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The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

# SOVIET EXCHANGES WITH U.S. BOOMING

## Fire Chiefs, Cooks, Students and Plain Citizens Crowd Consulates and Jets

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 27 — Only five years ago, when American organizers of exchange programs submitted proposals to Moscow, they could wait up to two years for a reply. In most cases, they were turned down.

Today, the numbers of people traveling between the Soviet Union and the United States on exchange programs have skyrocketed. Five years ago, 7,600 Soviet citizens came to the United States. This year, the State Department expects 100,000, most of them on exchange visas.

Even more telling than the numbers are the kinds of programs and who is able to take part in them.

### Puppeteers and Police Chiefs

Rather than being limited to an exchange of scholars and official scientists, this year Soviet and United States cinematographers, puppeteers, lawyers and police chiefs — most of them bypassing their governments — will change places.

Last year, the American Foundation for the Blind sent a group to tour Soviet schools and factories for the visually impaired. In June, nine Soviet citizens will come to the United States to study the latest advancements in audio and computer technology for the blind.

The Elma, N. Y., volunteer fire department is playing host to a counterpart from Estonia.

Seattle chefs have twice been host to chefs from the Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan and have visited the Uzbek chefs twice.

After finishing a joint scuba diving expedition in the Bahamas, a Soviet and American team will travel to Lake Baikal in Siberia.

"In the past a Soviet was required to be sponsored by an official institution of the government," said William G. Miller, president of the American Committee for U.S.-Soviet Relations in Washington. "A host now can virtually be a family."

### Exchanges Began in 1958

The first official exchange program was established by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1958 to maintain ties during the cold war, said Molly Raymond, deputy coordinator of the

# Americans get a flood of proposals.

President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative. But as a result of the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, she said, "Things really went on ice for much of the 1980's."

In 1986, an agreement signed by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, sponsoring the first people-to-people exchanges, went into effect. No longer did a Soviet organization need official permission to make contact with American groups. Travel restrictions were liberalized and there was much less scrutiny of foreign contacts.

"There is a basic feeling in the Soviet Union that we need these exchanges," said Georgi Shekochikhin, press officer at the Soviet Embassy. "We need the expertise and the skills of others."

A shortage of airline seats is the worst problem Mr. Shekochikhin said. "We still can't satisfy demands even though the number of flights was doubled in April."

With the demand for exchanges exploding, the only limitation is money, said Marshall Goldman, associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center.

## 'Our Cup Runneth Over'

"We get unsolicited letters and visitors all the time," Mr. Goldman said. "They are eager to offer us every possible inducement to begin an exchange program. Our cup runneth over."

Only three years ago, students were restricted to where and what they could study. Now, Americans can be found in every Soviet republic, taking courses they choose.

The warming of relations has done little improve the logistics. Organizers say a severe lack of hotel space in the Soviet Union and a huge backlog in processing visa applications at the United States Embassy in Moscow jeopardizes every project.

"It's practically cold war," said Antonia W. Bouis, executive director of the Soros Foundation, a New York-based philanthropic group.

After repeated frustration with the system, the foundation set up its own office in Moscow. "We've created our own bureaucracy over there," Ms. Bouis said. "We have Soviets working for us. They deal with the dinosaur, who are rather slow to die out."

But even the most rudimentary tasks are derailed by inexplicable events.

"National organizations will disappear and reappear under different names with different people running them," said Susan Hartman, co-director of Connect, a Soviet sister city project in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Ms. Hartman recalled one instance where a Twin Cities man traveled to Novosibirsk to meet a fellow expert.

"We spent months arranging the visit and we repeatedly telexed officials there to confirm the meeting," she said.

But when the American arrived to meet him, the man was gone. The Soviet expert was in Minneapolis.

# Four Years Later, Kremlin Speaks Candidly of Chernobyl's Horrors

By FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27 — Four years after the explosion and fire at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the Soviet Union is acknowledging that the medical, environmental and political consequences of the disaster have been much greater than the Kremlin has ever frankly discussed.

In particular, recent articles in the Soviet press and reports to the United Nations, as well as information given at a news conference at the Soviet Embassy today, have revealed details of the current and probable suffering among people affected by the explosion and fire at the No. 4 reactor of the plant, near the border of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Among the new information is the disclosure that four million people in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and western Russia are currently living on contami-

nated ground, more than have ever been publicly acknowledged. It was also revealed that the thyroid glands of more than 150,000 people were "seriously affected" by doses of radioactive iodine, a far higher number for such problems than had been made public.

