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U.S. fact-finding proceedings conclude in Demjanjuk case

by Andrew Fylypovych

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — A television crew on South Ninth Avenue was the only indication that something of importance was taking place in the adjacent federal courthouse. On April 30, John Demjanjuk, awaiting a ruling on his death sentence appeal before the Israeli Supreme Court, got another day in court here in the United States.

The Friday morning session, lasting just under two hours, was the culmination of eight months of investigation, depositions of some 15 employees of the Office of Special Investigations, and testimony before Thomas Wiseman Jr., U.S. district judge for the Middle District of Tennessee.

Judge Wiseman was appointed to sit as a special master last August by the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, which on its own motion, reopened the Demjanjuk extradition and denaturalization proceedings. It is Judge Wiseman's role to make a determination as to what evidence, if any, OSI prosecutors withheld from Mr. Demjanjuk's defense lawyers during the many years of litigation prior to his extradition.

Mr. Demjanjuk, 73, was stripped of his citizenship in 1981, and was extradit-

ed to Israel in 1986, where he was convicted of being the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. He has steadfastly denied the charges, claiming a case of mistaken identity. His current lawyers, Michael E. Tigar and Edward F. Marek, claim there was no mere mistake. They have asked Judge Wiseman to rule that there was fraud perpetrated by the OSI, the Justice Department's Nazi-hunting unit, against the U.S. court system.

Alleged government fraud

The hundreds of pages of legal briefs filed by both sides before Judge Wiseman were quickly distilled by Mr. Tigar, a professor of law at the University of Texas School of Law, and a former chairman of the American Bar Association's 60,000-member Section on Litigation.

Mr. Tigar dug in hard. He pointed out to Judge Wiseman that the government's cover-up continued even after the Sixth Circuit made its own request for evidence in January of 1992. He pointed out that some six months later, in June, the Department of Justice wrote to the Sixth Circuit stating that it had discovered only "some protocols" in the case of Feodor Fedorenko that appeared relevant

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Strong-arm tactics backfire

U.S. shifting policy toward Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Pressure from the United States toward Ukraine to ratify START I has backfired, and a change in U.S.-Ukrainian relations is on the horizon, according to Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk, who returned from high-level meetings at the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon on Wednesday, May 5.

"The United States appears to be softening its hard-line policy toward Ukraine," according to a senior Western diplomat, speaking on the eve of Strobe Talbott's trip to both Ukraine and Russia.

Mr. Talbott, who serves as the Clinton administration's ambassador-at-large to Russia and the newly independent states, is scheduled to meet with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma during his May 9-10 visit to Kyiv.

According to a U.S. government official, the shift in policy came about only after Washington realized that Ukraine is a lot more complicated than U.S. officials thought. "It is basically a change in philosophy," he said. It comes after the congressional delegation chaired by Rep. Richard Gephardt visited Kyiv and after what was referred to as "the

Kuchma fiasco."

The more the United States tried to strong-arm Ukraine into ratifying START I, the more the Ukrainian Parliament seemed to drag its feet on ratification, pushing it further from becoming a non-nuclear state, according to both Ukrainian leaders and Western observers here.

"We stressed that the development of Ukrainian-U.S. relations cannot be based only on one issue, the Supreme Council's ratification of START I and the Non-Proliferation Treaty," said Mr. Tarasiuk, during a press conference on Thursday afternoon, May 6.

"The U.S. delegation will bring with it new proposals which will encompass a wide circle of Ukrainian-U.S. relations

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Socialists and democrats hold May Day meetings

by Marta Kolomayets

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — While pro-Communists and militia clashed in Moscow, democracy scored a victory in Ukraine's capital city on Saturday, May 1, as two separate meetings organized by, respectively, socialists and national democrats, passed without incident.

On Saturday morning, the socialists (most of whom once were members of the now-banned Communist Party of Ukraine) celebrated May Day, which was a major holiday under the Communist regime that celebrated the solidarity of workers around the world.

This May Day celebration proved that communism has not died in Ukraine. But, it certainly has aged, as close to 2,000 celebrants, most of them pensioners, climbed the steps to Kyiv's Arch of the Unification of All Peoples overlooking the Dnipro River to hear speakers call for the rebirth of the Communist Party and a Soviet Ukraine within a renewed Soviet Union.

Many of the speakers approaching the microphone protested high prices and the threat of unemployment. Both, they claim, are consequences of an independent Ukraine under the leadership of President Leonid Kravchuk, who once served as ideology secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The speakers, many addressing the crowd in Russian, included students from the Central Asian republics, citizens of Trans-Dniestr, as well as professors of Kyiv State University. One woman, representing the "women's union,"

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Report details Ukrainian Canadian losses during internment

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — A just-released confidential report to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) estimates that between 3,300 and 5,000 Ukrainian Canadians suffered economic losses totalling anywhere from \$21.6 million to \$32.5-million (in 1991 dollars) while they were interned following the outbreak of the first world war.

About two-thirds or 3,000 were wrongfully interned.

The study, titled "Economic Losses of Ukrainian Canadians Resulting from Internment During World War I" was prepared by Price Waterhouse in January 1992. Up to now, the UCC has carefully hidden the results as an ace to negotiate a redress settlement package with the federal government. But time is running out, said Ihor Bardyn, chairman of the UCC's redress committee.

Mr. Bardyn's committee, along with representatives of the National Redress Alliance, is "putting the government on notice." That alliance is composed of members of the Chinese Canadian National Council, the National Council of Italian Canadians and the National

Association of Japanese Canadians.

All claim that some violations of the human rights of their members in Canada over the past century. So far, only the Japanese-Canadian community has received a settlement. In 1988, they were offered a \$12 million community development fund, along with \$21,000 to every survivor of second world war Canadian internment camps.

Slow negotiations with Multiculturalism Minister Gerry Weiner, Mr. Bardyn noted, have forced him to increase the pressure on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government. He said he worries that Mr. Weiner will recommend an omnibus redress package for the Ukrainian, Chinese and Italian communities in Canada, while each group is claiming different forms of compensation.

While the Italian community, which has already received an apology, and the Chinese community are both seeking individual restitution, the UCC is pushing for a community package. Like the Japanese, the Italians claim wrongful discrimination during World War II, while Chinese-Canadians are seeking restitution for unfair entry taxes into the

country.

In November 1990, Prime Minister Mulroney told the House of Commons that he would be making an apology to Canadians of Chinese origin in connection with the head tax, as well as to Canadians of Ukrainian and Italian origins concerning their wartime internment. And, in 1991, the Commons unanimously passed a motion by Liberal MP Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Island) urging redress for Ukrainian Canadians.

But Mr. Weiner's press secretary Len Westerberg said "nothing has been ruled out" and that the Japanese settlement package should not be a "yardstick" to be used for a Ukrainian Canadian redress package.

Still, former Housing Minister Alan Redway, who represents the Ontario federal riding of Don Valley East in the Commons, said he hopes the federal government remembers that each claim is a "different case" and should be dealt with separately.

Meanwhile, Canada's national press is taking different sides on the question. A March 29 editorial in the Toronto Star

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RESEARCH REPORT: The shaping of Ukrainian attitudes on nukes

by Bohdan Nahaylo
RFE/RL Research Institute

PART IV

Parliament signals reservations

When the Ukrainian Parliament finally got around to debating this and other military issues on April 8, the opposition to unilateral nuclear disarmament was quite evident. Participants in the debate argued that it was folly to hand over nuclear weapons to a state that posed a threat to Ukraine, and that because the republic was voluntarily giving up its nuclear weapons, it was entitled to international guarantees of its security.

One of the deputies and a member of the parliamentary Commission on Defense and State Security, Maj. Gen. Volodymyr Tolubko, who had served in the Strategic Rocket Forces and was the director of a military institute in Kharkiv, stated that a non-nuclear state could not expect to be treated seriously

the document instructed the appropriate parliamentary commissions to consider, with the help of specialists, and from the point of view of guaranteeing the security and external political interests of Ukraine, the entire range of issues connected with Ukraine's nuclear disarmament, in particular the economic, financial, ecological and organizational ones.

But an even more serious challenge to the existing official policy appeared to be contained in Point 6, in which the Parliament called on the Ukrainian government to submit for ratification the agreements concerning nuclear weapons that had been signed at the CIS meetings in Alma-Ata on December 21 and in Minsk on December 30, 1991, as well as the CIS agreement on the status of strategic forces of February 14, 1992.⁶⁹

The mood in the Parliament and in the republic generally was further underscored in comments made by Parliament Chairman Pliushch. Asked by journalists at a press conference on April 17 what

President Leonid Kravchuk: "...we volunteered to eliminate [nuclear] weapons. We think that policy is correct in its concept; we would not like to change that policy. But some of the neighbors, especially Russia, have political forces which would like to make territorial claims against Ukraine, and that certainly worries us."

by the international community, and he proposed the creation of a Ukrainian "nuclear defense shield." The proposal by the representative of the military-industrial complex was reportedly greeted with applause.⁶⁹

The debate resulted in the adoption on April 9 of a parliamentary resolution on "Additional Measures for Ensuring Ukraine's Acquisition of Non-Nuclear Status." It was passed on the same day that NATO issued a statement warning of "serious allied concerns about the continuing suspension of transfers of nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia."⁷⁰ Reaffirming Ukraine's intention "to adhere in the future to non-nuclear principles and Ukraine's right to control the non-use of nuclear weapons stationed on its territory," the document declared that the Parliament considered it "expedient not to transfer tactical nuclear missiles from the territory of Ukraine until the mechanism for the international control of their destruction has been worked out and implemented with Ukraine's participation."

While recommending that the Ukrainian president begin negotiations with leaders of nuclear states on issues concerning nuclear disarmament, the resolution also instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to take immediate steps "to ensure operational technical control by Ukraine over the non-use of nuclear weapons stationed on its territory" and asked the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense to take measures to man the strategic forces deployed on Ukrainian territory with servicemen of the Ukrainian armed forces.

Apart from these tougher new measures, there were also other important aspects to the resolution that seemed to assert the Parliament's right, if not intention, to revise completely the country's position on nuclear weapons. Point 5 of

he thought about Major General Tolubko's position, he caused something of a sensation by answering that his response to it was "positive" and that from his recent travels around Ukraine he knew there was public support for it. Mr. Pliushch said Ukraine should indeed "strive toward" nuclear disarmament but that this was a goal "for the future" and the future "will depend on many factors." In the meantime, Ukraine had to work out an effective form of dual key control over the nuclear weapons on its territory and be certain that the tactical nuclear missiles that it was transferring to Russia were indeed being destroyed. People in the provinces, he said, had asked him "Where are you taking the weapons? Why are you rushing things?"⁷²

It should be noted that Ukraine was not alone in having second thoughts about its non-nuclear status. On the same day that the Ukrainian Parliament adopted its resolution, Setkazy Matayev, a spokesman for the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, revealed that his country had transferred all the tactical nuclear weapons on its territory to Russia but had decided to retain the long-range missiles. "Kazakhstan is a big country and it can't stand unarmed between China and Russia," he explained, adding pointedly: "Why don't France and Great Britain transfer their weapons to the United States?"⁷³

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⁶⁹ Pravda Ukrainy and Izvestiya, April 10, 1992.

⁷⁰ Reuters, April 9, 1992.

⁷¹ Pravda Ukrainy, April 17, 1992.

⁷² Holos Ukrainy and Pravda Ukrainy, April 21, 1992.

⁷³ Vincent J. Schodolski, "Kazakhstan Plans to Keep Strategic Nuclear Weapons," The Chicago Tribune, April 10, 1992.



Newsbriefs on Ukraine

Ukraine proposes collective security

• PRAGUE — Ukraine on April 28 presented a proposal at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to establish a collective security system that would include Central Europe, the Baltic States and Ukraine. Russia and Belarus would apparently not be excluded from the system, but were not listed among the initial members. The proposed collective security body would supplement the existing CSCE framework and could be introduced in stages. The first step in the process, according to Ukraine's delegation leader Volodymyr Lapitsky, would be individual declarations by the participating countries declaring their interest in enhancing security in the area. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

No nukes proposal narrowly defeated

• KYIV — A proposal that would have banned Ukraine from storing, manufacturing or using nuclear weapons was narrowly defeated in Parliament. Reuters reported on April 22. Deputies leaving a closed session of Parliament said that 189 of 450 members approved the draft doctrine, 37 short of the required majority. Deputies opposed to the doctrine demanded that Ukraine's position as a nuclear state be clarified. While the doctrine renounced Ukraine's status as a nuclear state in the long run, it was less clear how the country should deal with the nuclear weapons now deployed on its territory. While the majority of deputies favors Ukraine eventually becoming a non-nuclear country, a growing minority feels the retention of these weapons is the best deterrent against Russian aggression. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

START I debate postponed

• KYIV — Parliament has postponed formal consideration of START I until the week of June 4. Agence France Presse reported on May 3. The postponement was reportedly prompted by a desire to wait and see whether a new constitution is adopted in Russia, since the nature of the document could affect Ukrainian security. Hearings by a special parliamentary group concerning the treaty, however, may continue in the meantime. A May 3 ITAR-TASS report

said future Ukrainian-Russian negotiations over nuclear weapons will be conducted at the level of deputy prime minister or higher. This may leave Yuriy Kostenko, the former head of Ukraine's negotiating team, out of the picture. Mr. Kostenko recently prompted a Russian protest with an assertion that Ukraine is at present a nuclear state, a position disclaimed by the Ukrainian government. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Moscow delineates foreign policy

• MOSCOW — A set of guidelines delineating Russia's international affairs has been signed by Boris Yeltsin, said a Nezavisimaya Gazeta report of April 29. The document highlights the importance of integration in the CIS and identifies the maintenance of the federation's unity and the protection of human rights in the former Soviet Union as part of Russia's vital interests. It also emphasized the need to maintain involvement in international, political and economic organizations. The document, titled Fundamental Positions of the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, apparently marks the end of a 14-month search for a set of guidelines for Russia's international affairs. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

U.S. firm to deliver \$100 M in food

• DECATUR, Ill. — Giant agricultural conglomerate Archer Daniels Midland Inc. announced on April 19 that it had signed a contract to deliver \$100 million of soybean protein, soy-based milk powder and other food ingredients to Ukraine, reported Reuters. The contract, signed with ATON, a leading private enterprise in the former republic that operates in construction, agribusiness and retail food sectors, calls for delivery of products over the next 12 months. The announcement was made by Ihor Markulov, chief advisor to Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, and the company's president, Dwayne Andreas. Archer Daniels is a leading multi-national buyer, processor and exporter of grain.

Rukh says members are terrorized

• KYIV — Rukh issued a statement

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Foreign Ministry official explains Ukraine's new visa regulations

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Ukraine will continue to issue visas by invitation only, in an effort to curb the tide of illegal refugees trying to use this state as a transit point to Western Europe.

The new regulations, which went into effect on April 1, are a method of battling the increasing number of speculators/profiters from entering the country, as well as illegal aliens passing through on their way to the West, explained Viktor Kyryk, first deputy chairman of the Consular Division at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

"On the average, we turn back 30 to 40 people daily who are trying to get to the West with falsified documents," said Mr. Kyryk, adding that in some months the total has exceeded 20,000 refugees. If Ukrainian authorities do not detect these false documents and a transient is turned back at a point of entry, Ukraine has to take responsibility for him. This may run into thousands of dollars in losses for Ukrainian airlines which transport these refugees, Mr. Kyryk said.

According to the consular officer, Ukraine has to be categorical about its regulations, despite the fact that the invitation/visa procedure may make foreigners think twice about traveling to Ukraine for pleasure. It may also hurt Ukraine economically, as businessmen will be wary of going through the extra trouble of receiving an invitation. "There are good foreigners and there are bad foreigners," said Mr. Kyryk, "and we must be cautious of the bad ones, who come from all regions."

"All of these invitation/visa problems

will be decided on the basis of bilateral relations between Ukraine and various countries," said Mr. Kyryk.

These bilateral agreements will include specifics to regulate travel between the two countries in question. Mr. Kyryk said that while Ukrainian citizens receive visas free of charge, U.S. citizens must pay for visas to Ukraine.

"We hope that once we get on our feet economically and have enough funds from the Cabinet of Ministers to run our consular divisions, we can reciprocate and provide visas at a lesser charge, or even free of charge," Mr. Kyryk said.

He assured travelers to Ukraine that the more than 30 embassies and consular offices abroad make the visa process quick and efficient. He said those who cannot get an invitation from Ukraine can get this process handled by tour agencies in the West that specialize in Eastern Europe.

In cases of emergency or last-minute business, Mr. Kyryk said Ukrainian authorities will be able to issue 72-hour visas at points of entry, such as Boryspil Airport. These visas can be renewed at the Foreign Ministry for a longer period of time. Mr. Kyryk is confident that this year Ukraine will enjoy a booming tourist business in the summer months. Last year, more than 5 million people from outside the CIS visited Ukraine.

