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Congratulations!

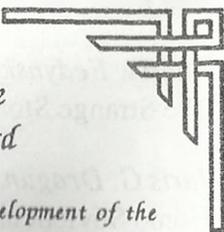
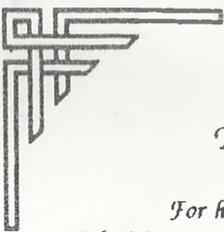
We, at the ABN Head Office in Munich, would like to congratulate our long-standing leader and one of Ukraine's greatest patriots, Slava Stetsko, on her 80 birthday!

It was on May 14, 1920, that Slava Stetsko was born in the village of Romanivka in the Ternopil region of western Ukraine. As a teenager she joined the ranks of people who believed that Ukraine must be freed from the shackles of Bolshevik imperialism.

Her goal to live in an independent Ukraine has been reached but only after a long and weary life of persecution and hardships which she faced as a Ukainian nationalist and patriot. Her political career has gone from strength to strength and she now occupies the very responsible position of the oldest Member of the Ukrainian Parliament.

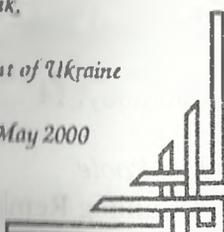
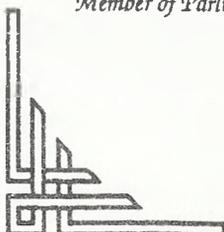
Many people from all walks of life paid tribute to her and her distinguished career in Kyiv on May 14, 2000, from political dignitaries to the highest representatives of the church. The President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, also acknowledged her comprehensive and illustrious career as an extraordinary politician by awarding her the "Knyahenya Olha Medal".

We are sure that you, our readers, join us to congratulate Slava Stetsko in reaching this milestone and to wish her every success her future endeavors.



The President of Ukraine's Decree The Knyahenya Olha Medal Award

For her great individual contribution to the development of the Ukrainian State, and her extensive and successful work as a renowned public statesman, I would like to award Yaroslava Yosypivna Stetsko - Ukrainian Member of Parliament - the Knyahenya Olha Medal, Third Rank,



*The President of Ukraine
L. Kuchma
Kyiv, 12th May 2000*

The Black Record of Communism

Lennart Meri

President of Estonia

Lennart Meri, President of the Republic of Estonia, launched the Swiss translation of The Black Book of Communism at the Stockholm Seminar on the Communist Crimes, held in the Swedish capital on 13th April, 1999.

Extracts from President Meri's address on that occasion are reproduced below with Mr. Meri's kind permission.

The wagon in which in I was locked before dawn on the 14th June, 1941, had originally been meant for cargo. There were double-decker bunks at both ends. There was a funnel-shaped tin tube leading through a hole in the floor: a latrine. The window boards measuring 45 by 60 centimeters were screwed tightly shut on the left-hand side, but open on the door side. On both sides, the windows were barred. You could squeeze your hand between the bars, but not your head. Consequently, we did not see the full length of our train (the "echelon") until we got out of our wagon in Russia.

When I first climbed into this wagon with my mother and my brother, it was already full of women and children. Space was made for us on a dark lower bunk. At times, I was allowed up to the window. The sparse chain of the Red Army soldiers stood with their backs to the wagon, rifles at the ready and bayonets in place. In the evening, a bucket full of water was handed into the wagon. I remembered my father's last words, "Take care of your mother and brother, you are now the eldest man in the family." After that we were separated.

I was twelve years old. It was only on the fourth day that our train crossed the Narva bridge and the Estonian border. A couple of minutes later, the train stopped, the guards and their dogs formed a long chain and started firing. Some one had escaped.

Some days later, at Vologda cargo station, another long train ran in the same direction on the track next to ours. As luck would have it. The other train had the right-hand side windows open. and I happened to be on the bunk by the window. And there, my playmate Ülo Johanson was on the bunk by the window of the other *echelon*; and as the two trains ran parallel to each other for some time, we had a chance to talk.

Our next meeting took place after World War II. His mother and father never came back from Siberia. Like all of us, he, too, had

been awakened from his sleep that night, and guarded by gunmen, and permitted thirty minutes to pack as many clothes as he could carry. We were separated from our fathers and older brothers, and hauled off to Central Russia, two to six thousand kilometers away, to do hard physical work. One percent of the Estonian nation was sent away – men to concentration camps, women and children to closely guarded areas.

Communism is easy to describe, but difficult to define.

It is even more difficult to submit to a dispassionate study. It was only three months ago that I learned that the train that had taken me to Russia was No. 293; the number of our escort unit was 153 OKV, and the escort commander was a lieutenant by the name of Donchenko. His duty was to report to Moscow every day and to give the location of the echelon (train), the number of those who had died naturally and the number of those who were shot dead trying to escape.

Today, I also know that Dochenko had detailed instructions which included the ominous clause "G". The clause was short, "Singing prohibited". This, too, is part of the European history, for the following reason. The Polish officers who were earlier deported to Katyn were good Catholics who sang sacred hymns that could have a demoralizing effect on the Soviet people. The report on these Polish officers' singing traveled to Moscow, it was studied and considered. When our time came, clause "G" was added to Lieutenant Donchenko's instructions: singing prohibited.

The Estonian history does not know the date, and has not seen the document that destined one percent of our population to deportation. But today I know that the list of persons to be deported from the Republic of Lithuania was approved by the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union as far back as January 17, 1940, at a time when the Republic of Lithuania, as well as the Republics of Latvia and Estonia were sovereign countries.

Thus, Communism is easy to describe but difficult to define.

In Estonia, the population losses during the first year of the Soviet occupation was three times greater than during the following three years of the Nazi occupation. Such a comparison is dangerous *per se* for three reasons. Firstly, it tempts us to list totalitarian systems in order of preference. Secondly, as Communism has been more successful than Nazism in introducing itself as a leftist world view, it draws all peoples who have had personal experience with Communism to the ultra-rightist world view. And thirdly, the investigation of the Nazi crimes has half a century of tradition behind it. It has indeed been a fruitful tradition, as the investigators have had access to the sources.

The investigators of the Communist crimes, on the other hand, have impatiently waited for their turn ever since 1917.

Even today, they have only a negligible part of the sources at their disposal. The investigation of the crimes of Communism calls for qualified investigators, access to materials, but first and foremost, the conviction of the need to investigate the crimes of Communism. Until very recently, this conviction has been insufficient. Even in the countries that have freed themselves from Communism, the investigation is still in the initial stage.

Although the [Soviet and Nazi] soldiers wore different uniforms, they were identical twins by their nature, One learned from the other, one leaned upon the other in their development. The repressive mechanisms – the Nazi security police and the Soviet People's Commissariat of National Security – were similar and developed on the basis of each other's experience. It is no big difference, whether the enemy was an *Untermensch* or a member of the hostile nation (*vrazhdebnaya*).

The Nazi and Soviet regimes trusted each other, because each understood the other's motives and driving forces. The Hitler-Stalin pact was the result of long mutual advances and admiration. The fact that Hitler deluded Stalin just meant Stalin's temporary failure.

As a result of the Soviet and Nazi totalitarianism, Estonia has lost not only the people who were murdered, deported or killed in the wars. Estonia's loss, first and foremost, means the loss of the Estonian quality of life, the loss of the Estonian ethics, the loss of Estonians' skills. A professor steals the work of his students, a judge issues a semi-literate sentence; a state official is unable to make clear decisions in accordance with the law. The inertia of totalitarian regimes in Estonia and in Europe is greater than we were willing to admit in the joy of liberation.

Marxist political economists have turned into marketing specialists, lecturers on Marxism-Leninism have become philosophers, professors of Scientific Communism consider themselves political scientists, and historians of the Communist party write books on the collapse of Communism in Estonia. What will the world look like in the eyes of their students?

Estonians are a small nation. Most of us today have some relative who died in Siberia, some one who was killed in World War II on the German side, and some one on the Soviet side, some one who belonged to the Communist party, and some one who fled to the West from the Communist occupation. For such Estonians, the question

whether Communism was better than Nazism or vice versa has no meaning whatsoever.

Communism has cast a black shadow over the entire world. For those who lived under it, Communism created a climate of fear. Overcoming communism is for them a process of growing up, of facing the past as well as the future. It has also cast a shadow over the world, suggesting to many that people have the ability to answer all questions about human life, that any means are justified in building a better future, and that a good future can be built on the foundation of human hubris.

It continues to cast a shadow not only in that there are still more than a billion people living under Communism now, but also in that the fine crimes of the Communist system continue to be denied for various reasons by various people.

We have not had lustration in the East or in the West: no country has purged itself of the Communist past as the victorious powers purged Germany of the Nazis. No intellectual class in the West has purged itself completely from the hubris on which Communism was built.

Books like *The Black Book of Communism* can contribute to both processes but only if everyone recognizes that the book in question is not closed. It is open and must remain so, if the world is going to overcome one of its greatest plagues.

The Black Book of Communism, Le Livre Noir du Communisme, was first published in Paris, in December 1997. It was edited by Stephane Courtois, a respected historian of French communism. This book is an 800-page compendium of the crimes of Communist regimes worldwide, recorded and analyzed in detail by a team of scholars.

A German translation followed in 1998. The 987-page hard cover volume was published under the title, Das Schwarzbuch des Kommunismus: Unterdrückung, Verbrechen und Terror. Stephane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panne are listed as the authors/editors of the German edition (ISBN: 3492040535).

An English translation was finally published by Harvard University Press in October 1999: The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression by Stephane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panne, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartosek, Jean-Louis Margolin. Hard cover - 1120 pages. ISBN: 0674076087.

List Price US \$37.50. Special Amazon offer US\$26.25 - available from <http://www.amazon.de/exec/obidos/subst/home/home.html/028-0023519-5029608>

Lithuanian Papers, No. 13.

The Strange Story of the Letter "G"

Professor Hryhory Golembiowsky emigrated to the United States after World War II. He was an expert on Ukrainian literature, but there was no demand for his expertise, so he got a job in a foundry in Cleveland. On Saturday mornings he taught at the Ukrainian language school "*Ridna Shkola*".

Professor Golembiowsky, I remember, would get really steamed when he told us the story of how a group of Ukrainian linguists met in Kharkiv in 1933 and, under the threat of death, voted to eliminate the letter "g" from the Ukrainian alphabet. He was particularly outraged because his own name began with "g". Now, according to the Soviets, he was no longer Golembiowsky, he was Holembiowsky. Well, he wasn't going to let a bunch of Communist Party hacks tell him what letter he could or could not use, and he was not about to change his name.

In Ukraine, of course, it didn't work that way. Whatever the party said, people did. The letter "g" had been a perfectly good letter and people used it all the time. In 1933, though, when the linguists were told to get rid of it, Ukraine was ruled by terror. Well-fed party cadres were going through the countryside, ransacking people's homes to take away their food. In the cities, police were torturing poets because 10 years before they had written about the particular way the sun had shone on Ukrainian meadows and how no other country could compare. Composers were made to answer for subversive melodies; playwrights were shot for putting up the wrong kind of stage sets. It was a dangerous time, and every print shop in Ukraine immediately got rid of the letter "g". People, if they knew what was good for them, stopped using the sound. And so, the word "gaz" became "*haz*", "gazeta" became "*hazeta*" and "Golebiowsky" was now "Holebiowsky".

This was a time when Stalin was creating a new "Soviet" identity and ethnic differences were to be erased. The bizarre campaign to eliminate the letter "g" had its internal logic, since its removal from the Ukrainian language was a small, subtle step toward the long-term goal of merging the Ukrainian people with the Russian. It seems like an inconsequential struggle, but people actually lost their lives over that letter.

In the final analysis, the campaign to create a new "Soviet" identity failed. In 1991 most Ukrainians, regardless of their ethnic background, voted overwhelmingly for independence, taking the nation back to where it had been when the Russian Empire collapsed in 1918. In the 73-year process that took Ukrainians from their first declaration of independence to the second, they lost one of the letters of their alphabet. Today, you're unlikely to hear anyone raised in Ukraine use the letter "g", even when they're talking about Graham Green or Al Gore.

