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BALTIC NEWS

QUARTERLY NEWS REPORT FROM ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA (THE BALTIC STATES)
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Baltic Honours List: Pages 2, 3.

Baltic Honours List

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

Martin Luther KING, Jr.

Martin Luther King's dictum certainly applies to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The injustices suffered by the Baltic people over the past 50 years concern the whole of mankind, not just the Balts. And thousands of Australians — people world-famous for their generosity — have worked in so many ways towards the restoration of freedom on the East Coast of the Baltic.

It is impossible to name all these wonderful men and women. As a start, however, we list today a cross-section of outstanding Australians and Australian residents. They have been chosen by our readers for their special contributions to the Baltic cause (Persons of Baltic origin have not been eligible for inclusion).

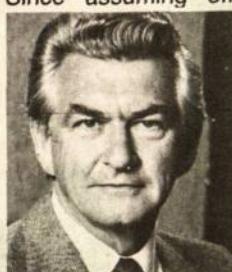
Many other defenders of Baltic independence still remain to be nominated, and further Honours Lists will be published in *Baltic News* each year.

In the meantime, please forgive us for any errors or inaccuracies that may have crept into this initial list.

H. John WATCHORN, Chairman, Baltic Research Foundation (Tas.).

Politicians

Robert J. L. HAWKE, *Prime Minister of Australia*: Since assuming office in 1983, Mr Hawke has consistently reaffirmed Australia's non-recognition de jure of the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

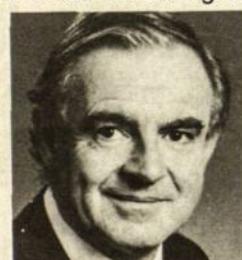


In his message to *Baltic News* two years ago, Mr Hawke wrote, "The Australian Government is committed to the promotion of human rights in all countries and to respect the rights of all groups in our multicultural Australian society".

Lynn ARNOLD, *South Australian Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (Labor)*

Senator Peter BAUME (NSW): Mover of Baltic motions in the Senate, sponsor of Baltic Days, an active worker for the Baltic cause in other spheres.

Neil A. BROWN, QC, Liberal MHR for Menzies, Victoria: Mr Brown's defence of Baltic human rights reached a climax in Guatemala City on April 15, 1988. Addressing the 79th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mr Brown urged that the "silent Baltic issue" should be raised in international forums (More details in *Baltic News*, June 1988, page 1).



Greg CRASTER, *South Australian Minister for Education (Labor)*: Mr Craster has been one of the first Australian statesmen to organise tangible relief for the reawakening Baltic States, in the form of books, educational materials, etc.

Malcolm FRASER, *former Prime Minister of Australia*: Gratefully remembered for his withdrawal of the "Baltic recognition". On January 2, 1976, *The Australian* wrote, "The important thing is that Russia did not take public offence. Fraser-led Australia did its own thing, and a super-power had to lump it."

Cover Photo: Young Lithuanians hoisting the pre-1940 flag of their once free country in the city of Kaunas, on October 9, 1988. Occupied Lithuania and its Baltic neighbours have been edging towards independence ever since.

Andrew PEACOCK, *Leader of the Opposition*: As Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1975, Mr Peacock moved quickly to eliminate Australia's temporary recognition of the Soviet sovereignty in the Baltic States.

While still in opposition, Mr Peacock was impressed by the civil nature of the pro-Baltic campaigns. Speaking at Kew High School on August 24, 1975, he said,

"This is a proper political course, a victory brought about by pressure of migrant groups, by their plausible and persuasive arguments . . ."

Senator Brian HARRADINE (*Independent, Tasmania*): As a trade union leader and later as a Federal Senator, Brian Harradine has been to the forefront in defending the Baltic people's right to freedom.

In 1983, he also reminded the Australian parliament that importing Russian Lada cars with slave-built components contravened the Australian customs law.



Michael HODGMAN (*Liberal M.H.R. for Denison until 1987*): A hard-working friend of the Baltic people. Mr Hodgman was one of the key persons inside the Liberal Party who ensured that Australia's temporary recognition of the Russian rule over the Baltic nations was withdrawn within 4 days of the December 1975 election.

Brian K. MILLER, *former Attorney-General of Tasmania*: Always there when the Baltic cause needed help and support. He became best known for his unrelenting campaign to have the Klaipeda church returned by the Soviet State to the church's rightful owners — Lithuania's believers.

His fight brought results. On March 11 last year, a priest from Lithuania knocked on Brian's door. "I just dropped in to thank you and all the Westerners who supported us," the visitor said. "The church is ours again".

Senator Jim SHORT, *Liberal Senator for Victoria*: Always sympathetic to the Baltic plight, Senator Short visited the occupied Baltic States last year and met a cross-section of people. Since then, he has spoken up for the Baltic people in Parliament and in other forums.



