

Will the neo-Stalinist crackdown hit Poland?

by Konstantin George

The people of the Soviet Union awoke on the morning of Monday, Sept. 12, to the following news bulletin broadcast by Soviet radio and TV: "Details of a joint operation by Soviet and Polish State Security organizations against Ukrainian nationalists are reported in today's edition of *Pravda*."

The broadcast cited Ukrainian KGB Col. Konstantin Vysotsky, "The activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists have been monitored by State Security for the past 20 years," and "a Lvov doctor, Sviatoslav Panchishin, and a Kiev journalist, Yuri Ivanchenko, posing as [Ukrainian nationalist] collaborators, have enabled the activities of more than 20 OUN Ukrainian operatives to be rendered harmless, and led to the seizure of much technical equipment and large sums of Soviet and foreign currency."

Colonel Vysotsky said that security authorities held documentary evidence of "subversive activity coordinated against the Soviet Union *and Poland* by the OUN organizations in the United States, Britain, West Germany, and elsewhere."

The importance of these announcements did not lie in the report of a mass crackdown in the Ukraine per se. It capped a series of signals coming out of Moscow and its satellites since mid-August: A return to the brutal policies of Stalin is fully under way.

The neo-Stalinists' main goal, regarding Eastern Europe, is to crush the Catholic and Solidarity trade union opposition in Poland. The vital precondition for this is to intimidate the Ukrainian underground to the degree that the region remains quiet when Moscow moves to crush Poland. The Ukraine, with 50 million people, is by far the largest captive nation, and potentially the most dangerous to the Muscovites' empire. It thus must be contained, for Moscow to isolate and move in for the kill in Poland.

Physical elimination of the OUN is impossible. The OUN networks number in the thousands. It is strictly compartmentalized to avoid a "chain reaction" should one or several networks be penetrated and broken by the KGB. The KGB knows this, and hence the "Big Brother knows all" tone of the news coverage. A reign of terror and mass arrests will occur, to lend credence to the KGB tactic. Thousands of Ukrainians who used the *glasnost* period to publicly speak out on the captive people's grievances against Russification, will be hit by the terror. Already during June and July, following mass anti-Soviet demonstrations, hundreds of Ukrainians have been arrested or taken in for questioning.

Leading Ukrainian exiles are certain that Moscow's brutality follows a "green light" from New Yalta forces in the West, in particular, the Dukakis and Bush camps. As one exile leader told *EIR*, "The Soviets will use this so-called exposé to go after the entire underground network of Ukrainian nationalists inside the Soviet Union . . . and move in the same way against the Solidarity opposition in Poland . . . and the decision to move now could only have been the outcome of some combined East-West understanding. . . . The timing of this is extremely important, just before the U.S. presidential elections. Striking a blow like this against the Ukrainians will make it easier for the Soviets to go after the Polish and Baltic nationalists. . . . How the West reacts to this—the United States in particular—will determine the course and rate at which Moscow goes ahead . . . with similar crackdowns and mass arrests in Poland, the Baltic, and other captive nations."

The Sept. 12 announcement by the KGB emphasizing "joint operations conducted by the State Security forces of the Soviet Union and Poland," foretells the very ugly future Moscow is planning for Poland. Beyond that, it gave Mos-

cow's blessing and praise, by implication, to the brutal boss of Poland's state security, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the interior minister.

Stalinist regime emerging in Poland

Kiszczak is more than the boss of Polish state security. Since the beginning of the August strike wave, he has been the real ruler of Poland. While Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski remained quiet, Kiszczak directed the suppression of the August strike wave. Kiszczak is Moscow's choice to officially rule Poland at the point that the crisis forces Jaruzelski's ouster.

Kiszczak is a GRU (Soviet military intelligence) careerist. His career extends back to the postwar period when, as a junior officer, he worked for Soviet military counterespionage in operations that rounded up and liquidated Armija Krajowa (Home Army) and other anti-Soviet opposition forces. From the late 1960s to 1972, he headed counterespionage for Polish military intelligence, and from 1972-79, he was the boss of Polish military intelligence.