This matter about the letter "g" is pretty esoteric, but it's symptomatic of a far larger problem. If Ukrainians lost the ability to use the letter "g", you have to wonder what else they lost. After all, for three generations the Soviets exercised absolute power over every aspect of life – not only in linguistics. The party made war on the family, they outlawed religion, they denied the freedom of assembly. Ask yourself what it does to society when the police conduct raids because a few people gather in a living room to pray. What happens to civic discourse when a man is sentenced to death for starting a political party? When some party hack is allowed to crank up the dials on a nuclear reactor just to see what happens? Where people obey the authorities, even on a lunatic order to eliminate one of the letters of the alphabet?

Tragically, just as the Soviets were able to coerce people to change their speech habits, they changed a lot of other things. Take the perverse logic Stalin applied to agriculture. The most successful farmers, he reasoned, were "exploiting" the masses and therefore must be "liquidated as a class." In reality, these "rich kulaks" were simply peasants, people who felt a mystical bond with the land they tilled. In most cases, the land had been in the family for generations. If they were well-off it was because they worked hard and knew how to raise livestock and grow grain. Murdering them by starvation removed precisely those farmers who had been most productive. In the whole process, Ukraine – and the Soviet Union – lost its wealth-producing agricultural sector. It was replaced with an unwieldy collective farm system. Deprived of the right to own land, people lost age-old work habits and more importantly, their mystical link with the soil was severed. They were no longer "*kliboroby*" (bread-makers); they were "*kolhospnyky*" (collective farm workers). In the West, people still think of Ukraine as the "Breadbasket of Europe," but in actually the

country hasn't exported grain for generations and it's not likely to until the damage done by the Soviets is reversed.

Is that even possible? Soon after Ukraine declared independence, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine restored the letter "g" to the Ukrainian alphabet. Now children's picture books on the Ukrainian alphabet are coming out with attractive pictures of words that start with the letter "g." The journal *Suchasnist* and others routinely use the once-banned letter. Ukraine is now free and it's okay for people to use the same alphabet their grandparents once used. Now Gore can be Gore and Green can be Green. It will be interesting to track whether the letter does indeed come back into normal usage.

Does it matter? It's often said that God is in the details; so is the devil. Eliminating the letter "g" was indeed a crime and it's nice that it's been restored, but Ukraine has far bigger issues to address – none more important than agricultural policy. This issue goes to the heart of Ukraine's history, its destiny, its soul. Just as Stalin took away one of the letters of the Ukrainian alphabet, he also took the land away from the people. It took a famine to do it. Stalin's collectivization policy was one of the greatest crimes ever committed and the people of Ukraine continue to suffer from its effects.

The letter "g" has been restored and the language will be richer for it. The country, on the other hand, will remain poor so long as the bureaucrats and politicians control the land and the agricultural economy. Until the collective farms are dismantled and the agricultural sector is given back to the people, Ukraine will not be healed. Those of us in the West can offer our opinion and support our own country when they tell Ukraine's leaders that one of the conditions for expanded American and Western assistance is undoing the evil that was perpetrated over 66 years ago.

The National Academy of Sciences did its part by restoring the letter "g." Now it's up to *Verkhovna Rada* (parliament) to do the right thing and restore the land to its rightful owners: the people of Ukraine. Let's hope they do so. In the meantime, stay positive, keep the faith and keep using that letter "g."

The Ukrainian Weekly in Australia,
No. 19-20 (2537-38).

Homo Sovieticus or Homines Postsovietici? The Psychological Impact of Soviet Rule in the Baltics

A controversy has recently developed about the psychological impact of Soviet rule upon the Baltic States. Proceeding from clinical and everyday observations, Gulens (1995) sketched such efforts which, moreover, he believed to be widespread, relatively uniform, and resistant to modification. On the basis of standardized self-report data, Allik and Realo (1996) concluded that "available scientific evidence indicates no significant differences in personality between citizens of the totalitarian and democratic countries" (p. 334).

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to transcend this divergence. To this end, findings that bear on the effects of Soviet rule will be examined and both, preliminary conclusions and tentative hypotheses will be advanced.

Both, Gulens (1995) and Allik and Realo (1996) agree that the learned helplessness model (Seligman, 1995) is applicable to the Baltic experience under the Soviets. It capitalizes on the impossibility to modify an intolerable situation and on the result of loss of hope. Four consequences of learned hopelessness are proposed:

- a) generalized passivity, with decline of initiative and self-reliance;
- b) increase in dependence upon external sources of reinforcement, generalized across space and time;
- c) pessimistic expectations about the future, and apathy;
- d) hopelessness and despair leading to an upsurge in suicidal behavior.

These hypotheses remained to be tested in the Baltic context.

Noor (1994) has described other adverse events in reference to the early decades of Soviet rule. Specifically, he identified: rapid and excessive industrialization, ever present insecurity, decline of public civility, glorification of all things Russian with concomitant devaluation of national heritage, imposition of materialism and development of nihilism and an

accelerated pace of living. In investigating the consequences of these stresses, there is no alternative to relying on oral history data, as Skultans (1998) and Vidnere (1997) have already done.

Both Allik and Realo (1996) and Gulens (1995) hypothesized the prevalence of external locus of control as the result of the Soviet socioeconomic system. In the changing circumstances in the Baltic region, what was adaptive under the Soviet regime became maladaptive in the democratic and capitalist system (Gulens, 1995). Thus, the persistence of external locus of control may more parsimoniously be explained on the basis of a cultural lag rather than as an expression of ingrained personality characteristics.

Moreover, the effect of Soviet rule is likely to be mediated by a variety of personal and situational variables. It is therefore not surprising that Allik and Realo (1996) found no differences between Estonia and Western Europe in the Big Five personality traits (Costa & McCrea, 1992) or in broad dimensions of values (Schwartz, 1994). Cross-cultural differences between ex-Communist and non-Communist countries are more likely to appear in a complex situation by person interactions, culture-specific or emic constructs, and psychodynamic or cognitive-affective variables that co-determine complex behavior. Psychotherapy may play an important role in providing raw data on such subjective experiences after decades of totalitarian rule.

However, such external social influences inevitably produce inconsistencies and spark ambivalence, thereby provoking fluctuations in responses across time and situations. Behavior and attitudes may not be in synchrony, producing baffling, illogical, or even irrational actions. Biographical studies with an N of 1 may help elucidate the structure and meaning of seemingly confusing sequences of personal behavior.

What are the factors that have counteracted massive external ideological pressure? In a nationwide study in Estonia, Rakfeldt (1996) identified eight such influences:

- a) an idealized image of independent Estonia;
- b) the homogeneity and compactness of its population;
- c) reactance against falsifying and denying Estonian history;
- d) access to the outside world through Finnish media;
- e) books salvaged from the period of Estonian independence;
- f) appreciation of the Estonian countryside;
- g) security and intimacy in the home environment, and
- h) family history passed down by word of mouth.

Corresponding variables should be explored and then compared in Latvia and Lithuania.

In cross-cultural psychology, the self has emerged as a pivotal concept (Triandis, 1994). Qualitative and quantitative studies should be initiated on the relationship of self and political pressure. A provisional hypothesis could be formulated as follows: patterns close to the self are more resistant to externally induced change than are those behaviors that have been inculcated through operant conditioning, which can be efficiently modified through control of reinforcement. Cultural contingencies have been effectively reshaped through reinforcement in several domains of experience, in the United States and elsewhere (Lamal, 1997).

Before implementing the above tasks, stock should be taken of the state of knowledge. As yet, accumulated research-based information on the present topic has not been integratively reviewed. Once this objective is accomplished, one could construct a coherent body of findings and, eventually, conduct meta-analyses focused on specific topics.

For the resolution of the issues raised here, cross-national comparisons are essential. Estonia and Finland are virtually a comparative investigator's dream: culturally similar, yet different in the experience of Soviet occupation or lack thereof. For Latvia and Lithuania, such comparable nations are lacking. The only expedient is to carry out multinational comparisons of countries on both sides of the ex-Iron Curtain. Finally, the three Baltic States are worth comparing: they were subjected to the same imposed stress for half a century, yet different in resources for coping with this threat.

Thus, the model of the putative effects of totalitarian domination is of necessity complex. External influences, sometimes traumatic, must be taken into account. But their effects are mediated by a host of interacting personal and social factors. Islands of alternative reality, beyond the reach of party or government authorities, constitute important counterweights and the self-play and important, although as yet unexplored, role in this process. This multiplicity of factors produces a variety of outcomes. Thus, it is an over-simplification to speak of *homo sovieticus* as though he or she were a unitary type. Rather there are many and different *homines postsovietici*, trying to cope with the stresses and challenges of their current lives, on the basis of experiences accumulated, at least in part, during the Soviet period. The multiple threads of their respective adaptation remain to be disentangled.

Juris G. Draguns, Ph.D. (University of Rochester) is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at the Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

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Lithuanian Papers, No. 13.

The Dead Zone

"*The Sky Unwashed*" (based on a phrase in a poem by Shevchenko) is the title of a new novel about Chornobyl by the Ukrainian-American writer, Irene Zabytko. The book is very rich in Ukrainian cultural detail. Without white-washing the negative affects of Soviet ideology and the demoralization of Ukrainian society it manages to paint an very sympathetic portrait of the Ukrainians who survived Chornobyl and have been struggling to cope with its aftermath ever since. The book has received very favorable reviews and Ms. Zabytko has been nominated for the Barnes & Noble's "Discover Great New Authors" lecture series. The text below contains a review of "*The Sky Unwashed*" from the National Post – a Canadian National newspaper.

They are called the "Dead Zone" – villages evacuated after the explosion at Chornobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine spewed a deadly radioactive cloud into the sky on the 26th April 1986, changing the lives of millions.

Ukrainian-American author, Irene Zabytko's first novel "The Sky Unwashed" looks at the aftermath of the world's worst nuclear disaster through the eyes of some elderly women who defy government orders and return to their irradiated homes. Zabytko, who now lives in Orlando, Florida, says she did not have a political agenda when she wrote the book and wanted to focus on the determination of a group of people often ignored: the *babusi*, or old women.

"I grew up with these women. I have been in awe of these indomitable, strong women. I see them around me and I feel their strength and because of that I wanted to infuse that in my book," she told Reuters in an interview during a tour to promote her book. "If anyone is going to survive Chornobyl, it will be these old women."

Wednesday, the 26th April, 2000, was the 14th anniversary of the Chornobyl accident that poisoned vast areas of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, republics of the then-Soviet Union. Despite official claims to the contrary, Zabytko said Chornobyl's radioactive fallout remained a persistent blight. "This is just a catastrophe. Kids are still suffering from it, from leukemia. It angers me that medical supplies don't get through because of corruption there (Ukraine). This country has still not gotten on its feet since independence. People are really truly suffering," she said.

While teaching English in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, in the early 1990s, Zabytko travelled clandestinely to a Dead Zone in a taxi but did not see anyone to interview. "I never met anyone, but every now and then I thought I saw a thin spiral of smoke floating from the chimney of a dilapidated house. There were a few souls alive there and I wondered whether they were the displaced elderly who had returned to their contaminated homes because they had nowhere else to live," The only living souls Zabytko saw that day were two geese waddling on a dirt road and a policeman who pulled her cab over and told her to leave quickly "before you get cancer."

Zabytko said she used eye witness accounts for her novel. many people buried their cars, televisions sets and other precious items when they were evacuated, thinking they would soon return. "No one quite understood the impact of the radiation," said Zabytko who is now working on another novel set in Ukraine.

To narrate the book, Zabytko chose a stubborn widow called Marusia Petrenko whose son dies from irradiation poisoning. The book opens with a traditional village scene – a wedding to which everyone is invited. Marusia has prepared her famous nuptial bread – a *korovai* – and the wedding party continues late into the night.

After the party, her son Yurko joins many other villagers for what they think is the usual night shift at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant. But many of the workers never come home. The air has a strange metallic taste the next morning and the parish priest does not show up for the Sunday service.

The official version is that there has been a fire at the plant but suspicions abound for many days about the real cause of the strange events. Soon tens of thousands of people are evacuated to unfamiliar cities where they struggle to survive. Marusia, her son and his family are sent to Kyiv where the air is not much cleaner. After her son dies, she defies the evacuation order and returns to her contaminated hometown, Staryslis, thinking life cannot be worse there.