Honours List

Continued from Page 2

Community Workers

Denise BURDEN, of Wahroonga, NSW: Secretary of Keston College, Australia, for many years. Among her many activities, Denise started K.C. Prayer Letters and edited the first thirteen. They feature prisoners of conscience, including all known Baltic prisoners.

Babette FRANCIS, of Victoria: Mrs Francis has regularly publicised the plight of the Baltic people and other captive nations, in her column in the *Toorak Times*.

Mrs Francis also organised a seminar on Baltic women at the United Nations Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, in 1985. (See *Baltic News*, December, 1985, p.6, for more details).



Rev Richard (Dick) HAYMAN, of Aberfoyle Park, SA: Former national co-ordinator of Keston College in Australia. Based in the UK, Keston College is an educational charity which specialises in the study of religious communities in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Throughout the years when the world chose to remain silent, Keston College was one of the few voices proclaiming verified facts on the occupied Baltic States.

Richard HOULIHAN, Vice-President, *The Freedom Coalition*, Melbourne: Another willing supporter. Last year, he organised the *Ignalina Petition*, with Senator Short's help.

Rev Greg JORDAN, S.J., of Toowong, Queensland: President, Friends of the Prisoners, 1981-87; Vice-President since then; former editor of *The Dove*. For many years, Father Jordan has combined his many gifts (educationalist, priest, orator, writer...) to proclaim the Baltic message in Australia and abroad. He is a New Zealander.

Terezia M. KRAL, of Melbourne, Victoria: President of the Captive Nations' Council of Victoria. Terezia feels strongly that, united, the ethnic groups stand a better chance as a political force.

John McKENNA, of Human Rights' Association in Australia: He took up the case of the unpunished war crimes in Lithuania, with special reference to Mr Raslanas.

Wendy OWEN, of Wirrawee, NSW, and **Jennifer WELLS**, of Cromer, NSW: Longtime voluntary workers for Keston College.

B.A. (Bob) SANTAMARIA: As a regular columnist in *The Australian* and *News Weekly*, Mr Santamaria has established himself as Australia's leading commentator on current affairs. Within this framework, Mr Santamaria has kept his readers (and TV viewers) informed on the events in the occupied Baltic States.

Journalists

Michael BARNARD, columnist, *The AGE*, Melbourne: Another true friend of the Baltic people. Mr Barnard recognises really important issues and presents them in a well-informed manner.

Rod BOUCHER, of *The MERCURY*, Hobart: As a journalist, chief of staff and senior executive, Mr Boucher has always given the Baltic underdogs "a fair go". A fine example of objective journalism.

Penny HEADLEY, journalist, *MESSENGER* Press, Adelaide: A regular writer on Baltic events.

Gerard HENDERSON: writes for *Sydney Morning Herald*. One of his adversaries has tagged Gerard "a cold war warrior"; but the latest events show that the truth prevails in the end.

Karen PATTERSON and **Val COX**, both of Bowen, Queensland: Their readers now know the difference between the Baltic States and the Balkans.

Academics

Peter BOYCE, Vice-Chancellor of Murdoch University, Western Australia: On September 19, 1974, Dr Boyce (then Reader in Political Science at the University of Tasmania) incisively analysed, over the ABC Radio, Australia's decision to recognize the Soviet rule in the Baltic. Dr Boyce predicted then that this "decision . . . will haunt the Whitlam Government perhaps even to its electoral grave".

Trevor Garth FENNELL, Reader in French at Flinders University of South Australia: Dr Fennell founded the teaching of Latvian at Flinders University in 1968 and has been in the forefront of Baltic Studies in Australia ever since.

Robert MANNE, Senior Lecturer in Politics, La Trobe University: Has been courageously outspoken in the media during the ongoing discussion of the War Crimes legislation in Australia.

Tom McGLYNN, Senior Master at Alanvale College, Launceston: Although by training a Balkan, rather than Baltic specialist, Tom in 1975 indirectly but effectively collaborated with Gough Whitlam in publicising the major aspects of Baltic history to the Australian public.

N. A. NILSSON, Senior Lecturer in Education, Flinders University of South Australia: Promotion of Lithuanian language and literature.

Writers, Creative Artists

Stuart COCKBURN, South Australian writer and former journalist.

Bruce DAWE, of Queensland: Australia's best-selling poet and a creative artist with a social conscience. He has written poems on Baltic themes; one of these was published in *Baltic News*, in December, 1987.

"Bruce Dawe is a social critic whose weapons are the neatly turned put-down, a deft pricking of pomposity"

(Alan Attwood).



