

**UKRAINE'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE AS WITNESSED BY THE  
UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN THE WASHINGTON AREA  
(Organizations sponsoring events: TWG, Ukraine-2000, Shevchenko  
Scientific Society, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America)**

**Chapter 1: Glasnost -- First Hints of Change (1987-1988)**

**Please also see the Photo albums for the years 1987 and 1988**

**1.1 TWG Members Admitted to Soviet Embassy** (January 12, 1987/  
TWG NEWS February 1987)

The first hint of glasnost appears in the February 1987 issue of TWG NEWS in the story that TWG members Larissa Fontana and Natalie Gawdiak were admitted to the Embassy of the Soviet Union to deliver Christmas cards to children of Chernobyl. In the same issue of TWG NEWS, TWG member Dr. Eugenia Osgood, an authority on Soviet military policy at the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, said that during her stay in both the Ukrainian and Russian republics she spoke to many people through official and personal contacts and that most of them were very receptive to ideas from the U.S. admiring America's freer, more open society.

**1.2 Jack Matlock, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union** (March 18,  
1987 / TWG NEWS April 1987)

At the March 18, 1987 TWG event, the new United States ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, noted that Ukraine is "one area affected least by the winds of change" that may be wafting over Mikhail Gorbachev's USSR.

**1.3 Danylo Shumuk, Political Prisoner** (October 21, 1989 /TWG NEWS November 1987)

Danylo Shumuk, the longest-serving political prisoner in the Soviet Union until his release, speaking at the National Press Club, provided a comprehensive analysis of the limitations of glasnost.

The following is an excerpt from TWG NEWS:

“If it were a real "glasnost," Gorbachev would have to begin by denouncing the "organs of repression" that organized the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1933 and the mass purges in 1937, that persecuted in the past and continue to persecute those who dare to express openly their ideas and convictions.”

**1.4 Marta Pereyma, United States Information Agency - Cultural Affairs,** Letter to TWG NEWS (TWG NEWS November 1987)

TWG member Marta Pereyma described her impressions of Kyiv and captured the ambiguity felt by many Kyiv residents.

“With the current emphasis on "hlanist i perebudova" (glasnost and perestroika), many failings and problems are undergoing public discussion. We all look forward to the fruition of many of the efforts to foster these two phenomena. Expectations are very high among some segments of the population. Others feel they've already seen similar trends, which were stillborn.”

**1.5 Orysia Pylyshenko, TWG Member studying in Lviv,** Letter to TWG NEWS (TWG NEWS February 1988)

A similar sentiment is expressed in a letter by TWG member Orysia Pylyshenko to TWG NEWS:

"I've noticed other interesting byproducts of perebudova. People are more outspoken, a wider range of opinions is acceptable – even in the press -- and optimism about the future is more widespread. Nevertheless, everything is relative, and I have my share of frustrations."

**1.6 Roman Popadiuk, Deputy White House Press Secretary** (July 28, 1988 / TWG NEWS August 1988)

Roman Popadiuk, a member of the White House press office in the Reagan administration, spoke at a TWG Forum. Below are excerpts from TWG NEWS.

#### 1.6.1 Soviet Union

"Even after a visit of only five days, Popadiuk detected 'a sense of change going on.' Perestroika's effects are more noticeable than glasnost's. While criticism of the regime's mistakes is more and more accepted, it is still forbidden to denounce the regime itself. The United States supports an economically strong Soviet Union. It's always better for us to have a Soviet Union that feels stable and not compelled to usurp its neighbors or other powers, Popadiuk declared."

#### 1.6.2 Future of Ukraine

"Perestroika and glasnost will not lead to the establishment of 16 democratic republics in the Soviet Union. Popadiuk doubts that Ukraine will become an independent nation. However, the test of Gorbachev's reforms will be the Soviet nationalities question." It is U.S. policy to not discuss freedom for the Soviet Union's constituent republics; this is "an internal issue."

#### 1.6.3 Epilogue

See Roman Popadiuk's "The View from the White House on the Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Emergence of an Independent Ukraine" – Video 20017-10.

**1.7 Peacewalkers** (August-September 1988 / TWG NEWS December 1988)

In late August 1988 TWG members Darian Diachok and Adrian Kerod and Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine President Bozhena Olshaniwsky participated in an "International Peace Walk" from Odessa to Kiev. The extensive article in TWG NEWS describes their experiences.

An Excerpt from TWG NEWS:

"During the walk, all three participants said, they were surprised by the degree of freedom they were given. We went wherever we wanted, said what we wanted, met with whom we wanted," Olshaniwsky said. Nevertheless, about 50 KGB agents appeared to be surveying the bigger parts of the peace walk where they congregated."

**1.8 Helsinki Commission Congressional delegation to Moscow** (TWG NEWS December 1988 and February 1989)

The following is an excerpt from TWG NEWS:

"Imagine Ukrainian dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil sitting across the table from Ivan Laptev, Editor of *Izvestia*, the official Soviet government mouthpiece. Or imagine a bishop of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church, dressed in full garb, having discussions with deputies of the Supreme Soviet, the U.S.S.R legislature. These are not wishful thinkings but events which have, in fact, recently occurred."

