

*TWG Christmas Party, December 13, at Gusti's*



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October 1991  THE WASHINGTON GROUP  
Volume VII Number 12 An Association of Ukrainian American Professionals

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## TWG LOOKED AT 1991 UKRAINE

The Washington Group in October 1991 continued to maintain its position at the cutting edge of Ukrainian issues with the staging of its Fifth Leadership Conference — this one with the theme “Ukraine in the New World Order.”

While the definition of the “new world order” remains somewhat elusive, there is no doubt about the rapid changes in the order of things in Ukraine. At the first Leadership Conference in 1986 Zbigniew Brzezinski predicted that economic changes started by *perestroika* would inevitably lead to political changes.

Two years ago, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, a Soviet people’s deputy, told the conference that Ukrainians are straightening up from their kneeling position. Last year, Larysa Skoryk, a democratically elected deputy of the Ukrainian parliament which three months earlier proclaimed sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, told participants and somewhat doubtful U.S. government officials that her country was on the road to independence.

This year, the Leadership Conference was held at a time when there was no more Ukrainian SSR, just Ukraine, independent since August 24, 1991. The conference's speakers — diplomats, scholars, business people, journalists — all had first-hand knowledge of the new order in Ukraine. The following pages tell what they said.

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POST OFFICE BOX 11248 • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

## TWG NEWS

Published monthly by the Publications Committee for members of The Washington Group, P.O. Box 11248, Washington, DC 20008.

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## Table of Contents

Leadership Conference	1
Ukraine's Road to Independence	3
Ukraine's International Role	4
Ukrainian Diplomacy	6
Ukrainian Nationbuilding	7
Conference Photospread	8
Developments Inside Ukraine	10
Ukraine's Future Ties with U.S.	11
Janus	14

## TWG Digital Photo Spread

The photographs comprising the Leadership Conference photo spread on pages 8-9 went from camera to the printed page electronically, without any film and processing. The scenes were shot with a Canon Xap Shot still video camera, transferred to a Macintosh computer through a Computer Eyes Video Digitizer, laid out, like the rest of TWG News, on PageMaker, and printed out on a 300 dpi laser printer.

# NED Chief Gershman Looks at Ukraine's Road to Independence

By Marusia Drohobycky

An uncertain and indecisive Russian leadership clearly presents the greatest threat to the future independent status of Ukraine, says Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). But the former Soviet Union, he contends, will not come to resemble the strife-riven Yugoslavia. Instead, it will become an internationally recognized body of nations.

Gershman made these points in a keynote address which opened The Washington Group's Fifth Annual Leadership Conference Saturday, October 12, 1991.

Punctuating his speech with fresh insights and observations (he had returned from a trip to Russia and Ukraine just four days earlier), the NED president enumerated several danger points which he believed must be addressed to maintain peace and stability in the region during this historic time of transformation. Heading the list was the fate of Russia, which is mired in political and economic upheaval. Questions as to who is in charge in Moscow persist alongside fears of a return to the traditional Russian autocratic usurpation of power, he said. In the meantime, economic reforms enacted previously are not showing signs of progress, changes are not being completed to term, and decisions calling for additional and continuing measures are at an impasse.

## Whither Russia?

Another serious threat is the issue of resolving the new set of relationships that must be forged in the landscape of what is now the former Soviet Union. The question of where an emerging Russia fits into the new political framework begs an answer. There is a lingering fear about Russia inheriting the prerogatives of the former U.S.S.R. This fear of an imperialist Russia reemerging was somewhat confirmed recently when the Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin's administration called for the re-ordering of territorial boundaries in those regions heavily populated by Russians. This issue, Gershman maintained, is particularly troublesome for Ukraine, because of the Russian claim that General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev whimsically and arbitrarily gave Crimea to Ukraine in 1954. Additionally, Russia believes it has responsibility for Russians living outside its borders.

The Russian leadership also has said that if Ukraine becomes independent there will be economic concerns. Already there have been reports of crop burning and the withholding of oil and paper in southern Ukraine, all of which can perhaps be

attributed to tactics of intimidation against Ukrainian independence. But Gershman recalled that Sergei Stankevich, deputy mayor of Moscow, has compared losing Ukraine today to losing an arm — painful, but bearable, and this too is a positive development in the Russian thinking, Gershman contended, because Lenin had compared losing Ukraine to losing one's head.

Still, if economic problems persist, he said, this could lead to the rise of the *lumpenproletariat* in Russia. It is conceivable that over time a "Weimar situation" in Russia could develop.

## Fund to wreck nukes

Another danger point in Gershman's estimation, as well as an issue which has garnered considerable attention in the western media, is control over nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory. He suggested several ways of addressing this issue, including establishing an international fund for defraying the cost of dismantling these weapons.

In the meantime, the political reality in Ukraine is different from the situation in Russia. The NED president did not see any trace of a Franjo Tudjman — the president of Croatia who is perceived as an extremist — in Ukraine. All the candidates for president in Ukraine want independence. They also are addressing the internal East-West division issue, and they are constructing multi-ethnic arrangements to keep Crimea part of Ukraine, he said.