Friends and Helpers

Dr E. G. BROWNSTEIN, a medical practitioner in Victoria: He was among the first to alert Australia to psychiatric abuses in the USSR. Dr Brownstein publicised the case of a Lithuanian colleague, Dr Statkevičius, who was improperly incarcerated in a "special psychiatric institution".

Rev John W. DOYLE, S.J., Vice-Principal and Dean of Studies at St John Fisher College, University of Tasmania: Over the past 7 years, Father Doyle has generously shared his time and talents with *Baltic News* readers, in his capacity as honorary sub-editor of this journal.

Simon GREENER (Vic) and **James COLEMAN** (NT): Computer experts who have donated many hours to set up and maintain *Baltic News* circulation systems.

Patricia HALLIGAN, of Mandurah, Western Australia: As the Western Australian representative of Friends of the Prisoners, Mrs Halligan "adopted" Estonian prisoner of conscience Mart Niklus in 1980 and publicised his sufferings in many imaginative ways.

Bruce KING, of Mount Waverley, Victoria: A great Christian fighter for human rights; and a prominent letter writer on Baltic topics to the editors of mass media in Australia. He has played an important role in the "war crimes" issue, POCs, etc.

Q. ("Queenie") KING of Victoria: Generosity personified. We have, of course, many other generous supporters, and their names are published in each issue of *Baltic News*.

Baltic Hong Kong?

While Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are gradually edging towards total independence from Russia, Western entrepreneurs are looking to this region for new investment opportunities. The political situation is not yet stable; but there are enough businessmen willing to take the risk.

After all, the three Baltic States are ideally situated to become Eastern Europe's Hong Kong, in the long run.

"We have cheap labour, highly skilled specialists, research institutes and good backup services," Lithuanian professor of economics Kazimieras Antanavičius said during his recent visit to Australia. "But we need Western currency to buy Western technology. The Russian rouble is convertible".

Since April 1989, foreigners have been permitted for the first time to hold a controlling interest in ventures inside the USSR.

Soft Paper — At Last

The Finnish company Metsa-Serla is now building a soft tissue factory in Tallinn. It will replace an old cellulose and paper mill, a leading pollutant of the Estonian Capital. Esta-Serla, the new factory, will produce 40,000 tons per annum of toilet paper — a product in embarrassingly short supply throughout the Soviet Union. The joint undertaking will use waste paper as raw material, and will employ 250 workers, backed by the latest pollution-free technologies.

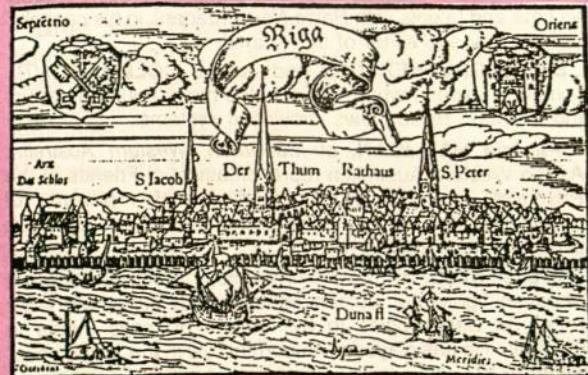
So far, there are about 20 joint ventures in occupied Estonia, and the number is growing. Similar developments are reported from the other occupied Baltic States: Latvia and Lithuania.

An Israeli investor is about to build hotels in Lithuania. A Finnish hotel group has similar plans for the whole Baltic region. Kodak is setting up plants for production and processing of films in Estonia. A manufacturer of artificial diamonds and auto-accessories maker Ertlinger Oettinger of West Germany are also branching out to Estonia.

Finnish capital is financing the ambitious Baltlink project. The aim is to build a road from Finland, through the Baltic States, to southern Europe.

New Business Ideas

In Lithuania, local software and computer service firm *Bitas* has joined forces with the Austrian division of IBM, to start up an assembly plant for personal computers. The new firm, named *Baltic Amadeus*, will have an annual output of 2,000 PCs at first, with potential growth to 6,000. There is just one catch: domestic buyers must pay in hard currency.



• Riga, 1560: Once again, this ancient Baltic city is ready to resume its key role in the East-West trade.

The Soviet Union's first commercial bank was opened recently in Tartu, Estonia's ancient university city. "Our bank is run along Western lines", says Olari Taal, the bank's chairman. It was set up in response to the quirks of the Soviet state banking system, in which a company depositing money may not have full control of its funds."

Easier Travel

Travel to and from the occupied Baltic States is becoming easier. However, Moscow still controls the issue of visas and sometimes takes months to give its approval.

After a break of five decades, the Scandinavian airline SAS resumed regular flights between Tallinn and Stockholm on November 26 last year.

Five days later, on December 1, the Soviet airline Aeroflot started flying from Riga to Stockholm, via Tallinn. There is great interest in the new service, and tickets have been sold out for months in advance.