## Chapter 2: Glasnost and Perestroika – Articulation of Permitted Activities (1989)

Please also see the [Photo album for the year 1989](#)

### 2.1 Vitaliy Korotych [Russian transliteration - Korotich], editor of *Ogonyok* (January 25, 1989 / TWG NEWS February 1989 / Video 1989-10)

Deleted: a

The following are excerpts from TWG NEWS coverage of Korotych's speech:

1. "The need for documents. Soviet journalists, historians and scholars are thirsting for verifiable and heretofore unavailable materials about Soviet history, especially the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine (Korotych applauded the work of the U.S. Commission on Ukraine Famine) and the purges of the intelligentsia in the 1930s and after WWII."
2. "[Importance of] Exchanges between Americans and Soviets and Ukrainian-Americans and Ukrainian Soviets."
3. "All previously restricted authors should not only see their works in print, but 'have the dirt washed off them.' He also hinted that some Ukrainian diaspora writers may now be circulated in the U.S.S.R."
4. "Mikhail Gorbachev, 'For me, his way is the only way' Korotych said. The Soviet leader is a 'great sympathizer' of people who wish to propagate a national awareness. Gorbachev's first priorities are political and economic reform, followed by work on the nationalities question."
5. "Glasnost and perestroika. These two forces have opened new horizons for discussion. Before Gorbachev, we lived between holidays and catastrophes, Korotych said. The Soviet press did not cover everyday life."

6. “Responding to a query on Vyacheslav Chornovil, known in some circles as Ukraine’s unofficial president, Korotych replied that an official president inaugurated as head of state, such as President Bush, is best. He hopes that one day Ukrainians will be able to elect their own leader, but stopped short of endorsing an independent Ukraine.”

**2.2 Ivan Dzyuba, Mykola Zhulynsky, Raisa Ivanchenko, Ihor Rymaruk**  
(March 28, 1989 / TWG NEWS March and April 1989 / Video 1989-60)

### **2.2.1 Hryhoriy Kostiuk, writer and former Soviet political prisoner**

#### Introduction

Hryhoriy Kostiuk described the March 28, 1989 evening as marking the fall of the divide between Ukrainian-Americans and Ukrainians, thanks to the appearance of these four notable cultural figures in the Ukrainian-American setting.

### **2.2.2 Ivan Dzyuba, Ukrainian writer**

Ivan Dzyuba made the following points in his presentation:

1. There is an on-going fight for the revitalization of the Ukrainian language.
2. Товариство Української Мови (The Society of the Ukrainian Language) has been established.
3. There is a need to establish and maintain a relationship with Diaspora.
4. There is a need to make Ukrainian the sole state language.
5. Rukh is just getting started and is facing criticism.

### **2.2.3 Mykola Zhulynsky, literary critic – Ukrainian Academy of Sciences**

Mykola Zhulynsky made the following points in his presentation:

1. Ukrainians have rejected servilism.
2. Criticism of Stalin is now permitted.
3. Criticism of censorship is now permitted.
4. Three years of glasnost has activated the study and publication of Ukrainian literature.
5. There is a need to make the everyday usage of Ukrainian “convenient.”
6. There is a need to go forward cautiously but things need to go forward.

### **2.2.4 Raisa Ivanchenko, novelist and historian**

Raisa Ivanchenko made the following points in her presentation:

1. Interest in the study of Ukrainian history is reviving.
2. History exams have been cancelled because of the great discrepancy between what is in textbooks and what is being published in the press.
3. There is a need to use current technology for the propagation of Ukraine-related topics, for example video productions.

### **2.2.5 Ihor Rymaruk, poet**

Ihor Rymaruk made the following points in his presentation:

1. There is a rise in Ukrainian national consciousness.
2. Civic activity is expanding.
3. There is a need for a broader view of Ukrainian literature to include diaspora literature.

### **2.3 Les Taniuk, Pavlo Movchan, Nelli Kornienko (July 13. 1989 / TWG NEWS July-August 1989)**

The following are excerpts from TWG NEWS coverage of the speeches of Kornienko, Taniuk, and Movchan

#### **2.3.1 Nelli Kornienko, editor of UNESCO Journal**

“The Ukrainian Communist Party leader, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, and his cohorts have turned Ukraine into a resource base for Moscow, Kornienko said. Moscow is keeping him in his post, despite rumblings of dissatisfaction from his countrymen, among others, because he is, quite simply, an excellent administrative leader of the republic.”

#### **2.3.2 Les Taniuk, leader of “Memorial”**

“Mass movements in the Ukrainian S.S.R. have, so far, had a somewhat ‘cheerful’ character, Taniuk said. Freed from former constraints, Ukrainians are trying to make the most of the current situation. Using a metaphor from sports, Taniuk cautioned his compatriots to avoid adopting the sprinter’s mentality, and instead use the approach of the marathon runner: “Make haste slowly,” to insure that today’s deeds are not wiped out tomorrow. A dearth of such thinking, Taniuk said, can lead to events such as those that occurred recently in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, where drives for self-determination were quashed.”

#### **2.3.3 Pavlo Movchan, poet**

“There is hope, Movchan said. Much of it stems from the achievements of Ukrainians in the diaspora, who not only have preserved concrete archives, memoirs, works of famous Ukrainian writers, poets, political and cultural leaders, but also preserved Ukrainian national memory. “



#### **2.4 Ukrainian-American Students' Impressions of Ukraine (TWG NEWS September 1989)**

This article is about the experiences of TWG members Tania and Dora Chomiak, Danylo Shmorhun, M.D., Anastasia Stith, and Maya Hayuk in Ukraine.

Dora Chomiak, a junior at Princeton University, described watching students of Ukrainian literature defend their theses and compared this experience with her own.

Tania Chomiak was in Odessa June 25-July 24 and reported that although "Ukrainian nationalism was not rampant" a recently formed group was striving to instill use of Ukrainian from an early age, including establishment of Ukrainian nursery schools.