The Soviet authorities have also said that the expected rates of thyroid cancer are 5 to 10 times what would be expected for 1.5 million Soviet citizens living in affected areas; that leukemia rates among children in some areas of the Ukraine were 2 to 4 times normal levels, and that the death rate for people who have been working at the Chernobyl plant since the accident is 10 times what it was before the accident. There had been no general public release of any information on thyroid cancer, leukemia or deaths among workers.

American medical experts were cautious in their evaluation of the new data. But one public-health specialist who returned today from a 12-day visit to the Soviet Union said, "Everyone you talk to is telling you that every time they look, the situation is worse than before." The specialist, Dr. Anthony Robbins, a professor of public health at Boston University, said he had consulted extensively with doctors and relief officials. "I don't think anyone there is saying they've seen the full extent of the problem," he said.

Dr. Marvin Goldman, a professor of radiation biology at the University of California at Davis who has been work-

# Kremlin Now Acknowledges True Damage of Chernobyl

Continued From Page 1

ing on a Soviet-American team examining the consequences of the accident, was cautious about evaluating what he regards as piecemeal figures without a larger context. But, he said, Soviet experts have largely abandoned "the party line they had for the first few years, that these doses are not likely to show any demonstrable epidemiological changes."

## Appeal for International Aid

In a striking admission of the strain of containing the physical suffering and public discontent, Soviet diplomats here and at the United Nations are soliciting the international assistance that their Government once spurned.

In the news conference today, Ambassador Yuri V. Dubinin pressed his country's appeal for charitable donations of money, medical aid, food and construction supplies. He then gave the floor to a visiting group of members of the Soviet Parliament, who gave the most concrete data yet on the emerging health consequences of the explosion and fire on April 26, 1986, that spilled radioactivity over most of Europe.

Yuri Shcherbak, a doctor, journalist and Ukrainian representative at the Soviet national legislature, said 13,000 people in one Ukrainian village, Polesnove, were living in an area where the surface contamination of radiation was 40 curies per square kilometer. Dr. Goldman said that without knowing whether the population of the village was coming in direct contact with the radiation, such information made it impossible to judge the severity of the doses they were absorbing. But he indicated that such a level of radioactive contamination in a settled area was extraordinarily high.

Beyond the medical implications of the catastrophe for a largely rural population whose lands have been permanently fouled and whose lives have been distorted, Dr. Shcherbak and his colleagues made clear that the initial cover-up of the accident's scope, and the later cover-up of health data, have contributed to the wide distrust of the Kremlin among the far-flung and diverse ethnic populations of the Soviet Union, even the relatively complaisant Byelorussians and the Ukrainians.

Georgi Komarov, a member of the Soviet Parliament who appeared at the news conference with Dr. Shcherbak, noted the Supreme Soviet's decision two days ago to spend \$26 billion on further Chernobyl expenses over the next five years.

For the last three years, the official Soviet accounts have stated that 31 people died in the accident and in the weeks immediately following it, that 300 people were hospitalized and that 145 suffered from acute radiation sickness. Dr. Shcherbak today repeated an estimate that 300 others had died since, almost all of them people who worked at the plant or near the reactor right after the blast.

Vladimir Lipsky, a Byelorussian writer who heads that republic's Children's Fund, told the governing council of Unicef this week that 2.2 million

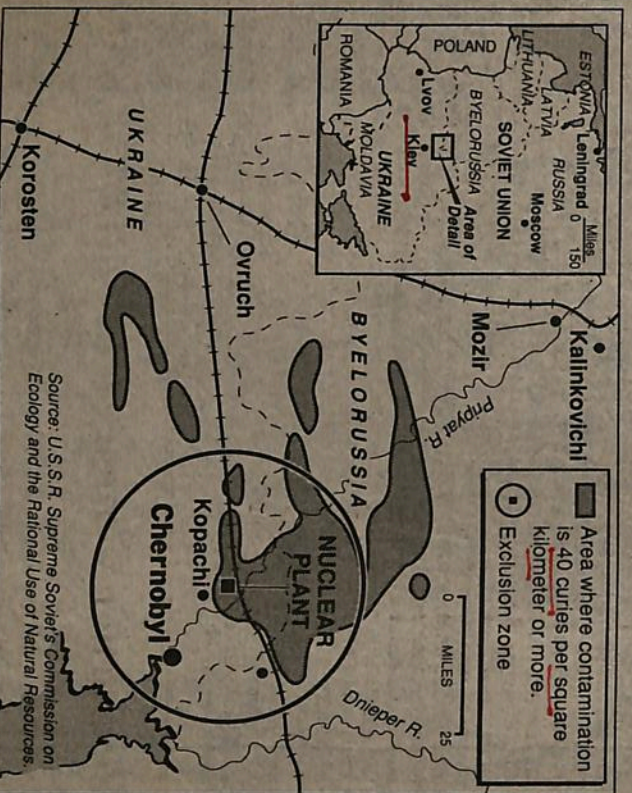
**'Every time they look the situation is worse.'**

Byelorussians — one in every five — are living in contaminated regions, and that one or two children a week in a Minsk hospital are dying of leukemia, compared to one or two a year before the accident.

