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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

IN THIS ISSUE:

Yarema Kelebay

*Nation-building in the Newly
Independent States*

Martti Valkonen

The Ceded Finnish Territories

Ali Granmayeh

*Iran and Ukraine: The View from
Tehran*

Ihor Dlaboha

No Security Treaty, START Stops

Volodymyr Butkevych

*Crimea and the truth about
Khrushchev's 'Gift'*

DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS:

New Latvian President Says Russian Troops Must Go Home!

Former Soviet Satellites Discuss Defense

Report from the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists

Soviets had planned Nuclear Attack on Western Europe

Patriarch Mstyslav I Dies at Age 95

CONTENTS:

<i>Slava Stetsko</i> , ABN: Half a Century of Struggle	2
<i>Yarema Gregory Kelebay</i> , Nation-building in the Newly Independent States	7
<i>Martti Valkonen</i> , The Ceded Finnish Territories	14
Ukraine, Poland: 'Strategic Partners' – Refuse Russian Dictatorship	16
<i>Ali Granmayeh</i> , Iran and Ukraine: The View from Tehran	18
<i>O. Chabarovskyy</i> , Perspectives of Ukrainian Foreign Policy	21
Orthodox of the Moscow Patriarchate block Ukrainian Greek Catholic Mass	24
New Latvian President Says Russian Troops Must Go Home!	25
<i>Varla Paegle and Martins Zvaners</i> , Latvian Americans Angered by Campaign against Latvia	26
<i>Ihor Dlaboha</i> , No Security Treaty, START Stops	29
Ukraine seeks to help Peace Process in Croatia and Slovenia	30
Estonia strengthens relations while Lithuania looks to expand	31
Former Soviets Satellites Discuss Defense	32
Shevardnadze: Georgia's Bloody Dictator	33
Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists	34
<i>Volodymyr Butkevych</i> , Crimea and the truth about Khrushchev's Gift	37

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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A Word from the Editor....

ABN Correspondence is in its 44th year of publication. Over the years, our publication has informed members about the perils of Bolshevik imperialism, about violations of human rights behind the “Iron Curtain”, about the nationalist movements within the nations imprisoned in the Soviet bloc. *ABN Correspondence* challenged *status quo* thought about Soviet politics – the convenient thinking that somehow persistently wanted to accept the Kremlin’s justifications that the captive nations had always wanted to exist as Soviet republics.

Fortunately, with the collapse of the Soviet Russian empire, many Western leaders, politicians, and scholars have had to readjust their thinking. When the captive nations seized the opportunity to break free from the empire, it was evidence enough that the desire, the struggle and the goal of national independence was never forsaken throughout the “dark” decades of Soviet Russian rule.

We have witnessed monumental changes in our world over the past two years. For our ABN members, this time has been joyous. The declaration of independence in one’s homeland is the realisation of a life-long dream. For more than four decades, our members have worked in the *diaspora* to facilitate the national movements in their homelands. This has meant lobbying governments, disseminating information which was unpublishable in the Soviet bloc, letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations, and writing articles to publications such as our *ABN Correspondence*.

Our editorial board is very grateful to the many who provided articles and documents during those years when part of the world turned a blind eye to the injustices of the Soviet Russian regime.

When ABN reassessed its new role at the ABN Congress last November, this spurred a name change to the *Assembly of the Bloc of Nations in Europe and in Asia*. The change reflects a readjustment of terminology more in keeping with the events of the past two years. The name change, however, does not mean a change in objectives and goals. ABN strives to unite national independence movements, which are struggling against the return of imperialist rule. Events in the past few months indicate the need for further cooperation among nation-states. One only needs to recall: the dangerous movement vying for the return of communist rule in Russia and the unstable situation in the Russian government; the campaign against those countries with new citizenship laws which do not give privileged rights to members of the Russian occupying armies; and Russia’s expansionist policies towards the Crimea.

Previously, one could only read information in the press that was filtered through Moscow’s “centre”. Now, that the rest of the world is learning about other nation-states other than Russia, there is a deluge of available information, (albeit the Western media still tends to focus most of its attention on Moscow).

How does this development affect our publication? The editorial board has decided that the focus of our publication should be more on ABN news, articles from our readers as well as documents or articles which present information that may be overlooked by other media. We have changed to a smaller format and to fewer editions per year. We ask our readers to contribute viewpoints, articles and documents, so that we could better reflect the activities and views of our readers and members. I would like to take this opportunity to express our thanks to our readership for the continued support.

Slava Stetsko

ABN: Half a Century of Struggle

*Keynote Address
ABN Congress, November 1992
Toronto, Canada*

Our ABN Congress is taking place in a completely changed world. Our organisation's endeavours and the struggle of our respective nations' has been richly rewarded with the fall of the Soviet Russian empire and the communist system. Many leaders of our organisation dedicated their entire lives to ensure that their nations may live on.

Let us pay tribute to the memory of the great leaders of our organisation and our nations: Rostyslav Voloshyn (President of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Europe and Asia in 1943, Prime Minister of a Free Ukrainian Government Yaroslav Stetsko (founding President of ABN and its exceptional leader until his death in 1986), great leaders such as Ferdinand Durchansky and Tibor Pohorny of Slovakia, Minister Dimiter State and Dr. Dimiter Waltcheff of Bulgaria, Minister Alfred Berzins of Latvia, General Hinko Alabanda of Croatia, General Farkash de Kisbarnak of Hungary, Prince Niko Nakashidze of Georgia, Archbishop Vasili Tomashek of Belarus, Dr. Basil Mailat of Romania and many others. We are saddened that they are no longer with us to witness the rebirth of our respective nations. May their memory live for ever.

The Soviet-backed Yugoslav empire has also disintegrated, although Serbian aggression against Croats and Muslims still continues today. Czecho-Slovakia is being transformed peacefully into two separate states of Czechia and Slovakia.

The scope of the changes is truly unprecedented. However, as it was to be expected, the newly-established states are still struggling with the grim legacy of the occupying regimes. Even today, Russia has not abandoned its penchant for imperialism. Russian troops are still stationed in the Baltic states and Poland. The so-called Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) still hinders its member-states from asserting fully their independence and proceed unhindered with the necessary political and socio-economic reforms.

With some exceptions, the Bolshevik nomenclatura still holds key positions in government structures and the outlawed communist parties have reemerged under the guise of so-called socialist parties. They use their position of power to appropriate national wealth for their private benefit before real reforms and privatization are introduced and take hold.

To this day, the violations of national and human rights by the Soviet regime have not been duly exposed and the guilty brought to justice.

Moscow's "divide and conquer" nationalities policy and the mass deportation of entire populations have resulted in inter-ethnic strife in Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Our national movements are doing their best to reintroduce democracy and to

revive religious, spiritual, cultural and national values in our countries of origin. To accelerate those processes their links with the countries of what has been known as the free world must be enhanced to the maximum.

Before we begin discussing the current geopolitical situation and new directions for our activities, let us assess almost half a century of ABN activities. ABN began its activities in the forties when some of the then subjugated nations such as Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus still waged a two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. After World War II, ABN established branches in many countries throughout the world where there were immigrant communities from Central and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. In countries where there were no such communities, ABN missions were established in the Republic of China, Japan, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines. Later on, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Cambodia joined ABN ranks.

ABN began organising conferences in the free world in order to promote the cause of liberation of the subjugated nations from the Soviet Russian occupation and communist domination. The first such conference took place in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1948. Other conferences followed in London, Manchester, Bradford, several in New York, Washington, Toronto, Malta, Rome, Frankfurt, Munich, Zurich, etc. They were all organised on an international scale.

In 1967, ABN was instrumental in creating the European Freedom Council (EFC) which brought together prominent European community and political leaders and personalities. Joint political actions of the ABN-EFC followed.



ABN President Slava Stetsko with Dr. Alexander Ronnett from the Romanian-American National Congress at the ABN Congress Banquet in Toronto

Hundreds of memoranda along with relevant documentation from our homelands have been forwarded to the government of the nations of the free world, international organisations of a military, cultural, humanitarian and religious nature. Those materials covered events in our respective countries, provided information about persecutions, arrests and violation of national, civil and human rights. Press conferences, seminars and lecture tours also constituted an important part of our overall activities. ABN systematically participated in all politically relevant national and international fora. For several decades all of these activities served us well in the promotion of our ideas, in the dissemination of information about the situation behind the Iron Curtain, and that the liberation of the subjugated nations was the only alternative to a nuclear world war between the superpowers.

Hundreds of political mass actions were organised in defense of national and human rights. Thousands of people participated in rallies and demonstrations before the United Nations in New York and Soviet Russian embassies in Ottawa, Washington, Bonn, London, Canberra, Buenos Aires, and many other cities. Of international significance were our public actions against Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the Scandinavian countries and against KGB chief Alexander Shelepin in London, Great Britain. For it was Khrushchev and Shelepin who gave orders to assassinate the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement Stepan Bandera.

We organised moral, political and material support for our freedom fighters, particularly during the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the uprising in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 and for the Afghan Mujahideen in the 1980s.

ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko patiently developed contacts with world leaders. Over the years, he and other ABN leaders had travelled to numerous countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and the American continent seeking friends for the cause of Freedom and the liberation of the subjugated nations.

In 1955 ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang signed the Agreement on Cooperation against Soviet Russian imperialism and communism. This agreement opened the door into Asia for all member-nations of ABN. As a result, multinational ABN delegations had the unique opportunity to inform firsthand on a regular basis Asian members of governments, parliamentarians, the mass media and large audiences about the plight of our nations.

The ABN Central Committee was also a founding cosponsor of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) which led this organisation to accept the political platform of ABN. WACL consisted of 91 member-nations and 110 national and international chapters. The ABN representative to WACL served as a permanent member on WACL's Executive Board.

"The Captive Nations Week" law, passed by U.S. Congress in 1959, was an historic moral and political milestone for the ideas of ABN. That law drew a clear line between the colonialism of Soviet Russia and the subjugated nations. The 40th anniversary of ABN and the 25th anniversary of the Captive Nations Week in 1983 with the participation of the White House and the U.S. Congress was a political event in itself. President Ronald Reagan, then Vice-President George Bush, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jean Kirkpatrick along with many Congressmen and Senators took part. ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko was asked to deliver a keynote address. On that memorable

occasion, U.S. President Ronald Reagan pronounced his famous words – “Your struggle, is our struggle”. That great American President kept his word, and the “evil empire” took notice....

From the very beginning, ABN has been publishing a bi-monthly journal *ABN Correspondence* in English. For a number of years that publication had also appeared in German, French, Portuguese and Spanish. In the forties and fifties, ABN put out a multilingual publication *Nabat* with material in Russian, Turkestani, Hungarian and Belorussian. ABN also published numerous books, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets in numerous languages for distribution throughout the world. Clandestine literature from behind the Iron Curtain had been translated into 16 languages.

Special attention was given to the Helsinki Accords through submission of memoranda to the member states, unofficial participation in the conferences in Madrid, Belgrad, Paris and Vienna. Special documentation was prepared and distributed, press conferences held, street demonstrations organised – particularly in Madrid and Vienna.

Active ABN members were in all Western European countries including the Scandinavian nations and Great Britain; in Canada, United States, Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina; and then Turkey, Japan, the Republic of China, Korea, Viet-Nam, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand; in Africa: Angola, Mozambique, Egypt, Ethiopia; in the Middle East: Israel, Lebanon, Iran Saudi Arabia.

After the collapse of the communist system in Central Europe an ABN conference took place in Hungary in 1991 and an ABN branch was established in Budapest, as well as in Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, ABN branches were activated in Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Georgia.

ABN had been able to establish working relations with various world leaders: U.S. Presidents Ronald Reagan, Robert Nixon, George Bush (when he was Vice President), Presidents Diem and Tieu of Viet-Nam, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, Syman Rhee (Korea), Francisco Franco (Spain), Chiang-Kai-Shek (Republic of China), Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (Germany), Charles de Gaulle (France), Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (Canada), Prime Minister Demirel (Turkey), John Gordon (Australia), Kitta Kachorn (Thailand), Andreotti (Italy), Kishi (Japan), Harold McMillan (Great Britain), Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Tip O’Neil, Dutch Foreign Minister Ole Byorn Kraft, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jean Kirkpatrick, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Admiral Carlos Pena Botto (Brazil), Secretary General of SEATO General Zavier Vargas, Member of the European Parliament Otto von Habsburg, Minister J. M. Lombardo (Italy), General John Hackett (Great Britain) and General Robert Close (Belgium) both from NATO, as well as many others.

ABN principal strategic concept was that the Soviet Russian empire – the USSR and its political and military bloc – will collapse from within under the pressure of the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations. Moreover, it was also stressed that the free world should actively support this strategic tenet as the only alternative to an unavoidable nuclear confrontation. So it came to pass.

We must remember that this strategic thinking – both in theory and in practice – had been developed over the years in hundreds of articles mainly by ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko, as well as by Prince Niko Nakashidze, Dr. Dimiter Waltcheff, Veli Kajum Khan, Dr. Baimirzha Hayit and others. Yaroslav Stetsko also wrote shortly

before his death in July 1986 that the Chornobyl tragedy will be the last straw that would break the empire's back. So it came to pass.

The Soviet Russian empire ceased to exist. Now we have to clean up the unprecedented destruction it left in its wake, help rebuild and integrate our newly-independent homelands into the world community of free nations.

Former National Security Advisor to U.S. President Jimmy Carter, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, recently wrote that "Above all it's geopolitically essential that Ukraine succeed in stabilising itself as a secure and independent state. That will automatically increase the chances of Russia's evolution as a democratising and increasingly European post-imperial state. Accordingly a critical component of Western strategy has to be the deliberate effort – not only economic but also political – to consolidate a stable and sovereign Ukraine".

When dealing with the post-communist period, Dr. Brzezinski considers that "American commitment must be guided by a longer-range geopolitical vision that goes beyond the West's currently one-sided concentration on facilitating Russia's socio-economic recovery". No less important, he continues, is "the stable consolidation of the newly-independent non-Russian states, some of which are only in the early stages of their own nation-building".

Aware of the magnitude of the burdens and responsibilities facing us in a changing world, we thank God for the opportunity He has bestowed upon us all to assist in this process of rebuilding our newly-independent homelands.

We are also thankful to Canada for being among the first nations of the free world in reading out to our peoples at this crucial time in their history.



*ABN Congress Presidium
November 21, 1992 – Toronto, Canada*

Nation-building in the Newly Independent Countries of the Former Soviet Union

Nation- or state-building is the ultimate in political conduct and the architectonic political act *par excellence*. The challenge is as old as Plato, who, in *The Republic*, defined a state as a “man writ large.” State building is not a matter of engineering or constructing a machine or system. It is not a matter of science. It *is* a matter of political philosophy. As Plato said, it is a question of “tending to the soul”. Statecraft is soulcraft.

I have been asked to address selected issues on the topic of nation-building in the post-Communist era. And we must start with definition.

Nation vs. State

When talking about nation-building, clear distinctions must be made between country, nation, society, state and economy. Each of these must be defined and understood, both alone and in concert with the others. Confusion about these concepts can only lead to problems. Therefore, the first question to be raised, Are we talking about nation building in the post-Communist era, taking about state-building, or are we talking about both?

Frequently, discussions about Eastern Europe are based on the assumption that full-fledged modern nations do not yet exist there. National differences are often caricatured as ethnic or tribal conflicts and therefore the issue of nation-building is considered relevant in Eastern Europe. However, nations already exist in Eastern Europe, nations which do not have independent states. Therefore, the first task in the post-Communist era is the task of building states for the newly independent nations.

Independence

What do we mean by newly-independent states? How is independence different from sovereignty, separateness, self-determination, freedom or autonomy? In what sense and to what degree are any of the newly-independent states sovereign, separate, self-determined, free, and autonomous from the former Soviet Union (or now Russia)? Are they really independent politically, economically, militarily, intellectually and/or culturally?

A year before the December 1991 referendum in Ukraine, that country was declared sovereign. Nobody bought that. Only the overwhelming result of the referendum, which declared independence, was acceptable to the Ukrainian people. This was not the end of the process of emancipation, but rather the beginning.

Structure and Ideology

Questions of independence are related to questions of structure and ideology. The structure of the Soviet Union had imploded and broken down. Also, the ideology of communism has been discredited and de-legitimised. But has the mentality of the ex-

Soviet citizen changed? But has the mentality of the ex-Soviet citizen changed? Has there been a widespread conversion in the hearts and minds of men? Did the “new Soviet man” ever exist and does he live on?

When we discuss mentality or the “new Soviet man”, which the former Soviet Union may have left behind, we are talking about the hearts and minds of men. We are talking about the intellectual baggage of people. Communism and imperialism as structures and ideologies any both be dead and discredited. But what about modern materialism, collectivism, patrimonialism and statism? Red communism may in fact be dead, but we may find that “green” communism and environmental rather than welfare socialism may be more intractable and durable.

When we discuss structure and ideology, we are talking about two different and distinguishable realities. On the one hand, there was the structure and ideology of communism, socialism and Sovietism, and on the other, the structure and ideology of Russian colonialism, imperialism and expansionism. Communism has collapsed, but has Russian colonialism? The return of communism is improbable but the continuation of Russian imperialism is possible and that prospect must be faced.

Nationality and Citizenship

There is a difference between nations and ethnic minority groups. When Eastern Europe is discussed, there is frequent reference to ethnic conflict and to the phenomenon now called “ethnic cleansing.” There is talk about majorities and minorities. There is talk about unity and diversity. There is talk about homogeneity and heterogeneity, about uniformity and pluralism. What are the proper claims of the majority and what are the proper claims of any minorities in these newly independent states? what is to be our position on ethnic cleansing? Will the new states be based on the principle of nationhood or the principle of citizenship? Can a non-national maintain his citizenship in any of the newly independent states? I would suggest accepting the pluralistic demographic status quo and basing the new states on the principle of voluntary law-abiding citizenship.

Disclaimers

Before I go into the remaining issues related to state-building in the former Soviet Union, let me make a couple of disclaimers. When it comes to the former Soviet Union, I am a suspicious and distrusting person. I confess that on a previous occasion I spoke about *glasnost* and *perestroika* with deep reservations based upon Edward Yap Epstein’s book, *Deception*.¹ So I am unreservedly happy with the relief from communism and imperialism that the people of the former Soviet Union have been granted. But I am not so euphoric as to be grateful to Mr. Gorbachev or am I ready to consider him a great leader of the free world.

My second disclaimer is that I am not an expert on Russia or the Soviet Union. In particular, I am not a Sovietologist. Nor have I ever been a follower of the establishment of Sovietologist and their conventional wisdom.

The Collapse of Communism

Why did Russian communism and imperialism collapse? Who deserves the credit? Whose analysis and appreciation of the Communist experiment has been

vindicated? Whose advice are we to take? In nation- and state-building, are we to be guided by those who turned out to be wrong, or those who were right?

What exactly has collapsed and how irreversibly has it collapsed? What exactly has been discredited? Can this breakdown be reversed? Can there be a reaction and a crackdown? Is it the end of the Cold War? And is it the end of history as has been argued by Francis Fukuyama? Did the west win, or did the East commit suicide? Is it the end of communism and imperialism and will we now have a durable “new world order”? Did communism and Stalinism collapse? Did centralised socialism die and did the dream of “really existing socialism” die with them also?

Western opinion remains confused as to the ultimate causes of the collapse of Soviet communism. There has been a deafening silence among the experts. The Soviet collapse will remain a mystery to them, because it demolishes every pillar that supports their view of the world. As John Gray has said: “They continue to cling to the Enlightenment with its animating mythology of global betterment, and similar pieties of secular humanism.”² They have a pervasive myopia regarding the spiritual dimensions of the Soviet collapse and the indispensable role played by the Catholic and other Christian churches and, above all, by the present Pope and his teachings based on Biblical nationalism.

To paraphrase Whittaker Chambers: When we are confronted by a totalitarian enemy, the essence of whose strategy is the denial of transcendence, we will prevail against it only if our resistance is sustained by an affirmation of that very same transcendence. Communism was not defeated by the tepid half-truths of Western liberalism, but by the unflinching transcendental commitment of the captive nations, which, now having been declared independent, they must continue to nurture and sustain.³

The Primacy of Politics

Nation- and state-building are the consummate political acts of man – an architectonic political act. From Plato to Eric Voegelin, this is what classical political philosophy and political conduct has been all about. When I say political, I mean political in the Aristotelian sense of *homo politicus* – the man in the public square, that is political man rather than partisan or factional man.

The issue here is the “primacy of politics” versus the conventional and dominant thinking based on the “primacy of economics” (or economic determinism) which permeates political analysis and discussion in Ukraine and elsewhere in the West. Questions of prosperity, trade, currency, consumption, resources, and welfare are all of secondary importance. Politics drives and determines economics, not the other way around. Politics and the rule of law create the preconditions for economic conduct.

Poland’s experience is chronologically ahead of Ukraine and we should take Polish Finance Minister Balcerowicz’s advice: (a) Sort out your politics first, before you tamper with the economy. You need a few years before the rewards start to outweigh the pain of transition. (b) Do not imagine that a post-Communist bureaucracy is like a normal bureaucracy. It will respond more sluggishly and more stubbornly. (c) Remember that state enterprises minimize effort and maximize wages rather than profits. So privatize them first, even if you make mistakes along the way.⁴

Rethinking the Enlightenment

Our nation- and state-building must be inspired by the current “rethinking of the Enlightenment” that is going on in political philosophy. Here I have in mind the work of thinkers like Eric Voegelin, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Paul Johnson, Richard Pipes, Simon Schama and many others. I refer particularly to Eric Voegelin’s book, *From Enlightenment to Revolution*, in which he discusses change and continuity, tradition and modernity, revolution and order, religiosity and secularism.⁵ It is from the modern post-Enlightenment disdain for classical philosophy and trust in rationalism, scientism and gnosticism that most 20th-century political problems and tragedies emanate. There must be a return to classical realism grounded in Western theology and Christianity. This Christianity must inform and balance the nationalism and patriotism that should be fostered in the new nation-states in order to supply a certain measure of cohesion in a period of uncertainty, disorder and maybe even anarchy. The necessary nationalism must not become a single and lone dogma. It must join or be joined to a family of principles which mutually moderate and temper each other.

Nationalism

Since the demise of socialism, paradoxically, it has been nationalism which has been getting increasingly bad press in the West. The message is: now that socialism and the Soviet Union are gone, watch for all the Eastern European nationalisms which will rear their ugly heads. This is a typical example of liberal inverted thinking.

The pre-eminent and definitive political question of the 20th century has been the status of socialist totalitarianism. This issue encompasses even the damned ugly and criminal career of Adolf Hitler. Hitler was both a nationalist (as well as a racist) and a socialist. Hence, National-Socialist or Nazi. National socialism – or Nazism – was a Marxist heresy and Hitler was a socialist heretic.⁶ Yet, historiography on Hitler has blamed his crimes and atrocities on his nationalism (or racism) and almost none of the atrocities on his socialism.

Nationalism can be and sometimes has gone to extremes, but this has paled in comparison with the extremes to which 20th century socialism has taken us.

Mediating Institutions

Nation- and state-building must be informed of the distinction made by Michael Oakeshott between state and society.⁷ The Russian Communist and imperialist state has disintegrated; the patrimonial system of Russia has imploded for the third time in its history – the first time being during the “Time of Troubles” in the 16th century, the second in 1917, and the third in 1991. On each occasion the implosion left nothing but atomized individuals or, as one historian described it, “a base people” with no society. After each implosion there was no network of lateral and horizontal social bonds and no mediating institutions between the individual and the imploded state. Therefore, parallel to building states the people of Eastern Europe must build non-governmental, non-state voluntary community institutions of every variety while simultaneously building a state.

Parties

Competition for the right to govern and for political power must take place among serious political parties. a political party is a unique modern institution. It is not an

association, a club, a brotherhood, a congregation, a confession, a faction, a lobby, a special interest group or a single-issue pressure group. A national political party has to have an outward outlook and reach, members in every constituency, a national programme or platform, and an open membership. The newly independent states must have more than one serious and coherent political party and far less than the embarrassing and self-defeating number of 20 or 30. The Communist Party, which in fact was a fanatical ersatz religious sect must remain outlawed on the principle of “the separation between church and state.”

Political parties must for the most part be informed by the political and ideological legacy of the West and the real remaining differences between left and right, liberal and conservative.

The Rule of Law

A state is a constitutional and an architectonic order in which there is a rule of law and a constitution based on viable laws, a constitution of order and liberty. A state is built from the bottom up, like a house. Rather, it is more like bringing up a child. There must be the proper conception of the nature of the human being as a creature of God with God-given rights which the state is established to protect. This is contrary to statism and totalitarianism.

Statism and totalitarianism are based upon the principle that “everything is forbidden unless permitted by government.” A civilized democratic state is based on the opposite principle of “everything is permitted unless expressly forbidden by law.” This is similar to the Ten commandments, most of which are formulated in the negative: Thou shalt not... And what is not expressly forbidden is permitted.

Professor Hayek has distinguished states that are based on *nomos* or *telos*; procedure or cause. The state should essentially be like a night watchman. When the people are up and about and working, the state should sleep. When the people are sleeping, the state should be watching for foreign enemies.

Capitalism

An economy is an aspect of the state. Economic conduct is a part of and an aspect of human conduct in general. As I said earlier, an economy is structured and shaped by the political order and the constitution. There are essentially only two types of political orders and therefore two types of economies. There are planned or command economies and free or liberal economies. In other words, there are either variants of a mercantilist, feudalist, socialist or communist economies, or free enterprise so-called capitalist economies.

Capitalism, of course, is a Marxist misnomer for free enterprise and unhindered entrepreneurship. Karl Marx confused the early monopolistic capitalism of 19th century industrial Britain with the exclusive reign of capital. Hence, the name capitalism for a free-enterprise, liberal, democratic political and economic order. The question since has been, Is there a “third way” between capitalism and communism? This quest has driven Catholic social thought from *Rerum Novarum* to *Centessimus Annus* in May of 1991, when Pope John Paul II moved away from a redistributionist approach based on liberation theology and renewed the Church’s emphasis on free enterprise, the production of wealth, work and fair profit.⁸

Francis Bacon was the first to synonymise a state with an economy. For Bacon, an economy was a state. This was a mistake. An economy is not a state and a state is not an economy. A state or a *polis* has an economy. First one must build a state as a precondition for a thriving and developing economy.