Dr. Danylo Shmorhun described his experiences in the field of medicine in Kiev. He also witnessed 30,000 people at Dynamo stadium at an event dedicated to the Chernobyl tragedy.

Anastasia Stith, a student at Virginia Commonwealth University, described her trip to the small village in Western Ukraine from which her family hails.

Maya Hayuk, a junior at the Massachusetts College of Art in Boston said that she found a youth counter-culture in Lviv, and that in many respects, it resembles its counterpart in the West.

#### **2.5 Chervona Ruta Festival (September 19-23, 1989; TWG NEWS January 1990)**

In an article for TWG NEWS, a broadcaster for the Ukrainian Service of Radio Liberty and TWG Director of Public Relations, Marta Zielyk, describes the Chervona Ruta festival held in Chernivtsi and its significance.

The following are excerpts from the article:

“It was a watershed event in the history of contemporary Ukrainian music. Strange as it may seem, never before in the history of Soviet Ukraine has a festival been dedicated exclusively to music performed in Ukrainian.”

“The program of the festival included competitions in three musical genres: pop music (known as *estrada*), rock music, and music of the bards, or poet-singers in the style of Bob Dylan.”

“However, as thrilling as it was to see and hear evidence of the fact that contemporary Ukrainian music is not stagnating in a pool of Russian-language music, at times it seemed that the music was of secondary nature in Chernivtsi. Secondary that is to the outpouring of Ukrainian patriotism.”

**2.6 1989 TWG Leadership Conference** (October 7, 1989 / TWG NEWS October, November, and December 1989 / Videos 1989-100 thru 1989-140)

### **2.6.1 Mykola Rudenko, former political prisoner and first President of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group**

Mykola Rudenko made the following points in his presentation:

1. Importance of Ukrainian intelligentsia is considerable.
2. Ukrainian consciousness among working class is attenuated.

3. The creation of the Soviet Union through forced intermixing was highly damaging.

### **2.6.2 Mykola Horbal, poet, former political prisoner, member of Rukh Coordinating Committee**

Mykola Horbal made the following points in his presentation:

1. Importance of diaspora is considerable.
2. Evolution from defense of individual rights to defense of national rights is taking place.
3. Importance of the first Rukh Congress
4. There are Russians who understand that suppressing others prevents Russians from making progress.
5. Donbass has produced writer Ivan Svitlychnyj and poet and dissident Vasyl Stus.
6. Rukh faced many obstacles but its ability to hold its congress in Kyiv was most important.
7. Economic sovereignty is a strong possibility.
8. Rukh's slogan is "Unity."
9. Ukrainian soldiers should serve only on Ukrainian territory.
10. Ukrainian Independence is the ultimate goal.

### **2.6.3 Volodymyr Yavorivsky, Deputy to Soviet Congress of People's Deputies and a leader of Rukh**

Volodymyr Yavorivsky made the following points in his presentation:

1. We have been silent for too long – now we can speak.
2. For a nation that did not have an independent state and lacked political development, it is learning fast.
3. Passive resistance was used in order to survive.
4. Summary of Soviet failures
5. Soviet bureaucracy is "idiotic."

6. Communist party tried to mobilize workers against Rukh but without much success.
7. Gorbachev agreed to Ukrainian as a state language.
8. Rukh had an initial success in elections.
9. To maintain credibility in eastern Ukraine, Rukh needs to change their life circumstances.
10. There was negligence involving Chernobyl from construction to managing health effects after the accident.
11. Crude methods were used to disturb the Chernobyl meeting at the stadium; - thugs were used to intimidate people.

**2.7 1989 TWG Trip to Ukraine** (October 12-26, 1989 / TWG NEWS November, December 1989, January 1990, February 1990)

TWG NEWS articles cover the many interesting experiences and observations of the 32 TWG participants of the trip to Ukraine.

**2.7.1 TWG Meetings** – Excerpt from TWG NEWS November 1989

“In Kiev, there were meetings with human rights activists, members of Rukh and the Writer’s Union; visits to theaters, churches and museums; and an unforgettable concert of sacred religious music performed for the group by the Kiev Dumka Choir. Some members also chanced to witness some mass demonstrations in the Ukrainian capital.”

**2.7.2 Ukraine’s Mass Media Environment** – Excerpt from TWG NEWS November 1989

“Russian. Russian. Russian. After nearly five years of glasnost under Gorbachev, Ukraine’s mass media environment remains overwhelmingly Russian.”

“In Lviv, *Tovarysytvo Leva, Studentske Bratstvo* (Society of the Lion, Student Brotherhood) and the local branch of Rukh are all publishing and distributing their own periodicals, in spite of official prohibition.”

**2.7.3 Ukraine’s Cultural Life** - Trip to Theater – Excerpt from TWG NEWS November 1989

“The talented group of actors, who double as singers, dancers, acrobats and even fencers, put on a Broadway-style version of Ivan Kotlyarevsky’s *Eneyida*.”

“We were so captivated by that evening’s production of *Eneyida* that, at the invitation of the actors, many of us returned the next evening when we were treated to an interesting adaptation of Gogol’s surrealistic story *Rizdvyana Nich* or Christmas Eve.”

**2.7.4 Sichovi Striltsi (Sich Riflemen) demonstration** – Excerpt from TWG NEWS November 1989

“Though the number of participants in this demonstration was nowhere near the record-breaking crowds which gather in Lviv, there were approximately 2,000 people, evenly divided between young and old. The demonstrators gathered on the site of unmarked graves of Sichovi Striltsi, a hilltop overlooking Kiev and the Dnipro, behind St. Andrew’s Cathedral, to hear a panakhyda (funeral service) and several speeches, including greetings from the activists in Lviv.”