He said that citizens of Poland, Hungary, Cuba, Bulgaria, Romania, Mongolia, China, Vietnam, Laos, the Czech and Slovak republics, and the CIS states are not required to travel with visas because these countries had bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union, and Ukraine, as a successor state to the USSR, adheres to those agreements.

VISA GUIDELINES FOR UKRAINE

Ukraine's Embassy to the United States has provided the following guidelines for obtaining a visa to Ukraine. These temporary provisions went into effect on April 1, 1993.

All visas are being issued only by consular offices of Ukraine abroad. Transit and short-term (not exceeding 72 hours) visas may still be issued exclusively in cases of emergency at selected border control posts. The issuance of transit and short-term visas is based on the following conditions: a serious health problem or a death of a relative, participation in disaster relief operations and other urgent needs, as well as the absence of consular offices of Ukraine in the home country of applicants.

Whenever it is not specified otherwise, entry visas **do not establish employment authorization** in Ukraine.

Visas are not required for citizens of countries that have mutual agreements with Ukraine regarding non-visa entry.

TO OBTAIN A VISA

Applicants for Ukrainian visas **must**:

- present a passport (valid through the entire period of stay) or other identification that duly substitutes the passport;
- submit a completed and signed visa application form;
- submit one passport-size photograph;
- submit an invitation or tourist voucher;
- pay the fee in the exact amount.

Fees: **Regular** consular fee for visa processing is \$30;

Priority processing (less than seven days) is \$60;

Express processing (same-day, while-you-wait) is \$100.

Method of payment: money order, corporate or cashier's checks, or cash. No personal checks are accepted.

BUSINESS VISA

Application for this type of visa should be accompanied by a letter of invitation from the interested organization, which is duly incorporated in Ukraine.

TOURIST VISA

The basis for obtaining this type of visa may be a voucher (hotel accommodations) and a letter from a travel agency.

PRIVATE VISITOR'S VISA

An official invitation from a private party made through local organs of the Internal Affairs Ministry is required.

TRANSIT VISA

This type of visa is issued for the period of time required to travel across the territory of Ukraine and only if there is a visa, ticket, or other document to a third country that will confirm the transitory nature of the travel. **This type of visa does not authorize applicant's stay in Ukraine.**

MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA

Such visas are being issued by consular posts of Ukraine in foreign lands to interested parties upon receiving **endorsement from Kyiv**. This type of visa is valid for **six months**.

If necessary, any visitor may be asked to present round-trip tickets, sufficient funds for the entire period of stay, and for an affidavit from the inviting person or organization concerned.

Entry to Ukraine **may be denied** to a foreign citizen under the following conditions:

- for the purposes of national security, public order, health care, protection of rights and legal interests of Ukrainian citizens or other individuals;
- if the applicant submits false information in order to obtain entry to Ukraine, or does not present the required documents;
- if the applicant's national passport, ID, or visa are forfeited, destroyed, or do not meet the standard requirements pertinent to that particular document;
- if the border regulations of Ukraine are violated; customs rules, sanitary norms or regulations are not attended; if an appropriate request made by officers of the Border Guard of Ukraine, customs and other officials who exercise control over the border of Ukraine is not met.

All foreign citizens arriving in Ukraine should duly register their documents at the hotel, or at the local organ of visa registration within their area of residence and in a timely manner.

Ouch!

In last week's issue of *The Weekly*, four paragraphs of Marta Kolomayets' story on reaction to the Russian referendum were accidentally deleted. (The computer ate them.) Below we publish the conclusion of the story.

According to Mr. Taniuk, President Yeltsin has real enemies and he is brave and willing to take on the struggle for economic and democratic reforms. "In Ukraine unfortunately, we not only have socialist forces brewing again, but a real battle is waging among the democrats themselves," he said.

"It is important to remember that our presidential power, our executive branch is supported by the 'old guard,'" said Mr. Taniuk. "Yeltsin, after all, represents a government of reform, while Khasbulatov is influenced by chauvinistic forces, which would like to see the return of one great undivided empire, a Russia that would have a place for the likes of Mr. Ruskoi," concluded Mr. Taniuk.

"I want our great neighbor to live in peace and harmony," said Volodymyr Durdynets, first deputy chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council. "The situation in Russia will be greatly felt in Ukraine. 'We cannot be apathetic to the results of the referendum and the situation in our backyard,'" he noted.

But, it is not enough to sit back and watch the Russians move ahead, according to these leaders. "Only active reforms on the parts of President Kravchuk and Yeltsin can save us today, in Ukraine and Russia. Because there is only one enemy — yesterday," concluded Mr. Taniuk.

U.S. shifting...

(Continued from page 1)

and their development," said Mr. Tarasiuk, who explained that during his Washington meetings U.S. officials said they are now interested in a strategic partnership with Ukraine.

The U.S.'s hard line toward Ukraine, which with its 176-nuclear-missile arsenal is the third largest nuclear power in the world, has also resulted in anti-American sentiment among deputies in Parliament.

"We don't understand the American position — the pressure it is exerting on us. We will ratify the START I treaty sooner or later, but we don't want to be treated as a nation that has foreign nuclear weapons on its territory," said Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of Rukh and a deputy in Parliament.

"We are the first nuclear state that has declared we want to get rid of all our nuclear weapons. We should be treated with kid gloves," he said.

Mykhailo Horyn, the newly re-elected chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, said he sees current U.S. policy as a continuation of U.S.-Soviet relations, even though the USSR no longer exists.

"It irritates me: The Americans haven't learned anything. After all those years of spending taxpayers' dollars to arm themselves against the expansionist tendencies of Moscow, America wants once again to tie us to Moscow and have us be one state, because it is easier to deal with one state than with 15.

"And, so it seems to me that America does not understand that the guarantor of stability in Europe can only be Ukraine, because without Ukraine there can be no empire," he concluded.

Popadiuk comments on Kuchma visit

IntelNews

KYYIV — U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Roman Popadiuk said he believes Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma will soon travel to America and will have meetings at the highest level, reported Molod Ukrainy.

In an interview at the National Press Club, sponsored by the information agency UNIAN and the Center for Creative Television, Ambassador Popadiuk said a Kuchma visit to the U.S. had been planned for this month, but Mr. Kuchma had subsequently travelled to the Middle East instead. Mr. Popadiuk was answering a question about a report

in The New York Times that President Bill Clinton will not meet with Prime Minister Kuchma until Ukraine ratifies START I.

Ambassador Popadiuk said Ukraine's nuclear weapons are aimed "at Chicago, New York and Washington. If you (Ukraine) want to have good relations with America, why are those nuclear weapons aimed at us?"

The U.S. ambassador said Ukrainians sometimes forget how important their country really is, and spend more time discussing Russia than themselves. "When your leaders arrive in the United

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Our Life marks U.S. fact-finding... golden jubilee

(Continued from page 1)

NEW YORK — About 280 members and guests of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America gathered on April 4, at the Ukrainian National Home here to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the organization's magazine, *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life).

Barbara Baczynsky, chair of the organizing committee, opened proceedings by announcing that \$7,840 in donations to the Our Life Press Fund had been made on the occasion of the banquet. Ms. Baczynsky then passed the floor to the afternoon's M.C., Marta Danyluk, also the UNWLA's financial secretary.



UNWLA President Maria Savchak toasts *Our Life* magazine on its 50th anniversary.

Ms. Danyluk introduced some of the speakers at the banquet, including UNWLA (national) president, Maria Savchak; past presidents Iwanna Rozankowsky and Lydia Burachynsky; and some of the guests, including honorary member Aleksandra Riznyk, the first head of the Ukrainian Museum (also affiliated with the UNWLA); Lubov Drazhevskaya, and Lydia Krushelnitsky.

Ms. Savchak congratulated and commended all of the magazine's editors for their work and readers for support over the years. She also praised the regional council executive of the UNWLA for having initiated the observance of the jubilee.

Ms. Burachynska spoke briefly about her 22-year tenure as editor-in-chief of the magazine, (1951-1972).

During the dinner, Ms. Danyluk gratefully acknowledged the presence of representatives of various community organizations in attendance, and the dozen of Ukrainian journalists, Ivan Kedryn, who

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Addendum

In last week's coverage of Dr. Ihor Yukhnovsky's talk at the Coordinating Council for Aid to Ukraine banquet, we should have included that John Oleksyn, vice-president of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, also delivered greetings to the convocation and to the former First Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine on behalf of the UACC.

to the Demjanjuk case. And yet, since that time the Demjanjuk defense team uncovered a series of other documents.

The first was a February 1980 internal memo authored by George Parker, then an OSI attorney, directed to Allan Ryan, then deputy director of OSI, in which Mr. Parker raised ethical concerns over prosecuting Mr. Demjanjuk because there was a possibility that another individual, Ivan Marchenko, was the real "Ivan the Terrible." Curiously, the original of that document was not found in the OSI files. Mr. Parker produced his copy after he was subpoenaed.

Another group of Soviet protocols (as official statements of witnesses are referred to) pointing to Ivan Marchenko as the real "Ivan," was recently produced by John Horrigan, who in 1981 was the assistant U.S. attorney in Cleveland helping with the prosecution of Mr. Demjanjuk. He got those protocols in 1981 from Norman Moscovitz, senior OSI attorney on the Demjanjuk case. Mr. Moscovitz is currently assistant U.S. attorney in Miami.

Mr. Tigar was particularly fiery in his condemnation of Mr. Moscovitz's involvement in the alleged fraud. "Who appointed Norman Moscovitz Demjanjuk's judge?" Mr. Tigar pointedly asked the court, referring to Mr. Moscovitz's testimony in which he claimed he did not produce certain documents because he felt they were "not exculpatory." Mr. Tigar also challenged Mr. Moscovitz's credibility, noting that it was impossible for him not to have known Mr. Parker's ethical concerns about prosecuting Mr. Demjanjuk, considering that both prosecutors worked side by side.

As a further example of the alleged prosecutorial treachery, Mr. Tigar pointed out to Judge Wiseman that during the 1981 Demjanjuk trial before Judge Battisti in Cleveland, Mr. Moscovitz kept dismissing the testimony of Mr. Fedorenko, an admitted Treblinka guard, as "not significant" and "not worthy of belief," arguing that he was merely one Nazi guard covering up for another. Yet, in making those arguments, Mr. Moscovitz allegedly kept hidden earlier statements of Mr. Fedorenko, given to Soviet authorities in 1973, where he also failed to identify Mr. Demjanjuk. Both dates were before the OSI began its prosecution of Mr. Demjanjuk, thereby eliminating any possible motive on the part of Mr. Fedorenko to aid his alleged collaborator.

Mr. Tigar called Mr. Moscovitz an attorney who "believed in a cause," but "did not play by the rules." "True believers are the most dangerous abusers of process," Mr. Tigar said. He then urged the court not to look at the facts in "splendid isolation," but to examine the cumulative effect of all of the different elements of the alleged prosecutorial misconduct.

(Fraud is about motive. Rarely, if ever, is there graphic evidence of a conspiracy hatched in a dimly lit back room. Most often it is proved by circumstantial evidence. Citing an opinion written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the respected U.S. Supreme Court Justice appointed to the high court in 1902 by Theodore Roosevelt, Tigar evoked another image: "Even a dog knows whether she's been kicked or stepped on. If she yelps every night for a month, she knows something is wrong." So too in this case.)

Mr. Tigar called the government's discovery responses "disclosures calculated to mislead — not to inform." The government gave Mr. Demjanjuk's

lawyers "nonsense" while "keeping back the important stuff." In a controlled burst of sarcasm, Mr. Tigar lamented the fact that the OSI "had a distressing habit of filing its documents in the alley dumpster."

To this day, several key documents, including an index of Soviet witness statements, have not been located in actual Justice Department files. In hundreds of pages of legal briefs filed with the court, Mr. Demjanjuk's attorneys have labeled this and other government misconduct as a "constellation" of misrepresentations and a "purposeful, knowing and reckless" failure to disclose evidence.

Ryan is implicated

Mr. Demjanjuk's lawyer then went after Mr. Ryan, former OSI director. Describing him as a person with a "mania for detail," Mr. Tigar said it was "incredible to believe that he just lay back and did nothing," while his senior legal staff decided how to present the most important OSI case by themselves.

Mr. Tigar also touched upon Mr. Ryan's trip to the USSR, during which he met with then Soviet Procurator General Roman Rudenko. Mr. Tigar pointed out that the record is devoid of any evidence tending to show that Mr. Ryan told the Soviets, "give us everything you have — we don't care if we win or lose, we want the truth." In fact, Mr. Tigar argued, the evidence suggested that Mr. Ryan only told the Soviets "to give us the good stuff." That, deemed Mr. Tigar, was "significant" in showing a concerted effort to block evidence, particularly in a case where Mr. Demjanjuk had to rely on U.S. authorities to gain access to evidence sources in the Soviet bloc.

Mr. Tigar told the court the only remedy in this case is vacatur — a complete reversal of all prior decisions in the case — from denaturalization through extradition. He said there is a "straight line" from denaturalization to extradition in this case. Relying on materials obtained from the OSI, Mr. Tigar said that in 1983, the current head of OSI, Neal Sher, described the Demjanjuk case as the one prosecutors were looking for because it was based on evidence essentially sourced outside the Soviet Union, it would be backed by a decision of a U.S. court, and it would be based on truly heinous crimes. That is why the Demjanjuk case narrowly focused on the activities of one "Ivan the Terrible."

Government credibility at issue

The government's argument was presented by Patti Stemler, chief of the Appellate Section, Criminal Division of the Justice Department in Washington. Ms. Stemler argued that there was no "clear and convincing" evidence of any deliberate misconduct or fraudulent intent. She strongly argued that much of the evidence that was supplied, including witnesses who did not identify Mr. Demjanjuk as "Ivan the Terrible," were never questioned by John Martin, Mr. Demjanjuk's first lawyer.

Then, in a case that Judge Wiseman himself stated hinged on the credibility of the witnesses, Ms. Stemler stated that the government did not challenge the authenticity of the 1980 Parker memo. This, effectively, appeared to be an admission that the memo was true and that Mr. Parker did, in fact, raise ethical questions within the OSI about prosecuting Mr. Demjanjuk as "Ivan the Terrible."

Judge Wiseman seized the moment: "How do you rationalize the differences in testimony between Parker and Moscovitz — without concluding that one of them is lying?" he asked a some-

what stunned Ms. Stemler. "If you find that Moscovitz lied, then you have to find all of the OSI lawyers lied," she replied, noting somewhat perfunctorily that all of the OSI attorneys were "conscientious and acting in good faith." Mr. Moscovitz, who prior to the hearing stood joking with his lawyer and with John Horrigan, the only other former prosecutor who was present for the hearing, listened, displaying no emotion.

The following concluding image was painted by Mr. Tigar:

"I visited Dachau," he said "No one can come away unaffected. I understand the pain, the anguish, the anger. I also went to Israel to visit Mr. Demjanjuk. He exists in a 7-by-12-foot cell with bars. Next to him is another 7-by-12-foot area with a guard, who sleeps at night on a cot. A light burns constantly, and an audio/video recorder runs always, recording everything, even meetings with counsel. Next is the yard — where they will build the gallows.

"In passing through passport control, I was stopped by two Israeli officials who spread out all of my papers. I protested, telling them they're legal documents. 'We know — very interesting,' they replied, as they read the materials. When they were done, one of them turned to me and said: 'You're doing this to clear his name,' she said."

"I hope so, I replied."

* * *

Mr. Nishnic, the driving force behind the indefatigable and impoverished Demjanjuk defense, appeared tense, but pleased as he left the courthouse, knowing that even a favorable finding by the special master could still leave many other legal issues unresolved. "We hope the government finally recognizes the evil of the OSI and doesn't conduct another knee-jerk appeal," he said, referring to the OSI as "advocates of a cause and not seekers of justice."

John Demjanjuk Jr. added: "Our family's fight for his life is our father's main hope."

Judge Wiseman has given no indication when a ruling will be issued.

Legal observers suggest an opinion may be announced relatively soon. The special master's findings will then be turned over to the Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, which asked for this judicial investigation last summer.

If there is a finding of fraud that is accepted by the Cincinnati court, then the Court of Appeals will have to take the next step, which is to require the secretary of state to ask Israel for Mr. Demjanjuk's return.

A stark contrast

The proceedings in Nashville on April 30 were in marked contrast to John Demjanjuk's 1981 denaturalization trial in Cleveland.

Gone are the hordes of reporters. Gone are the demonstrators shouting that he be stripped of his citizenship. Gone are the hysterical TV shows venomously accusing him of being "Ivan the Terrible."

His wife, Vera Demjanjuk, could not afford to travel to the Nashville courthouse. She is penniless, and physically and mentally exhausted. She has not been with her husband in seven years.

She has left the legal sparring to her loving and dedicated son-in-law, Ed Nishnic, who has tirelessly worked on behalf of his father-in-law's defense.

