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-----TEAR LINE-----

KATYN AND WALLENBERG--TWO REASONS WHY EASTERN EUROPE IS STILL  
CYNICAL ABOUT "GLASNOST"

DURING HIS RECENT SWEEP THROUGH EASTERN EUROPE, SOVIET LEADER  
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV URGED HIS ROMANIAN HOSTS TO BE MORE OPEN "ABOUT  
THEIR SHORTCOMINGS." IN EAST BERLIN, HE CALLED ON REPORTERS TO  
"WRITE THE TRUTH." THE AGING LEADERS OF BOTH COUNTRIES, HOWEVER,  
FEAR MR. GORBACHEV'S "GLASNOST" BECAUSE REFORM AND OPENNESS CAN  
ONLY  
LOOSEN THEIR GRIP ON POWER. THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE, ON THE  
OTHER HAND, WELCOME GLASNOST BECAUSE SUCH WINDS OF CHANGE WILL  
SURELY BRING A LESS REPRESSIVE FUTURE. BUT MANY WILL CONTINUE TO BE  
CYNICAL ABOUT GLASNOST UNTIL THE SOVIET LEADER TELLS THE TRUTH ABOUT  
AT LEAST TWO UNRESOLVED MYSTERIES IN MODERN SOVIET HISTORY--THE  
KATYN FOREST MASSACRE AND THE FATE OF SWEDISH DIPLOMAT AND  
HUMANITARIAN RAOUL WALLENBERG.

NOT MANY PEOPLE OUTSIDE POLAND HAVE EVER HEARD OF THE KATYN  
FOREST MASSACRE--A CRIME OF GENOCIDE COMMITTED IN EARLY  
1940--BECAUSE MUCH OF THE IMPACT OF THIS ATROCITY WAS LOST IN THE  
CONFUSING AFTERMATH OF THE KREMLIN'S OFFICIAL COVER-UP.

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IN 1943 A SERIES OF SHALLOW GRAVES WAS DISCOVERED IN THE SO-CALLED KATYN FOREST, A HEAVILY WOODED AREA NEAR THE RUSSIAN CITY OF SMOLENSK. AN INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TEAM, FLOWN IN FOR THE EXHUMATION, FOUND THAT THE MASS GRAVES CONTAINED THE REMAINS OF MORE THAN 4,200 POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR WHO HAD BEEN CAPTURED DURING THE RED ARMY'S SEPTEMBER 1939 INVASION OF EASTERN POLAND AND LATER INTERNED IN A PRISONER OF WAR CAMP AT KOZELSK, SOUTHWEST OF MOSCOW.

THE MOST COMMONLY ACCEPTED VERSION OF THE MASSACRE IN THE WEST IS BASED ON A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS HELD BY THE KATYN MEMORIAL FUND IN LONDON. ACCORDING TO A SYNOPSIS OF THE VOLUMINOUS DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE, THE PRISONERS FROM KOZELSK WERE TAKEN TO KATYN AND SLAIN IN A MASS EXECUTION. ALL OF THEM HAD BEEN SHOT IN THE NAPE OF THE NECK. MOST HAD THEIR HANDS TIED BEHIND THEM, AND SOME SHOWED SIGNS OF HAVING BEEN BAYONETTED. DIARIES AND UNPOSTED LETTERS TAKEN FROM THE POCKETS OF MASSACRED PRISONERS POINT TO MID-APRIL 1940 AS THE MOST LIKELY DATE OF THE ATROCITY.

THE SOVIET VERSION OF THE KATYN MASSACRE IS BASED ON THEIR ASSERTION THAT THE VICTIMS WERE SLAIN IN JULY OF 1941--A DATE THAT CONVENIENTLY ALLOWS MOSCOW TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR THE ATROCITY TO THE NAZI OCCUPATION FORCES, WHO INVADED THE SOVIET UNION IN JUNE 1941 AND QUICKLY OVERRAN THE SMOLENSK AREA.

OVER THE YEARS, THE KREMLIN HAS CAREFULLY NURTURED ITS VERSION OF THE MASSACRE, EMBELLISHING IT AS RECENTLY AS THE LATE 1960S THROUGH AN ORTHOGRAPHIC SLEIGHT-OF-HAND THAT DELIBERATELY CONFUSED KATYN WITH KHATYN. KHATYN IS A BYELORUSSIAN VILLAGE NEAR MINSK WHERE HUNDREDS OF INHABITANTS WERE BURNED TO DEATH IN LATE MARCH 1943--ONE OF MANY SUCH VILLAGES THAT WERE RAVAGED BY THE NAZI ARMY OF OCCUPATION. THE KREMLIN CLEVERLY SINGLED OUT KHATYN, BUILT A HUGE MONUMENT THERE IN 1969 AND THEN PUBLISHED A BROCHURE THAT SHOWS TOURISTS FROM COUNTRIES ALL OVER THE WORLD PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE VICTIMS OF THE "KHATYN MASSACRE."