Mr. Lipsky asked Unicef for money, medical diagnostic equipment, disposable syringes and doses of thyroid-gland hormones to fight the effects of the Chernobyl disaster.

American medical experts say that children give early warnings of the eventual medical consequences of radiation exposure, since children suffer more than adults from high doses.

American medical experts say that leukemias linked to radiation exposure are likely to begin appearing in children two years after their exposure, and that the rate tends to go up sharply for four more years before leveling out and eventually tapering off. About a decade after the first appearance of childhood leukemia, solid tumors linked to the same exposure usually begin developing in adults.



Heaviest irradiation spread well beyond the exclusion zone, circled, that was imposed around the stricken Chernobyl nuclear reactor.

The New York Times

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# Fear of Chernobyl Radiation Lingers for the People of Kiev

By FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

KIEV, U.S.S.R. — Judging by Kiev's bustle and the vigorous chestnut flowers that spiral upward from its trademark trees, the city is flourishing two years after the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant drove away its children and its peace of mind.

But that is only part of the contradictory realities of this Ukrainian capital. Its children came back 15 weeks later; its peace of mind never returned.

A lingering fear of radiation persists. Couples question whether they should have children, and people ascribe all manner of minor illness to radiation exposure. Medical officials imperiously dismiss the fear as "radiophobia," but for the population, Chernobyl is a psychic sore that will not heal.

## Demonstration Is Stopped

"For some reason, it's worse now than it was a year ago," said Yuri Shcherbak, a Ukrainian author who wrote a wrenching documentary report on the tragedy a year ago. "A lot of people are upset about the long-term consequences."

There was even a demonstration against nuclear power on April 26, the second anniversary of the accident, but according to participants, the 50 demonstrators were arrested as soon as they unfurled their banners. Most were

released within hours, but the organizer, Olis Shevchenko, spent 15 days in jail.

The concern about radiation is not confined to Kiev. In Lyov, 325 miles to the west, unexpected school closings are attributed by parents to elevated radiation levels, and one resident speculated that repeated sonic booms one day were the result of attempts to disperse a radiation cloud.

## Some Are Moving Out

In the Byelorussian areas of Gomel and Mogilev, teachers and doctors are moving out — sometimes to polluted areas whose potential health risks exceed those of radiation, according to Dr. Viktor A. Knizhnikov, head of the roentgen safety laboratory at the Soviet Ministry of Public Health's Institute of Biophysics.

Attempts to allay fears are evident in the press: The Kiev newspaper Pravda Ukrainy recently began issuing what it said would be weekly reports on radiation levels in Kiev, Zhitomir and Chernigov.

The Ukrainian Health Minister, Anatoly Y. Romanenko, gave a long interview in the newspaper Vecherny Kiev dismissing a variety of rumors about radiation-related dangers. But he advised residents not to have outings in



Associated Press

About 60,000 people gathered in Kiev, U.S.S.R., to mark the fourth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. A woman shielded her candle from the wind as she joined others in the main square.

## Chernobyl Rally Attended by Thousands

MOSCOW, April 26 (Reuters) — Tens of thousands of people attended an open-air service in Kiev today and workers in the Byelorussian city of Gomel went on strike as the Soviet Union marked the fourth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

A crowd estimated at 60,000 people waving nationalist flags packed the square in front of Sofia Cathedral in Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, and listened to calls to punish all those responsible for the world's worst nuclear accident, witnesses said.

Cars and other traffic in the city, which is about 80 miles south of Chernobyl, then halted for five minutes, sounding their horns in the culmination of what was declared a day of mourning across the Ukraine.

### Fund-Raising to Aid Children

In Gomel, slightly farther to the northeast, the 35,000-strong work force at the giant Gomselmach engineering works walked off the job to demand that

their region be declared a disaster zone. Workers at about 20 other factories in Gomel joined in the protest.

