

BUDDHIST AGAINST EMPIRE

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by Marju Broder

In Soviet Baltic, an unintended openness

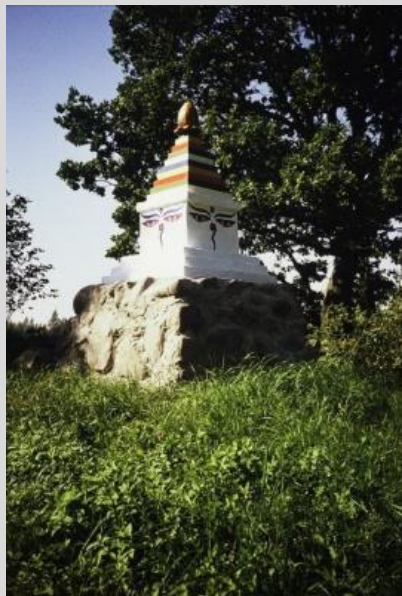
- In January 1988, the world was hit by the launch of the Estonian National Independence Party, the first political opposition party in the history of the Soviet Union, which aimed to restore a free and independent Estonia by working as an opposition party against Communist Party.
- The Idea of the proposal came from the head of the Estonian Buddhist Brotherhood, Vello Vaartnou, who made this announcement at a press conference in Moscow.
- This news was broadcast all over the world, for example on 10.02.1988 Philip Taubman wrote in The NY Times about the proposal of 14 citizens to create the first political opposition party and mentions that this news has boosted Estonians' national feelings and alarmed ruling authorities.
- It has been 30 years when being forward-looking and ahead of time, Vello Vaartnou and handful of Buddhists opened the door to freedom and independence in Estonia. It is time to investigate who is a Buddhist Vello Vaartnou; why and how he came up with a proposal to create an ENIP that initiated the breakdown of the Soviet Union.
- Not much has been published about this event and Vaartnou has not commented this until today, so it will be the first time when he agreed to elaborate his ideas.

- **Soviet Estonia in the 80s**

- In 1944-1990, the only allowed "honor, common sense and conscience" in the Soviet Union was the Communist Party and in Estonia ruled its local branch, the Communist Party of Estonia. The power of this party was based on extensive militia and KGB apparatus, fully subordinated media, Plan Committee and, of course, the Soviet occupation army. Party and all life in Estonia was led by a Central Committee.
- The dissidents in Estonia were mainly engaged in writing various petitions and letters to abroad but these actions did not reach up to actual politics. In August 1987, the Deer Park meeting was held which demanded the disclosure of the MRP Pact and asked permission to erect a statue for the deportees.
- Obviously, the goals of dissidents were totally different from Vaartnou's proposal to create a political party with the aim to take power from communists and achieve Estonia's independence. The party is always created with the aim to take power.
- **A man is the sum of his actions**
- Vello Vaartnou's actions describe him as a person with many capabilities and knowledge in many areas. When talking about the Estonian-born and now Swedish citizen Vello Vaartnou, one must keep in mind that the starting point for all his actions has always been based on the principles of Buddhism and that he has never let society or the ruling regime dictate his way.
- Vello Vaartnou was born in 1951 in Saaremaa, Estonia. He was very active in sports, learned to play chess at early age and likes to play chess until today. When he was 17 years old, he tried to escape from the Soviet Union to India to study Buddhism because there was no Buddhism in Estonia. He was caught at the border and sentenced to three years to North Siberia in prison camp and when he was released, he was 20 years old. This attempt ended with a lifetime of KGB interest in him.

- Coming back, Vaartnou studied etching in Estonian Art Academy and was an acknowledged artist and well known figure in cultural circles being the only one in the socialist Estonia of 1970 who publicly called himself a Buddhist.
- Already then all his readings and activities were directly connected with Buddhism. Parallel to the interest in Buddhist and Taoist philosophy rose an interest in Chinese art. In these times a developing interest in Senge Dongma cult and practices could be noticed in Vaartnou's field of studies, which was followed by interest in the biography of the poet and Taoist 6th Dalai Lama.
- Vaartnou studied 8 years in Ivolga monastery, Buriatya, philosophy, logic, rituals, plus thangka painting and architecture with numerous older generation lamas, his favorites being Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Asanga, Dharmakirti and of course (Golden) Yogacara as Vaartnou calls it, and on which basis he later developed his own art theory „Art as Yogacara“.
- Under socialism, it was forbidden by law to build cult objects and translating and copying texts was very risky business. The same was true of practicing Buddhism. Despite of circumstances, Vaartnou established the first Estonian Buddhist Brotherhood and Nyingma movement in 1982 in Tallinn.
- Under his guidance four stupas were built in Western Estonia between 1983 and 1985, constituting the first Northern stupas into Estonian intellectual landscape. Vaartnou translated and published Buddhist literature, created first Estonian thangkass and mastered Buddha statues, and carried out the first Buddhist rituals.
- These handmade books (samizdat), were the only sources available to most Estonians who were interested in Buddhism. Vello Vaartnou is also the author of the first Estonian language schoolbook for the study of Tibetan language.

Taola books, thangkas, stupas

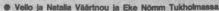


Stupas built by Vaartnou in 1983/85



Time to create our own party

- Brotherhood (also known as Taola) members were outlaws in the communist-lead occupation of Estonia, since officially no one recognized Taola. On the other hand, the constant presence of KGB cars in front of the house and other surveillance by the authorities hinted that the official system was keenly following every step and word made by Taola.
- At the time of the creation of the ENIP, Vaartnou was helped by the members of the Brotherhood - they were the only ones who printed, copied and disseminated leaflets and did other revolutionary things.
- In 1987, Vello Vaartnou, came up with the idea and programme of the Estonian National Independence Party(ENIP) at the gathering in Pärnu. He said openly that it is a necessity to create our own party and take power from communists. His talk in this meeting in Pärnu was held incomprehensible and provocative, because no one dared even to think about taking power from communists.
- On the 30 January 1988, Vaartnou organised a press conference in Moscow for accredited foreign newspapers and made a public announcement of the establishment of an opposition party with the aim of restoring a free and independent Estonia. The New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and many other newspapers were present, as well as US TV company ABC.
- Not a word was published in the local press. However, the news spread like a wildfire among the public. Authorities confusion following the publication of the proposal showed how well-done the move was. In a vague situation, the authorities could not take a clearer position for a long time, only in mid-February an ideological opposition to the press was given.