**2.7.5 Visit to Honchar Museum** – Excerpt from TWG NEWS November 1989

“For his efforts to preserve these examples of rapidly disappearing ethnographic items, (Oles’) Honchar was publicly ostracized, harassed,

and his own artistic efforts as sculptor and painter were repressed. For 30 years he withstood all pressure and is now being vindicated.”

#### **2.7.6 Student Revival** - Excerpt from TWG NEWS December 1989

“*Tovarystvo Leva* (Lviv), *Studentske Bratstvo* (Lviv), *Hromada* (Community) (Kiev), *Vilna Khvyliia* (Free Wave) (Odessa), *Spilka Nezalezhnoyi Ukrainskoyi Molodi* (Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) (Lviv) and *Plast* (Ukrainian scouts) are a few examples of the independent youth and student groups which have recently formed or been renewed in Ukraine. Their common goals include: a revival of Ukrainian culture and language among Ukraine’s youth, democratization of student life, protection of students’ rights, and greatly expanded contacts with Ukrainians in the West.”

#### **2.7.7 Trip to Villages**

In the TWG NEWS issues for January and February 1990 TWG member Volodymyr Maruszczak described his trips to two Ukrainian Villages - one in eastern Ukraine and one in western Ukraine.

#### **2.8 Evhen Sverstiuk, former political prisoner** (Video 1989-160)

Poetry Reading. Q&A with audience. Sverstiuk expressed favorable view of Ivan Drach’s poetry. Expressed unfavorable view of Spilka Pys’mennykiv (Writers’ Union). Many people want to leave Ukraine for the West. Interesting characteristics of current prominent Ukrainian leaders. Cooperation exists with Helsinki Group members and Rukh.

### **Chapter 3. The Year 1990 – Ukrainian Society is Activated**

[Please also see the Photo album for the year 1990](#)

**3.1 Vyacheslav Briukhovetsky, scholar, journalist, former Red Army soldier** (February 27, 1990 / TWG NEWS March 1990 / Video 1990-10)

Rukh movement is top-heavy with writers. The paradox in society is that Ukrainians trust writers the most but say lawyers, economists, and politicians are needed the most.

There is a need for tolerance toward former Communists.

**3.2 Antonovych Awards – Lina Kostenko** (March 29, 1990 / TWG NEWS March and April 1990 / Video 1990-20)

Lina Kostenko, a leading Ukrainian poet, described how she and society in general are sick of the current Soviet system.

**3.3 TWG in Donetsk** (May 4, 1990 / TWG NEWS May-June 1990 / Video 1990-30)

This article is about the stories that TWG members Marta Pereyma, Ulana Baczynska, Petro Sawchyn, Adrian Karmazyn, Tania Chomiak, and Marta Zielyk told based on their experience as Ukrainian-speaking guides and researchers in Donetske with the United States Information Agency's tour "Design in America".

**3.4 Borys Tymoshenko, Member of Rukh Secretariat** (May 11, 1990 / Video 1990-40)

Borys Tymoshenko made the following points in his presentation:

1. Ukraine was late to reforms in part because of Shcherbytsky.
2. Climate of fear was deep in the Writers' Union. Repression was still in force in 1987. Hlasnist (Glasnost) has made a considerable difference. The Writers' Union was an initiator of Rukh. Rukh's

origin was in an open meeting of the Communist party. One of the initiators of Rukh was Borys Olijnyk (a noted Communist). He then disowned his own creation.

3. The inspiration of Rukh platform stemmed from its unifying message to all segments of society.
4. The writers have finally realized that exiting the Soviet Union is necessary.
5. Leonid Kravchuk was not on our side. However, we were able to join former Soviet political prisoners for support.
6. The Communist Party decided at this point to vigorously oppose us.
7. Meeting at the (Dynamo) stadium with official party leaders denouncing Rukh turned when Yavorivsky defused hostility with humor.
8. Reburial of Ukrainian martyrs like Stus profoundly energized the population.
9. The Kyiv to Lviv human chain further energized the population.
10. The tremendous moral authority of Mykhailo Horyn.
11. The new session of Verkhovna Rada which will start May 15 will be critical. The CP wants to make Rukh illegal but this will not likely succeed.
12. Gorbachev has recently become anti-Gorbachev, that is, he no longer supports his original vision of glasnost.

### 3.5 **Orest Vlokh, a founder of Rukh** (Early summer 1990 / Video 1990-50)

Orest Vlokh made the following points in his presentation:

1. There is a decline in the climate of fear in the Ukrainian population.



2. There is a need for cultural and economic independence.
3. Free market reforms will weaken Central control.
4. Ukrainian soldiers should serve only on Ukrainian territory.
5. There is a need for tolerance toward former Communists.
6. There is a need to extend the functioning of the Ukrainian language.

### **3.6 Irena Senyk, former political prisoner (Summer 1990 / Video 1990-70)**

Irena Senyk was introduced by noted Soviet political prisoner Nina Strokata Karavanska, who emphasized the need to reflect on those who preceded the current leaders of Ukrainian society. They fought for Ukrainian dignity and independence and paid a very heavy price for it. She also provided a brief biography of Ms. Senyk, who spent 34 years in the Gulag and in exile.

Ms. Senyk made the point that many of her predecessors who came to the U.S. focused on politics and largely ignored the “woman issue” (Жіноче питання). Ms. Senyk then listed the Ukrainian women who suffered in the Gulag and described their fate.