The independent Rukh press agency said there were also demonstrations in the western Ukrainian city of Lvov, in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk and elsewhere in the two republics, which were worst hit by fallout from the accident.

A Soviet legislator, Yuri Shcherbak, who has written a book on Chernobyl, says about 300 people died from the tragedy, ten times the number officially reported to have perished in the immediate aftermath of the blast and fire.

Several Soviet public organizations also organized a 24-hour telethon to raise money for children who suffered most from the cloud of radioactivity that was released after the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear plant on April 26, 1986. Soviet television said more than \$100 million in cash, medicine and other goods was raised.

# GORBACHEV'S TONE UPBEAT ON SUMMIT

## But He Makes No Concession on Arms Control Issues

By MICHAEL R. GORDON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 22 — Mikhail S. Gorbachev set a positive tone for the coming Moscow summit meeting in an interview published in today's issue of The Washington Post. But the Soviet leader provided no hint of flexibility on some of the key arms control issues that stand in the way of a new treaty reducing long-range nuclear arms.

"There is a turn from confrontation to coexistence," Mr. Gorbachev said in a written reply to questions that The Post submitted before the interview. "The winds of the cold war are being replaced by the winds of hope."

The Soviet leader also noted President Reagan's "realism" during the interview and praised his willingness to "take a fresh look at the existing realities, while remaining faithful to his well-known convictions."

But he said Moscow would hold firm to its main positions in the negotiations for a strategic arms agreement.

Mr. Gorbachev insisted that such a long-range arms accord could not be concluded unless the two sides agreed to interpret the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty strictly. A strict interpretation would result in sharp limits on tests for Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, the anti-missile system commonly known as "Star Wars."

"If we just replace one kind of arms race with another, particularly in space, where the arms race would take a particularly dramatic turn, we would undermine the trust that has begun to be built," the Soviet leader said.

He also stressed the need to set limits on sea-launched cruise missiles that are armed with nuclear warheads. Unless such limits were set, he warned, these missiles "would also be a new roundabout maneuver that could become a new avenue for the arms race."

Mr. Gorbachev's firm position on this issue comes as senior Reagan Ad-



Mikhail S. Gorbachev

Associated Press

ministration officials prepared for a White House meeting on Monday to review what arms control positions to take at the summit.

There has been no indication of significant flexibility on the American side on the "Star Wars" question, and the Administration has insisted on the right to a broad interpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty, which would allow for an expanded pattern of "Star Wars" tests.

In the interview, Mr. Gorbachev revived a proposal to mount a joint American-Soviet unmanned flight to Mars. The idea had been suggested by Roald Z. Sagdeyev, the Soviet space expert, according to Gennadi I. Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz responded cautiously today to a joint Mars mission. During an interview on ABC's "This Week," he said "this has to be studied carefully."

On political and economic reforms, Mr. Gorbachev said he favored fixed terms for top Soviet leaders, including the General Secretary. These officials are now chosen for life.

Soviet officials had given hints about this proposal for some time, and the version of the interview released by the Soviet news agency Tass indicated that the proposal had already won the backing of the Politburo.

Mr. Gorbachev expressed little tolerance for Soviet dissidents. He described Sergei I. Grigoryants, the editor of the unofficial magazine Glasnost, as an "alien phenomenon in our society sponging on the democratic process, sponging on the positive aspects of perestroika." Mr. Gorbachev's program of restructuring.

# Psychic Pain of Chernobyl Refuses to Heal for Kiev

Continued From Page 1

the woods north of Kiev, near the 18-mile zone from which 135,000 people were evacuated two years ago.

But reassurances fail to quiet the concern, and suspicion festers along with the fear. One thing after another keeps reminding people why they might be afraid.

The death of Valery Legasov, deputy director of the Moscow Institute of Physics and one of the first science officials who flew down to lead the fight to contain the reactor, was such an event.

His death was announced on television on April 27. Four Politburo members signed his obituary, and his grave at Novodevichy Cemetery was decked with ribbons saying, "Chernobyl thanks you." But the cause of his death remained unmentioned. Rumors that the 51-year-old Dr. Legasov had contracted cancer were rife.

[On Friday, the Communist Party newspaper Pravda confirmed for the Soviet people what had been confirmed for foreign journalists in Kiev a week before: Dr. Legasov had committed suicide. The paper then printed an unusual posthumous article in which Dr. Legasov criticized what he called the complacent attitude of Soviet scientists and engineers toward nuclear power.

