the United States. Agreement had been reached on the question of his departure during the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Washington. However, shortly thereafter the Soviet Union rescinded his right to depart. Negotiations were continued repeatedly on the Pečiulaitis matter when Reagan and Gorbachev met in Moscow. Despite this, the authorities in the Soviet Union continue to bar him from departure to join his sister in Cleveland.

What is worse, Gorbachev himself became guilty of a high-level gesture that offends humanity with its repulsive crudeness. While in Riga on February 19, 1987, he compared as braying dogs the addresses made by Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian patriots who called for the return to the countries of the freedoms of which they were deprived by the secret Stalin-Hitler conspiracy. It is a known fact that all countries enslaved by Hitler regained their freedom and independence. Countries oppressed by Stalin have not regained their freedom or independence.

There are many who are convinced that the nations of the free world should employ, in the nearest possible future, with the greatest possible determination and unity, the trump card of the Hitler-Stalin secret agreement. It is a violation of standards of what is right to continue to waiver in view of the obvious evidence on how crimes are committed against humanity.

The three oppressed and struggling Baltic nations, engaged in an unending fight for freedom and survival are the greatest area of danger for a conflict in Europe; they are a constantly bleeding wound left by World War II that will not heal. The prescriptions for healing the wound are in the hands of the states that signed the Helsinki Agreements. It is their duty to bring to an end the specter of a colonial slave-state that has flaunted its power in Europe for 71 years, and thereby an honorable peace to this continent, and an assured future to all.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Part 3, Continued from *ABN Correspondence* No. 4

EXECUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF CAPTURED COMBATANTS AND CIVILIANS

Protection against extrajudicial executions, either of civilians or of combatants, is one of the fundamental aspects of the Geneva Conventions. The "passing of sentences and carrying out of executions (against noncombatants in a non-international armed conflict) without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court" is a violation of Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. Before the death penalty on a prisoner of war can be executed "a period of at least six months" must pass so as to ensure against a judgment "too often affected by emotional considerations." See Pictet's *Commentary* on Article 101 of the Third Geneva Convention. Further, non-derogable Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights protects the right to life of all persons, including within its terms protection from extrajudicial executions.

The guarantee against extrajudicial executions contained in the laws of war and the international law of human rights appears to be completely ignored in Afghanistan by the Soviet and DRA forces. Time after time the Independent Counsel heard of the execution by Soviet and DRA forces of innocent civilians taking no active part in the war. The testimony demonstrates a pattern of aerial and ground bombardment of a village followed by the occupation of the village by mixed DRA and Soviet forces followed by the execution of village elders or leaders, such as the mullah, as a public demonstration of power by the occupying forces.

On numerous occasions the Independent Counsel also received credible and confirmed testimony that mujahideen captured on the battlefield were killed by Soviet and DRA military forces. It appears that mujahideen commanders are chosen for special treatment, i.e., they are held for later torture to extract information about contacts and supply sources, while the rank and file mujahideen is executed on the spot usually by automatic weapons fire. Without regard to their classification as prisoners of war in an international armed conflict or persons who have laid down their arms in an armed conflict not of an international character, such extrajudicial executions are a gross violation of the fundamental dictates of humanity and of international law.

USE OF WEAPONS

The Independent Counsel approached the issue of the weapons being utilized by the Soviet and DRA armed forces from two perspectives: that of the unlawful use of lawful weapons and that of the use of unlawful weapons.

Unlawful use of lawful weapons

In this context, Protocol II to the 1981 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects enlightened the provisions of Common Article 3 for the Independent Counsel. The civilian population is much more likely to be injured by the dispersal of mines or other explosives by means which make it impossible to keep such explosives away from civilian populations. Those persons taking no active part in hostilities can hardly be protected from violence to life and person as re-

quired by Common Article 3 if explosives are dropped from high altitudes or dispersed by artillery.