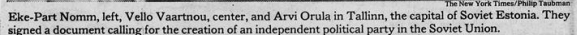


Materials

Ja. Silaska kake lant?

Eke Nónm sánóo:

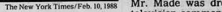
— Systeemi, joka on alusta lähtien ollut yksinvaltainen ja väkivaltainen, jää sellaiseksi. Val-lankumous alkoi suurella tappamisella, ja niin se



Eke-Part Nomm, left, Vello Vaartnou, center, and Arvi Orula in Tallinn, the capital of Soviet Estonia. They signed a document calling for the creation of an independent political party in the Soviet Union.

BY PHILIP TAUBMAN

In 1986, the Kremlin considered two days of anti-Soviet rioting in Alma Ata,



Anti-Soviet attitudes are breaking more and more into the open in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

a tall, broad-shouldered man with light brown hair, joined with three other Estonian intellectuals last fall to propose making the Estonian economy self-sufficient.

In Lithuania, independence demonstrations are planned next week.

- The Brotherhood's house was under constant surveillance by the KGB, the Buddhist library was "cleaned" on several occasions, most of Vaartnou's art pieces were taken away and the militia was used against Taola members.
- As result, Vaartnou was expelled from the Soviet Union by personal directive of Gorbachon on the 10th of February 1988. He became a Swedish permanent in 10 minutes in Moscow without ever stepping on Swedish soil.
- 30 years later Dag Hartelius, a Swedish diplomat, commented in newspaper these events saying that the Estonians used so intelligently the USSR's own instruments against the USSR
- KGB killed some of the members of Taola – Tiina Hallik and Enn Jaanson.
- Unfortunately the first victims of new independent Estonia were Nyingma Buddhists in the ranks of Estonian Buddhist Brotherhood.

1. Taola house in Tallinn

2. From the left: Enn Jaanson, Vello Vaartnou, Dugarzab lama

3. From the left: Anu Rootalu, Tiina Hallik, Eve Parnaste



'I am more interested what I'm going to do....'

Vello Vaartnou:

"I have never cared about public or mass opinion. Already from early age, I was asked - what is your opinion, and I was explained what means personal point of view, and that every man must have his own personal opinion.

- I have to say that unlike in Estonia, I am considered a hero in Russia (by ordinary people and dissidents) and abroad. This proposal was my private business, in which I indirectly involved dissidents. Since dissidents had no plan or idea to take political power from the communists, i.e. to regain independence, I gave the masses an idea by bringing a ready-made program to dissidents with a plan to take power.*

In word, I did a project that I carried out - the Proposal for ENIP, the program and the execution are my job. These 14 people who signed the Proposal must be considered heroes, because there was a deep Soviet time then, but they dared to sign it openly. People exchange views in the economy, in life, in politics, in religions. I'm the same poor wandering monk as before. I don't care about the things I have done, but what I'm going to do.

The first important thing is always the idea, the construction is built around it, and then people are needed to implement it. These dozen people who signed the Proposal, had to be active team in dealing with it.

When the Deer Park meeting was held, I thought why they wanted to force the government to disclose the secret pact because it was not a political step? It was an attempt by timid people to ask the authorities to recognize the existence of this pact. It does nothing.

I found

- I found that the MRP AEG group is not capable to implement independence. I made a party myself and made it public in Moscow because nobody knew or dared to do it."*

Genes affect more than Soviet education

- Vaartnou has said that he would put up Patarei prison again and put the Communists there for serving and collaborating with the occupants. They were the golden elite of the Soviets then and are the same now, Estonian people have a memory of pike.
- It strikes him that there is no political memory or thinking in Estonia either for the government or for the people, and that the only one who was able to come together after the Proposal for ENIP was the Communist Party.

"I was silent and waited 30 years to see what was happening with ENIP, and it went as always. The Estonian people had adhered to the communists."

- **Vaartnou:**

"When I was a little boy, I was told that by legal continuity I am also a citizen of the first Republic of Estonia and that the citizen's oath extends to me as well. About the fact that my parents and grandparents were honest and decent Estonian citizens, I was informed by the KGB investigator Movtshan, who said that I grew up in an anti-Soviet family, and I am a product of my family, and that genes affect me more than Soviet education and propaganda."

In 1987, after the Deer Park gathering I decided to start a political opposition party.

- *As the Christian church lived with the KGB and therefore the Buddhists were the cleanest boys to do it. If I had just done a party somewhere behind the corner, I would just have been shut down. But I took into account that the Soviet leaders were afraid of the Western press, that perestroika was going on and Western society's opinion was very important for Moscow. So I decided to make a press conference for foreign journalists."*
- In September 1987, Vaartnou wrote a program how the Estonian Republic would work on the principle of free trade, and which also included points on the Communists - not to let them into politics and the top communists should be to punished for their collaboration with the occupying powers.