Gershman did offer one word of advice for the Ukrainian politicians: Ukraine must win its independence referendum on the raion level as well as the national level. In his opinion, this will promote peace and stability during the transition. Furthermore, evidence of a mature political process will allow Ukraine to gravitate increasingly toward western Europe in the future, as it hopes to build economic and political ties and shift its focus away from Moscow. The West can assist Ukraine in this endeavor, Gershman said, and he agreed with Yelena Bonner, widow of Andrey Sakharov, who has said that diplomatic recognition of Ukraine from the West will prevent bloodshed.

The next several weeks leading up to the referendum and the presidential elections, maintained Gershman, would be a delicate period. He suggested that the Ukrainian leadership continue to build cohesiveness to achieve independence. Russia will have to relinquish its aspirations to an empire; it would

See Independence, page 4

# External Factors That Affect Ukraine's International Role

*After the opening address by National Endowment for Democracy President Carl Gershman, the Leadership Conference heard the views of its first panel of experts on external factors affecting Ukraine's international role. Paula Dobriansky, associate director of the U.S. Information Agency, chaired this panel, whose members were Douglas Seay, an analyst at the Heritage Foundation; Orest Deychakiwsky, staff member of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Victor Basiuk, a Washington-based foreign policy and national security analyst.*

By Bohdan Radejko

Admitting that it was very difficult at present to define what "the new world order" meant (the conference theme was "Ukraine in the New World Order"), **Douglas Seay** stressed that the dissolution of the Soviet Union, more than any other event, marked a break with the old international order and as such signaled the beginning of a new international order.

If the Soviet Union lay in shambles at the moment, he asked rhetorically, what single factor could assure the international community that the Soviet Union would not rise again? He then pointed the finger to Ukraine, noting that without Ukraine, the Soviet Union would not be able to function. The size and centrality of Ukraine in the past structure of the Soviet Union made a revival of the U.S.S.R. without this republic impossible, he said.

Seay saw the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a positive development for Europe as a whole and for the United States. But he was troubled by the fact that very few officials on either side of the Atlantic seemed to appreciate this development. He pointed out that these officials focused their concern on the possibility that "crazy nationals" would now come to power. Under such conditions a series of crises would erupt all over the former Soviet Union and Central Europe.

Thus, Seay concluded, Ukraine's independence must come through its own effort. It could not rely on a helping hand from either the European Community or the United States.

**Orest Deychakiwsky** focused on the issue of Ukraine's international recognition. With regards to official membership status in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), or the Helsinki process, the road so far has had its ups and downs, he said.

On the whole he was optimistic, but as he pointed out, Ukraine meets resistance on two fronts in its efforts to become an independent member of this European multinational body:

First, the Soviet delegation has resisted every effort by Ukraine to be represented other than as a collective member of this delegation. Ukraine applied as an independent member for the Paris CSCE summit in November 1990, but the Soviet delegation objected. In July 1991 Ukraine chose to be part of the Soviet delegation to the Geneva CSCE meeting on National Minorities. Here for the first time a Ukrainian delegate gave a speech on the situation of national minorities in Ukraine. In the Moscow CSCE meeting this last September, Ukraine's request for independent representation was denied due to the objections by the Soviet delegation. Thus as long as the center retains some semblance of international recognition, Deychakiwsky contended, it will be difficult for Ukraine to achieve independent recognition in international fora.

On the other hand, the most powerful members of CSCE are collectively reluctant to open the organization to a flood of new

See **Factors**, page 5

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## Road to Independence

From **Independence**, page 3

have to confront the inevitability of losing Ukraine. The possibility of this occurring, however, exists because of President Boris Yeltsin. Although he is still undecided on the issue, one of his noted economists, Galina Starobitova, advises abandoning the empire and dealing with the republics, Gershman said.

In conclusion, the National Endowment for Democracy president asserted that the Ukrainian community in the West has no small role to play, particularly at this time when the

West must come to know and understand the issues in Ukraine. The Ukrainian community, he said, must serve as the link. It is important, in his opinion, that Ukraine not continue to feel isolated and neglected, especially at this historic moment. Therefore, the Ukrainian community must influence U.S. policy for encouraging democratic development and stabilization in Ukraine.



## Ukraine's International Role

From **Factors**, page 4

members, he said, because this may lead to a re-configuration of influence within the organization. Because of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia, about 12 nations are now potential members in this organization.

Given these two obstacles to Ukrainian recognition, Deychakiwsky emphasized that Ukraine's chances would most likely improve over time. First, as the Soviet center loses its influence over the republics it would disappear as a factor in CSCE. Second, Ukraine's chances for recognition would improve with a positive result for Ukrainian independence in the December 1 referendum. Third, Ukraine's track record on human rights and respect for international agreements could not but help Ukraine's standing in the international community.