He is ably assisted by Mr. Demjanjuk's youngest child, his only son, John Jr., who was a young teenager when the U.S. marshal, in the presence of a swarm of newpeople, shattered the lives of his family by serving legal papers at their home in 1977.

— Andrew Fylypovych

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

Woonsocket

WOONSOCKET, R.I. — The UNA District Committee of Woonsocket held its annual meeting on Saturday, April 24, at 1 p.m. at St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Hall. The meeting was attended by UNA Supreme Advisor Alex Chudolij, who addressed the membership and reviewed UNA organizing and fraternal achievements for 1992, as well as a number of other topics.

The Rev. William Wojciechowski led the membership with an opening prayer, after which Leon Hardink, the district chairman, officially called the meeting to order. Minutes of the preceding meeting were read by English-language secretary Teodor Klowan and Ukrainian secretary Helen Trenkler, after which the treasurer, Janet Bardell, reviewed the district's financial status.

Dmytro Sarachmon, the district fraternal activities coordinator, presented plans for this year's annual bus trip to

the Garden State Ukrainian Festival U.S.A. and Soyuzivka for UNA Day on the weekend of June 19-20.

Messrs. Hardink and Sarachmon also reported that the Ukrainian Heritage Subcommittee of the Rhode Island Heritage Commission (whose members include several UNA district activists) recently held a benefit dinner-dance whose proceeds of \$2,000 were donated to the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund.

Following the reports of the officers, Branch 177 Secretary John Laba made a motion to re-elect the same slate of officers for another term in office in light of their good work in 1992. The motion was unanimously approved by the membership.

Elected were: Mr. Hardink, chairman; Mr. Chudolij, vice-chairman; Ms. Trenkler, Ukrainian-language secretary; Mr. Klowan, English-language secretary; Ms. Bardell, treasurer; and Mr.

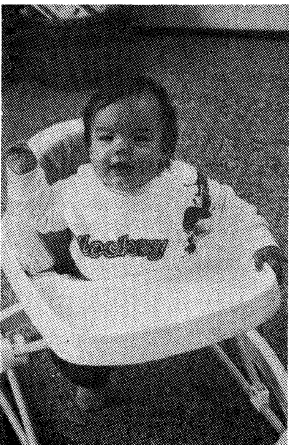
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Svoboda fetes Kedryn on 97th

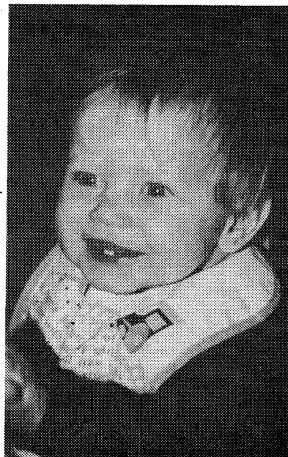


Svoboda editor emeritus Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky celebrated his 97th birthday on April 22. On that day, his colleagues at Svoboda honored him with a birthday party. Also present were editors of The Ukrainian Weekly. In the photo above, Mr. Kedryn (seated) is surrounded by Svoboda editorial staff members (from left) Editor-in-chief Zenon Snylyk, Petro Chasto, Lubov Kolensky, Olha Kuzmowycz, Raisa Rudenko and Chrystyna Ferencevych.

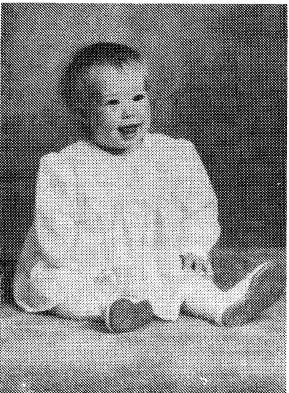
Young UNA'ers



Nicholas Raymond Cagginelli, son of Raymond and Sharon Cagginelli, is a new member of UNA Branch 13 in Watervliet, N.Y. He was enrolled by his grandparents Petro and Anna Kobasa.



Nicholas Stephen Harrison, son of Melanie Kupchynsky-Harrison and Edward Harrison of Oak Park, Ill. is a new member of UNA Branch 372, the Ivan Franko Society. He was enrolled by his grandfather Jerry Kupchynsky of East Brunswick, N.J. Stephen's parents are both musicians; his mother is a violinist with the Chicago Symphony.



Marissa Taylor Pasick, daughter of Edward Pasick of Bricktown, N.J., and the late Mary Jane Pasick, is the youngest new member of UNA Branch 133 in Newark, N.J. She was enrolled by her aunt and godmother, Nancy Bohdan.



Nicole Andreas, 8, is the daughter of Layton and Judy Andreas of Allentown, Pa. She is a newly enrolled member of UNA Branch 147.

Treasury Department reports on fraternal

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Department of the Treasury recently released its official report to Congress on fraternal benefit societies (FBS). The report is the result of a six-year study of the operation of FBS from 1930 to 1989. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 required the Treasury Department to conduct this study and report to the Congress.

There are over 100 FBS in the U.S. Examples are the Mennonite Mutual Aid Association, Knights of Columbus, Lutheran Brotherhood, Modern Woodmen of America, Polish National Alliance and the Ukrainian National Association. Collectively, these societies have 10 million individual members.

The Treasury Department concluded that FBS charge prices similar to those charged by large mutual life insurance companies and that FBS do not use their tax-exempt status to compete unfairly with taxable insurance companies.

The department's report also concluded that FBS operate under tax exemption as efficiently as mutual life insurers. The department noted that FBS must have a fraternal and beneficial character which distinguishes them from mutual insurance companies and acknowledged the benefits to society from FBS charitable services.

The Department of the Treasury found that net receipts have been positive for FBS insurance activities and

negative for FBS fraternal and charitable activities. The report stated this suggests FBS insurance income subsidizes fraternal and charitable expenditures.

The report to Congress noted an increase in fraternal events, acts of fraternal service, and hours of fraternal service between 1985 and 1989. In 1989, 46.7 million hours of volunteer work were provided by all FBS in the U.S.

The Treasury Department report presented two options for Congress to consider relating to the tax treatment of FBS:

- The first option would be change in the tax-exempt status of FBS. The Treasury Department noted that FBS perform valuable social and charitable functions. These charitable services benefit society as a whole. Fewer of these charitable goods and services are likely to be provided unless current tax treatment continues. The department commented that economic distortions caused by the tax-exempt treatment of FBS are relatively minor in comparison to other policy priorities. The net gains to society from taxing FBS insurance income may be small, according to the Treasury Department's report.

- Under a second option for Congress to consider, any FBS that continues insurance activities could be taxed like a mutual life insurer. If a FBS has only

(Continued on page 16)

Organizing report for February

During the month of February, UNA organizers enrolled 128 new members. The top organizer of the month, once again, was Miron Piliptak of Branch 496 in Seattle, who signed up 15 members. In second place was Michael Turko of Branch 63, who enrolled 14 members; while Supreme Auditor William Pastuszek organized seven new members into Branch 231.

They were followed by: one organizer with four members; six organizers with three members each; 13 organizers with two members each; and eight organizers with one member each.

The Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts were first among districts in the United States in terms of working toward their respective annual organizing quotas, attaining 18 percent and 17 percent, respectively.

The Supreme Executive Committee hereby expresses its thanks and congratulations to all organizers who have ensured the growth of the Ukrainian National Association.

THE
Ukrainian Weekly

Demjanjuk case cont'd

The fact-finding hearing into the handling of the John Demjanjuk case by the Office of Special Investigations, the Nazi-hunting unit of the U.S. Justice Department, was concluded in Nashville, Tenn., on Friday, April 30, before the special master appointed by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals. A ruling is expected to be issued by Judge Thomas Wiseman within 60 days, and this will then be turned over to the Court of Appeals for further action. The best-case scenario is for the court to order a vacatur, or a complete reversal of all prior decisions, in this strange case that was begun way back in 1977 when the U.S. marshal served legal papers to Mr. Demjanjuk.

The ruling will no doubt have an effect on Mr. Demjanjuk's still pending final appeal of his 1988 death sentence for the crimes committed by "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Israel's Supreme Court had heard final arguments on June 11, 1992. But, just days before that, on June 5 to be exact, the U.S. Circuit Court had ordered the reopening of the original extradition case against Mr. Demjanjuk on the grounds that the extradition warrant "may have been imprudently issued because it was based on erroneous information."

On August 17—despite the Bush administration's blatant attempt to stop the federal appeals court from getting involved in the continuing dispute over the Demjanjuk case—that court ordered further inquiry into the matter, acting on its power to grant relief for "after-discovered fraud." At the core of the investigation is the issue of whether the Office of Special Investigations had engaged in prosecutorial misconduct, including concealing exculpatory evidence from the Demjanjuk defense, in order to win a high-profile case.

As readers of The Weekly who have been following this case from the start know, Mr. Demjanjuk has maintained all along that he is a victim of mistaken identity. But, he was one insignificant man fighting the powers that be, first in the United States, then in Israel, with the collusion of Soviet authorities. For many years, his battle against these forces seemed hopeless. In 1988 he was found guilty and sentenced to death by an Israeli District Court which ruled, despite many lingering doubts, that he was in fact "Ivan" of Treblinka. Soon thereafter, new evidence was found in Soviet files—previously inaccessible to the defense—pointing to another man, Ivan Marchenko, as the real "Ivan." Next, it became clear that officials at the OSI actually knew of this and other exonerating evidence, but had concealed it. Some of that crucial evidence, it will be recalled, was found in documents in a dumpster near the Justice Department's offices.

In 1990, the Ukrainian American Bar Association, having reviewed the Demjanjuk case documents, concluded that John Demjanjuk is an innocent victim of fraud perpetrated by overzealous U.S. prosecutors. According to the UABA, it appeared Israel was actually duped by the U.S. Justice Department. The study also noted that the Justice Department had interfered with witnesses in the case by denying visa applications needed for Polish witnesses to come to the U.S. to testify for the defense and by leading another witness, a German officer, to lie about the identification of Mr. Demjanjuk. Israeli officials, meanwhile, had violated photo identification procedures, the UABA found. At the time it was hoped this report would lead to an investigation into the alleged misconduct of the OSI via congressional oversight hearings.

That investigation never took place. It took a courageous move by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals to reopen the case in the name of justice, leading to an examination of alleged misconduct where, it now appears, it all began, i.e. at the Office of Special Investigations. Incredibly, in an effort to save its case against John Demjanjuk, the Justice Department has now put forth a theory of two "Terrible Ivans" at Treblinka—one Mr. Demjanjuk, the other Marchenko. This disingenuous interpretation is reminiscent of arguments by Israeli prosecutors that Mr. Demjanjuk served at Treblinka, and Sobibor, and Flossenburg, shutting back and forth between the camps.

John Demjanjuk Jr. recently wrote in a letter to The Washington Post: "It is now evident that this case was not one of mistaken identity, but of the malicious prosecution of an innocent man." If justice is to be served, not only must Demjanjuk case decisions in the U.S. be reversed, but U.S. government officials responsible for prosecuting the case must be held accountable for what now appears to have been a travesty of justice.

May
14
1871

Turning the pages back...

Vasyl Stefanyk, a Ukrainian master of the expressionistic short story, was born in Rusiv, near Sniatyn in Galicia, on May 14, 1871. He began his studies in Kolomyia, but was expelled

for political activism. He was accepted into the school of medicine of Krakow University in 1892, but dropped out without gaining full qualifications in 1900.

From 1908 to 1917, he was a member of the Austrian Parliament, elected as a representative of the Ukrainian Radical Party in Galicia. During the Ukrainian revolution, he became vice-president of the Ukrainian National Rada, and in 1919, he traveled to Kyiv for the official unification ceremonies of the Western and Eastern Ukrainian republics.

Stefanyk's works first appeared in print in 1897, and his published literary canon consists of 59 very brief novellas, which capture a crucial moment in the lives of his protagonists. His heroes, primarily peasants, face crushing poverty, an implacable nature and the horrors of war. Stefanyk opens a window into their feelings and elevates them to a universal anguish.

(Continued on page 15)

Letter from Washington

by Eugene M. Iwanciw
Director, UNA Washington Office

United States frustrates Ukraine's hopes

Since the declaration of its independence, Ukraine has pursued a policy of cooperation with and accommodation to the United States in hopes of U.S. security guarantees and economic assistance. Those hopes, unfortunately, have thus far been frustrated.

After 20 months of attempting to build a close relationship with the U.S., it should be clear that Ukraine (1) is not now viewed as vitally important to U.S. national security, (2) must provide for its own national security, (3) must develop a strong and vibrant economy on its own, and (4) should generate a strategy to persuade the U.S. that Ukraine is, in fact, vital to U.S. economic and security interests.

Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations of the former Soviet Union, as well as the nations of Eastern Europe, are only of secondary importance in current U.S. policy formulation. Complaining that the U.S. is ignoring the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, the Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, during a recent visit to Washington, stated, "there is no doubt about how important Russia is, but you can't leapfrog over Eastern Europe."

After acknowledging the reality of the first proposition, and only as the second and third propositions are realized will the United States recognize and treat Ukraine as a truly independent nation and not as an adjunct of Russia.

The facts however are that the United States has a long history of considering Ukraine of little or no importance. While the United States entered World War I to "make the world safe for democracy," the concept of self-determination stopped at the borders of Ukraine. Americans at Versailles told the Ukrainian delegation that "smart politics requires you to come to terms with Russia."

In 1933, at the height of the famine in Ukraine—an effort to eradicate the very existence of Ukrainians—President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose to formally recognize the USSR. When on May 28, 1934, Rep. Hamilton Fish introduced legislation, H.R. 399, appealing for the admission of food aid to Ukraine, the U.S. Department of State told Congress that no famine existed in Ukraine.

At the end of World War II, the United States again gave legitimacy to Moscow's control of Ukraine and, with its Allies, sent thousands of Ukrainian refugees stranded in Western Europe to the Soviet Union and certain death.

On August 1, 1991, in a speech to the Supreme Council and the Ukrainian people, President George Bush referred to independence efforts as "suicidal nationalism." Five weeks before the December 1991 referendum on independence, a Bush administration spokesman stated: "We have no intention of recognizing them (Ukraine). We just won't do it." It took the loss by the president's party of a U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania, a heavily East European ethnic state, to change the administration's mind. Yet, even in his Christmas Day recognition of the independence of 12 new states, President Bush focused almost solely on Russia.

It was clear throughout 1992 that Ukraine was viewed as important for the United States only to the extent that there were nuclear weapons on its soil.

That importance did not, however, translate into economic assistance. In March of 1992, President Bush announced a \$24 billion international aid package, not to the countries of the former USSR, but to Russia. One year later, President Bill Clinton announced a \$30 billion international aid package, again, only for Russia.

In 1992, President Bush proposed and the Congress enacted an aid package to the nations of the former USSR. While the short title of the legislation was the "Freedom Support Act," the full title of the legislation was the "Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Act." It was continually referred to as the "Russian aid package." All efforts to change this name were opposed by the Bush administration. During the past two years, the U.S. has provided Russia with \$1.448 billion, while providing Ukraine with only \$137.2 million in aid. Although Ukraine is one-third the size of Russia, it has received only 9.5 percent of the aid sent to Russia.

For over a year, senior Russian officials, including Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi, presidential advisor Sergei Stankevich, and Chairman of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, have been threatening both the territorial integrity and the very existence of Ukraine. The United States has yet to publicly criticize these Russian officials. If the U.S. will not criticize Russia for its threats against Ukraine, is it realistic to expect the U.S. to defend Ukraine against the use of force or the threat of force by any state?

At the same time that two U.S. administrations have refrained from criticizing Russia, no such restraint has been exerted in their criticism of Ukraine, especially for its prudent review of the terms of the START treaty. After the March meeting between Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko and President Clinton, the president stated that signing the START agreement is a "precondition to a long-term successful relationship" with Ukraine. Last month the Clinton administration refused a request to meet with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, stating that ratification of the two arms control treaties was a prerequisite to any such meeting. It seems the U.S. has forgotten that relations between nations should be based on a wide-range of issues, not just one; on mutual interests, not one-sided views; and on discussion and compromise, not threats.

It would be unfair to suggest that the U.S. is pursuing an anti-Ukrainian policy; it is not! The U.S. is pursuing a Russia-centered policy which entails turning a blind eye to the excesses of Moscow. Examples of this policy are:

- The United States did not challenge Russia's claim to the right of interference in the internal affairs of other states to protect Russian minorities, — an excuse for renewed imperialism.

- Despite the fact that the United Nations and numerous European nations have publicly stated there is no evidence of persecution of Russian minorities in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the United States continues to support Russia's claims of persecution.

- While the United States requires a knowledge of English as a prerequisite

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Shifting public opinion in Ukraine affects its status as nuclear power

by Taras Kuzio

Within little over a year, the majority of public opinion has dramatically shifted from being anti-nuclear to pro-nuclear in Ukraine. Yet, this is in the republic that suffered the world's worst nuclear accident at Chernobyl in April 1986 which spurred one of the largest Green movements in the former USSR and played such a crucial role in the drive for reform and democratization in Ukraine.