The Independent Counsel heard countless reports of small land mines being dropped from helicopters or scattered from airplanes over fields, mountains and farm land. These bombs can readily be seen in Pakistan where a number of diffused "butterfly bombs" were shown to the Independent Counsel. While these types of mines might even be illegal weapons under the 1981 Convention when directed at combatants, they are certainly illegal when distributed in such a way as to demonstrate at a minimum a disregard for the safety of the civilian population and more likely, given the widespread nature of their use, the deliberate targeting of civilians and their livestock.

Area or "carpet" bombing has been reported for many years in a number of regions of Afghanistan, including most notably the Panjsher Valley of Paktika. The Independent Counsel received testimony from members of international relief organizations who personally witnessed sustained carpet bombing in the Panjsher Valley and from the Afghans whose villages were destroyed in this way. This type of high altitude bombing of large areas without regard to the distinction between military installations and civilian populations is inconsistent with the obligations of Common Article 3.

The disregard of accurate recordkeeping of mines vis-a-vis the civilian population is most telling when the situation of anti-personnel mines surrounding DRA and Soviet posts is considered. Afghans involved in the armed conflict report that DRA and Soviet outposts are surrounded by anti-personnel mines. Villagers living near rural outposts report that when one set of Soviet troops relieves another at a post, some Soviet soldiers are invariably killed when they venture into the minefield to plant new mines. The conclusion reached is that no records of mines are maintained even for transmittal to the next force of Soviet soldiers in a post.

USE OF UNLAWFUL WEAPONS

Booby-traps

Throughout its investigations the Independent Counsel was presented with testimony concerning the use of booby-traps by Soviet forces against the civilian population. The placing of mines, grenades and other explosives in positions where such explosives are calculated to or would reasonably be expected to cause injury to civilians and not to combatants is in violation of Common Article 3.

Dozens of witnesses told stories of returning to their villages and homes following attacks by Soviet soldiers to find bombs and grenades placed in doorways so as to explode when a door is opened, along paths to fields and by plants and bushes which will be collected for firewood and food. Therefore, in addition then to the random placing of uncharted land mines and the aerial dispersal of anti-personnel mines, the Independent Counsel received evidence of the intentional placing of explosive material where it was calculated to cause injury to civilians when they returned to their homes following an attack.

Besides the classic booby-traps described briefly above, it has been alleged that "toy bombs", i.e. explosive material in the form of children's toys, cassette recorders, pens, radios, watches, cigarette packets, etc. have been left scattered throughout villages and surrounding fields following armed attacks by Soviet troops. The Independent Counsel heard repeated testimony of the use of such weapons. The items included a

small red doll which exploded when pushed with a stick (which was filmed and shown on national television in the USA), pens, tape-recorders, money, naswar boxes (a form of snuffbox) and cigarette packets. The accounts were consistent but not identical, which adds to their credibility. So, for example, the descriptions given of the “cassette recorders” varied but the eye-witnesses were certain that what they had seen was supposed to be such a machine. It was clear from the detailed description of the pens that they were not being confused with “time pencils”. The overwhelming evidence suggests (1) the fake items are designed to be attractive to civilians; (2) not all objects are fake — some of the objects, such as pens, are real to increase the likelihood that someone will investigate and handle the objects; (3) the items are not likely to be attractive to the mujahedeen, who know of the likely dangers.

Chemical Weapons

The use of chemical warfare by Soviet forces was raised by certain of the testimony the Independent Counsel heard. Many persons provided evidence on the use of chemicals to poison food and water supplies. In some instances, chemical weapons were used directly against the civilian population. For example, it is known that villagers in Afghanistan hide in tunnels which branch off of water wells. One man, hiding in a house during a Soviet attack on his village, testified that he saw a Soviet tanker pull up to a well in the village and a person completely covered in a protective suit pour an unknown chemical into the well from a pipe attached to the tanker. After the truck left, the person in the protective suit threw a small device into the well and ran away. Shortly thereafter, a cloud of gas or smoke emerged from the well. After the Soviet troops left his village, the witness and others went to investigate and found everyone in the well, including many members of the witness’ family, had died.