Free enterprise or capitalist economies have had a tendency toward either “demand-side” (or Keynesian and Galbraithian) thinking, or “supply-side” thinking as articulated by Adam Smith and George Gilder. In the welfare capitalist state since the New Deal of the 1930s, the dominant orthodoxy has been demand-side thinking in which the emphasis has been on demand as an engine of growth. And of course, wealthy, developed countries can and perhaps should afford demand-side policies for some time. But not forever. Underdeveloped or developing economies (or ruined ones as in the former U.S.S.R.), on the other hand, are better served by supply-side economics in which the inventive supply and production of goods creates a demand and fuels the economy.⁹

Foreign Aid

Should the West aid the ailing economies of the East? Should the newly independent states ask for foreign aid? Will foreign aid help or hinder? Contemporary supply-side experts on development like Professor Peter Berger go so far as to say that foreign aid has caused underdevelopment. In other words, it seems that the newly independent states of Eastern Europe will have to virtually pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

The Primacy of Foreign Policy

The “primacy of foreign policy over domestic policy” as taught by Dmytro Dontsov is usually inverted by modern political analysts. The new states need an independent, loyal military for self-defence and protection, and that must be one of the first acts of statebuilding in Eastern Europe.

In the old pre-Communist patrimonial regime and during the Communist era in the U.S.S.R., Ukraine was a subject of Russia’s foreign policy in spite of Russia’s propaganda about family, fraternity and “little brotherhood”. In the post-Communist order of independent states, Ukrainian-Russian relations must continue as foreign policy relations. But it must be remembered that unlike domestic policy, foreign policy can change suddenly, radically and forcefully. Therefore, just as politics must drive economics, foreign policy must drive domestic policy and the prospect of sudden foreign policy changes must be faced squarely.

From under the rubble

A truly independent, autonomous and sovereign state based on its own rule of law designed to protect the basic God-given human rights and liberty (political and economic) of individuals is the ultimate assurance that all remaining vestiges of communism and imperialism will be removed. But before we can build these newly independent states in what were previously captive nations, we must first get out from under the rubble.

To do that, we must remember Professor Murray Rothbard’s recent observation about de-nazification and de-communisation and the double standard that still continues to exist in the West. Professor Rothbard said:

Regarding Europe I have a nagging two-fold question: Why has no one remarked on the incredible double standard in establishment treatment of ex-nazi and communist regimes? Both were despotic, evil and genocidal. After World War II, Nazis and collaborators were: (1) slaughtered on the spot by vengeful Communist successor-regimes or by Communist partisans (as in Italy and France); (2) indicted and convicted by the Allies and then successor regimes for 'war crimes' and 'crimes against humanity' with leaders put to death or sentenced to long jail terms; (3) masses of officials were 'denazified and jailed or prevented from holding office'; and (4) for the past 47 years alleged ex-nazis were made to stand trial in their Communist-run homelands or Israel.

Consider the contrast in treating Communists since 1989. Not only guards but high officials, even secret police officials, have not only not been executed or tried for their crimes against humanity, but most of them are still there, still in place – either as bureaucrats serving new regimes or as 'former' Communists now calling themselves 'social-democrats' or whatever. There has been no policy of de-communisation and no lustration law.¹⁰

And before a new house or an independent nation-state can be constructed, the ruins of the previous structure must be completely cleared.

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Endnotes:

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² Gray, John. "How Communism Fell." *National Review*, November 2, 1992: 55-56.

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⁴ Sikorski, Radek. "Poland's Erhard?" *National Review*, November 2, 1992: 23-24.

⁵ Voegelin, Eric. *From Enlightenment to Revolution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1975.

⁶ Muller, Jerry Z. "German Historians at War." *Commentary*, May 1989: 33-41.

⁷ Oakeshott, Michael. *On Human Conduct*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

⁸ John Paul II. "Centessimus Annus." *Origins*, vol 21, no. 1, May 16, 1991: 2-24.

⁹ Gilder, George. *Wealth and Poverty*. New York: Basic Books, 1981.

¹⁰ Rothbard, Murray. "Cultural Revolutions: Regarding Europe." *Chronicles*, October 1992: 7-8.

The Ceded Finnish Territories

Finland was one of the victims when Hitler and Stalin joined forces to divide up Europe in 1939. The borders between the spheres of interest of the two dictators were drawn by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its secret annexes.

The pact was total; to the West of the borderline, Germany was entitled to take all she possibly could, i.e. Norway, Denmark, the Benelux countries, France, Yugoslavia and Greece; to the East the Soviet Union got everything she could overrun and keep. At the end of the war, Germany lost all of her conquests and even a part of her own territory. At the time of her collapse in 1991, the Soviet Union already had to give up Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the states which inherited her have kept all the other territories added by Stalin, courtesy of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Finland had to cede to the Soviet Union by the Moscow peace treaty of 1940, after the Winter War, Finnish Karelia, several islands in the Gulf of Finland, Salla, the coastal territories of Petsamo, on the Arctic Ocean, and to lease the peninsula of Hanko as a military base. In the peace treaty after the Continuation War, in September 1944, Finland also had to cede all of Petsamo, and to lease the Porkkala naval base for 50 years. Porkkala is about 20 kilometres west of Helsinki.

The Karelian Isthmus between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, and territories to the West and North of Ladoga, covered 24,738 square kilometres. That represented nearly 12.5 per cent of the country. This territory is larger than all Denmark.

About 420,000 people lived in the lost territories. This represents 12 per cent of the total Finnish population. The entire population of Finnish Karelia and other territories – Finns, Karelians and Lapps – was evacuated to Finland, out of reach of the Red Army.

The Soviet Union took possession of a depopulated land, where she found substantial wealth. The forests of Finnish Karelia alone accounted for 12.2 per cent of Finland's forests, 25 per cent of the country's hydroelectric power, and 17 per cent of the country's railways. On the whole, Finland lost 13 per cent of her national wealth.

The ceded territories had belonged to Finns for a thousand years or more. They were historically, culturally and traditionally a part of the Finnish heartland. Viipur (Vyborg) had great symbolic meaning for the nation.

Russia has been in Finnish Karelia only as a conqueror, never as a builder. The area had never had a Russian population. Russians were living in only two or three small villages. These were villages that the czar had awarded to members of the Russian nobility, who brought with them Russians to serve their estates. The population of the ceded territories was ethnically as Finnish as it was in western parts of the country before and after the war.

The Soviet Union took by force territories which became closed military zones and border areas. The indifference and neglect of Russians has made Viipuri one of the most forlorn cities in all Europe. Its surrounding environment has been gravely damaged.

It has been difficult to talk about Karelia for political and "terminological" reasons. To the Finns, Karelia is an historic Finnish province. The Treaty of Tartu of

1920 restored it within Finnish borders. When the Russians talk about Karelia, they mean Russian Karelia, which the Finns call East or Soviet Karelia. In Russian Karelia, to the East of the 1920 Finnish border, the inhabitants were Karelians, Finns, Vepsians and Russians. Russian Karelia differed from Finnish Karelia because of its architecture, traditions, religion, and population.

Despite the border between states, kings, and czars, the fact is that different nationalities have been living permanently on their respective territories. Finns have always inhabited historical Finnish Karelia, even though political power may have belonged to the Swedish Crown or Russian czar. This was the situation until the Red Army attacked in 1939.

A popular movement has recently emerged in Finland calling for negotiations with Russia in order to get back ceded Finnish territories. According to estimates published in the *Helsingin Sanomat* this past autumn, every fourth Finn supports negotiations with Russia.

When the Soviet parliament in 1989 decided to dissociate itself from the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, it was talking about justice and human rights. It was a political decision. The pro-Karelian movement in Finland rests its case on human rights and justice. It only demands that negotiations be continued but it rejects violence.

The pro-Karelia movement believes that it would be in the interest of Russia to return the ceded Finnish territories to Finland, because this is the only way to truly normalize relations between the two countries. Finland is still a victim of Stalin's and Hitler's aggression. Stalin forced Finland to sign the 1940 and 1944 peace treaties because he held a pistol to our head. The Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 continued the injustice. The only equal Peace Treaty between Finland and Soviet Russia was concluded at Tartu in 1920. The only way to repair the damage is to undo the unjust treaties.

(Martti Valkonen is a journalist. Writing for Helsingin Sanomat, the largest Finnish daily, he became in 1991 the paper's resident correspondent in Moscow.)

Sweden concerned over Russian Forces in Baltic Area

Sweden's Defence Forces in February 1993 provided the government with a partly secret report. There is no immediate military threat to Sweden from Russia but there is uncertainty concerning the future. There is political unrest, economic chaos, high criminality, ecological disaster and the threat of mass exodus in Russia to be considered.

An important problem is the fact that there is now considerable concentration of Russian military hardware in the North. T80 tanks, Tu 22 Blinder bombers, Su 24 Fencer attack aircraft and attack helicopters. An armed camp in the Kalinigrad enclave between Lithuania and Poland is growing. Discipline is bad in the Russian army, but a strong and determined leadership can probably restore order in the armed forces in 24 to 48 months.

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Ukraine, Poland: 'Strategic Partners' --Refuse Russian Dictatorship--

Kyiv – Ukraine and Poland agreed to become strategic partners and vowed that no one, i.e. Russia, would dictate foreign policy to them. President Kravchuk and President Lech Walesa met on May 24, and discussed a Ukrainian proposal for building an “east-central” European security system. “An open and secure Europe is inconceivable without a democratic Ukraine and a democratic, independent Poland,” Walesa said during his first visit to the Ukraine.

On his arrival in the Ukrainian capital, Walesa, who seemed preoccupied with his problems at home, expressed reservations about the proposed security system. “It is a big subject and we are only just beginning to discuss it,” he said. However, after the two sides signed a number of agreements, Walesa said: “We decide how we are to develop, we choose our partners and friends. No outsider can dictate how we are to live and whom we may choose as friends. Freedom means the freedom to act and choose. We are joined by a common fate and are moving in the same direction.”

The viewpoints of the two presidents “fully coincided,” Kravchuk said, adding, “We have agreed to develop the idea further and to give it a concrete form.” Walesa and Kravchuk are the chief backers of a plan to create a post-Soviet security system linking virtually all countries of central and eastern Europe – with the pointed exception of Russia. Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave his support to the plan during talks with Kravchuk in April.



*At a demonstration in Poland. Caption reads:
There can be no freedom for Poland without a free Ukraine.*

Ukrainian officials say other states in the region also back the proposal after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact under which the Soviet Union kept control over its east European allies. They system, dubbed NATO-2 by Walesa, would also provide for participation by the Baltic states, Belarus, the Czech republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Moldova.

“There is no adequate security system in Europe, Ukraine proposes the creation of a zone of security and stability in central and eastern Europe,” Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasiuk said before the visit. “We are not talking about the creation of a military bloc or organisation but about constant consultation. And we have no intention of creating a cordon sanitaire between us and Russia or preventing Russian integration in Europe.”

The two presidents opened the first session of a Polish-Ukrainian consultative committee, consisting of presidential advisers and government officials, which Kravchuk predicted would be “one of the most important institutions of Polish-Ukrainian relations.” The two sides also agreed to set up an early warning system to be used in the event of nuclear accidents and signed accords on economic cooperation and mutual legal assistance in both civil and criminal cases.

An agreement signed by the two countries on asylum-seekers was “an important part of the total regulation” of the refugee problem, said Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Poland hopes to sign similar agreements, which involve the return of refugees to their countries of origin, with each of its neighbouring countries.

Soviets had planned Nuclear Attack on Western Europe

Denmark would have been one of the main targets of a Soviet military attack on Western Europe. Street signs, maps and freshly printed occupation money were stored in bunkers in the former GDR to be used by the occupation forces. Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein were the selected nuclear targets. The Fifth Army of the Volksarmee was designated to race through northern Germany and take Jutland and occupy it. The secret documents proving the communist war plans have now been found in East German archives. Work to perfect the attack plans was going on until June 1990 – shortly before the collapse of the regime of Erich Honecker.

In Denmark, the aim was to secure seaways to the Atlantic, the North Sea coast and the Channel. Western military experts who have seen the documents are shocked to note how detailed the plans were and how little western intelligence knew. Plans to rename streets were ready. The main shopping street of Dusseldorf was to be named Karl Marx Allee.

Iran and Ukraine: The View from Tehran

Before the dissolution of the Soviet empire, Iranians had shown little interest in the development of the European part of the USSR. However, Tehran had grown increasingly concerned about Moscow's policy in the Central Asian and Caucasian republics.

When the formation of the commonwealth of Independent States was announced in December 1991, new considerations appeared in Iran's foreign policy. Ukraine, as the second most populous republic of the former Soviet Union, with a coastline on the Black Sea and close to the Caucasus, and possessed of a good industrial and commercial potential, attracted Iran which was justifiably seeking new gateways to Europe.

Tehran's new policy assessment was welcomed in Kyiv, since Iran was capable of satisfying Ukraine's energy demand, and also could provide a sizable market for Ukrainian products.

The first contact between the two countries was made in January 1992, when an Iranian delegation – the first ever to visit Ukraine – arrived in Kyiv. At a meeting of Iran's Foreign Minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Belayati, and President Leonid Kravchuk, areas of cooperation were discussed, including: Iran's export of oil and natural gas to, and import of industrial materials and machinery from, Ukraine; joint commercial shipping; a possible direct air link between Tehran and Kyiv; and "coordinated stances of the two countries in international forums". Belayati also signed a diplomatic protocol with his Ukrainian counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko, which led to the opening of their respective embassies in Kyiv and Tehran.¹

A fortnight later, Iran's Oil Minister, Zolam Reza Aqazadeh, arrived in Kyiv to discuss an oil and gas deal with Ukrainian officials. This was the principal item of bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries. Energy negotiations were followed up by the Deputy Prime Minister, Kostiantyn Masyk, in Tehran where the two sides discussed not only the sale by Iran of an annual four million tons of oil and three billion cubic metres of natural gas to Ukraine, but also the joint construction of a gas trunk-line, with the partnership of Azerbaijan, from Iran to the Black Sea. Ukrainian officials described the deal as Kyiv's "largest economic contract ever".²

In the circumstances, when Russia reduced its delivery of fuel oil to Ukraine and Turkmenistan enforced a fiftyfold rise on the price and transportation charge of natural gas to Ukraine, Kyiv rushed to consolidate its relations with Iran, for the sake of its energy needs.³

President Kravchuk visited Iran on 25-26 April 1992, and told Iranian leaders that his country was "interested in establishing friendly relations with not only its western neighbours but also with eastern countries". Kravchuk commented that Tehran could play a vital role in the overall affairs of the world, and that "with respect to the upheavals in the former Soviet Union" Iran should use the situation and broaden relations with the successor states.⁴

During their meetings Kravchuk and President Hojjatoleslam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani signed a letter of understanding on mutual cooperation in the political, cultural, oil trading, and banking sectors. Meanwhile, they agreed to form a joint political economic committee, consisting of the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Ukraine, the Oil Minister of Iran, and the Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine. This committee was formerly under the chairmanship of the First Deputy Prime Minister, Ihor Yukhnovskiy.

In 1993, two more Ukrainian delegations led by the Deputy Prime Minister (responsible for Energy) Yuli Yoffe, and the Speaker of Parliament, Ivan Plyushch, arrived in Tehran with further proposals for expanding Kyiv-Tehran cooperation.

Behind the speedy consolidation of Iranian-Ukrainian relations in the past eighteen months, one should observe several motives and objectives:

Ukraine was desperately seeking a reliable source of energy when its former suppliers refused to cooperate. Iran volunteered to fill the gap, on favourable terms, and agreed to supply Ukraine with oil in return for Ukrainian oil derivatives.⁶ Iran did not approve Kyiv's proposal to build an oil terminal at a Ukrainian Black Sea port. However, a joint venture for the construction of a gas trunk-line, transporting Iran's gas to Europe via Ukraine, has been finalised. Through this project, Ukraine will obtain a secure source of energy, a portion of profit of the joint investment, and a transit charge benefit.⁷

On its part, Ukraine can help Iran's economic development by the transfer of high technology and industrial know-how. In this context, Kyiv's possession of nuclear science was also stressed in Western analyses, despite Iran's denial of allegations that it had sought components of nuclear weapons in Ukraine and Kazakhstan.⁸

There are other issues which bring Kyiv and Tehran together. Ukraine is upset with the aid policy of Western powers whose focus and priority in the former Soviet republics is Russia. Consequently, Ukrainian leaders have sought other sources of assistance and support to improve their country's economic situation. When visiting Iran, the Ukrainian speaker of Parliament stated that "cooperation between Iran and the newly independent Central Asian republics and Ukraine will help consolidate the independence of those states", and that Tehran should help Kyiv "further consolidate its independence".⁹

Such statements confirm the views of the present Iranian leadership who warn the former Soviet republics to avoid falling into the "trap of the West".¹⁰

Tehran is pleased that ideology and oil wealth are acting to extend its influence in the former Soviet territories. However, in the case of the Christian Ukraine, only the second factor applies.

Both Ukraine and Iran are concerned about Russia's ambitions in the newly independent states. Russian military intervention in Tajikistan (a country with a Persian-speaking population), and Russia's dispute with Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimean peninsula, provide a common ground for Kyiv-Tehran consultations.

In appraising Iran's relations with Ukraine, the Turkish factor should also be taken into consideration. Turkey and Iran share an interest in the Central Asian and Caucasian republics, which has been interpreted as a competition. In view of Turkey's lead over Iran in the Black Sea region and the Turkish initiative in setting-up the Black

Sea economic zone, Iran's intention to find a foothold in this region, through Ukraine – and Georgia – is understandable.

Finally, Iranian leaders are pleased with Ukraine's humane treatment of the Crimean Muslim Tatars who are willing to return to their homeland in the Ukrainian territory.

Endnotes:

- 1 Tehran Times, January 23 & 25, 1992.
- 2 RFE/RL Daily Report, February 5 & 25; April 27, 1992.
- 3 RFE/RL Daily report, February 5 ¶ March 4, 1992.
- 4 Tehran Times, April 27, 1992
- 6 ibid March 18, 1993.
- 7 Ibid May 8, 1993.
- 8 BBC SWB (SU), February 19, 1993.
- 9 Tehran Times, January 25, 1992 & May 10, 1993.
- 10 ibid.

106 Swedes died in Stalin's GUPVI

Recently Swedish media published 106 names with short biographies on Swedes who perished in Stalin's slave labour camps. Many of them fought against the Soviets during WWII either in Finnish or German uniforms. The archive at Vyborg Street in Moscow was earlier named the Special Archive originally created by the predecessor of the KGB, namely NKVD. It has now been renamed Center for the Preservation of Historic Document Collections and covers GUPVI (Main Directorate for Questions Concerning Prisoners of War and Internees).

Many of the 106 were Finland-Swedes (Finnish citizens who spoke Swedish), Estonian Citizens of Swedish descent and Swedes from Ukraine (a Tsarist regime deported a number of Swedes from the Baltic countries to Ukraine).

<h2>NATION oder KLASSE</h2>
by
WOLFGANG STRAUSS
60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution
A History of the Resistance Movements in the USSR

Perspectives of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

(*UCIS*) Ukraine is suffering serious setbacks in its attempts to establish a place in the world community. Although its predecessor, the Ukrainian SSR, was formally a “sovereign” republic, was a member of the United Nations, and had its own foreign ministry, the world recognised this republic as a Russian puppet, set up in the post-war years to strengthen Moscow’s position in the UN.

After the declaration of independence, particularly after the December 1991 referendum, which endorsed the country’s independence, more and more states recognised this independence and began to establish diplomatic links with Ukraine. They were, however, proceeding with care, anticipating that the former USSR would be replaced by the newly-formed Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), a political body with a joint foreign and defence policy. This position was bolstered by Russia, which proclaimed itself the successor of the former USSR, took over all the former Soviet missions, and was doing everything it could to establish control over foreign policy, through the CIS, which was to replace the old Union.

Through the United Nations Ukraine achieved recognition as an independent state by nearly every country, which began to send their ambassadors to Ukraine. However, in establishing diplomatic relations, the Ukrainian government and foreign ministry are having to deal with a number of problems. One of these is psychological. Pro-Russian and imperial sentiments are deeply ingrained in Western mentality. Western politicians and media are thus concentrating primarily on Russia, which they treat as a superstate and the prominent partner in the region, which will inevitably unite the republics of the former USSR, including Ukraine, in a new political entity dominated by Moscow. Moreover, the fact that the situation in Ukraine, despite the economic crisis, is relatively more stable in comparison with the other newly-independent states, including the Russian Federation, is an important factor. Recent events in Russia, particularly the growth of neo-imperialist (post-Communist and ultra-right) tendencies, has focussed world attention on Russia, which is trying to reinforce the weak position of its democratic forces.

Russia appropriated not only the premises of the former Soviet missions, but also all Soviet foreign assets. Although Ukraine and Russia have reached numerous agreements on the division of the USSR’s foreign assets, so far there have been no practical results. All the USSR’s assets remain in the hands of Moscow.

Ukraine has to begin the task of setting up its diplomatic missions from scratch. Kyiv has to look for premises, build a financial base, and establish contacts. This ensures that Western countries, which have to rely on information from anti-Ukrainian circles in Moscow, are frequently provided with distorted reports about developments in Ukraine.

The prompt establishment of foreign relations is extremely important in helping to stabilise the position of the Ukrainian state, as Ukraine is threatened by the dangerous manifestations of Russian imperialism — the aspiration of “Russian patriots” (including so-called democrats) to make Russia a world superpower.

The establishment of diplomatic links and an information service, which would function through Ukraine’s diplomatic missions and the international press centres, is

thus the main priority for the Ukrainian foreign ministry. Visits by President Kravchuk and various Ukrainian dignitaries to other countries, although productive, will not have sufficient effect. Unfortunately, at the present time Ukraine is not yet a partner for the West.

The Squandering of Ukraine's wealth

The economic crisis in Ukraine, connected with inflation, the lack of commodities and the general economic chaos, is becoming progressively worse. This has caused indignation among the population, and assisted all kinds of groups, primarily Russian chauvinists and communists, which have recently greatly intensified their activities with the aim of undermining the young Ukrainian state.

The problem of implementing economic reforms, even through well thought-out and energetic measures, is not an easy task in view of the legacy, which Ukraine inherited with the disintegration of the USSR and the bankruptcy of the Soviet economic system. Moreover, there are still remnants of the old imperialist economic thinking, which Russia is using for its own ends to transform the Commonwealth of Independent States into a new Union. In addition, the lack of any initiative on the part of the Fokin government in the economic sector preserved the old "socialist" structures, staffed by the old nomenklatura officials. It is sufficient to say that today 94 per cent of businesses remain under the control of the state, and privatisation is proceeding at a snail's pace.

The nomenklatura officials are simply not interested in a market economy and privatisation, which undermine their existence. Moreover, making use of the various opportunities created by the liberalisation of life in Ukraine, many of these nomenklatura officials created a mafia structure, which, according to Prime Minister Kuchma, is far worse than the Sicilian mafia.

In his report to parliament on November 18, Leonid Kuchma described how the wealth of Ukraine is being squandered, and how a substantial part of state funds end up in the pockets of the nomenklatura. The prime minister exposed various large state enterprises, in some cases even naming their directors, which are selling oil, electricity, and so on abroad on a large scale. They have set up their own private firms and are stealing and selling off everything they can lay their hands on.

The activities of the economic mafia are widespread. It operates throughout the whole of Ukraine, undermining its economy and thereby threatening the very existence of the still weak Ukrainian state.

The Ukrainian mafia

Colonel Hryhoriy Omelchenko of the Ukrainian Security Service provided a detailed report on the Ukrainian mafia. He divided the mafia into three categories. The first category consists of various criminals from the black market, who do not pose a serious threat to the state. The second category is the commercial mafia, which came into being under the favourable conditions created by the state monopoly on the means of production, and the division of wealth, goods and products. They use the rise in prices to buy goods in bulk in order to eventually resell them at a profit, making hundreds of

millions of karbovantsi. The third category is the political mafia, which consists of the nomenklatura, members of the former Communist party and senior officials. They form their own firms, trading in state property on a large scale. They have an influence in the Supreme Council and the government. Dozens of people's deputies, according to Omelchenko, are consultants, experts and even partners in various firms set up by this political-economic mafia. But this hardly comes as a surprise. The former nomenklatura forms a majority in the Supreme Council.

The sabotage and opposition of the political-economic mafia can upset even the best economic reform plans of the Kuchma government. The fight against the mafia is thus one of the first and foremost tasks facing the government, the president, and parliament.

The fight against economic crime

A government commission to investigate economic crime in Ukraine has been set up, headed by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Fuel-Energy Complex Yuliy Yoffe. It consists of representatives of the Finance Ministry, the Economic Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Security Service. For the time being, however, this commission appears to have restricted its investigations to the abuses of the Ministry of Energy and the Uknaftokhim company. In his address to parliament, Leonid Kuchma focussed on the mafia-related activities of the heads of these two institutions.

In his address at the plenary session of the Supreme Council on November 21, 1992, the head of the commission on law and order and the fight against crime, Yaroslav Kondratiev, also drew attention to economic crime. He reported on behalf of a commission of deputies and various experts who reviewed government measures to implement the laws and decrees on the fight against crime. According to Kondratiev, so far all government measures have been completely unsatisfactory. Kondratiev described the general rise in crime, but drew particular attention to the problem of the economic mafia. He pointed out that economic crime, which threatens the building of the state, exists in every oblast. Directors of government firms, collective farms and commercial enterprises sign fictitious agreements with various companies in neighbouring countries to trade in sugar, oil, meat, timber and gasoline, but in actual fact acquire cars, which they then divide amongst themselves.

Citing many concrete examples of abuses, theft and corruption, Kondratiev concluded that "particular political groups, as well as our homebred mafia and a foreign mafia 'close to home', unhappy with Ukraine's course towards becoming a strong legal state", have an interest in these economic crimes. The economic mafia is thus acting in the interests of political forces hostile to Ukraine, which are trying to bring down the Ukrainian state.

The fight against the economic mafia is thus closely connected with the fight against the enemies of Ukrainian independence, who are trying to create political instability in Ukraine through the economic sector. The fight against the abuses of the economic mafia must therefore become the priority for the government, for parliament and for the whole society. So far there has been no information about the state's battle against the mafia. However, Colonel Omelchenko believes that the president is in

possession of evidence concerning one of the most serious threats to Ukrainian statehood: corruption in government institutions.

A number of state-owned companies which were squandering the wealth of Ukraine had been identified. In every country where corruption and the complicity of businessmen in economic crimes are exposed, the law enforcement agencies and the courts become immediately involved. Most of those involved in corruption usually end up behind bars. When will similar legal measures be taken against the political-economic mafia in Ukraine?