Estline — Eesti, a Swedish-Estonian joint-stock company, is planning to open a regular sea route between Tallinn and Stockholm. This will provide welcome relief for the overcrowded Tallinn-Helsinki ferry.

Tourist opportunities in the Baltic States are still waiting to be discovered by Western visitors. For the first time last September, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were allowed to participate, in their own right, at the 6th International Baltic Tourism Conference held on Gotland Island in Sweden.

Stumbling Block

In spite of these encouraging signs, the three Baltic States remain occupied by a foreign colonial power — the USSR. The KGB (Russia's secret police) was strengthened recently in the Baltic region. About 500,000 Soviet troops are believed to be stationed in an area barely a quarter of the size of New South Wales. And the Kremlin still calls the tune in everything that really matters.

With the agreement of the Supreme Soviet, the three Baltic States were to change over to economic independence on January 1, 1990. However, the implementation has struck some snags, mainly because of strong resistance from Moscow. Even when the reforms are in place, the Balts will be able to control only some of their industries. The remainder, the so-called all-Union plants, are claimed to belong to Moscow and will continue to be run from Moscow.

The Estonian Union of Work Collectives, originally formed to promote IME (the Estonian version of economic self-management), is now calling for the de facto restoration of independent Estonia. "We have to tell everybody that we want a free Estonia," says Ülo Nugis, chairman of the 400,000-strong UWC. "There is no other way."

Especially if the Baltic states are to become Eastern Europe's Hong Kong, a trading gateway between East and West.

Sources: Roger Choate in *Scororama*; Jaunimo Gretos; Homeland/Kodumaa; *Sluota*; *Australijas Latvietis*.

Some Recent Baltic Events

September 28: Protest rallies were held in Tallinn, Tartu and Moscow to mark the 50th anniversary of the signing of the pact of "mutual assistance" between Estonia and the USSR.

The pact was concluded in 1939 when independent Estonia and its Baltic neighbours faced Hobson's choice: Allow the Russians to set up bases in the independent Baltic countries, or fight the gigantic Red Army?

25,000 Soviet troops were brought into Estonia initially. Military bases were established on the islands of Saaremaa and Hiiumaa. The port of Tallinn was put at the Russians' disposal until the Paldiski naval base was built northwest of Tallinn. People living in the areas assigned to the Soviet bases were forced to leave their homes. Further Soviet troops were similarly deployed in Latvia and Lithuania.

Under the terms of the original 1939 agreements, the leases for the Soviet bases were to expire after ten years. They could then be renewed by mutual consent for another five years. This makes the Russians' departure from the Baltic States 35 years overdue.

October 28: *Rahva Hääl*, the official daily of the Estonian Communist Party, quietly dropped from its masthead the Soviet coat of arms and the slogan rallying world's proletarians.

November 1: Partial devaluation of the rouble: 90% drop for "non-commercial operations". Soviet citizens travelling abroad have been hit without warning: They now have to pay 2,000 roubles for 319 US dollars. Previously, they received the same sum for 200 roubles (subject to a permit).

November 16: A rally of 10-15,000 Soviet colonists in Tallinn called for the setting up of an autonomous Russian republic in the northern and northeastern parts of occupied Estonia.

November 27: The USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law on the economic independence of the Baltic Republics. However, the law is ambiguous in many cases and needs further interpretation from Moscow before the reforms can be implemented.

December: A documentary on the Nazi-Soviet Treaty of 1939 has been banned from screening in the Soviet Union. The film, *Hitler & Stalin 1939* was produced by Estofilm, an independent company. (Director: Olav Neuland. Scriptwriter: Aigar Vahemetsa).

December 7: A Lithuanian citizens' group collected over 300,000 signatures requesting a referendum on voting rights. People were concerned that non-Lithuanian soldiers stationed in this Baltic country were eligible to vote in local elections and so could sway the outcome.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet responded on January 15, 1990, by repealing the offending clauses of the electoral law.

December 7: Lithuania's Supreme Soviet repealed Article 6 of the republic's Constitution, to abolish the legal guarantee of the Communist Party's political supremacy. The vote was 243 to 1, with 98 abstaining.

December 16-17: A new association was formed in the Latvian capital Riga to unite victims of Stalinist reprisals from the three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

December 20: The Communist Party Congress of Lithuania voted 855-160 to become independent from Moscow.



● Communist Party of Lithuania First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas (left) led his party's break from the all-USSR body. Here he is pictured with Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome.

— Photo: Dominique Dudouble/Reuters/Bettmann (POC).

December 24: The Moscow Congress of People's Deputies declared the secret protocols of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact legally untenable and invalid. These documents led to Stalin's annexation of the Baltic States in 1940.