Use of chemical weapons against civilians is a serious violation of the laws of war, including the Geneva Conventions and the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases. Although the Independent Counsel cannot determine what particular chemical weapons have been utilized, it seems clear that chemical weapons have been used by Soviet armed forces against civilians on a number of occasions in Afghanistan.

Conclusions On Use Of Weapons

The DRA and Soviet armed forces engaged in the war in Afghanistan do not appear to be inhibited in their choice or use of weapons. These troops continuously use potentially lawful weapons in an unlawful manner. Moreover, and more disturbing, Soviet troops use booby-traps and explosive household objects as part of their ordinary arsenal in blatant violation of the most fundamental laws of war.

UNLAWFUL TARGETS

Both the law of the Hague and the law of Geneva regulate, restrict, and in certain instances, prohibit the choice of targets by parties to an armed conflict. Certain targets unrelated to the armed conflict are illegal. In the course of their interviews the Independent Counsel noted that, in addition to such legitimate targets as mujahedeen installations, attacks appeared to be regularly launched against a variety of targets which are entitled to protection under international law. The frequency with which such attacks were described leads the Independent Counsel to believe that the reports received

were not of isolated mistakes, but of deliberate target acquisition by Soviet and DRA forces.

A previous portion of this report has been devoted to a description of attacks which have taken place on civilians. The targeting of civilians is of course in direct contravention to the affirmative obligation of Common Article 3 which requires that persons taking no active role in hostilities be treated humanely.

Intimately related to the lives of the civilian population is their food and water supply. A number of international relief organizations indicated that their attention was shifting from the provision of medical care to the provision of food, usually in the form of seed for planting. The shortage of food caused by the destruction of food supplies was independently stressed by a number of Afghan village elders and resistance leaders. As part of their usual practice in the occupation of a village, Soviet troops are reported to destroy crops and kill livestock. The methods described ranged from setting food on fire with tracer bullets or flares to contaminating food by urinating and defecating on stored grains. The water supply is not neglected by the Soviet armed forces. Irrigation canals are reported to be regularly bombed and the Independent Counsel received a number of credible reports of the poisoning of wells and other water sources.

Medical facilities and personnel identified as such by the display of the internationally recognized symbols of the red cross or the red crescent are entitled to special protection. They certainly are not legitimate targets of attack. The Independent Counsel learned from international relief organizations which operate inside Afghanistan that such organizations are reluctant to identify their facilities by the use of the red cross. This is because they have learned from experience that identifying such a location appears to draw attacks. For example, reports were received that on two instances buildings in Paktika identified as medical facilities were bombed, in each case by MiGs, whose sole action was to attack those facilities.

A place of worship, such as a mosque, is not a legitimate target of attack, unless it is being used as a military installation. The Independent Counsel, during the course of their interviews, learned that following the occupation of a village or other area, Soviet forces usually use the local mosque as a latrine. To further compound the insult, pages of the Holy Koran are used as toilet paper. The fundamental role which religion plays in the life of the Afghans will be discussed in greater depth in a later section of this report. However, from the manner in which this attack is carried out it is clear that the choice of mosques as targets is not made out of military necessity, but as a means to degrade and humiliate the people, in violation of paragraph 1(c) of Common Article 3.

Refugees fleeing their country or outside their country are protected against attack. Yet, a Pakistani Government official responsible for Afghan refugee affairs told the Independent Counsel that, while accompanied by the United Nations Special Rapporteur, he and the Special Rapporteur personally witnessed an attack within the Afghan/Pakistan border area on a refugee column in which a number of people were killed. It is incontestable that the number of aerial attacks on Afghan refugee camps in the border areas of Pakistan has increased dramatically in the last year. During the visit of the Independent Counsel to Pakistan, a number of such attacks took place, with many reported deaths. Attacks on refugees within Afghanistan by ambush or helicopter strafing were also reported. While in Quetta, the Independent Counsel heard extremely disquieting testimony that a group of refugees in the Rigistan desert on their way to

Pakistan in 1987 were captured by Soviet troops in helicopters and thrown while alive into a bonfire made up of the possessions they had been carrying with the result that all captured were killed.