Orthodox of the Moscow Patriarchate block Ukrainian Greek Catholic Mass

Faithful of the Moscow Patriarchate blocked His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, from entering the church of St. Kirill, where he, bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Apostolic Nuncio and an estimated 2,000 faithful were scheduled to hold divine liturgy on July 19th at 10:00 o'clock. Though government permission had been granted, an estimated 100 Orthodox faithful blocked the entrance to the Church as militia looked on. His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan, hoping to avoid unnecessary confrontation, decided to leave the church rather than ask Kyiv militia to disperse the crowd.

The Church of St. Kirill is a museum and as such does not function regularly as a church. Permission for Greek Catholics to serve divine liturgy there was granted by city and republic government officials. Hierarchs of the Moscow Patriarchate called several press representatives and government officials to inform them that a protest was organised and would take place. His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan had invited leaders of all Orthodox confessions to participate in the services and events. The provocators from the Moscow Patriarchate, speaking only in Russian, harassed Greek Catholic faithful saying that Catholics from Lviv are not true Ukrainians.

After avoiding confrontation, His Beatitude led the Greek Catholic faithful to the site of the future Ukrainian Greek Catholic Cathedral at Velyka Zhitomyrska street. There, the spiritual leader of seven million Ukrainians who are Catholics of the Byzantine rite, served holy divine liturgy behind an apartment building and near large trash bins. The peaceful service was disrupted as the same Orthodox faithful from the Church of St. Kirill came to the site and began disturbances.

At the concert closing the weekend's events, poet Ihor Kalynets, a Greek Catholic who suffered years of hardship in Soviet labor camps, finished his poetry reading and publicly apologized to the Apostolic Nuncio for "the fact that we did not have liturgy today in the Church of St. Kirill but near a trash bin. I will not apologise to HIS Beatitude Myroslav Ivan," said Kalynets, "because he and our bishops are accustomed to this treatment".



Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis

New Latvian President Says Russian Troops Must Go Home!

Guntis Ulmanis, the newly-elected President of Latvia, called the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia the most crucial issue for the republic in his first post-election speech. "Relations with Russia and negotiations with it will be the most important question of Latvian policy", he stressed. "At these negotiations Latvia ought to demonstrate goodwill," but should nevertheless be firm.

Ulmanis was chosen by Latvia's new parliament, the Saeima, on July 7, to be the republic's first post-Soviet president. Ulmanis regards improving cooperation with Baltic neighbours and the North European countries another priority of Latvia's foreign policy. He also said he believes that citizenship should be offered to representatives of the non-indigenous population of Latvia in accordance with annual naturalization quotas.

In a recent interview with the newspaper *Diena*, Ulmanis announced: "I want to be seen not as [Karlis] Ulmanis' relative but as an independent identity." Karlis Ulmanis was president of Latvia from 1934 to 1940. He began his rule by dissolving the Saeima and revoking the constitution.

The younger Ulmanis had named "supervision over the observation of the major rules of democracy" as his main responsibility as president in a pre-election talk. The president, he said, "should inspire patriotism, respect and trust in the people of Latvia." Ulmanis expressed hope that he could become a link between parliament's largest faction, Latvia's Way, and the minor factions. He said that he plans to hold consultations with all factions in parliament in order to create an "able and talented government." He said that Latvia's Way, together with the Farmers' Union, "should take the responsibility without renouncing involvement of other right-wing forces. (BNS)

Latvian Americans angered by Russian Public Relations Campaign against Latvia

The December 1992 issue of Life magazine contains an article critical of Latvia (“Soon They Will Come For Us”, by Edward Barnes). This article, on the surface, accuses Latvia of widespread, virulent anti-semitism. The roots of this anti-semitism, according to the article, date back to the involvement of Latvians in the Nazi war effort, especially in the mass killings at Rumbula. The article claims that this anti-semitism is about to become official government policy, based on the current effort by Latvia’s government to register its citizens, renewal of citizenship for citizens of the pre-war Republic of Latvia and their descendants, and implementation of Latvian as a state language. The article claims that nearly all Russian-speakers will be disenfranchised in Latvia, including about 95% of all Jews.

The November 29, 1992 edition of The Washington Post contained a commentary by the famed Russian novelist Vassily Aksyonov (“Riga’s Last Resort”, *Outlook*, Page C2), which accused Latvians of “ambivalence, distrust and long-suppressed animosity towards Russians.” The accusation is based, in part, on Latvia’s citizenship legislation, “which will make aliens out of virtually the entire Russian population.”

The American Latvian Association Office of Public Affairs considers these two articles to be pieces in a well-planned public relations campaign sponsored by forces within the Russian Republic. This conclusion is based on the following assessments:

Both articles expand on and amplify the Russian government’s arguments concerning the Latvian citizenship debate, accusing Latvia of depriving “its citizens” who are not of Latvian origin of their rights. In the Life article, this leads to anti-semitism. In Aksyonov’s commentary, it leads to the disenfranchisement of Russians born in Latvia, and the perversion of Latvian democracy.

Both articles take issue with the Latvian National Guard, or *zemessardze*. Both articles raise the specter of ethnic warfare in Latvia, resulting from the conviction of ethnic Latvians that those who came to Latvia after 1940 are illegal immigrants. Both are critical of Latvian head of state Gorbunovs – the Life article openly, the Aksyonov commentary in a veiled manner.

Both articles criticize the Latvian government for the closure of the Children’s Theatre in Riga. The Life article insinuates that it was done because a Jew was the theatre’s director. Aksyonov suggests that the closure had something to do with current Latvian Supreme Council chairman, former Latvian Communist Party ideology Chief Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

However, both articles downplay the Soviet occupation of Latvia. The Life article never uses the word “occupation”, instead portraying the Baltic countries as having ended their existence with the invasions of World War II and their “reannexation by Moscow”. Latvia is then integrated into the Soviet Union with importation of Russian “workers, soldiers, police and government officials” presented as a logical progression. Soviet power is portrayed as a force for keeping “old hatreds” under control

in Latvia. Aksyonov, on the other hand, places the words “Soviet occupants” in quotation marks. In fact, Aksyonov claims that “Latvians [developed] a certain mentality; they saw themselves as a small, cultured European nation occupied by the caddish Russian hordes. In truth, they were ruled by their own Latvian Red Guards – puppets of the Kremlin.”

Statements by Russian government officials (Foreign Minister Kozyrev told Danish Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen that “[Russia is] prepared to resort to the most far-reaching, rough, radical measures, but within the framework of international law” to protect Russian speakers (*Interfax* report, October 26, 1992) and by former Latvian government officials (Mavriks Vulfsons, a former senior official in the Latvian Foreign Ministry, has threatened to drag Latvia’s name through mud in the international press if former Foreign Minister Jurkans, his employer, were forced to resign. Jurkans, prior to his resignation, was openly critical of the government and Supreme Council on their handling of the citizenship issue, in effect supporting the Russian line) point to possible players in a campaign against Latvia.

Accusations of anti-semitism found in the Life article are being used by those behind this campaign to inflame public opinion in the United States and distract Latvian activists from their efforts to secure the removal of former Soviet occupation armed forces. As such, both the Latvian government and the Jewish community in Latvia, and the Latvian American and Jewish American communities here, are the victims of a cruel and cynical play for political influence and revenge. No doubt, problems exist, however, by no means are they of the magnitude portrayed in the articles.

Russia has interests in Latvia it wishes to preserve. These include strategic military bases (space radar at Ventspils, early warning radar at Kcrunda, major naval port at Liepaja); nearly 40,000 active duty officers and enlisted personnel at bases throughout Latvia; and an additional 80,000 dependents and retired officers influence Latvian foreign and domestic policy, and will continue to do so as long as these interests have not been withdrawn.

The Russian government, and supporters of a continued Russian presence in Latvia, are the only parties to have something to gain from the articles. Jews in Latvia and Jewish organisations in the West, have nothing to gain from inflammatory and false accusations of widespread anti-semitism in Latvia – a country considered by several Jewish organisation to be a model for Jewish relations in Eastern Europe. The Latvian government and Supreme council have taken several actions to guarantee the rights of Jews to develop in an independent Latvia. Why should Jewish organisations put that at risk?

These articles and the public relations offensive they are a part of, are a reaction to the pressure that the Baltic governments have been able to generate internationally for the removal of all former Soviet troops and facilities from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In addition, we feel that the issue of anti-semitism was used in the Life article as a means to inflame the Latvian American and Jewish American communities, in order to mask the actual goal of the article – to influence the Latvian government in its debate on citizenship.

The American Latvian Association (ALA) feels that no lasting and fair solution to the citizenship issue can be achieved as long as massive concentrations of Russian soldiers continue to be found on Latvian soil. As such, the troops are an instrument of

unspoken blackmail directed at the Latvian government, which could be called upon to enforce whatever policies their senior commanders in Moscow determine are in Russia's best interests. The ALA further feels that the accusations being leveled in the American press against Latvia may, in fact, become a self-fulfilling prophesy generating violence and friction where, were the Russian soldiers withdrawn, none would exist.

(Vlara Paegle is the Vice President for Public Affairs and Martins Zvaners is the Director of Public Affairs for the American Latvian Association located in Rockville, Maryland in the United States)

Russian Presidium Threatens Baltic Peace Treaties

The presidium of the Russian parliament on July 12 endorsed draft resolution stating that Russia should consider renouncing the peace agreements the Russian federation signed with Latvia and Estonia in 1920. The draft is badly worded, but necessary, according to the chairman of the Russian parliament's Russian-Estonian intergovernmental relations commission, MP Nikolai Medvedev.

Referring to the Tartu agreement signed with Estonia, Medvedev pointed out that it was a treaty between "another Russia and another Estonia". Therefore, he said, "the present relationship between Russia and Estonia should not be based on the 1920 agreement." The presidium's draft, however, will complicate Russian-Estonian relations established by a 1991 intergovernmental treaty, Medvedev said. The 1991 treaty's preamble "indirectly mentions the Tartu agreement," he explained.

Medvedev said that to put Latvia and Estonia into one document as the presidium did on July 12 is a mistake. Russia has a specific relationship with each country. The parliament's Russian-Estonian intergovernmental relations commission now intends to prepare three separate draft resolutions on relations with each of the Baltic countries, Medvedev said. According to Medvedev, the current relationships between the Russian Federation and the Baltic countries "should be of a new quality, and [Russia and the Baltics] not be linked to agreements signed in the 1920s.

Chairman of the Estonian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee Vello Saatpalu said Estonia could regard the Russian move both positively and negatively. "The good news is that they attest to the existence of the treaty. The bad news is that the treaty will be renounced," Saatpalu said.

The Latvian Foreign Ministry called Russia's decision an unfriendly step that might further escalate confrontation between the two states. A note sent to the Russian Embassy in Riga by Latvia's Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs states that the Russian Supreme Council Presidium decision is a blatant attempt to change the border established by the 1920 peace treaty. The Latvian-Russian peace treaty, signed August 11, 1920, recognises the Abreneregion, currently occupied by Russia, as Latvian territory.

No Security Treaty, START Stops

At least we have a crystal clear understanding of the White House's policy toward Ukraine. Thanks to Ambassador Strobe Talbott, Kyiv and Ukrainian American voters know that the Clinton administration rejects security treaties with Ukraine and refuses to allow Ukrainian affiliation with NATO. At the same time, it demands that Ukraine ratifies START 1 and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. It is apparent that there is no reciprocity in this relationship, only requests, demands and threats.

Clinton is maintaining the Russocentric policy that has been at the forefront of America's world order for several presidencies. Successive White Houses have readily acquiesced to requests from Ukrainian Americans for gratuitous, commemorative proclamations, letters or statements, such as the famine letter, because with inexpensive platitudes they could cultivate Ukrainian American voters. However, these letters were always recognised for their wolf-in-sheep nature and now the community will place even more emphasis on deeds, not words.

Faced with lukewarm friends in Washington, who kiss up to Russia because of instability there, Ukraine should stop postponing debate on START 1 and the nonproliferation treaty and openly state, "In the interest of the security of independent Ukraine, we will keep our nuclear weapons."

As Bruce G. Blair of the Brookings Institution wrote in the June 1 edition of *The New York Times*, "To avert conflagration, Russia and America should stop insisting that Ukraine precipitously hand over its weapons to Russia. Such demands only fuel Ukrainian paranoia." However, he continued, "Once secure in its sovereignty, Ukraine would be ready to disarm. And assure of Ukraine's non-nuclear future, the West would be ready for a new political and economic partnership with this emerging power."

America's highhanded behaviour toward Ukraine will not result in nuclear disarmament and this policy should stop or else President Clinton will surely begin writing his presidential memoirs after four years. What is equally outlandish and puzzling is that as America refuses to guarantee the security of Ukraine, it also frowns upon Ukraine's individual efforts to protect itself. Ukraine and Poland have formed closer bonds by recognising each other as security partners. This bilateral alliance was even dubbed NATO 2 and is attracting the attention of other Eastern European countries. The reason for its popularity is obvious – both President Kravchuk and President Walesa noted that no one is going to dictate the two countries' foreign or domestic policies. Everyone knew the "no one" stood for Russia.

Before the ink dried on the agreements concluded in Kyiv, Washington contacted through diplomatic channels the Polish delegation and in a not-so-diplomatic manner said it does not like what Kyiv and Warsaw are up to. Consequently, the next time we heard from spokesmen from either government, the tone was more subdued and low key – We are still reviewing, we have not finalized anything, we were made an offer we could not refuse by the White House.

America cannot have it both ways. It cannot reject security treaties with Ukraine and also block its foreign policy initiatives with neighbouring or distant countries. If the White House can not constructively contribute to Ukraine's development, then it would be better if it did not interfere in foreign or domestic matters of a sovereign state.

Ukraine seeks to help Peace Process in Croatia and Slovenia

Kyiv, May 11 – A Ukrainian diplomatic delegation recently visited Croatia and Slovenia. At a briefing held at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, head of the delegation Andrij Ozodovskyy, Ukrainian ambassador-at-large, said that “we have sufficient potential to influence developments in the conflict zone”. The leaders of Croatia and Slovenia who met with the Ukrainian diplomats noted Ukraine’s increasing role in settling the Yugoslav conflict and its active implementation of the UN peace initiatives.

The following points were put forward as Ukraine’s position on the Balkan crisis:

1. Settlement of all crises on the former Yugoslav territory should be carried out by peaceful political means;
2. Respect for all the states of the former Yugoslavia;
3. Noninterference in the internal affairs of the former Yugoslavia;
4. Respect for the ethnic and social differences of the newly-created states;
5. Cessation of all military action by the belligerent parties [FBIS-SOV-93-092, May 14]



*At a commemoration service for those who died during the war
at a gravesite in Bleiburg, Austria.*

Estonia strengthens relations while Lithuania looks to expand

The Baltic Countries were measured by European standards last week, as delegations from the Council of Europe (CE) and the European Community (EC) paid short visits. Estonia secured further support for its full membership into the CE, while Lithuania said it would seek associate member status in the EC.

Estonia has a good chance of becoming a full member of the Council of Europe, and the European Parliament would welcome such an occurrence, said the president of the European Parliament, Egon Klepsch. Klepsch said the Estonian citizenship law can be regarded as one of the most liberal in the world. He said no other country beside Estonia had made such good progress in the transition from central planning to a market economy. In this connection he pointed out the successful introduction of a stable national currency and the stemming of inflation, which are prerequisites for a successful investment policy.

Klepsch said that Estonia, having been a country of transit for centuries, should retain this status in trade. He mentioned cooperation with Finland, Sweden and Russia as essential for the country.

Speaking about the issue of the death penalty, Klepsch said it is a matter of Estonia's internal affairs. But he still expressed his own view. "As the president of the European Parliament, it is my task to call on your government and the State Assembly (parliament) to abolish the death penalty," he said.

Since Lithuania will likely join the CE in May, President Algirdas Brazauskas emphasized Lithuania's interest in the 12 -member European Community as well. Lithuania would like to be an associate member of the European Community, Brazauskas told a visiting delegation of the EC's Europarlament last week. Brazauskas said Lithuania is seeking closer relations with the EC, and that Lithuanian public opinion supports such a rapprochement.

The EC delegation was interested in Lithuania's prospects of exporting its agricultural exports to the West, and encouraged the country to break its dependency on Russian energy resources. The group also visited Latvia, where it inquired about the country's upcoming elections and economy. It also expressed interest in increasing Latvian EC ties.



*Lithuanian President
Algirdas Brazauskas*



*Estonian President
Lennart Meri*

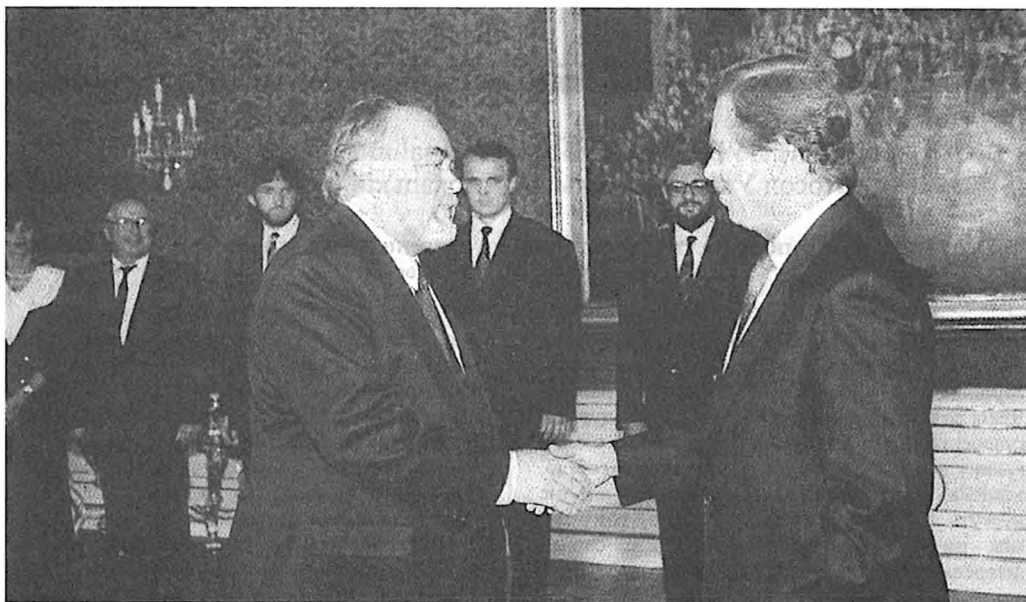
Former Soviets, Satellites Discuss Defense

Defense officials from Central and Eastern Europe gathered in Riga this week to discuss what might become a new NATO-like structure, according to Latvian Parliament speaker Anatolijs Gorbunovs. Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis told the newspaper *Diena* that exchanges of opinion in such a meeting are more valuable than exchanges of paper.

In the view of the Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov, such meetings not only provide greater understanding but offer a guarantee of security. Commander of Latvia's armed forces Dainis Turlais underlined the importance of Ukraine's participation in the nine-country meeting. "This government's geopolitical position is recognized considerably by governments beyond Europe, and such is the role that it plays in the United Nations," Turlais said. Nuclear weapons of the former Soviet army are still on Ukrainian soil.

Another spokesman for the Latvian Defense Ministry said that the delegations had considered a joint statement on their mutual relations and on their involvement in the NATO Cooperation Council. The document, however, was not signed because the delegations failed to agree on a text, and several delegates were not authorized to sign any documents.

The conference was attended by the defense ministers of Ukraine, Moldova, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, as well as defense officials from Czech, Belarus, Romania and Poland.



Czech President Vaclav Havel greets new Ukrainian Ambassador Roman Lubikivsky in Prague.

Shevardnadze: Georgia's Bloody Dictator

Under the headline "Blutige Diktatur Schewardnadses in Georgien", the Swiss newspaper *Neue Züricher Zeitung* published an uncompromising report on July 25th, 1992, which contained inter alia, the following:

Reports of arbitrary arrests, abductions, torture and executions from opponents of the Georgian junta led by Shevardnadze, president of the 'State Council', are increasing. According to statements by the opposition, the alleged assault on the television tower by Gamsakhurdia supporters at the end of June was staged, and served as an excuse for the regime to begin a wave of purges.

Former Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said in public statements that he was returning home to bring peace, but in only four months, he plunged the country into war, chaos and dictatorship. Not a day goes by without reports by supporters of the democratically-elected government of President Gamsakhurdia... which tell of people being arrested, beaten, abducted, tortured or murdered. A reliable expert source who, for understandable reasons, refuses to divulge his name, reported from Tbilisi that since the beginning of the year in the capital alone at least 47 people have been murdered by armed government personnel.

According to information from our source, the most recent wave of repression began on June 24th, the day on which according to the junta, Gamsakhurdia supporters supposedly occupied the Tbilisi television tower, calling for opposition to the Shevardnadze regime. After that, the junta's troops "liberated" the downtown area, while strangely mentioning that the entire action had been carried out without a shot being fired. The expert sources say that the action was staged: government troops abducted several Gamsakhurdia supporters and forced them into the building, and then ordered critics of the regime to gather in front of the building... with the intention of apprehending a large number of the Gamsakhurdia supporters. But the public account went like this: numerous opponents of Shevardnadze, including several Members of Parliament were arrested on the spot.

Today, almost all parliamentarians hostile to the junta are under arrest in Tbilisi. The few people who up until now have escaped from Shevardnadze's prisons say that they were beaten during interrogations. Those killed since the beginning of the year died mostly during demonstrations when armed soldiers loyal to the junta fired indiscriminately ... Several people were also killed in their homes. Gamsakhurdia's supporters are forbidden to hold meetings. Of course, reports about this deplorable state of affairs are nowhere to be found in Georgia itself. The regime has closed the two opposition newspapers... [and] is being excluded from appearing on TV and radio.

Soviet Analyst, Volume 21, Numbers 9 - 10

"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed."

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists

A record number of assembly participants attended the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in Kyiv on July 2 to 4, 1993. The 5,070 registered delegates and guests representing all areas of Ukraine, the Western diaspora and the diaspora in the Far East, gathered in the Palace Ukraine – the largest conference facility in Kyiv.

ABN President Slava Stetsko, who is the head of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, opened the assembly with the keynote speech on the topic: “The role of Ukrainian Nationalism in building a Sovereign State”. Among the main speakers were: long time political prisoners Petro Duzhy and Myroslav Panchuk, parliamentarians Iryna Kalynets and Mychajlo Kosiv, political dissident Yevhen Sverstiuk, economist Trochyma Kowalchuk, political activists from the Western diaspora: Wasyl Oleskiw, Illya Dmytriw, Wolodymyr Mazur, Askold Lozynsky, Wolodymyr Okipniuk and Roman Zwarych. Chairman of ABN Canada Orest Steciw delivered a speech on the history of ABN in nation-building.



Head of The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalist Slava Stetsko



Congress Presidium

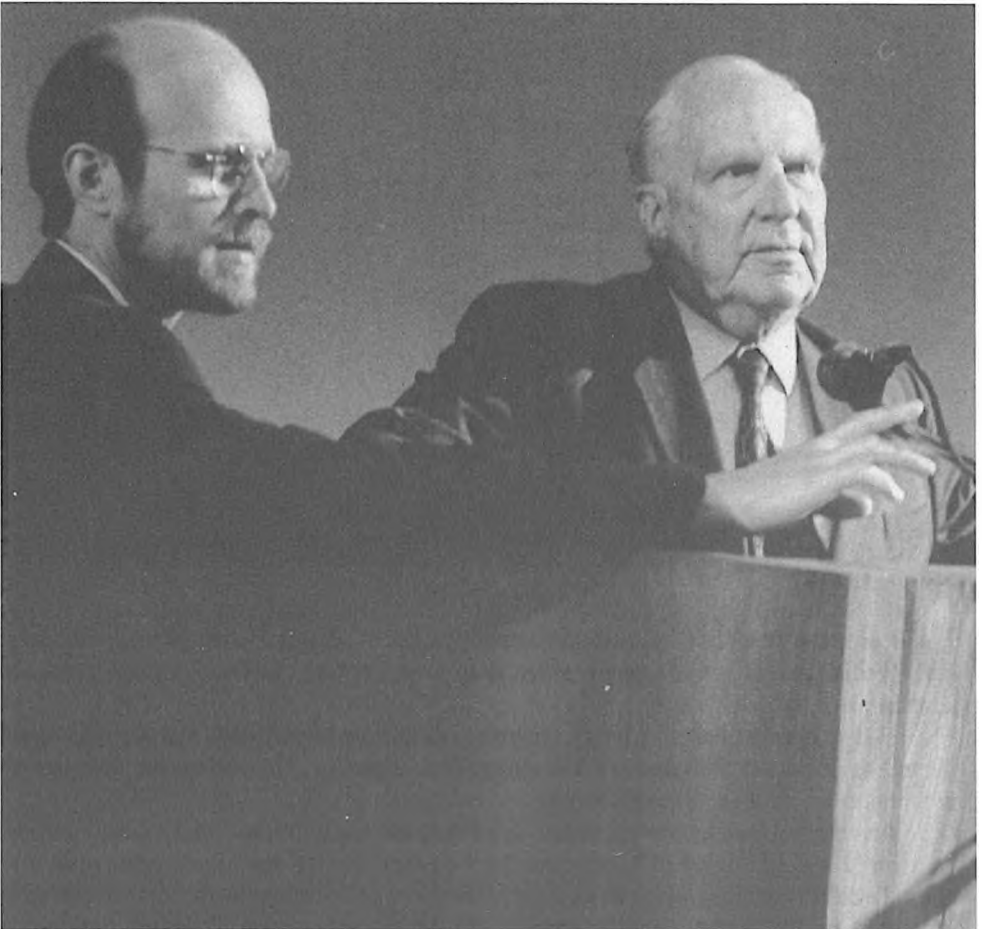
European Freedom Council representatives Sir Frederick Bennet, Bertil Haggman were special guests at the Congress and delivered greetings to the Congress from the Council.

The congress elected a new executive. ABN President Slava Stetsko was again elected to head the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. The Executive consists of members from various parts of Ukraine.

An integral part of the assembly was the work accomplished in 13 commissions: state-building, ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, social-economics, spiritual and cultural rebirth, defense, education, communication, cooperation with nations formerly oppressed by the Soviet Russian empire, the development of a Ukrainian nationalist movement in Ukraine, the protection of national minorities, a nation-wide programme for health, publishing, and the constitution. Many resolutions were put forward and accepted by the assembly as part of its programme for state-building.

One of the main resolutions accepted was that the Congress demands that “the Government of Ukraine take decisive action to protect Ukraine from foreign subversive deeds which are aimed at destabilising the political situation in Ukraine, particularly in the border areas of Ukraine with the intention of territorial expansion at Ukraine’s cost. The Congress asserts its willingness to cooperate and work together with all Ukrainian political parties and social agencies with the goal of strengthening Ukraine’s independence, social economic restructuring, spiritual rebirth and Ukraine’s defense capabilities.