### **3.7 Mykhailo Horyn, Chairman of the Secretariat of Rukh, and vice-chairman of the Narodna Rada (September 13, 1990 / Video 1990-80)**

Mykhailo Horyn made the following points in his presentation:

1. Peaceful but fundamental change is occurring in Ukraine.
2. There is a rebirth of a nation – rise of national consciousness.
3. There is a reclamation of Ukrainian history.

4. Villages are under the control of the old guard and have not yet been integrated into the nation-building movement.
5. Large number of Rukh members are joining the Verkhovna Rada.
6. The task is to build a Ukrainian democratic civil society.
7. There has been a rejection of the “Ukraine for Ukrainians” slogan.
8. There has been key legislation passed by Verkhovna Rada with Rukh actively pushing for it: Declaration of Sovereignty; Declaration of Economic Sovereignty, Declaration that Ukrainian troops are to serve exclusively on Ukrainian soil.
9. Donbass miners support our efforts.
10. Russian speakers are expected to be loyal to Ukraine.
11. Kyiv population supports Ukrainian independence.
12. Ukrainian independence will occur in 1991.
13. We are building up Ukraine as the Soviet Union is disintegrating.
14. There is a need to establish relations with other Soviet republics directly – not through Moscow.
15. There is a tentative agreement with the Russian Federation – trade and affirmation of current borders.
16. Critical Point – Does Yeltsin want a Russian national state or does he want an empire – What is George Bush’s attitude?
17. Battle against Marxism – there is a start to taking down some monuments to Lenin; not enough room to store all of them (55,000 Lenin statues)

**3.8 Volodymyr Pylypchuk, Deputy to Supreme Soviet of Ukraine – head of Committee for Economic Reform (September 1990 / Video 1990-90)**

Volodymyr Pylypchuk made the following points in his presentation:

1. Praise for the accomplishments of Ukrainian-American community
2. State of Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada – only one-fourth are part of the Democratic bloc but it has allies and the democratic bloc had many successes
3. Ukrainian prospects for the future are positive and it can function as a sovereign country.
4. Soviet Union was built on an erroneous ideology and a new ideology needs to be implemented.
5. Analysis of failure of Marxist ideology
6. The Soviet Union is disintegrating because it was built on a false foundation and now people are trying to return to some sort of normal society.
7. There are directives from Communist Party echelon to party members to resist Democrats.
8. There is a need to defend Verkhovna Rada Deputy Stepan Khmara, who has been arrested.
9. There is danger of civil war in Soviet Union; Soviet army is polarized.
10. There is a need to implement sovereignty through legislation that is consistent with International law.
11. Ukraine lacks persons who know foreign languages. This hinders the understanding of foreign laws that foreign countries use to establish a market economy.
12. Ukraine intends to recruit foreign experts.
13. Ukraine desperately needs its own currency.
14. The next half year is critical.
15. Shrewd observations about human character and about diplomacy.

**3.9 1990 TWG Leadership Conference** (October 5-7, 1990 /TWG NEWS September and October 1990 / Video 1990-100 thru 1990-130)

**3.9.1 Vitaliy Korotich, editor of Ogonyok**

Vitaliy Korotich made the following points in his presentation:

1. Situation in USSR – There is no union, no socialist, no soviet, ...
2. There are competing ideas – Centralism, as espoused by Gorbachev and Council of Ministers Chairman Nilolai Ryzhkov); Independent republics.
3. There is a problem of bureaucracy – 80 million people.
4. No one knows how to build a market economy.
5. There is a need for a professional government.
6. There is a need for help with management. Kyiv International Management Institute deserves praise.
7. There is a need for conversion from an overly militarized economy to a consumer economy. There will be opposition to market economy.
8. There is a need for convertible currency.
9. There is a need for economic cooperation.

**3.10 Bohdan Hawrylyshyn – International Management Institute-Kiev**  
(November 15, 1990 / TWG NEWS December 1990)

Excerpts from TWG NEWS:

“Dr. Hawrylyshyn also described how he set out to establish a management school in Kiev: he made an extensive presentation to Borys Paton, president of the Academy of Science of Ukraine. Within four months of this meeting, he said, space for classrooms and a library was allocated and equipped – an incredibly quick turn-around for a bureaucratic quagmire like the Soviet system. A full-time research,

teaching, consulting and administrative staff, 30 students were in place when the institute officially opened in January 1990.”

“Dr. Hawrylyshyn described the work experience of students in North America as ‘tremendous’.” They learned many ‘useful notions’, traditionally accepted business practices, accepted in the West, but alien to the Eastern bloc, such as the effective use of time, business etiquette like keeping appointments, and business telephone practices. They also saw the wheels of capitalism in motion – the stock market, corporate decision-making processes, managerial accountability.”

### **3.11 Oleh Romaniw, Director, Lviv Chapter, Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) (November 29, 1990 / Video 1990-40)**

Oleh Romaniw made the following points in his presentation:

1. The founding fathers of NTSh were Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Ivan Franko, and Volodymyr Hnatiuk - scholars in the field of history, philology, and ethnography respectively.
2. NTSh suffered its first destruction in 1914 when Russian troops captured Lviv.
3. Scholarly activity continued during the inter-war period.
4. The second destruction of NTSh occurred on Jan 14, 1940 by Soviet troops. Fortunately, most members were able to flee. However, some, including Kyrylo Studynsky, were killed..
5. Restoration of NTSh in Lviv occurred on October 21, 1989.
6. Not much has been accomplished yet. Unfortunately, so far, members are passive. Nonetheless, there are plans to start publishing.
7. Gorbachev thought that democratizing society would lead to an improvement in the economy by unleashing greater productivity. It did not turn out that way. What happened was that national

problems of the Soviet Union became dominant. Gorbachev is now in the process of retreating to save the empire. This is especially true as it pertains to Ukraine.