Conclusion On Unlawful Targets

The evidence adduced by the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights indicates that little if any discrimination is made by the Soviet and DRA forces between legitimate and illegitimate targets of attack. Rather to the contrary the war is being waged without restraint on the civilian population of Afghanistan and the physical and religious structure that support it. Even those persons who have given up their country and are going or have gone into exile are not immune from attack. Unlawful attacks by Soviet and DRA forces on illegitimate targets is widespread and systematic.

OBLIGATION TO DISSEMINATE THE LAWS OF WAR

While hardly ranking in importance with some of the other provisions on international humanitarian law which have been reviewed in this report, the obligation to disseminate the laws of war should be addressed, if only briefly. The scope and magnitude of the war crimes committed by the armed forces of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan caused the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights to wonder whether international humanitarian law is disseminated among Soviet officers and soldiers as is required by the Geneva Conventions. The Geneva Conventions unequivocally require that the parties thereto disseminate the texts of the Conventions and "include the study thereof in their programmes of military and, if possible, civil instruction, so that the principles thereof may become known to all their armed forces and to the entire population." See, as an example, Article 127 of the Third Convention.

The Soviet Union is itself aware of this obligation since I. P. Blishchenko and V. A. Grin, authors of the booklet "International Humanitarian Law and the Red Cross", published in Moscow in 1983 by the Executive Committee of the Order of Lenin Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR, state on page 36 of that booklet, "The Geneva Conventions make it incumbent on the states to disseminate their texts as widely as possible and to include them in the programmes of military and civilian education." Later, on page 39, Blishchenko and Grin state that "the members of the Soviet Armed Forces study the provisions of international humanitarian law regularly and systematically... All members of the Armed Forces are familiarized with the texts of the Geneva Conventions... The officer corps thoroughly study the provisions of international humanitarian law."

During its interviews the Independent Counsel were able to speak with a former Afghan Air Force pilot. This officer trained on a number of occasions in Soviet military academies. He described in detail the manner in which assignments were given him and others to carpet-bomb villages. When he was asked about how he was able to reconcile these blanket attacks which were likely to kill civilians with the dictates of the laws of war which prohibit attacks on noncombatants, he expressed surprise. After some questioning it became apparent that he had never heard of the concept of "the laws of war" before that interview. While this certainly speaks poorly for the Afghan military training, it also indicts the Soviet Union which had played a large role in his training. Moreover, the unremitting pattern of violations of the laws of war by Soviet forces bespeaks a complete lack of awareness of these basic international norms which the Soviet Union has bound itself by treaty to observe.

The Independent Counsel were not able to gather much information concerning dissemination of the laws of war by the Afghan resistance. While the Independent Counsel were informed by military officials of the Afghan resistance that they comply with the requirements of international humanitarian law, Helsinki Watch reported testimony in 1985 that Soviet and Afghan prisoners held by the resistance were treated in a manner inconsistent with humanitarian law.

POSSIBLE INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

Allegations of genocide practiced by DRA and Soviet forces have been lodged frequently. A brief comment on the international law in this matter is necessary before seeking to apply it to the facts which were presented to the Independent Counsel in International Human Rights.

Genocide is an international crime with particular standards, and should be dissociated from the popular conception and historical connotations of the word. Genocide has both a customary and a conventional or treaty dimension. The customary dimension derives from the aggregate of developments in the law regarding the protection of human rights. The conventional dimension is to be found in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, a multilateral treaty to which Afghanistan and the USSR are parties. Article II of the Convention defines genocide to mean:

Any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

While perhaps the crimes of Nazi Germany show the greatest number of genocidal acts and the clearest intent, it should be noted that Article II does not require that the acts in question sought the physical elimination, in whole or in part, of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. Under subparagraphs (b) and (e), the crime of genocide is accomplished not by physical elimination but by forcible transformation of the indigenous identity of the group. In contrast, subparagraphs (a), (c) and (d) declare, as crimes of genocide, acts intended to eliminate physically all or part of the membership of the group. The contrasting language is instructive. The destruction of a targeted group within the meaning of the Convention refers both to the physical elimination of its members and coercive transformation of the identity of group members. In the calculus of the Convention, both of those acts destroy the group and are genocidal.