On the issue of American recognition of Ukraine, Deychakiwsky informed the conference participants that in October, a resolution was introduced in the House and the Senate recommending to the president that the United States should recognize Ukraine's independence and establish diplomatic relations with this country.

**Victor Basiuk** focused on the international system. Whether there is a new or old "world order" mattered little to Ukraine if it did not address how it was to assure its own survival, he contended. In an international system, which has nation-states as the main actors, he noted, Ukraine had to ask itself one central question: Does the international system assure the existence of Ukraine? Basiuk pointed to the fact that both Japan and Germany were non-nuclear powers, but because of their economic might there was an interest in the continued existence of these countries due to their importance to the international community. Thus Ukraine also had to take the initiative and develop vested interests in the international system, he said. This, in his estimation, was the best way Ukraine could assure its own independence regardless of "old" or "new" order.

As for regional dangers, Ukraine had to be acutely aware of the fact that it was now the single most powerful country in Eastern Europe, Basiuk said. From a system perspective, he argued, Ukraine had thus taken the position previously occupied by the Soviet Union. As the largest regional power, Ukraine had to maintain good relations with its immediate neighbors and conduct a foreign policy which reflected a good understanding of its important position in Eastern Europe and on the European continent as a whole.

Basiuk was optimistic with regards to Ukraine's future in the CSCE rounds. Thanks to Rukh's influence and some well enlightened heads in the current government, he said, Ukraine's

human rights record was very good. In addition, Basiuk mentioned that the latest poll taken in September suggested that between 70% to 84% of the population would vote for independence on December 1. This reflected the sound policy of the current lawmakers and the executive branch, and their recognition of the fact that Ukraine was and will be a state containing several national groups.

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### Looking at both banks of the Potomac

### By Janus

A day hardly goes by without some news from Ukraine in the big media, but since Ukraine proclaimed its independence on August 24, there also has been a solid dose of negative publicity on Ukraine — focusing primarily on its decision to establish a 420,000-person armed forces, introduce its own currency and hold on to the nuclear arms until they are destroyed.

But there have been some high-level rebuttals to the scare-mongers, too.

On the currency question, TWG member **Oleh Havrylyshyn** and John Williams published a study for the prestigious Institute for International Economics, *From Soviet disUnion to Eastern Economic Community?*, in which they show that adoption of independent currencies by the republics would restore monetary stability in the former Soviet Union. All that is needed is that an Eastern Payments Union be established as a clearinghouse. And to revive trade, the authors propose establishment of an Eastern Economic Community, analogous to the European Community in Western Europe. The study is available for \$10 from IIE, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036-1207. Buy it for your panicky friends.

As for the armed forces and nukes, Zbigniew Brzezinski had an excellent piece in the November 10 (Sunday) *New York Times*, where he urged our government to revise its policy toward Ukraine and welcome what its leaders are doing. He pointed out that Ukraine is *cutting* the armed forces on its territory in half (there are more than a million troops in Ukraine now!) and it's serious about becoming a non-nuclear state.

Swedish economist Anders Aslund also came out in favor of separate currencies in a *New York Times* article on November 8, which was titled, "Forget the Soviet 'Union'." He said: "Republics need control over monetary and fiscal policy, that is, their own currencies...and the leading Ukrainian economists realize this."

# Ukrainian Diplomacy Shifts Gears

By Marta Zielyk

Guennadi Oudovenko, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, deputy minister of foreign affairs and permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations, stepped up to the podium during the TWG Leadership Conference luncheon October 12 and coolly predicted that the referendum on independence of Ukraine scheduled for December 1 will invariably show that most people of Ukraine favor independence — including the Russian-speaking population which, he said, “link their future with that of a democratic Ukraine.”

The ambassador was the keynote speaker at the conference, whose theme was “Ukraine in the New World Order.” Three weeks later, as *TWG News* was going to print, a Radio Kiev opinion poll showed, for example, that 83% of the population of the heavily Russified Odessa oblast favors independence.

Members of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps have attended previous TWG conferences, but Amb. Oudovenko was the first to be featured on the program. He had attended the morning session of the conference prior to the luncheon and prefaced his remarks by saying that he “speaks the same language as the panelists and those conference participants who asked questions earlier in the day.”

## Informing the world

After reading in full the text of the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, adopted by the Ukrainian parliament August 24, 1991, the ambassador described what Ukrainian diplomacy has done in the ensuing time to promote and make the world aware of this decision. This included letters sent by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, to 22 heads of state including President Bush, informing them of Ukraine’s decision. In this letter, added Oudovenko, Kravchuk did not ask for recognition. “Ukraine does not need recognition, because this was a decision of the Ukrainian people,” the ambassador said, and drew applause from the luncheon guests.

To promote Ukrainian independence further, Kravchuk met with leaders of Canada, the United States and France; an official document was circulated among the 159 members of the United Nations informing them of Ukraine’s decision; also at the U.N., the name of the member-state was officially changed from the “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic” to “Ukraine.”