Estonia in October 1987



14 people wanted an independent Estonia

- Vaartnou`s idea was that Estonia would act as an East-West mediator - the rich neighbor must still be exploited. He told about this idea to Eve Pärnaste (Brotherhood secretary) that time, who screamed - in no way.
- Vaartnou:
"My actions forced Russia to offside politically because all Western society had already formed a position on Russia, and Estonia would have had a very good opportunity to mediate trade and administration between Russia and the West at national and government level. With this, Estonia would have earned a lot of capital to develop its statehood. Estonia would have had a favorable opportunity for that."
- *As economic chaos in Russia prevailed, Estonia would have benefited from mediation assistance organized at the governmental level.*
- *I was thinking about the economy when all the people were yelling about freedom. I would have been a friend with Russia because he always remains our neighbor. When the dissidents made the Deer Park meeting, I thought they were just naive.*
My idea (ENIP) was political and came for Moscow as a lightning from the sky, Moscow was not ready for that"
- In 1987, when Vaartnou had a program ready, he went to Eve Pärnaste who was a secretary of the Buddhist Brotherhood at that time, and said - we are going to do the political party. The same evening they went to Erik Udam (dissident) and told him that it is necessary to do a party - on which Erik lighted a cigaret, the thing he hadn't done for 20 years.
- Vaartnou explained that it is necessary to declare independence and the Republic of Estonia because the Soviet Union is economically broke because it has been buying crop for gold already four years (this fact made Andropov to hospital at that time) - it was the best factor.
- And secondly, declaring independence would spoil Moscow plan which aimed to apply new economic policy („perestroika“) but certainly intended to keep together the soviet empire.

- Vaartnou started looking for people to form an active group that will deal with proposal. As Eve Pärnaste was a convinced Buddhist at that time, and was also a secretary of the Buddhist Brotherhood, so she run the party activities as secretary.
- After Vaartnou` expulsion, Pärnaste started to act according to the understanding of dissidents. Because dissidents were not very sharp in politics, they were only able to make the party half a year later.
- Vaartnou traveled around Estonia looking for people to support the proposal. Most people refused to sign the proposal, including all these communists who nowadays proclaim that they also fought for the Independent Republic of Estonia.
- In total, Vaartnou found 14 people who wanted the Republic of Estonia. There were about 1.5 million inhabitants in Estonia and there were no more people who would have wanted an independent republic.
- Lagle Parek (later chairman of ENIP) strongly refused to sign petition, and added that it would kill the Estonian people with it. Viktor Niitsoo (ENIP member from August 1988) told that he will not sign such a suspicious thing and will not participate in such a provocative event.
- So, MRP -AEG group and Proposal for ENIP were completely separate things.
- **Vaartnou:**
“No one of MRP AEG dissidents dared to travel to Moscow with me when I offered it. During that period, my secretary Eve Parnaste was a Buddhist, now she has changed to Christianity. Religious principles changed, also political views changed, this is religious and political prostitution. She left ENIP in 1993, joined with Reform Party which consists of ex-communists, and recently with CPPE”

At that time, nobody just made a press conference

- All were strictly regulated and guarded, and the offices of the Western press were only present in the capital of the Soviet Union.
- It was ironic that, apart from a few collections of self-publishing, the ENIP would not have other place than Moscow to announce independence and ENIP. Also nothing has been published how the press conference was actually organized by today.
- Vaartnou: *" We went with Arvi Orula to Leningrad to meet one person who was helping in organizing of a press conference in Moscow, thanks to the help of a spokesman for the US Embassy in Moscow.*
- *We went to Leningrad, and we were followed by the KGB. In order to get rid of them, we drove by car around Leningrad and then I jumped out of the car on a ride and rolled into the snowdrift next to the road. There were two KGB machines rushing up, without noticing that there was only one person in the car because it was too dark.*
- *I went to talk with my contact person and the date, time and place of the press conference were agreed.'*
- Vaartnou explained that only he and his friend and Buddhist Enn Jaanson knew about the details of the press conference. With Enn he had agreed that Enn will go separately, before others to Moscow with all the necessary documents and papers (copies). Apart from two of them, nobody knew this back-up option.
It was agreed that if Vaartnou had been arrested, Enn would conduct a press conference himself because Enn was able to speak English.
- They would have had a meeting point at Mayakovsky Square where they would see each other three times and wave. First, when Vaartnou arrives Moscow and drive via Mayakovsky Square. Second, if he is already going to a press conference. Third, when he drives away after the press conference. That is exactly what happened.
- After Vaartnou's expulsion in February 1988, Enn Jaanson was killed one month later by the KGB. He was poisoned.

Three people to Moscow with declaration in hand

Vaartnou;

“Me, Arvi and Eke left Tallinn by car with papers and documents around 5pm, so that we would be next day in Moscow, and the press conference was supposed to be the a day after.”

But three black KGB Volga cars were already set on the road , all three were commanded out of the car. Colonel Roos commanded to search the car well and disassemble it. However, the documents were at the same time within Vello`s thermos septum. No one knew about this fact. He said he wanted to drink coffee, and so were documents with him all the time. Finally they were allowed to leave but KGB cars followed them until Moscow.

They stayed over night in different places, and Eke and Arvi didn't know about Vello`s place. They also knew nothing about Enn's stay in Moscow because Vello took into account the possibility that they would be arrested.



At the same time: Meeting in Tallinn 1988 supporting the Soviet Union and the communist party

The press conference for western journalists

- **Vaartnou:**

“The press conference took place in one apartment, and there were two -militia cars in front of the house and 6 KGB cars at the corner. There was already about 20 journalists present, and then more people came. The fact that they were there before was a protective for us.

Then few militiamen came to break the door and insisted - 'otkroyte, militsia” Probably the KGB had commanded everyone to be arrested. The situation became already dramatic when someone shout „kinokamera idjot” was heard on the stairs and the ABC cameraman marched in, and a big light in front of the camera.”

- The militias fled and at 10am the press conference started. Vaartnou introduced himself to journalists firstly, and told them that he had an important message to the Western press about relations between Russia and Estonia. He took out a paper that was like a manifesto.

- **Vaartnou:**

- *“I told them that Estonia has been occupied for 40 years and needs independence, which it will get anyway, as the Soviet Union is in trouble because the Communists have ruined the country. In short, I explained why it is more useful for Estonia to be on its own.*

Then journalists started asking questions - do I mean it seriously, and how I want to come to power. I answered that publicly, through the elections, after which the journalists said it is not possible. I told them that every first time is unbelievable, I use the empire against the empire, and they do not realize it because the nature of communism is conservative, inflexible.