The Congress decisively proclaimed its official entry into the political arena. The Congress calls upon all of its supporters to actively participate within the organisation of the Congress and within the political life of Ukraine, because Ukraine’s future is dependent upon sound political ideals directed at the protection and development of a free, democratic Ukraine.



Sir Frederick Bennet D. L. (right) delivering greetings from the European Freedom Council to the Congress. Congress Executive member Roman Zwarych (left) acts as translator.

Crimea and the truth behind Khrushchev's 'Gift

On November 22, 1991 some of the deputies of the Crimean ASSR Supreme Soviet put forth a proposal to appeal to the president of the USSR. They wanted to ask the Soviet president to repeal the 1954 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's *ukaz* on "The transfer of the Crimean province from the RSFSR to the UkrSSR."

From 1954 until Ukrainian independence was proclaimed two years ago, the judgments of that transfer were unanimous: the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in 1954 was historically justified. It was heralded as a testament to good Ukrainian-Russian relations; a triumph for sober thought; a recognition of objective realities.

However, these views quickly disappeared following the Ukrainian declaration of sovereignty in July 1990. The leaders of the USSR, the CPSU and the Crimean province began to emphasise that the 1954 *ukaz*¹ was merely a 'gift' to Ukraine in honour of the three-hundredth anniversary of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's treaty with Russia.

The territory of the Crimean Peninsula was transferred to Ukraine in accordance with the USSR Constitution of 1936. Article 49 of that document outlined the powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, among which no mention was made regarding the transfer of territory. However, Article 14, subsection '(d)' stated that "ratification of any border changes between Union republics" is a prerogative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Furthermore, Article 31 included the following clause:

"The Supreme Soviet of the USSR cedes the implementation of all rights granted the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, insofar as they are not explicitly included in the powers granted by the Constitution, to the responsibility of the subordinate organs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers and all USSR ministries."

Therefore, such an act could only have been legally carried out by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It must also be noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet was not granted arbitrariness in these questions. Thus, Article 18 of the Constitution included a clause stating that "territories of Union republics may not be changed without their consent."

The question of why such attention was paid in the Constitution to the issue of state territory may arise. This is due to the fact that the question of transferring legal and public authority on a given territory of a given state carries international legal implications. When such a transfer occurs in violation of international legal norms or national legislation, it must be considered legally invalid. It is therefore naive to maintain a question of legality as the motivation for the transfer of Crimea to Ukraine.

Why, then, and how, was Crimea 'given' to Ukraine? Answering the question 'why' will help in clarifying the economic factor considered in the 1954 act, while answering the question 'how' will explain the legal and procedural process of the transfer. Only when considering the two questions in tandem can one arrive at any conclusion as to whether or not the 1954 act contradicted the norms of international law. This is a point of view that is presently maintained.

In order to proclaim state jurisdiction on any territory, it is not legally sufficient to do so in a legislative act. The questions of effective government, concerns of the people living on this territory, and economic responsibilities must be resolved. Of course, it is more convenient to assert authority over a territory through the use of repression, the enforcement of a police state or through terror. However, these methods invariably lead to economic collapse; and from economic collapse to a state in crisis.

This was the path chosen by Tsarist Russia in its policy towards Crimea. Moreover, Soviet Russia in essence repeated the same mistakes committed by imperial Russia. Their common and perhaps greatest mistake was to sever the historical ties between Crimea and Ukraine. The proclamation of Soviet Russian statehood in Crimea led to this interruption, Henceforth any relations Ukraine wished to conduct with Crimea were forcibly channeled through Russia proper. The inefficiency of such a relationship soon became evident in the Crimean economy and, more importantly, in the severely decreased material well-being of the Crimean population. For instance, in 1919, while the population of Crimea was faced with the threat of Famine, Ukraine sent flour and sugar directly to Crimea, and the situation was alleviated. However, when Crimea became a territorial part of the RSFSR, this same aid would have to be channeled through Russia proper first in order to arrive there.

Ukraine thus delivered material aid and encouraged the development of a strong infrastructure for relations with Crimea. Ukraine also knew that sanctions from Moscow would soon be forthcoming. Yet the Soviet Russian government was unable to liquidate existing economic laws. Thus, many of the decisions made by Russia ended up being mutually excluding. For example, Lenin and the RKP(b) Central Committee adopted a resolution recognising the complete subordination of Crimea exclusively to the Russian Sovnarkom and the All-Russian CEC. Meanwhile, on May 20, 1919, the Deputy Postal Commissar, Liubovich, the Ukrainian Postal Commissar, Khalepsky, and a Crimean representative, Izvekov, announced the following:

“Considering the limited number of postal-telegraph offices in the Soviet territories of Bessarabia and Crimea and their direct subordination to Soviet Ukraine, the postal administrations of these republics are uniting with the People’s Postal Commissariat of Ukraine which will have jurisdiction in these territories.”²

Gradually, ties between Ukraine and Crimea begin to renew and develop. Yet the greatest obstacle, Moscow, still intended to carry out its own plan for Crimea.

At the May 1921 plenary session of the RKP(b) Central Committee it was reported that the revolutionary committees had succeeded in fulfilling their tasks and that Crimea had officially become a part of the RSFSR. The price exacted for this success was enormous. Because of the civil war raging in the territories of the former empire and the miscalculations of the new Soviet government, a famine besieged Crimea. A large number of industrial enterprises ceased activity altogether. However, the civil war was not the sole factor contributing to the famine. There existed in addition to all the other ills of the time, a severe labour shortage. The Tatar population simply did not take to the cities and factories, while the Tatars’ subsistence-level economic activity had no consideration in the plans of the soviet government. Moreover, a campaign was waged to eliminate the stratum of small, private businesses and the ‘bourgeoisie’, resulting in many Ukrainians fleeing persecution and

Russification by moving to the southern provinces of Ukraine. This left a large economic gap in Crimea, since these Ukrainians represented the main agricultural force in Crimea.

For those who remained behind in Crimea, there was a lack of farming equipment, horses and landholdings. To exacerbate the dilemma, grain, meat and dairy product deliveries from Ukraine were suddenly decreased. Between 1921-22 more than 150 thousand Crimeans died as a result of the famine. Despite this, Lenin stated at a meeting of the Moscow RKP(b) organisation in December 1920:

“Even though after three years of war we still cannot catch all those loose pigs, it must still be said that these people have no place in the governing of a state. We are tackling immeasurably more difficult tasks. For example, there is a 300 thousand-strong bourgeoisie in Crimea. This is a source of future speculation, espionage and all kinds of aid for the capitalists.”³

Most of the ‘loose pigs’ mentioned by Lenin were indeed eliminated, decreasing the Crimean population by 300 thousand. In order to replace such great losses in the labour force (in 1922 there were eleven workable tractors in all of Crimea), even more developed countries would require decades. However, the fight against ‘banditry’ still continued in Crimea. The campaign publicly rationalised that the Tatars were ‘barbarians’ who must be raised to the level of consciousness embraced by the world revolution. Ukrainians were similarly depicted as racial hybrids, who contained a wild mixture of northern tribal and Tatar blood. Russian workers and peasants in Crimea were described as ‘freeloaders and drunkards’. Anyone who dared offer any opposition to the imposition of the new Soviet regime was immediately labeled a “White Guardist” and condemned to destruction. All of the instances of physical liquidation carried out by Bolsheviks against the population were then widely blamed on the ‘White Guardists’.

In response to these developments representatives of various nationalities (which numbered nearly seventy at the time in Crimea) formed a united front to fight the Bolsheviks: Ukrainians rallied around *Rada* supporters; Tatars rallied around the ‘Milli-firk’; Jews rallied around the Bund, while Russians rallied around the Kadets, Octobrists and other groups. This in turn elicited a harsh response from the Bolshevik authorities.

Peasants were refused the land they were promised by the Bolsheviks. Crimea’s sowed land decreased by thirty percent, while peasants were allowed only two *desiatyny*⁴ for their own use – 6.3 *desiatyny* in the steppe regions. The plan to reconstruct Crimean industry that was proposed by the Crimean party *obkom* completely fell through and still remained unrealised at the end of the twenties.

This created the impression that the emissaries sent by Moscow and the local population lived in completely different realities. For instance, while the famine struck Crimea, the Crimean party *obkom* was devoting all its attention to preparing and distributing preelection campaign literature. Thus, the 1926 level of industrial output was a mere 58.6% of the 1913 level.

The mishandling of the economy and the demographic and cultural policies of the Bolsheviks also resulted in the destruction of the local cultural traditions and lifestyle. In a very short period of time, there remained only a small fraction of the formerly indigenous population. The trend towards the eradication of national minorities lasted until the beginning of World War II. In 1926 national minorities comprised 10.1% of Crimea’s population, while by 1939, the figure dramatically dropped to 5.2%.

The 'mobilization of forces' designed to collectivise the peasant in the whole USSR resulted in 104 anti-Soviet manifestations in 1930. This was quickly answered with a campaign of mass arrests of *kulaks*. Ukrainians, Tatars, Germans, Jews and others began to flee back to Crimea hoping to avoid arrest. However, their flight only resulted in the generation of a new campaign of arrests aimed at liquidating "elements with resettlement aims." Regardless of the fact that by 1931 the stratum of successful peasantry was all but eliminated, 1.5% of the peasantry were still considered to be kulaks and were subsequently arrested or deported to labour camps.

In order to give primacy to the collectivised farms, peasants were deprived of their grain and a new wave of famine began. The peasant was in essence completely broken. Those who survived remained as mere serfs in the eyes of the Soviet state.

The working class did not fare much better than the peasants had. A wave of arrests swept the Crimean working class in 1931, because of 'saboteurs' who were discovered at the Kerchensky State Metal Works and the Simferopol Naval Factory. In 1932 'saboteurs' were again discovered at the Kerchensky Metallurgical Plant, Saksy Chemical Plant and various other factories throughout Crimea. The nascent Crimean working class was thus also practically liquidated by the beginning of the Second World War.

Whole echelons of new recruits were being sent into Crimea to replace the eliminated workers and peasants, which resulted in a Crimean population rise from 714.1 thousand in 1926 to 1.13 million by 1939. The Russian population concurrently increased from 301.4 thousand to 558.5 thousand. This meant that for the first time the Russian population of Crimea outnumbered all other groups from amongst the indigenous population.

In addition to all of the above, the lack of appropriate material resources in the established administrative-command system meant certain doom for Crimea's economy. A large portion of these resources was transferred by Moscow from Ukraine to Crimea. This resulted in the demand for certain necessary changes in Moscow's policy. Moscow soon began to create new ties or renew long-abandoned ones between Ukraine and Crimea. The Kerchensky iron ore basin was thus made a responsibility of the Donetsk-Kryvorih coal and metallurgical administrative structure. The Simferopol rail station with its huge Dzhanko junction was given over to the Stalin Railway, which fell under the administration based in Dnipropetrovsk. The road transport system was given over to the joint control of Ukrainian and Crimean administrations. In this manner a large part of Crimea's infrastructure gradually came under Ukrainian jurisdiction. Food production, light industry goods, water and electric energy were all exported to Crimea from Ukraine.

However, Moscow still did not suspend the campaign to eradicate the Ukrainian element in Crimean life. Ukrainians in Crimea were gradually eliminated from positions of authority (by 1927, the Crimean CEC consisted of only 6.7% Ukrainians). Ukrainians were also ignored during the rezoning of Crimea's national/regional borders. In 1930, sixteen regions were created in Crimea; of these, five were Tatar, one was Jewish, nine were Russian and one Ukrainian. In 1935, on German and no Ukrainian ones. Despite Moscow's administrative arbitrariness towards Ukrainians in Crimea, relations between Ukraine and Crimea continued to grow and develop.

It would be erroneous to imply that only Ukrainians suffered from Moscow's

Crimean policies. The process of Russification and the penetration of the Russian state structure into Crimea also negatively influenced the development of other nationalities. In 1939 Moscow imposed the Russian alphabet on the Tatar language; many nationalities were deprived of the right to their own schools, cultural institutions or press.

The coming of the war dealt a serious blow to the Crimean economy. The whole peninsula had only 99 high schools and 342 economic enterprises. The population decreased to 780 thousand, equal to the 1926-27 level. However, the State Defense Committee headed by Stalin adopted a resolution on May 11, 1944 regarding the deportation of Crimea's Tatars, Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks. As a result, 228,543 people were removed from Crimea, among them 191,088 Tatars. Ruined by the war, Crimea was deprived of more than a third of its economic resources.

Crimea, therefore, had neither the material nor the human resources to realize the program for reconstructing its economy. In order to cover up the artificially-created demographic vacuum in Crimea, the Soviet government began to recruit settlers for Crimea in the RSFSR and Ukraine. Families and even whole collective farms were forcibly uprooted and transported to Crimea. At the beginning of 1945, 17,040 families were resettled in Crimea and from 1950-54, an additional 57 thousand people were moved there.

The resettled collective farms were unable to adapt to their new surroundings and new conditions. The essentially feudal environment that existed in Crimea, coupled with a drought in 1946, forced many of those resettled simply to flee Crimea. The Crimean party *obkom* adopted a resolution at its plenary session in July 1946 in order to prevent any further flight from Crimea. Nevertheless, in 1947 the party *obkom* adopted harsher measures to deal with the fleeing refugees. This had little effect in decreasing the tide, and a cyclical dynamic was created, whereby new settlers were constantly brought in to replace those constantly escaping. It was thus hardly possible for the authorities to even dream of any effective plan for economic recovery under such unstable conditions.

Ukraine came to Crimea's aid at this time, offering considerable assistance in reconstructing the latter's beleaguered economy. Ukrainian engineers designed and built special mining equipment for Crimea, *Ukrvodbud* began the reconstruction of the Simferopol and Staro-Krymsk reservoirs and the North Crimean Canal. Several metallurgical plants in Ukraine merged with counterparts in Kerch and Balaklava; industrial production and food were sent to Crimea from Ukraine.

In essence, the economies of Crimea and Ukraine gradually became one indivisible mechanism in the post-war years. However, this merging of economic infrastructures was not accompanied by a corresponding legislative framework. The disaffection of Crimea's population due to low standards of living, prompted various leaders of local councils to inform the Crimean *Oblast* Executive Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers that the people were demanding the unification of Crimea and Ukraine and an end to administrative incompetence. The authorities could thus no longer afford to ignore the people of Crimea.

There are those who maintain that "Crimea was given to Ukraine as a present by Khrushchev", ignoring the fact that Khrushchev played little or no part in the transfer. At that very time, Khrushchev was engaged in a bitter and ominous power struggle. The September 1953 CPSU Central Committee plenary session saw an entrenchment of Khrushchev's power amongst the rank and file of Soviet society, but the international

community continued to view Georgy Malenkov as the more influential of the two figures. In these conditions Khrushchev risked losing all that he had worked for decades to achieve, and thus devoted all his attention to his own political survival. He had risen to the post of party First Secretary at a time when the Central Committee was replete with individuals whom Khrushchev could not trust. Moreover, while collecting evidence with which to attack his pro-Stalinist opponents, Khrushchev had a damaging card in his hand with Stalin's deportation of the Crimean Tatars. Thus, a sharpening of tensions in Crimea was not at all conducive to Khrushchev's political plans. As a result, he distanced himself from the whole Crimean affair and allowed his rivals to deal with its solution.

It is evident that Khrushchev's political rivals were no less cunning than he. Albeit with political maneuvering in mind, for perhaps the first time in Soviet history a matter was approached in strict accordance to existing legislation (regarding the nationalities question). Firstly, Crimea was discussed in the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which, after considering all the available evidence, concluded as to the necessity "of the transfer of the Crimean province to the Ukrainian SSR.," The Council of Ministers presented its proposal to the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, which then consulted the leaders of the Ukrainian republic regarding the Council's proposition. Having received tentative agreement from the Ukrainian leaders, the Presidium adopted the following resolution:

"The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in conjunction with representatives of the Crimean provincial and Sevastopol City Councils of Workers' Deputies has studied the proposition put forth by the RSFSR Council of Ministers regarding the transfer of the Crimean province to the Ukrainian SSR....Considering the commonality of the economic and cultural ties between the Crimean province and the Ukrainian SSR; in addition considering the agreement of the Ukrainian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet finds it purposeful to transfer the Crimean province to the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.⁵

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium forwarded a copy of its resolution to the Ukrainian SSR Presidium. In reply, on February 13 1954 the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium began deliberations on the question of the former's resolution. The following resolution was adopted:

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves in reply to the resolution of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet to:

"Request the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium officially transfer the Crimean province from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

This resolution was sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Noteworthy is the fact that since the Presidia of both the Russian and Ukrainian Supreme Soviets adopted these resolutions, this created a certain 'agreement in principle' between the two republics. In terms of international law, this in turn made the resolutions a legally binding set of documents, since they were adopted by authoritative organs mandated to enact them.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had acted in strict accordance

with Article 15(b) of the 1937 Ukrainian SSR Constitution. Concurrently, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was in adherence of Article 16(a) of the RSFSR Constitution. These articles gave the respective Presidia full power and legal right to conclude such agreements. Thus, a nullification of the agreement was only possible in the case of a new agreement being concluded between the two republics. In addition, this agreement involved the question of a modification of borders between the two republics. Since these questions were by law deferred to All-Union organs of power, the final ratification of the agreement lay with the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was called for February 19, 1954, with representatives of all the involved parties being invited as well. The meeting was not attended by Khrushchev and its outcome was completely beyond his influence. After the RSFSR Presidium Resolution was read, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was asked to ratify the transfer.

The Presidium then ratified an *ukaz* relating to the transfer. However, this was not yet the final word. The Collection of Ukrainian SSR Laws and Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolutions includes a legally incorrect addendum on page 33, which states that, "the Crimean province was transferred from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR by the Ukaz of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on February 19, 1954." However, as has been noted above, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium did not have the authority to do so under the 1936 USSR Constitution. It was the USSR Supreme Soviet alone that had this authority. At that very time the Third Calling of the USSR Supreme Soviet had concluded its proceedings and a preelection campaign was under way in the USSR. The transfer of Crimea to Ukraine became the subject of debate with the electorate at candidate meetings all over the USSR. On April 26, 1954, following a discussion of the transfer, the USSR Supreme Soviet unanimously ratified the law.

As is evident, Khrushchev had very little to do with its passing. Others maintain that "Russia gave Ukraine the Crimean province as a gift in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the 'union' of Ukraine and Russia." The adopted resolution concerning the transfer made no mention of the transfer being a 'gift'.

Attempts to find any violation of international legal norms in the transfer legislation have also been invariably fruitless. Contemporary international law recognizes the legality of a voluntary transfer of sovereignty over a given territory between two governments according to an agreement of the two. The only prerequisite stipulated by international law demands that the state receiving territory must provide inhabitants of that territory the opportunity to choose either to maintain their former or their new citizenship. In the case of the Crimean transfer, however, this prerequisite did not apply because Article 21 of the 1936 USSR Constitution stated that "[a] single Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the USSR."

There is, nevertheless, one further important consideration regarding the 1954 transfer of the Crimean province to Ukraine. Presently, many of those who are in support of returning Crimea to Russia are hopeful of a referendum. Yet, according to the norms of international law, territorial questions involve the holding of a plebiscite. The terms 'plebiscite' and 'referendum' are often mistakenly employed interchangeably. Although the two processes do indeed have much in common, there

are as many differences as there are shared traits between the two.

Juridical science and legal practice define referendum as concerning national questions, while plebiscite refers to international questions of law. The aim of the referendum is to resolve questions of a constitutional and legislative nature.

Concerning territorial questions, a referendum can legally resolve only questions of an internal, territorial-administrative character. Questions regarding the transfer of territories from one state to another may only be resolved by a referendum when the process involves a voluntary agreement between the states involved in the transfer and only if the inhabitants of the given territory do not protest such a decision.

Those, who are promoting the transfer of Crimea to Russia are attempting to squeeze the matter under the rubric of a territorial-administrative question. However, when all interested parties expressed their views on Crimea, especially following the declaration of Ukraine's independence, the possibility of resolving the matter through a referendum was categorically dismissed. Under the present conditions, which find Ukraine as an independent state, it is possible to resolve the question exclusively through a plebiscite on the basis of international legal norms. The mechanism for holding a plebiscite is substantially different from the one that governs the holding of a referendum. The plebiscite must be carried out according to these, and not national, norms; otherwise the results can be declared invalid and not legally binding.

What are the necessary conditions under which a plebiscite can be held? In the first place, international law considers states, nations and their peoples as legal subjects under a plebiscite. The nation and people in question must occupy a common territory, have a common historical past, language, culture and the common aim of self-determination. Even this first condition is not applicable in the Crimean case.

The overriding factor remains that a separate, singular nation has never formed in Crimea, and thus the only legal subject of a plebiscite is absent. The more than million people who were resettled in Crimea in the forty-five years after World War II cannot be considered a nation. This is not to imply that the population of Crimea is without any international legal rights or defence. Effective in Crimea are all the conditions of international pacts, conventions and other human rights documents that apply to Ukraine as a member of the international community.

International law requires the establishment of optimal democratic conditions for the holding of a plebiscite. In order for this to be realised, there must be complete stability on the territory in question, as well as an absence of any military presence; this would mean the withdrawal of all presently stationed troops in Crimea. Such a condition is necessary not simply to avoid the electoral influence that such troops would have, but also to avoid the possibility of using military coercion to affect the outcome.

The present government in Crimea must also suspend its activity and dissolve itself, due to the fact that it has existed under a former regime and could not be honestly expected to carry out a fair plebiscite. In its place, it would be necessary to establish a provisional governmental structure with representatives democratically elected exclusively from the local population. This provisional government would be solely responsible for the complete plebiscite process.

Any external influence in the preparation and holding of the plebiscite must be

categorically prohibited. The plebiscite cannot be held if borders with contiguous states are not finalised and these states are not officially informed of Crimea's territorial intentions. The legal rights and responsibilities of the electorate must also be clearly defined under appropriate legislation. The wording of the plebiscite must be succinctly formed.

The right to participate in the plebiscite is given to all legal citizens of the territory in question. Therefore, a plebiscite is inherently impossible until such time as all Tatars, Ukrainians, Russians and others who had been forcibly removed from Crimea are allowed to return to their native territory. This also includes all those, who due to persecution or threat, were forced to flee Crimea.

The structure to be created for the organisation and carrying out of the plebiscite, as well as the police force that must be present to maintain order, must be created from amongst the local population as well. A working system of control must also be in place. It is imperative that the whole process meet with accepted international legal norms. In the event that local authorities are unable to meet this condition, they have the right to seek the aid of the United Nations in order to ensure the strict legality of the plebiscite and the determination of its results. Representatives of the international mass media must be allowed to follow the process in order to attest to its objectivity.

A plethora of other conditions relates to holding of a democratic plebiscite. As noted above, however, a plebiscite cannot legally be held in Crimea since the population of Crimea is not considered a legal subject for determining the transfer of public authority on a given territory, or between one state and another. The only legal subject that has the right to do this in the Crimean case is Ukraine.

Endnotes:

1 An Ukaz was a form of imperial decree, which could be issued at any time and at the complete discretion of the Tsar or the Tsarina. It had binding legal authority and was enforceable by legal penalty.

2 *Kommunisticheskaia partiia - vdokhnovitel' i organizator ob'edinitel'nogo dvizheniia ukrainskogo naroda za obrazovanie SSSR: sbornik dokumentov i maerialov*, Kyiv, 1972, p. 179

3 V. I. Lenin, *Sobrannie Sochineniia*, vol. 24, p. 74.

4 A desiatyn is approximately 2.7 acres.

5 *Radians'ka Ukraina*, February 27, 1954.

UN Security Council rules against Russia's claim on Sevastopol

On July 20th, the United Nations Security Council ruled against the Russian Parliament's July 9th decision to take-over the Crimean city of Sevastopol by giving it 'status in the Russian Federation'. At the UN Security Council meeting, which was called upon the request of the Ukrainian Government, members ruled that the Russian move to control Sevastopol is a violation of international agreements regarding the respect of territories and borders. The Council reaffirmed that Crimea belongs to Ukraine and cannot be used for the realisation of Russia's military interests regarding the Black Sea Fleet.

GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE



“On the outskirts of Kyiv, I met a little black-eyed girl of nine in a ragged man’s greatcoat of whom I asked some questions. “Where do you live?” “Nowhere.” “Where are your parents?” “Dead.” “Where did they die?” “At the village of Chernyhiv.” “Why did they die?” “We had no food.” “Where did you sleep last night?” “In an empty goods wagon on the other side of the fence.” “When did you eat last?” “I don’t remember.” “Do you want to be a Communist?” “No, I want to die and be with my mother.”

I walked further from Kyiv towards the southwest and met a little boy carrying a bucket. He stated that his father had been sent away to Siberia for refusing to join a collective farm, that his mother had died two months ago from hunger, and that he had walked many miles about the country since her death, as he was afraid to sleep in the hut alone.

1933

He said that he did not have any relative he could go to. I asked him why he carried the bucket, and he told me he had been terribly thirsty these last two days and carried drinking water in the bucket. His lips were swollen and he appeared to have a high fever.

At a deserted-looking hut I found a little boy in tears, wearing a man's heavy coat. He stated that his father had been sent to a labour concentration camp early in the spring, and that his mother had gone to Kyiv to try to get food for them two days ago. She had not returned. She was so weak, he stated, when she left that she could hardly walk, and he was afraid she had died on the way.

There was not a crumb of bread in the house, and this boy had not eaten for five days."

Thomas Walker,

Chicago American, March 4, 1935



"I want to die and be with my mother," cried this homeless orphan girl, found wandering on the outskirts of Kyiv.

Father in a concentration camp, mother gone two days in search of food, this boy was found near collapse from hunger.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church life in Western and Eastern Europe witnessed a revitalization in 1942 under the spiritual guidance of Metropolitan Dionisij of Warsaw and the appointed administrator of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, Archbishop Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky. A significant contribution to the growth and development of church life in Ukraine was made by Stepan Skrypnyk, who, having received monastic tonsure with the name Mstyslav and ordination to the deaconate and priesthood was, with the blessing of Archbishop Polikarp.

At the conclusion of World War II, Bishop Mstyslav, together with his brother bishops, clergy and thousands of faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, were dispersed throughout occupied Germany. Once again the young Bishop Mstyslav contributed to the life of the Church in Exile by caring for the spiritual and material needs of the faithful. During these early post war years, he served as secretary to the Council of Bishops from 1945 to 1946, and from 1946 to 1947, served as Bishop for the Ukrainian Orthodox in Western Europe.