[He wrote: "One director of a station said straight out: 'What is there to worry about? An atomic reactor is just a samovar, it's a lot simpler than a steam-powered station, we've got experienced personnel. Nothing's going to happen.'"]

[Among Soviet scientists and engineers who are confident of their training and management, he said, "worry about increased dangers of an atomic station seemed a contrived question."]

### The Date Is Cited

Officials at Chernobyl have discounted suggestions that Dr. Legasov's death was related to the accident. An acquaintance of Dr. Legasov's was skeptical of the denials, saying: "If it had no connection to Chernobyl, why didn't he hang himself on the anniversary of your independence day? He did it on April 27."

That sort of skepticism is particularly rife among some Soviet journalists in Kiev, who seem to find the imperious tone of the top medical officials unwarranted and their information incomplete. The doctors, in their turn, have decided that the pervasive concern is a form of psychoneurological illness they call radiophobia, and they imply that local journalists are to blame for spreading it.

"The syndrome was known before," said Dr. Leonid A. Ilyin, head of the Institute of Biophysics, who added that one "manifestation of radiophobia is the complete rejection of atomic power generation and a lack of understanding of the situation in the world today when there is no alternative" to nuclear power.



Workers building a drug store in Slavutich, a new town being constructed for employees of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant 31 miles away.

Associated Press



The New York Times/May 23, 1986

### Concern about Chernobyl's radiation is not confined to Kiev.

Dr. Ilyin spoke at a news conference closing an unusual three-day Soviet conference that brought together 124 Soviet doctors and representatives from 24 other countries — including 9 from the United States — to discuss the medical consequences of Chernobyl, the world's worst nuclear power accident.

### Openness and Touchiness

The conference opened on a similar nuclear-is-necessary note as Dr. Hans Blix, chairman of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Association, declared: "There is no way of

## Fear of radiation from the disaster persists in the city

producing electricity without some risk. It is meaningless to examine just the risk of nuclear power."

Overall, the conference was marked by the same mixture of openness and touchiness that has characterized the handling of information on Chernobyl since Soviet scientists delivered a major report on the accident in August 1986.

This was most evident at a closing news conference, when Soviet doctors, clearly irritated by the attention the Soviet press was giving an American doctor, Robert P. Gale, and his predictions of increased cancer deaths, frostily criticized the doctor, a bone-marrow transplant specialist from the U.C.L.A. Medical Center who helped treat some Chernobyl victims. Dr. Gale's cancer death predictions, they indicated, contributed to "radiophobia."

Then Mr. Shcherbak, the Soviet journalist, came to Dr. Gale's defense, asking, "Can you control this radiophobia only by superoptimistic propaganda, declaring that there will be no harmful consequences?"

An enraged Pavel V. Ramzayev, director of the Leningrad Institute of Radiation Hygiene, came to the lectern to berate Mr. Shcherbak, saying, "You should not think only of getting out sensational news items."

### Predictions of Cancer Deaths

At issue was Dr. Gale's predictions, in a recent issue of the Communist Party newspaper Pravda, that over the next 50 years there would be about 30,000 cancer cases directly attributable to the Chernobyl accident — half in the Soviet Union and half elsewhere. He also predicted 100 new leukemia cases linked to Chernobyl.

Although his estimate is considerably lower than those of some other scientists, whose predictions of excess cancer cases run up to the hundreds of thousands or even one million, it seemed galling to Soviet doctors who adamantly refuse to admit an increased cancer risk.

Dr. Ilyin said that "some scientists announce in the mass media specific figures on the number of malignant tumors" that will result from the accident, adding: "They inflict great damages because they forget there are many variables. We never speak of any number of cases. That is immoral."

In a brief interview later, Mr. Shcherbak spoke with some sadness about the doctors' attitude.

"We have been showing people films of Hiroshima for 40 years and telling them how horrible it was," he said. "Do we expect them to believe that nothing will happen now?"

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## Ukraine Intellectuals Lead Challenge to Communists

By **BILL KELLER**

Special to The New York Times

**LVOV, U.S.S.R.** — Ukrainians by the millions turned on their television sets the other night to witness a wondrous sight, a popular Ukrainian literary critic in fiery debate with a senior ideologist from the republic's Communist Party.

The issue was a recent move by the Ukrainian Writers Union to organize an independent political movement similar to the popular fronts that have attracted mass support in the Baltic republics.

Viewers rendered a split decision on who prevailed in the televised confrontation, but the event signified an important awakening here in the Soviet Union's second-largest republic: after a period of deceptive quiet, the Ukraine's intellectual establishment has ventured into open conflict with the Communist Party, and Ukrainian nationalism — or patriotism, as its adherents prefer — is becoming respectable.