At this time, the Ukrainian government, said Oudovenko, has a number of goals. First of all, it intends to establish bilateral

relations with its immediate neighbors, among them the Russian Federation. He also noted that a provision of the Treaty of Friendship with Russia, signed by Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin last year, spells out that neither state has any territorial claims on the other, therefore, the inflammatory statements of Yeltsin’s spokesman concerning Russia’s pretensions to certain parts of Ukraine was not in line with the provision of the treaty.

## Washington presence

Secondly, much was done to promote Ukraine in the international community within the framework of Leonid Kravchuk’s visit to the United States, Canada and France. For example, Kravchuk received a favorable response from the U.S. State Department regarding the establishment of a trade mission in Washington, D.C. Thirdly, said Oudovenko, Ukraine would like to establish good relations with Israel. This last goal is connected with the desire of Ukraine to protect rights of all national minorities living in Ukraine, among them Jews, Russians, Hungarians, and others.

Of utmost importance to the newly independent Ukraine is the wish to participate as an equal partner in the Helsinki process and Amb. Oudovenko outlined what has been done so far in an (unsuccessful) attempt to persuade the signatories of the Helsinki Accords to admit Ukraine as, at the very least, an observer to the Paris CSCE Conference.

During his remarks and again during the question-and-answer period, Oudovenko addressed the topic of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. Although the declaration of sovereignty of Ukraine states that “Ukraine will become a neutral state which will be guided by non-nuclear principles,” in practice this is a very complicated matter. Before, said Oudovenko, “we were instructed how to produce, where to produce, where to locate and you (meaning his Ukrainian-American audience) were not allowed to go to those places to see your relatives in Ukraine, because there were so many missiles in those areas.” Now, as Ukrainians become masters of Their own fate, he said, “we are learning a great deal about these matters. We need American expertise pertaining to nuclear weapons. But in formulating our formal nuclear policy, we will also consider the views of those who say we need nuclear weapons to protect ourselves in the future.”

**TWG Christmas Party**

**December 13,  
Gusti's, 19 & M**

# Nationbuilding as seen by Bohdan Hawrylyshyn

By Orest Deychakiwsky

A fascinating account of events in Ukraine over the last two years was provided by Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn. He personally witnessed or was involved in many of these events.

If you think of building an independent Ukraine as putting up a skyscraper, then Dr. Hawrylyshyn is like a consulting engineer who comes to the site regularly, wearing a white helmet. He is a member of the council of advisors of the Supreme Rada Presidium, he was instrumental in the establishment of the Ukrainian-American Renaissance Foundation in Kiev, he founded the International Management Institute (IMI) in Kiev — all this in the past two years, after “retiring” from nearly 30 years at IMI in Geneva and serving on various international economic bodies around the world.

In his talk, which opened the afternoon session, Dr. Hawrylyshyn cited various “imbalances” in the world today, including the trend toward integration as characterized by the EC while at the same time there is disintegration in the USSR. He stressed that Ukraine has to integrate into the world economy and anchor itself with Western Europe — become a part of the world community, following its long period of isolation.

## Accountable parliamentarians

Hawrylyshyn shared his feelings and observations by providing a chronology of recent events in Ukraine which he witnessed, describing these political processes as exhilarating and “surprising.” Starting with the March 1990 elections, he noted that one-third of the deputies were from the democratic bloc, which, when one considers the forces arrayed against them, was a political surprise. The transmission of the first session of the Ukrainian parliament on republican television a few months later also accelerated the political processes in Ukraine, as it helped to make parliamentarians more accountable to their constituents and provided the democratic opposition with a platform. The July 1990 Declaration of Sovereignty also was a defining moment, and the overwhelming vote for it could be attributed in part to then-Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament Volodymyr Ivashko’s departure from Kiev at Gorbachev’s request to become the second in command of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many conservative deputies were insulted by this move.

The October 1990 student hunger strike, which Dr. Hawrylyshyn witnessed, was an especially exciting and important moment, he said, adding that he escorted the Belgian crown prince (incognito) to where the action was taking place. The students made demands which, he admitted, initially seemed far-fetched

and were not taken seriously; as more people joined, parliament decided to negotiate with the students. Five student representatives, including Oles Doniy (also a TWG Leadership Conference panelist), got TV time, where they presented their demands. Hawrylyshyn expressed admiration at the way in which the students presented their points, noting that they were more effective than some parliamentarians. The fact that it was youth (“our future”) who had mobilized politically had a significant impact on the parliament and, indeed, the government responded to the demands. It was at that time, Hawrylyshyn contended, that Ukraine’s direction was set.

## Simply Ukraine

Other events highlighted by him included the March 1991 referendum, in which the question of Ukraine’s sovereignty received more support than the Gorbachev question on preserving the union; the August Bush visit, which, despite the lack of sensitivity displayed by the American president in parts of his speech before the parliament was important; the August coup attempt; and, of course, the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Hawrylyshyn said he had a feeling that something momentous was about to take place in Ukraine, so he flew to Kiev from Geneva and witnessed the debates on the draft of the Declaration and the vote itself, which transformed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist republic into simply Ukraine.