By early 1993, only the republic's Greens remain committed to Ukraine's previously declared aims of aspiring to become a nuclear-free zone. In addition, the Greens are increasingly fighting a losing battle against Ukraine's new reliance upon nuclear power for energy purposes in the face of sharply reduced oil and gas supplies from Russia, which this year will only amount to a third of Ukraine's needs.

The change in public opinion and that of the Ukrainian political elite has come about as a consequence of the gradual disillusionment with the West, in particular with the United States. All former Soviet republics, including Ukraine, had ridiculously high expectations of aid from the West in the aftermath of the establishment of their independent states. But instead of being greeted for having, in effect, destroyed the Soviet empire, the Ukrainian leadership was met by an indifferent and, at times, even hostile United States. Despite promises of Western aid, Ukraine has only received medicines and grain from the United States.

Instead of a "carrot and stick" approach to US-Ukrainian relations over nuclear weapons, the "carrot" remained elusive while the "stick" seemed all pervasive. While former President George Bush pursued an all-embracing foreign policy towards Russia, Ukraine was largely forgotten, and U.S.-Ukrainian relations remained mainly confined to the issue of nuclear weapons. In the words of Ihor Yukhnovsky, then first deputy prime minister, all Ukraine received for transferring its tactical nuclear weapons to Russia last year "was a pat on the back."

Calls for diplomatic and economic isolation if Ukraine should fail to deliver on its commitment to become nuclear-free were therefore regarded as empty threats in Kyiv because of the perceived quarantine that Ukraine had, in effect, already been placed into by the former Bush administration. The domination of nuclear weapons within U.S.-Ukrainian relations also served to strengthen the argument of those in Kyiv who argued that after Ukraine de-nuclearized Ukraine would be completely ignored.

Although President Leonid Kravchuk first raised demands for security guarantees nearly a year ago, his calls fell on deaf ears, and discussions on this subject began only two months ago. Coupled with this has been the apparent Western reluctance to fully appreciate Ukrainian security concerns vis-a-vis Russia.

From the Western perspective, good relations on this issue have been frustrated by sometimes conflicting and ambiguous statements by Ukrainian leaders about their intent to de-nuclearize, or to carry through with pledges that the West considers to be legally binding. This has been com-

pounded by Ukraine's continuing alteration of its definition of security guarantees, which have evolved from covering only nuclear blackmail, to a conventional attack and economic blockade. Ukraine has also demanded sums of \$1 billion to \$2 billion to dismantle nuclear missiles on its soil, while the U.S. has offered only \$175 million.

Meanwhile, the changing public mood at home has made President Kravchuk's job of persuading the Ukrainian Parliament to ratify START I and to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) difficult without obtaining security guarantees. Thus far, the U.S. and the United Kingdom have offered only security assurances, repeating pledges previously made to states who have joined the NPT regime.

In mid-February, the Ukrainian Parliament finally began discussions of the START treaty, although, in the words of Deputy Minister of Defense Ivan Bizhan, "In today's economic situation, Ukraine cannot consider the destruction of nuclear weapons its priority task." Contrary to Western hopes for a speedy implementation of START I, Dmytro Pavlychko, the moderate chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, said he believes Parliament is split 50:50 as to its ratification.

The longer this process is dragged out, the less likely Ukraine will ratify START I and, even if it does, it will most certainly be with provisos demanding various Western guarantees for Ukrainian independence and territorial integrity. The paradox of a failure to ratify START I would be that START II, which calls for deep reductions in Russian forces, might not go forward.

Defense Minister Konstantyn Morozov, a moderate who is personally committed to nuclear disarmament, is already under threat from a petition demanding his resignation signed by half of the parliamentary deputies. His likely replacement, Gen.-Maj. Volodymyr Tolubko, the former commander of strategic rocket forces in Ukraine and a member of Parliament, is in favor of Ukraine remaining a nuclear power with the 46 SS-24 missiles constructed and based in the republic.

If this rapidly changing public mood and disillusionment with Western policy within Ukraine is not quickly recognized, Europe may have to deal with yet another nuclear state. The new Clinton administration in the U.S. should try not to repeat the mistakes made by his predecessor. It should ensure that U.S.-Ukrainian relations are elevated beyond the nuclear question, and Ukrainian insecurity is somehow taken into consideration. Finally, it would surely be in Western interests for the new U.S. administration to ensure that the "stick" used to prod Ukrainian compliance of its previously declared commitment to become nuclear-free is balanced by a "carrot." Otherwise, the debate in Ukraine on de-nuclearization will be untenable.

Taras Kuzio is a research associate with the International Institute for Strategic Studies based in London. The opinions included in this article, which was originally published in German in Die Zeit, a Hamburg newspaper, do not reflect IISS analyses or opinions.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Burma Capelin has died

In Detroit recently, I learned from Stephen Wichar that an old friend and idol of mine, Burma Capelin, had died.

Burma Capelin penned "Potpourri," a regularly featured Ukrainian Weekly column during the 1930s. That wasn't his real name, of course. It was a nom de plume which the columnist adopted to protect his identity from captious critics.

I discovered Burma Capelin during the 1970s when I was writing my book on the Ukrainian American community. By that time, no one at The Ukrainian Weekly, at Svoboda, or anywhere else for that matter, remembered who he really was.

I rediscovered Burma Capelin while writing the history of the Ukrainian National Association. Who was this person, I wondered as I read his insightful columns over and over. Obviously, this was someone who knew about acculturation, assimilation, group behavior and organizational development. He knew Ukrainian immigration history, and he had his finger on the pulse of the community. Finally, it hit me. Of course. Only one person fit the bill during the 1930s. Since the man I was thinking about was still alive, I called and confronted him. I heard silence for a few seconds and then a deep, cheery chuckle came over the other end of the line. "I wondered if you would ever figure it out," he told me.

"You old son of a gun," I told him. "Why didn't you tell me?"

"You never asked," he replied laughing. We spoke for a while and then I asked about the name. "Why Burma Capelin?"

"Burma," he explained, was a combination of letters from his wife's maiden name and his surname. "And 'capelin' is a little fish that bites." A few months after our conversation, Burma Capelin died unexpectedly.

He was quite a writer, this Burma Capelin. Concerned with the growing lack of involvement of the younger generation in mainline Ukrainian organizational life, he devoted his September 12, 1936, Weekly column to the issue.

"The immigrant organizations cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the organizations, including the Church, which have served the immigrant tolerably well, are as ill-adjusted ('out of date') to the second generation as the horse and buggy is in our motorized urban life," he wrote. "The second generation simply cannot fit into the scheme of thinking, the way of behavior, and the organization of the first generation. By virtue of having been born in America, its fates and fortunes lie within American conditions... Ukrainian youth organizations, if they are to achieve anything more viable than speech-making or paper publicity, must recognize that it is American and non-Ukrainian conditions to which primarily the second generation must adjust."

That was pretty controversial stuff 60 years ago, when every Ukrainian organization around was bent on "saving our Ukrainian youth" through intensive "Ukrainianization."

Work in Ukrainian youth organizations, he continued on October 3, is based on "gross unreality, the reference being to making the second generation hostage, if you will, to either the 'cause abroad' or to a special brand of

Ukrainianism as conceived by parties of the older generation."

One of the most successful second-generation Ukrainians of his era, "Burma" received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1942 after completing a dissertation titled "Nationalism, Religion, and the Problem of Assimilation among Ukrainians in the United States." A professor of sociology at Wayne State University for many years, he was one of the founders of the Detroit Graduates Club, the oldest Ukrainian professional and business society in the United States.

Svoboda editor Luke Myshuha became aware of the young "Burma's" talents early on and asked him to write an analytical article for the monumental Jubilee Book commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association. Using his real name as a byline, "Burma" penned "Ukrainian Culture Change" in which he reflected on various aspects of Ukrainian organizational life, Ukrainian youth, and attempts by Ukrainians to acquaint Americans with Ukraine.

"...the actual purpose of every organization — and their numbers as well as types are multiple — is to enroll as large a number of Ukrainians within its fold as possible. These attempts go on largely through the medium of acrimonious debate, silent war, and recriminations in personal terms. The avowed purpose in attempting to secure a monopoly of membership is that only those Ukrainians represented by the particular organization in question are 'good Ukrainians' — it is for their benefit that we want them." The consequences of this activity are several," he concluded, "Ukrainian energies are dissipated; the genuine and vital problems and difficulties which exist in relation to their American life are neglected in the pursuit of alleged organization 'ideals'..." and "Ukrainians become largely impotent in influencing the trend of American affairs; their 'politics' are... inter-organizational politics."

Ukrainian youth, he wrote "is given serious admonition on its 'obligations' to Ukrainianism; and through bitter tongue or otherwise, the attempt is made to marshal it into activities of these organizations." The result is that "the American-born generation instead of coming to a closer rapprochement with the older... is further estranged from it."

As for having more influence among Americans, "Burma" argued that Ukrainians believed the best way to "acquaint" Americans with Ukraine was to invite them to mass cultural manifestations. "What is entirely overlooked," he wrote, "is the importance of primary contacts, those contacts which arise out of individual personal relationships, rather than mass 'shows,' which eventuate in a knowledge and an appreciation of the Ukrainian by Americans, and vice-versa, and which therefore reduce or eradicate whatever antipathy based on strangeness there may exist between the two."

There was only one Burma Capelin, and his real name was Dr. Stephen Mamchur. A professional pillar of the Detroit Ukrainian American community for decades, he will be greatly missed for his intellect, his involvement and his jovial disposition.

Report details...

(Continued from page 1)

suggests that Ukrainian Canadian demands for redress are "eminently reasonable." Yet, on April 13, *Globe and Mail* columnist Jeffrey Simpson, wrote: "...being just in our time does not mean scrounging through the past to make ancestors retrospectively just in theirs." That echoes former Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau who told the House of Commons on April 4, 1984, concerning the Japanese Canadian redress package, that he did not "believe

in attempting to rewrite history in this way." (John F. Kennedy, on whether a president could atone for slavery in the United States, replied that a political leader could only be just in his time.)

However, while the UCC's redress committee is using the Price Waterhouse report in its negotiations with the federal government, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA)'s redress council continues its own campaign based on four points. They include a public acknowledgment (not apology), changes to Canada's 1988 Emergencies Act to prevent similar occurrences in the

future, a reversal of Parks Canada's refusal to erect historical markers about the internment and a community development fund.

Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, research director for the association, argues that his group, formed from the UCC's recently disbanded Civil Liberties Committee, is the one Mr. Mulroney's government should be dealing with.

"No one (from the UCC), not even Mr. Bardyn, had been involved with this issue 18 months ago," he explained, adding that he has been personally involved in researching the event since 1986. Dr. Luciuk said the association's honorary members, which include former Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop-Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg and Grand Chief Ovide Mercredi of the aboriginal Assembly of First Nations, adds greater clout to their efforts.

"People know who Ovide Mercredi is," he said, "but they don't know who the hell (UCC President) Oleh Romaniw is."

But although Mr. Bardyn acknowledges Dr. Luciuk's previous work in the area, he feels the UCCLA's involvement is hindering final negotiations. Referring to Dr. Luciuk's criticisms of Mr. Mulroney for not detailing the package at last October's triennial UCC congress in Winnipeg, Mr. Bardyn said Dr. Luciuk is "trying to sensationalize the issues to get as much press for himself."

"I had met with Mr. Mulroney, along with (former UCC President) Dr. Dmytro Cipwynyk and (UCCLA Chairman) John Gregorovich before his appearance [at the congress] and was trying to get him to at least acknowledge a commitment to resolve the issue to the mutual satisfaction of both the government and the community, which he did. "Lubomyr is going over old ground now... we're now waiting for a decision," he said.

Mr. Bardyn noted he hopes the Price Waterhouse report will convince the government to deal with the Ukrainian Canadian redress issue separately.

It estimates that the majority of Ukrainian Canadians interned between 1914 and 1920 were unemployed or destitute prior to their imprisonment and did not pose a military threat to Canada. Each Ukrainian was interned for an average of 1.5 years.

In 1914, there were about 170,000 Ukrainians in Canada, most of them coming from western Ukraine. As a result, their citizenship was either Austrian or Austro-Hungarian.

Although most Ukrainian Canadians were not interned, most were forced to register as enemy aliens. As a result, they lost the right to vote, lost the right to naturalize as Canadian citizens and were restricted in their ability to serve in the Canadian military.

War Measures Act

This nightmarish chapter in Canadian history began on August 15, 1914, when the Canadian government invoked the War Measures Act and issued a "Proclamation Respecting Immigrants of German or Austro-Hungarian Nationality." Canada had joined Great Britain's August 4 declaration of war against Germany.

It authorized the arrest and detention of "German or Austrian or Austro-Hungarian officers, soldiers or reservists who attempt(ed) to leave Canada; and all subjects of the German Empire or of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Canada engaged... in espionage or acts of a hostile nature, or giving... information to the enemy, or assisting... the enemy, or who are on reasonable grounds suspected of doing... any of the said acts." It added,

"Persons of German or Austro-Hungarian nationality who quietly pursue their usual avocations... should be allowed to continue.. without interruption."

On October 28, 1914, a further order-in-council required the registration of "alien enemies" as a means of "supervision and control" to "prevent espionage" or "effective military assistance to the enemy." (Many of the males, age 17 to 45, were likely reservists in the Austrian or Austro-Hungarian armies.) If these so-called alien enemies, including Czechs, Poles and Ukrainians, failed to register, they faced the penalty of internment as prisoners of war.

Yet, under the Hague Convention, prisoners of war were required to be treated humanely and confined only as "an indispensable measure of safety."

The following year, on June 26, the Canadian government authorized the arrest and detention of alien enemies if their freedom was believed not to be in the public interest.

Price Waterhouse counts 8,579 men, 81 women and 156 children interned in camps, with another 80,000 people of "Austrian" descent registered as enemy aliens. Of the 8,579 males, they estimate that up to 5,000 were of Ukrainian descent.

The UCC report also argues that German internees received better treatment than Austrian Ukrainians, who were detained in "more primitive camps or large internment camps in isolated settlement."

In 1915, the internment camp at Brandon, Manitoba, held between 800 and 1,000 Ukrainian internees. Ukrainians were segregated from so-called "first-class" prisoners. Their mail was censored and they were subjected to Canadian military laws for discipline, which included: being fired upon for escaping, receiving reduced rations, solitary confinement and hard labor.

Although it's believed that each prisoner was documented, most Canadian government records concerning World War I internment operations were destroyed in 1951. As a result, Price Waterhouse chartered accountants Claire Livingston and Martin Roberts relied on a "Report of Internment Operations (1914-1920)" by Maj.-Gen. Sir William Otter, who was in charge of monitoring and caring for internees.

Through his records it was determined that many Ukrainians were interned due to ethnic prejudice rather than wartime suspicions. National Archives of Canada documents confirm that being unemployed or destitute was frequently a reason Ukrainian Canadians were interned during this time.

Any who were arrested and interned because they were reservists and who attempted to cross the border did so in search of work, not because they were in collusion with the enemy.

In the UCC's official submission for redress, Mr. Bardyn wrote that, in some cases, some Ukrainians were interned because of their lack of knowledge of English. "When asked whether they were pro-German," many Ukrainians thought 'pro' was a short form of the Ukrainian word 'proty' which means 'against' and therefore answered affirmatively."

About 1,500 Ukrainians were also interned during the war for failing to report for registration or to demonstrate their loyalty to the Allied Corps.

In fact, only 302 out of 1,964 prisoners still interned in 1919 were actually of Austrian birth — further evidence that this was a move against Ukrainian Canadians.

Prisoners were interned in 24 camps,

(Continued on page 14)

Internment survivor hopes for rectification of injustice



Internment survivor Mary Haskett, 84.

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — Mary Haskett hopes that surviving one injustice won't lead to another.

The 84-year-old woman who lives in Mississauga, just outside of Toronto, is the last known survivor of the World War I internment camps that held more than 5,000 Ukrainian-Canadian men, women and their families between 1914 and 1920. On March 29, as the honorary chair of the redress council of the breakaway Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, she was part of a delegation to Parliament Hill. The group met with several members of Parliament, including Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski, to plead the case for public acknowledgment of one of the saddest chapters in Canadian history.

In 1914, Mary Manko (Mrs. Haskett) — then 6, her sister, brother and parents were one of many Montreal families herded into the Spirit Lake internment camp in northern Quebec. A year later, her 2-year-old sister, Carolka, became ill and died.

Mrs. Haskett just recently found her sister's grave in a church cemetery in nearby Amos, Quebec. An agricultural college now stands on the site of the old internment camp.

After the war, her parents, Andrew and Katherine Manko, moved to Toronto where they ran a grocery store. Both died towards the end of the second world war.

But Mrs. Haskett's 57-year-old daughter, Frances, who lives in Toronto, recalls that she, her sister

and two brothers heard some stories about their mother's illegal incarceration. "We wanted to believe her, but didn't know what to make of it."