- *Most of the soviet politicians have seen the tsar, attended school at that time, and the current time was incomprehensible to them. Gorbachov led the state but because he is not foresight, he do not realize that the empire would be dismantled.”*

Baltic Separatists Cause New Concern in Moscow

Demonstrations Lead to Fierce Crackdown

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Foreign Service

TALLINN, U.S.S.R.—Packed into a small living room in this capital of the Estonian Republic, 70 members of the New World Church spent last Thursday evening in song and prayer, asking God for good health and long life, saving their most fervent plea for last: let the Kremlin free Estonia from Soviet rule.

The church, an unofficial group of 350 Estonian born-again Christians, has long annoyed the secular local Communist Party leadership with its twice-weekly sessions of Bible thumping and gospel singing.

But as nationalist sympathies rise throughout this small republic, occupied and annexed by Kremlin leader Joseph Stalin in 1939, local authorities are even more unsettled

by the flat refusal of New World Church members to recognize Estonia as part of the Soviet Union.

The church, under the leadership of two Estonian evangelists, is part of the disparate movement of Baltic Separatists, political activists campaigning for the autonomy of the three republics along the Baltic coast: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. All were claimed by the Soviet Union in a secret 1939 pact with Nazi Germany, and all have been the scenes of mass demonstrations for independence in the past year.

While the nationalists were at first allowed to operate quietly under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of greater openness and democratization, in recent weeks they have been subjected to a fierce crackdown, including media attacks, detentions and expulsions to the West. In anticipation of a demonstration in neighboring Lithuania on Tuesday in commemoration of the republic's declaration of independence 70 years ago, Soviet authorities have cut the telephone lines of dozens of local activists.

"We have even been warned against laying flowers on graves," Niile Sadamäe, a Lithuanian activist, said in a telephone interview before her line went dead. "There are policemen and vigilantes gathering in the streets. Nobody is allowed to do anything. But we will try."

In the Soviet Union, whose 15 republics are composed of more than 100 ethnic groups, the Baltic separatists represent the tip of an iceberg. In regions such as the Ukraine and central Asia, residents have also been inspired by the Kremlin policy encouraging glasnost, or openness, and are increasingly public about the ethnic tensions dividing them.

By most accounts, the Estonian activists are a tiny minority in a small fishbowl, numbering no more than a few hundred in this republic of 1.5 million inhabitants, including 1 million Estonians. But in their

See ESTONIA, A34, Col. 1



A34 MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1988

WORLD NEWS

THE WASHINGTON POST

Renewed Baltic Separatism Gives Moscow Cause for Concern

ESTONIA, From A29

opposition to Soviet rule they are nonetheless indefatigable. Last month, 14 Estonians officially applied to form a political party dedicated to the dissolution of the 1939 pact and to a free Estonia. They are seeking to organize another mass demonstration on Feb. 24, the 49th anniversary of Estonia's original declaration of independence. "It's clear, now that either the Soviet Union is going to have to let Estonia free, or we will have to leave Estonia," Hubert Jacobs, a New World Church leader, said in an interview after services last Thursday.

Despite their fledgling status, the separatists have apparently caused alarm within the Communist Party leadership in Moscow. In recent months, they have come under heavy attack in the central state-controlled media, and according to unconfirmed reports, the ruling So-

viet Politburo passed a resolution last December charging the Estonian Party with ideological shortcomings. This was widely interpreted as an order for local officials to stamp out dissidents, including the movement for Estonian separatism.

Since then, police in Tallinn and other Estonian cities have searched the homes of leading activists, detaining some and ordering others to leave the country. Earlier this month two Estonians seeking to start a new party were expelled to Sweden. When the residents of the Estonian city of Tartu gathered for a demonstration on Feb. 4, they were dispersed by policemen with rubber sticks, dogs and tear gas, according to witnesses.

One apparent reason for Moscow's harsh response is that calls for Baltic autonomy appear to strike a responsive chord among a wide number of Estonians and other natives of the region. A rally for Estonian independence held here Aug.

23 drew at least 4,000, according to dissident sources, and at least 800 showed up for the Tartu demonstration.

Anti-Soviet sympathies among residents have also apparently been aroused by the recent official publication of descriptions of some of the nasty aspects of early Soviet rule here.

Under the Kremlin policy of *glasnost*, in the past few months Soviet newspapers have for the first time published details about the deportation of Estonians under Stalin's leadership and other long-secret issues. The Estonian public reacted with outrage: in an official meeting of the union of writers last fall, there were bitter complaints about the mass destruction of Estonian books by Soviet authorities.

Another reason for concern in Moscow is that Estonians have been among the slowest in the Soviet Union to assimilate with Russians,

the dominant Soviet ethnic group and the largest minority here.

Despite an official drive to teach the Russian language, for example, only a quarter of Estonians speak the U.S.S.R.'s official tongue fluently, according to the latest official statistics. At the same time, only one of every 10 local non-Estonians speak fluent Estonian. "I would say that these two groups lead their own separate lives," said popular Estonian writer Udo Tulik at a conference on the Baltics here last week, sponsored by the official Soviet press service Novosti. "Like the Mississippi and the Volga, we just flow in different directions."

With an annual influx of up to 8,000 Russians and other ethnicities into the republic, however, native Estonians are beginning to feel they are losing ground to outsiders. In 49 years of Soviet rule, the percentage of Estonians living here has fallen from 92 to 61 percent, according to official statistics. In the past two years alone, the percentage of Estonians living in Tallinn has dropped from 52 to 50, and by the year 2020, the number of Estonians in the republic will likely plummet another 11 percent, according to official estimates.

The need to preserve things Estonian was the main factor motivating local residents to try to start their own national independence party, according to Eve Parnaste, one of the founding members.