Zabytko says her novel is about survival and the human spirit rather than a scientific book about Chornobyl. "I am fascinated at how people are able to survive these catastrophes not of their making, what drives them to move forward. How did the Ukrainians survive the hunger imposed upon them by Stalin? What happens to them afterward and how do they get on with their lives?" she said. "That's what I wanted to look at in my book."

Marusia is the first one to return home and she valiantly climbs the steep steps of the church tower twice a day to ring the

bells, just in case some one else has quietly slipped back. Her first visitor is a mangy cat who has been gnarled by the radiation. Gradually five elderly women return and survive by eating food stockpiles left behind before the explosion. They debate furiously over whether to raid the larders of friends who have not come back and finally decide to put the food in a warehouse where a strict inventory is kept. Marusia replants her garden in radioactive soil even though she knows the vegetables will be bad for her, and the women win a moral victory, getting a contaminated cow from officials who give it to them only because "the old women will die anyway."

A lot has been written about Chornobyl but Zabytko said she had never read a novel on the subject. "I think for many people it is too painful to write about but it is something that needs to be discovered," she said. "I know people are proud of being Ukrainian but there is a lack of self-esteem. I think this book might help that and show that people have survived such a horrible situation."



Chornobyl – 14

On the 26th April, 2000, at 01:26 am, the bell at the Kyiv Memorial, which bears the names of those people who died so tragically in the Chornobyl blast of 1986, began to chime. The bell rang out fourteen times – each chime symbolised one year that has passed since that catastrophic moment in Ukraine's history. Families and close friends of the victims (over 4,000) took part in the memorial service that followed. As the day was dawning, the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, arrived to pay his respects. He laid a wreath of flowers and told the people present that it was the government's intention to close down the Chornobyl plant as soon as possible but that there were still many problems to be solved in order that this could be done.

In Minsk, the capital of Belarus, where the population also suffered heavy loss of lives as a result of the Chornobyl explosion in 1986, over 40,000 people marked this dark anniversary with a demonstration against President Lukashenko and his regime, demanding that Moscow be held responsible for its misconduct and made to pay compensation to the innocent victims of this terrible disaster. The protestors passed a resolution in which they announced that only total independence from Russia would allow Belarus to resolve its post-Chornobyl problems.

A Chilling Reminder of Cruel Ordeals

Below is a review by Tom Poole on the book Lithuania against Soviet and Nazi Aggression by Adolfas Damusis published in 1998 by The American Foundation for Lithuanian Research, Inc.

Soon to be martyred, Bishop Vincentas Borisevicius of the Lithuanian Catholic Church told a gloating Soviet judge in 1946, "You conquered now, but your victory will be short lived. The future is mine. Christ will win, my fatherland Lithuania will win as well" (p.288).

Adolfas Damusis, former Vice-Chairman of the wartime Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (SCLL-VLIK), was one of the freedom fighters who lived to see Bishop Borisevicius's brave prediction come true in 1990-91 when his fatherland Lithuania claimed a famous victory and regained its liberty after fifty years of German and Soviet occupation.

Lithuania against Soviet and Nazi Aggression is his story – but also the story of how Lithuania's leaders maneuvered warily between two predatory imperialist powers, particularly in the years of Nazi occupation, 1941-44, when the problem was "how to harm the interests of one enemy but not to support the other," and then during the second Soviet occupation, especially 1944-53, when sheer national survival in the "genocidal grinding mill" was at stake. Ideologically opposed to both aggressors, the overriding goal was always the recreation of an independent Lithuania, a struggle in which Damusis played a prominent role.

Mostly a history but at the same time a curiously 'impersonal' memoir told in the third person, *Lithuania against Soviet and Nazi Aggression* conveys the traumatic shock of Soviet occupation in 1940-41 and provides translations of NKVD documents on the systematic deportation of Lithuanian "undesirables", including many of the nation's finest minds, which the author claims was designed "to physically annihilate virtually an entire nation."

The German invasion intruded, however, and the proclamation of a Provisional Lithuanian Government during the all too brief period of armed resistance to the retreating Soviet forces, June 22-25, 1941, gave rise to the dream of a liberated Lithuania, but the Nazi occupiers had no more interest than the Soviets in genuine statehood. Then followed the forcible conscription of Lithuanian labour for the German war machine and attempts to impress unwilling Lithuanians in German-led military formations, although the author, quoting an American diplomat, states that the Nazi effort to create a Lithuanian SS legion was a "complete fiasco". The German arrest and interrogation of a SCLL emissary in early 1944, however, led to the exposure and incarceration of many resistance leaders, including Damusis, and nullified plans to resist the advancing Red Army.

The even more bitterly resented second Soviet occupation began in July 1944 and featured a pitiless war between Soviet security units and Lithuanian partisans in the forests that lasted well into the 1950s, and also the transportation of hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians to what were in effect extermination camps, such as Norilsk, in the frozen tundra high above the Arctic Circle, which for the Lithuanian army captives was “comparable to Katyn for the Polish military.” Professor Damusis carefully calculates that 442,060 Lithuanians were rounded up in eleven mass Soviet deportations to 1953, with a total of 592,660 victims of Soviet oppression in all, only 20% of them surviving the grim experience.

This terrifying tale is the heart of this book, lavishly documented with official German and Soviet records and poignantly illustrated with scores of photographs of fallen Lithuanian patriots. As with many visitors to Vilnius, this reviewer was once guided through the old KGB detention and torture center on Gediminas Street, and it takes no act of imagination to visualize the absolute despair of “Forest Brothers” who fell into the hands of merciless Soviet interrogators. The plethora of sombre photographs in this book only recreates the absolute sense of horror I experienced that day in Vilnius.

Professor Damusis might well have been advised, however, to expand on the contention issues raised by the twin Nazi and Soviet occupations rather than include sketchy chapters on Lithuania’s early history and the independence struggle after 1987. Although published in 1998, the research for this book was completed, at the latest, in 1990. It is surprising that almost none of the important secondary literature by Muiznieks, Gerner, Lieven, Senn and Taskunas is cited in the accompanying notes or used in this study. Also surprising are the misspellings (General von Paulus, not “Marshal Paulius”) and small errors which creep into the text (Kim Philby was an accredited correspondent to Franco’s forces, not to “the anti-Franco Communist forces” in Spain), considering the lengthy period that this manuscript was in-house.

A more fundamental criticism, however, could be levelled at the author’s contention that Germany and Russia were both historically enemies of Lithuania, and that effective military resistance to an occupying force (the *Wehrmacht*) might only have made the Lithuanian resistance movement “an unwilling ally of another enemy,” the Red Army. This was certainly a political dilemma of the first order, but a choice existed, at least in theory, and Damusis might have assessed the possibility of the Provisional Government making a tactical alliance with one side or the other in order to gain short-term advantages, in line with the axiom that ‘my enemy’s enemy is my friend’. Were Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia equally enemies of the Lithuanian nation?

Another criticism might be directed at Professor Damusis’ frequent allusions to the “genocidal” campaign waged by the Soviets against the Lithuanian people which he states were designed “to ethnically cleanse the country of

Lithuanians and to open it up to Russian colonists." Genocide is perhaps the most heinous crime that can be alleged against any people in the twentieth century, but all too often the term becomes a political football, even figuring in the controversy in Australia over the 'stolen generation' of Aborigine children. The author may be correct in levelling this charge against Moscow, but at the very least he might have explained his use of the term and discussed qualitative and quantitative differences in the Soviet and German "genocidal goals of imperialistic aggression."

The most contentious issue, perhaps inevitably, concerns the fate of Lithuanian Jews during World War II. This is not the place to revisit this question in detail, but Professor Damusis devotes one chapter to "The Holocaust by Nazis", and also discusses the awarding of Israeli medals to Lithuanians who bravely risked their lives providing refuge to Jews, in an appendix entitled "Their Brother's Keepers". The author, amongst other things, is incensed that SS officers "fraudulently" claimed that "Lithuanian partisans" participated in the mass slaughter of some 147,000 Jews in 1941 and attempts to make a strict demarcation between "irregulars" (criminals, Lithuanian Germans, disguised as SS officers) who aided Einsatz detachment and "Lithuanian partisans, activists, and *baltaraiksciai*" who courageously fought against the Soviets.

Damusis concedes that the Nazis recruited "some feeble-minded individuals" to carry out their repulsive work, but argues, cogently, that the "crimes of a few ... cannot be used to indict an entire nation," an accusation that he regards as "misguided and unfair". More questionable is his warning that transferring Nazi responsibility for the Holocaust to local populations might rebound on the Jewish community: "It would only provoke discussion of the collaboration of some Marxist Jews with the Soviets in the genocide of the Lithuanian nation during the deportation of Lithuanian families to the concentration camps in Siberia. Such a development would create a backlash."

This is a highly emotive issue that provokes strong opinions from all sides, but I can only point out that such respected writers such as Milosz, Lieven and Dawidowicz are less charitable than Damusis in attributing blame for the participation of selective Lithuanian groups in the Holocaust, particularly the police (*Saugumas*). Damusis' criticism of a few Lithuanian immigrants being "prosecuted in American courts by retroactive immigration laws" is weakened by recent genocide charges brought by the Lithuanian Government itself against a few former citizens who fled overseas, including one against an invalid pensioner in Australia.

(Continues on back cover)

Even if Damusis' discussion of the Jewish issue is less than convincing, at least to this reviewer, it is only a relatively small part of a much greater work and should not detract from his accomplishment. *Lithuania against Soviet and Nazi Aggression* is an eloquent and chilling reminder of the cruel ordeals that modern Lithuanians were forced to endure before they could joyfully celebrate the independence of their reborn nation. Everyone who wishes Lithuania well today owes a debt of gratitude to Adolfas Damusis for reminding one and all of the time of sorrows so recently overcome.

Indeed, the prediction came true: "Christ will win, my fatherland Lithuania will win as well."

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No More Russification in Ukraine!

*To The Ukrainian Parliament,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Declaration

**by the Members of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Council
on the subject of "Stopping Russia's interference in
Ukraine's Internal Affairs"**

Russia's parliament continues to interfere in Ukraine's internal affairs. On the 19th July 2000 it once again passed a act which normally is unheard of in the relations between independent countries: Russian MPs took it upon themselves to decide how many and which sort of schools there should be in Ukraine, in which language to teach our children, which language should be used by state officials, which songs to sing and for whom! They are particularly concerned with the younger generation and are again getting ready to integrate them into world culture using the Russian language.

We, the representatives of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Council, are expressing the will of our constituents when we say: Enough! – We will not allow the russification of Ukraine and we will not stand for any criticism of our language by a foreign country.

We propose that the Russian MPs should busy themselves with the question of Ukrainian schools, theaters, publications of the Ukrainian press in Russia, and the protection of cultural values for Ukrainians living in Russia.

We address ourselves to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Parliament with the demand that they react appropriately to the declaration made by the Parliament of the Russian Federation and not allow foreign countries to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine.

We declare, in the name of the existing Ukrainian nation, its culture and traditions, that we will do everything in our power to ensure that the process of derussification in Ukraine becomes a path of no return, and that the Ukrainian language really does become the official language of Ukraine.

This declaration was passed on 20th July 2000, at the XV session of the Regional Council.

Russia Should Not Undermine the Chechens

(Ukrainska Hazeta) In the Caucasus, the Russians are once again using their military might to clarify their relations with the tiny republic of Chechnya. Russia's colonial politics is like a live mine lying in the foundation of this fiery "friendship" between Chechnya and Russia. Chechnya would like to be independent but the empire has gripped the country in a tight bear hug and refuses to let go. Russia's interests have not changed during its prolonged presence in the Caucasus, and so far there are no signs to this effect. From Russia's point of view these interests are both legal and binding: Chechnya is Russian territory and the Chechen nation must live under Russian law. That was the case during the time of the Soviet Union. Today there are many nations, previously subjugated by Moscow, who have wrenched themselves free and declared independence. Chechnya does not have that right. What are for reasons for this?