Mrs. Haskett isn't surprised. "Who would even think that such a thing would happen? There was no reason for it."

She remembers the soldiers keeping close guard on her family, the barbed wire, the written permission required to leave the camp and the food served from buckets. Yet these details do not appear in Canadian school textbooks, she added.

"So many people phoned me when they heard the story and told me that they had never heard anything like it," she explained. "They never read anything about it."

Frances Haskett finally learned about the details of the tragedy in 1988 after reading a booklet on internment by Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, the association's director of research who has studied the episode since 1979. The family now wants Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government to publicly acknowledge and apologize to their mother and all Ukrainian Canadians who were unjustly imprisoned.

However, neither the prime minister nor Multiculturalism Minister Gerry Weiner were available to meet with Mrs. Haskett and the delegation in March.

Mrs. Haskett is counting on recent 11th hour appeals to convince the prime minister to approve some form of redress to the Ukrainian Canadian community. "I haven't much time," she says.

The medical consequences of Chernobyl: the case of Belarus

by Dr. David R. Marples
PART I

The question of a direct relationship between the effects of increased radiation resulting from the 1986 nuclear disaster at Chernobyl and a rise in sicknesses in the regions affected has been the subject of intense debate over the past two years. It appears to be reaching a crescendo of sorts. It has encompassed opinion from the "experts" of the International Atomic Energy Agency to charitable organizations providing aid to those suffering from the accident.

Perhaps there can never be a consensus on this issue because of the uncertainty of assigning any given sickness, with certainty, to the effects of radiation, particularly low-level radiation. However, after seven years of study of the effects of the event, it is pertinent at least to define the issues and the debate, and to attempt some sort of preliminary conclusion.

The fallout

Though maps of the fallout region from Chernobyl have been published in the Soviet and post-Soviet press for the past five years, only in 1992 was a map published for Belarus, which provided a detailed picture of the situation. The map concentrates on the current contamination of the soil with cesium-137. Strontium-90, another radioisotope, is monitored on a smaller map, though local scientists have concluded that it is less dangerous than cesium because its levels are lower and do not necessitate an evacuation of the population or such close monitoring of the population.

The map indicates an area of severe contamination in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts on the republic's eastern border (with over 40 curies of cesium per square kilometer in the soil in various locations); and areas of more moderate contamination in the south, which spread westward to Brest Oblast.

It is logical, therefore, in looking at the medical effects of Chernobyl, to concentrate on the Gomel region in particular, with certain districts of Mogilev forming a secondary region of concern. One could also apply this same thinking to the areas of Ukraine affected to the south. Thus, the northern regions of the Kyiv, Zhytomyr and Chernihiv oblast are likely to be the chief areas in which present and future illnesses manifest themselves. They include a large area that was evacuated, commencing with a 30-kilometer exclusion zone, and additional areas whose inhabitants were resettled subsequently, and also areas of constant control.

Casualties

To date, there have been no scholarly works on the number of direct casualties from Chernobyl that have provided specific figures. The chief difficulty has been in determining the number and names of those who visited the zone in the summer months of 1986. In 1989, a figure of 5,000 clean-up workers who had died as a result of direct or indirect exposure to Chernobyl radiation was corroborated by an official who had worked in the area for four years.

The high incidence of heart attacks among very young men, however, could not be attributed directly to an increased background level or radiation, i.e., there is no precedent in medical history for such an event. There was, in any case, no record of the people who were alleged to have died, and one would have needed to know family histories, including previous illnesses, as well as

their precise role in clean-up operations. A Soviet engineer, Igor Gerashchenko, was heavily criticized for producing a figure of 5,000 deaths in Kyiv hospitals alone from Chernobyl, in 1987.

More recently, there have been two other sources of casualty figures. The first was from Heorhiy Hotovchyts, the minister of the Chernobyl clean-up, and a man who was first acquainted with indirect consequences of radiation fallout in the Narodychi area of Ukraine in 1989. He noted that by April 1992, between 6,000 and 8,000 people had died in Ukraine as a result of the accident, and that the casualty rate among those who participated in decontamination was three to five times higher than that of their compatriots.

One clean-up worker, Vladimir Chernoussenko, has mounted a personal campaign to reveal what he believes to be the truth about the number of direct deaths which, he states, is of the order of between 7,000 and 10,000 volunteers. The most controversial part of Chernoussenko's theory is his belief that not 3 percent of the contents of the reactor core had been released by the Chernobyl explosion, but 80 percent.

By contrast, the Soviet and post-Soviet authorities never altered the figure of 31 deaths from Chernobyl, of

After seven years of study of the effects of the Chernobyl accident, it is pertinent to at least define the issues and the debate, and to attempt some sort of preliminary conclusion.

which 29 were related to high radiation doses. The figure has been accepted by Western doctors such as Robert Gale, who has remained closely associated with the study of the medical effects of Chernobyl and who treated some of the early victims. He repeated it early in 1993 at a press conference in Moscow.

The figure of 31, however, has never withstood close scrutiny. Indeed, it is relatively easy to provide cases of individual deaths not cited in this figure, including a Ukrainian film-maker, an official from the Ministry of Medium Machine Building and others. This is not the point. It still has not been possible to provide a conclusive figure on total casualties, seven years after the disaster.

The critics

A variety of scientists from within and outside the former Soviet Union have been severely critical of what has been described as a sensationalist view of the health effects of the disaster. Their view is that fear and an irresponsible media, catalyzed by elements in the West which, for one reason or another, wished to make the effects seem worse than the reality, led to an almost completely erroneous view of the consequences.

A member of the advisory council of the International Chernobyl Project (ICP), which took place under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), described the post-Chernobyl situation as follows: "The people who did not know the true story of the contamination and did not understand its potential effects on their health got naturally alarmed. They found allies in the non-professional media, and newly created environmental and nationalist movements... Scared and alarmed people started believing that nearly every health disorder and every unusual happening in their environment was the

result of the Chernobyl accident."

Similar thoughts pervaded the ICP, report, which failed to discern any medical consequences in villages surveyed by the study in southern Belarus and northern Ukraine (about 1,300 persons) that could be directly attributable to Chernobyl. In other words, though the IAEA team did discover a variety of medical problems in the villages examined, there was none that differed significantly from those in non-irradiated regions. The conclusions here reportedly took into account the fact that health care generally was not on a high level in the affected regions, though the team did not examine evacuees or clean-up workers, because they had not been asked to examine such groups in the agreement made in 1990 with the Soviet authorities.

Turning specifically to Belarus, one radiobiologist has decried the prevailing attitude of virtual hysteria in the republic on the effects of Chernobyl. Scientists cannot agree, he declares, on the danger levels of radioactive iodine. In the southern regions of Gomel, children received over 1,000 rads of radioactive iodine to their thyroid glands. But what level, he asks, is permissible? According to the authorities, the maximum permissible is 200-400 rads, but according to Academician E.P. Kanoplya, the critical

leukemia in children which one could, with total certainty, connect to the radiation factor of the Chernobyl accident."

According to Dr. Ivanov, more children are suffering from leukemia in the regions not affected by Chernobyl (Minsk, Vitebsk oblasts) than in those in the fallout zone (the city of Gomel and Gomel Oblast). He attributes this phenomenon to the chemical contamination of the environment in Belarus, especially in the larger cities. This leads him to be very critical of the decision to evacuate areas contaminated by radionuclides, if evacuees are moved to areas of industrial pollution.

Based on the results of his research to date, Dr. Ivanov concluded that the gloomy prognoses about future rises in leukemia among children as a result of Chernobyl will be proved wrong. Such increases "will not happen." He concluded on a political note, that the results will "trump" certain rumor and speculations on the Chernobyl theme, which are being used, in his opinion, by unscrupulous people to further political ambitions, or by "obsessive persons."

Dr. Ivanov's conclusion represents a viewpoint that the ultimate medical impact of Chernobyl will be less catastrophic than first feared, if not somewhat negligible. It derives from a widely held belief (both in the former Soviet Union and in the West and Japan) that it has not yet been possible to discern any significant effects upon a population from levels of radiation below 100 rads. According to one Russian specialist interviewed on this subject last year, even at levels of 300 rads, not every subject becomes sick. The risk is, in fact, one in every five people. At lower levels, it becomes impossible to diagnose with certainty radiation as a root cause of an illness (cancer, blood diseases, deficiencies of the immune system, etc.) particularly in regions of high environmental pollution. He cites a World Health Organization study that cancer will affect 19 percent of the earth's population at some time in their lives.

Such arguments have been used before with regard to Chernobyl. One can also comment that the conclusions of Dr. Ivanov, in particular, appear to be premature, in that one would not necessarily expect additional cases of leukemia to express themselves so soon after the disaster. It is also highly selective, in that children's leukemia is only one possible medical outcome of Chernobyl. But what is one to make of the accusations of Dr. Ivanov and others that Chernobyl has been utilized for personal advantage and motives? Conversely, is there evidence to suggest that the health effects have been substantive and clearly discernible? Arguably, the observer should be able to point out some health effects after such a time period, even given the initial dearth of official information and apparent unreliability of many of the figures.

The question of unscrupulous people taking advantage of the Chernobyl tragedy can be dealt with quickly. In all three major republics affected (Belarus, Ukraine and Russia), there have been public scandals over the disbursement of funds — mostly from international aid — directed toward the victims of Chernobyl.

In August 1992, for example, a report from the Gomel region suggested that "certain officials... are becoming rich on the Chernobyl tragedy." An inquiry was held by the Belarusian State Committee for Chernobyl, which uncovered a number of abuses by the Enterprises of

(Continued on page 15)

CHORNOBYL SEVEN YEARS AFTER: Ukraine's citizens ask, "

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Seven years have passed since the nuclear accident at Chornobyl Nuclear Reactor No. 4 on April 26, 1986, shattered not only Ukraine, but resounded throughout the world, underscoring the power of the atom over humankind.

Yet no other people, save perhaps the Belarusians, live with the memory and with the consequences of the accident every day of their lives the way the citizens of Ukraine do. And only now — after seven years of mourning — are they strong enough to feel angry, betrayed, hurt and abandoned.

"We're talking to ourselves, who wants to listen to us? No one, not even the Supreme Council," shouted an angry woman who had been resettled from the 30-kilometer zone to Kyiv soon after the accident.

She was met with sympathy by the crowd of more than 300 people, many of them "liquidators" of the Chornobyl nuclear accident, who gathered at Kyiv's Independence Square on Monday evening, April 26, to grieve for their families and friends who have died over the past seven years as a result of cancer, spurred, they say, by heavy doses of radiation.

Organized by the Ukrainian Green World organization and the Chornobyl Union (Soyuz Chornobyl), the meeting was a forum for the people of the zone — the residents, the power plant workers, the liquidators. They expressed their distrust of today's Ukrainian government and Supreme Council, carrying banners that read: "Supreme Council, Cabinet of Ministers, don't look for money in the pockets of invalids; look for it among the mafia organizations" and "Chornobylites of the Vinnytsia region protest solutions to economic problems at the expense of the Chornobyl law."

During the two-hour meeting a number of citizens approached the microphone to ease the pain in their souls by sharing with those who had similar experiences. Many echoed the belief that they live with little hope for the future.

"We've waited for more than two years for the law on Chornobyl to be passed in Parliament, to give us some benefits. But, it's like that meat pie. They keep slicing away at it, piece by piece, until there is nothing left," said Vasyl Kornienko, a liquidator from Kyiv Oblast.

Some in the crowd lit candles they were holding to mourn the victims of the worst nuclear accident ever recorded in history. Others held teary-eyed reunions, meeting with neighbors from the zone whom they had not seen in quite some time.

An elderly woman dressed in a light-colored kerchief timidly approached the microphone, but in a courageous voice said: "My good people, who needs us. Even Yavorivsky is no longer with us... he no longer has time for us," she complained, referring to the chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Chornobyl who had actively campaigned to pass the law on Chornobyl in the Supreme Council. But a recent governmental decree put a ceiling on pensions for the more than 3 million Chornobylites — people who were affected by the disaster and who are eligible for free medicine, subsidized food and early retirement.

Although few government statistics are available, the newest figures show that 125,000 people have been resettled from areas contaminated as a result of Chornobyl accident.

Mr. Yavorivsky did not appear at this meeting of the Chornobylites. Save for Volodymyr Shovkoshytny, physicist/nuclear engineer and a former resident of Prypiat who is a deputy in the Supreme Council and chairs the sub-committee on the 30-kilometer zone, there were no government representatives.

Public officials, led by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, attended their own meeting early in the day, which included a memorial service at the "Chornobyl Museum," in the Podil region of Kyiv, a structure funded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and dedicated exactly one year ago, on April 26, 1992, to the memory of the victims of Chornobyl.

During the one-hour ceremony, a memorial service was offered by the Rev. Mykola, a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church (now the Ukrainian Orthodox Church), who served the last liturgy in Chornobyl on April 28, 1986, just two days after the accident and before he was evacuated. Singing responses to the panakhyda was a group of 14 kerchiefed women and two men who belonged to the Ilyynska church in that town. They have developed a tradition: every year on the anniversary of the accident, they return to that church to pay tribute to those who perished.

"We must take responsibility for our decisions, we should be responsible for our people, for nature, for our land. People have come to understand that the cards have been laid out for all of civilization; that the responsibility of humankind before the atom should be much greater," the Ukrainian president, dressed in a black suit, told the more than 500 mourners gathered at the steps of the Chornobyl Museum.

"Irresponsible decisions brought about this planetary catastrophe," he said. He assured the mourners that the government and various Supreme Council committees were developing a national Chornobyl program, which he said would "save everybody," and that funds for the liquidation of the consequences of Chornobyl would be used with the greatest responsibility. President Kravchuk paid his first visit to the museum after the service.

"For the past seven years, here in our home, we have been enduring a silent, but no less horrible, third nuclear world war," said Mr. Yavorivsky, who attended this "meeting of mourning."

He also said he would present a list of names of the guilty — those who kept the truth from the people, who allowed children to participate in the May Day parade in Kyiv just four days after the explosion that released some 50 million curies of radioactive matter into the air and contaminated nearly 40,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory — to the Ukrainian Procurators' Office, on that day. He named the now-deceased Volodymyr Shcherbitsky, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine; Valentyna Shevchenko, president of the Ukrainian SSR; Anatolii Romanenko, minister of health; and Oleksander Liashko, premier of the Ukrainian SSR. "Although such an act does not make the tragedy any less painful," he said, "it is, in a way, a kind of cleansing."

Church bells rang out mournfully on the morning of April 26, and at 8 a.m. Greenpeace of Ukraine, the Ukrainian chapter of the international anti-nuclear organization, hung two huge green banners over the large digital clock on the Khreshchatyk, near Independence Square.

"Chornobyl stopped time. It's time for Chornobyl to stop," the banners read, referring to the 1990 decision by the Ukrainian Parliament to close down the Chornobyl nuclear power plant by the end of 1993. That decision is now being re-examined as Ukraine is undergoing an economic crisis and an energy shortage.



... anyone listening?"



Photos by Marta Kolomayets

Scenes from solemn commemorations in Kyiv of the seventh anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Top left: A "Chornobylite" addresses the rally on Independence Square. Center left: Volodymyr Yavorivsky speaks at the opening of the Chernobyl museum located in the Podil section of the capital. Father Mykola and a choir of women from Chernobyl during the memorial service. Bottom left: President Leonid Kravchuk and his delegation get a tour of the museum. An elderly woman participates in the Chernobyl commemorations. Above: Rally participants' placards call attention to the nuclear disaster's victims.



Thousands still affected by Chernobyl's fallout

KYYIV — Seven years after reactor No. 4 of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant exploded, causing the world's worst nuclear accident, thousands of people continue to be affected by radiation sickness, forced evacuation and land contamination, reported Reuters.

Groups representing victims say the Ukrainian government — which claims the Chernobyl disaster has caused 8,000 deaths — is coping badly with Chernobyl-related difficulties. Those most in need are not getting the right kind of help, they say.

"There is no mechanism to implement state assistance programs," said Yuriy Andreyev, head of the Ukraine Chernobyl Union. "There are too few sanatoriums, no specialized clinics, the radiological centers are unable to cope. There are shortcomings in legislation, little is being done about finding housing."

During the week of April 18, 113 of the tens of thousands of workers assigned to clean up the plant after the 1986 explosion were on hunger strike to demand changes to regulations on benefits. A representative of the hunger strikers told Reuters eight others dropped out of the protest on April 22 after losing consciousness.

On April 28, President Kravchuk told groups helping Chernobyl victims: "We must create a new program to help the victims of Chernobyl, but in the meantime we need to correct the existing one. We need consensus among you."

The World Health Organization (WHO) reported on April 23 that Chernobyl caused thyroid cancer cases among children in Belarus to increase more than 26 times. But a statement

released by the organization to mark the April 26 anniversary said radiation-triggered leukemia cases in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia had not risen, reported Reuters.