December 29: The Latvian Supreme Soviet followed Lithuania's lead and voted 220-50 to abolish the Communist Party's constitutionally guaranteed supremacy.

1990

January 3-4: Leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party and Soviet Lithuania's government were summoned to Moscow for consultations; Brazauskas, Beriozovas, Paleckis, Glaveckas, Astrauskas, Sakalauskas, Ozolas and Povilonis.

January 8: The Soviet Estonian government raised the price of cigarettes by 50%, beer 100% and other alcoholic drinks by 20%. This attempt to run a separate pricing policy in Estonia was declared null and void by Moscow. By doing so, however, the Kremlin contradicted last year's decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to grant economic independence to the Baltic republics.

January 11: The United Nations bowed to Soviet pressure and cut off informal contacts with representatives of Baltic nationalist movements seeking independence from Russia. Six private meetings had been held in the second half of 1989 between aides to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation and leaders of the Baltic nationalist parties.

January 11-13: Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev visited occupied Lithuania in an unsuccessful bid to win the breakaway Lithuanians to Moscow's fold. Mr Gorbachev promised that the Soviet Parliament would shortly consider a mechanism to allow a republic to secede.

January 30: Representatives of the ethnic fronts from feuding Azerbaijan and Armenia met for talks in Riga (Latvia), under the auspices of the Baltic Council.

February 15: The Soviet Latvian Parliament voted by more than three to one in favour of "carrying out measures to transfer the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic into a free and independent state ... based on humane, democratic socialism".

February 24: Unofficial elections to the Estonian Citizens' Committees' Congress, to be held on March 11-12. The Committees have registered over 500,000 former citizens of free Estonia or their descendants. Unlike the Popular Front, the Citizens' Congress will be outside the existing power structure in occupied Estonia.

Remember Us in Your Will

Please remember *Baltic News* in your will. Your bequest will extend the life of this newsletter, and the Baltic message will continue to be spread.

At present, *Baltic News* has no financial reserves for its future. Will you please help, through your will?

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Help Needed

On December 1, 1989, author Count Nikolai Tolstoy and businessman Mr Nigel Watts were ordered to pay massive libel damages of £1.5 million and £1.4 million legal costs, because of the circulation of 10,000 pamphlets about Lord Aldington's (former Brigadier Toby Low) wartime activities.

These pamphlets detailed Lord Aldington's alleged involvement in the forcible deportation of 35,000 Ustachi, Domotrons, Chetniks, Nedics, White Guards and their families and followers, to Tito's 'Yugoslav' forces. Another 42,000 Cossacks and their families were handed over to the Red Army after being held by British forces in Austria in 1945. These people were subsequently executed.

Such brutality has many parallels with the experiences of the Baltic people during Soviet occupations. I feel Count Tolstoy thoroughly deserves our support in the face of this latest injustice.

Count Tolstoy is also the author of two outstanding historical works, *The Victims of Yalta* and *The Minister and the Massacres*.

I attended a public seminar in Melbourne on June 24, 1989, where Count Tolstoy explained the background to his impending libel case. He

came across as a fair-minded, meticulous and concerned individual.

On behalf of Nikolai Tolstoy, justice and most important — the silent victims of Communism, let us help the victims of this libel case — now! **Andrew BIMBA**, Blackburn North, Vic.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Donations may be sent to Forced Repatriation Defence Fund (Australia), PO Box 8, Chadstone, Victoria 3048. The Trustees of the Fund are: Joseph Cuk, Peter Koziell, Terezia M. Kral, Michael L. Lawriwsky, Vytas P. Šalkūnas, Ian C. F. Spry, Nicholas Wirubov.*



Count Tolstoy

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It's Our Birthday — Thanks for the Presents!

BALTIC NEWS is 15 years old this month. From humble beginnings in 1975 we have grown into the widest read English-language Baltic periodical in Australia and in the whole Southern hemisphere. BALTIC NEWS is now regularly quoted by the mass media and is used as a reliable source by researchers.

We thank our team of 55 volunteers in four States of Australia, whose untiring work has kept BALTIC NEWS going for a decade and a half. We also thank you, our readers and supporters, for your continued subscriptions and donations. Each issue of BALTIC NEWS now costs \$4,000 — mainly for printing, distribution and postage. Without voluntary helpers, this amount would double.

However, even the rockbottom sum of \$4,000 is not easy to raise every three months. We are therefore indebted to the groups and clubs who come to our assistance. One such association is Lithuanian LKVS Ramovė in Adelaide: every November, they run a funds drive for BALTIC NEWS. Last November, they once again raised \$800. Many thanks!