Today, the Russian Federation is the only empire left on the map. This is not a position to be envied as it means that ways have to be found in order to keep hold of these captured lands, which usually can only mean the use of military strength.

Firstly, I would like to put Russia's activities to one side and concentrate on the problems from Chechnya's point of view. This freedom-loving nation of the Russian Empire won their independence in the 1994-96 war with Russia and very nearly broke free. Unfortunately, its leaders did not take advantage of its victory over Russia. Why? Above all, they should have looked after their own people and tried to establish themselves officially as a free and independent nation in the eyes of the rest of the world. This did not happen. Instead, Chechnya's troops tried to help free Dagestan as well and, of course, lost everything. They lost so badly that today the world organizations' reactions to Russia's military movements in Chechnya are zero. The Chechens have been portrayed negatively – as terrorists.

As a result many innocent civilians have suffered and even been killed in Chechnya itself, and beyond where more than 210,000 women, children and old people live in squalid conditions in makeshift refugee camps. The Chechen freedom fighters have suffered along with the Russian soldiers who have been sent there to defend interests – just whose interests is not quite clear. This tragedy has spilt the blood of a thousand people.

How could this have happened and what is waiting for the world organizations tomorrow? It is certain that today many people are seeking answers to these questions. I would like to try and analyze this problem from my point of view. As a specialist in the sphere of directing open combat and its security using special means, I have to say, that one **cannot** beat terrorists using the crescendo that Russia has applied with its planes, tanks and rockets – one needs to create specially trained units. These specially trained units are able to direct their attacks against particular individuals and groups so that the general population is left unharmed.

Russia has taken advantage of the situation in Chechnya and while claiming to wage a war against terrorism has, in fact, directed a **campaign of quelling the Chechen nation's thirst for freedom** – an independent country has been forced back into the hands of an insatiable empire. At the same time, this is a war against a country which has become, over the past several years, the Achilles heel in Russia's colonial policies. Unfortunately, Russia's pronouncement that Chechens are terrorists has allowed it to begin a widespread campaign against the whole of the Chechen nation. By the way, this has become customary as in the tsar's time as well as in the time of Stalin, the whole of the Chechen nation was forcibly uprooted from its historical place of residence and resettled in the far east.

Today's action is spearheaded to further suffocate, if possible, the will of the Chechen nation to be free and independent. In this way Russia is trying to curb separatist feelings not only in the Caucasus but also in other regions of its empire.

One gets the impression, that the Chechen leaders have not understood that Russia was waiting for proof of their activities in Dagestan. But Russia was waiting, waiting to hear their gunfire. The Chechen leaders did not understand that everything they were doing in order to normalize life in their land was working against them and the whole of the Chechen nation, and was creating a negative image of them. As an expert on specialist units I believe that it is imperative to underline the fact that the influence of specialist units, including in Russia, in forming such a situation is pretty obvious. Apart from that, the reasons behind such a conclusion are based on the Basayev group's operations in Budonivsk a few years ago. The fact that they released the group in tact and without harm points to the fact that there were people in the group who were important to the Russians and it was essential that they be protected. Similar operations are conducted all over the world and so, this is nothing new. Maybe, it's just that the Chechen analyzers

and professionals who are involved in the classical form of prognosis do not pay enough attention to the overall appearance of the events taking place, they are too concentrated on the details of Basayev's group's withdrawal from Budonivsk, which was at that time surrounded.

A no less important question immediately arises: where were the Russian special forces earlier, and why did they do nothing to avoid the tragedy? Who can believe that they knew nothing of the fact that the Chechen soldiers were fortifying constructions on Dagestan territories? This was going on for at least a year. It is without a doubt that they saw all of this, followed its progress and even favored the the situation. They could even have been helping by delivering cement so that the job could be done faster. The Russian special forces have worked in this way in order to create a situation that is advantageous for them, in order that the world believe that the Chechens are terrorists and that it is not worth standing on ceremony with them.

What can one expect from all of this? Nothing positive for Russia or Chechnya. It is more likely to mean that military equipped Russia will lead its planned campaign to a "victorious" conclusion by using armed fists on its "own" territory. It is well known that both Napoleon and Hitler seized huge territories but could not hold them for long. Russia will **never** be able to live peacefully while occupying Chechnya. When young Chechens see how their parents and their nation have suffered they will never forget this – they will always be looking for suitable ways to pay back the Russians for this terrible bloodshed. This will definitely happen, if not in the first, then in the second or third generations. Evil begets evil and nothing else. And there is no end to this chain reaction.

Nobody is denying that terrorism has to be fought. And all possibilities should be used in this fight. But such a fight dictates the use of more subtle ways, and stability in the infrastructure of Russia's military forces. Unfortunately, the simplest route has been chosen: to send in tanks and saturate the whole country with bombs and rockets. As a military person, I know that a war is not without its casualties even amongst the peaceful, local population. But if Russia declares that it is solving its own internal problems in Chechnya, that this is its own territory, then surely the people who live on this territory are also their responsibility. Then why should these people have to suffer and be hounded from their own land to the other end of the country? Only because these people believe they have a right to live their own lives as they see fit? No, here it is necessary to find other ways to come to an agreement.

Yet another aim is visible in Russia's campaign against Chechnya – to scare other federation countries such as Tatarstan and Bashkortostan amongst them, who from time to time demonstrate that they too would like the chance to think for themselves.

It is not so long ago that the former head of Russia's federal security forces, Styepashchin, said that Russians should utilize methods which were used in Western Ukraine, when dealing with the Chechen underground movement. But this hasn't worked in the Caucasus. Why? First and foremost, because the circumstances are different. It was once easy to provoke eastern Ukrainians against western Ukrainians. The Chechen nation is not so divided and so, the creation of separatist groups and provocations, as in Western Ukraine, has not been possible. The Russians have chosen a different path in Chechnya - genocide.

I have gathered this information not from newspapers and hearsay but from security forces text books from the former USSR which I have studied in detail, and I know that the national fight for freedom in Western Ukraine was successfully suppressed by creating provocative fights. Under the guise of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) they ruined professional people



Chechen freedom fighters resting

and scientists who had been sent from Eastern Ukraine to work in Western Ukraine, and tortured and killed the local population for so-called collaboration with the "Soviets". The provocateurs used these incidents to compromise the UPA and destroy its foundation of trust in the region. Sometimes, whole groups made up of Soviet secret police disguised in UPA uniforms would meet up. They conducted punitive, intimidating operations which included deportation of families of the UPA soldiers to Siberia, and the destruction of farms and villages. The armed revolt was suppressed. Chechnya is going through something similar today.

And another thing. When I hear about Russian Generals who are worrying about how to better the lives of the Chechen nation once they have "liberated" them from the grip of the so-called international terrorists then I think: why don't these Generals show such fervent concern for troubled regions in their own country? There are people there suffering under local government no less than the Chechens. It would not be a bad thing if the "concerned" Generals were to think about how to help their officers who have received no pay nor had no leave for the past five years. And the Chechen nation could cope without their interference, just like hundreds of other nations all over the world have done.

Why not, for instance, get on with making Russia a better country to live in, then other nations would take the initiative to join Russia? So that countries ask to join Russia in the same way that countries are now seeking to join NATO. And here is another, no less attractive, alternative: to create another Commonwealth of nations the likes of which grew out of the ruins of the British Empire and from which neither Australia or Canada wishes to withdraw. What keeps them there? Not bayonets, of course, but something completely different. The Russian Generals and politicians would do well to think about this matter.

But, I'm afraid that my warring neighbors will misunderstand me. They are convinced that they will get what they want by using force – it's possible, but at what price and for how long?

Oleksander Ckypalskyj is a General-Lieutenant, and Deputy Minister for Unusual Affairs.

*Ukrainska Dumka, Vol. LIII, No. 22 (2763).
Translated by Lesya Terletska.*

Commission Briefing Features Chechen Parliamentarians

Earlier this year, Commission Chairman Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ) held a briefing on the war in Chechnya. Addressing the gathering were two members of the parliament of Chechnya elected in 1997, Mr. Seilam Bechaev, Vice President of the Parliament and Mr. Tourpal-Ali Kaimov, Chairman of the Budget Committee of the Parliament. Smith was joined by Commissioner Rep. Joseph R. Pitts (R-PA).

Bechaev and Kaimov described the devastation inflicted on the population of Chechnya by Russian military forces, and expressed particular concern about the potential consequences of Russian aerial attacks in the vicinity of nuclear waste sites in Chechnya. They claimed that neither the radical Islamic forces nor any of the pro-Moscow Chechen figures suggested by Moscow for post-war leadership positions in Chechnya enjoy the support of the indigenous Chechen population. The parliamentarians asserted also that although President Maskhadov had declared Sharia law and suspended the work of the parliament, the parliament rejected the directive and continued its work without interference from President Maskhadov.

Asked about the wave of violence and kidnappings that had occurred following the 1994-96 war between Russia and Chechnya, Mr. Kaimov contended that "the main organizers of all these events were the Russian special services. "When Chechen authorities sought the extradition from Russia of an ethnic Chechen suspected in the killing of six Red Cross workers 1996, stated Bechaev, "Moscow refused to comply."

In his opening statement, Chairman Smith charged "What the Russian Government describes as an anti-terrorist operation has degenerated – if not planned from the beginning – into a war of destruction against the people of Chechnya. By using the excuse of seeking to punish a handful of guilty persons, the Russian Government is applying indiscriminate force far out of proportion to its stated objectives."

Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, in a written statement said,

"Just as in Russia's earlier military campaign in Chechnya in 1994-96, thousands of innocent civilians have been killed and displaced by the Russian military's blanket shelling and bombing and vicious tactics." Gilman expressed disappointment that "President Clinton has done too little about this" and suggested that "it may be the appropriate time for the United States to bring a resolution before the United Nations Security Council regarding this brutal operation."

In this connection, the 53-nation Human Rights Commission of the United Nations in Geneva, approved on April 25 a resolution (22 for, 7 opposed, 19 abstentions) criticizing Russia for the "widespread and flagrant" human rights abuses committed in Chechnya. The resolution also urges Russia to establish a national commission of inquiry to investigate the human rights situation in Chechnya, as earlier proposed by UN Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson. The Russian delegation called the resolution "unbalanced" and claimed that nations involved in the bombing of Kosovo "have no moral right" to condemn Russia for its actions in Chechnya.

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Orest DEYCHAKIWSKY

Helsinki Commission Hearing Focuses on Failure of Belarus to Meet Human Rights Standards, Russia-Belarus Union

"Lukashenko's regime continues to clench the reigns of power, stifling fundamental freedoms and violating the human rights of Belarusian citizens," said Commission Chairman Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ) at a hearing earlier on this year "*Belarus-Stalled at the Crossroads.*" "The regime has refused to engage in meaningful dialogue with the opposition. He has paid lip service to dialogue, or has used tactics of delay and obfuscation,

reminiscent of the communist past. Unless Lukashenko begins an honest dialogue with the opposition, ends police repression, allows freedom of the media and reforms the electoral process, Belarus will never rise to meet the basic human rights standards iterated in the Helsinki Documents and cease being a pariah in the European community," said Smith.

Chairman Smith also expressed growing concern about the Russia-Belarus Union: "How can one talk about a Union when a mockery is made of democratic processes... can a genuine debate exist under these circumstances? Can you speak of a Union when the decks are stacked against those who deeply care about Belarus' independence, and when the head of the country actively works against open debate on the subject? A momentous decision such as to whether or not to unify with another country, with all the implications for Belarus' sovereignty, should – as perhaps no other decision – reflect the genuine will of the people."

At the hearing, prominent witnesses criticized the Lukashenko regime, focusing on the deterioration of human rights and democracy in Belarus, as well as the implications of the Belarus-Russia Union treaty on Belarus' existence as an independent state. They also called for meaningful dialogue between the Belarusian Government and the opposition, and free and fair parliamentary elections as a way out of Belarus' current constitutional crisis.

Testifying were Harold Hongju Koh – Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and a Helsinki Commissioner; Ross Wilson – Principle Deputy to the Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for the New Independent States; Semyon Sharetskiy – Speaker of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus illegally disbanded by President Aleksandr Lukashenko in 1996; Stanislav Shushkevych – independent Belarus' first head of state; Anatoly Lebedka – Chairman of the Commission for International Affairs of the 13th Supreme Soviet; and former Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Severin – head of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Working Group on Belarus.