In 1947 Bishop Mstyslav immigrated to Canada, where from 1947 to 1950 he served as Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada. Called to serve the needs of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, Archbishop Mstyslav immigrate to the United States in 1950 and was elected to the position of president of the Consistory, a post which he held until 1971. With the death of Metropolitan Theodorovych on May 3, 1971, Archbishop Skrypnyk succeeded him as primate of the church. In the interim, with the death of Archbishop Polikarp in 1969, the Council of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Diaspora (embracing eparchies in Great Britain, Western Europe , Latin America, Australia and New Zealand) elected his to succeed Polikarp.

As president of the Consistory and then Archbishop Metropolitan, Mstyslav undertook the task of reorganizing and enriching every aspect of church life in the United States. During his archpastorate, the Ukrainian Orthodox religious life in the United States witnessed significant growth in the number of parishes and new churches constructed.

On August 18-19, 1989, several Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and laity in Ukraine severed their ties with the Patriarchate in Moscow and proclaimed the de facto existence of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Its synod the following June elected Mstyslav to lead the worldwide Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.



Patriarch Mstyslav I Dies at Age 95

Mstyslav I, Patriarch of Kyiv and All Ukraine and Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA, the first worldwide leader of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox faithful, died in Canada Friday, June 11, after he suffered serious health complications.

Patriarch Mstyslav became leader of Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox faithful during an extraordinary convocation of the church in Ukraine on June 5-6, 1990, when he was unanimously elected its head. He was installed on November 16, 1990, in the St. Sophia Sobor in Kyiv.

Patriarch Mstyslav was born Stepan Ivanovych Skrypnyk on April 10, 1898, in Poltava, Ukraine. Upon completion of his primary and secondary education in Ukraine, he served in the Tsarist Army from 1916-7 and in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917-1922. In 1926 he enrolled in the University of Warsaw and majored in political science and graduated with a Master's degree in 1930. As a layman, Stepan Skrypnyk showed himself to be a staunch defender and advocate of the rights of Ukrainians living in occupied Ukraine and Poland.



Victor Zymbal – "The Year 1933"

Sixty years ago, in 1933, over seven million Ukrainians starved to death in the struggle against the Russian forced collectivization program. They were victims of an artificial famine, a deliberate act of genocide, that is unparalleled in the annals of history. Its purpose was to break the indomitable Ukrainian spirit and will to fight for Ukrainian national independence and freedom.

ABN

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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

IN THIS ISSUE:

Yaroslav Stetsko

*The Light of Freedom from the
Forests of Ukraine*

Niko Nakashidze

The History of A.B.N.

O. Hornovy

*Our attitude toward the Russian
People*

Muhammad Salih

Uzbekistan Today

Bertil Häggman

Russia, Eurasia and Geopolitics

DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS:

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine

The First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia

1993 ABN Report to the 25th Annual WLF D Conference

Address of Croatian President Tudjman to the United Nations

CONTENTS:

The First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia	2
<i>Yaroslav Stetsko</i> , The Light of Freedom from the Forests of Ukraine	3
<i>Niko Nakashidze</i> , The History of A.B.N.	9
ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine	11
<i>O. Hornovy</i> , Our attitude toward the Russian People	18
<i>Bertil Häggman</i> , Russia, Eurasia and Geopolitics	27
<i>Muhammad Salih</i> , Uzbekistan Today	32
<i>Slava Stetsko</i> , Ukraine Asserts Its Independence	34
1993 ABN Report to the 25th Annual WLF D Conference	38
WLF D Conference in "Symbolic City"	40
UN Address of Croatian President Tudjman	41
<i>NEWS AND VIEWS</i> – Who is being helped and how by the U.S.?	46
The First Commemoration of the Famine in Ukraine	48

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A Word from the Editor...

ABN IS RENEWED IN THE HOME COUNTRIES

On the November 20 - 21, 1993 a conference was organised in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Subjugated Peoples in Europe and Asia Conference. The participants were the representatives of Chechenya, Georgia, Armenia, Tajikistan, Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Ukraine and the representatives of the Ukrainian communities in the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Lithuania – all together over 600 delegates. Slava Stetsko, ABN President, opened the conference and delivered a speech entitled “ABN: 50 Years of Struggle”.

The conference participants reasserted the necessity for the restoration of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations activities in all the homelands with the aim of assisting in the rebuilding of their newly-independent countries, the strengthening of their independence and acting as a united front against Russia's aggressive actions. Conference participants also emphasised the need for the exchanging information between the national groups.

The conference stated that the change of the name at the November Congress in 1992 in Toronto to the Assembly of the Bloc of Nations in Europe and Asia for Freedom and Independence does not correspond to the present aims of ABN in Europe and Asia. Therefore, the conference decided to preserve the previous name of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which participants felt better expresses the continuing struggle against communist and imperialist aims. The conference elected the following to an ABN Committee for the homelands: Petro Duzhij (Ukraine), Abdounabi Sattorady (Tajikistan), Marijonas Yusevichus (Lithuania), Mata Tsikhashevili (Chechenia), Heorhij Houlbani (Georgia), Hahik Kirakosian (Armenia), Maria Bazeliuk (Ukraine), Olha Parchomenko (Armenia), Petro Hryhorenko (Kuban), Etybar Tajmyrov (Azerbaijan), Bohdan Pavliv, Ruslana Moskalenko, Taras Protzeviat, Lesia Bodnaruk (Ukraine).

After the conference there was a meeting of the ABN Committee in the homelands and it was decided that the next meeting will be held in Hrozny, Chechen Republic at the invitation of the Chechenian representatives.

The conference passed resolutions concerning the first ABN activities, an appeal to the free nations of the world, an appeal to Eastern Europe and Asia who fight against Russian imperialism and communism and also an appeal to the United Nations concerning the violation of Human Rights in Georgia, the presence of the Russian armies on the territories of Georgia and Tajikistan and their involvement in the armed conflicts as well as an appeal to the governments and parliaments of the free nations requesting them to recognise the independence of the Chechenian Republic.

It was emphasised that the soldiers, citizens of Ukraine, should not participate in wars and international conflicts on any territories of foreign states.

The First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia November 21 - 22, 1943

As the nation that has probably suffered the most oppression under Moscow's rule, Ukraine has remained in the forefront of the struggle against Russian imperialism. As early as in 1917, the first meeting of subjugated peoples was called by Mykhajlo Hrushevsky, President of Ukraine (during the country's short-lived independence until 1921). Representatives from Poland, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland and Ukraine met to discuss a united front against the imperialism of czarist Russia. However, the czarist imperialistic regime of St. Petersburg was succeeded by the Bolshevik regime of Leningrad, which also did not allow for self-determination of nations, human or national rights. When the Soviet Union came into being, the czarist empire was replaced by a new prison of nations.

Retaining the idea of a united front as the best recourse against Russian imperialism, the Political Committee of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists actively maintained contacts with other national groups. Especially during the years between 1940 - 1941, there was a particular emphasis on strengthening these ties, since Ukraine was in the midst of fighting, on her territory, a two-sided war against both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. During this period, there were many contacts initiated as well in the Caucasus, with neighbouring countries such as Belarus and with subjugated national groups as distant as the Urals. The results of these contacts and discussions are expressed in a journal titled "Our Front".

On November 21 - 22, 1943, the First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia was held in Ukraine. Twelve national groups were represented at this conference held secretly in the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine. At the two-day conference, which was held under constant fear of the approaching Nazi German front, it was decided that the strengthening of ties and a united front is the only recourse against the imperialistic aggressions of both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The representatives discussed the need for mutual support and respect of each nation's struggle for national independence. The Subjugated Peoples Committee was formed as a coordinating body for the united actions of the national groups in the struggle for national independence. The Committee emphasised the need for a coordinated strategy among all the imprisoned nations of the Soviet Union with the goal of initiating an entire collapse of the Soviet Union. The conference participants also discussed the need for informing the governments of the free world of their struggle for national independence and their struggle against political, economic and cultural exploitation by the Soviet Union.

This First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia became the basis for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which continued the work started in the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine.

TO THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ABN

Yaroslav Stetsko

1964

The Light of Freedom from the Forests of Ukraine

The guiding idea and principle of the ABN – the disintegration of the Russian empire into national independent states of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow by means of national liberation revolutions – is also the liberation idea of the Ukrainian nation. Its genesis dates from the days of Hetmans Mazepa and Orlyk. Hetman Orlyk formed an anti-Russian coalition headed by Turkey, and in this way continued the noble work of one of the most famous figures in the history of Ukraine, Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Hetman Orlyk left us a valuable legacy in the form of an unparalleled example of an untiring and consistent campaign abroad on behalf of the liberation of his people by revolutionary methods. In his works, in particular in his profoundly stirring epic poem *The Caucasus*, Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, laid the ideological foundations for a common front of all the peoples enslaved by the Russian tyrants. “Fight and you will be victorious, for God will help you” – this is the appeal which Shevchenko addressed to all the peoples who are languishing in the Russian peoples’ prison.

The freedom aims of S. Petlura, the Ukrainian national hero and head of the Ukrainian state, who also continued his fight for the liberation of his country abroad; the campaign of the founder and organiser of the UVI and OUN Colonel Evhen Konovalts; the freedom manifesto of the OUN in 1940; and, lastly, the formation of the Committee of Subjugated Peoples – which, thanks to the initiative of the OUN and of the UPA and in particular of General Taras Chuprynka, was realised at the conference held in the forest of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on November 21 and 22, 1943 – all these events are stages in the organic and political development of the ABN, which during the past twenty years has become an anti-Russian and anti-Communist force of global dimensions.

In the midst of dreadful chaos and a two-front war against the most powerful war-machines in the world at that time – the German and the Russian – the revolutionary nationalists of the peoples, subjugated by both forms of tyranny defined and established in the forest of Zhytomyr the ideological, political, and military principles and methods of the liberation of these enslaved peoples from the tyrants. From the technical and material point of view these revolutionary nationalist forces were much weaker than those of the German and Russian tyrants, but they were spurred on and inspired by the idea of freedom, by a vision of the future, by their moral strength and their belief in eternal ethical values to such an extent that they could have moved mountains. In their manifesto these revolutionary nationalists appealed to the subjugated peoples of East and Central Europe to form a joint front against Russia and Germany and to initiate and conduct a coordinated revolutionary liberation war by insurgent movements against the imperialist powers. It was stressed that one should beware of “liberating” the countries

occupied by Germany by resorting to assistance of the new Russian occupants. The allies were exhorted to assist the subjugated peoples in their fight against Nazi Germany and not to join forces with the foul fiend Moscow. Former soldiers of the Soviet Army who deserted to the side of the insurgents also attended the secret conference in Zhytomyr – a fact which incidentally clearly showed the vulnerability of the Russian empire, which is composed of the subjugated peoples, and also emphasised that the USSR would merely be a colossus with feet of clay if the West adopted the political principles of the subjugated peoples and actively supported them. The conference warned the Western World of the grave danger which would threaten the whole world if Russia were to win the war, for by 1943 it was already perfectly obvious that the Germans had lost the war.

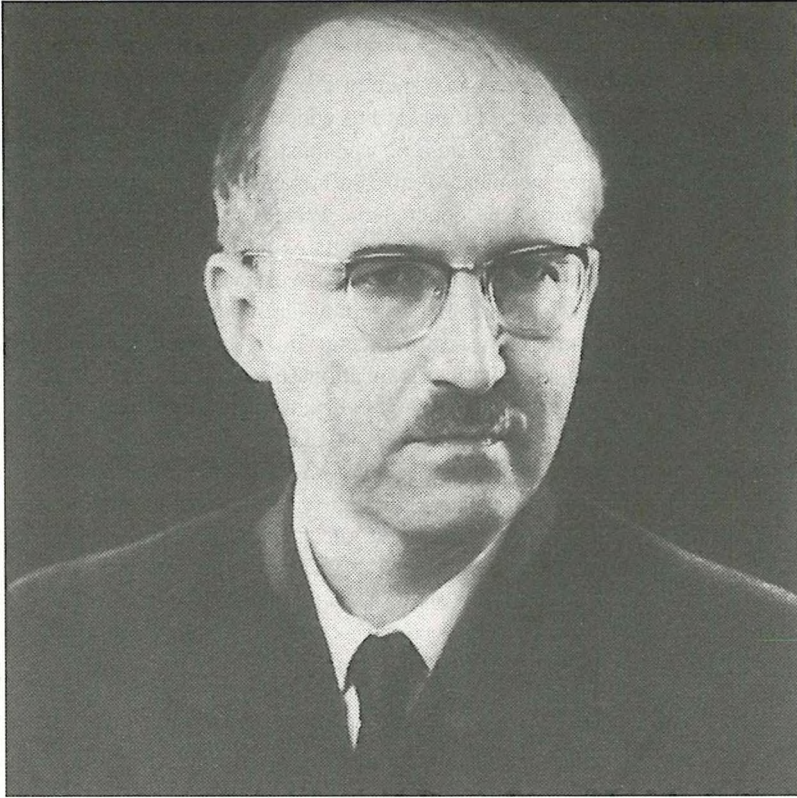
The fact that the German Nazis designated the Ukrainian and other insurgents who opposed the German invasion as “Stalin’s lackeys” and that the Red Russians, on the other hand, designated them as “Hitler’s lackeys” is clear proof that these insurgents were fighting against both forms of tyranny and that in doing so they were obliged to rely entirely on their own forces. It therefore seems appropriate to mention the fact that the Polish insurgents in Warsaw were sadly mistaken in believing that the advancing Russian armies would help them to repulse the Germans. *Ukraine and the peoples allied with it at that time did not count on any help from either Berlin or Moscow.* Furthermore, the splendid fight which was put up by the 200,000 men of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was ignored by the Western allies out of “loyalty to Moscow”. The fight against the Germans was also passed over in silence by the Western allies so as not to “offend” Stalin, since the UPA together with its allied insurgents from other subjugated peoples, was also fighting against Stalin. There were various other national units of subjugated peoples, under their own commanders, in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The secret conference in Zhytomyr in November 1943 for instance, was guarded by Georgian units under the command of a Georgian major. Even though the hostile major powers directed their attacks against *Ukraine, this country was not obliged to rely entirely on its own strength. A large-scale front of the enslaved peoples against the tyrants was being set up. It was the front of the struggle for the national idea, a symbol of our day, which promises to be victorious on all continents.*

In the forests of Ukraine in November 1943 the spark of a great fire, the inextinguishable conflagration of coordinated national liberation revolutions, which can destroy the Russian empire from within, was kindled. This is the first front of freedom-loving mankind against the menace of Russian imperialism and of communism, which is the instrument of this imperialism.

The arrogant forecasts of Hitler, according to which a few German bombers would be able to crush all resistance on the part of the subjugated peoples, did not by any means come true. The national insurgents of these peoples played an active and decisive part in bringing about the collapse of Hitler’s hitherto invincible armies.

The fundamental idea of the ABN as a reality of our day and the armed fight which was put up twenty years ago may serve as a two-fold guide for freedom-loving mankind – that is to say, as both a political and a military strategic guide.

The national liberation idea and the nationalism which aims to achieve national liberation must be regarded as the driving forces in the fight against the Russian empire and prison of peoples. And this implies the acceleration of the disintegration of the



Yaroslav Stetsko
Jan. 19, 1912 – July 5, 1986
ABN President and Prime Minister of Ukraine

Russian empire, its complete annihilation as well as the support, furtherance, and recognition of the national peculiarities of the individual peoples, of their traditions and of their intellectual and spiritual life, of which inherent qualities are religious idealism and faith in God. Hence the slogans of every nation in its fight against militant Russian atheism and the enslavement of peoples are: God and the fatherland.

The national wars of liberation – that is to say, a series of insurrections – can bring about the destruction of the USSR from within; it is imperative that such insurrections be given active and wholehearted support by the Free World, since the Russian danger is not confined solely to the peoples who are already subjugated but also threatens the entire Free World. As long as Bolshevism, the modern form of Russian imperialism, is not annihilated by the disintegration of the Russian empire, the Free World will be constantly threatened by the Russians.

And since the West, by helping the subjugated peoples, is helping itself, we take the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the ABN to appeal to the West to give the

insurgent peoples its military and if it wishes to prevent a thermonuclear war.

The West should proclaim the aims of the ABN as the aims of an anti-Russian and anti-Communist crusade on the part of all freedom-loving mankind. The destruction of the Russian empire should be inscribed as a slogan on the banners of all free individuals and peoples.

Russia is at present more or less in a state of war with the West, a tension which is being aggravated by various ways and means but which the leaders of the Free World, strange to say, refuse to realise. This state of war must be countered by warlike means and methods. The subjugated peoples are also in a state of war, directly or indirectly, with Russia, and this fact cannot be concealed. War in this atomic age can assume various forms, especially as Russia, by means of its extremely powerful fifth columns, Communist parties, diversionary maneuvers, subversive campaigns and warlike operations on the peripheries, is constantly extending the boundaries of its empire and is working its way further and further into the territories of the Free World. The Communist parties and their subsidiary organisations must be proscribed as parties of traitors, as parties of the enemy in the heart of every nation. The policy of coexistence must be ended of all time, since it is only advantageous to the tyrants. The Russian prison of peoples must be isolated and blockaded. An offensive policy must be adopted. The morale of the Free World must be strengthened by the severance of all relations with Russia, and the subjugated peoples is the cause of all mankind. One should above all appeal to the subjugated peoples and not to the tyrants. The Russian despots would certainly be alarmed if, instead of the endless tirades in the Russian language in the broadcast programs of the world, the free countries were to speak solely in the language and in the spirit of the subjugated peoples!

The slogan of the ABN – “Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!” – should become the guiding principle of the psychological war of the Free World, but in its true interpretation, the national independence of the subjugated peoples and not in the sense of a non-predetermined act or a plebiscite. The precondition of the freedom of the individual is the sovereignty of the nation.

Five years ago Stepan Bandera, the leader of the OUN, said at the grave of Colonel Konovalts, who was murdered by a Russian agent in 1938: “Ukraine will have to fulfill an important and great mission which concerns other peoples too, inasmuch as it will realise and defend the universal slogan: Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!”

On page 11 of his work *Russia Is Not Invincible* General J.F.C. Fuller, the famous British military theoretician, says of the ABN: “Because in the Atlantic Pact – however defective it may be – is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN – however lacking in organisation it still is – is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategic instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world. From the value of the ABN as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically to strangle the USSR in another way”.

This is General Fuller’s opinion of the ABN. It is thus erroneous to assume that the ABN is solely an emigrants’ organisation or an instrument of foreign policy. The

main emphasis of the ideas and the liberation policy of the ABN is concentrated behind the Iron Curtain. Without a common front of the subjugated peoples and without coordinated revolutionary insurrections which pursue the same aims, the liberation of Ukraine is impossible. For the question of Ukraine is a revolutionary world problem, and the restoration of Ukraine's state independence will fundamentally change the present distribution of power in the world, since in that case what is today the largest empire in the world will cease to exist. The activity of the ABN in the Free World is solely one sector of the fight. Because of its uncompromising attitude in the fight against all trends and forces which seek to preserve the Russian empire and because of its refusal to reach any compromise with the enemy, the ABN in the Free World has become the symbol of national, freedom-loving, anti-imperialist and anti-Communist, anti-Russian revolutionary forces, which will never reach any kind of agreement or unity with the forces of the Russian Communist evil. This applies to the entire international sector, to all the subjugated peoples. Similarly, in its national aspect the revolutionary OUN has become the symbol of courage and fearlessness in the fight against the enemy. Individual persons may weaken or fail, but the ideas and the organisation of the OUN remain constant and unswerving; hence the three letters OUN have become legendary in Ukrainian reality. The organisation which coordinates the national revolutionary forces of the individual subjugated peoples (who are fighting for the disintegration of the Russian empire and the victory of the national idea), the ABN – which has mobilised, on a global scale, all those elements and forces that support the same idea and are akin in their revolutionary attitude – is becoming a deadly danger to the Russian tyrants. It is the foremost task of the ABN to give an impetus to the coordination of the actions of those forces of the various nations which think alike in political and ideological respects, to create a new class of leaders in the Free World, who will reject all compromises and agreements with the Russian Antichrist and oppressors of peoples and individuals, and to form a new order of national fighters and crusaders (an order which should play a decisive part in organising a crusade against tyranny and atheism). The ABN constantly, systematically, and uncompromisingly endeavours to set up such a world front, wherever and whenever it has an opportunity. Numerous international conferences in Taipei, Saigon, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo, Mexico, New York, Rome, Malta, Frankfurt, Edinburgh, Escorial, Bolzano, Guatemala, Toronto, and Sydney, and campaigns in various capitals of the world – this is the sphere of the struggle and of the political victories of the representatives of the ABN. The US Congress Resolution on “Captive Nations Week”, which supports the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire, and the historical speech of the former Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker before the United Nations are both measures which are in keeping with the fundamental ideas and principles of the ABN. The task which was begun twenty years ago in the forest of Zhytomyr has in the meantime become a symbol of a new world order which is diametrically opposed to the present reality. The noble idea of this new order, which was initiated by the unforgettable Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Taras Chuprynka, and by the revolutionaries of other subjugated peoples who took part in the conference of Zhytomyr, whose names in many cases are unknown and who laid down their lives for their nations and for one common idea, is gaining more and more advocates in the world.

The ABN is not the creation of an individual, of a group, or of an organisation, but of the entire world. What is more, it is the common property of all the people's

subjugated by the Russian tyrants.

From the Ukrainian point of view the ABN is an historical conception of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation, a conception which has developed out of the geopolitical and other demands of the Ukrainian nation. For this reason substitute organisation of the ABN are set up here and there as part of the common front. The imitators of the ABN are, however, forced to adapt themselves by the policy of the governments of certain major powers. This is indeed proof that one cannot get away from the truth of this conception even though one may try to falsify it (as, for instance, the Paris Bloc, ACEN, etc.)

On the eve of the conference of Zhytomyr in 1943 the insurgents of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, and Byelorussia were engaged in a fierce combat against the Nazi invaders. The freedom fighters of these nations defended a forest which was to become of historical and decisive significance. This anniversary is hallowed by the sacrifice of countless of our fellow countrymen who laid down their lives on this occasion.

The greatest revolutionary insurgent strategist of our day, General Taras Chuprynka, who initiated the conference of Zhytomyr, was killed in action in Ukraine in March 1950 while fighting against the Russian occupants. He gave his life for the realisation of a noble and patriotic ideal. In venerating his memory we see in him the symbol of all the heroes and martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for our ideals, for the ideals of God. Whatever may be decided in the palaces of Fifth Avenue in New York will most certainly be annulled by the swords of our freedom fighters if it is not compatible with the ideas and resolutions of the revolutionaries in the forests of Zhytomyr twenty years ago.

And however much the Russian tyrants may endeavour to eradicate the longing for freedom and national independence in the hearts and souls of the subjugated peoples, they will never succeed in doing so. For our truth and our idea will in the end be victorious, thanks to our faith and our indomitable will and as a result of our fight, which will never accept any compromises. The idea of freedom has always been stronger than the power of tyrants. In this fight for Christ and the fatherland, God is on our side and will help us.

The Ukrainian Review, No. 1, 1964, pp. 53-59.

TO THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ABN

Niko Nakashidze

1960

The History of the A.B.N.

When the war between Germany and Russia broke out in 1941, it was obvious from the start that the non-Russian peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union had no intention of fighting for Russia, a fact which was evident from the mass desertion of non-Russian soldiers of the Red Army to the German side. These peoples hope to regain their independence through the defeat of Russia.

Our peoples were of the opinion that Germany would meet the wishes of these peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union, as she had done after the first world war, and that, after the defeat of Russia, by restoring the state independence of these peoples and by free bilateral agreements and alliances with them, would only seek to guarantee a normal political and economic position for herself.

But the government of the Third Reich, dazzled by unnatural and unreasonable doctrines and by its initial victories, had the intention of ruling these countries itself. The measures introduced by the Germans in the countries already occupied, as for instance the Baltic states, Ukraine, and Byelorussia, clearly showed that the Reich's government did not even intend to introduce self-administration there, still less to restore the state independence of these countries.

The government formed by the President of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, after the proclamation of the restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian state, was arrested and the members of this government were deported to concentration camps. Many of the Ukrainian politicians and nationalists were arrested. And numerous Baltic statesmen and politicians were put into prison. This evoked bitter feelings amongst our peoples, a fact which had fateful results for the issue of the war. In their despair, these peoples had no other choice but to take up arms and fight as partisans, namely on two fronts – against the Russians and the Germans.

When it became obvious that Germany's defeat was inevitable and that the Russian Communist hordes could no longer be held up in their advance towards the West, it was evident that the liberation of our peoples would be postponed indefinitely. They were thus obliged to adapt themselves to a lengthy period of fighting and hence it became necessary to unite all the forces of the subjugated peoples in order to conduct a joint fight.

At the initiative of the Ukrainian nationalists, the first meeting of the representatives of these peoples, at which vital questions were discussed, agreements made and the essential tasks defined, was held in November 1943, somewhere in the forests of Volhynia, near Zhytomyr. In 1944 another conference was held in secret in Cracow. On this occasion all the subjugated peoples were represented and the political programme of the ABN was already drawn up in detail.



Prince Niko Nakashidze
Jan. 25, 1899 – May 22, 1966
ABN Secretary General 1954 – 1966

Immediately after the war, the national revolutionary organisations of the countries newly occupied by Russia – Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Albania – joined the ABN as members. The ABN thus became an international union of the national revolutionary organisations of all the peoples subjugated by Russia and by communism. These organisations were founded in their native countries and are represented by persons who have fought there for the freedom of their peoples. They are thus the lawful representatives and spokesmen of their peoples in the free world.

(This excerpt is from the book The Truth about ABN, published in 1960.)