With respect to the current situation, Dr. Hawrylyshyn cited an example of how “benevolently” Ukraine continues to be treated by its northern neighbor: A Moscow-based, supposedly independent coordinating unit was supposed to be gathering requests from different republics and passing them onto the European Commission, which had promised \$500 million in technical aid. This coordinating unit did not even disseminate this information and the Ukrainians had to accelerate preparations themselves. He also mentioned recent Babyn Yar commemorations at which he was present, characterizing them as a series of solemn and dignified events.

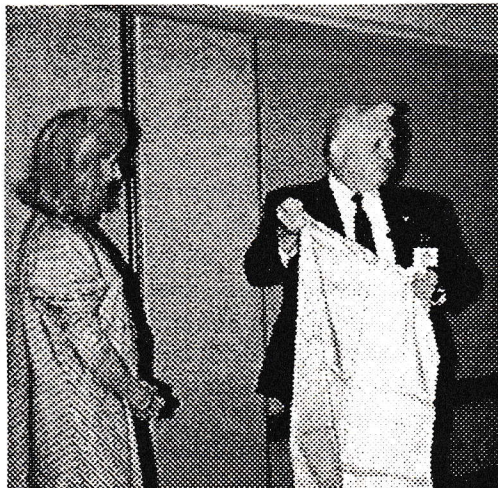
Dr. Hawrylyshyn concluded his remarks by noting that “the birth of Ukraine is, in some ways premature, terribly welcome, painful as all births are, but also joyful.” Independence, he observed, is not the end purpose, “it is absolutely necessary precondition to resuscitate ourselves culturally, to enter the world community, to satisfy material needs and create a just, democratic, tolerant society with social justice.”

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# 1991 TWG Leadership Conference



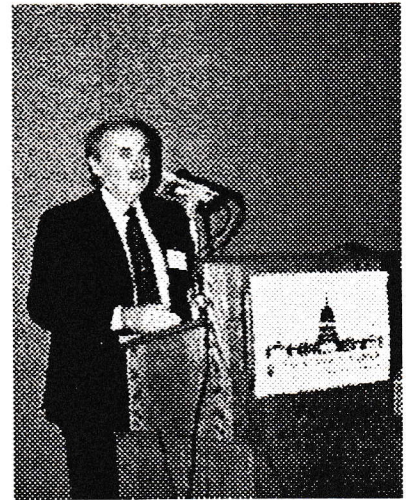
Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy who addressed the opening session of the conference, is interviewed by George Sajewych of the Voice of America.



Robert E. Nicholls, president of Associates International Corp., presents TWG President Lydia Chopivsky Benson with a Ukrainian flag he received from Ukrainians concerned about the consequences of Chornobyl.

Ihor Dunayskiy, first secretary and consul at the Soviet Embassy (left), discusses Ukrainian affairs with Washington businessman George Chopivsky and Ukraine's UN Ambassador Oudovenko.

Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, chairman of the Council of Advisors to the Presidium of Ukraine's Parliament and founder of the International Management Institute in Kiev, shares his personal observations about developments in Ukraine.



Panel moderator Kateryna Chumachenko, vice president of the US-Ukraine Foundation, introducing her panel: Roman Fedoriv, Ukrainian writer and former Soviet People's deputy; Oles Doniy, president of the Kiev Ukrainian Student Union; Marta Kolomayets, associate editor of *The Ukrainian Weekly*; and Richard Shriver, publisher of the *Ukrainian Business Digest*.

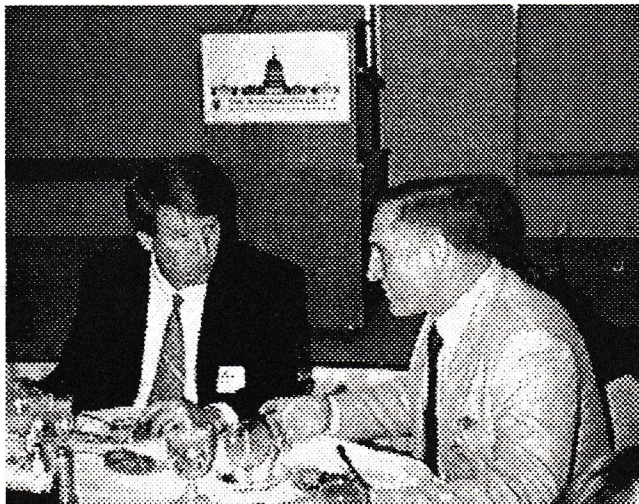




# Ukraine in the New World Order



Ambassador Guennadi I. Oudovenko, Ukraine's deputy foreign minister and permanent representative to the United Nations, jokes with TWG President Lydia Chopivsky-Benson following his luncheon keynote address Saturday.



Ambassador William Courtney, US representative to the US-Soviet Nuclear Testing Commission, discusses Ukrainian defense issues with retired US Army Maj. Gen. Nicholas Krawciw prior to delivering the second-day keynote address at the Sunday brunch.