Assistant Secretary Koh, who characterized the situation in Belarus as having markedly deteriorated since the spring of 1999, when the Commission held its last hearing on Belarus, stated: "Democratic legitimacy in Belarus can only be restored through free and fair elections in which all citizens and candidates can participate on an equal basis and by restoring the necessary checks and balances among the branches of government. The Lukashenko

regime's recent announcement of plans to resume the OSCE-sponsored dialogue with the opposition must not oppose preconditions that will make it impossible for the opposition to participate. It instead must produce real results, including agreement on an electoral code that meet OSCE standards and provides an internationally acceptable framework for legitimate, free and fair parliamentary elections. Otherwise, the U.S. and other democracies will find it very difficult if not impossible to recognize the parliamentary elections planned for later this year as legitimate, and Belarus will not resolve its political and constitutional crisis or end its self-imposed isolation."

Mr. Wilson of the State Department noted that U.S. policy was the same for Belarus as for the rest of the states of the former Soviet Union. "We support Belarus's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, as well as its market democratic transformation and integration among the broader trans-Atlantic community of nations... As we look to Belarus' future, we see one new concern looming, and that is the prospect that the Lukashenko regime could mortgage its country's independence to Russia. The Administration's policy on integration among the former Soviet States is that it must be voluntary, mutually beneficial and erect no new external barriers. The breakdown of democracy has made a voluntary decision by the Belarusian people impossible." Mr. Wilson added: "The United States is maintaining a policy of selective engagement with the regime in Minsk, with no direct assistance, emphasizing our call for allowing peaceful demonstrations and resumption of dialogue with the opposition, showing support for democratic leaders and the OSCE's Advisory and Monitoring Group (AMG), and restating our readiness to work with a Belarus that honestly elects its leaders and cooperates with its neighbors."

Supreme Soviet Speaker Sharetskiy, who currently resides in Lithuania out of concerns for his safety, asserted: "The majority of the population in Belarus does not support Lukashenko. It is only the all-round support by Russia of the Lukashenko regime which enables the dictator to disrespect the constitution of the Republic of Belarus and flagrantly violate the laws and liberties of people, in disregard of appeals by international organizations and parliaments of democratic countries for the Belarusian Government to return to a lawful sphere and start real negotiation with the representatives of the democratic opposition... The independence of Belarus and the preservation of its sovereignty, its return to a democratic way of development, and its joining of European structures, is not only

necessary for the creation of normal living conditions for the ten million Belarusian people who are European in their mindset, but it is also necessary in order to guarantee the security of our neighbors and all of Europe – understanding that the problems of Belarus should be resolved by the Belarusians themselves.”

Stanislav Shushkevych, who together with Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk terminated the Soviet Union through the creation of the CIS in December 1991, observed: “Supporters of Belarusian independence are not enemies of Russia. They understand that Russia is more democratic than Belarus is today and that Russia's economy is more liberal. But they also realize that to follow the path of reforms together with an unpredictable Russia is similar to that of following a herd of horses, speeding along without knowing where they might turn next. Russia does not conceal its intentions that it wants to swallow Belarus under the guise of ‘unification.’ The Russian Federation Council on Foreign and Defense Policy declared openly that the unification must be used ‘to oppose the expansion of NATO to the East.’”

Leading democratic opposition member Anatoly Lebedka warned of possible Lukashenko tactics in negotiation with the opposition: “Different, diametrically opposed approaches to solving the Belarus problem have collided. The OSCE, the Council of Europe, and the opposition suggest playing chess using the well-established and generally recognized rules. The Lukashenko regime, sweeping the figures off the board, prefers to use it for smacking its opponent on the head. In fact, it has unilaterally stopped consultations on starting a negotiating process. Declarations and promises of the Belarusian authorities are not worth the paper they are written on.”

Referring to the planned parliamentary elections, Lebedka stated: “If the regime persists in playing the role of a deaf mute, the reaction of the world community must be appropriate. In this situation, an election that is not a consequence of negotiation and compromise, but that is held under deliberately unequal and discriminatory conditions, cannot be recognized as democratic and legitimate. The U.S., in coalition with the European Union, is capable of effectively influencing the situation in Belarus, using possibilities offered by Russia for this purpose. The allocation of financial assistance to Russia should be considered in conjunction with the human rights situation in Belarus. The protection of human rights must remain one of the priorities of Western foreign policy.”

Adrain Severin of the OSCE PA concluded: "The current situation in Belarus does not give much reason for enthusiasm in that. There have been a number of setbacks to the democratization process and to the efforts of the OSCE... to create an inclusive political dialogue on elections. The date for these elections is drawing near with many necessary issues yet to be resolved. However, some hope still remains. The government has recognized the need for a national dialogue and has instituted its own process. The opposition has expressed a willingness to participate in any meaningful dialogue which will work towards the resolution of their differences with the government. Whereas confidence and trust are still lacking in this new process, it is imperative that all sides try to make the effort a successful one."

However, he cautioned: "The key issue is that time is short and much needs to be done in order for free, fair and recognizable elections to take place in Belarus this year."

One of the expectations raised during the hearing was that during the planned March 15 opposition-staged "Freedom March 2", there will not be a repeat of the events of last October's Freedom March in which some demonstrators were beaten, and that the rights to freedom of assembly will be unequivocally respected. (On March 9, following discussions with the organizers of the demonstration, the Minsk city government sanctioned "Freedom March 2".)

CSCE Digest

Volume 23, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

Michael J. OCHS

Kyrgyzstan Holds Deeply Flawed Parliamentary Elections

At the beginning of this year Kyrgyzstan held the first round of its second parliamentary election since gaining independence in 1991. For the first time voters could choose among parties in party-list voting for 15 seats out of 60 in the lower chamber. According to the Central Election Committee (CEC), about 65

percent of the voters turned out. The Communist Party came in first, winning 28 percent. The pro-presidential Union of Democratic Forces was second, with 19 percent. Four other parties past the 5-percent threshold, in the following order: the Democratic Party of Women (13 percent; Party of Afghan Veterans (18 percent); Ata-Meken (6 percent); and My Country (5 percent).

Much of the real drama took place before the first round, when opposition parties headed by potential challengers to President Askar Akaev were excluded. The controversial election law carefully requires parties to have been registered for a year before the election in order to field a party list. This provision barred *Ar-Namys* [Honor] Party, headed by former Vice President Felix Kulov. Also disqualified was *EI (Bei Bechara)* [Party of the Poor People], led by the businessman and Parliament member Daniar Usenov, because its charter did not state specifically it intended to participate in elections. On February 4, the opposition Democratic Party of Kyrgyzstan (DKK), which had been already registered to participate, was also excluded for allegedly holding a congress without the necessary quorum.

Even before the election, the observation mission of the OSCE's Office for democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) took the unusual step of issuing a statement on February 8 criticizing the exclusion of these parties. After the first round, the mission, along with an observer delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, judged the election not to have fully corresponded to OSCE standards. Though the voting and vote count had proceeded well in most districts, parties and candidates had not been able to participate on an equal basis and state media favoured pro-government candidates and parties while attacking opposition figures, especially Kulov.

In single-mandate districts, only three of the seats were decided in the first round. A run-off took place on March 12 in the remaining districts. Both Kulov and Usenov made it into run-off races, though both claimed they had been robbed of first round victories. But the CEC disqualified Usenov before the second round, claiming that he had not accurately disclosed all his property holdings. Kulov was able to run, but despite having won a plurality in the first round, official results gave the victory to his government-backed opponent. Kulov and his supporters alleged rampant interference by local officials who intimidated voters and

falsified the balloting. The ODIHR observation mission strongly criticized the second round and openly questioned the results in Kulov's Kara-Buura district.

After Kulov's defeat, his supporters began holding protest demonstrations in Bishkek and Kara-Buura. On March 22, officers of the Ministry of National Security arrested Kulov and charged him with having sanctioned, while Minister of National Security, the illegal purchase of bugging equipment. An official announced that once the initial investigation of his crimes was over, he would be tried in a closed military court.

On February 22, President Akaev's press secretary said the elections have shown the "in Kyrgyzstan, democracy is not an empty slogan but a reality." Just the opposite is true. Unfortunately the election destroyed the myth of Kyrgyz democracy. If democracy is measured by fair elections, in which the public and the international community can give credence to the official results, then Kyrgyzstan has taken a giant step backwards.

If Kyrgyzstan's image as an oasis of democracy in the authoritarian Central Asian desert has been badly damaged, Akaev's has been utterly ruined. He has shown himself willing to exploit a carefully written election law to disqualify threatening candidacies and to manipulate his country's election administration, judicial system, law enforcement apparatus and national security ministry to secure his own power and position.

After the government's handling of the parliamentary election, government-opposition relations are in crisis. The opposition's worst suspicions have been confirmed, having seen what Akaev is willing to do to retain power. Nor is there any reason to expect any near-term improvement, given the up-coming presidential election. The government, for its part, may decide a broad-ranging crackdown makes sense, given the course Akaev has chosen and the desire to crush any resistance before it gets out of hand.

Having thrown away his reputation as a democratic reformer, Akaev may now emphasize ever more greatly the Islamic threat in Central Asia and argue that the West must continue to back his secular regime – despite its slippage towards authoritarianism – against religious fundamentalism. At the same time, Akaev may move away from the West, while developing closer relations with Russia and China, both of which have stressed the need to combat "terrorism and religious extremism."

The State Department echoed the OSCE's assessment of Kyrgyzstan's election, regretting the setback to Kyrgyzstan's democratic process. In mid-April, Secretary of State Albright traveled to Central Asia, where she visited Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. In Bishkek, Albright openly called for Kulov's release pending his trial and won Akaev's agreement to implement the ODIHR's recommendations for improving the electoral process before the presidential election.

Though Secretary Albright openly criticized backsliding on human rights and stagnation in electoral democracy in Central Asia, she also stressed the danger to the region posed by terrorists and drug trafficking, and offered assistance to help safeguard borders. With Washington increasingly worried about security matters and prepared to expand bilateral cooperation to address perceived threats, Central Asian leaders seem unconcerned about U.S. strictures on democracy.

The region's strongmen have never suffered in any serious consequences in relations with Washington for rigging elections. If Askar Akaev, perhaps the weakest of them, gets away with falsifying the parliamentary election and arresting his leading rival, the last remaining hopes of holding a fair presidential election will vanish – along with prospects for Kyrgyzstan's democratization.

CSCE Digest, Vol 23, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

The following text, a paper prepared by David Kilgour the 18th Congress of the Ukrainian Catholic Council of Canada in Edmonton on Canada Day in 1995, is here reproduced in part on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence.

The rebirth of an independent Ukraine with a population of 52 million after centuries of rule by outsiders is one of the most inspiring developments in this century. It ended not only Russian rule, but also the Soviet Union itself. Despite myriad efforts to create an independent Ukraine, dictators, terrible famines and unspeakable oppression for far too long, combined to deny the citizens of Ukraine the right to decide their own fate. In spite of their ordeals, the Ukrainian people endured, preserving hope and their identity.

The great poet, Taras Shevchenko, once called Ukraine "this land of ours that is not ours." Today, if Shevchenko were still alive, he would see how the unstoppable power of women and men who wish to be free has been demonstrated anew; he would be one of millions of Ukrainians worldwide whose deepest dreams have come true.

Ukrainians have long carried the heaviest yokes of czarist and communist rule. During hundreds of years of Russification by successive governments, measures aimed at eradicating the language, culture and history caused imprisonment and much worse for many of those who dared to speak out. The yearning for independence and freedom survived all of this.

With the fall of the czars, Ukraine experienced a brief period of independence after 1917, only to be incorporated forcibly into the USSR within a few years. Unsuccessful efforts to establish a free Ukrainian state during World War II and the struggle of Ukrainian nationalists and insurgents against the Germans and the Russians during and after the war could not prevent a cruel fate. Ukraine fell to Moscow and was reincorporated into the Ukrainian SSR after 1945.