TO THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ABN

**ABN Conference
Kyiv, Ukraine**



ABN CONFERENCE

November 20, 1993

Wreath-laying ceremony at the monument of Taras Shevchenko

Opening ceremonies

Keynote Address: 50 Years of ABN – *Slava Stetsko, ABN President*

“The First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe and Asia” – *Petro Duzhij*

“Representatives of the Subjugated Peoples in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army – *Hryhorij Demjan*

“The documentation of the NKVD on the first ABN Conference” – *Ivan Bilas*

“The Plight of the Kazakh nation during the Soviet regime” – *Mustafin Bebulan Zaypeys*

“ABN’s International Policy” – *Orest Steciw*

“The first ABN Conference in Great Britain” (Edinburgh, 1950) – *Ivan Rawliuk*

“The Situation in Georgia” – *Gyorgi Hulbani*

“Neo-Bolshevism in Tadzhikistan” – *Dustov Dust*

“Nagorno-Karabakh: Five Years of War” – *Ruben Kocharian*

“Russian Imperialistic Chauvinism” – *Petro Kharchenko*

“Tatarstan and the national question” – *A. Burhanov*

“Bolshevism as a form of Russian Fascism” – *Danylo Kulinyak*

“Chechen and the struggle for freedom” – *Mata Tsikhasheshvili*

KYIV, UKRAINE

November 21, 1993

“Economic Independence and Cooperation between the Newly-independent States –
Omelan Kushpeta

“Russian Mesianism as a form of Imperialism” – *Roman Kis*

“ABN Activities in Scandinavia” – *P. Balicki*

“Armenia in the post-colonial period” – *Anushavan Mesropian*

“The Crimean Tatars during World War II” – *E. Chubarov*

“The Role of the World Anti-Communist League in fighting for national rights” – *Ruslan
Dywyn*

“The Current Situation and Future Perspectives for independent European and Asian
States – *Etibar Tejmurov*

“The Common Struggle of the Subjugated Peoples” – *Marionas Yusevichus*

“Ukraine’s Potential Integration into the European Community” – *Vitaliy Danylov*

“Russians in the Ukrainian army” – *Victor Yesikov*

“Ukrainian settlements in the Far East” – *Volodymyr Sokil*

“The Importance of Cooperation between European and Asian nations in combatting the
revenge of the empire” – *Maria Baseliuk*

The Acceptance of Conference Resolutions and Appeals

Appeal to the United Nations regarding Tadzikistan

The Russian army, acting as a “protector” of the Tadzik-Afghan border, has, in fact, occupied Tadzikistan and supported the communist regime there. As a result, thousands of Tadzik patriots are imprisoned or forced to live beyond Tadzikistan’s borders. Moscow, desiring the return of its empire, has overtly meddled in Tadzikistan’s internal affairs by sending an army of 100,000 soldiers with the intention of destabilising the situation there and in neighbouring Afghanistan. Peace can only be attained after every Russian soldier leaves these areas.

We believe that the United Nations aspires to promote peace and goodwill in the whole world. Therefore, we appeal to the United Nations Organisation to apply due pressure to Russia to immediately order its armies to depart from Tadzikistan in order to stop the senseless bloodshed on the borders between Tadzikistan and Afghanistan.

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine – November 21, 1993

Appeal to the United Nations regarding Georgia

Georgia, which was one of the first countries to secede from the former Soviet Union and to refuse to ratify the CIS agreement and become a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, now stands on the brink of catastrophe. The reasons for this sad state of affairs have been precipitated by Moscow. The first to admit this are the Russian army’s generals, who have been sent to provoke inter-ethnic conflicts in the areas of South Ossetia and later, in Abkhazia. The result of these altercations has been a Moscow-engineered revolt against a democratically-elected government and a civil war. Upon the request of Eduard Shevarnadze, Russia has sent soldiers to Georgia, where they have been involved in armed attacks, often against peaceful civilians.

After causing the collapse of the the legitimate democratically-elected government and replacing it with a pro-Russian regime, hundreds of innocent people were imprisoned and tortured, and human rights are constantly being violated.

Russia is violating international agreements when provoking such conflicts in Georgia. For this reason, we are appealing to the United Nations to apply the appropriate sanctions against Russia and to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Russian army from the conflict zones. We ask that a UN commission on human rights be sent to Georgia in order to stop the repression of political thinkers, the torture and imprisonment of political prisoners – many of whom are destined for the firing squad.

We appeal to the United Nations as the last hope and possibility for the protection of democracy and human rights in Georgia.

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine – November 21, 1993

An Appeal to East European and Asian Nations fighting against communism and Russian imperialism

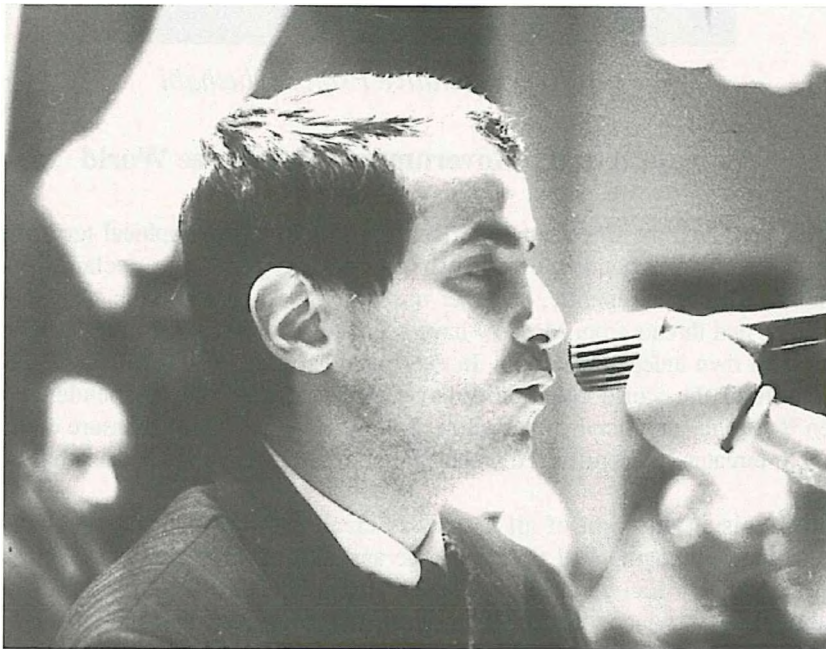
The best sons and daughters of our nations sacrificed their lives for the cause of freedom and independence. As a result of their struggle over the course of many years, we were able to attain decisive victories over the Russian imperialist regime. Upon the ruins of the Soviet empire emerged newly-independent states. However, the process of the empire's disintegration is not yet near completion. The struggle for freedom and independence of the non-Russian nations living in the boundaries of the Russian Federation is still going on today. Desiring the return of the empire, imperialistic chauvinists have provoked inter-ethnic conflicts and civil wars in Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh), Moldova, Georgia (Ossetia), and Tadzhikistan, where they are stepping in as "peacekeepers" while the world community silently looks on.

We are appealing to all nations fighting against Russian imperialism and colonisation to unite forces. Only in cooperation and unity shall we find strength. Together we can overcome the imperialistic evil.

We call upon all nations involved in inter-ethnic and civil wars to exhibit patience and wisdom, to solve sharp conflicts through negotiation and mutual understanding. We require peace in order to secure national independence.

Only independent nations can secure national and human rights on ethnographical territories and can assure harmonious cooperation among national groups.

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine – 21 November, 1993



Georgian Representative Gyorgi Hulbani



Tadjik Representative Prof. Abduzhabi

An Appeal to the Governments of the Free World

For centuries, the Chechen nation has lived on its ethnographical territories and has struggled for independence from Russia and two years ago declared itself an independent Chechen Republic. Neither military force nor economic blackmail, nor provocations and threats from Moscow have been able to break the will of the Chechens to create their own independent state. In the fear of harming good relations with Russia, governments of the world community have not recognised the independence of the Chechen Republic, and thereby have allowed Moscow to put undue pressure on the new state and to threaten its security. Nonetheless, the independence of Chechen has become a reality.

Recognising the right of all nations to create an independent state within the borders of their ethnographical territories, we appeal to to all governments of the free world to officially recognise the Chechen Republic and thereby protect it from imperialistic claims, which threaten the existence of the Chechen nation.

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine – November 21, 1993

An Appeal to the Free Nations of the World

Our current epoch is one of the “sovereignisation” of nations, of consolidation of state independence, the creation of new foundations for a fairer world order based on the principles of freedom, independence and equality. A critical turning point in this current development in human history has been the fall of one of the world’s cruelest empires – the Russian Communist Soviet Union, which resulted in the creation of independent states, one of which was Ukraine. However, the struggle for national rights and state independence among nations still confined within the borders of the Russian Federation.

The newly-independent states are facing problems they have inherited from the former occupation. Concurrently, chauvinistic-imperialistic forces in Russia, desiring a return of the former Soviet empire at any price, want to take revenge upon the newly-independent states. Evidence of this fact are the inter-ethnic conflicts orchestrated from the empire’s centre in such places as Moldova, Georgia (Ossetia), Azerbaijhan (Nagorno Karabakh), Tadjikistan, to name but a few. In addition, in many of the newly-independent states, former members of the Central Committee and Politburo of the Communist Party (an organisation singly responsible for massive crimes against humanity) have come to power with the help of military forces, deceit and false promises.

We are calling upon the world community, upon all the free nations of the world, upon people of good will to support the right of newly-independent states to national independence and to support the struggle of the subjugated peoples of Russia for national and state independence.

We ask the Almighty to grant peace and mercy.

ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine – 21 November, 1993



Azerbaijhan Representative Etibar Tejmurov

Our attitude toward the Russian People

Any discussion of our attitude toward the Russian people must begin by pointing out that we are addressing ourselves to two distinct problems: 1) our attitude toward the mass of the Russian people; and 2) our attitude toward Russian imperialists. Toward each of these groups our attitudes differ.

Our attitude toward the Russian people is indistinguishable from our attitude toward all other peoples. It is based upon our ideological and political principles, which call for freedom for nations and individuals.

The Ukrainian revolutionary movement of liberation, which arose in reaction to the subjugation and colonial oppression of the Ukrainian people and which embodies the nation's desire for liberation, regards all notions of chauvinism, and especially of imperialism, as foreign and repugnant. Since we are struggling for the liberation of our own people, we long for all peoples to be free and independent. All forms of subjugation and imperialism are abhorrent to us. We firmly believe that Ukrainians, like all other peoples, can attain their fullest development as members of an international family of free and independent states. We want to build our national life within our own independent state, in close cooperation with all other peoples. We believe that true world peace can be ensured only in a system of free, independent states of all peoples on their own ethnic territories.

The Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) expressed our position on this matter as follows:

“The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for an independent, united Ukrainian state and for the right of every nation to live a free life in its own independent state. The only way to effect a just solution to the national and social problem in the world is to bring an end to the subjugation and exploitation of one nation by another and to establish a system of free peoples living in their own independent states.”

This basic philosophy determines our attitude toward the Russian people. The OUN's struggle is not directed against the Russian people. It aims at liberating Ukraine from oppression by the Russian-Bolshevik invaders. *The OUN maintains that the Russian state should correspond to Russia's ethnic territory and should not extend beyond those boundaries. We aspire to the closest possible cooperation with the Russian people as long as they live in their own national state as defined by their ethnic boundaries, as long as they do not oppose the Ukrainian people's efforts to attain freedom and as long as they renounce imperialism and fight for the destruction of their own imperialist cliques.*

Having adopted this position as fundamental to our movement, we are striving for the destruction of the Russian Bolshevik prison of nations and for the restructuring of the USSR into independent national states, including a national state for the Russian people. We are fighting for the separation of Ukraine from Russia, for this is the only way to

bring to an end the colonial subjugation of the Ukrainian people, the plunder of their wealth and the brutal exploitation of their labour by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. This is the only way to fulfill the Ukrainian people's desire for freedom and independence, which is, after all, natural to every people.

The destruction of the colonial, exploitative Soviet regime, the destruction of the imperialist class of Stalinist overlords, is in the true interest of all the peoples of the USSR. A restructuring of the USSR into independent states would bring the most just and progressive solution to the national problem, for it would strike at the very root of Russian imperialism and enable each people to develop fully. It would lead not to provincialism and isolation, but to broad cooperation and friendship among peoples, based on principles of true independence, equality and voluntary participation. The restructuring of the USSR into independent states would liberate the constituent peoples from colonial oppression by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists and would thus create the best possible conditions for the solution of each people's social problems with an eye to the true interests of the working masses. It would constitute not a regression to the old and the obsolete, but an enormous step forward.

The separation of Ukraine from Russia is in no way an act of hostility to the Russian people, as it is represented by Russian propaganda.

In the first place, the struggle for the separation of Ukraine from Russia is a struggle for the legitimate and long recognised right of every people to live a free and independent life in its own land. Can any rational and objective person regard this struggle as hostile to any other people? In addition, the struggle for Ukraine's separation from Russia is totally legal, even from the standpoint of Bolshevik law, for the Soviet constitution guarantees every so-called union republic the right to secede from the USSR.¹

In the second place, the Russian people have no need of Ukraine; only the Russian imperialist need it. The claim, made by both Lenin and Stalin, that Russia cannot do without Ukraine is clearly an imperialist fabrication of the kind employed by all imperialists and promulgated for the purpose of deceiving the masses. (The German imperialists acted in the same way when they cried out that Germany was overcrowded, that its people were threatened by starvation, that they needed "living space", and so on.) Furthermore, such a claim cannot be taken as any kind of rational argument and cannot give any people the right to subjugate others. Arguments of this sort are used only by imperialists in order to justify imperialist wars and the seizure of foreign territories.

Russia is sufficiently wealthy and its people sufficiently industrious to survive alone. All that is required is that Russian land, resources and industry be controlled by the people rather than by the Bolshevik overlords. The Russian people, should work for their own benefit, not simply to fulfill the imperialist plans of the Bolshevik exploiters. If the Russian people need Ukrainian coal, ore or grain, they can obtain them by means of trade, by exchanging for them goods produced in their own land (for example, lumber or manufactured goods) needed by Ukraine, rather than by seizing Ukraine and exploiting her wealth.

First the tsarist and now the Bolshevik imperialists have deliberately centered

¹ Ukraine's right to secede was guaranteed in the 1936 USSR constitution (Article 17) and the Soviet Ukrainian constitution (Article 14).

basic industries not in regions where raw materials are located, but in those regions of Russia in which no raw materials exist (the non-black earth zone and Leningrad regions). To these regions they transport raw materials pillaged from the so-called union republics. Given this fact, the separation of Ukraine and other “union republics” would obviously alter the existing Russian economic system. However, it would not harm the whole Russian economy, but only those branches of Russian industry that are engaged in meeting the imperialist and military needs of the Bolshevik conquerors. The Russian economy would suffer only those temporary problems which are an inevitable part of the process of national recovery and reorganisation into non-imperialist national structures. Once it had been rebuilt on a national basis, the Russian economy would establish a firm basis for its successful development, strengthen itself and, most importantly, work for the benefit of the Russian people rather than for the Bolshevik exploiters. For what do the Russian people gain – we speak here of the whole people, not a corrupt minority – by having a developed industry (developed, incidentally, at such enormous cost in human life, labour and wealth) when profits from it are used by the Bolshevik overlord class for its own anti-national goals; when, for the great majority of workers (with the sole exception of the party official-Stakhanov² stratum), it provides not rewarding work, but hard penal servitude, inadequate wages and unbearable exploitation; and when workers are deprived of the slightest say in its administration? Given this situation, the destruction of the Soviet Union’s imperialistically oriented industry is in the interest of Russian workers.

Its destruction is also essential if the just interests of the subject peoples of the USSR, who are not willing to accept their colonial status, are to be served. We cannot permit Ukraine’s riches to be had for a song by the Russian-Bolshevik invaders in order to meet the requirements which have been deliberately developed in regions lacking raw materials. We cannot consent to a one-sided development of the Ukrainian economy (mainly in agriculture and extractive industries). We cannot accept that Ukraine, a country well endowed with all essential raw materials, should fail to develop all branches of industry. We cannot look on while millions of Ukrainians starve to death for the sole reason that their bread has been seized by the Kremlin plunderers. We cannot permit Ukraine to remain only a source of raw materials, a market for Russian industry and a source of wealth for the Bolshevik overlord class. For these reasons, we are struggling for the separation of Ukraine from Russia.

The separation of Ukraine from Russia is thus directed not against the Russian people, but solely against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists, whose overthrow is also in the interests of the Russian people.

In conjunction with our struggle for the separation of Ukraine and the restructuring of the USSR into independent national states, we are striving for the closest possible political, economic and cultural cooperation with the Russian people, as with all other peoples. Since the Russians are our immediate neighbours, we share many common interests and could co-operate very fruitfully if our relations were based on true friendship and equality rather than imperialism.

² Stakhanovism: movement begun in the USSR in 1935 to speed up industrial production. Stakhanovite workers received higher pay and other privileges.

The Russian imperialists are crying far and wide that the Russian people have provided “assistance” to Ukrainians. But this is totally untrue. This is a shameless lie, a lie twice over.

First of all, in the tsarist period, the Russian masses exerted no influence on either internal or foreign policy. The Bolsheviks know this very well, better, perhaps, than anyone else. Tsarist rule was autocratic. As there were no democratic institutions in Russia, the policies of the tsarist government were in no sense a reflection of the will of the Russian people. Thus, the tsarist government’s policy toward Ukraine cannot be considered the policy of the Russian people. Living under autocratic rule, the Russian masses were given no opportunity to express their true attitude toward the Ukrainian people. To the extent that the Bolsheviks claim otherwise, they contradict the position that they have held until now, for they deny their own previously held view that under tsarist autocracy the Russian people were deprived of all political rights. Just as under tsarist autocracy the Russian people were unable to express their will, they are unable to do so now, under the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union. Thus, the Soviet government’s policy toward Ukraine cannot be taken as a true reflection of the views of the Russian masses.

In the second place, the policy of the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists toward Ukraine, like the policy of Russian tsarism, has never been one of “assistance”. It has been, instead, a policy of national oppression and exploitation, of annihilation and of brutal suppression of all attempts at liberation. This, unfortunately, has always been the substance of Russian-Ukrainian relations. But we lay the blame at the feet of the tsarist and Bolshevik imperialists rather than with the Russian masses.

We must here affirm, in all sadness, that the Russian people have allowed their imperialist leaders to use them as tools for implementing their policies of oppression and exploitation in Ukraine. For what did the Russian people do to prevent the tsarist imperialists from betraying the Treaty of Pereiaslav (by means of the Vilnius agreement with Poland in 1663 and the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667)? Or to prevent them from destroying the Cossack Republic and devastating the Zaporozhian Sich, introducing serfdom into Ukraine and prohibiting the use of the Ukrainian language? What did the Russian people do to prevent the Bolshevik imperialists from conquering Ukraine in 1917-20, from oppressing the Ukrainian people after 1920 and continuing to do so up to the present? What are they doing today to prevent the Muscovite-Bolshevik oppressors from stifling the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle for liberation? What kind of “assistance” from the Russian people can one speak of?

Could such things as the payment for Shevchenko’s freedom³ by a group of progressive Russians, or the close friendship between Shevchenko and Chernyshevsky,⁴ be considered assistance from the Russian people to the Ukrainian people? No, because it is only individual Russians who have striven to grant dignified treatment and legitimate rights to the Ukrainian people. No, because these individuals have always been lone voices crying in the wilderness. The positive attitude manifested toward the

³ The freedom of the poet Taras Shevchenko was bought for 2,500 rubles realised from the sale of a portrait painted by K.P. Briullov.

⁴ N. G. Chernyshevsky (1828-89): Russian writer, journalist, historian, economist and literary critic.

Ukrainian people by progressive Russian individuals cannot be regarded in general terms as “assistance” from the Russian people to the Ukrainian. These individual examples simply enable us to envisage real co-operation even today, based on a joint struggle against the common enemy – the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists – who oppress not only Ukrainians, but also the Russian working masses, brutally exploiting them and driving them to their deaths to meet goals that do not serve their interests.

Although we long for close co-operation with the Russian people, we totally reject the notion that the Russians are a people with nobler, higher qualities, destined to play a “leading role” and to take on the duties of an “older brother” (i.e. “the Russian people is the most eminent”; it has a “clear intellect, a stable character, and endurance”),⁵ for such concepts are simply a cover for Russian imperialism, racism and chauvinism.

We take the position that there are no superior or inferior peoples, or peoples more eminent than all others. There can only be more or less developed peoples. But when undeveloped peoples emerge from their backward state, they show themselves to be in no way inferior to the developed ones; in fact, they often surpass them. How much “proof” have we seen put forward regarding the inferiority of the Slavs? Yet today, how vain these proofs appear in the face of reality! What a shameful end has met Hitler’s assertions that the German nation is the most capable and the only one fit for imperial rule, that it is a master race. Every people has its particular qualities and talents, but these do not make any people the “most eminent” in the world. The claim that any one nation is more eminent than all others is pure racism and as such deserves only contempt and condemnation.

For this reason, we do not recognise in the Russian people any “higher qualities” which would endow them with the right to place themselves in a position superior to that of other, non-Russian peoples (“the older brother,” “the great,” “the most eminent nation” and so on). Nor will we ever accept the “theory” of the Russians’ “leading role” in relation to non-Russian peoples, a role which, the Bolshevik imperialists so often tell us, the Russians have assumed throughout their history and continue to assume today in the soviet Union because of the “higher” qualities. These “theories” have been fabricated by the Stalinist overlords in order to justify their imperialism, to disguise the colonial, oppressive nature of their regime and to stupefy the Russian people with racist ideas.

As Ukrainians, we are led further to reject these “theories” because they are created by absorbing the brightest periods of our history (the whole period of Kievan Rus’ and the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia) and culture (for example, the “Rus’ Justice,”⁶ the “Song of Ihor’s Campaign”⁷). Our own achievements are deliberately undervalued (all that we have achieved has been attained with “assistance” from the Russians) and historical facts are hideously falsified (for example, the Treaty of Pereiaslav, Mazepa, accomplishments of the liberation struggle of 1917-20, etc. with the aim of Russifying the Ukrainian people and instilling in them feelings of inferiority. We

⁵ Reference is to Stalin’s famous toast at the end of the Second World War.

⁶ The most important collection of laws compiled in Kievan Rus’ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries on the basis of the common law.

⁷ Heroic epic written at the end of the twelfth century.

reject the racist propaganda which attributes a higher worth to the Russian people, because it stirs up chauvinistic feelings among Russians and stands in the way of making it easier for the Bolshevik imperialists to use the Russian working masses for their own anti-national ends.

Thus, we repeat that the OUN's struggle is directed not against the Russian people, but against Russian imperialists, against all those who subjugate, or help to subjugate, Ukraine.

The present-day champion of Russian imperialism is the Bolshevik Party, the VKP(b),⁸ which has already turned into a new class of exploiters, headed by the Stalinist clique. Although not all members of the VKP(b) take an imperialist stance, this does not alter the imperialist character of the class as a whole. Among the aristocracy, too, there were many who opposed tsarist autocracy (for example, the Decembrists,⁹ Herzen¹⁰ and others), but these individuals did not alter the essentially exploitative nature of their class. The Bolshevik overlords constitute a purely imperialist class which has subjugated millions of non-Russians; having conquered its rival, Hitler's Germany, it has seized countries in Central and south-Eastern Europe and is now preparing to conquer the whole world. It has nothing in common with socialism or communism, but merely uses them as a cover for imperialism and as a means of establishing networks of agents in all countries of the world. The Bolshevik imperialists are the direct heirs of the tsarist imperialists, whose bloody activities they continue to this day. For this reason, we are struggling not only against the upper crust in the Kremlin, not only against the Stalinist clique, but against the entire imperialist, exploiting class of Bolshevik overlords.

The fact that Ukrainians, Belorussians, Georgians and others can be found in the ranks of the Bolshevik overlord class does nothing to alter its Russian imperialist character. Some of these "foreign" members – the Voroshilovs,¹¹ the Korotchenkos¹² – have turned their backs entirely on their national origins and become totally Russified.

⁸ VKP(b): All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

⁹ The name given to those who rebelled against the Russian government in December, 1825.

¹⁰ A. I. Herzen (Iakovlev) (1812-70): Socialist, revolutionary, émigré radical publisher, author, thinker, memoirist.

¹¹ K. E. Voroshilov (1881-1969): Marshal of the Soviet Union.

¹² D. S. Korotchenko (1894-1969): Premier of the Ukrainian SSR (1947-54) and Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Ukrainian SSR.

¹³ Famous Ukrainian Cossack Family. V. Kochubei (1640-1708) was General Judge in Mazepa's government. Betrayed Mazepa to Peter the Great but was not believed and, as a result, was executed.

¹⁴ Ukrainian noble family that became totally Polonized.

¹⁵ M. S. Hrechukha (1902-76): Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Ukrainian SSR (1939-54).

¹⁶ P.H. Tychna (1891-1967): Ukrainian poet, academician, and politician.

¹⁷ Adam Kysil (1580-1653): Polish statesman and diplomat descended from an old Ukrainian noble family.

¹⁸ Ivan Barabash (died 1648): in Polish service as commander of the so-called "registered" Cossacks. Executed by the Cossacks who went over to Khmelnytsky.

They have entered the Bolshevik overlord class along with Russians, in the same way as the Kochubeis¹³ once entered the Russian nobility and the Vyshnevetskys¹⁴ the Polish. Although the rest of the “foreign” members – the Hrechukhas,¹⁵ the Tychynas¹⁶ – have not become assimilated, they have become part of the ruling class on the basis of their long service, as have all the great and small Kysils¹⁷ and Barabashes.¹⁸ All serve with the devotion natural to renegades, and we are struggling actively against them.

The ruling class exploits the Russian people in the same way as landowners and capitalists exploited them in the past. The Bolshevik overlords have imposed a new serfdom on the Russian labouring masses, oppressing them with the heavy yoke of Stalinist despotism and exploitation and divesting them of all political and social rights. The Russian people have no say in the direction of the state; for them, democracy is only a dream.

But it would be a grave error to assume that the Russian people are generally opposed to the Bolshevik exploiting class or to Russian imperialism. Perhaps it should be so; one might wish it were so, but this is not the case. The Bolshevik overlords have won a significant portion of the Russian people to their cause by *appointing them to position of imperialist officialsdom (in the army, the MVD¹⁹ and MGB²⁰ administration, the economy, the cultural and educational fields and professional associations), thus letting them share in the rewards of imperialist pillage. The unenlightened Russian masses are deceived by false racist propaganda, demoralised by chauvinistic ideas and thus put at the service of the ruling class.* The Bolshevik overlords are all the more successful in implementing these policies because they mercilessly crush all those who might have the courage to open the eyes of the masses and show them the significance and the goals of all the propaganda about the “greatest eminence” and the “special role” of the Russian people.

In the case of the Germans, we have seen what a devastating and ruinous effect imperialist propaganda has upon the masses. The German masses, stupefied by racist ideas, enthralled by imperialist plans for mastery over other peoples and encouraged by initial military successes, chose to follow Hitler and his bandit gang. The Russian people are in an analogous situation. (If they keep following the chauvinist path that is now being taken and lend their full support to chauvinist soviet policies, they will meet the same fate as the Germans met in their support of Hitler.)