IN MID-MAY OF THIS YEAR, KATYN SUDDENLY MADE FRONT-PAGE HEADLINES IN POLAND, WHERE PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE MASSACRE HAS BEEN SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDED FOR MORE THAN FOUR DECADES. "MANY OF US THINK THAT THE RUSSIANS DID IT," SAID LUDWIG KRASUCKI, EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE "NOWE DROGI" (NEW IDEAS), THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY'S INTELLECTUAL JOURNAL.

NOTING THE IMPACT GLASNOST HAS ALREADY HAD ON POLAND'S CLOSED SOCIETY, MR. KRASUCKI SAID: "I WAS THE FIRST PARTY MEMBER EVER TO SAY SUCH A THING. BUT IF YOU HAD ASKED ME A YEAR OR TWO AGO ABOUT KATYN, I WOULD HAVE SAID THAT I WAS WAITING FOR THE TIME WHEN I COULD TALK ABOUT IT. NOW IS THE TIME."

THE KATYN MASSACRE WOULD NEVER HAVE HAPPENED IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT OF 1939--TO THIS DAY ONE OF MOSCOW'S GREATEST INTERNATIONAL EMBARRASMENTS. THIS TREATY SET THE STAGE FOR THE PARTITIONING OF POLAND, WITH THE GERMAN ARMY TO INVADE FROM THE WEST AND THE SOVIET ARMY FROM THE EAST. IT WAS DURING THE SOVIET INVASION THAT THE KATYN PRISONERS WERE TAKEN AND SENT TO INTERNMENT CAMPS IN THE USSR.

THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT WAS, IN FACT, THREE SEPARATE

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TREATIES SIGNED IN 1939. THE FIRST WAS A TRADE TREATY SIGNED IN BERLIN ON AUGUST 21 BY WHICH NAZI GERMANY AGREED TO ADVANCE A CREDIT OF 200 MILLION MARKS TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE SECOND WAS A NON-AGGRESSION TREATY CONCLUDED IN MOSCOW ON AUGUST 23. IT CONTAINED THE USUAL CLAUSES FOR RENOUNCING AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS ON THE OTHER. THE THIRD DOCUMENT, A SECRET PROTOCOL ALSO SIGNED IN THE KREMLIN ON AUGUST 23, PROVIDED--THE WORLD WOULD SOON DISCOVER--FOR THE DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPE INTO GERMAN AND SOVIET SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.

THE PROTOCOL, BASED ON CONFIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV AND GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP DURING THE EVENING OF AUGUST 23, STIPULATED THAT POLAND WOULD BE DIVIDED ALONG AN APPROXIMATE LINE FORMED BY THE NAREW, VISTULA AND SAN RIVERS. "...WHETHER THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES MAKE DESIRABLE THE MAINTENANCE OF AN INDEPENDENT POLISH STATE AND HOW SUCH A STATE SHOULD BE BOUNDED," THE DOCUMENT EXPLAINED, "CAN ONLY BE DETERMINED IN THE COURSE OF FURTHER POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS."

IN DEFINING SPHERES OF INFLUENCE FOR OTHER AREAS OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE SECRET PROTOCOL SUGGESTED THAT "A TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL REARRANGEMENT" OF THE BALTIC STATES SHOULD BE ALONG THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF LITHUANIA, WITH GERMANY RETAINING INFLUENCE OVER THAT COUNTRY. LATVIA AND ESTONIA WOULD FALL UNDER THE SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE, GERMANY RECOGNIZED MOSCOW'S EXCLUSIVE INTEREST IN BESSARABIA AT ROMANIA'S EXPENSE.

A WEEK LATER, ON SEPTEMBER 1, NAZI GERMANY'S PANZER DIVISIONS MOVED AGAINST POLAND, THUS TRIGGERING WORLD WAR II. THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWED WITH ITS INVASION FROM THE EAST ON SEPTEMBER 17. IN A CURT NOTE TO THE POLISH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW THAT SAME DAY, MOLOTOV ASSERTED "THE POLISH STATE AND ITS GOVERNMENT HAVE CEASED TO EXIST... THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS DIRECTED THE HIGH COMMAND OF THE RED ARMY TO ORDER ITS TROOPS TO CROSS THE FRONTIER..." REALIZING THE FUTILITY OF FURTHER RESISTANCE, THE POLISH ARMY SURRENDERED AND KATYN'S FUTURE VICTIMS WERE DISARMED AND TAKEN INTO CUSTODY--NEVER TO BE FREED.