What occurred in that land during the past seven decades is appalling. Since 1922 alone, the country has suffered, among other Kremlin-manufactured policies:

- the deaths of millions of women, men and children through executions, and deportations, with an estimated seven million Ukrainians killed during the Stalin-created famine of 1933 alone,
- the systematic Russification of the Ukrainian language and educational systems, the suppression of the Ukrainian culture and distortions of Ukrainian history and literature,
- the murder of many thousands of writers, artists, scholars, scientists and other intellectuals, and
- the exploitation of Ukraine's human and natural resources primarily for the benefit of Moscow's former domestic empire.

Despite the human, economic and cultural costs, Ukraine is now enjoying what for centuries remained only a dream – a free and independent state. Central to the ability to have arrived at this goal was faith and belief in God, which sustained so many of the people in all parts of this nation.

in spite of the attempted destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, religious activity survived. The Kremlin outlawed all but one Christian community, encouraging only the Russian Orthodox Church. The most relentlessly and longest were pursued were the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic

Churches. This included the confiscation of church properties, the closing down of these and other churches as established organizations, and the state murders of countless priests, monks, nuns, and church lay leaders. The object was to stifle Christian faith through persecution. Thousands from both churches were murdered or perished in camps during the 1930s and 1940s. An estimated thirty-five million believers were unable to attend their churches when they were forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church.

Between 1917 and 1980 approximately 77,000 churches were closed forcibly across the then Soviet Union, many, of course, in Ukraine. The celebration of religious holidays and practise of Christian rites were forbidden. Orthodox Ukrainians and Ukrainian Catholics could neither freely marry nor baptize their children in the church of their choice without the possibility of serious repercussions and the loss of jobs. It drove both churches, and others, underground, where religious practice, though outwardly forbidden, flourished and helped maintain the morale of people for decades.

In Ukraine, worries abound about the increasingly aggressive behavior of Russia, which, as its actions in Chechnya demonstrates, seems not ready to shed its imperial past and to become a member of the civilized world. Post-Soviet relations between Russia and Ukraine have been marked by mistrust that have occasionally threatened to boil into open confrontation. Two days after the Ukrainian declaration of independence, Boris Yeltsin's press office issued a statement in his name, maintaining that Russia reserved the right to review its borders with those republics intent on withdrawing from the USSR. According to the presidential press secretary, Pavel Voshchanov, "If these republics enter the renewed Union with Russia, it is not a problem. But if they go, we must take care of the population that lives there and not forget that these lands were settled by Russians. Russia will hardly agree to give away these territories just like that."

In the autumn of 1994, President Boris Yeltsin announced Moscow's intention to strengthen its influence in what Russians like to call the "near abroad". Accordingly to some analysts: "With few exceptions, Russian public opinion, regardless of its political orientation, rejected the idea of Ukraine as an historical concept... The perception of the 'Ukrainian idea' as essentially destructive of Russia underlines the degree to which, from the Russian standpoint, Ukraine has traditionally been viewed as geographically and culturally part of Russia.

In other words, a major threat to independence results from the fact that Ukrainian independence is not accepted by the majority of the political elite in Russia as something which is final and irrevocable.

Ukraine's poor economic condition, inherited from the Soviet Union, has left the Kyiv government vulnerable to manipulation by Moscow, and could jeopardize the success of Ukrainian independence. No European or any other prosperous country today is economically independent; in the case of Ukraine, the problem is the one-sided dependence on Russia.

In the past, Ukraine was one of the industrial powerhouses of the Soviet economy, producing a disproportionately large share of its heavy industry and its military and space technology. Today, to the dismay of many, a few years of fragile independence have only underscored Ukraine's continuing reliance on Russia. Most of the country's exports are shipped mainly to them in exchange for oil and gas. In fact, 75% of Ukraine's natural gas supplies and 80% of its oil come from Russia. The people of Ukraine were rudely reminded of that dependence in early March, 1994 when Moscow cut off all gas supplies for 3 days just to punish Kyiv for failing to pay a bill of \$1.2 billion (Can) for its gas delivery.

At the end of the 20th century, independence does not mean that a country can exist without political, economic or cultural connections and cooperation with other states. No European state is independent in the sense that it can function without very close ties to its neighbors.

As a consequence of communist rule, Ukraine's politicians, legislators and civil servants at all levels of government lack the knowledge and the skills that are taken for granted in Western democracies. During the Soviet period, government institutions in Ukraine served as a rubber stamp for party decisions; hence civil servants were reduced to functionaries, with little opportunity to develop professional skills. Since elections were a meaningless formality, elected officials were expected to enforce the will of the party rather than to interact with their constituents in order to help solve political, social and economic problems. The knowledge and skills required to draft a stable legislative framework for society were badly underdeveloped in a system that functioned almost exclusively by decree. And in a one-party state, no expertise in the management of democratic political parties could be acquired.

When Ukraine proclaimed itself an independent state, the country's politicians and civil servants found themselves quite unprepared for their new role. The transition to democracy, the evolution of democratic legal and political institutions, the

dismantling of one-party bureaucracy and the creation of new independent one is very difficult. The best way to help Ukraine's legislators make the transition to democratic politics is to give them hands-on experience of a functioning democracy. During a visit to Washington in December, 1994 president Kuchma said: "Today they say that Ukraine is a poor country. We are not a poor country, we are a young country and an unexperienced one. That is why we are ready to learn in the sphere of economics, politics and humanism the best examples of other countries."

The struggle is far from complete. The West must make greater efforts to consolidate all democratic breakthroughs, but should not seek to impose its particular values, demand instant perfection, or insist on replicas of Western models. Free peoples must find their own way, reflecting their history, cultures, economy and security needs. Each process will take time; there will be zig-zags, compromises, even reversals. Ukraine must succeed for its own sake and the world's sake.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Union of Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Deportees

With the upsurge of national revival in 1988 came the hopes for a new fight for the restitution of the independent Lithuanian State. Former political prisoners of Soviet concentration camps and Siberian deportees were the first to unite. The organization Deportees' Club was established 30 July, 1988, as a result of the first Congress of deportees and political prisoners. Later the organization was renamed the Union of Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Deportees (LPKTS).

At present the Union has sixty branches throughout the country and fifty thousand members.

LPKTS is a political party with its own constitution and program of activities. The Union takes part in elections at all levels, nominates its candidates and implements its program through its elected representatives.

The main goals of the Union's work is to maintain an independent, democratic Lithuanian State. The Union promotes national culture, stimulates political and economic reforms, and supports the strengthening of Lithuania's defense policies. Other important tasks include the liquidation of the consequences of the Soviet occupation and the communist-inspired genocide of the Lithuanian nation as well as the restitution of the historical truth about the resistance to the occupation. The Union supports many cultural activities and cultural events. A festival of song called "Let Us Go to Our Motherland" is held regularly. The "Fighters for Freedom" event is celebrated every year. Many Union branches have organized their own choirs and many different amateur arts groups and museums. Union branches in Vilnius, Kaunas, Marijampole, Alytus and Panevėžys have set up larger museums on the subjects of the genocide and deportations which the Lithuanian nation suffered under the Soviets and the Lithuanian resistance movement created to fight these horrors.

Hundreds of monuments have been erected and several memorials built with the help of the Union in order to commemorate the lives of those Lithuanian partisans who were tortured and killed during the Soviet occupation.

The Union has a group of historians who collect, study and publish material on the resistance movement. They are engaged in the work of the museums and publish a magazine called "From the Archives of the Freedom Fighters", and a weekly called "The Deportee", which contain the memoirs of the partisans and deportees.

Michael COREN

The Forgotten Holocaust

They call it a holocaust. And they're right. Because a holocaust is what it was. They also wonder why so few people share their pain and anger at what happened to their proud, beautiful nation.

The cold, stiff children still cuddled by their mothers long after death. The piles of corpses frozen by the cold into a twilight picture of agony. The seemingly endless suffering, driving a blood-red knife into the weeping heart of an entire country.

I refer to the forced starvation, murder, rape, slaughter and mass destruction of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet Communists in the early 1930s, a man-made catastrophe that is remembered at this time of year by Ukrainians the world over. In sorrow. In deep, deep sorrow.

The issue is particularly relevant this year because of the work of two great Canadians.

One is Lubomyr Luciuk, whose latest book, "*Searching for Place*", chronicles the story of the Ukrainians in Canada and the reason so many of them came here.

The other is Prof. Ian Hunter, a man with no Ukrainian blood but with an inner need to speak out for justice. He is a warrior for truth who writes and speaks on behalf of the millions who died in ditches, like animals.

No, correct that. Not like animals in a ditch. Animals would have received more sympathy and their fate would not have been denied. The attempted genocide of the Ukrainians is one of the great horrors of the world. The manner in which it has been forgotten or ignored is almost worse.

In 1932 and 1933 between seven and 10 million people, mostly Ukrainian, died in what was known then as the Soviet Union. Josef Stalin and his gang decided the culture and spirit of Ukraine had to be smashed and that the farmers and peasants of the northern Caucasus and the lower Volga River had to be forced into docility.

They decided to demand 44% more wheat from the Ukrainians as part of the national quota, knowing this would cause a massive shortage of food and starve millions. They made it an

offence to feed the Ukrainian peasants until the now quota was met, and killed anybody who disobeyed.

More than this, Ukrainians were suddenly refused permission to move out of their region, making it impossible for them to search for food. Soviet soldiers and secret policemen stored grain in huge silos and stood guard outside, sometimes only yards away from where families were dying of starvation. Any attempt to find food, approach the silos or hide grain resulted in the execution of both "culprit" and family.

" I watched the babies and the old and the sick die first, " wrote a witness who managed to survive. "Then the others, then everybody. When we men protested they shot us down like flies. Not that they needed a reason. They killed as sport. We were nothing to them. Entire families dead, lying there, with fathers on top of the heap as they tried to protect their children from the bullets of the communists."

But the Ukrainian genocide has its deniers and revisionists. Unlike the madmen who deny the Jewish Holocaust, however, these people are often treated with respect and authority.

Still today there are university teachers, media figures and politicians who will minimize or even dismiss the suffering of the Ukrainian people.

They argue that if the starvation did happen it was a natural occurrence. Or they somehow imply the Ukrainians brought the whole thing on themselves because of their sense of national pride, or because they stood in the way of progress. Statements and attitudes that are grotesque and horrible, but for some reason have been allowed and even encouraged.

All holocaust denial is wrong. All denial of human cruelty is wrong. All feelings of racial superiority are wrong. A dead baby is a dead baby. White, black, Jewish, gentile, Ukrainian, Canadian. We now know that Soviet Communism was a hellish ideology that had as little concern for life and love as German National Socialism.

Ukrainians have known this for a very long time. They simply want the rest of the world to know it as well.

Not a lot to ask.

Toronto Sun, November 18, 2000

Michael Coren is a Toronto-based writer and broadcaster

Ukraine's Quest for A Mature Nation Statehood: A Roundtable

It is impossible for Washington and Kyiv's officials to keep secret the conclusions reached during the discussions on bilateral Ukrainian-American relations at the special high-level conference which took place in America's capitol earlier this year.

Over a period of two days, the participants listened to two major speeches, and over 70 talks given by 12 discussion panels. All the ideas, wishes and advice voiced at the conference, ignoring the fact that there was just too much information to absorb in such a short period of time, pointed to the fact that Ukraine is most definitely changing its course to a democratic market economy and deserves more attention, more support and more help from Washington.

The most eminent political personalities from the democratic and republican circles in the US, who have been at the forefront of shaping America's foreign policies, were present at the conference along with representatives of the Ukrainian government, and a whole host of scientists and industrialists from both countries. It was, without doubt, the most valuable conference that has taken place for the last 50 years on the subject of the current situation in Ukraine.

The importance of this conference lies in the fact that bilateral relations between Ukraine and the United States of America were analyzed by such forces in the field of foreign affairs as Professor Paul Wolfowitz – the former deputy secretary of US security during the George Bush administration, Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski – the former chairman of the Board of National Security during the Jimmy Carter administration, and Paul Dobrynskiy – Vice-President of the Council of Foreign Relations, as well as many others.