Conference exhibit coordinator Marta Pereyma and program book editor Natalie Sluzar contemplate art changes for the next conference.

New York Harbor Master Pilot, Capt. Daniel Kozak, was one of the first to arrive at the pre-conference reception Friday evening.



Radio Liberty correspondent Marta Zielyk tears down the microphone following the luncheon speech.

# Developments Inside Ukraine

*A look at the political developments inside Ukraine was provided at the Leadership Conference by a panel of primary sources from both sides of the ocean: Oles Doniy, who led the student hunger strike last October in Kiev, which resulted in the dethroning of the premier of the then-Ukrainian SSR Vitaliy Masol; Marta Kolomayets, the acting editor of The Ukrainian Weekly, who worked as bureau chief in Kiev for her newspaper; Roman Fedoriv, editor-in-chief of Dzvyn, the Lviv monthly magazine, who had been deputy of the former Supreme Soviet of the former USSR; and Richard Shriver, publisher of the Ukrainian Business Digest. Katya Chumachenko, vice president of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, who recently returned from an extended stay in Ukraine, acted as moderator of the panel. She also provided first-rate summaries in English of Ukrainian-speaking panelists' remarks.*

By Adrian Karmazyn

Twenty-two-year-old **Oles Doniy** expressed confidence that the December 1 referendum on independence will pass, contending that there is no organized opposition to independence in Ukraine. But he was somewhat dismayed by the lack of confidence among democrats in the campaign for the Ukrainian presidency and warned that the euphoria over the suspension of the Communist Party should be tempered with the realization that the party still is the most influential force in the country, especially in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The democratic opposition's emphasis on strikes means that the issue of building professional cadres has been neglected, he noted.

Doniy also stated that many young people in Ukraine look to emigration as an easy solution to all the difficulties they face, but that this option can only hurt Ukraine's future. He argued that Ukraine's youth should be presented with a new ideal — that of nation-building — which would allow them to contribute to the development of a vibrant and modern Ukrainian culture. He called on Ukrainians in the diaspora to come to Ukraine to share their valuable expertise.

**Marta Kolomayets**, who recently returned from a six-month assignment in Ukraine (and is packing her bags for another six months beginning in January), discussed inter-confessional problems in Ukraine (i.e. religious battles). She said that the failed coup resolved many problems in Ukraine, but that hostility among different religious communities was not one of them.

In no uncertain terms she expressed disappointment in what she described as Cardinal Lubachivsky's (Ukrainian Catholic Church) and Patriarch Mstyslav's (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church) inability to provide leadership and a united front during Ukraine's transition to democracy and independence.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (the latest name of the Russian Orthodox Church on Ukrainian territory) remains the largest church in Ukraine, she pointed out. But despite claims of autonomy, she contended, Metropolitan Filaret of the UOC

shows no signs that he is the leader of an independent church. According to Kolomayets, Filaret insists that he does not fear the UAOC, noting that only two bishops have defected from his church to the autocephalous one.

The church with the greatest appeal to young people, Kolomayets suggested, seems to be the UAOC, since they closely identify with "the church of the Ukrainian kozaks." She also noted that many protestant and non-denominational sects from abroad, who display little sensitivity to proselytizing in Ukrainian, are growing in popularity.

Lviv writer and editor **Roman Fedoriv** lamented what he considers the sorry state of Ukrainian culture. "Our economists, leaders and writers don't talk much about the development of culture," he said.

On the issue of the December 1 referendum, Fedoriv said that in his election district (with some 1.5 million residents) sentiments for independence run very strong. According to Fedoriv the voters say, "Do all you can for independence. We will accept any amount of suffering in order to achieve it."

**Richard Shriver**, who in his year-old *Ukrainian Business Digest* tells American investors about the benefits (and difficulties) of doing business with Ukraine, told the conference he was impressed with Leonid Kravchuk's "ability to manipulate the American political scene" during the parliament leader's recent U.S. visit, but expressed reservations about his ability to bring about necessary economic and political changes in Ukraine.

Shriver, a seventh-generation Yankee, confided that he and his wife have developed a fascination with Ukraine, ever since their first visit two years ago. He believes that there is a lot of good will among Americans toward Ukraine, but that this has not translated into a strong trade relationship due to turmoil and instability in the USSR, most notably the bloody Soviet crackdown in the Baltics in January of this year.

See *Developments*, page 12

# Courtney Discusses Ukraine's Future Ties with United States

By Peter Sawchyn

Ukraine's future relations with the United States depend largely on the outcome of the December 1 referendum on independence, asserted Ambassador William H. Courtney, U.S. representative to the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Resting Commissions, and honorary TWG member. He spoke at the Sunday brunch session of the Leadership Conference October 13.