The other key figure is Gen. Florian Siwicki, the defense minister. He, too, is career GRU. A low-ranking officer in the 1970s, he suddenly "vanished," and was secretly trained by the GRU in the Soviet Union (Odessa and other locations). After martial law was proclaimed in Poland in February 1981, Siwicki reappeared as a general, becoming defense minister.

When Lech Walesa ended all strikes on Sept. 1, Kiszczak only intensified his reign of terror. Hundreds of strikers and activists have been summoned to "speedy trial" courts, undergone trials of one or two hours, and been sentenced to prison terms of one, two, or several months to keep them out of action during the critical autumn period. Others who had been employed at plants that struck have been fired. Thousands of others or their relatives have been moved to the bottom of the waiting list for housing. The average wait for an apartment in Poland is 26 years. Someone who has waited 20 years had hope of getting an apartment "soon," but now, can plan on waiting another 26 years.

There are also rewards for those willing to turn informer for Kiszczak's state security. The doors to consumer goods and apartments, can be quickly opened.

Other elements in Kiszczak's new regime include forcing opposition labor activists to work 70 or 80 hours per week. With the exhausted husband always away from home, state security moves in on the wife, combining threats and consumer rewards to seduce, materially or otherwise, the "overtime widow," destroying the family.

This brutalization of life is the grim reality in present-day Poland.

'An appeal and a warning'

Twenty-four hours after the Sept. 12 KGB announcement on the Ukraine, ugly Stalinist pronouncements were issued in Warsaw. Polish government spokesman Jerzy Urban prefaced his weekly press conference by announcing that he was

speaking on behalf of Interior Minister Kiszczak. Then, he declared that the pre-"round table" talks scheduled for Sept. 14 between Kiszczak and opposition leader Lech Walesa had been "canceled," because Solidarity had posed as a condition for the talks that it be legalized. Urban called this "an all-or-nothing" position, and said, "He who wants everything, can lose everything." He defined his statement as "an appeal and a warning."

Urban denounced the leaders of Solidarity as "extremists, who want to, as in 1981, create economic chaos and destroy the state." This formulation was highlighted throughout the day on Soviet radio. It was a direct threat of a return to martial law. Urban was asked whether he classified Walesa among the "extremists." His answer, "The next round will determine that."

The 'counterrevolution'

The shift to Stalinist brutality had been clearly signaled in the Soviet press in early September. On Sept. 2, *Pravda* carried an interview with KGB chief Viktor Chebrikov, denouncing the West for directing the national unrest in the empire. This was followed by a Sept. 6 *Pravda* commentary charging the West with acting "to prod the forces of counterrevolution into action" in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The use of the term "counterrevolution" in connection with once-invaded Czechoslovakia certified the triumph of the neo-Stalinist faction. It was a positive reply to a scathing attack from the Czechoslovak party leadership on "illusions" in Moscow concerning "counterrevolution" in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. itself. On Aug. 18, an article had appeared in the Czech literary weekly *Kmen* by Eva Fojtikova, the Russian-trained wife of Czech Politburo member Jan Fojtik. Some excerpts:

"One must not forget that the U.S.S.R. has not gone through . . . the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish counterrevolutions—who today still dares to call these events that?—and that the Soviets have had no direct experience in this kind of thing. That is why so many illusions survive [in Moscow], and that is why the danger [of counterrevolution] is so great."

Fojtikova then asserts that the "counterrevolution" has spread into the U.S.S.R. itself, blasting *glasnost* for promoting "terminological confusion" and "considerable chaos," which have created a situation "analogous to what was happening in our country in 1968."

The Soviet Union is undergoing "counterrevolution" and its leaders are failing to recognize it? This is not the kind of statement an Eastern European, even the wife of a Politburo member, can make without the full backing of not just the Czech leadership, but the Soviet KGB and other powerful Soviet forces.

In Moscow, matters could come to a head as early as October, and given the dimensions of the economic and nationalities crises hitting the empire, nothing that is bloody can be ruled out.