Not one of the speakers said anything negative about Ukraine, although, of course, the panelists differed in the depth of their affection for the country. The panelists asserted that Ukraine is a geostrategically placed European country. They unanimously declared that the government of Ukraine, under the leadership of the

Prime Minister, Victor Yushchenko, has now genuinely embarked upon the road to democratic and market reforms which are slowly becoming an integral part of the young country's life.

In his main address, which took place on the first day of the conference in the Library of Congress, Professor Wolfowitz declared that these new developments in Ukraine entitle the country to more support from the American government. Wolfowitz took into account the following positive and encouraging steps made by the Kyiv government: the liquidation of nuclear arms, the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear plant, and membership in the Partnership for Peace project which operates under NATO. As a consequence of this, by no means, little progress in the development of Ukraine's statehood, Wolfowitz said that the United States should demand that the International Monetary Fund finally hand over to Ukraine the credits of \$2.6 million that it had awarded earlier.

Wolfowitz, asserting that financial aid was the best way to help Ukraine, also assured all those present that aid in any form for Ukraine from the US was not a manifestation of altruism because supporting Ukraine is of national importance for America. Wolfowitz also said that a strong, independent and wealthy Ukraine which can help in the development of neighboring countries, is in the interests of the world and the stability of the whole of Europe. America should also try to influence the European Union so that this regional institution does not close its doors on any nation.

Wolfowitz said that Washington can demonstrate its renewed and strengthened support for Ukraine by receiving it as an independent entity and not like it was an appendage stuck on to America's politics with Russia. It is necessary that Washington makes it clear to the world and to Moscow, that Ukraine is a country that is independently important for America, and that Russia does not have the right to veto the development of these relations. Taking into account that Ukraine and Russia share borders and a history, and not forgetting Russia's relations with the Chechen nation, Wolfowitz said that Washington should always consider how Russia could behave towards its neighboring nations in the future, and that America should never forget that Russians who have survived a multitude of problems will never stop dreaming about reestablishing their empire.

Professor Bzhezinskyj, who is, without a doubt, one of the most important supporters of an independent Ukraine in the circles

of the Washington establishment, when answering one of his own questions, presented straightforward advice not only for the participants of the conference but also for the governments of America and Ukraine, namely that Ukraine is not Russia! Bzhezinskyj's information is self-explanatory, it is based on the following contemporary facts: Ukraine respects people's rights more than Russia; Ukraine is more democratic than Russia; the election of Vladimir Putin as Russia's president was accomplished by a band of oligarches as was later confirmed by the voting population; Ukraine is more honest in its relations with foreign aid; although corruption exists in Ukraine it is not innate and is not on such a large scale as it is in Russia; Ukraine believes that a European-transatlantic community should be allowed to develop, and Ukraine is not obsessed by the idea of renewing the former empire.

Ukraine still has far to go to perfect its dream of statehood, said Bzhezinskyj, but all the signs show that Victor Yushchenko's government is endeavoring to do everything possible to reach the goal of a democratic and market economy.

Bzhezinskyj believes that, accepting the theory that confirms that Ukraine is not Russia, Washington and Kyiv should behave differently in the international arena. He declared that normal trading relations between Ukraine and the US cannot be a hostage of America's relations with Russia. The difference between Ukraine and her northern neighbor also demands that Washington should regard Ukraine differently bureaucratically speaking. For example, Ukraine should not be included in the office of newly independent states of the National Department, but in the Office of European Affairs.

At the same time, it is necessary that Ukraine clearly states to the world that it does not want to exist as a neutral country but as a member of the European community. Ukraine should also pay more attention to achieving its intimated plans for bettering the lives of their people – for this to happen the Ukrainian government must create favorable conditions in order that international companies invest in Ukraine.

Panelists voiced criticisms and the President of the Ukrainian World Congress and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Dr. Askold Lozynskyj, in his address to the American government using statistical data that has not been widely published, proved that Ukraine receives, percentage-wise, less

financial aid from America than many other countries. It is a myth that Ukraine is 4th on the list of countries that receive aid from the US, said Dr. Lozynskyj. Another speaker, Oleksander Potyehin – a diplomat from the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington - stated that there are a range of institutions and intelligence agencies whose only task, it seems, is to emphasize the defects in Ukraine's present-day politics without giving the same attention to its positive aspects.

Several speakers emphasized the historical fact that Ukraine's suffering today is due to a lack of leadership which is a result of the methodical destruction of the Ukrainian people, for example, by Russia and Nazi Germany. It is not easy to eradicate the influence of the 70-year communist occupation on the mentality of the nation. Nevertheless, from the perspective of Russia's desire to rekindle the flame of Russia's glorious past, an independent Ukraine is a key factor in the renewal of the Russian empire.

The thoughts expressed during the conference were far-reaching and their realization, of course, depends on the next occupant of the White House. The representatives of the Ukrainian nation believe that the traditional four-yearly presidential elections in America could harm the steady development of mutual relations between the two countries. During discussions relating to this particular subject, the representatives from both American political groups tried to convince the participants that their candidate, whether it was George Bush or Al Gore, would carry on helping an independent Ukraine. They also agreed with the participants on the idea that it is more positive to trade with Ukraine than to carry on giving aid, albeit on a state level.

John Tidstrom, Al Gore's representative, read a letter from the democratic presidential candidate, in which he assured the American-Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Government, that he would not renounce support for Ukraine after his election to the presidency.

Participants had the chance to exchange ideas during a lavish reception at Yuriy Chopivskyj's beautiful house where brief appearances were made by Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs – Borys Tarasiuk, the Ukrainian Ambassador to the US – Konstayntyn Hryshchenko, and also Ukraine's great friend – Senator Mich McConnel, a republican from Kentucky. The following representatives of the Ukrainian State took part officially in the work of the conference: Oleh Rybachyk – Chief-of-Staff for the

Ukrainian Premier's office; members of parliament Mykhailo Ratushnyj, Ivan Bilas and Ihor Ostash; the chairman of the Ukrainian parliament's board for foreign policies, and a Judge from the Ukrainian Constitutional Courts – Petro Martynenko.

Although there were many companies and Ukrainian community organizations amongst the list of sponsors and patrons for the conference, the main organizer and initiator of this unusual endeavor was the governing body of the Organization for the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, chiefly its board members: Bohdan Fedorak – chairman, Borys Potapenko, Dr. Volodymyr Zarytskyj, Mykhailo Savkiw and Dr. Askold Lozynskyj.

Without ignoring the fact that great efforts are needed to organize and run such a high level conference, the organizers of this forum should consider the possibility of staging such an important and historical event every year.

Translated by Lesya Terletska

Book Confirms Suspected Soviet Atrocities

In his book, *"The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire,"* historian Brian Crozier recounts the personalities, philosophies and events that shaped global politics in the 20th Century. Crozier, a writer and consultant on foreign affairs for more than 50 years and a consultant to numerous foreign dignitaries, was in Washington in November 1999. His visit coincided with the 10-year anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, which Crozier considers the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union. Crozier unveils in this book documented proof of numerous horrific facts about Soviet terror such as:

- Stalin's massacre of 4,000 Polish officers at Katyn in 1940 was not the only one. In all, nearly 22,000 were forced to dig their own graves and were then shot into them by Soviet forces. To avoid a clash with wartime allies Roosevelt and Churchill, Josef Stalin put the blame on Hitler.

- Stalin recruited ex-Nazis into the new police force of East Germany (pp. 114)

- A memorandum from Nikita Khrushchev established a special department designed to "lead terrorist operations on the territory of the capitalist

- Crozier explains how Khrushchev brought Cuba's Fidel Castro under the control of the Soviet Union.

- Communist rule resulted in the death of 100 million people all over the globe (pp 513).

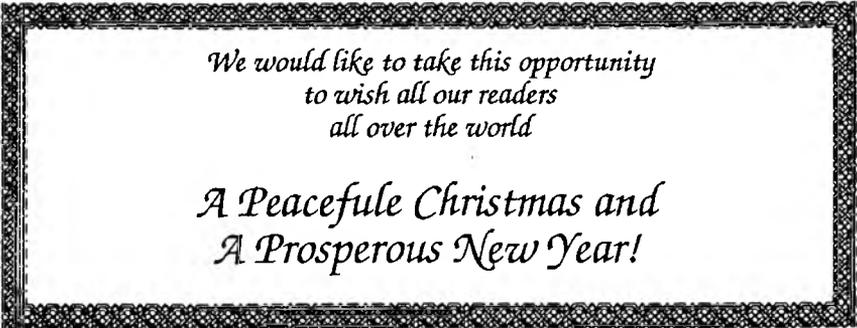
Crozier spent more than three and a half years researching and writing "*The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire*," drawing many untold stories from the vast Soviet archives that were released in Moscow before and after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called Crozier "one of the foremost authorities on the realities and methods of Communism."

"Brian Crozier's definitive history of the Soviet empire is a chilling account of an ideology that haunted our century. It will stand as an important reminder of why we fought the Cold War and how communism doomed itself to failure," said former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Crozier has been a foreign correspondent (Reuters, The Economist) and BBC commentator in English, French and Spanish. For eighteen years he wrote "The Protracted Conflict" column in The National Review. Crozier's memoirs, "Free Agent: The Unseen War, 1941-1991," were published in 1993. In 1988 Crozier was listed in The Guinness Book of Records for having interviewed the most heads of state - 58 from 36 countries in the period 1948-85.

U.S. Newswire



*We would like to take this opportunity
to wish all our readers
all over the world*

*A Peaceful Christmas and
A Prosperous New Year!*

The Congress on the Evaluation of the Crimes of Communism

1. The Crimes of Communism

Nazism failed after Germany's defeat in World War II. Democratic movements have replaced totalitarian communist regimes in many countries. Nevertheless, communism still exists in the world. Today, communist regimes remain in China, North Korea and Cuba. In some other countries, communists either indirectly govern or exert a great influence on the government. As a rule, these countries have primitive economies, they are socially and politically unstable and consequently, human rights are constantly violated.

Communists consider that they are the only ones who know the 'real truth' and how to make people 'happy'. Such sophistry results in the silencing of other opinions. The egalitarian Utopia has from the beginning and still serves, as a cover for these communist maniacs of terror to destroy their nations' economies and to torture to death millions of people. Every instance of the building of communism or socialism ended in violence and terror, because the idea of communism itself is totalitarianism.

The argument that the communist ideal is humane and those mistakes which arise in its implementation is highly erroneous. Ideas of how to realize communism in practice have existed for about 150 years, but attempts to put it into practice have resulted in violence and terror. History shows not a single example of a prosperous country ruled by communists. On the contrary, as soon as communists come to power, usually by coercion or coup, their ideals of equality and brotherhood degenerate into the doctrine of the state's interest being superior to all other interests. The doctrine unleashes intolerance towards non-communist opinion, violations and restrictions of human rights, discrimination against different social and ethnic groups, and finally inaugurates mass deportations and killings. The only institutions that have functioned perfectly in communist countries are prisons and concentrations camps, but no communist country has ever produced enough food and consumer goods for their people.

Stéphane Courtois' book "*The Black Book of Communism*" has rightly observed that as soon as a communist system becomes established, even in its initial phase, it begins a policy of terror

because the essence of the communist system lies in terror. Communists have committed the kinds of crimes against humanity revealed and denounced at the Nuremburg trials. Crimes against humanity are natural to the outlook and essence of communism. These crimes are intrinsic to the nature of communism.

Courtois' definition of communism is far more significant than any enumeration of concrete crimes committed by communists regardless of the scope and cruelty of the crimes committed. The efforts of some Western intellectuals to deny the absolute evils of communism are unavailing. A uniform ideology and a Marxist-Leninist organizational structure have shared by regimes from Paris to Phnom Penh as well as an ultimate purpose – to mercilessly fight and annihilate the nation's so-called enemies.

The heritage of communist regimes all over the world is the largest political massacre that human history has ever experienced. Just during the period from 1917-1989, communists killed between 85-100 million people.