8. Rise in national consciousness developed very quickly in western Ukraine but not so much in eastern Ukraine. To get movement in eastern Ukraine emphasis should be placed on economic development in the context of Ukrainian economic sovereignty.

**3.12 Reports on Trips to Ukraine by various activists** (December 4 / TWG NEWS November 1990 covers TWG trip to Ukraine)

**3.12.1 Taras Chornovil, son of Vyacheslav Chornovil, Deputy to Lviv council (surprise guest at the program)**

Taras Chornovil made the following points in his presentation:

1. There has been a counterattack from the forces of Reaction to the efforts of Rukh.
2. Gorbachev has turned against democratization of society.
3. Ukrainians so far have been able to resist constant provocations from the side of the authorities, but the atmosphere in Ukraine is very tense.
4. Only the most extreme elements of the CP in Ukraine are opposed to an independent Ukraine.
5. The Soviet army is polarized and it is unlikely that Gorbachev can deploy troops effectively.
6. Religious conflict is becoming attenuated – church leaders of both churches are to be given partial credit.

**3.12.2 Yaro Bihun, TWG President talking about TWG trip to Ukraine**

Yaro Bihun made the following points in his presentation:

1. Lenin statue was removed in Lviv.
2. Ukrainian flag was everywhere.
3. Moleben (memorial service) for UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) soldiers.
4. Cultural life is vibrant.
5. Patriotic newspapers are being hawked.
6. In Kyiv, Ukrainian Orthodox Patriarch Mstyslav made a conciliatory speech.
7. News programs actually have news.
8. Hunger strikers were eloquent in their demands.
9. Economic decline is very noticeable; extraordinary inefficiency in the economy.

### **3.12.3 Ihor Gawdiak, President of Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council**

Ihor Gawdiak made the following points in his presentation:

1. Impressions of Drohobych
  - a. The city is dilapidated.
  - b. Bones of persons who were executed are on display.
  - c. Ukrainian flags are everywhere.
  - d. Statue of Lenin has been torn down.
  - e. A statue of Stepan Bandera is being planned.
  - f. Streets are being renamed.
  - g. Churches are being redone.
  - h. Forty percent of the inhabitants are not ethnic Ukrainians.
  - i. Young kids are up-to-date on current events.
  - j. Old people are still distrustful of strangers.
  - k. Strong commitment to democratic principles.
  - l. Among the youth Bandera represents a striving for independence.

- m. There is no religious animosity toward persons of different religions.
- n. There is very little desire for revenge.
- 2. A visit to Rukh HQ in Kyiv revealed great exuberance and openness.

#### **3.12.4 Eugene Iwanciw, member of Board of Directors of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA)**

Eugene Iwanciw made the following points in his presentation:

1. From Kyiv -- High energy – positive vibes
2. On TV Ivan Dzyuba
3. Second Rukh Congress attracted about 2300 delegates with Ukrainians coming from all over the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and the world.
4. Little attention was paid to economics.
5. UNA was received by the still communist government.
6. People talk about free market economy – but very few people understand it.
7. People speak freely – there is no fear.
8. The presence of the Red and Black flag could be confusing.
9. There is a need to pull everyone into movement for independence – whether democratic or communist.
10. There is a need for an economic program that maintains the support of the people.
11. Diaspora should help Ukraine but not interfere in its internal affairs.

#### **3.12.5 Nadia McConnell, Member of the Board of Ukraine 2000**

Nadia McConnell made the following points in her presentation:



1. Observations of the Verkhovna Rada – openness and some chaos
2. There is simultaneously a crackdown – Stepan Khmara arrest
3. There is a strong undercurrent of war: ideological and sometimes physical

### **3.12.6 Robert McConnell, Member of the Board of Ukraine 2000**

Robert McConnell made the following points in his presentation:

1. The infrastructure for the democratic/independence movement is weak.
2. Change in economic situation is necessary but neither Rukh nor the communists are equipped to deliver it.
3. American policy is “irrational” in its support of Gorbachev.

### **3.12.7 Bohdan Futey, Member of the Board of Ukraine 2000**

1. Rukh is unanimously for Ukrainian independence but that view is not yet fully accepted in Narodna Rada.
2. The arrest of Khmara is not an isolated incident.
3. Washingtonians are forming a Khmara task force to provide for Khmara’s defense.

### **3.13 Ivan Hrechko, former political prisoner --- Religious Situation in Ukraine** (December 1990 /Video 1990-190) See biography at <https://www.memoryofnations.eu/en/hrechko-grechko-ivan-ivan-1929>

Ivan Hrechko made the following points in his presentation:

1. There is a need for good quality prayer books.
2. Religious services in Ukraine are conducted in Old Church Slavonic.

3. There are problems with quality cadres (priests who all of their lives celebrated Mass in hiding are a bit lost when they have to do so in a large church).
4. There is one priest for five villages.
5. Three new seminaries have opened.
6. There is a conflict between the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church caused by ignorance and fanaticism.
7. There is hope that this conflict will die down because the most bitter conflict involved church buildings and that conflict has been resolved.
8. In the aftermath of Ceausescu's downfall, Ukrainians in Romania are reclaiming their ethnic and religious identity.
9. Belarusians are coming to Lviv to learn about the history of the Belarusian Greek Catholic Church.