"With the number of Estonians living here steadily declining," she said in an interview, "there is just a little time left for us to try to return

Kremlin Cracks Down on Baltic Nationalism

ESTONIA, From A34

Estonia to what it was and to keep it pure."

The local party, too, has responded to the threat of another surge of outsiders. On Jan. 20, the Estonian Central Committee passed a package of measures to reduce the influx of emigrants from Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union.

The key new regulation requires local firms to pay the state 16,000 rubles for every employee they bring from another republic, and to add another 16,000 for each family member. A family of four moving from Russia to Estonia would cost an Estonian enterprise 64,000 rubles—more than \$100,000.

"We probably cannot cut immigration altogether," said Arvo Kuddo, a demographics expert at

the Estonian Academy of Sciences, during the Novosti-sponsored conference. "But what we're trying to do is limit it."

According to interviews held last week with Estonians, the new measures may still be insufficient to combat the anti-Russian sentiment here.

Even in the New World Church, with its emphasis on Christian values, separation between Russians and Estonians is strictly observed. Church members shun Russian for instance, preferring English or German when not speaking in Estonian.

With the faithful gathered around him in his Tallinn home, New World Church leader Jacobs was asked whether Russian members would be allowed to join. "No," he said flatly. "But we would pray for them."

A historic document: program of Estonian National Independence Party

Below is the full text of the proposal for the creation of the Estonian National Independence Party (translation provided by the Estonian American National Council). We publish it here in view of the historic nature of this opposition party formed to represent the interests of the Estonian people, whose country was illegally incorporated into the USSR in 1940.

The Communist Party of Estonia has not succeeded in representing the interests of the Estonian people for nearly 50 years. Estonians are currently becoming a minority in Estonia; and the state of the economy, education, culture and natural environment have reached a point which endangers the very existence of the Estonian people.

For this reason, there has arisen an objective need for an alternative group to represent the interests of the Estonian people. We propose the creation of the Estonian National Independence Party, whose basic goal would be the restoration of freedom and independence to the nation state of Estonia.

If Estonian national independence had endured, all our vitally important and even minimally important problems would have been solved at Toompea, not in the Kremlin. Neither deportations, forced collectivization, the sending of Estonians to war in Afghanistan, nor the threat of phosphoric mining would have been possible. A nation can best represent and defend its own interests only when it is independent.

Until the independence of the Estonian nation state is regained, the Estonian National Independence Party will defend the interests of the Estonian people in the present political situation, acting as a national opposition party to the Communist Party of Estonia.

We find it necessary to include the following goals in the program of the Estonian National Independence Party.

I. The restoration of historic truth.

1. The disclosure and public availability of authentic materials concerning:

- a. the creation of the independent Republic of Estonia and the period of independent statehood (the history of the War of Independence, the Peace Treaty of Tartu, national culture, national heroes, etc.); the years 1939-40 and the liquidation of independence; the war years; the attempts in 1944 to restore Estonian independence.

- b. the illegal acts of repression carried out against the Estonian people since 1940 (terror, imprisonment, deportations, collectivization, etc.)

II. The struggle for the predominance and increased influence of the nationality indigenous to the nation state of Estonia.

1. The restoration of the prominence of the Estonian language in everyday life and official business — the adoption of the Estonian language as the official language of Estonia.

2. The enactment of a citizenship law for the ESSR (citizenship may be granted automatically to all persons

Only individuals with ESSR citizenship may work within the machinery of the state (the government and other organs of power). Only individuals with ESSR citizenship will have the right to vote.

4. The obstruction of the large influx of migrants, and the provision for the indigenous Estonian nationality to remain a significant majority in their homeland.

III. The struggle against the destruction of the natural environment of Estonia.

1. The struggle against ruinous mining and the unreasonable wasting of natural resources, pollution of the air as well as underground and surface waters, and destruction of farmlands.

IV. Economy

1. The reorganization of the inflexible planned economy into a free-market economy.

2. The transition of Estonia to full financial and economic autonomy.

3. The search for opportunities to develop industries with promising long-term outlook for the 21st century.

4. The halting of extensive exploitation (an end to the artificial expansion of industry; and an effort to liquidate currently existing economic anomalies, for which raw materials as well as labor are imported); the development of intensive exploitation.

5. The creation of a sensible system of industry and agriculture (after first becoming acquainted with the knowledge of highly developed industrial and agricultural countries), which would guarantee an increase in the standard of living, a wage for the worker, and goods for the consumer.

6. The creation of opportunities for free enterprise (including the restoration of the right to own a farm, along with giving the land for use in perpetuity), the repeal of restrictions on the activity and expansion of private enterprise.

7. The creation of normalized trade relations (on a national as well as private level) between Estonia and foreign nations.

V. Human rights

1. The guarantee of all rights set forth in international agreements (The U.N. Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Lands and Peoples, etc.) both constitutionally and legislatively, and the unquestionable compliance therewith (the freedom of thought, conscience and religion; the right of assembly and association; the right to freedom of opinion and the free expression of those opinions, the right to leave and return to one's homeland, etc.).

2. The creation of humanly decent living conditions in prisons and places of detention. Detention and punishment must not involve the infliction of physical suffering and debasement of human dignity. Citizens of the ESSR found guilty by the courts shall serve their sentences in Estonia.