Officials say 11 percent of Ukraine's budget goes toward dealing with the aftermath of the accident. Chernobyl accounts for about 40 percent of the Health Ministry's budget. Deputy Finance Minister Mykola Sivilsky said 611.3 billion karbovantsi (\$200 million) had been allocated in the 1993 budget, but another 500 billion (\$170 million) is needed to cover needs fully.

The Chernobyl plant is to be closed by order of Ukraine's Parliament by the end of the year. Two of the four reactors have been kept on line to meet energy needs through 1993.

Ukraine remains divided between opponents of nuclear power and a scientific lobby that says there is no alternative to expanding it.

Ecologists have demanded the closure of not only Chernobyl but the five nuclear power stations that still provide more than 30 percent of Ukraine's electricity. The nuclear industry says Ukraine, which depends heavily on Russia for oil and gas imports, must maintain and expand its nuclear capacity.

The Parliament is currently examining a proposal to complete the construction of at least three reactors that was halted after the Chernobyl accident.

The newspaper Holos Ukraïny reported Chernobyl Director Mykola Sorokin has commissioned a study showing that shutdown of Chernobyl would cost the country millions of dollars in importing alternative fuel and servicing aging thermal stations.



The shaping...

(Continued from page 2)

Two days later there was a further apparent setback. The Ukrainians had continued to press Russia and the United States to accept the idea that all the successor states to the Soviet Union that had nuclear weapons on their territory should ratify the START I treaty. At a meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan to discuss the implementation of the START I treaty, Mr. Zlenko formally proposed that, instead of being represented by Russia, all four states act as one collective party to preserve the treaty's bilateral nature. Russia, however, continued to insist that it alone be a party to the treaty and that it also implement the treaty on behalf of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. The talks appeared to break down in deadlock.⁷⁴

One step back, two steps forward?

With the prospect of Ukraine hardening its position toward nuclear disarmament still further (and with the stand-off between Kyiv and Moscow over the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimea continuing), there was a flurry of diplomatic activity during the next two weeks, some public and some behind the scenes.

The most visible aspect of it was an improvement in Ukrainian-U.S. contacts signaled by the Bush administration's decision to send a high-level U.S. delegation led by Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz to Kyiv. It met with President Kravchuk on April 14. Meanwhile, Ukrainian Defense Minister Morozov was in Washington meeting with Secretary of State Baker and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. It is likely that the Ukrainian side stressed the domestic pressure that the Ukrainian leadership was under either to obtain a more satisfactory arrangement concerning the fate of the nuclear weapons on its territory, or to alter the Ukrainian position, as Kazakhstan had done, thereby putting the ratification of the START I treaty in even greater jeopardy.

The same day that the U.S. delegation was in Kyiv, however, Mr. Zlenko unexpectedly announced at a press conference that Ukraine and Russia had worked out a compromise and that the shipment of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia would be resumed in a few days. It transpired that after the abortive talks in Moscow on the START I treaty, a separate bilateral meeting of the Ukrainian and Russian delegations had taken place. According to *The Guardian's* report on Mr. Zlenko's press conference, the Ukrainian foreign minister said that the draft agreement, which still awaited the signatures of the presidents of both countries, "would ensure Ukrainian inspectors were able to monitor the withdrawal, storage, and eventual disposal of warheads."⁷⁵

He pointed out that Ukraine had also wanted to involve observers from outside the former Soviet Union but that Russia had opposed this. Apart from the Ukrainian lack of certainty that the weapons handed over to Russia were actually being destroyed, Kyiv had also worried that a nuclear warhead with a Ukrainian serial number might find its way into the hands of a third party, thereby discrediting Ukraine.⁷⁶ Indirectly acknowledging the influence of Western pressure, Mr. Zlenko claimed that "The world failed to understand what was behind our move."⁷⁶

Rather surprisingly, the agreement defusing a problem that had caused international concern was signed by President Kravchuk and Yeltsin on April 16, with virtually no publicity. The text

of the agreement does not seem to have been published either. What is striking, moreover, is that the short report by ITAR-TASS on this subject of the same day, which was based on information obtained from the Russian Foreign Ministry, made no mention of any provisions for the monitoring by Ukraine of the transfer to Russia and destruction there of the tactical nuclear missiles.

Yet, a few days later Radio Ukraine quoted a Ukrainian Foreign Ministry official as denying that Ukraine had given way because of international pressure and stating that an agreement had been attained "on the international control over the removal and destruction of such weapons." He also reiterated that Ukrainian military experts would carry out monitoring at the various sites in Russia where the weapons were to be destroyed, and would carefully check the serial numbers of the warheads.⁷⁷

The news that Ukraine would resume shipping tactical nuclear weapons to Russia was welcomed in Washington and other Western capitals,⁷⁸ and there were further signs that the United States was "elevating its relationship with Ukraine."⁷⁹ President Kravchuk also noted the improvement in relations with the United States. On April 28, shortly before his departure for Washington, he told a press conference that, having earlier viewed the republic "as being in the orbit of Russian foreign policy," the U.S. had now taken "a constructive line" toward Ukraine.⁸⁰

Kyiv's most important breakthrough with the United States, though, was in persuading Washington to back Ukraine's position on the ratification of the START I treaty. While publicly Russia continued to refuse to budge, negotiations went on behind the scenes, with Washington exerting its influence. By the end of the month, Mr. Kravchuk felt confident enough to announce that the foreign ministers of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan would meet with U.S. Secretary of State Baker soon to sign a protocol to the START I treaty committing all four of them to implementing it.⁸¹

During the last two weeks before the Ukrainian president's trip to Washington, both Mr. Kravchuk and Mr. Zlenko emphasized once again that Ukraine was seeking financial and technical help from the West in dismantling the nuclear weapons on its territory. At his press conference on April 14, the Ukrainian foreign minister declared quite bluntly that Ukraine could only meet the agreed deadlines for eliminating the weapons "if we receive the proper help we expect from outside, including Western countries."⁸² A few days later Mr. Kravchuk repeated this to a visiting Australian parliamentary delegation.⁸³

There was also, however, an important new note. Echoing the prevailing feeling in the Ukrainian Parliament, President Kravchuk now made it known that in return for giving up the nuclear arsenal on its territory, Ukraine expected to receive some form of security guarantee from the West.

In an interview he gave to *La Stampa*, Mr. Kravchuk explained the problem as Kyiv saw it: "Let us assume that we remove all nuclear weapons from Ukraine and become a non-nuclear state. This is what we want. But what guarantee will there be for our security? Germany's security, for example, is guaranteed by NATO. Who will determine Ukraine's security? Russia? Perhaps we would agree, but Russia continually makes border claims on us."⁸⁴

Mr. Kravchuk repeated this argument at a press conference in Kyiv on April 28, stating that because of the potential

threat from neighbors seeking a revision of Ukraine's borders, "we have to address the international community with a request to provide guarantees for the national security of Ukraine."⁸⁵

The response from the United States and NATO was prompt and direct: any idea of a Western military guarantee for Ukraine was out of the question, although U.S. Secretary of State Baker indicated that the United States might consider providing diplomatic support in the event of a nuclear crisis.⁸⁶ The most important international guarantee for Ukraine's safety, the temporary U.S. charge d'affaires in Kyiv, Jon Gundersen, told journalists on May 3, was its integration into European structures.⁸⁷

This was repeated by an unnamed "senior administration official" who, on the eve of President Kravchuk's trip to the United States, prescribed something of a tall order for the Ukrainians, telling the press in Washington that "the best guarantee of [Ukraine's] security is rapid and close integration into Western institutions, close relations with Western countries, a successful and rapid economic reform, firm democratic reforms, and finally a good relationship with Russia."⁸⁸

During the Ukrainian president's visit to Washington on May 5-7, both he and his hosts appeared to be at pains to emphasize that it marked the beginning of a better relationship between Ukraine and the United States. Secretary of State Baker declared that the visit symbolized "the extent to which the United States sees Ukraine as a full partner" in efforts to build a "democratic peace."⁸⁹ For his part, after meeting with President Kravchuk on May 6, President Bush said that the two had agreed that "the United States and Ukraine should be not just friends, but partners."⁹⁰ The joint statement issued by the two presidents that day went further and declared that "By agreeing to cooperate to advance these common political, economic, and security interests, the United States and independent Ukraine have laid the foundation for a strong and special partnership."⁹¹

Apart from a trade agreement affording Ukraine most-favored-nation status, pledges of various forms of technical assistance, and a Peace Corps program, the most important tangible result from Mr. Kravchuk's visit for the Ukrainian side was the confirmation of the agreement between Washington and Kyiv on how the ratification of the START I treaty would be handled. In the joint statement issued by President Bush and Kravchuk, Ukraine affirmed that it would ratify and implement the START I treaty, dismantling all its nuclear arms "in accordance with the appropriate agreements, within a seven-year period as defined in the treaty," and join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state. The statement also confirmed that the United States would assist Ukraine in its nuclear disarmament efforts with part of the \$400 million of appropriations from the U.S. Congress.⁹²

Having failed to obtain the security guarantees that Ukraine had been seeking, President Kravchuk told a press conference after his meeting with President Bush that his country would continue to press for firmer assurances. He explained: "Ukraine is a large European country with a population of 53 million and a powerful nuclear arsenal, and we volunteered to eliminate those weapons. We think that policy is correct in its concept; we would not like to change that policy. But some of our neighbors, especially Russia, have political forces which would like to make territorial claims against Ukraine, and that

certainly worries us. We would continue to put forward our request to the international community to find a way... to provide some guarantees for the national security of Ukraine."⁹³

Before leaving Washington, after some initial embarrassing confusion, President Kravchuk was able to confirm that all the nuclear weapons had now been moved from Ukraine to Russia, well in advance of the agreed deadline. He also made use of the opportunity to appeal again for technical and financial assistance in dismantling the ICBMs, pointing out that Russia had the only facilities for destroying both the warheads and the missiles that delivered them.⁹⁴

All in all then, as far as Kyiv was concerned, Messrs. Kravchuk and Zlenko's visit to Washington was a success. Apart from raising Ukraine's international stature and appearing to lay the basis for a closer relationship with the United States, it also expedited the agreement on how the START I treaty would be ratified, resulting in the recognition of Ukraine as one of the parties to it. This was an important diplomatic victory for Ukraine, not only because of the acknowledgment of Kyiv's rights and responsibilities concerning nuclear disarmament, but also because it "internationalized" what might have otherwise remained a largely Ukrainian-Russian problem and source of tension.

As far as Kyiv was concerned, the provisions of the START treaty also gave Ukraine three more years in which to eliminate the nuclear weapons on its territory. Last, but not least, Kyiv also appeared to have secured Washington's support for, or at least acknowledgment of the importance of, Ukraine's integration into Western European institutions. This point was registered in the joint statement issued by President Bush and Kravchuk.

The Lisbon Protocol

During the next two weeks, the United States continued the sensitive negotiations with Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus on the ratification of the START I treaty and was able to win

(Continued on page 13)

⁷⁴ Radio Mayak, April 12, 1992; and Radio Ukraine, April 14, 1992.

⁷⁵ James Meek, "Nuclear Weapons Transfer from Ukraine to Resume," *The Guardian*, April 15, 1992.

⁷⁶ Robert Seely, "Kiev to Resume Missile Transfer," *The Times*, April 15, 1992.

⁷⁷ Radio Ukraine, April 22, 1992.

⁷⁸ ITAR-TASS, April 16, 1992.

⁷⁹ Reuters, April 20, 1992.

⁸⁰ ITAR-TASS, April 29, 1992.

⁸¹ Radio Ukraine, April 29, 1992; and Reuters, April 30, 1992.

⁸² Radio Ukraine, April 15, 1992.

⁸³ ITAR-TASS, April 21, 1992.

⁸⁴ From a summary broadcast by Radio Ukraine on April 27, 1992.

⁸⁵ Radio Ukraine, April 29, 1992; and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 3, 1992.

⁸⁶ Reuters, April 29, 1992.

⁸⁷ Radio Ukraine, May 3, 1992.

⁸⁸ Mark Matthews, "Ukrainian President Vows to Abandon Nuclear Weapons," *The Sun* (Baltimore), May 7, 1992. *Izvestiya* of May 7, 1992 referred to the official as a high-ranking National Security Council staffer.

⁸⁹ Reuters, May 6, 1992.

⁹⁰ Matthews, "Ukrainian President Vows..."

⁹¹ *Holos Ukrainy*, May 9, 1992; and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 17, 1992.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Doyle McManus, "U.S., Ukraine Agree on Atomic Weapons Reduction Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 1992.

⁹⁴ Don Oberdorfer, "Kravchuk Says All Short-Range Nuclear Missiles Have Been Removed to Russian Soil," *The Washington Post*, May 8, 1992.

The shaping...

(Continued from page 12)

their agreement on the compromise solution that Washington and Kyiv had worked out. The deal was sealed in Lisbon on May 23, when Secretary of State Baker, the foreign ministers of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, and a representative of Kazakhstan signed a protocol, or legal supplement, to the START I treaty.

According to its delicately balanced terms, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan were acknowledged to be parties to the "treaty along with the United States and Russia. As "successor states of the USSR," they undertook, together with Russia, to "assume the obligations of the former USSR under the treaty"; to carry out the verification provisions of the treaty and participate in the work of the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission; and to comply "in the shortest possible time" as "non-nuclear states" with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty. Each party also undertook to ratify the treaty together with their constitutional practices." The treaty was to come into force on the day that the ratified documents were finally exchanged.

It was clear from the strained atmosphere during the signing ceremony⁹⁵ and from the de facto provisos that Russia, Ukraine and Belarus sought to attach to the document in the form of accompanying letters and statements that there were still considerable differences among the Soviet successor states on the interpretation of some of the provisions. Russia stressed that it preferred not to implement the START I treaty until Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan had eliminated all the nuclear weapons on their territory, and that it considered Ukraine still to be bound by the timetable agreed upon at the Minsk CIS meeting on December 30, 1991 (namely, that it would complete the destruction of all the remaining nuclear weapons on its territory by the end of 1994) rather than by the seven-year period specified in the START I treaty.

Ukraine qualified its position in two supplementary documents: a letter from President Kravchuk to President Bush, dated May 7, which it appended to the Lisbon Protocol; and a note issued by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry and distributed in Kyiv by Minister Zlenko on June 3 to the ambassadors of NATO countries. In the first document, President Kravchuk reaffirmed Ukraine's intention to have a non-nuclear status and abide by the three non-nuclear principles and emphasized "its right to control over the non-use of nuclear weapons" deployed on its territory.

He went on to say that "Ukraine shall guarantee the elimination of all nuclear weapons, including strategic offensive weapons, located in its territory in accordance with the relevant agreements and during the seven-year period as provided for in the START Treaty and within the context of the Statement of the Non-Nuclear Status of Ukraine. Ukraine will

take into account its national security interests in conducting this activity. In this connection, if any questions should arise, Ukraine will consult with the other parties to the treaty. In addition... the process of elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine should be carried out under reliable international control which should guarantee the non-use of nuclear charge components for repeated production of weapons and should prevent their export to other countries." [Emphasis added]⁹⁶

The second document was broader in scope (though presumably not binding). From the details that are known, Ukraine informed the international community that it considered that the reduction of the nuclear weapons based on the territory of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan "should be achieved through the proportional and uniform destruction of nuclear warheads and means of delivering them"; that Ukraine, having "voluntarily renounced the right to possess nuclear weapons, to which it was entitled as one of the equal legal successor states of the former USSR, will insist on guarantees of its national security, including guarantees against the possible threat of the use of force... against Ukraine on the part of any nuclear state"; and that Ukraine will insist "that Russia promptly take practical steps to create together with Ukraine a system of technical control by the president of Ukraine over the non-use of the strategic offensive weapons based on the territory of Ukraine."

The note also stressed that, as a matter of principle, Ukraine could not recognize any "special status" for Russia compared with that of the other "legal successor states of the former USSR" in matters regarding agreements, property, or obligations of the former Soviet Union, the only exception being the joint CIS agreement that Russia fill the seat of the former USSR at the United Nations and on its Security Council.⁹⁷

Curiously, the signing of the Lisbon protocol — one of the most important treaties signed by independent Ukraine — seems to have passed almost unreported by the Ukrainian media. Furthermore, for some reason, the text of the protocol and of President Kravchuk's supplementary letter to President Bush appear not to have been published in Ukraine.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in the absence of any real details about what Ukraine had actually committed itself to, there was no immediate public discussion of the country's accession to the START I treaty. But this did not mean that its ratification by Ukraine's assertive Parliament was assured. Moreover, the Parliament was preparing to discuss proposals for a Ukrainian military doctrine that would define the directions of Ukraine's security policy; and the question of Ukraine's non-nuclear status would inevitably be a key issue.