**3.15 Dmytro Stepovyk, Religious Situation in Ukraine** (December 1990 / Video 1990-170)

Dmytro Stepovyk, an author and editor, made the following points in his presentation:

1. Because Ukraine is a stateless nation, its churches have served as its government.
2. Prosperity alone is not sufficient to keep social cohesion. A spiritual dimension is needed.
3. Holy scriptures convey a legitimacy of diversity in practicing the Christian faith and in self-government.
4. There is legitimacy of both Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.
5. There is no basis for a territory-based limitation of the multiple churches in Ukraine.

6. Ukrainian Autocephalous Church leader and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church leader have the wisdom and maturity to deescalate the inter-confessional conflict.
7. The two Ukrainian churches should seek to have friendly relations with the Russian Orthodox church.

## **Chapter 4 1991 Final Push Toward Ukrainian Independence**

**Please also see the [Photo album for the year 1991](#)**

### **4.1 Jon Gundersen, appointed Consul General in Kiev (February 15, 1991/ TWG NEWS February 1991)**

This issue of TWG NEWS contains an extensive interview with Jon Gundersen who was appointed Consul General to Kyiv. The interview includes a clear statement of U.S. government's position toward Ukraine. See excerpt below:

"I view that the U.S. policy toward Ukraine is clear: the relationship between Moscow and Ukraine is an internal matter that should be settled peacefully between Moscow and Ukraine. At the same time, our relationship should be based on generally accepted international principles, including the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act."

### **4.2 TWG Sends Representatives to Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine (January 26-27, 1991 / TWG NEWS February 1991)**

This issue of TWG NEWS contains an extensive article on the attempts of the Ukrainian-American community to organize itself to help Ukraine.

### **4.3 Serhiy Koniev, Deputy to the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR (March 8, 1991 / Video 1990-60)**

Serhiy Koniev made the following points in his presentation:

1. The disintegration of the Soviet Union is an on-going process.
2. Ukraine needs to commit to a non-nuclear status.
3. There is a need for coalition building.
4. People are tired of flag-waving.
5. With respect to eastern Ukraine – economic reform is needed – not ideology.
6. Yeltsin did not support Russian nationalist demands for the transfer of Crimea to Russia.
7. No need for violent revolution.
8. There is a need to step up public relations.

### **4.4 Referendum in Ukraine (March 17, 1991 / TWG NEWS April 1991)**

Below is an introduction to an article that describes the complex referendum that was held in Ukraine on the questions of a new union treaty, Ukrainian sovereignty, and in three oblasts, Ukrainian independence.

“On St. Patrick’s Day, 1991, Orest Deychakiwsky was in Kiev observing the balloting on a referendum intended to determine what kind of union or non-union the present USSR should become. Deychakiwsky was in Ukraine as a staffer of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or the Helsinki Commission. This is his first-hand report for TWG NEWS, written a few days after his return.”

### **4.5 Verkhovna Rada Deputy Ivan Zayets Speaks to Representatives of U.S. Congress (TWG NEWS April 1991)**

Ivan Zayets spoke with members of Congress and staffers to emphasize the importance of Ukraine and the irreversibility of the processes going on in the Soviet Union. He urged Congress to address the deficient understanding of Ukraine by making an outreach to well-educated members of the Ukrainian diaspora.

#### **4.6 Dinner with Ukrainian Deputies** (April 12, 1991 / TWG NEWS April 1991)

This TWG NEWS article describes a dinner meeting with a delegation of Ukrainian deputies and provides quotes from each of them. This was an opportunity for the Ukrainian-American community to see and hear a spectrum of opinions.

The deputies at the event were: Volodymyr Cherniak, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Drach, Bohdan Horyn, Mykhailo Horyn, Pavlo Movchan, Oleksander Moroz, Dmytro Pavlychko, Volodymyr Pylypchuk, Ivan Pyushch, Laryssa Skoryk, Oleksander Yemets and Ivan Zayats.

Oleksander Moroz, Ivan Plyushch, and possibly Volodymyr Cherniak were not part of Rukh.

#### **4.7 Ukrainian Parliamentarians Sample U.S. System of Governance** (April 4-13, 1991 / TWG NEWS May 1991)

This article describes how the Ukrainian Parliamentary delegation (see above) got acquainted with the functioning of all three branches of the U.S. government. See also an article by Marta Zielyk in the June 1991 issue on the challenges of interpreting for the delegation.

#### **4.8 TWG Marks Declaration (of Sovereignty) Anniversary** (July 16, 1991 / TWG NEWS July-August 1991)

TWG NEWS covered a discussion involving Adrian Karatnycky, Maxim Kniazkov, and Robert McConnell. Below are excerpts from TWG NEWS.

#### **4.8.1 Adrian Karatnycky, Director of Research at AFL-CIO**

The following is an excerpt from TWG NEWS:

“Adrian Karatnycky attributes the growing momentum of the Ukrainian sovereignty movement to three factors: the decline of the economy, the concomitant expansion of the democratic and workers movements and the political successes of Boris Yeltsin, which have undoubtedly bolstered the position of his Ukrainian counterpart.”

#### **4.8.2 Maksym Kniazkov, former TASS correspondent, Washington-based analyst**

The following is an excerpt from TWG NEWS:

““I think that Ukrainians deserve to be independent”, he said. “The (Soviet) Union was unjust to the Ukrainians.” Unlike many other republics, he added, “Ukraine has all the necessary resources for independence.” He also noted that Ukraine may prevent the conclusion of a new union treaty.”