- In total, the press conference lasted two hours, we shared the Proposal to the journalists with our contact details. At the end of the press conference, the journalists literally rushed to the taxis, which had already been ordered in advance.
- The triad went out as well and drove back to Tallinn, the only difference was that they were followed by three KGB black Volgas - one in front and two in the back, obviously protecting them that nothing would happen. Otherwise it would have been a terrible embarrassment for the Soviet Union. What Vaartnou did was sensation, and at that moment all the newspapers are already writing about this press conference.
- After the press conference in Moscow, the New York Times correspondent Philip Taubman came to Tallinn. He made an interview with Vaartnou for several hours at his home, with Arvi Orula was present.
- Vaartnou talked to Taubman about his plans for the party and the situation in the Soviet Union. After the press conference Vaartnou started organizing slogans and printing leaflets, where he introduced ENIP and roused the people of Estonia to awakening. There were thousands of leaflets distributed throughout Estonia. The KGB went from house to house, and picked up the leaflets.
- Vaartnou: *"I spoke to well-known dissidents that they would help print leaflets - they absolutely refused to help me and said - this is your event, you know what you are doing..."*
- So he found a solution without the help of dissidents. He wrote the text on the leaflets and printed them with silk screening. Since KGB car stood steadily in front of the Buddhist Brotherhood house, he had to find a place around which was possible to move easily- it was a petrol station with hundreds of cars a day and around it was possible to move easily. Vaartnou talked with Lasnamäe petrol station staff who allowed to set up printer and Brotherhood printed thousands of leaflets there.
- In February 1988, Vaartnou was expelled from the SU.



MEIDÄT KÄSKETTIIN

läisille, jotka muuttavat Eestini. Militeist suurin osa on venäläisiä. Perustuslailla ei käytännössä ole merkitystä, tulikka Eke-Pärt Velloa, joka on uuden puolteen pääideo-
logi.

Mitkä ovat itsenäisyyspuolueen päämäärät?

— Halluamme, että Eesti saisi itsenäisen aseman. Talous on mennyt perestroikan aikaan koko ajan alaspäin. Ihmisillä on omia yrityksiä; yrittäjät saavat materiaaleja, jalostavat niitä ja myyvät ja keräävät tuoton omaan taskuunsa, valtiolle ei jää mitään. Eestini tuodaan työvoimaa ja raaka-aineita, mutta valmiit tuotteet eivät jää sinne vaan ne viedään muualle.

— Kannatamme vapaata markkinataloutta ja yksityistämistä.

Eikö nykyisessä tilanteessa ole aika utopistista suunnitella itsenäistä Eestii?

— Puolueen perustaminen oli ajateltu ja perestroikan

TIEDOTUS- TILAISUUS MOSKOVASSA

Vello ja Eke-Pärt ovat poikkeuksellisia eestiläisiä siinäkin mielessä, että he ovat buddhalaisia; Eke-Pärt on ikäänkuin Vellon opetuslapsi. Vello on myös taiteilija, mutta hänet erotettiin maalareiden liitosta muutama vuosi sitten. Virallinen syy oli se, että hänellä oli sakkoja liikenneriikkomuksista.

Tallinnassa Vello johti pientä buddhalaista seurakuntaa, joka käänsi ja julkaisi alan kirjallisuutta. Vello opiskeli myös tibetistä ja vanhan mongolin kieltä.

Kuinka innoistui buddhalaisuudesta?

— Olen aina ollut kiinnostunut filosofioista ja buddhalaisia oppeja olen harrastanut 16 vuotiaasta.

Miten eestiläiset viranomaiset suhtautuvat buddha-

15 km Tallinnasta. Meidät vietin miilisiin kuulusteltavaksi, pidettiin asemalla kolme tuntia ja päästettiin sitten pois. Lähdimme uudestaan matkaan.

— Teimme myös puolueelle työsuunnitelman, jonka lähettimme monille eri lehdistöle ja ministeriöille ja hallitukselle ja ehdotimme neuvottelujä.

MILIISIASEMALLA TARTOSSA

— Esitimme kaupunginvaltuustolle, että Tarton rauhanpäivää olisi juhlittu, mutta siihen ei saatu lupaa; epäilivät, että juhlasta aiheutuisi mellakoita.

— Tarton yliopistossa järjes-

Vello on palssi itsenäisyysmiehenä, myös buddhalainen ja maalari. Hän on opiskellut tibetistä ja vanhan mongolian kieltä.

tettiin virallinen konferenssi Tarton rauhasta. Lähdimme autolla Tallinnasta Tartoon osallistuaksemme siihen. Perässämme oli koko ajan kolme KGB:n autoa. Paiten kaupungin lähellä liikennepoliisi pysäyttivät meidät ja halusivat tarkistaa auton. Vello kieltäytyi ja vaati tuomaria paikalle. Meidät vietin miilisiasehalle, jossa auto sitten tutkittiin — meitä muka epäiltiin salametsästyksestä ja autosta esitettiin hirveä. Todellisuudessa tietyt lentolehtiä, mutta niitä siinä ei ollut. Sitten etsittiin mukaa aseita. Meitä pidettiin asemalla lain sallimat kolme tuntia ja sitten saimme lähteä.

— Tartossa meidät pysäytettiin uudestaan ja nyt miilisi halusi nähdä Vellon ajokortin. Vello näytti ja miilisi väitti, että kuva ei ole oikea. Piti mennä taas asemalle tarkistamaan henkilötietoja. Kello oli jo puoli neljä yöllä ja sitten miilisiin ylipäällikkö halusi

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Estonian nationalists expelled for forming opposition party

NEW YORK — Vello Vaartnou, 36, and Eke-Part Nomm, 22, were expelled from Soviet-occupied Estonia and arrived in Sweden on February 13. The Soviets accused them of promoting anarchy and of having complicity in planning demonstrations for Estonian Independence Day, February 24.

Messrs. Vaartnou and Nomm are two of the 16 Estonian nationalists who created the first openly declared opposition party to the Communist Party since 1920. The proposals made by the Estonian National Independence Party have spread like wildfire in Estonia and were introduced in the West by a story in The New York Times. A photograph of Messrs. Vaartnou, Nomm, and co-founder Arvi Orula accompanied the February 10 article.

Former political prisoner Erik Udam has applied to Tallinn city authorities for a permit to hold a demonstration in Viru Park at 7 p.m. on February 24. It is clear that demonstrations and commemorations of the 70th anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia will take place throughout Estonia with or without official permission, noted the New York-based Estonian American National Council (EANC).