The fact that, in signing the Lisbon Protocol, Ukraine had agreed that by the end of the century — if the provisions of the START I treaty were observed — Russia would be the only one of the

Soviet successor states with nuclear weapons, was of course too serious a matter to pass without some reaction. Vyacheslav Chornovil, who had been the runner-up to Mr. Kravchuk in the presidential election, gaining about a quarter of the votes, and was now a co-leader of Rukh, stressed the need for guarantees. "The fact that there are still nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory is something that acts as deterrent," he argued.

As Western agencies also reported in mid-July the radical nationalist deputy Stepan Khmara went further and accused Mr. Kravchuk of making a "giant political mistake" in agreeing to uphold Ukraine's non-nuclear status without Western security guarantees. He confirmed that quite a number of deputies in the parliamentary Commission on Defense and State Security thought that "as long as we don't have such guaran-

tees, we have to hold on to some nuclear weapons, and Ukraine has to control them — not Russia, which has a truly imperial attitude."

⁹⁵ See Norman Kempster, "Pact Leaves Only Russia with Nuclear Arms in Commonwealth," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1992; Don Oberdorfer, "Three Ex-Soviet States Give Up A-Atoms," *The Washington Post*, May 24, 1992.

⁹⁶ For the texts of the Lisbon Protocol and the accompanying letters, see *Arms Control Today*, June 1992, pp. 34-36.

⁹⁷ The document does not appear to have been published in the Ukrainian press. Its provisions were described, however, in a summary issued by Ukrinform on June 3, 1992, and by V. Kuchinsky, the head of the section of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry dealing with disarmament, in his article "For Security without Confrontation" in the monthly Kyiv publication *Polityka i Chas*, Nos. 9-10, September-October 1992, p. 38.



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Report details...

(Continued from page 8)

the first of which opened in August 1914. Most internees were released to work-parole from 1916 to 1917 to help fill the war-related labor shortage. They received 25 cents a day as pay.

Wrongfully interned Ukrainian Canadians as a group earned between \$192,000 and \$287,000 while working in the camps. In July 1920, the Canadian government held about \$94,000 in trust for ex-internees. This comprised both earnings and some funds confiscated from the internees.

Claims were eventually submitted and monies were paid out until 1939, with the balance remaining at about \$33,000 — of which \$31,200 represents unpaid earnings. It's believed no further claims were ever paid out.

Although property was also confiscated, the report assumes that between 10 to 20 farms were lost, valued at between \$500,000 and \$1 million in current dollars.

Total losses calculated

In calculating total losses, the Vancouver-based firm estimated the number of people wrongly interned and the duration of their internment. Lost earnings were then estimated and deducted from the minimal salaries they received. Price Waterhouse relied on 1921 census figures that revealed about 67 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian labor force worked in agriculture. The average rate of pay for a Ukrainian Canadian would have been \$557 annually.

Taking the 3,300 to 5,000 Ukrainian Canadians wrongfully interned, the report equates that figure with a loss of between 5,300 to 7,900 man-years to internment. If further estimates that Ukrainian Canadian internees would have earned between \$1.9 million and \$2.8 million in 1917 dollars had there been no internment.

But Mr. Bardyn maintained that the UCC's redress package extends to the entire community, based on wide-ranging discriminatory measures waged against it by the government. For instance, the Ukrainian ethnic press was censored, Ukrainians were deprived of naturalization rights for 10 years after the war and the War-time Elections Act prohibited enemy alien immigrants naturalized after 1902 from voting.

He added that this wartime violation of Ukrainian Canadians' civil rights also negatively affected their language and culture, let alone the humiliation suffered by the community.

And although Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Nykyta Budka wrote a July 17, 1914, pastoral letter urging Austrians to return and fight for the homeland (which he later clarified in an August 8 follow-up, reminding Ukrainians of the ties to their new homeland), more than 10,000 Ukrainians voluntarily enlisted from western Canada during the war. In fact, two Alberta battalions were almost exclusively composed of Ukrainian settlers.

Beyond drawing parallels with its partner ethnic groups in seeking redress from the Canadian government, the UCC is using the case of a Canadian man who was wrongfully convicted and imprisoned. Donald Marshall Jr., a Mi'kmaq native from Nova Scotia, was convicted and imprisoned at the age of 17 for a murder that he didn't commit. He was released from prison in 1982 after serving 11 years.

The government compensated him

eight years later. Mr. Marshall was awarded \$382,872 for his non-pecuniary losses, including a \$25,000 payment plus interest to his parents for their "years of anguish, anger and frustration." At the time, it was also proposed that Mr. Marshall's community, the Mi'kmaq nation, also receive compensation to establish and operate a cultural center for children.

Although the royal commission could not include such an award in its ruling, Justice Evans did conclude that Mr. Marshall suffered "...the loss of his ability to use his language in prison because of the fact that he was native."

Mr. Bardyn said he hoped the report's historical case may prove useful in presenting the UCC's arguments. In his report, he stated: "Ukrainian Canadians were innocent of any crime, their liberty and civil rights were denied by reason only of their ethnic affiliation... For all Ukrainians, those interned and those left behind, the wrongful actions of the state were perpetrated against a culturally distinct people whose cultural practices made the experience of incarceration particularly difficult."

But for Dr. Luciuk, the five-year struggle to seek public acknowledgment of Ukrainian Canadian internment might have been cut short along the way." John Gregorovich once said that we as a community don't need to be loved as long as we are respected. "I think the problem has been that the UCC has tried to be liked instead of respected and this has been the result."

Canadian board reviews decision

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada is reviewing its earlier decision to deny national significance to the Castle Mountain internment camp at Banff National Park in Alberta.

Trudy Cowan, the Alberta member of the 17-member advisory board, says that her group of historians has asked for further information on the history of Ukrainian Canadian internment from 1914 to 1920. However, Ihor Bardyn, chairman of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC)'s redress committee, explains that park officials will include the history of the site as part of its human history exhibit.

In late March, Canada's Environment Minister Jean Charest was criticized for refusing to acknowledge the Castle Mountain site as nationally significant. Mr. Charest is a leading candidate in the upcoming Progressive Conservative Party leadership race, to succeed retiring Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in June.

He claims that his decision was based on the board's March 1991 recommendation that said: "while it is an episode of interest, the internment within Canada's parks during World War I of ethnic Ukrainians, the great majority of whom were, at the time, citizens of countries at war with Canada, is not, in and of itself, of national historic significance."

Mr. Bardyn feels that Mr. Charest "mishandled" the situation by "saying stupid, insensitive things."

Frances Haskett, daughter of Canada's only known Ukrainian survivor of the camps, disagrees with the minister's approach. "There were 26 camps across Canada... how can he disagree with history?"

The UCC hopes to persuade Parks Canada to place markers at all 26 camp sites.

Ukrainian Museum slates fund-raiser

NEW YORK — The traditional spring fund-raising event sponsored by The Ukrainian Museum will be held on Saturday, May 15, 8 p.m. at the Ramada Hotel, 130 Route 10, East Hanover, N.J.

The cabaret and dance will feature the Oberhey ensemble — Luba Venhlevska, Mykola Oleksyshyn, Myroslav Holodnytsky, Volodymyr Lemekha, Andrey Solodenko and Volodymyr Krit; vocalist Olya Chodoba-Fryz, accompa-

nied by Andrij Stasiw; vocalist Victor Shportko, and humorist Ireneus Harasymiak. Zenia Brozyna will act as master of ceremonies.

Donation of \$30 per person includes a hot buffet. There will be a cash bar.

The fund-raiser is organized by the museum's Special Events Committee and the administration. For more information please call (212) 228-0110.

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

His blend of literary Ukrainian and Pokutian (Carpathian foothill) dialect create a flavor not easily duplicated or translated. However, his stories are strongly evocative and emotionally harrowing, and thus widely recognized for their genius, and greatly influential. Translations have been attempted into Polish, French, English, German and Russian. Ivan Drach wrote a screenplay that combined two of Stefanyk's stories, "The Stone Cross" and "The Thief" which was made into a film in the early 1970s.

The Soviet Ukrainian government offered Stefanyk a pension in the early 1920s, recognizing him as the foremost living prose-writer (this was before Khvylioviy and Pidmohylny rose to prominence), but he turned it down in protest against the repressions already raging there. Stefanyk died on his family estate in Rusiv on December 7, 1936.

Sources: "Stefanyk, Vasyl," in Encyclopedia of Ukraine, Vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and in Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva, Vol. 8 (Paris: Molode Zhyttia, 1976).

The medical...

(Continued from page 9)

Energy and Radiation Research (PERI), which had been entrusted with disseminating the various funds. Its funding was subsequently cut off and new organizations formed because of the scandal over officials lining their own pockets with funds designated for Chernobyl victims. But corruption at this level is a far cry from the invention of a health crisis that relates to the Chernobyl disaster.

The accusation of sensationalism in the media is plausible. However, it may have occurred partly as a result of lack of official information from prominent scientists, official health bodies, and even scientific conferences that were not prepared to divulge their conclusions to the press. In short, the radiophobia owed as much to official secrecy as to the misrepresentation of the situation by journalists.

Moreover, there has also been a reluctance of some scientists to attribute any illness, however closely associated with the effects of increased radiation, directly to Chernobyl. This often can be applied to those who have studied the

effects of earlier radiation-based disasters and have reached the (ostensibly hasty) conclusion that the previous cases can be used to establish a defining precedent.

Dr. David Marples has visited the Republic of Belarus three times over the past year, most recently in April 1993 as the guest of the Belarusian Charitable Fund for the Children of Chernobyl. He is the author of three books on the Chernobyl accident and its consequences and numerous scholarly articles. A final version of this article has been accepted for publication in the journal Post-Soviet Geography, which holds the copyright to it. The footnotes have been excluded from this version, but are available from the author on request (Department of History, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada T6G 2H4).

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Treasury Department...

(Continued from page 5)

minor insurance activities, then it could be allowed a choice of paying tax on insurance income or converting to a domestic fraternal society without insurance activities.

The Treasury Department commented that FBS insurance activities are income-producing and similar in nature and scope to that provided by taxable commercial insurers.

The Department of the Treasury noted that a comparison of the rate of surplus accumulation and level of accumulated surplus of FBS with that of large mutual life insurers suggests that the rate and level of surplus accumulation by FBS are significantly greater than for mutual companies. These additional assets reduce the risk of insolvency for fraternal benefit societies.

Preview...

(Continued from page 20)

Prychyna band. For more information, call: (312) 489-4396, or (708) 823-0430. A pretournament welcome and hospitality party will be held Friday, May 21 at the USCAK Clubhouse, 2353 W. Chicago Ave., starting at 8 p.m.

Sunday, May 22

CHICAGO: The Committee of Ukrainian Women's Organization of Chicago invites the public to an evening of poetry by Daria Melnykovich, who has recently completed a successful six-month literary tour of Ukraine. The event will be held at St. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Church Hall, Oakley and Superior streets, starting at 6 p.m. Tickets: \$5. For further information, call (312) 384-2628.

Sunday, May 23

CLIFTON, N.J.: Ukrainian American Veterans Post 17 of Passaic, N.J., will be celebrating their 30th installation dinner-dance, at the Mountinside Inn, 509 Hazel St., 1-5 p.m., with music by Donald Warren. Donations: \$22 per person. For tickets, call Michael Wengryn, (201) 779-4796.

CHICAGO: The art works of Olha Antonenko of Kyiv, who has been chosen to participate in the Mural Project at the International Terminal of Chicago O'Hare Airport, will be on exhibit at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 W. Chicago Ave., with an opening reception May 23, noon-4 p.m. The exhibit, featuring paintings, watercolors and silkscreens, runs through June 13. Ms. Antonenko, winner of a national mural art contest in Ukraine, is affiliated, since 1987, with the Monumental and Decorative Art Studio. As member of the Young Artists Association, she has exhibited in Ukraine and abroad. Ms. Antonenko will be working on her mural in Chicago May 11-27. The completed work will be permanently displayed at O'Hare International Airport.

SAN DIEGO: The House of Ukraine, which is a member of The House of Pacific Relations, International Cottages, located in Balboa Park, will participate in the annual ethnic food fair. The 32 member nations will be selling their specialties from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. In addition, Ukrainian art displays and embroideries will be highlighted in the Ukrainian cottage located in the center of Balboa Park. For further information, call (619) 232-2437 or (619) 487-9276.

Monday, May 24

WASHINGTON: Kennan Institute For Advanced Russian Studies is holding, as part of its meetings, a noon discussion, co-sponsored by the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Munich, featuring Bohdan Nahaylo, assistant director, Analytic Research Department, RFE/RL Research Institute, Munich, who will speak on the topic — "Ukraine: Problems and Prospects," to be held in the library (third floor) of the Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Drive SW.

Correction

In the "Preview of Events" section of May 2, the fund-raising dance featuring the Kashtan Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, is being held May 15 in Parma, Ohio, was incorrectly listed as being sponsored by St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. The event's actual sponsor is Kashtan; the dance is being held at the Cathedral Hall.

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Socialists...

(Continued from page 1)

called for the election of Borys Oliynyk as president of a Soviet Ukraine. (Mr. Oliynyk, a member of the Ukrainian Writers Union, was recently elected a deputy from Zaporizhzhia; he is known for his pro-Russian and strong pro-Communist views.)

After speeches, "Soviet victory music" blared from the loudspeakers, as the people lined up in columns to march to the only remaining Lenin monument in Kyiv, at the foot of Taras Shevchenko Boulevard. (It is considered an architectural landmark and will not be removed.)

The socialists, carrying portraits of Lenin (there was even one placard with Stalin's portrait) and carrying signs calling for the rebirth of the Communist Party of Ukraine, marched almost two kilometers to the statue of Lenin, led by the chairman of the Socialist Party, Oleksander Moroz, who is also a deputy in the current Parliament.

Although the militia in Kyiv increased its forces by 2,000 as a precaution against any outbreak of violence between the ultra-left and the ultra-right groups in today's Ukraine, the socialists were greeted on the Khreshchatyk by a handful of citizens waving the blue-and-yellow flag of independent Ukraine and shouting "Shame on You."

Just after the close of this celebration, the national democratic forces, united under the banner of the Congress of National Democratic Forces, held their own march to Independence Square, protesting today's economic situation and calling for new parliamentary elections and a trial of the leaders of the Communist Party of Ukraine who repressed Ukraine for decades. About 2,000 people showed up to support the democrats and a presidential form of government under the leadership of Mr. Kravchuk.

Kozaks, dressed in 17th century uniforms and carrying the blue-and-yellow flag, led the demonstrators, who marched to the sounds of patriotic Kozak and military songs. Several women carried a colorful banner that read: "You will obtain a free Ukraine, or die in the battle for it."

Some shouted "Down with the idol," as they marched past the Lenin statue,

where the socialists had just laid wreaths. They were greeted with shouts of "Glory to Ukraine" from pedestrians who flashed the sign of the trident.

Some of the marchers chanted: "We want an independent, sovereign, nuclear Ukraine," as they gathered at Independence Square for their two-hour meeting. It was here that, after the coup in 1991, the national democrats demanded the removal of the Lenin statue, which was dismantled in September 1991.

The democratic forces gathered on May Day included representatives from more than 15 political parties and organizations.

"The difference between a Communist and an anti-Communist is this," said Simon Mirkun, the press secretary of the Social-Democratic Party, "A Communist has read Lenin; an anti-Communist understands what he has read."

In this city of 3 million residents, the 5,000 or so who came out to demonstrate represent just a small fraction of a population that has traditionally marked May Day with parades and parties. While the socialists were gathering for their meeting, others were waiting for buses out of the city, to their gardens and dachas. "Normal people are planting potatoes today so they will have something to eat in the summer," remarked an elderly man walking past the meeting.

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United States...

(Continued from page 6)

for U.S. citizenship, it classifies a similar requirement by the Baltic nations as discriminatory.

• While Ukraine has laws second to none in the protection of the rights of minorities and has had less ethnic violence in the past two years than New York City has in any single day, the U.S. has criticized Ukraine's treatment of minorities.

• During Strobe Talbott's confirmation hearings before the U.S. Senate as an ambassador-at-large coordinating policy toward the nations of the former USSR, he was asked: "Could you comment upon the usefulness or the danger in having Russian troops involved in 'ethnic conflicts' within Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan?"

Ambassador Talbott responded: "Russia has declared that it will abide by the terms of the U.S. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. Moreover, Russia signed the Commonwealth of Independent States Charter earlier this year, which pledged respect for the 'sovereignty of member-states, the inalienable right of peoples to self-determina-

tion, and for the right to determine their future without external interference.' The administration does not believe that Russia's current government has violated these pledges with respect to conflicts in the former USSR." In one short statement, Ambassador Talbott denied that Russian troops are at war with these sovereign states.

While these incidents are frustrating, there is hope. During a meeting last summer with Rep. Richard Gephardt, majority leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, to discuss the "Freedom Support Act," I stressed that the aid should be for all the nations of the former USSR and not solely for Russia. That advice fell on deaf ears.