The scope of the "intent" which must accompany the designated acts has also been the subject of extensive scholarly interpretations. The Convention does not limit itself to massive and comprehensive iniquities. Any of the designated acts in paragraphs (a) to (e) are deemed to be genocidal if they were committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the targeted group as such.

While intent to destroy a group in whole speaks for itself, the intent requirement for efforts to destroy part of a group would appear to be fulfilled if the actor targeted whatever is the minimum quantitative requirement of group members "as such". Once

again, to avoid controversy about the law to be applied the Independent Counsel have adopted a strict textual construction consistent with the leanest and most minimal interpretation of the Convention: an intention to kill many members of a particular group because they are members of that group fulfills the Convention's requirement of intent, for the act is directed to destroy part of the group.

With this brief clarification of the law in the matter, we may turn to the specific allegations that have been lodged with regard to the commission of genocide in the Afghan conflict. Four distinct allegations have been made: depopulation; attacks on religion; forced removal of children; and strategic attacks on society. These will be treated *seriatim*.

DEPOPULATION

According to accounts the Independent Counsel received, many of which have been reported elsewhere, substantial programs of depopulation have been conducted in the following provinces: Ghazni, Nangarhar, Laghman, Qandahar, Zabul, Badakhshan, Lowgar, Paktia, Paktika, Kunar. In addition, the Wakhan corridor bordering on China has been almost entirely depopulated and effectively annexed by the Soviet Union. The following methods were used to accomplish depopulation: repeated targeting of villages in certain areas; the commission of atrocities in villages with the predictable result of substantial flight of the civilian population; the intentional destruction of food supplies, irrigation canals and wells, making it impossible for the civilian population to survive in their villages; looting of property.

The Independent Counsel have not been able to examine documents of the government of the DRA or of the USSR, and hence cannot document whether or not these acts were conducted with specific intent. However, the fact that these actions have been persistently committed for eight years, with the dismaying cumulative result that one-third of the Afghan population has been forced to leave its country and another one-third is in internal exile cannot be ignored. These acts and the resultant exodus continue. Pakistani officials in charge of refugee influx reported to us that about ten thousand Afghans continue to cross the border monthly. International refugee officials allowed that that figure was probably conservative.

Where actions with predictable results are taken over an extended period of time and the consequences of those actions regularly confirm what their outcome will be, it is, to say the least, reasonable to infer that those responsible for those actions are accomplishing them with specific intent.

In the view of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights, there is substantial evidence to support the allegation that the DRA and the Soviet Union have been pursuing strategies necessarily securing and therefore presumably aimed at a forced depopulation of substantial areas of Afghanistan. In our view, the flight of substantial part of the more than five million Afghans who have been forced to leave their country since 1979 and the other five million in internal exile would appear attributable to actions undertaken by the DRA and the USSR.

ATTACKS ON RELIGION

Even the briefest contact with Afghans drives home the extraordinary importance to them of their religion. The Independent Counsel on International Human Rights were struck, in the course of their interviews with Afghans, by the extent to which even

those who were Westernized and quite worldly shared this basic view. All the Afghans who were engaged in the resistance describe themselves as mujahedeen, literally those who are engaged in a religious war. Many spoke with a calm dispassion about the probability of their becoming shahedeen or martyrs. The impression we gained is confirmed in the scholarly and ethnographic literature about the Afghans. Religion is one of the basic factors which establishes their identity and binds them together. Its role in the life of an Afghan cannot be overestimated.