During the period of Soviet occupation, Lithuania lost about 800,000 people. About 300,000 Lithuanian people were imprisoned or deported to Siberia or the Far Northern regions of the Soviet Union. One out of every three of these Lithuanian citizens imprisoned and deported lost their lives from torture or appalling living conditions in the rigorous climate. The Soviets occupying the territory of Lithuania executed more than 30,000 people. Because of the Soviet threat, more than 440,000 Lithuanians fled to exile. Due to the Soviet and Nazi occupations, including World War II casualties, Lithuania lost one-third of its population, and suffered material damage estimated at US\$377 billion.

In June 1998, an international congress of the organizations of former political prisoners and victims of communist regimes was held in Berlin. The participants produced many facts about communist crimes committed in the former socialist countries. The problems of economic, social and ecological aftermath of communist regimes will weigh on the shoulders of at least the next two succeeding generations.

During the existence of the German Democratic Republic, three million German residents were expelled from the country though the borders of that country were closed. About 250,000 people were arrested. Around 190,000 German persons were deported to Soviet concentration camps, and 60,000 of them died from the appalling living conditions.

In Croatia in May 1945 alone, the communists killed about 100,000 people. After the suppression of democratic movement in 1971, 100,000 Croatian residents were arrested.

Communist regimes committed the crime of annihilating whole nations and driving other nations from their lands, e.g. – Chechens, the Ingush people, the Crimean Tatars, the Cambodians, and others. The fact that women and children predominate in the lists of deportees confirms that by extermination and deportations, communist regimes have sought to annihilate entire nations, social groups and political opponents. They showed no mercy neither towards pregnant women, nor disabled nor paralyzed people. In other words, communist regimes perpetrated genocide.

Communism and its perpetrators committed egregious and universal crimes against humanity, but this issue has not been consistently investigated and evaluated either by jurists or by historians. Up to now, communist ideology has not been denounced. The perpetrators of these crimes have not stood trial. The danger still exists that communist regimes will be restored in former socialist countries because communist organizations in these countries were never fully destroyed.

To disguise themselves, West European communists employ popular anti-Fascist labels. The communists of Eastern and Middle European countries have penetrated into important financial and economic structures. Using insidious and deceptive means, communists often penetrate into new organizations and parties and become the leaders of these groups. Consequently, there still exists the possibility that the communists may seize power and resume the massacres of their opponents.

One need not look far for arguments proving that possibility. In Croatia during the first democratic election, the communists won 5% of the vote. During the second election campaign, the communists won 3% of the vote. In Germany, the Democratic Party of Socialism, the successor to the Communist Party, won 20% of the vote in the territories of the former German Democratic Republic. In Albania, the communists came back to power five years after the collapse of the communist regime. Communists have also won elections in Lithuania, Poland and Hungary. Communist influence has also increased in France and Sweden, the countries, with old democratic traditions. In Cambodia, where the Khmer Rouge killed three million people, communists are returning to power. Deception and populist promises are the basis of communist programs in their quest for power. So there are reasons to be

concerned that after the communists gain and consolidate their strength, they will once more begin to terrorize their opponents.

Lionel Jospin, the Prime Minister of France, said that the idea of putting communism into practice is a marvellous one. After such a statement millions of innocent victims of communism from Paris to Phnom Phen have the right to anxiously ask politicians and the world community a question – will millions of innocent lives again be sacrificed for that “wonderful idea”?

The criminal ideology of communism has to be dethroned and condemned. The perpetrators of communist crimes have to face a second Nuremburg trial before the evils of communism recover their reverses during the wave of democratic revolution.

It is necessary to create preventative measures against the possibility of the restoration of communist regimes. Future generations must know about the crimes committed against humanity by communist regimes – the horror of the 20th century. For this purpose, scientific research institutes investigating the crimes of communism and memorials and museums must be established, for the memory of the victims of communist regimes must be perpetrated.

2. The Goals of the Congress

Communists have committed the kinds of crimes against humanity, which were revealed and denounced at the Nuremburg trials. The scope and the cruelty of the crimes committed by communists, at the very least, match the crimes of the Nazis. Nazism has been denounced, its perpetrators punished. International preventative measures against the possibility of the restoration of the Nazi regimes have been created, and it was very astute to do so.

Up to now, communist ideology has not been denounced. The perpetrators of communist crimes have not stood trial. International preventative measures against the possibility of the restoration of communist regimes will be restored in former socialist countries or in the rest of the world.

A Communist regime was destroyed not by force but by democratic movements, and there still exists the possibility that communists may seize power and resume the massacres of their opponents.

The aim of the Congress is as follows:

– To discuss the preventative measures for the possibility of the restoration of communist regimes and how to inform public opinion of tolerance towards communist ideology. These measures will help to undermine communist regimes that still exist in some countries.

– To persuade democratic countries and international organizations to restore justice and pass international acts denouncing communism so that its perpetrators can stand trial with no term of prescription.

– To expand the definition of genocide so that annihilation of people on social and political grounds are included.

– To insist that countries ruled by communists are treated by the international democratic community as countries tolerating and inducing terrorism. To destabilize communist countries by applying economic and other sanctions of them.

– To persecute and punish the organizers and perpetrators of communist terror and genocide with no term of prescription, as with the organizers and perpetrators of the Holocaust.

– To ensure that genocide against any nation or group of people is treated by international and national law as the genocide against the Jewish people is treated, and that no concessions or exceptions are applied.

In pursuing the above objectives, the organizers of the Congress suggest focusing on the following subjects:

1. Analysis of the essence of communism.
2. Condemnation of communist ideology, as an ideology, as an ideology of totalitarianism ending in dictatorship, the violation of human rights and the annihilation of its opponents.
3. Comparative analysis of communist and Nazi ideologies and the crimes of each committed against humanity.
4. Communist crimes committed in different states and regions of the world (statistical, historical and legal data).
5. Problems in legal and political investigation of communist crimes. The definition of genocide, and its specification.
6. International cooperation in the field of investigation and legal evaluation of communist crimes.
7. Evaluation of communist crimes on the eve of the 21st century. The opening of a second public Nuremberg trial (to be announced).

All those who are not indifferent to the victims of communist terror, and who want to protect future generations from communist terror, are welcome to join our Congress.

3. Organization of the Congress

The Congress on the Evaluation of the Crimes of Communism has been initiated by four Lithuanian organizations of the victims of and participants in the resistance against communism. On 29 November 1997, the four organizations held a joint conference and set up a steering committee of the Congress.

The President of the Republic of Lithuania supports the idea of the Congress.

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the municipality of the capital city of Vilnius also support the idea of the Congress.

The Conference of the Congress took place in Vilnius, 12-14 June 2000. The participants worked in various committees. There were two plenary sessions: one at the opening of the Conference and one at the closing of it. The steering committee fostered the idea of organizing a second public Nuremberg trial on communism at the end of the Conference (the Committee looks forward to your suggestions concerning this item). The Conference ended in an anti-communist march in Vilnius.

Researchers, jurists and other specialists and members of organizations of victims of communism from all over the world, and especially from those countries which have survived communist regimes, were invited to participate in the Conference. Two to three participants as guests from each country were invited to present reports related to the subject of the Congress. Mass media representatives, as well as donors were also invited to participate. The Conference was open to all people interested in the issue of communist crimes.

Presentations were translated into Lithuanian, English and Russian. One month prior to the Conference annotations of reports were published in Lithuanian, English and Russian. Relevant proceedings and resolutions of the Conference have also been published in separate editions.

Financing

The Conference was sponsored by the Government of Lithuania and Vilnius City Municipality. Unfortunately, they were not able to cover all of the costs of the Conference.

The Steering Committee of the Congress appealed to the generosity of individuals, organizations and foundations in Lithuania and abroad to assist in the financing of such an important conference at such an important time.

The Steering Committee established the Crimes of Communism Research Foundation specifically for the Congress' supporter purposes the address of which is:

Gedimino Avenue 15
2000 Vilnius, Lithuania
Tel: (370 22) 31 43 79 and (3720 2) 79 10 36
Fax: (370 2) 791 033
E-mail: arvydas@genocid.lt

Please send all donations to:

Lithuanian Savings Bank S.W.I.F.T.
Account N^o: 1655006095
J. Basanaviciaus St. 9, 2631 Vilnius, Lithuania
Tel: (370 2) 62 61 76

The Steering Committee looks forward to hearing from you. Please send all your observations and suggestions concerning the work of the Congress to:

Mindaugas Stasinkas
Gedimino Avenue 15
2001 Vilnius, Lithuania

Tel: (370 2) 22 71 12
Fax: (370 2) 22 71 11
e-mail: fsicc@lrs.lt

Regulations of the LPKTS Political Program

1. The LPKTS, while executing its program and participating in the election to the Sejm and municipality bodies, is open to a right-wing coalition of Lithuania's patriotic forces based on the principle of equal partnership.

2. The most significant spiritual values for the Union are: the desire for freedom of the Motherland which was developed over the long years of occupation; justice; Christian morality; cherishing national traditions; the creation of a citizen's welfare system. The Union uses the principle of State management as a base for the above-mentioned values.

3. The most important targets for the Union's political activity are: consideration for Lithuania's independence and democracy; the development of a civil society; the creation of favorable material and spiritual living conditions; the liquidation of the consequences of the Soviet occupation and the communist-led genocide, perpetual resistance fights memory.

4. The Union recognizes the very important part the Catholic Church has played in the spiritual education of the nation: therefore, both the Union and the Church enjoy mutual support.

5. The Union seeks to include the nation's intellectuals, highly-skilled specialists and scientists, and countrymen living abroad in the work of creating a new State.

6. We demand that laws are passed which correspond to the interests of the State and forbid communist nomenclature, KGB employees and agents access to High State positions.

7. We continuously defend the freedom of the press and speech as a civil and moral duty; we foster human rights, honor and dignity.

8. We seek restitution of civil and property rights for those who suffered during the Soviet occupation and will try to bring to trial the organizers and executors of the communist-led genocide.

9. We insist that the state compensate for damages incurred during the Soviet occupation by Lithuania and its citizens.

10. The Union seeks to create an efficient state security and defense system covering all the fields of economic and social life, to educate the army in a spirit of humanitarianism and patriotism. National Service will be compulsory.

11. We insist on extensive self-management of Lithuanian territories as the basis for democracy and a premiss for the development of a civil society.

12. In the sphere of foreign policy, we support the integration of Lithuania into European and World structures, first of all, NATO. We support equal rights and mutually beneficial relations with neighboring countries. We support nations who are fighting for their freedom and ethnic lands, and wish to help them in the spheres of education and culture. We invite our countrymen living abroad to help us to strengthen the Lithuanian State.

13. Law and order constitutes the foundation of the State. The legal system for the state has to be improved. Lawyers have to be independent not only from the government but also from the influence of the criminal world. We believe that a lawful jury can suppress crime and corruption. We are in favor of a lustration law and the establishment of lustration.

14. In the field of economics, priority should be given to small and medium businesses and the restructurization of the industry should result in a balance between Eastern and Western markets avoiding one-sided dependence upon Eastern raw materials, energy resources and sales markets.

15. We speak for the strict control of commercial banks, efficient security for deposits, the development of trustworthy foreign banks in Lithuania. Income and property must be declared by everybody, tax payment order, conditions tariffs and facilities have to be defined by the law. Taxation stability, fairness and relative reduction has to be maintained.

16. The foundation of the country's material wealth is based on agricultural companies reorganized into farms and farmer's cooperatives, the processing of local raw materials is an important factor of the country's welfare. The system of farmers and small businesses is to be improved, and the export of agricultural products to be expanded.

17. Education, science and culture must be given priority financing on the principle of balanced sufficiency. We are against cosmopolitanism at school; the school has to be national and civil. The school has to educate an independent personality, creative and moral young people who are able to coordinate the interests of a person, nation and State.

18. The cultural policy has to be based upon respect for traditional cultural issues. We are open to cultures of other nations cherishing humane, classic values of all times and trends – the values assisting in fostering patriotism, the maintenance of a distinctive national singularity, the formation of a humane and cultural personality.

19. In the social sphere, we seek the employment of all able-bodied persons, the engagement of people in independent businesses. Those who are not able to work due to old age, disability or other reasons are entitled to a pension or an allowance satisfying at least their minimal requirements. Particular attention is to be paid to families and young families are to be given the possibility to acquire (purchase) or rent a flat.

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