#### **4.9 1991 TWG Leadership Conference (October 12, 1991/ TWG NEWS October 1991 / Video 1991-10 and 1991-20)**

##### **4.9.1 Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, member of the council of advisors of the Supreme Rada Presidium**

Bohdan Hawrylyshyn made the following points in his presentation:

1. Ukraine has to integrate into the world economy and anchor itself with Western Europe.

2. Ukraine's direction was set when Ukrainian youth mobilized politically and conducted hunger strikes.
3. A recent commemoration at Babyn Yar, site of a World War II massacre of Jews, Ukrainians and members of other groups viewed as expendable by the Nazis, was solemn and dignified.

#### **4.9.2 Oles Doniy, President of the Kiev Ukrainian Student Union**

Oles Doniy made the following points in his presentation:

1. The December 1, 1991 Referendum on Ukraine's independence will pass. There is no organized force that opposes it. Even the Communist Party supports it. There are no pro-Russian sentiments.
2. Presidential election will likely favor Leonid Kravchuk.
3. Democratic forces face many difficulties. Communist Party is still the most powerful political party because it has an organization with membership and roots while democratic parties lack cadres.
4. Economic situation is critical and has broad political implications.
5. Most of Ukraine's political parties have a socialist orientation. This needs to be balanced by free market and conservative viewpoints for a vibrant democracy to emerge.
6. The army is still Moscow oriented.
7. Ukraine must develop an all-encompassing civic loyalty of all of its citizens.
8. Organizations catering to young persons need to be integrated into the nation-building processes.
9. Independence needs to be secured by functioning state structures.
10. There is a need for decisiveness in matters of principle and flexibility on tactical issues. Youth needs some idealistic vision that stimulates them into nation building.

11. All segments of Ukrainian society need to be incorporated into the process of nation building. This was a failure of the 1918 attempt to build an independent state.

**4.10 John Hewko, executive secretary of the International Advisory Council to the Ukrainian Parliament** (December 20, 1991 / TWG NEWS January 1992 /Video 1991-30/40)

John Hewko made the following points in his presentation:

1. Ukraine was markedly detached from the rest of world.
2. Events that shaped Ukrainian Independence:
  - a. Zaporizhia festival -- 200,000 person rally in Fall 1990
  - b. Student strikes in Kyiv
  - c. The Vilnius massacre (January 13, 1991) stripped all illusions about the ability of the government to implement humane reforms.
  - d. The move by Gorbachev against Yeltsin in March 1991.
  - e. The coup of August 19 accelerated the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
3. The free media in Ukraine and Russia, which had been flourishing in the late 1980's and until August 1991, did undergo some immediate restraint by the authorities. Even with this repression, these outlets succeeded in playing a major role in squelching the coup attempt.
4. The movement to Ukrainian independence was elite driven.
5. Kravchuk waffled on the coup.
6. The debate in the Ukrainian parliament centered on the priority of decommunization vs independence.
7. The process of drafting a resolution for independence was intense and chaotic.



8. Communist vote for independence was critical. The reasons they voted “yes” was that many feared Yeltsin and many were national communists.
9. Bush administration lagged behind on events. (Also see “The View from the White House on the Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Emergence of an Independent Ukraine” -- Video 2007-10)
10. Ukraine was a colony – brain drain – everything of importance was in Moscow; Ukraine is starting from scratch.
11. Six major issues facing Ukraine
  - a. There is a need to change the existing Ukrainian government – this is compounded by the hierarchical character of Ukrainian society; need for parliamentary elections
  - b. The lack of intra-government communication is an obstacle to reform. Inefficient law-making procedures hinder reform.
  - c. Central Banking reform is badly needed.
  - d. Crimea has potential to be a problem – it needs to get autonomy.
  - e. Rise of Russian nationalism is still there and could become dangerous.
  - f. The communication systems within Ukraine are “terrible.” One cannot make phone calls to the West. Ukrainian TV is “terrible.” There is no republic-wide newspaper.
12. Diaspora was critical to Ukraine. It still has a role to play.
13. There were numerous TV commercials promoting a “Yes” vote on December 1, 1991 Referendum. The commercials emphasized Ukraine’s ability to prosper as an independent state. (Video of this event shows sample commercials.)
14. Leonid Kravchuk adopted Rukh’s program successfully.
15. Ukraine is a very sexist society – women play a secondary role.

**4.11 The Referendum: Impressions of an Observer by Orest Deychakiwsky (December 1, 1991 / TWG NEWS January 1992)**

Introduction to the article:

Much has been written in the media about the historic December 1 referendum and the presidential elections in Ukraine. The fabulous statistics are well-known by now by anyone who had the slightest brush with the media. But TWG member Orest Deychakiwsky a staff member at the U.S. Helsinki Commission, had a “referendum experience.” He was one of the official international observers in Ukraine December 1, and he shares a few personal impressions of the event since his arrival the Friday before the Sunday elections. Deychakiwsky was one of three staff members sent by the Helsinki Commission to Ukraine. The views expressed in this article are his and do not necessarily represent the views of the Commission.

The following are excerpts from the article:

“Ukrainian republic-wide television was strongly promoting the importance of the vote for independence, stressing that a ‘yes’ vote is a vote ‘For your children and grandchildren.’

“What we observed of the elections indicated that they were free and fair.”

“My conversations with the voters in the villages convinced me that these people were not merely voting for Ukraine because this was expected of them. Rather, the desire for independence was heartfelt.”

“We all realize that this is just the beginning – that even though Ukraine is off to a good start, there is still a long way to go before Ukraine becomes a full-fledged democratic, rule-of-law state with a true market economy.”