We also thank all our subscribers and supporters for the following contributions, received since our last issue:

NSW and ACT: Lithuanian Co-op Credit Society TALKA, Sydney Branch, \$200; E. Laurinaitiene, \$30; V. Staneviciene, \$25; F. Borumas; G. Garda, B. Hornas, O. Jarmalaviciene, Mr and Mrs J. and P. Kusleikis, Mrs E. Ladyga, Mr and Mrs J. Traimanis, J. Vencloviene, \$20 each; E. Baueris, C. Jurskis, Mr and Mrs A. J. Sidlauskas, T. M. Stokes, \$10 each; A. Brunkiene, Mrs V. Narusis, A.

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Savickiene, A. Vinevicius, \$5 each; V. Miezis, \$2. Total \$427.

Vic: Federation of Latvian organisations in Victoria, \$300; A. and D. Grikepelis, Q. King, \$50 each; Geelong Lithuanian Association, Fr F. Monaghan, \$30 each; Anonymous, Fr F. Burns, J. Sniras, \$25 each; V. Bieliauskas, A. Bogins, A. D. Damper, Z. Galitis, V. Gestautas, Dr T. Jaskewycz, A. Kalpokas, P. Lorenz, E. Sidlauskas, M. Teichmann, \$20 each; J. P. Prendergast, \$15; Anonymous, S. Rasimas, E. Stundzenas, J. Vejins, J. Zitkeviciene, \$10 each; M. Zvirblis, \$3. Total \$778.

Collected by Lithuanian Association LKVS Ramovė, Adelaide Branch: LKVS "Ramovė", Adelaide, \$57; J. Cibulskis, \$50; LK "Caritas" Inc, S. and A. Pacevicius, Rev J. Petraitis, MIC, \$25 each; Adelaide Lithuanian Library, K. Diciuniene, L. Gerulaitis, Juoz Rupinskas, Z. Stankus, J. and V. Vosylius, J. Vaboliene, \$20 each; Lithuanian Catholic Women's Association (SA), Adelaide Lithuanian Women's Handicrafts Group, N. and A. Balsys, O. Bazuene, A. Dansevicius, J. Doneila, A. Gudas, J. and A. Gudelis, J. Janulioniene, K. Kaminskas, P. Kuisys, Kildasius, A. Maineliene, J. Poskus, V. Patasius, V. Patupas, M. Petkuniene, K. Pocius, S. and P. Pusdesris, L. Radzeviciene, V. Ratkevicius, J. and V. Rupinskas, J. Stancinas, A. Stanaitis, V. Stalba, A. Sinickas, A. Serelis, I. Taunys, A. Vitkunas, A. Vikiene, A. Zamoiskis, A. Zilys, \$10 each; F. Adomonis, J. Aleksandravicius, S. Baltrunas, A. and B. Budrys, O. Gudaitiene, L. Gudiskiene, A. Jucius, B. Jurgelionis, J. Jurys, T. Kasauskas, L. Kazla, J. Lapsys, V. Lazauskas, B. Mikuzis, V. Musteikis, C. Paulenais, V. Petrenas, K. Puidokas, P. Stasaitis, J. Sasinene, V. and T. Vasilaiuscas, V. Vieraitis, E. Williambrecht, P. Zabiela, \$5 each; J. Statnickiene, V. Vitkuniene, \$4 each; B. Masiornias, \$3; I. Baksys, M. Ciplys, V. Janulis, J. Ramanauskas, O. Riskiene, J. Staciuns, SV, \$2 each; F. Damosevicius, R. Jablonskis, J. Miliauskas, J. Sabeckis, P. Zutautas, \$1 each. Total \$800.

Various: D. Putinas (NSW), \$100; N. J. Murray (SA), P. V. and N. J. Salkunas (Vic), \$50 each; A. Bimba (Vic), D. K. Hancock (SA), J. and O. Jirgens (NSW), M. Manning — Lobb (UK), \$30 each; V. Petkuniene (SA), B. Repecka (USA), \$25 each; F. Burton (Qld), V. Ilguinas (SA), L. and V. Janovs (Qld), D. Kaleda (NSW), V. Kaminskas, J. Kutka, O. Maciukas, E. Rulla, B. Zanol (SA), \$20 each; Anonymous (Vic), V. Prisceponka (Canada), M. A. Sawyer (SA), \$15 each; I. Andernovics (SA), Anonymous (Tas), A. Baltutis (NT), S. Bernotas (Qld), A. Cooper (Tas), P. and E. Matukas (SA), A. and M. Mukans (NSW), C. Nowak (USA), L. Vaiciulevicius (SA), \$10 each; E. Dawson, S. and J. Geste (WA), \$5 each; M. Johnson (NT), Rev E. Webber (Tas), \$15 each. Total \$725.

TOTAL DONATIONS and subscriptions received during the past quarter: \$2,730.

A few further donations arrived after this issue had gone to print. They will be gratefully acknowledged in the next BALTIC NEWS.