Until the referendum, and perhaps for some time after, Amb. Courtney said, American policy toward the former Soviet Union and the republics will be guided by five principles:

1. The peoples of the republics should determine their own futures in a peaceful and democratic manner that is consistent with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.
2. The republics should respect the existing borders. Any change of borders should occur only by peaceful and consensual means.
3. The United States supports democracy, the rule of law and peaceful change through democratic processes, especially elections.
4. Human rights must be safeguarded, based on full respect for individuals and equal treatment of minorities.
5. The United States urges Ukraine and the other republics to respect international law and implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and last November's Charter of Paris of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The ambassador went on to say that a better future for Ukraine must be based on economic reforms. This entails a rapid transition from, a centrally planned, command economic system to a market economy. Amb. Courtney noted, and acknowledged the risks and difficulties of such a rapid transition. Nonetheless, he said, it's better that the transformation, to a market economy takes place sooner than later.

On the issue of nuclear weapons, Amb. Courtney said the United States believes it vital that they remain under a responsible central command which can assure their safety, security and command. He said the U.S. welcomed Chairman Leonid Kravchuk's pledge to place all Ukrainian nuclear facilities under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and that Ukraine seeks to remove all nuclear weapons from its territory. He added that the United States expects

Ukraine to cooperate in the rapid implementation of the START treaty and the treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

At the conclusion of his prepared remarks Amb. Courtney responded to questions from the audience. Many of the questions focused on the nuclear arms issues. Others touched on U.S. foreign aid to Ukraine, economic reform, and U.S. diplomatic recognition of Ukraine.

The ambassador, a long-time supporter of Ukrainian issues, did his best to answer the questions in a forthright manner. Regarding U.S. foreign aid and the possibility of a "Marshall Plan" for Ukraine, he plainly said that was unlikely, given the United States' current budget problems. He added that other countries, such as Germany, also were financially strapped because of their domestic concerns. Still, he said, some financial aid will be available, but it will come mainly from the private sector.

In reply to several questions on the nuclear arms issue, the ambassador said he did not know the answer because it would either be too premature to comment, or because U.S. policy was still evolving. However, in a few instances he either sidestepped questions, or simply reiterated remarks from his prepared text.

For example, asked if the United States would grant diplomatic recognition to Ukraine before or after the December 1 referendum, Amb. Courtney would only say that Ukrainians should "neither be too pessimistic or too optimistic." This, despite his comments that Ukraine is closely adhering to the five principles he outlined at the beginning of his statement.

He also refused to comment on or clarify conflicting reports regarding President Bush's speech to the Ukrainian parliament in Kiev last August. In the speech, delivered before the August coup, the president issued a warning to independence-minded republics, saying that separatist and nationalistic movements were dangerous. Since then, a number of press reports have quoted Bush administration sources as saying the speech was "unfortunate" and that it did not accurately reflect the administration's views. However, other press reports, and one of the Leadership Conference's panelists, said the administration has not disavowed the speech. In fact, panelist Doug Seay of the Heritage Foundation told the conference his administration sources have said they still strongly back President Bush's Kiev speech, and that U.S. diplomatic recognition of Ukrainian independence is "still a long way off."

## A FLAG FROM UKRAINE FOR TWG

Picture this: A man with a name of Robert E. Nicholls — a U.S. Marine veteran who fought in the Korean War, a man who spent 30 years in the American nuclear power industry, and who now is president of Associates International Corporation in Richmond with projects on all five continents — presents a blue-and-yellow flag of independent Ukraine to Lydia Chopivsky-Benson, president of TWG.

This unusual event occurred October 13 during the wrap-up session of this year's Leadership Conference.

Nicholls explained that he brought the flag from Ukraine, where his firm has several projects aimed at improving the management of nuclear power stations and providing health care for victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

Accompanied by one of his associates, Nicholls came to the conference early (in time for the Friday evening TWG birthday party, semi-annual meeting and conference kick-off), attended all the sessions, then at the end asked to be recognized in order to tell conference participants about the work his firm has already done in Ukraine and its plans for the future.

Until that presentation, Bob Nicholls and his associate were mystery guests at the party and during the conference. ("Who are these guys?" said in stage whisper, could be heard from TWG members from time to time). And eyes were popping, brows wrinkling, as Nicholls related his active interest in the aftermath of Chernobyl. His own children and grandchildren live in the shadow of nuclear power stations in Virginia, Nicholls said, but these, he feels are safe, and he would like to make Ukrainian nuclear power stations just as safe.

At the end he brought out the Ukrainian flag — which had been flown in Ukraine — and jaws just dropped all around.

Nicholls would like to stay in touch with TWG and we can expect progress reports on Ukrainian projects in the future. Meanwhile, he is very accessible, by mail, phone and fax:

Associates International Corp.  
9632 Benbow Road  
Richmond VA 23235  
Tel.: 804/323-6041  
Fax: 804/320-6874

### Next TWG Event

6 December 1991, 7 pm  
**Susan Eisenhower**, Director, The Center for the study of Soviet Change, will speak on  
**Current Events in the Soviet Union, including the results of the Ukrainian referendum**  
at St. Sophia's Religious Center

## Internal Developments

From **Developments**, page 10

Despite the projections about Ukraine's tremendous economic potential, he said, currently there are between 40-80 joint ventures in Ukraine, as opposed to tiny Estonia's 300.