Based on reports emerging from Estonia, tensions are extremely high, especially since the Soviets are inciting ethnic hatred and rivalries through provocative Russian-language publications. There are also reports of worsening food shortages. Ration cards for

meat, meat products and coffee have been issued.

February 2, the anniversary of the 1920 peace treaty between the USSR and Estonia, saw several large demonstrations with speeches and the singing of patriotic songs in Tartu even though the authorities tried to block and to co-opt the nationalist events by staging their own "official" commemoration.

Two groups, numbering 700 and 200 people each, met at two separate locations on Toome Hill, another 1,000 Estonians showed up in town hall square, and 1,000 more were forced by militia in riot gear to attend the "official" ceremony in an auditorium instead of being permitted to gather in front of the old court house.

Streets were blocked by parked buses and trucks, temporary barricades and signs were in place and the hundreds of militia called up had been issued shields and gas masks. The militia were also accompanied by dogs, which severely bit several dozen people who did not disperse quickly enough.

The violence of the methods used by the militia has only succeeded in inflaming existing tensions further, resulting in open criticism even in the press, according to the EANC. A number of persons were arrested and many others questioned and released. Forcible entry and search has taken place at the homes of known dissidents and former prisoners of conscience. Beatings and military draft are also used to repress activists.

К нам приехал эстонский художник Выставки буддист, революционер

Виктор СЕМЕНОВ

«Всеукраинские Ведомости»

С 11 по 28 июня в Центре искусств «Славутич» пройдет выставка неформативной живописи Вэлло Ваартнуу.

В 1988 году художник был изгнан из СССР. Приобрел большую известность на Западе. Его выставки проходили в самых престижных галереях Европы, обеих Америк и Азии. «Я не диссидент, я революционер», — заявляет художник, создавший в 1987 году первую в Эстонии оппозиционную Партию национальной независимости, имевшую, по его словам, весьма маркантильную программу. Это, так сказать, переломило чашу терпения советских властей, и Вэлло пришлось перебраться в Швецию. До того

раз, с 1969 по 1972 гг. — за анти-советскую пропаганду. Во второй, в 1982 году, его арестовали при попытке нелегально перейти границу.

Художнику чужда рабская психология большинства обывателей, выражением которой, по его мнению, является христианство. Своим идеалом Вэлло называл Агасфера, Вечного Жива.

В 14 лет он стал буддистом, так как считает, что эта религия более всего соответствует свободной личности. Живя в Эстонии, Вэлло создал Буддистское общество, построил ряд культовых объектов и храм. Несколько лет

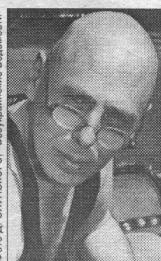


ФОТО Д. СЛУТКОГО. «Всеукраинские Ведомости»

в качестве оператор кинематографических фильмов. Ни к одному из (в живописи течений) ниу себя не относил, хотя на его ка-
стует объект, фигу-
рованы они так, ч-
жет увидеть на них
всего отвечает его в-
В 1982 году Вэл-
из Союза художник
образ мыслей и пове-
ветствующие совет-
ку. Иллюстрацией

ствия может быть картина «См-
Кто-то заметил, что на ней изобр-

In exile. Sweden

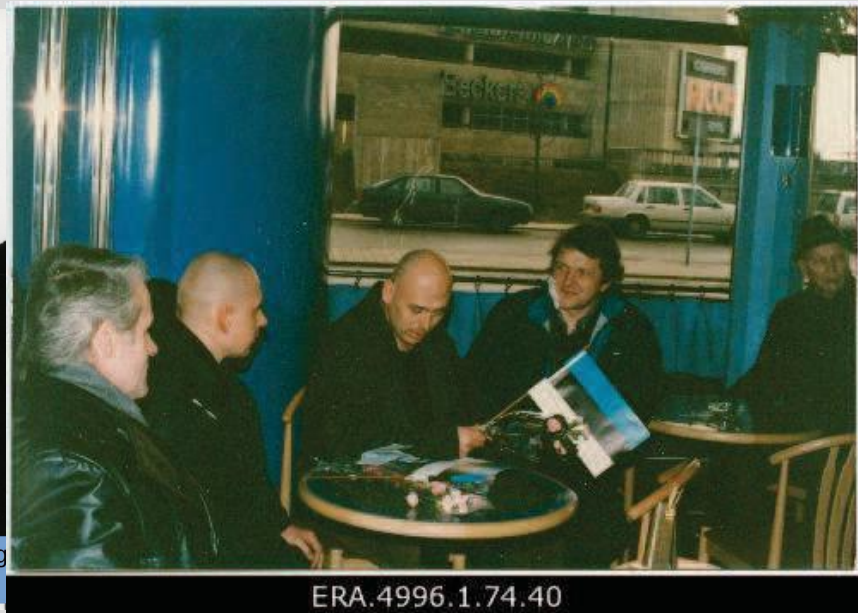
- After arriving in Stockholm, Vaartnou was constantly called by the Free Europe radio editor Toomas Hendrik Ilves (later president of Estonia) who congratulated Vaartnou and said that he broke the back of Russian bear.
- The question arises, was T.H. Ilves already then thinking about the presidential chair of Estonia when he interviewed Vello Vaartnou about the Proposal for ENIP and free Estonia?
- In March 1988, Marju Lauristin, future leader of the Popular Front of Estonia for the Support of Perestroika came to see Vaartnou in Sweden and talk about the future of Estonia and asked if he wants to put together new government for Estonia by his own.
- As the communists did not know what was going to happen, they were afraid of direct national repressions that the ERSP could have adopted against them. But Vaartnou said no, because as a Buddhist, he is not interested to have a power, and because Lauristin was, and is a communist. After this meeting in Stockholm, Popular Front was established in Estonia in late April 1988.
- Vaartnou:
“I called almost every day from Stockholm to Eve Parnaste and urged to form party immediately. Unfortunately they gave initiative to communists who had old connections, state finances in their hand and party was made only 6 months later.
- *Now, if you look how they handle history in the media and in the books, I am struck by how the Estonian people love stupid communists. I feel embarrassed for the Estonians. I did the party and after that they jumped into my boat and started proudly to row “*

Vaartnou was expelled in February 1988

He received refugee in Sweden



Speech at Estonian House in Stockholm.