Thus, although we do not wish to identify the Russian people with Russian imperialism, we cannot disregard the fact that the Bolshevik overlords are acting on a broad front. Their ranks include hundreds of thousands of Bolshevik officials (the majority are Russians) and a significant part of the Russian population, which has been confused by chauvinist Soviet propaganda. To fail to take account of this fact would be to succumb to an illusion and to underestimate the strength of our enemy. In addition, we must bear in mind that the roots of imperialism go deep, not only in the imperialist classes, but also in the mass of the people. We must remember that the Russian people have always been demoralised – and are so today, more than ever before – by their imperialist cliques. The result is a fertile soil in which to sow the seeds of imperialism among the masses, where they can take root.

¹⁹ MVD: Ministry of Internal Affairs.

²⁰ MGB: Ministry of State Security.

One should not underestimate the significance of the fact that the Russian people have never in their history led a free existence, that they have never had a taste of individual freedom or civil rights. This, too, has been a factor favourable to imperialism. Russia, as Herzen wrote, “has neither any passion for equality nor any *capacity* for freedom. thus it has carried on from Arakcheev’s²¹ imperial rule to Pugachev’s^{22,23}”

We can add that this has led to Stalin’s imperial rule. The Russian people’s struggle against autocrats, landowners and capitalists for social liberation, their revolutionary surge in 1917, did not end with the attainment of freedom; they did not succeed in breaking the shackles of despotism, social exploitation and slavery. From exploitation by landowners and capitalists they fell into exploitation by the Bolshevik parasites. Instead of an emperor-tsar, they now have an emperor-generalissimo. If the Russian people had not for centuries known only despotism, if they had had any democratic traditions, they would not have fallen so readily into subordination to their imperialist classes; they would not have permitted themselves to be harnessed so easily to the imperialist cart. We must bear these traditions in mind, for even today they enable the Bolshevik imperialists to make ready use of the Russian masses to fulfill their own imperialist plans.

Imperialism and chauvinism are so deeply rooted that even progressive people are often unable to free themselves of these notions. For example, Belinsky,²⁴ who hated tsarism with all his soul, never modified his hostile stance toward the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature. He attacked Hrebinka²⁵ and Shevchenko in a most shameful manner for writing in Ukrainian. Given this fact, what can one say about the unenlightened mass of the people who are deeply demoralised by imperialist ideas? How much more difficult it is to counter the influence of imperialism among them! This influence makes itself felt in a variety of ways, in all aspects of national and individual life. Any Russian is an imperialist or a lackey of imperialism if he opposes the restructuring of the USSR into independent national states; denies Ukrainians the right to establish an independent state; opposes the separation of Ukraine from Russia; denies the colonial character of the present-day Ukrainian SSR; opposes the Ukrainian people’s revolutionary struggle for liberation; fires at Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries; refers to them as “bandits”; tyrannizes the Ukrainian population; or terrorizes Ukrainians or murders them for their participation in the liberation struggle. Any Russian is an imperialist or a lackey of imperialism if he applauds and supports Bolshevik colonial exploitative policies in Ukraine; pillages Ukraine’s riches; exploits the labour of the Ukrainian working masses; goes to Ukraine in order to colonise it and to procure for himself the best positions at the expense of Ukrainians; behaves in a colonialist manner,

²¹ A. A. Arakcheev (1769-1834): Artillery general who played a major military and political role under Paul I and Alexander I. His name became a synonym of despotism.

²² E. I. Pugachev (1742-75): leader of a peasant uprising (1773-5). Executed in Moscow.

²³ Aleksandr Herzen, “Pisma k protivniku” (Letters to an Opponent, 1865) in A.I. Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works) (Moscow 1954-66), 18: 289.

²⁴ V. G. Belinsky (1811-48): One of the most important and influential figures in Russian intellectual and literary history. Leading proponent of a democratic but “one and indivisible” Russia, and a strong opponent of the development of the Ukrainian language.

²⁵ Ie. P. Hrebinka (1812-48): Ukrainian writer.

as an “older brother,” toward Ukrainians or treats them as a conquered and subject people. Any Russian is an imperialist or a lackey of imperialism if he support the policy of Russification; agrees with the present racist, chauvinist course of bolshevik policy; regards the Ukrainian people as inferior and attempts to instill in them feelings of inferiority. *Against such people we obviously have to struggle, for they reveal themselves to be Russian imperialists or servants of Russian imperialism.*

Imperialism is deeply rooted. We must bear this in mind not only today, while we are still struggling for its destruction, but even after it is destroyed, for the danger that the Russian people will revert to imperialist ideas will remain with us for a long time.

This danger should be kept in mind not only by Ukrainians and all the other subject peoples of the USSR, but also by the Russian people. They must come to realise that Russian imperialism has been the cause of the problems they have encountered throughout their history. Russian imperialism has always been the root cause of the enormous poverty and backwardness of the Russian working masses, for it has caused all the nation’s energy, labour and material wealth to be directed toward aggressive military pursuits and for the luxurious maintenance of members of the exploiting classes, rather than toward the full development of the material and spiritual life of the nation. The Russian imperialists have driven the Russian masses to take part in countless invasions and wars and to oppress other peoples. They have disgraced and continue to disgrace the Russian people. Until the Russian people rid themselves of the imperialist in their midst and free themselves from imperialist influences, they will never live as a free people, but will doom themselves instead to a life of slavery and cruel exploitation,; they will be ruled by brute force and be deprived of all rights. Russia will thus continue to be the only nation in the world that has never known at least some measure of democracy.

In 1851, when Russia was living under a despotism similar to today’s – only the despots and the forms were different – the great Russian patriot, Herzen, wrote: “If Russia accepts the existing order, she will not have the future we would wish her to have. If she continues to follow the Petersburg path, or returns to Muscovite traditions, she can have no other destiny but to fall upon Europe like a half-barbaric, half-degenerate horde, laying waste civilized countries and perishing finally amid the general devastation.”²⁶

How relevant are Herzen’s profound words today! How close are his fears to realisation! The Bolshevik imperialists are leading the Russian people further along the imperialist Petersburg path, having returned them, at the same time, to Muscovite traditions. In this way, they are leading the Russians ever more surely toward the ruin foreseen by Herzen. Stalin is preparing an even worse fate for the Russian people than Hitler brought to the Germans. This must be realised by all Russian patriots and by the Russian people as a whole.

This article was written in 1949. It was reprinted in Suchasna Ukraina, nos. 15-16 (1951), and in English translation in The Ukrainian Quarterly, no. 4 (1950) and in The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom (New York 1954), 165-177.

²⁶ Aleksandr Herzen, “O razvitiu revoliutsionnykh idei v Rossii” (On the Development of Revolutionary Ideas in Russia, 1850), *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works), 7:243.

Russia, Eurasia and Geopolitics

Russia claims a special relationship to Asia due to the fact that the country (and the Soviet Union between 1917 - 1991) is and was divided into an European and an Asian part. Russians claim also to know the Asian peoples best of all Europeans. The theory is that the Russian people saved Europe from the Mongols. Therefore, Russia has a special right to expand eastward because the Russians suffered long under Mongol domination.

The fascination of Asia was the trademark of a number of Russian thinkers. Count Sergei Uvarov (1786 - 1855) believed that because "the Orient has been unanimously recognised as the cradle of all civilisation of the universe... it makes it impossible for us to deny that Asia is the central point from which all the rays of the light scattered over the globe emanate."¹

S. Khomyakov (1804 - 1860) studied Asia and as one of the fathers of the Slavophile movement saw the Slavs as outstanding representatives of the Aryo-Iranian race.

The mystic Slavophile poet Fyodor I. Tyutchev (1803 - 1873) believed in the foundation of a great Orthodox Slav empire, with Rome having an Orthodox pope subordinate to the Russian Tsar residing in Constantinople, not Moscow.

Slavophile Konstantin Leontev (1831 - 1891) in *Racial Politics as a Weapon of World Revolution* (1888) had a racial vision of the Russian culture that it would be spiritually superior to Europe.

Nikolai Y. Danilevsky (1822 - 1885) in *Russia and Europe* (1869) developed a spatial civilisation of a future Pan-Slav Union dominated by Russia. It would stretch from the Adriatic to the Pacific with Tsar-Grad (Constantinople) as capital. According to Danilevsky major European races and religions originated in Asia. He foresaw a war between the West and Russia.

After the revolution in 1917, the "Russian idea" continued. A major representative was Nikolai V. Usbryalov (1891 - 1938), who emigrated to Manchuria, where he spread the idea of a strong man (*krepki chelovek*) ruling Russia with military and industrial might and an ideology based on ecology.

Another national Bolshevik, Isaiah Altschuler-Lezhnev (1891 - 1955) argued the importance of Russian imperialism, Russian messianism (*Ex Oriente Lux*) and Russian Bolshevism.

When the victory over the Tartars in 1380 at Kulikovo was celebrated in 1980, the discussion of the "Russian idea" was continued. Later, the nationalist Vadim Kozhinov promoted the idea of a Russo-Asian alliance directed against the West.

¹ Nicholas V. Riasnovsky, "Russia and Asia: Two Nineteenth-Century Russian Views" in *California Slavic Studies* 1(1960), pp. 170-181. N. V. Riasnovsky, *Asia through Russian Eyes* (1972), pp. 11-13.

Russia's Civilizing Mission in Asia

Russia's Manifest Destiny in the East was first expressed by Mikhail P. Pogodin (1800 - 1879) a leading historian, who also preached the supremacy of the Russian Aryan race predestined to rule Europe.

Sergei M. Solovyov (1820 - 1879) was another historian who presented the idea of three basic traits of the Russian march into Asia:

1. Geography was the principal influence on Russia's expansion eastward.
2. The role of natural frontiers. They had made Russia into a state based on an "organic formation". It had to expand in the absence of mountain barriers across the steppe.
3. Russia's colonisation in Asia was a civilising mission to spread European culture among the Asian barbarians.

The great historian Vasilij O. Klyuchevsky (1841 - 1911) was keen on explaining that Russia's history was that of a country in the process of colonisation and assimilation. The colonial mission was Russia's destiny across Eurasia, along the Volga, in the Caucasus and in Turkestan. The Russian people were prepared to assimilate others through military conquest, colonisation and Russification.

The historian built the ideological base for Russia's ceaseless expansion eastward. Communist historians continued the legacy. Tsarist annexation in the East had meant social and economic progress, so was the theory, for the conquered peoples and the Soviet government only continued what was started earlier.

Led by members of the Russian Geographical Society and military geographers, the Russians played the "Great Game" with the British in Central Asia in the 19th century. An interesting factor was the great number of Germans (mainly of Baltic origin), who participated in the Russian "*Drang nach Osten*".

In 1840, the Russian orientalist V. V. Grigoran wrote:

"Who is closer to Asia than us...? Which of the European races present in itself more of the Asiatic element than the Slavs, who were the last to leave their primeval homeland."²

Russian "Love" of Asia

A peculiar trait of Russian Asianism is Pan-Mongolism. It is in its basic appeal an expression of contempt for Europe. The Soviet poet Sergei Esenin expressed it thus:

"Let us be Asians, let us stink, let us scratch our buttocks shamelessly in sight of everyone... No revolution is possible here (in Western Europe). Everything is at a standstill, a dead end. Only an invasion of barbarians like us can save and reshape them. The march on Europe is necessary."³

² Mark Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1983), p. 244. See also for a defence of Russian colonialism Colonel Mikhail I. Venyukov (1832-1901), *The Progress of Russia in Central Asia* (1877).

³ Agursky, *The Third Rome* (1987), p. 278.

In the 19th century, Prince Esper Uktonskiy (1861 - 1921) went even further stating his credo in clear terms:

“Asia – we always belonged to it. We have lived its life and felt its interests. Through us the Orient has gradually arrived at consciousness of itself, at a superior life... We have nothing to conquer. All these peoples of various races felt themselves drawn to us, by blood, by tradition, and by ideas. We simply approached them more intimately. This great and mysterious Orient is ready to become ours.”⁴

The more extreme Russians dreamt of a Russian Eurasian Empire from the Nile to the Neva, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube. Even the outstanding Russian Orientalist Vasily V. Barthold (1869 - 1930) expressed the view that it was desirable to create world empires like those of Alexander the Great, the Mongols and – Russia’s Asian empire.

Warm Water Geopolitics

Combined with the Eurasian Movement, the drive to warm waters is an historic strategy of the Russian empire. The original efforts of Tsar Peter I were continued by the 19th century Tsar and by the Soviet rulers. Admiral Sergei Gorchkov wrote approvingly of Tsar Peter’s efforts to expand southward to warm waters.

Soviet Geopolitics (geopolitika) and Eurasianism

As far as can be determined from Vladimir I. Lenin’s works, he never wrote about geopolitics or referred to Mackinder, Haushofer, Kjellén or Spykman. The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* in the 1920s mentioned geopolitics describing it as the study of geopolitical aspects of politics. Kjellén is mentioned as the father of geopolitics and described as “pro-German”. Thus, the idea that geopolitics was linked to Germany took early root in the Soviet Union. In the 1952 and the 1971 editions of the encyclopedia, the article on geopolitics was changed. Now Kjellén had been “a man of the extreme right” and a “militarist”.

In 1976, the Soviet Military Encyclopedia examined the term “geopolicy” presenting Kjellén and Ratzel as originators. Spykman and Haushofer are treated negatively. The term geopolitics is used to motivate the “foreign policy and aggressive war of the imperialists. From a scientific viewpoint, the theories are absolutely worthless.”⁵

There is a possibility that during the Soviet period the term “Eurasia” served as a cover for geopolitics. But encyclopedias did not contain any reference to Mackinder or Eurasianism in the articles on Eurasia. Some geopoliticians have drawn the conclusion that the Soviets did geopolitical thinking loosely in terms of factors rather than strictly in terms of doctrines.

⁴ Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy* (1958), pp. 48-49.

⁵ Peter Vigor, “The Soviet View of Geopolitics” in C.E. Zoppo and C. Zörgbibe, *On Geopolitics: Classical and Nuclear*, Dordrecht 1985, p. 133.

When it comes to Eurasianism, however, the Soviets continued the Tsarist policies. In the West, a number of observers concluded that Moscow favoured an eastward spatial shift favouring the industrialisation of the Eurasian heartland.⁶ One author has even claimed that “Stalin’s concept of foreign policy definitely veered away from Lenin to geopolitics of Haushofer’s variety.”⁷ Haushofer had favoured an Eurasian Transcontinental Bloc (*Kontinentalblock*) uniting Germany, Soviet Russia, India, China and Japan stretching from the Rhine to the Amur and Yangtze.

One secondary source has claimed that Mackinder’s heartland theory about the control of the rimlands was the basis for the extension and the buildup of the Soviet Navy.

It is indeed an interesting question why the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1991 ignored Mackinder’s heartland concept as outlined in 1904. One explanation offered⁸ is that the Russian understanding of “geopolitics” (*geopolitika*) did not involve spatial relations but rather the impact of environmental factors.

In a number of articles and works, the Soviet writer Alexander Prokhnov has treated geopolitical and military-political themes. He has written about “space-equilibrium” and the “idea of life-struggle” in words that remind us of Ratzel and Nietzsche.

Geopolitics in Russia after the Soviet Collapse

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created a new political situation in Eurasia. Large parts of the Eurasian empire were lost to Moscow: the Central Asian republics and the republics of the Caucasus are gone (for now at least). But an “internal” Russian empire from the Baltic (except for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) to the Pacific remains, although there are serious attempts by republics of the Federation to break away. Some important republics in Siberia have threatened to leave the Russian Federation.

The new freedom of the press in Russia has opened the doors to geopolitical debate in the heartland. In 1992, the first issue of the magazine *Elementi* was published, devoted to geopolitics and a discussion of Haushofer’s *Kontinentalblock* theory. Some of the material on Eurasianism has been published in post-communist Russia in extreme right-wing and communist media.⁹

⁶ W. Gordon East, “How strong is the Heartland?” in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1950, pp. 78-86.

⁷ Boris Nicolevsky, “Russia, Japan and the Pan-Asiatic Movement to 1925” in *Far Eastern Quarterly* (May 1949) p. 295.

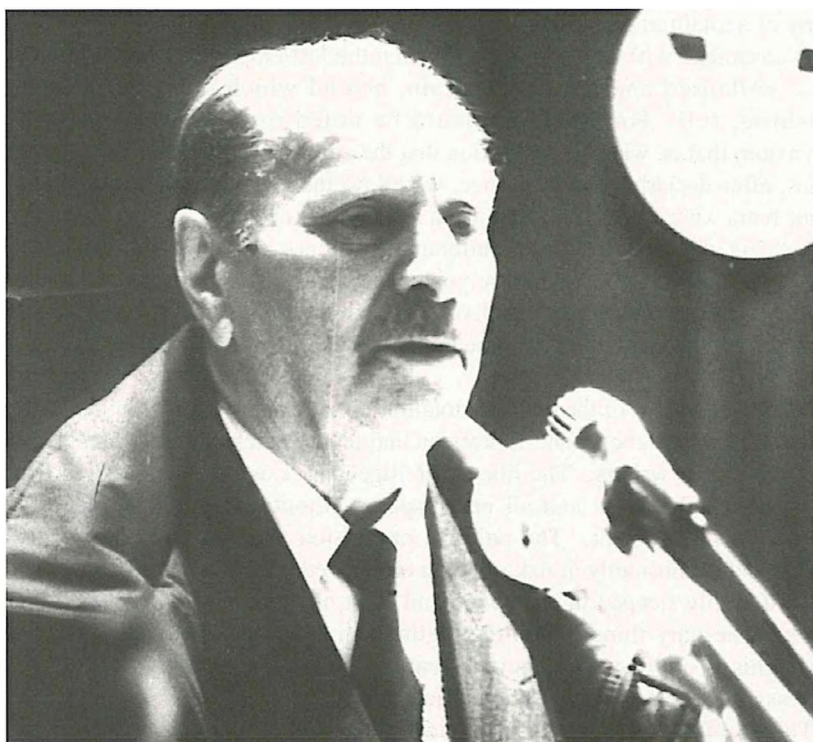
⁸ M. Hauner, *What is Asia to us? Russia’s Asian heartland – yesterday and today*, London 1990, p. 216.

⁹ Alexandr Dugin, “L’inconscient de l’Eurasie – Reflexions sur la pensée ‘eurastique’ en Russie” in *Vouloir*, Brussels, No. 76-79, 1991, pp. 42-46. in *Den*, Moscow, no. 2, 1992.

The present situation of new turmoil in Russia makes the possibility of an Eurasian Transcontinental Bloc highly improbable. The communist regime in China surely is not interested in cooperating, but with a revolt and new, maybe nationalistic, democratic anti-Western rulers in the country, the mood might change depending on who rules Russia. Indian participation seems doubtful and the Russo-Japanese conflict over the Kurile Islands for now prevents any rapprochement between Japan and Russia. With the German government pledged to democratic European cooperation within the European Union, the German component in the Kontinentalblock will be missing. But Eurasianism will continue to exist as an idea in Russia. And cooperation in the future, when territorial disputes are solved, between a democratic European Union, Russia and Japan, for a start, does not seem impossible.

“Perspectives géopolitiques eurasiennes – Table ronde tenue dans le locaux de la revue moscovite Dyenn, organe de l’opposition – Avec participation de Sergei Bavourine, Alain de Benoist, Alexandre Douguine, Lieutenant-Général Nikolai klotov, Chamil Soultanov, Robert Steuckers” in Vouloir, Brussels, No. 87-88, 1992, pp. 14-20, translated from Russian and originally published in Den, Moscow, no. 2, 1992.

Ivan Stepanov, Belyiye, Krasniye i Evraziistvo in Kontinent Rossia, No. 3, 1991, pp. 42-53.



*ABN Representative in Ukraine - Petro Duzhiy
at the ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine*

Uzbekistan Today

A free person scarcely notices his freedom, just as he takes no notice of his hands or his feet. A free person perceives his freedom as a natural part of his existence: he does not marvel at this freedom, delight in it, or regard it as a blessing bestowed by God. Yet, this freedom is the very blessing for which mankind has been striving since the creation of Adam and Eve and which has been the sole reason for all wars in the history of mankind.

It is a blessing when your country is free, when your people are free. You have no idea what a blessing it is when a person can come home and talk to his loved ones without whispering, without fearing that he is being overheard. What a blessing it is when that same person can walk down the street without glancing back for fear that he is being shadowed. What a blessing it is when special service agents do not abduct him and beat him within an inch of his life and then throw him onto a refuse heap.

Such are the blessings which the people of the Republic of Uzbekistan dream of today. They are not yearning for meat or bread, as the statistical data published by the state would have us believe, but they are yearning for basic human rights.

The Uzbek people have had a small taste of freedom during the time of *perestroika*, and they will never agree to trade this freedom for frozen meat – for the economy of a totalitarian system.

We rejoiced with the whole world when the last empire of the world – the Soviet Union – collapsed and the Iron Curtain, behind which oppressed peoples were languishing, fell. However, it should be noted that our joy was mixed with apprehension, that is, with the realisation that the communist leaders of the Central Asian republics, after declaring independence, would do their utmost to retain the old system. Alas, our fears were justified – Uzbekistan is a striking example.

Having declared its independence two years ago and escaped the yoke of Moscow, the nation is now under the yoke of its ruler. This ruler is our “constitution”. Dozens of people not wanting to live under this “constitution” have already been imprisoned, dozens have been maimed, and dozens of others have been forced to go abroad.

All the attributes of the classical totalitarian system are present in the state policies of the leadership of Uzbekistan: repression and terror, blackmail and threats, censorship and the banning of writers. The liberal intelligentsia is completely isolated from social action. Radio, television, and all newspapers without exception are under the strict control of the government. The political opposition operates in the most difficult of conditions and is constantly at risk of being eliminated once and for all.

Thoroughly steeped in corruption and graft, the republic’s economic system does not work. The only thing which the regime can boast about is its political stability. However, this is not due to the government but rather to the forbearance of our people and no less to the forbearance of the political opposition.

This stability, exacted at a high price, has not served political or economic reform in the republic but has fortified the old communist system. That is why we consider this stability to be illusory and prone to eruption. This stability resembles the stability of a graveyard. The silence is reminiscent of the silence of a crowd before an uprising.

Nonetheless, this stability has been and remains the trump card of the authorities in both domestic and foreign policy. And it is not only the retrogrades among us but also Western politicians who are falling for this line.

Against the backdrop of the wars being waged in the Caucasus, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan and the cataclysms occurring in other regions of the former Soviet Union, Uzbekistan appears a paradise from afar. But, for some reason, no one is rushing to this “paradise”; on the contrary, they are fleeing from it. They are fleeing to unstable Moscow and to unstable Baku and even to Tajikistan, where blood is being spilled.

Despite all the appeals of our government, Western businessmen are not rushing to this “paradise” either. It seems they are better informed about the situation in the republic than are the Western politicians. They know that where there is no law, there can also be no business.

Our republic, which possesses the economic potential to be fully self-sufficient, is lagging behind as a result of the undemocratic policies of our government. These policies are isolating the republic from the world community in both economic and political spheres.

Uzbekistan, with its population of approximately 22 million, has always been the center of the Central Asian region, and the republics neighbouring it have always lived under its political and economic influence. Thus, the course taken by Uzbekistan – be it democratic or dictatorial – is of great strategic significance.

Uzbekistan is a member of the United Nations, of the CSCE, and is a signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights and to other international agreements. Yet, the policies being carried out today by the leadership of Uzbekistan completely repudiate the principles embodied in these documents.

It is my hope that Western governments and their public organisations will subject Uzbekistan to greater scrutiny and require it to fulfill its obligations in the spheres of human rights and freedoms.

In closing, I would like to turn your attention to a question that is currently being discussed in the West with regards to the independent republics of the former Soviet Union: are these republics, in fact, ready for democracy? This is both a very amusing and a very sad question. It can be likened to asking a person who has recently been released from prison: are you ready for freedom or do you want to return to prison? Of course, we would never want to go back, even if life in that prison (i.e. the Soviet Union) was very “stable” and they fed the prisoners well there. No, we never want to go back and yes, we are ready for freedom.

We are ready for democracy no matter what may come. Although, the word democracy came into fashion at the end of the 1980s, it has been gradually going out of fashion in our region of the world.

Our rulers no longer speak of democracy. Our generals also no longer speak of it. Our corrupted and our mafia prefer not to mention it. Those who are in possession of arms and physical might have no necessity to speak of democracy. It is we, who are speaking of democracy – we, who have no arms, which we despise.

But we are certain of our victory. We are certain of it, because we, the unarmed, far outnumber the armed.

Muhammad Salih is the Chairman of Erk – the Democratic Party of Uzbekistan.

Ukraine Asserts Its Independence

The dissolution of the USSR into national independent states created new objective conditions that allow for the emergence of a free and just world order, based on the mutual respect of every nations's right to national independence and sovereignty. The emergence of several new nation-states, that were formerly subjugated colonies, can lead to a more stable global order only on the condition that no aggressor state be allowed by the world community to violate the national sovereignty of these newly established states. What remains as a factor of instability, as a threat to global peace, are the expansionist, colonial ambitions of a handful of states that refuse to recognize the national sovereignty of their neighbours. In this regard, recent tendencies in the Russian Federation, where chauvinist forces are acquiring increasing strength even in governmental circles, carry ominous portent for the future.

On August 24, 1991 Ukraine declared its independence, which was overwhelmingly ratified in an all-national referendum on December 1, 1991, an event that became the final catalyst for the collapse of the USSR. Almost immediately the Russian government began pressing Ukraine to relinquish critical factors that define its national sovereignty. From the start the West gave its unequivocal support to Moscow probably in the hope that a strong, democratic Russia, although much weaker than the former USSR, can still continue to play a critical role in maintaining a newly-defined balance of power in this distant geopolitical area of the globe. Russia received a disproportionate amount of economic and other assistance. Ukraine, in particular, was practically forced to transfer its tactical nuclear weapons to Russia, although Western governments were not nearly as forceful in pressing Moscow to financially compensate Kyiv for the enriched uranium that Russia acquired. Not one in the West raised a voice of protest when Russia began to openly blackmail the government in Kyiv, threatening to cut-off exports of oil and natural gas. As a result Ukraine and the newly-established states that emerged from the rubble of what was once the Soviet-Russian empire, have been relegated to the status of second-rate citizens among the family of nations.