The war in Afghanistan is, in a substantial part, a result of governmental actions directed against these views in an effort to supplant them with the materialistic conceptions of Marxist-Leninism. Hence, these religious views are frequently targeted. The fact has increased popular resistance and become a basic feature of the war. The Independent Counsel gathered a great deal of evidence confirming that a standard technique of torture is the taunting of the victims about their religion. Many witnesses, after describing a variety of chilling physical tortures to which they were subjected, testified that the cruelest torture involved slurs on their faith and such taunts as "Where is your God now?" or "Why isn't your God helping you now?". We also gathered evidence of the targeting of mosques and religious schools and, in one case, the intentional desecration of a mosque.

Given the values of the Afghan people, there is good reason to believe that such actions constitute genocide within the meaning of Article II (b) of the Convention, in that they are acts committed with the intent to humiliate a religious group and hence cause serious mental harm to members of the group.

FORCED REMOVAL OF CHILDREN

The Independent Counsel collected evidence indicating a coordinated policy of forcibly transferring children from Afghanistan to the Soviet Union. The objective appears to be to deculturate the transferred children from the values of their parents and enviroing group and to forcibly inculcate in them the values of the Soviet Union. The procedure, as testified by witnesses, is as follows: without warning, officials enter a classroom and, giving no explanation, choose a certain number of children who leave with the officials. When the children do not return home that evening, no explanation is given to the parents. But several days later, the parents are told that their children have been sent to the Soviet Union. Some children who are taken are kept for one to two months, with the idea of inculcating in them favorable attitudes toward Russia. Some are kept in the USSR for several years. There is also testimony to the effect that some of the children who are taken are programmed to be saboteurs and assassins and are trained to target a particular mujahideen commander. Accounts of the forcible transfer of Afghan children from their families to the Soviet Union have also been reported elsewhere.

Article II (e) of the Genocide Convention defines genocide to include acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group by "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group". The text is not explicit as to whether transfers for a period of time in order to change perspectives of identification with the targeted group's values are included in Article II (e). In the view of the Independent Counsel, however, such an interpretation is consistent both with the language of Article II and the obvious policy animating the provision. The anguish and despair caused to the parents of these children would certainly appear to

constitute “mental harm” within the meaning of Article II (b), but it is not certain, from the testimony we received, whether this obvious and foreseeable consequence was sought with the intent to destroy the older generation of the targeted group.

STRATEGIC ATTACKS ON SOCIETY

Much evidence suggests that the DRA and the Soviet Union are involved in a complex and premeditated attack on a traditional society and its values and that the attack is being pressed at every level of social organization: the village and its agricultural infrastructure, the religion, education and the children, and health and life itself. Article II (c) defines genocide to include acts “deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part”. The cumulative effect of the variety of programs which have been developed and directed against the civilian society of Afghanistan would appear to fall within the ambit of this provision.

CONCLUSIONS ON GENOCIDE

In view of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights, there is considerable evidence that genocidal acts have been committed against the Afghan people by the combined forces of the DRA and the Soviet Union. The repetition of many of the acts described above and their consistency makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the inevitable consequences of those acts are intended. Those consequences are inconsistent with obligations undertaken by the Soviet Union and DRA in ratifying the Genocide Convention.

THE SITUATION SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

A prominent development in this tragic conflict has been the announcement of a policy of “National Reconciliation” at the beginning of 1987 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The DRA has promoted this policy as a step toward peace. However, an examination of the facts related to the situation in Afghanistan since the announcement of this policy which have been gathered by the Independent Counsel indicates that the Government of Afghanistan is acting inconsistently with its announced desire for peace. A short review of some of the substantive points covered in this report as related to events since the announcement of “National Reconciliation” may be enlightening.

The Independent Counsel received reliable testimony alleging incidents of torture occurring as late as July 1987. One witness released from Pul-e-charki prison during July 1987 had electric shock applied to his toes and testicles. He had been shackled to a wall while an empty, heated soda bottle was repeatedly forced in and out of his rectum. Another witness had been released from Pul-e-charki prison in June 1987. He had been shuffled from one cell to another during the visit of an international fact-finding team and had been denied permission to meet with the group. Electric shock had been applied to his feet, toes and rectum, and hot water had been poured into his ears. On one occasion, his urinary tract was tied off, he was forced to consume a large quantity of liquid and was then beaten on the stomach. These and other incidents reported to the Independent Counsel occurred since the January 1987 announcement of “National Reconciliation” indicate that there has been no change in the use of torture in Afghanistan.