Pressconference on arrival to Stockholm

ENIP Congress 1989. The end of political activity

- **Vaartnou:**
- *“ I was invited to speak at the congress and when the congress began, the doors were opened where Christians marched with flags. I thought then - what the counterfeiting of history by ENIP. I imagined that Buddhists should march in through the door.*
- *The Buddhists were the ones who made party and program, printed the leaflets and distributed in Estonia. Two Buddhists and one non-Christian traveled to Moscow for a press conference announcing independence for Estonia. I didn't see any Christians there.*
- *It was a falsification of history. I got up and went out of the hall. That ended my political activity in Estonia. There is no word about the Buddhist part in the ENIP history book of 700 pages written by Pärnaste, and thus Pärnaste has contributed and thus Pärnaste has contributed to the falsification of Estonian history.”*
- **Today: Busy with Buddhism as always**
- After deportation Vaartnou studied in Tribhuvan university and Bhutanese monastery, and later he spent 8 years in solitary retreat;
- He became active again in 2007

How Vaartnou was welcomed to Estonia in 2007

- In 2007, Vello Vaartnou went to Estonia with intention to build the 5th stupa into Estonia.
- On the 20th August 2007, Vaartnou was discussing at his Veltsa countryhouse with volunteers how to build a stupa when about 20-30 policemen suddenly jumped out from the bush to arrest Vaartnou.
- All people were hit to the ground face down, including Vaartnou who was hit back with the gun by the policeman,
- The police started to search for weapons and searched the house (which had stood empty 20 years and didn't have even doors and windows) and garden 4 hours but nothing. Then 70 gr hemp was so to say "found" instead of weapons. All men were arrested and taken to the jail. I (Marju Broder) drove to Swedish Embassy in Tallinn and explained what had happened, and said that I am extremely worried about Vaartnou's life. Next day Vaartnou was released with the help of the embassy.
- What is interesting that this happened on the 20th August, the anniversary of the establishment of the Estonian National Independence Party 19 years ago.
- Such way Estonia welcomed Vello Vaartnou, the author of ENIP, because there are still communists at power, and the KAPO (Estonian secret service) has incorporated ex-KGB workers. This fact is officially acknowledged with the explanation that these 30 agents are experts in their field.

Vaartnou built the 5th stupa, temple and prayer wheels into Estonia in 2008.

He created the first online Buddhist Encyclopedia in Estonian language and initiated international conference Buddhism & Nordland, which was first to investigate Buddhism in Northern Europe.

In 2010, he was granted Distinguished Talent visa by Australia and relocated to Western Australia.

Today he is the author of the two annual international Buddhist conferences which work already 14 years, and is the author of an online Chinese Buddhist Encyclopedia.

He is the first person to create Buddhist thangkas, temples and mandalas in 3D, his exclusive thangkas have found their way to the Royal Family, Stockholm Ethnographic Museum and many private collections.



Conclusion

- The proposal for the creation of Estonian National Independence Party was a solo project of a Buddhist Vello Vaartnou- all from the idea and programme to execution was his arrangement.
- It nullified the communists perestroika plan to continue as an empire. So the „out of box“, the Buddhist way of thinking is a part of Estonian fight for independence and catalyst for the collapse of the USSR.
- A Buddhist Vaartnou was the first in Soviet times to openly attack the foundations of the communist country, giving the direction of independence fight in the future.

Vello Vaartnou:

- *The West allowed me to do everything I wanted regarding my projects, which was not allowed in the Soviet Union including the current Republic of Estonia who did not let me realize my projects.*
- *I may look like an Estonian, but I'm really more like an Asian in the way of thinking and lifestyle, and I have always buried all my money in Buddhism.*
- *I believe that people should get part of this grand cultural heritage offered to us by the Orient. This is my passion, my addiction. These are the only symptoms I have"*

Some opinions over 30 years

- Mart Laar (Estonian PM 1999-2002): “ A historic proposal, it made the way open for the whole Soviet Union”
- Vello Andres Pettai (Columbia University):” The ENIP manifesto was an extremely critical political step, which spur a new level of activism as well as political thought.”
- Tunne Kelam (the last chairman of ENIP): “Creating an ENIP broke the dam, the wave of new parties was followed, not only in Estonia, but also elsewhere in the Soviet Union.”
- Sir Arvi Parbo AC FTCE (Australia): “It was undoubtedly a bold act, even at Gorbachev's time when the situation in the Soviet Union was freer than before. It was new and bold that it was said in the Soviet Union, and moreover, at a press conference in Moscow.”
- Trivimi Velliste (Member of Parliament):” The courage of this initiative must be emphasized! And the Kremlin, of course, perceived and interpreted this resistance precisely.”
- Urmas Reinsalu (Minister of Justice 2015-2019): “ It can be said without exaggeration that the political contribution of the ENIP has made it possible the Republic of Estonia today.”
- Jyri Estam (Journalist): “Was it Buddhism that gave him a cold stomach? But the idea itself was a worthwhile idea, and maybe it wouldn't have germinated if there hadn't been a man who was not afraid.”
- Sander Jurisson (The Museum of Occupations): “Gorbachov`reaction is a kind of inadvertent recognition by the head of state for the activities of the Vaartnou.”
- Silver Tambur (Estonian World):” ENIP played a very important role in Estonian society, Gorbachov apparently feared Vaartnou` initiative, it seems a logical conclusion.”
- Mai Raud (Estonian historian in Sweden):”Respect to Vello Vaartnou who started a great organization work. He is a really worthy man. I think the ENIP was a courageous step from the bold people and eventually lead to the liberation of Estonia.”