Clearly, events in Russia will continue to have a direct bearing on international politics and on whether global peace and security can be secured. This does not mean, however, that Moscow should be given to understand that Russian interests and/or ambitions will be given precedence over the legitimate concerns of Ukraine and the other newly established independent states. If history should be read as a lesson for the future, then the 20th century should serve as a continuous reminder that a policy of appeasement is not an effective lever for maintaining international security. Global peace depends on a commitment to democracy and on the mutual respect of every nation's right to national independence and sovereignty. While Ukraine still has a long and arduous road to travel before a genuinely democratic political culture fully takes root, political processes in Moscow indicate that Russia stands not on the road towards democracy, but rather on the brink of anarchy. For this reason it is difficult to

understand why the West continues to place its hopes on Russia, while neglecting Ukraine's potential as a factor of stability and a guarantor of democracy.

Understandably, Ukraine's status as a nuclear power, which possess, but does not control, the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world, is a point of concern for the West. Instead of turning a deaf ear to Ukraine's legitimate concerns, Western governments should at least try to place themselves in Kyiv's position before issuing various threats and reprimands. Any discussion in this matter should first take into account the fact that Ukraine was the first and hopefully the last country to be victimized in "peacetime" by the nuclear irresponsibility of a nuclear power. Chernobyl has become a name that will not be easily erased from the collective memory of the Ukrainian people. For this reason, regardless of what the government in Kyiv may be saying at any given point, the Ukrainian people's commitment to "de-nuclearize" is genuine and will not waver. It is altogether another matter whether this commitment means that Ukraine must necessarily arm a belligerent and unstable neighbor, who continues to issue belligerent threats and whose government does not even attempt to hide its designs on sovereign Ukrainian territory.

Since the Second World War nuclear deterrence has played a pivotal role in averting a military confrontation between two antagonistic global blocks. Ironically, global peace became dependent on what amounted to a policy of nuclear blackmail, viz., "mutually assured destruction." With the opening of a window of opportunity to restructure the global order, Ukraine's position to rid itself of these means of mass destruction and become a nuclear-free zone should serve as a blueprint for creating an international system of international relations within which genuine peace, and not some surrogate, can be secured. International security is possible only in a nuclear-free world. As long as the nuclear deterrent, however, continues to remain the pivotal factor of stability in the world, and as long as there exists even the slightest chance that Russia or an other nuclear power may use its weapons to threaten Ukraine's independence, then Ukraine has no choice but to maintain its nuclear force not as an offensive force but as an indispensable means of defense and security. If the policy of deterrence truly was the primary vehicle of peace since the Second World War, then there exists no reason why a Ukrainian nuclear deterrent cannot continue to serve as a guarantor of peace.

In this context, it ought to be noted that at no time in its history did the Ukrainian people initiate or participate in an aggressive expansionist policy towards their neighbors or any other country. Russia, on the other hand, has historically been an expansionist colonial power that now shows signs of desperately wanting to regain its former imperial status at the cost of Ukraine's sovereignty and hard-fought independence. Moreover, if Russia is allowed to re-integrate Ukraine within its colonial orbit, under whatever pretext, the global balance of power and international security will be considerably jeopardized.

In any case, Ukraine will certainly not stand in the way towards ridding humankind of all these weapons of mass destruction, if the Ukraine people are assured that their sovereignty and independence will not be undermined and if all the other nuclear powers of the world issue commitments, like Ukraine has already done, to completely destroy all the nuclear weapons in their arsenal.

Russia is asking the United Nations for backing of its role as peacekeeper in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). But so far the idea seems to have been greeted with little more than polite noises from Moscow's partners on the Security Council. For one thing, it is unclear where Russia's desire for peace on its borders ends, and its interest in strategic domination of its former imperial possessions begins. Moldova, Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh are Russia's immediate concern. Despite denials by the Russian government of involvement, some Moscow officials say privately that elements of the armed forces did help the Abkhazians. In Tajikistan, Moscow has an obvious interest in protecting the present ex-communist government against the Islamic opposition. As Kozyrev noted in his article: "Either we learn to conduct military actions

to support and establish peace in the zones of our traditional geopolitical interests, or we lose influence there and the vacuum will be filled by others..." Shevardnadze is even contemplating giving Russia control of some Georgian bases in return for military aid.

Events surrounding the Russian-Ukrainian summit in Massandra, Crimea, on September 3 were surrounded in much uncertainty and confusion. Russia won a psychological victory at the summit, making use of the socialist mentality of Ukraine's statesmen – the Prime Minister and the President.

Russia conducted herself towards Ukraine as a superpower and demonstrated that one can get what one wants by talking to her from a position of strength and blackmail. A Russian presence in Crimea could speed up the process of involving Ukraine in a military-political union with Russia, which would lead to a total loss of Ukraine's independence and sovereignty – the goal for which Russia is striving.

The draft of the "economic union" between Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, signed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, provides for the total subordination of Ukrainian legislation to that of Russia, and the creation of joint banking structures. The agreement on economic integration and the Massandra summit are just one more attempt to restore the Union – the empire of 1922, in which Ukraine will be again dragged into economic, military and political dependence and the colonial yoke of Russia.

President Kravchuk views integration into Western Europe unrealistic, therefore for him, trade links with Russia constitute the only path to survival. However, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister said that progress was made at the Council of Europe meeting. Ukraine wants to become a member of the Council and is trying to meet two conditions for membership: new parliamentary elections and a new constitution. Parliamentary elections have been set for March 27 and parliamentary debate on the new constitution is scheduled for this session. He also said that he hopes NATO's enlargement, if it takes place, would not stop at the Western border of Ukraine, adding that he recognised the alliance was not yet prepared to take on Ukraine, which is locked in disputes with Russia.

This year Ukraine for the first time commemorated the anniversary of the "Famine - Genocide", which was engineered by Moscow in 1932-1933 to crush Ukrainian nationalism and force farmers onto collectives. An estimated 7 million Ukrainian farmers perished. Books about the forced famine are being published and films made.

Since new elections to the parliament have been set for March 1994, all Ukrainian parties are very engaged in this electoral campaign. The communists unfortunately have a small advantage over the truly patriotic parties because of their financial control of old party structures and funds. To combat this, great efforts are being made to build one strong bloc of all patriotic, nationalistic parties, or at least to reach some consensus regarding their candidates, in order to win the elections. The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists is leading this endeavor.

Munich, October 1993



Participants at the ABN Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine

1993 ABN Report to the 25th Annual WLF D Conference

The year 1993 was very busy for ABN leaders. First of all, they had to transfer their activities from the Free World countries to their homelands, where the situation is still under the impact of the post-Communist administration. The most important task was to build the organisational structure, which would allow them to have influence on political life of their respective countries. Slovak, Bulgarian and Ukrainian ABN leaders held their National Congress with very great participation of their members. The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists was held in Kyiv on July 2-4, 1993. Over 5 000 participants were present and the event was widely covered by the mass media. The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, registered only in January of this year, has become the second greatest political party after RUKH. Now it is participating in the election campaign to the Parliament to be held on March 27, 1994.

Preparations were made for the ABN Conference in Kyiv on November 20 - 23, 1993, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the 1st Conference of Subjugated Nations in the Soviet empire (held in Ukraine in 1943). The decision to organise such a conference was made at the ABN Congress in Toronto, Canada on November 20 -



*ABN President Slava Stetsko reporting on ABN activities
at the WLF D Conference in Berlin – October, 1993*

21, 1992. Delegates from Canada, the United States and Europe were in attendance. The Conference papers focused on the collapse of Bolshevism and the new geopolitical realities in Europe, Central Asia, Latin America and Africa. The Congress changed the ABN name. It was decided that the acronym should remain the same in order to eliminate any confusion, but ABN now stands for the Assembly of the Bloc of Nations in Europe and Asia for Freedom and Independence.

ABN Conference in Kyiv has as its aim to bring together representatives not only from the countries reestablished as independent states after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but also representatives from the non-Russian nations still remaining in the Russian Federation. Contacts have been already established with the leaders of Chechenia, Tatarstan, Bashkirs, Yakutians and Western Siberia. The Congress of Ukrainians within the Russian Federation in Moscow was represented by a 10 members strong delegation.

Particularly friendly contacts exist between Ukrainians and the Tartar population of Crimea. Often Tartar demonstrations are supported by Ukrainians not only in Crimea but also in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Since the ABN work has to be concentrated more on the territories of the previous Soviet Union, it is necessary to publish a bulletin in a language more understandable for the population than English. Unfortunately, it is the Russian language. Therefore, the bulletin will be published in Russian, the first issue is to be distributed at the ABN Conference in Kyiv. The English edition of *ABN Correspondence* now appears only twice a year and continues to cover all ABN member countries, as well as World League material. For example in the last issue there were published such articles as "Market economy and National Development" by Mme Genevieve Aubry, "The Cold War is still going on in the Korean Peninsula" by General Ro, Jae Huyn, "North Korea Insists – Nuclear Processing Plant is only a Laboratory", "Anti-Taiwan Textbooks", "The World League for Freedom and Democracy Congress" and others. Thousands of small informational brochures have been printed and distributed throughout all countries of the newly independent states. In order to cope with the demands, five small printing offices have been installed in different parts of Ukraine.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!

WLFD Conference in “Symbolic City”

The 25th Annual Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy was held in Berlin, Germany from October 22 to 25 this year. The theme of the conference was “Global Cooperation for Freedom and Human Rights”. The conference was attended by about 300 delegates from different parts of the world – delegates representing the League’s member groups and also many observers and guests.

Many speakers had mentioned the significance of the holding of such a conference in Berlin. Mr. Renier Schoeman, MP, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs to the World League for Freedom and Democracy had stated the following in his address:

“This city really in many ways epitomizes the struggle for freedom and human rights. It is here where east and west meet, that brothers and sisters, family members were driven apart by ideologies and artificial boundaries but have now again been re-united, something which was greeted with much joy and relief, throughout the world. Although this change came about mainly through global cooperation and continuing pressure from democratic countries, it also came about because human beings cannot be controlled and ruled by force and repressive ideologies and restrictive boundaries cannot be made to work indefinitely. People now more than ever want freedom of choice, freedom of thought and religion, of political affiliation and also freedom of movement. This is a universal trend which must be acknowledged and managed by governments all over the world.”

On October 23, an international academic symposium was held with the theme “Promoting Human Rights and International Economic Cooperation.” The sponsor of this event was the German Committee of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Other plenary sessions were comprised of reports on various countries in Eastern Europe and Asia, and on the role of global cooperation in world security.

The annual conference ended with the adoption of resolutions and a communique.

**Address by the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo
Tudjman to the
United Nations XXXXVIII Session of the General Assembly
7th Plenary Meeting**

Throughout the half century of its history, the United Nations Organisation has never rallied a greater number of member states, it has never played a more prominent role in global and regional international relations, and it has never borne the brunt of such problems as it does today. This, the 48th session of the United Nations General Assembly is being held in an atmosphere of great hope and even greater commitments facing the organisation which, in this post cold war period, following the historical collapse of communism and multinational state communities in Europe, is becoming the cardinal guardian of global peace and security.

The fall of Soviet and other European communist and totalitarian systems has reinforced hope and provided the prerequisites for the comprehensive democratisation of the world, while simultaneously raising the question of what kind of multilateralism is required and possible in the contemporary world. Of no lesser importance is the question of the new role of the United Nations at a time when many new states are coming into being, and when the strengthening of global peace is becoming the fundamental ideology of mankind. The United Nations must assume the responsibility for a more equitable global order to take hold in every corner of the world. But, in order to achieve this goal, one must thoroughly review multilateral mechanisms, as well as the activity of international organisations, under the conditions of the emergence of many new states, the end of bipolarity and the strengthening of the polycentric foundation of the world.

The process of disintegration of the Soviet communist system, which started with the fall of the Berlin Wall, led towards a fundamental shift of relations not only within Europe, but also on a global scale. It has redirected and drafted new American-Russian and American-European relations. The competitive wars of the great powers bent on gaining influence and predominance in the Third World have almost died away, but the focus of regional crisis has now moved to Eastern and Southeastern Europe, as well as to the area of the former Soviet Union, because of the profound political, national, social and economic changes sweeping these areas. International factors, primarily West European and North American countries, were taken unaware by the depth and speed of these historical changes. Their initial disorientation turned subsequently into a renewal of dormant traditional competition for spheres of influence in changing circumstances. On the international scene, the ultimate result has been disunity, and inefficiency, of the most responsible international factors in dealing with volatile regional crises, but such developments have also jeopardized the European integration processes already under way. the fundamental values and goals of European regional organisations now face a serious test and a radical review of their mission. the new System of European collective security is yet to take hold, and the same holds true for the system of general, global security. This is a matter of the greatest importance because the security of small countries has become the key to the stability of each region and of the overall international system.

The world has been slow to accept, and slower to understand the changes

involving national and state emancipation of old and new European and Asian nations, and it has recognised their international identity with reluctance. The world has found it hard to grasp the, at first, untenable contradiction that we have entered a period, in the development of human society and international relations, of the broadest national individualisation based on a most comprehensive civilisational integration. Even worse, the world has not been ready to face the difficulties, and the temporarily destabilising consequences of such changes which will ultimately lead to the full democratisation of international relations.

The view that the collapse of communist systems, and of Soviet domination over nations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, had resolved the problem of regional and international stability, was wrong. There was a similar lack of understanding of the fact that the process of internal and international democratisation cannot stop at the mere democratisation of political systems, and that it also inevitably leads to the disintegration of multinational state formations. This was the logical sequence of political democratisation and national emancipation.

There can no longer be any doubt today about the fact that the ever increasing functional integration of the world was the very prerequisite of national independence and internal sociopolitical, as well as the international democratisation. This has been only seemingly a contradictory process. Specifically, because of their endangered position, small nations and their states are anxious to preserve their own state, cultural and economic identity, and this sustains not only the variety, but also the very development of the world. It should be remembered that positive nationalism, i.e. the national-democratic movement of oppressed nations in Eastern Europe, as well as of oppressed stateless nations in other parts of the world, deserves the greatest credit for the collapse of the communist systems.

Having achieved their national sovereignty and the independence of their state, small nations, in their own interest, became supporters of civilizational integration and democratisation. This is the reason why one of the most important goals of the international community today should be the successful resolution of problems affecting the complete regional and international integration of states having emerged after the disintegration of communist systems in former multinational states such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The new world order which is being created so laboriously, but also of necessity, can no longer be based on the ascendancy of the antifascist coalition or of the nuclear power club. Half a century after the historic victory over fascism, new economic and political realities have come into being, and the countries against which the antifascist alliance was directed cannot bear the liability of the past indefinitely. Germany, Japan, Italy and the countries within their international political spheres during World War II are democratic countries today with huge developmental power, which is also obviously beneficial to the world. Similarly, the fundamental political and other eventful changes taking place in Russia are transforming that country, currently in the throes of dramatic upheaval, from a former Stalinist threat to international peace and order into, we hope, a constructive component of global order built on new foundation of equality and partnership of nations and states for the sake of mutual benefit and stability of peace.

The balance of military blocs, weapons and ideologies established during the Cold War was only seemingly a stable system, because it was actually founded on repression

or dependence, first of all at the expense of small states or stateless nations. Today, to quote Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "multilateralism is the democracy of international society".

Multilateralism – certainly! But of what kind? We must tend to a multilateralism which will help us – after a gory history of strife, first between dynasties, then between states, and finally between imperialist or ideological-military blocs – to avoid war between incompatible civilizations. A brutal entanglement of these civilizational contrasts is taking place precisely in the area of the former Yugoslavia, threatening to polarize greater areas along the lines of separation and conflict between civilizational religious blocs. We should tend instead to such internal, regional and global relations in which the civilizational spheres will blend productively, and reinforce their identity through peaceful competition, instead of wasting their precious potential on mutual confrontation and annihilation.

A new multilateralism capable of coping with the epoch-making changes of our time also calls for the thorough reform of the United Nations Organisation. This implies primarily the strengthening of international law, but also the development of mechanisms which will help the United Nations and its agencies to function more effectively, to be depoliticized and less costly, and more receptive to ideas, influences and supervision.

In particular, the role and responsibility of the Security Council in dealing with questions concerning international peace and stability should be given greater emphasis. Over the past years there has been considerable progress in the operation of the Security Council, and the use of veto has almost become obsolete. Nevertheless, certain Security Council decisions are still excessively influenced by the national interests of its members, the permanent ones in particular. Accordingly, we need such a climate of cooperation in the Security Council which will prevent it being used as an extended instrument of the foreign policy of individual Security Council members.

Croatia supports the extension of permanent Security Council membership which will reflect economic and political realities of the present-day world, and assure a balance regional representation in the Council. Croatia also endorses the delimitation of the right and practice of veto. The major crisis of our time, such as the one in the area of the former Yugoslavia, should be used as precious lessons for more effective and concerted action of the Security Council. [...]

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia is the most difficult crisis in the world today, and it cannot be resolved without a more determined role of the international community. Past mediation efforts have been shown to be insufficient, because they were limited by a mandate lacking firmness, but also rendered more difficult by the diverse political interests of individual external forces. It has not been sufficient to try to freeze the conflict, send in humanitarian aid and engage in empty threats, thus allowing the crisis to deteriorate to the point where "everybody would get tired of waging war" and then agree to a political statement. The initial aggression of the Yugoslav communist army, Serbia and Montenegro, for the conquest of Croat and Muslim territories was not countered by determined steps, and the consequences of such a policy have been disastrous. They have involved first and foremost the terrible destruction and the "ethnic cleansing" in areas conquered by the Serbs, and then the extension of the conflict to the Muslim and Croat sides as well, to the struggle for the remaining territory, the incessant growth of the death toll, and the ever swelling refugee tide which has now exceeded the figure of one

million agonised men, women and children.

In the Republic of Croatia, the UNPROFOR mandate achieved certain initial results in putting a stop to the fighting and providing for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army. However, it has been misused by the Serbian extremist insurgents and their promoters, the Belgrade expansionists, to freeze territorial gains, continue ethnic cleansing and consolidate occupation which has assumed forms of terrorism even at the expense of the local Serbian population. The international community has allowed the Serbian side to completely ignore all Security Council resolutions and other agreements, in spite of the fact that the modality of resolution of the conflict has been clearly and well defined: complete ceasefire and the disarmament of Serbian paramilitary units; the return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes; the normalisation of traffic and supply; the guarantee of extensive ethnic rights to the Serbian minority within the scope of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, including the gradual reinstatement of Croatian authorities, and law and order in the occupied areas, confidence-building measures, scheduling of elections for local self-government authorities, general amnesty for all persons not found guilty of war crimes... [...]

One of the basic concepts of our policy has been the guarantee of the most comprehensive rights for all minorities, including of course the Serbian minority as a whole, and particularly in the areas of Croatia in which the Serbs were a minority before the war, in the interest of the future permanent stability of the Croatian State and of its role within the international order. However, at the same time, the Serbian insurgents must provide for the return of hundreds of thousands of displaced Croats and other non-Serbian citizens to their homes in the areas under the protection of the peace-keeping forces. Belgrade must finally recognise the Republic of Croatia in its borders as the whole world has already done. Croatia cannot tolerate a situation in which the Serbian minority abuses its rights to break up the Croatian State or to create the legal framework for the secession of territories under local self-government and their annexation to the "federation of Serbian lands". This would mean the realisation of the Greater Serbian idea which was precisely the underlying motive of the present war against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro must remain in force until peace is achieved in Croatia and not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina as is also provided for by the respective Security Council resolutions. Croatia resolutely urges the consistent and effective implementation of all Security Council resolutions.

Croatia has shown extreme patience within the scope of endeavours for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the Serbian minority, orchestrated at the same time when the former socialist Yugoslavia was disintegrating, and the democratic State of Croatia was being established. However, Croatia cannot tolerate indefinitely the occupation of its territories, the pressure of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from Croatian areas, and a situation in which the State is split. Croatia can no longer be forced to accept the fourth extension of the UNPROFOR mandate if the mission of the peace-keeping forces is not specified in more resolute terms and if the Serbs are not given an ultimatum to implement the Vance Plan and all relevant Security Council resolutions. The means used to bring about Serbian withdrawal from Igman and Bjelasnica – military strikes – must also be applied in Croatia. [...]

With its involvement in the area of the former Yugoslavia UNPROFOR has borne a great burden, and suffered considerable casualties, operating in extremely difficult

circumstances. Croatia is grateful to all UNPROFOR members who have performed their duty bravely and honorably, risking their personal security and their lives, and helping thousands of sufferers. Croatia does not oppose UNPROFOR, but it can no longer tolerate the consequences of its inefficiency and persistent circumventing of the relevant Security Council resolutions. The implementation of these provisions impacts not only on the existence of the Republic of Croatia, but also on the basic credibility of the United Nations.

By renouncing the UNPROFOR mandate Croatia does not close its doors to any humanitarian action, or to a possible NATO operation in the former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, Croatia welcomes the readiness of NATO to assume the role of principal guarantor of peace and stability in this part of Europe, and will actively support its units in the implementation of peace settlements. We would also look forward to seeing NATO involved in the implementation of the Vance plan. At the same time, we are opening wide Croatia's door to all relief and human rights organisations. EC monitors and UNPROFOR civilian logistic personnel engaged in the provision of relief to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. [...]

After the past developments, there are no longer any fully equitable and clear-cut solutions for the complex Bosnian crisis. All the parties must achieve peace by compromising – in political and territorial terms. The Croats in Bosnia have made major concessions for the sake of peace. They have lost the most, especially in Posavina and Central Bosnia, areas in which the majority of the Croatian population used to live. They have agreed to 18 percent of territory although the previous Vance-Owen plan envisaged about 27 percent. Indeed, the Croatian side cannot agree to any additional concessions for strategic, political and psychological reasons alike. [...]

Nevertheless, I am pleased to report that hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina between the Croat and Serbian side have stopped, and, in particular, that a political agreement has been reached between the Croats and the Muslims, on my initiative and with the good offices of Turkey, concerning the cessation of hostilities and the provision of prerequisites for permanent peace and cooperation.

We believe that the purpose of peace would be served by NATO assuming a chief and energetic role in the implementation of the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in the solutions of the UNPA problem in Croatia, with the United Nations assuming the responsibility for the implementation of the peace settlement.

For geopolitical, historical and economic reasons, as well as for the sake of transport links, the Republic of Croatia is interested in future close cooperation with the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the same token, the Republic of Croatia supports the normalisation of relations with all states having emerged after the disintegration of communist Yugoslavia on the basis of reciprocal recognition. This is not only in the interest of the people of these states, but it is also a prerequisite for the establishment of peace and for the creation of a stable international order in this part of the world.

New York, September 28, 1993

Who is being helped and how by the USA?

(KYIV) As may be seen by the following table, the United States has placed its main emphasis for financial assistance to the newly independent states (the republics of the former Soviet Union minus the Baltic states) on Russia. Although [using this table] the Russian Federation receives what appears to be a not very high percentage of aid per capita, it does receive the maximum from America's administrative budget. What catches one's attention is that heading the list of countries receiving aid based on the size of its population is Armenia. One presupposes that the issue here is not only one of the existence of a rather influential Armenian diaspora in the U.S., but is based on the aid given of necessity to overcome the effects of Armenia's catastrophic earthquake as well as due to the foreign policy of the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosian.

The character of American aid is also underscored by the fact that Georgia and Kyrgystan are in second and third place. On the other hand, we see disproportionately low positions for two countries whose populations are the largest after Russia's: Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Thus expectations of massive aid from America to Ukraine are not realistic, considering that U.S. President Bill Clinton must pursue severe economic policies during these troubled times for the American economy, with his aim to bring down the budget

Country	Percentage of population in the former Soviet Union	Overall statistics concerning U.S. financial aid for 1992-1993		
		Aid in millions of dollars	%	\$ Per Capita
Armenia	1.20	188.0	8.11	55.04
Kyrgystan	1.60	95.9	4.142	0.99
Georgia	1.95	106.5	4.59	19.12
Turkmenistan	1.34	54.6	2.36	14.23
Moldova	1.56	54.9	2.37	12.31
Belarus	3.63	118.5	6.11	11.42
Russian Fed.	52.36	1,448.0	62.46	9.68
Kazakhstan	5.99	82.4	3.55	4.82
Tadjikistan	1.99	15.9	0.69	2.80
Ukraine	18.19	137.2	5.92	2.64
Uzbekistan	7.57	16.3	0.7	0.75
Azerbaijan	2.61	0.1	0.00	0.01
Total:	100.00	2,318.3	100.00	8.12

deficit, it is doubtful if Ukraine will receive a sufficient amount of dollars to strengthen her own national economy. The only realistic, possible variation for U.S. help is granting Ukraine a monetary stabilisation fund for the introduction of her own national currency. However, the U.S. has tied the possibility of granting Ukraine these funds to a series of political questions, particularly those dealing with the nuclear arms on Ukrainian soil and the ratification of our Parliament of the relevant agreements and pacts.

Therefore, there is nothing left for Ukraine to do but to find her own way out from her tortuous economic situation, and she should not depend too much on help from across the ocean. Although, naturally, support for our country in this critical time would certainly not be unwelcome.

(The following article appeared in the July 20th issue of the Ukrainian government newspaper, Uriadovyi Kurier (Government Courier) in a section called "Activities, Facts, Commentaries")

ABN CORRESPONDENCE PUBLISHED IN HOMELAND COUNTRIES

As of this year ABN Correspondence has also been published in the homeland countries, so that it could be available to all national groups, especially those still seeking independence from the Russian Federation. For this reason, the magazine is published in Russian. The Editor is Maria Baseliuk.

The First Commemoration of the Famine in Ukraine

For the first time, Ukraine was able to commemorate the anniversary of the “Terror Famine”, which was engineered by Stalin to crush Ukrainian nationalism and force farmers onto collectives. Since Ukraine became independent in 1991, the famine has become a defining historical event for the new state. An estimated 7 million Ukrainian farmers perished. Only now are some villages starting to erect monuments over the mass graves. Books about the terror are being published and films made.

Minister of humanitarian affairs Mykola Zhulynsky said, “This would not have happened if we were masters of our own land. Morally, Ukraine won’t be strong until we give the necessary attention to what really happened.”

Many reformers in Ukraine believe that the famine made Ukrainians afraid to take the individual actions needed to build a market economy. Agriculture never recovered from the loss of private farmers.

АБН



КОРРЕСПОНДЕНЦІЯ

Свобода народам!

Свобода человеку!

Obituary

Veli Kajum-Khan



For more than 70 years, Veli Kajum-Khan lived in Germany as a "stateless" citizen. Up until his death in August of this year, the 89-year old from Tashkent was the President of the National Committee for Turkestan. He was also the Head of the Government in Exile of Uzbekistan, Kirgisen, Tadzikistan, and Turkistan.

Veli Kajum-Khan had been a long-time member of the ABN Central Committee. His very valued input into ABN activities will be missed.

Season's Greetings

*The ABN Central Committee
wishes all of its members,
subscribers and supporters
a productive, healthy and
prosperous New Year*