Mr. Guljan Farahie with Afghan mujahideen and civilian population.

Civilians continue to be the target of deliberate attack. One old woman testified that she lost her daughter and four grandchildren when their refugee caravan was bombed en route from Kunduz to Pakistan during June 1987. Several witnesses testified to the destruction of the village of Jamma in Kunduz province. The men of the village were assembled at a mosque on a Friday at prayertime. While they were praying, helicopters and planes arrived and bombed the mosque. The mosque and most of the village was destroyed. Tanks were arriving as the witnesses escaped. Approximately 200 people were killed during this attack.

Cross-border aerial attacks on refugees in Pakistan have not merely continued but actually increased in pace since the announcement of "National Reconciliation". Such raids have killed an officially estimated 860 people from the beginning of the conflict through August 1987. In February 1987 at least 58 people were killed and 190 injured when Soviet-Afghan warplanes bombed three Pakistani border villages near Miranshah in the North Waziristan tribal agency. During a 30 minute period of that attack, 16 planes in two formations bombed the village of Moza Qilli Ghulam Khan as Afghan refugees shopped in the bazaar. In March 1987 between 15 and 20 Soviet-Afghan planes violated Pakistani airspace over the Kurrum tribal agency and bombed the village of Terri-Mangal, killing at least 51 people and injuring more than 100. The number of cross-border violations and bombing of civilian targets indicates the war is spreading into Pakistan despite the policy of "National Reconciliation".

Every segment of Afghan society remains under assault. It is noteworthy that of the millions of Afghans forced to flee their homeland, only very small percentage of refugees have sought to return. Neither the incidents of civilian attacks nor the occurrence and intensity of torture seem to have subsided. The Independent Counsel have encountered no evidence to indicate a change in these patterns. When examined in its



Afghan Freedom Fighters

factual context it is clear that "National Reconciliation" has failed to contribute to a restoration of the minimal standards of human rights which the people of Afghanistan should enjoy pursuant to international law.

SEPARATE STATEMENT

With Regard To The Application Of Common Article 3 To Afghanistan

All members of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights have agreed to the working assumption of this report, i.e., that the law to be applied is not that expressed in the totality of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the First Protocol Additional to those Conventions of 1977, but only Common Article 3 of the 1949 Conventions. That working assumption is premised on the view that the conflict in Afghanistan is not international but is internal in character.

Professor Reisman, Miss Hampson, Dr. Miggiani, Mr. Norchi and Mr. Busuttill have agreed to that view in the interests of a unanimous report and a desire not to divert attention from the facts of the conflict to controversy over legal issues. The working assumption of the Independent Counsel has permitted the group to move directly to an examination of the allegations made by Afghan and foreign witnesses. Common Article 3 establishes sufficient basic principles to apply to most of the allegations. Nevertheless, those persons named in this paragraph wish it understood that they believe that the war in Afghanistan is an international conflict as between the Soviet Union and the Afghan fighters and civilians and, as such, is subject to the totality of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and, insofar as they are in effect, as conventional or customary law, the provisions of the First Protocol of 1977.

Those members of the Independent Counsel believe that position is based on factual record. On December 28, 1979, the Soviet Union intervened militarily in Afghanistan. Its forces murdered the President of the country, Hafizullah Amin, and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. The intervention was allegedly effected at the invitation of Babrak Karmal, but that alleged invitation could have neither international nor domestic legal value. At the time it was issued, Karmal had no post in the Afghan Government. He had most recently been the Afghan Ambassador to Czecho-Slovakia, a post from which he was dismissed. He then went to Moscow, in effect in political exile, and from the USSR issued the invitation to the USSR to intervene in his country. Since the Soviet military intervention, ample evidence indicates that the Soviet Union is conducting a war directly and using the constantly shrinking Afghan army insofar as it still has any utility. The notion that Afghan generals are ordering Soviet troops is, in the opinion of those members of the Independent Counsel, untenable.