Shriver emphasized, however, that the situation is not bleak, especially in the light of new Ukrainian legislation that is conducive to foreign economic activity in Ukraine, particularly the laws guaranteeing foreign investment.

To date, Shriver noted, U.S. business and government leaders have been united in trying to keep the USSR together. The business attitude, he said, has been, "We don't need 15 different customers.," and the government attitude has been, "We don't need 15 nuclear enemies." But Shriver argued that Ukrainian Americans can have an effect on attitudes and policies, for example, by holding conferences for non-Ukrainian business people.

In developing strong U.S.-Ukrainian relations and promoting stability in Eastern Europe, Shriver suggested the following slogan: "Democracies don't go to war with one another, and that's why it's in the U.S. interest to support democracy in Ukraine."

### Interpreters Wanted

Various levels of free-lance interpreters are needed by a Washington firm that has contracts with departments and agencies which invite VIP's for working visits. If you can do it, you could escort a Ukrainian minister or a scientist around Washington and to out-of-town locations.

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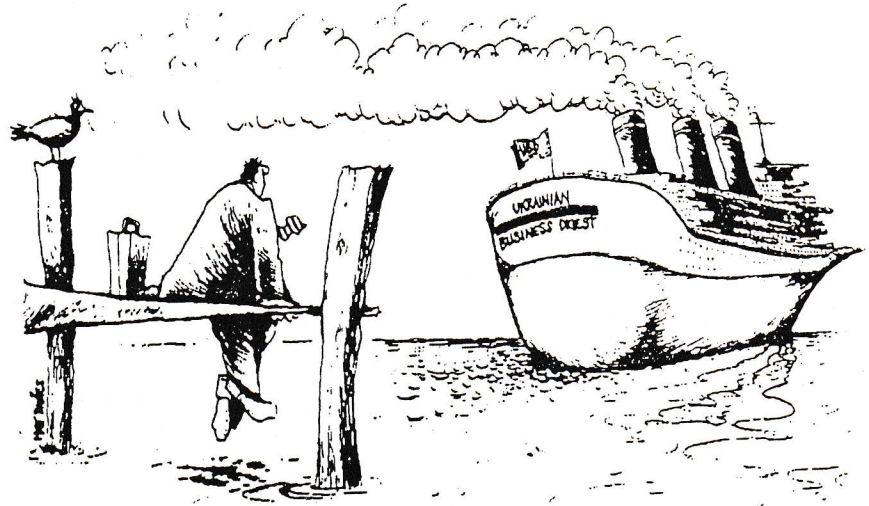
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Thank You  
Thank You  
Thank You

**Dr. and Mrs. Theodore B. Zalucky** were unable to attend this year's Leadership Conference, but they did send a contribution of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS to the TWG Scholarship Fund.

**Eustachiy and Zenon Derzko** have contributed ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS to the TWG Chernobyl Fund in memory of their wife and mother, Orysia-Ilene Derzko, nee Bykalowytch, who died August 26, 1991.

**Maria Rudensky** was at her diplomatic post in Port au Prince, Haiti, while the Leadership Conference was taking place. "Sorry, I can't be there — will be with you all in spirit," she wrote hastily and attached the note to a check for FIFTY DOLLARS — her contribution to the success of the conference.

Earlier, **Jerome Kurpel** sent FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS to the Fellowship Fund; **Marta Pereyma** contributed FIFTY DOLLARS to the fellowship Fund, and **Theodosia Kichorowsky** contributed FIFTEEN DOLLARS to the General Fund to cover a TWG membership for a student.

Thank You  
Thank You  
Thank You

**Mark your calendars: Susan Eisenhower, Friday, December 6, 7 PM.**  
Ms. Eisenhower is director of the Center for the Study of Soviet Change, and she will speak on developments in the former USSR, highlighting the results of Ukraine's referendum.  
**At St. Sophia 2516 30th St. NW**

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The Washington Group (TWG) is an association of Ukrainian-American professionals, who live throughout the United States and in several countries of the world. It offers its members an opportunity to meet and get to know each other through a variety of professional, educational and social activities. TWG NEWS is a monthly newsletter for TWG members, and a membership directory, published for members only, helps them in networking.

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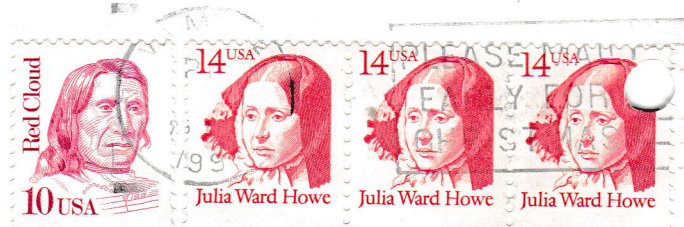
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