### Question of Soviet Survival

Nationalism in the Ukraine, which is the Soviet Union's breadbasket and industrial engine, is surely high on Mikhail S. Gorbachev's list of nightmares as Soviet leader.

"Here we're not talking about 1.5 million people, as in Estonia, but 50 million, a nation the size of France or Italy," noted Bogdan N. Gorin, a leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association, a dissident

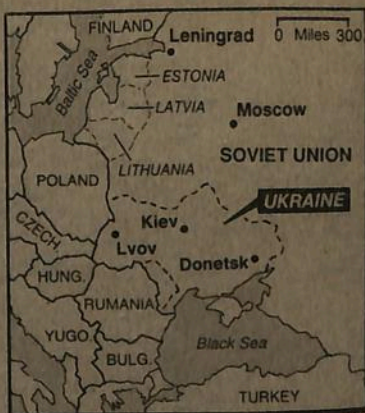
human-rights group. "We think the question of the Soviet Union, whether it survives or not, will be resolved not in Estonia, but in the Ukraine."

Many in the republic believe that is a major reason the Soviet leader made a hastily arranged five-day tour of the republic in late February.

A trip through the Ukraine in Mr. Gorbachev's footsteps — from Kiev, the capital, to the cultural center of Lvov in the west, to the industrial city of Donetsk in the east — found that rivulets of discontent have begun running together into a rising stream.

From the hearty welcome of a

*Continued on Page 4, Column 1*



The New York Times/March 9, 1989

Ukrainian crops and industry are crucial to Soviet economy.

# Awakening in Ukraine: Intellectuals Lead Challenge to Communist Party

Continued From Page 1

Kiev taxicab driver who proudly introduced himself as "a Ukrainian, and a nationalist," to the carefully worded calls for greater autonomy embodied in the platforms of seemingly establishment candidates in the current election campaign, a visitor finds the caution and intimidation that prevailed here a year ago beginning to dissipate.

In just the last few months, movements for environmental protection, for promotion of Ukrainian language, for the honoring of Stalin's victims, and for the legalization of the outlawed Uniate Catholic Church have all shown signs of vigor. All seem likely to align themselves with the writers' new Popular Movement in Support of Perestroika, called the "Ruk" in Ukrainian, which advocates greater political and economic autonomy from Moscow.

Spreading from Lvov, the center of ferment, to the more establishment intellectual circles of Kiev, those movements are being drawn together now by several factors, including the example of the Baltic republics, the sense that Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, the Ukrainian party strongman, is slipping from power, and an election campaign that which has encouraged people to come out and defend themselves.

## The Nationalists

### 3 Sides Pose Challenges

One tributary of the growing nationalism is the Ukrainian language society named for Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national poet, which started in Lvov, where it now claims 10,000 members, and quickly spread east.

The group promotes a revival of Ukrainian language and literature, which inevitably means a sense of identity separate from the country's ruling Russian majority.

Anyone who thought the society was some kind of hobby club for aficionados of Ukrainian poetry learned otherwise at the group's founding conference in Kiev on Feb. 11 and 12.

Several participants said Ivan F. Drach, a literary critic who is chairman of the Kiev Writers Union, called for the Ukrainian Party ideology chief, Leonid M. Kravchuk, to be taken to court for spreading "disinformation" against the writers' attempts to organize.

#### Religious Grievances

The Ukrainian authorities must also be concerned about recent signs of

cooperation between the outlawed Uniate Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox believers.

Uniate refers to members of Eastern Christian Churches in union with the Roman Catholic Church but with their own rite.

Both groups have strong grievances. The Uniates, banned for nationalist tendencies, want legalization and the return of former Catholic churches that have been handed over to the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate in Moscow.

Ukrainian Orthodox believers want the right to hold services in their language, and some favor creation of a separate orthodox denomination independent from Moscow.

#### Cautiously Worded Platform

On Feb. 26 a crowd estimated by organizers at 25,000 people thronged outside the Uspenski Cathedral here for a requiem service on the 125th anniversary of the death of the poet Shevchenko. The service was led jointly by the Rev. Mykhailo Neiskoguz, a renegade priest of the Orthodox Church, and the Rev. Mykhailo Voloshyn of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a demonstration of solidarity that reportedly left many in the crowd weeping with joy.

The most important recent development is creation of the "Ruk," the popular movement that promises to unite the various strains of Ukrainian patriotism, religious and cultural, dissident and establishment, under a flag of greater independence for the republic.

