

Active participants in the discussions were: E. Lippmaa (Tallinn), V. Gorodnyuk (Minsk), H. Vainu (Tallinn), J. Bojars (Riga), J. Prikulis (Riga), E. Udam (Tallinn), L. Hannikainen (Helsinki), L. Pavlova (Minsk), and V. Vare (Tallinn).

Suggestions for the resolution were made by D. A. Loeber (Kiel), V. Smolin (Tallinn), E. Duraczynski (Warsaw), J. Bojars (Riga), V. Vadapalas (Vilnius), K. Pihlakas (Tallinn), N. Drak (Lvov), and V. Gorodnyuk (Minsk).

Here we have an optional selection of presentations.

Läbirääkimistel võtsid sõna E. Lippmaa (Tallinn), V. Gorodnjuk (Minsk), H. Vainu (Tallinn), J. Bojars (Riia), J. Prikulis (Riia), E. Udam (Tallinn), L. Hannikainen (Helsingi), L. Pavlova (Minsk) ja V. Vare (Tallinn).

Ettepanekuid resolutsiooni projekti kohta tegid D. A. Loeber (Kiel), V. Smolin (Tallinn), E. Duraczynski (Varssavi), J. Bojars (Riia), V. Vadapalas (Vilnius), K. Pihlakas (Tallinn), N. Drak (Lvov) ja V. Gorodnjuk (Minsk).

Sõnavõttud on avaldatud valikuliselt.

В прениях приняли участие Э. Липпмаа (Таллинн), В. Городнюк (Минск), Х. Вайну (Таллинн), Ю. Боярс (Рига), Ю. Прикулис (Рига), Э. Удам (Таллинн), Л. Ханникайнен (Хельсинки), Л. Павлова (Минск) и В. Варе (Таллинн).

С предложениями по проекту резолюции выступили Д. А. Лозбер (Киль), В. Смолин (Таллинн), Э. Дурачиньский (Варшава), Ю. Боярс (Рига), В. Вадапалас (Вильнюс), К. Пихлакас (Таллинн), Н. Драк (Львов) и В. Городнюк (Минск).

Выступления публикуются выборочно.

Ludmila PAVLOVA,

Cand. Sc. (Hist.), Minsk

Dear Chairman, Dear Participants.

My speech was provoked by the statement of my colleague Gorodnyuk from Byelorussia that he did not agree with the opinion of the Organizing Committee of the Conference that while speaking about the legal estimation of the Soviet-German Pact we must speak not only about international law, but also about national law. The point is that the term "international agreement" already in itself means that it is concerned first and foremost with international law and not with national legislation. The latter as well as the legitimacy of Soviet power as such discussed by my colleague might be tackled only in the context of estimating this Treaty from the aspect of international law.

It has already been said here that pacts, secret pacts, contradict universally acknowledged principles of international law, and I fully agree with this. And if we raise the question whether the notion of aggression was an imperative norm of international law or not, we can refer to the principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet State, which had been sealed by the Decree on Peace, and which tolerated neither annexation nor aggression nor interference with the internal affairs of other countries. Consequently, such policy on the part of the Soviet State was intolerable from any point of view.

Now I would like to dwell upon some aspects in connection with the formation of the Byelorussian SSR. I quite agree with my colleague who says that while speaking about the Pacts, differentiated approaches to these aspects are required. While speaking about Byelorussia, we should not stress the positive aspects of the formation of the Byelorussian SSR, only, although it really was a positive fact, one of great importance in the history of the Byelorussian people. The question is how this Byelorussian SSR was proclaimed. This involves quite a number of negative aspects as well as reflects the system that unfortunately started taking shape already in 1919. The question of the proclamation of the BSSR hung, in fact, by a thread up to the very last minute for the will of the Byelorussian people has never been asked. They just awaited an order from the Centre to do so. And it was only on the basis of Stalin's telephone call, and this is a confirmed fact, that the declaration about the proclamation of the Byelorussian SSR was made the next day.

A few words must be said about Western Byelorussia, too. Of course, its population really lived under terrible conditions within the Polish State. As to the treatment of the Soviet State of the Communist Party of Western Byelorussia then it should be remembered that Comintern not only dissolved the Polish Communist Party but also declared the Communist Party of Western Byelorussia illegal, and dissolved it as well. Therefore, when we speak about the will of the people of Western Byelorussia after the division of the Polish State and the cessation of its existence, we must bear in mind that Western Byelorussia expressed its will to join the Soviet State after the Red Army had entered the territory of Byelorussia, that is the territory of Western Byelorussia. This fact speaks for itself.

Thank you for your attention.