IN MEMORIAM



Dr. Ivan Bankovski

It is with great sorrow that we inform our readers and friends of ABN that the great Bulgarian patriot and ABN Central Committee member, Dr. Ivan Bankovski, passed away on November 15, 1988 in Frankfurt, West Germany.

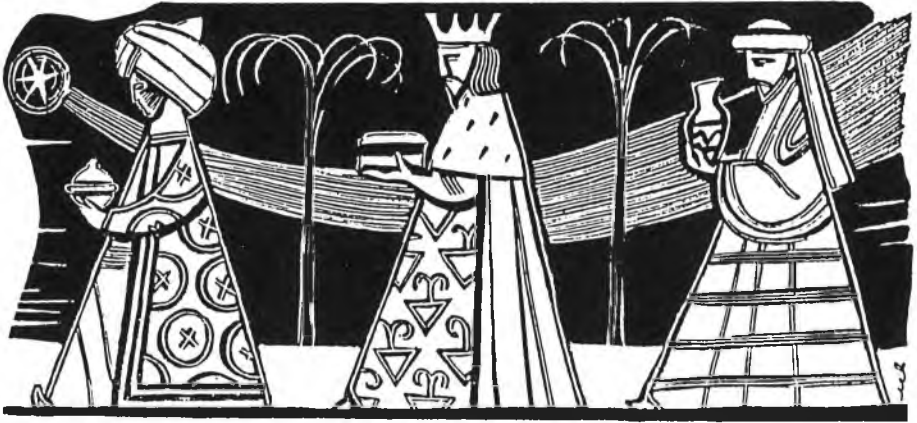
Born on August 6, 1911 in Dupnitsa, Bulgaria, Dr. Bankovski dedicated his life to the fight against communism and against the Russian-Bolshevik colonization of Bulgaria. In the past he served as general staff-officer of the former Bulgarian army, which was liquidated shortly after the Russian occupation of Bulgaria. Dr. Bankovski then joined the United Opposition, which conducted a semi-legal struggle against the Communist Russian occupational regime. In 1948, Dr. Bankovski was forced to illegally flee to the West.

At the time when Greece and Turkey repatriated many Bulgarian political refugees, Dr. Bankovski, accompanied by two befriended officers and with Croatian help, was compelled to escape to the West across Yugoslavia. He was arrested on Yugoslavian territory and after 13 months of detainment in Tito's prisons and camps he succeeded in illegally crossing the border on October 5, 1949 and reaching the free state of Italy. From then on, in exile, he began his actual political activity, while at the same time studying dentistry in Paris and Frankfurt. He became the founder and general-secretary of the Association of Former Bulgarian Combatants in Exile. From 1953 to 1956 he was also the vice-president of the Federation of Former Frontline Fighters of Central and Eastern Europe, who had settled down as refugees in Frankfurt.

He also founded the journal *Bulgarski Woin*, which he edited for 20 years. In addition, he was secretary of the Coordinating Centre for Information and Cooperation of Bulgarian Organizations in Exile. Furthermore, Dr. Bankovski worked closely on several Bulgarian and foreign anti-communist issues. He is the author of five different anti-communist and patriotic works. Dr. Ivan Bankovski was a member of the Bulgarian delegation in the World Anti-Communist League and constantly participated at various anti-communist conferences, where he represented Bulgarian interests on an international level.

His love for his nation and his dedication to its freedom and the freedom for all subjugated nations will remain an inspiration for all and will always be remembered. May his memory be eternal.

The Central Committee of ABN



Compliments of the season and sincere wishes for a
Merry Christmas
and a
Happy Prosperous New Year
to all our friends and readers of ABN Correspondence.

ABN Central Committee