BOOK REVIEW by George F. WARD*

Treachery and Deceit in the Baltic, 1944-55

Tom BOWER. *Red Web: MI6 and the KGB Master Coup* (Aurum Press, London, 1988). Recommended Australian retail price, \$34.95.

Tom Bower's *Red Web* adds to the history of the Baltic States since the Russian Revolution. Sub-titled *MI6 and the KGB Master Coup***, *Red Web* details post-World War II British and US intelligence operations against the USSR through Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. It is a work dark with deceit, deception and treachery.

Bower, a law graduate from the London School of Economics, claims that his book is the story of how, from 1944 to 1955, the KGB firstly compromised and then controlled SIS's entire intelligence network in the Baltic States, completely deceiving the British and Americans. He has drawn on recently declassified information from American, German and Swedish sources, although his system of referencing is barely adequate. Bower also gained access in the USSR to KGB files and officers. The latter gave him detailed personal accounts of their Baltic operations.

According to Bower, in 1945, the KGB ingeniously established its own "partisan" groups to meet, house and "assist" incoming agents, control their movements and contacts, and provide them with spurious information to pass back to their controllers. In due course, British agents located genuine partisan groups in the three Baltic States, unwittingly betraying them to the KGB and an unknown number of Baltic partisans and patriots disappeared without trace, were executed or imprisoned.

The KGB was able to send its own undercover officers and agents to the West to be de-briefed, re-trained, armed, financed and returned to the Baltic States by the unsuspecting British. Furthermore, KGB agents among emigres in the West were infiltrated into the British networks and kept their masters in Moscow informed. US intelligence operations in the Baltic States were similarly compromised.

Different Objectives

According to Bower, the British were slow to recognise that their operations were providing little intelligence. He makes a telling point that SIS objectives differed from those of the agents and some of their controllers, who were expecting to fight a guerilla war against the occupiers. Once SIS concluded that their operations were under KGB control, they were terminated after attempts were made to run them back against the KGB. Inevitably, genuine SIS agents in the Baltic States were abandoned and rounded up by the Soviets.

In assessing *Red Web*, one is struck by Bower's attack on the SIS, the Baltic States and their citizens. Firstly, he attributes the debacle of SIS operations to a failure to learn from past errors. In particular, he notes that the officers used for running post-World War II operations were those duped by the KGB in highly successful pre-war operations, most notably "The Trust".

Secondly, Baltic emigre sources used in post-war operations were also used pre-war and were probably compromised. Thirdly, he argues cogently that the British, like the KGB, had used captured German agents to transmit disinformation back to their controllers and, therefore, the risk of compromise should have been recognised earlier. As a corollary, he implies that operational control and counter-intelligence within SIS was deficient and it was only when the "old hands" had been replaced that the degree of KGB deception was revealed.

** Although Bower refers to MI6 in the title of his book, the British Secret Intelligence Service is known in the intelligence world as UKSIS or SIS: Bower uses the acronym SIS. He also uses KGB throughout, rather than the convoluted names of that body's predecessor organisations. The Soviet Committee for State Security — the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti — came into existence on March 13, 1954. To simplify matters for the reader, I have followed Bower's terminology.

Lastly, Bower asserts that for years afterwards the SIS covered its incompetence by claiming that Philby betrayed names and operational details to Moscow. He states that Philby was not in a position to do so.

On the basis of the information in *Red Web*, these charges appear credible, with the caveat that, owing to the Official Secrets Act, no British documentation is available, nor has a knowledgeable SIS officer confirmed or refuted Bower's argument. Information from other works suggest the claim about Philby's role is probably correct.

Antipathy

Bower implies that the SIS recruited Baltic agents almost solely from among former members of SS and police detachments. Virtually by definition, such people were war criminals. Bower does not seem to consider that many Baltic citizens were as anti-German as they were anti-Soviet. The antipathy towards Balts who fought with the Germans manifests itself also in his attitude to those resisting the Soviet occupiers.

He concludes that to "describe them as partisans or members of the resistance so equating them with the French underground was convenient for them and their sponsors... but was wildly inaccurate". One wonders why this is so as both were resisting totalitarian invasion of a sovereign state. Nowhere does Bower describe Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian KGB officers as collaborators, even when engaged in the torture and execution of civilians, or SIS agents.



● A group of Lithuanian partisans, around 1946: Their hopes were shattered.

Bower's examination of the post-World War II situation in Europe is superficial. He plays down the massive Soviet military presence in the heart of Europe and quotes assessments that the Red Army was exhausted by the push through Germany. However, he fails to mention that this presence remained in place, was instrumental in establishing communist rule in Eastern Europe while the US and British armed forces were being demobilised at an alarming rate, and was itself the *raison d'être* for intelligence operations against the USSR.