Last month, Rep. Gephardt led a delegation of 16 congressmen to Kyiv and Moscow. During their visit to Moscow, the delegation met with Vice-President Ruskoi. On the wall behind the Vice-President hung a giant picture of Tsar Peter the Great and a large map of the USSR. Rep. Tom Lantos asked why Vice-President Ruskoi would display a map of a country that no longer exists. Mr. Ruskoi responded that it shall again exist.

In his recent press conference, Rep. Gephardt stated that the U.S. should stop

referring to the 14 non-Russian nations of the former USSR as "the others" or "the rest" and treat each country as the independent state it is. He specifically mentioned the importance of Ukraine to the United States.

As U.S. officials are exposed to the imperial thinking of many individuals in Russia, its policy will, no doubt, change. Ukraine, however, can take positive steps to promote its own legitimacy. To accomplish this task Ukraine needs to: (1) develop a coherent political, economic and military strategy, (2) rapidly enact economic reforms, and (3) develop a mechanism to promote Ukraine and its interests. The last step involves increased staffing at its embassies, greater attention to the Western media, more frequent visits of U.S. policy-makers to Ukraine, and increased use of the diaspora.

A key element in Ukraine's development, of course, is its national security. In this context, it is important that the Parliament consider the START and Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaties in terms of Ukraine's national security interests and not U.S. demands or, even, threats. The first step in this process is recognition that Ukraine is the owner of all nuclear weapons stationed on its soil.

Since there seems to be a consensus that there is no need for the 130 SS-19s, it would be prudent for the Parliament to ratify START I with an amendment stating that the proceeds from the reprocessing of the highly enriched uranium be returned directly to Ukraine and that Ukraine be provided a fair share of the U.S. funds allocated for the destruction of missiles.

That same consensus, however, does not exist with regard to Ukraine's ratification of the NPT as a non-nuclear state. The combination of instability in Russia's continuing territorial demands on Ukraine, and the activities of Russian troops against sovereign states of the former Soviet Union require that Ukraine maintain the option of remaining a nuclear state. Delay in consideration of the NPT is a prudent and defensible policy at this time, especially in light of U.S. unwillingness to guarantee Ukraine's security through a mutual defense treaty.

Ukraine's message to the United States can be very simple. History has taught Ukraine that its security depends on its ability to defend itself — not on the "good will" of its neighbors. When, in 1918, Ukraine declared its independence as a neutral state without a military, it was immediately invaded by tsarist, Bolshevik and German forces. Before it was all over, Ukraine was divided among Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania. The people of Ukraine should keep in mind the slogan of Jews since the time of the Holocaust: "Never again."



The Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University announces the following new programs for 1993-1994:

UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

UKRAINE:

HISTORICAL LEGACY, CURRENT TRENDS, FUTURE PROSPECTS

An Intensive Summer Seminar

August 1 - 6, 1993

The Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University announces its first week-long Summer Seminar on Ukraine. Intended for specialists in government service, businessmen, journalists, and others with a professional or personal interest in Ukraine, the Summer Seminar aims to provide a short but intensive orientation in Ukrainian affairs from a variety of perspectives. Lectures and panel discussions will cover such topics as:

- physical and human geography of Ukraine
- historical and cultural heritage
- politics of transition from Soviet dependency to national sovereignty
- environmental, social, and ethnic issues
- prospects for economic reform and doing business in Ukraine
- military affairs and the problem of nuclear weapons in Ukraine
- Ukraine's emerging place in the new world order

An optional mini-course in Ukrainian will provide a practical introduction to the language. Two sections are planned—one for total beginners and one for those with some familiarity with Ukrainian or another Slavic language.

A program of films and cultural events will supplement the academic schedule. Representatives of Ukraine's diplomatic corps and the US foreign policy community will be featured speakers at Seminar dinners.

UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MID-CAREER TRAINING FELLOWS PROGRAM

For Academic Year 1993-1994

The Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University has established a Mid-Career Training Fellows Program to provide specialists from the public and private sectors with an opportunity to develop or enhance their expertise in Ukrainian affairs. The Program is intended for U.S. and foreign government officials, representatives of international organizations and the corporate world of business and finance, journalists, and other professionals with a need to gain familiarity with Ukraine.

The Mid-Career Training Fellows Program offers:

- a course of individual study accommodated to personal needs
- consultations with leading scholars in Ukrainian fields
- admission to seminars, conferences, workshops and discussion groups at the Ukrainian Research Institute and elsewhere at Harvard University
- library privileges and access to Harvard's unique information resources
- study space

Fellows may make arrangements with the teaching faculty to audit courses on a non-credit basis (if academic credit is desired, registration through the Special Students' Office is necessary). Although access to language classes is generally not allowed to non-tuition paying fellows, the Institute will assist with arrangements for private tutoring in Ukrainian at any level and degree of intensity.

The term of stay will ordinarily be one semester or a full academic year, but arrangements can be made for longer or shorter periods of residence.

For further information and application forms for either program, please contact:

Dr. Lubomyr Hajda, Associate Director,
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
1583 Massachusetts Ave. - Cambridge, MA 02138
phone: (617) 495-4053 - fax: (617) 495-8097.

Woonsocket

(Continued from page 5)

Laba, Sharon Pryhoda and Helen Kylba, advisors.

Mr. Chudolij thanked the active district organizers for their improved organizing for 1992 which resulted in their achieving 75 percent of the district's quota, while increasing total insurance sold by 80 percent over the previous year with an average of almost \$11,000 worth of insurance per new member. Woonsocket ranked seventh among all UNA districts. As in previous years, Mr. Chudolij congratulated the district's ace organizer, Mr. Hardink, for his continuing excellence in having organized 10 new policies in 1992.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:30 p.m. following which the members enjoyed snacks and refreshments prepared by Mrs. Hardink and Mrs. Sarachon.

Popadiuk...

(Continued from page 3)

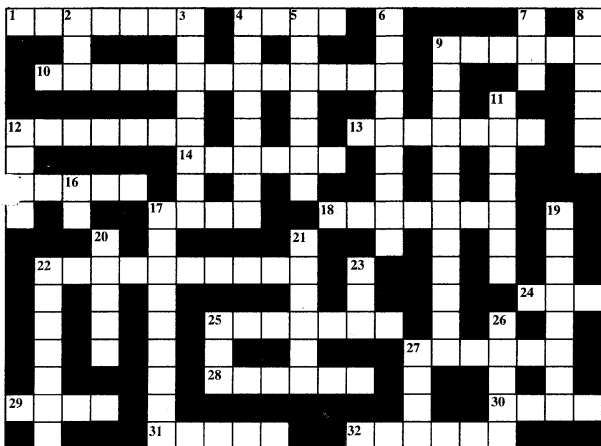
States, we want to know what is happening in Ukraine. But often 70-80 percent of the time [is spent] talking about Russia. I would advise you to carry out your own policy."

Mr. Popadiuk said estimates of American aid required for Ukraine's nuclear disarmament have ranged from \$174 million to \$3 billion (U.S.); the latter was cited by President Leonid Kravchuk last September, and the former was recently noted by Yuriy Kostenko, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on START.

Asked about the promised economic aid of \$2 billion (U.S.), Ambassador Popadiuk said the purpose of such aid would be to stabilize Ukrainian currency, but the proposal for this amount will not be submitted to the U.S. Congress until Ukraine introduces its own currency and reaches an agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko



D and some deserts

Across

Down

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Boys' choir from Lviv.
4. Dumb extinct bird.
9. King of Halych.
10. They revolted against and killed Ihor in 945.
12. Leader of the Opryshky, he is sometimes called the Ukrainian Robin Hood.
13. UNA president.
14. Doted on.
15. Ukrainian state choir.
17. Callas, Krushelnyska, or Tabaldi.
18. White Russian general.
22. Hetman Petro (1666-1676)
24. Actress Doris.
25. Morozov's Ministry.
27. Kyiv soccer team and stadium.
28. Half of DP.
29. Mongolian desert.
30. Dzyuba.
31. Kyiv publishing house founded in 1907.
32. North African desert.</p> | <p>2. Actress Sandra.
3. South central African desert.
4. Ukrainians not in Ukraine.
5. Western Ukrainian river.
6. Anti-government activist.
7. Askold's brother.
8. Coal mining region in Ukraine.
9. Helsinki Commission staffer Orest.
11. NYT journalist who tried to cover up the famine.
12. Pipes (mus. inst.)
16. Doctor.
17. Other half of DP.
19. Director of the Prometheus Chorus.
20. Rukh leader who was president of Ukrainian Writers Union.
21. River in eastern Ukraine.
22. Pagan god.
23. Dentist.
25. Party food.
26. Artist Naumko.
27. Plate.</p> |
|--|---|

Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

on April 23 stating that its members are increasingly becoming victims of political terrorism by organized criminal elements within the organs of government whom Rukh seeks to expose. The Committee in Defense of John Demjanjuk in Kyiv reported that in November 1992, Oleksander Fedko, the Rukh district head of Sverdlovsk in the Luhanske Oblast, and the Democratic Party leader of the oblast, Volodymyr Yuhno, were mysteriously killed. In both instances, the investigations ended inconclusively and the murderers were not found. In the last several months, Rukh activists in the oblasts of Khmelnytsky, Zaporizhzhia and Cherkassy have also been brutally murdered. The lack of action on the part of the police in investigating the crimes is inexcusable, according to the Rukh statement, and has resulted in an increase of violence and terrorism associated with organized criminal activities. (Respublika)

Memorial Society holds convention

•KYIV — The Memorial Society held its third convention here on April 24, attracting 283 delegates from 19 oblasts, among them members of Parliament, the diplomatic corps, various

political parties and human rights activists. The society's president, Les Taniuk, addressed the attendees and underscored three points that are indicative of the current political situation in Ukraine: revival of neo-imperialistic, pro-Communist tendencies; a weakening of democratic forces caused by internal dissension and from harassment by non-democratic forces; and the impoverishment of the people and the decline of social protection as a result of rule by elements not interested in democratic reforms. Calling on Ukrainians to work together, he also said, "It will be too late if we find unity while in a 'Stolypin car' hauling Ukraine to the gulag." Mr. Taniuk, who is also a member of the Supreme Council, was re-elected president of the organization by the delegates. (Respublika)

Crimeans queried about statehood

•SEVASTOPIIL — Queried by a public research firm on how they would vote on independence, more than 50 percent of Crimean respondents said they would support it. The question was framed, "If a referendum were held today asking, 'Are you for an independent Crimea in a union with other countries?'" The percentages broke down like this: 50.8 percent — for; 11.9 percent — against; 19.1 percent — "wouldn't vote"; 17.1 percent — "tough to say." (Respublika)



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who will speak on the subject of

"International Challenges Confronting Ukraine Today"
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Sunday, May 16, 1993

12:30 p.m. — Reception — Grand Ballroom Foyer

1:30 p.m. — Luncheon and Program — Grand Ballroom

Donation — \$100 per person

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Foundation in Support of Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine inc. cordially invites you to attend a

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models will be presented by: Lada Lysniak, Ula Kekish, Larysa Krupa, Olena Nowycka, Wala Charenko, Kalyna Cholhan

Musical Interlude by:

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Master of ceremonies

Larysa Lysniak performance at
Ukrainian Institute of America
2 East 79th Street, New York City
May 15, 1993 at 3p.m. and 7p.m.
Admission \$20; for students \$10

all donations (profit) for Ukrainian Embassies

Sunday, May 9

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. invites the public to a conference on the topic "The Ukrainian Epistolary Legacy in America's Archives," which is being held on the occasion of the publication of the third volume of the series "Sources on Modern Ukrainian History." Featured speakers are: Yuriy Shevelov, Marta Skorupska and Bohdan Struminsky. The conference will be held at the UVAN building, 206 W. 100 St., at 2 p.m. For additional information, call (212) 222-1866.

Saturday, May 15

NEW YORK: The Foundation in Support of Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine invites the public to a fashion show cum concert program to benefit the Ukrainian Embassy and U.S. consulates fund, to be held at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St., at 3 p.m. and once again at 7 p.m. Modelling fashions by Evhenia Triska will be Lada Lysniak, Uliana Kekish, Laryssa Krupa, Olena Novytska, Valia Kharenko and Kalyna Cholhan. Taking part in the musical program will be Ms. Cholhan, mezzo-sopra-

no; Ms. Krupa, pianist; Yuriy Kharenko, violinist; and Oksana Krovtytska, soprano. Mistress of ceremonies is Laryssa Lysniak. Admission: \$20; students, \$10.

WASHINGTON: The Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies invites the public to a graduation dance during which the school's newest graduates will be presented. The dance will be held at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 15100 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md., and begins at 8 p.m. Admission: \$15; students, \$10. For further information, call Zirka Harabatch, (301) 916-0978 after 6 p.m.

Sunday, May 16

NEW YORK: The Verkhovynky Plast sorority, in commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, invite the public to a concert of songs by Olha Bohomoletz of Ukraine, who will perform her compositions to the words of Teliha, Kostenko, Lesiv, Krasivsky, Sverstiuk and Stus, among others, to be held at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave., at 2 p.m.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

BOSTON: The Ukrainian Professional Association of Boston is holding a panel discussion on "Organizing In Aid of Ukraine," with panelists: Alex Kuzma, Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund; Corlette McCoy, Massachusetts-Ukraine Citizens Bridge; and Tania Vitvitsky, Sabre Foundation; to be held at the John Hancock Conference Center, 40 Trinity Place, at 4 p.m. Admission: members, free; non-members, \$5. Refreshments will be served. For further information, contact Ksenia Kozak, (617) 242-3918.

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America will celebrate its 45th anniversary with a luncheon banquet at the Plaza Hotel, with Dmytro Pavlychko, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Parliament of Ukraine, as keynote speaker. Tickets for the banquet, at \$100 per person, may be obtained by calling the institute, (212) 288-8660.

CARNEGIE, Pa.: The senior chapter of the Ukrainian Orthodox League of Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox G.C. Church is holding a fund-raising dinner for 6-year-old Vika Kurshyna from

Ukraine, who, having sustained burns over 60 percent of her body in an accident when she was 3, is in need of plastic surgery. Since the accident, Vika has lost her mother to cancer and is now an orphan. Proceeds from the dinner will go to Vika's care account, which has been set up by the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee. The dinner will be held in the parish hall, Mansfield Boulevard, 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Tickets: adults, \$5; children, age 3-12, \$2.50; toddlers, free. For more information, contact Connie Markiw, (412) 221-5045.

Saturday, May 21-22

CHICAGO: The Lions Ukrainian American Sports Club of Chicago will host the 35th Ukrainian volleyball championships of USCAK, to be held at the REC-PLEX Sports Facility, 420 W. Dempster, in Mount Prospect, Ill. Starting matches begin at 8:30 a.m.; semifinals and finals are scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. respectively. The traditional award's banquet and dance will be held at St. Joseph's Ukrainian Catholic Church, 5000 N. Cumberland, Chicago, with cocktails starting at 6:30 p.m. The dance begins at 9 p.m., with music by the

(Continued on page 16)



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Dance Under the Stars!!!
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Our Life...

(Continued from page 4)

was also seated at the dais.

Following the dinner, a member of the current editorial board, Olha Rudensky, gave a brief outline of the magazine's history, from the days of Klavdia Olesnytsky (1943-1946), its first editor, through those of Olena Lotocka (1946-1951), Ms. Burachynska, Ulana Liubovych-Starosolska (1972-1984, 1987-1990), Olha Liskiwsky (1985-1986), and finally, Iryna Chaban (since 1990).

Originally a bilingual (Ukrainian-English) newspaper-format insert in the Philadelphia-based Ameryka, Nashe Zhyttia/Our Life grew to become a monthly magazine with articles on the UNWLA's activities, the women's movement, home economics, the arts.

The magazine's editorial offices were moved from Philadelphia to New York in 1974, at the outset of Ms. Starosolska's editorship, when the UNWLA executive also moved its headquarters to Manhattan.

Marta Baczynsky, who also spoke later during the proceedings, has been the editor of the English language section since 1973. Until 1973, the section was edited by a committee. Circulation in the 1970s and 1980s was about 4,600, and according to the current editor, Ms. Chaban, it has remained fairly steady.

During her address, Ms. Chaban also noted with some emotion how gratifying it was to be the magazine's editor at this point in Ukraine's history. She thanked her staff and UNWLA past president Mrs. Rozankowsky for their valuable support and assistance.

Ms. Rozankowsky reminisced about 1950, when a UNWLA congress decided to change Nashe Zhyttia to a magazine-format publication. She also mentioned that Ukrainian journalists and writers of both genders have graced the periodical with their works.

Posters of photos of editors and various covers throughout the years, prepared by Natalia Duma, hung on the walls of the hall.

The artistic segment of the banquet included Oleksander Kmeta, who read "Instruktsiya," a satirical vignette of Ukrainian community life penned by the late Edward Kozak (Eko); Mykhailo and Olia Stetsyshyn sang a duet accompanied by bandura and kobza; and the performers of Lydia Krushelnytsky's Drama Studio, staged a reading of a poem by Lesia Ukrainka.