The group's draft platform, made available by Mr. Drach, is a more cautiously worded version of the national front declarations that have rallied mass support in the Baltics.

It calls for Ukrainians to control their natural resources and industry, for religious and political diversity, for a halt to Russification — which the platform describes as "the raising of little Ivans who don't remember who their kin are."

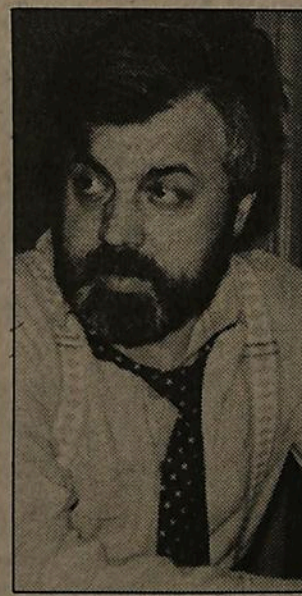
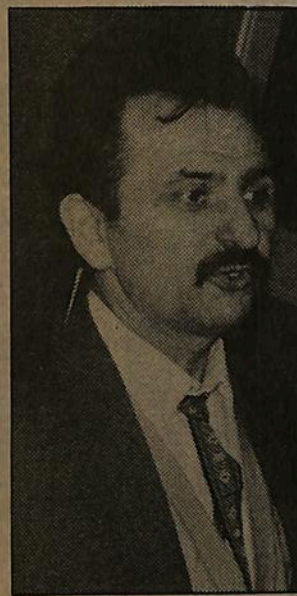
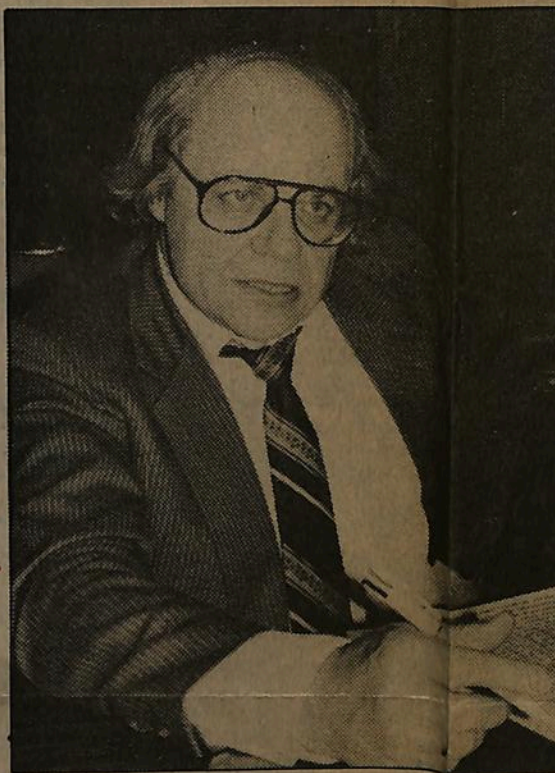
#### Communists' Leading Role

The group demands the right to submit draft laws, sponsor candidates in the elections and put up questions for popular referendum.

The Ruk does not favor secession from the union — even the more radical Helsinki association stops short of that — and it is careful to present itself as a supporter of Mr. Gorbachev's economic and political policies rather than as a political alternative.

Unlike the Baltic popular fronts, the Ruk platform diplomatically "acknowledges the leading role of the Communist Party."

Mr. Drach, like a majority of Ruk's founders a Communist Party member, is careful to say that the movement is



The New York Times/Bill Keller

Ivan F. Drach, left, a literary critic and chairman of the Kiev Writers Union; Bogdan N. Gorin, a leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association, and Les Tanyuk, a Kiev writer and theater director.

not an opposition political party. Asked about the prospect of a multiparty system eventually, he said: "In the future, I think it is possible, in a variant like the Hungarian type. The time is not ripe. First we need a popular movement to raise the cultural level."

#### Group Assailed as Timid

Mr. Gorin of the Helsinki association said his group supported the Ruk but considers it overly timid. "They want the party to shake their hand and say, 'Good for you!' he said. "The party's not going to do that."

Indeed, the Ukrainian Party has used its newspapers and officials to wage a fierce campaign against Ruk, variously playing down Ruk as the work of literary dilettantes and denouncing it as a dangerous rival.

"Rouget de Lisle helped the French Revolution by writing the Marseillaise," said the party newspaper Radyanska Ukraina of the writers' effort. "He did not organize a movement for perestroika in French society."