Red Web is a limited expose of complex intelligence operations. It offers little comfort to Baltic readers, while those with a background in intelligence work might question why the KGB supplied information and granted interviews to a Western writer even in these days of glasnost. Neither type of reader is likely to sleep any easier as a consequence.

* George F. Ward is a former intelligence analyst, who is now a freelance writer on national security and intelligence matters.

Illegal Draft Challenged

For over 40 years now, the Soviet Union has been breaching Article 51 of the 1949 Geneva Convention — and is still getting away with it. But young Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian conscripts — who are the victims of these breaches — are starting to rebel.

Under Article 51 of the Geneva Convention "an occupying state is not allowed to force inhabitants of the occupied territories to serve in its armed or subsidiary forces." The convention was signed by 59 countries on August 12, 1949 and was ratified by the USSR in 1954.

In spite of this commitment, the Soviet Union has violated the convention from the very beginning, and has been enlisting male adults of the occupied Baltic States for a two or three year service in the Soviet Army. The occupied status of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania has been confirmed by most Western countries, and recently also by the three Baltic republics' Supreme Soviets.

The Moscow rulers make most conscripts serve outside their own countries and mix them up in multi-national units. In this way, the army performs an essential homogenising task of shaping the Russian-speaking "Soviet men," in an empire made up of more than 100 different nationalities.

Resentment among the occupied Baltic population came to a head in the 1980s when undisclosed numbers of Baltic draftees died or were wounded in Afghanistan.

Maltreatment

However, the Afghan ceasefire did not stop the Balts' worries. Reports kept pouring in of Baltic conscripts' bastardisation and maltreatment in the Soviet peacetime troops. Dozens of Baltic soldiers have died in unexplained circumstances, dozens of others are said to have committed suicide.

Lithuanian conscript Ričardas Griskaitis allegedly lost his life by hanging in army barracks, and was buried on October 29, 1987. Antanas Svinkunas died similarly, and was buried on November 17, 1987. In both cases, the bodies were severely mutilated and had stab wounds — hardly consistent with suicide.

Soviet authorities will not release any statistics, but it is now clear that such malpractices are widespread. Lithuanian military commissar Algimantas Visockis started collecting evidence in 1988. By mid-November 1989, he had a list of 104 deaths from among the Lithuanian conscripts alone.

The hostile attitude towards Baltic recruits has been fed by negative reporting in the Soviet central press, on the Baltic developments. The media accusations of "separatism" and "nationalism" encourage Russian and Asian servicemen to take it out on their Baltic "comrades at arms."

"They ridiculed me and bashed me up many times," testifies Robertas Grigas, a former Lithuanian conscript. "They threatened to kill me, and I knew they



were not joking. When I caught dysentery, they left me lying on a concrete floor in solitary confinement for four days, and denied me medical treatment."

Sealed Coffins

People's suspicions are further fuelled by the fact that the conscripts' corpses are sent back to their home countries in tin coffins which the parents are not allowed to open. They have to accept the cause of death given by the army officers.

In the spring of 1989, large-scale public meetings were held in the occupied Baltic States, protesting against the persecution of Baltic youths in the Soviet Army, and their compulsion to serve outside their native countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The rallies, often staged by women's organisations, voiced strong demands to set up Balts' own national — territorial army units, if conscription could not be eliminated altogether.

Rise of Objections

Geneva-49 action groups soon sprang up in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia, demanding enforcement of the 1949 Geneva convention. In the meantime, the Baltic citizens were urged to return their Soviet conscription certificates to enlistment offices.

The campaign of objection is certainly gaining momentum. By the end of last year, nearly 600 Estonians, many reservists among them, had sent their conscription certificates to Rein Pöder, head of Estonia's enlistment office. The Soviet news agency Tass reported last November that some 200 people had refused to perform military service in Latvia. In Lithuania, the number of conscientious objectors was around 1,000 then. Eighteen men were facing charges of draft refusal, with another 14 court cases to follow soon. In Tartu, 7 Estonians out of 14 summoned to the local enlistment office on one day (December 14) refused to go to the Soviet Army.

On December 6, 1989, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet passed a resolution declaring the republic's right to restore its own territorial army and adopt its own legislation on defence matters. The decision proposes an alternative labour service for all objectors. The Soviet parliaments of Latvia and Lithuania have also passed similar resolutions, supporting the calls for the formation of national military units.

These moves are symbolic for the time being, because Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov has the final say — and he has flatly rejected the Baltic people's demands. But a start has been made.

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Postal address: **Baltic News**, PO Box 272, SANDY BAY, Tasmania, 7005 (Australia). Phone (002) 25 2505.

Victorian representative: PO Box 118, CHELSEA, Vic, 3196. NSW/ACT representative: PO Box 414, CAMPSIE, NSW, 2194.

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