ANOTHER UNWANTED SKELETON IN MR. GORBACHEV'S CLOSET--AS HE TRIES TO CONVINCE EASTERN EUROPE THAT HE IS SINCERE ABOUT MORE OPENNESS IN PUBLIC LIFE--IS THE FATE OF RAOUL WALLEMBERG, "THE LOST HERO OF THE HOLOCAUST." IF STILL ALIVE, WALLEMBERG IS NOW 75 AND HAS SPENT WELL OVER HALF OF HIS LIFE IN PRISON--GUILTY OF NO CRIME.

A LANKY 32-YEAR-OLD FROM A PROMINENT SWEDISH FAMILY, WALLEMBERG VOLUNTEERED TO GO TO NAZI-OCCUPIED HUNGARY IN 1944 TO SAVE THE JEWS OF BUDAPEST FROM DEPORTATION AND CERTAIN DEATH IN HITLER'S GAS CHAMBERS.

ARMED ONLY WITH HIS SWEDISH DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT AND FUNDS PROVIDED BY THE AMERICAN WAR REFUGEE BOARD AND THE WORLD JEWISH COUNCIL, WALLEMBERG RENTED OVER 30 LOCATIONS IN BUDAPEST AS SAFE HAVENS FOR FLEEING JEWS AND PROVIDED MANY WITH SWEDISH PASSPORTS FOR SAFE CONDUCT. HE IS CREDITED WITH SAVING MORE THAN 100,000 HUNGARIAN JEWS; HE EVEN INTIMIDATED NAZI SOLDIERS INTO OPENING THE

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DOORS OF CATTLE CARS TO FREE DOOMED OCCUPANTS.

BUT WALLENBERG'S HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS ENDED WHEN THE SOVIET RED ARMY OCCUPIED BUDAPEST IN JANUARY 1945. WHEN HE LEFT THE SWEDISH MISSION IN THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL ON JANUARY 17, WALLENBERG SAID JOKINGLY, "I DON'T KNOW IF I AM BEING SUMMONED AS A GUEST OR A PRISONER." THAT WAS THE LAST TIME HE WAS SEEN AS A FREE MAN.

THE SOVIETS DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF WALLENBERG'S WHEREABOUTS UNTIL 1957, WHEN THEN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO--NOW PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION--ADMITTED THAT THE SWEDISH DIPLOMAT HAD DIED IN MOSCOW'S LUBYANKA PRISON IN JULY 1947.

FORMER DETAINEES HAVE PROVIDED NUMEROUS REPORTS OF WALLENBERG'S PRESENCE IN MORE THAN A DOZEN SOVIET PENAL INSTITUTIONS AND PRISON HOSPITALS IN THE 42 YEARS SINCE HIS DISAPPEARANCE. WALLENBERG COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN FORMED IN WESTERN EUROPE, ISRAEL, AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT SOVIET LEADERS, FROM STALIN TO GORBACHEV, HAVE RESISTED EFFORTS TO REOPEN THE CASE.

JUST AS KATYN IS NOW BEING MENTIONED OPENLY IN POLAND, WALLENBERG IS NO LONGER AN UNMENTIONABLE NAME IN HUNGARY. WITHOUT FANFARE OR ANY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT, THE KADAR REGIME RECENTLY ALLOWED THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL TO THE MISSING SWEDE IN BUDAPEST. THE MONUMENT, A BRONZED STATUE OF WALLENBERG SET ON A MARBLE BASE, WAS DEDICATED IN MAY. THIRTY-NINE YEARS AGO, AN EARLIER MEMORIAL TO WALLENBERG IN BUDAPEST WAS REPORTEDLY REMOVED BY SOVIET SOLDIERS THE DAY BEFORE ITS SCHEDULED UNVEILING.

WITH THE ADVENT OF GLASNOST, THERE ARE EVEN RUMORS THAT WALLENBERG IS STILL ALIVE IN A SOVIET PRISON AND THAT, IF THE RUMOR IS TRUE, MR. GORBACHEV MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO LET HIM GO. ONE UNCONFIRMED REPORT SAYS THAT HE HAS BEEN SEEN RECENTLY SOMEWHERE IN THE VAST SOVIET PRISON SYSTEM. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A REAL TEST OF GLASNOST IF THE KREMLIN SHEDS ANY NEW LIGHT ON THIS TANTALIZING CASE--ESPECIALLY SO CONSIDERING THAT THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION STATED IN WRITING 30 YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER THAT MR. WALLENBERG DIED IN LUBYANKA--SOME TWO YEARS AFTER HIS MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE. END OF TEXT

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