#### The Party Line

### The Communists Play Rough

The hard line of the Communist leadership here is one reason, the rise of

Ukrainian self-consciousness has been slower than the surge of nationalism in the Baltic republics.

Many remain intimidated by memories of how the last flowering of Ukrainian cultural nationalism was beaten down by the Kremlin under the leadership of Leonid I. Brezhnev and his chief ideologist, Mikhail A. Suslov. In 1972, a moderate Ukrainian Party leader, Petro Y. Shelest, was purged in favor of Mr. Shcherbitsky, whose main virtue from Moscow's viewpoint has been his ability to keep control.

To illustrate the pre-glasnost thinking that prevails here, those seeking revisions tell the story of Vasyl Stus, a dissident poet who died in prison in 1985 while serving a 15-year term for anti-Soviet propaganda.

Hundreds of the poems that were confiscated as evidence that he had done something wrong remain impounded, and family members say the prison refuses to release his ashes until he has "completed his term."

#### 'Down With Shcherbitsky!'

Ukrainian intellectuals have never liked Mr. Shcherbitsky, but he was a dangerous man to offend. Lately Mr. Drach and other prominent figures have called openly for his retirement, and at various demonstrations and election meetings crowds have broken into lusty chants of "down with Shcherbitsky!"

When Mr. Shcherbitsky was excluded from the list of top party officials allotted guaranteed seats in the new National Congress, many here took it as a confirmation that Mr. Gorbachev is losing patience with Mr. Shcherbitsky, a lukewarm supporter of perestroika.

"A year ago everyone was afraid of Shcherbitsky," said Les Tanyuk, a 50-year-old Kiev writer and theater director. "But not so much now. They read the Moscow press. They see what is possible."

But even if Mr. Shcherbitsky goes, the Ukraine's conservative tradition presents a problem for Mr. Gorbachev.

#### Ukrainian Split

### The Republic's East-West Rift

Another reason the Ukraine has remained seemingly docile is that the republic is split by a deep cultural divide.

The western Ukraine did not fall under Soviet power until 1939, which Stalin's pact with Hitler divided Europe into spheres of influence. Some of the western Ukraine that includes Lvov was considered part of Poland before that.

Despite the decimation of Lvov's in-

tellectuals by fascist occupation and Stalin's terror, emigration and Russification, despite the fact that the city's splendid Austro-Hungarian architecture has gone shabby under Soviet neglect, Lvov today cherishes its roots.

By contrast, Soviet power took hold in the eastern Ukraine in 1919, and places like Donetsk are now fully assimilated into the Russian melting pot.

Only half the population of Donetsk, an industrial center in the Donbas coal-mining region, is Ukrainian, and many of those speak Russian at home with their children.

While 95 percent of the schools in Lvov teach in Ukrainian, not one in Donetsk does.

#### The Changes

### Dissidents Look To Gorbachev

The current campaign to elect a new National Congress of Deputies has contributed to the revival here by energizing public debate and forcing established figures to declare their views. Some people well within the bounds of official approval have drafted campaign platforms that closely resemble Ruk's program.

The advocates of greater independence said they took heart from Mr. Gorbachev's visit.

On his last day in Kiev, the Soviet leader gathered nine writers, including Mr. Drach and other prominent figures in the Ukrainian revival, and charmed them by reciting bits of Ukrainian poetry.

Mr. Drach and another writer who was present said the Soviet leader had endorsed the idea of raising the status of Ukrainian language and culture, but coupled this with a friendly plea to avoid divisiveness.

Immediately after Mr. Gorbachev left for Moscow, the campaign against Ukrainian nationalism resumed with arrests and fresh attacks in the press. But many Ukrainians say the thing holding them back now is not ruthless authority as much as a long period of numbness.

The other day a young Ukrainian, a Uniate Catholic and a supporter of the Popular Movement, strolled through the streets here with a visiting American, comparing the slow stirring of Ukrainian consciousness with the more vibrant politics across the Polish border, 50 miles away.

"In Poland, when people were beaten they got angry and fought back," he said. "Here, people have been beaten and beaten until they don't feel anything anymore."

Ukraine - Kiev  
Byelorussia - Minsk

Estonia - Tallinn

Latvia - Riga

Lithuania - Vilnius

Russ. Sov. Fed. Soc. Rep. - Moscow

Georgia - Tbilisi

Azerbaijan - Baku (Caspian Sea)

Armenia - Yerevan

Kazakhstan - Alma Ata