

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A quarterly journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

Winter, 1992

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A Quarterly Journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

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EDITORIAL

Referendum Anniversary is Low Key

KYIV — Hard-pressed Ukrainians marked the first anniversary of the referendum that won them independence from Moscow with indifference, but their president told them there was no doubt they had made the right choice.

The streets of Kyiv had nothing to remind Ukrainians of the referendum on December 1, 1991, in which more than 90 per cent of the voters backed their parliament's declaration of independence. The outcome, coupled with the election of Leonid Kravchuk as president, dealt a fatal blow to Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to hold the Soviet Union together. It was followed within a week by the USSR's formal collapse.

Ukrainians inured to monthly inflation of 20 per cent, plunging living standards and fast rising unemployment paid scant attention to sombre newspaper and television stories devoted to the outcome of a year of independence.

A rally recalling the referendum in Independence Square drew no more than a few hundred people in temperatures well below freezing. Kravchuk, interviewed on Ukrainian television, admitted the past year had provided little for his people's well-being.

"The situation is contradictory — we have a state recognised internationally but no improvement in living standards", Kravchuk said. "It is in the field of economics that doubts have appeared. Did our people make the right choice last year? A year is a short time in history, but our children and grandchildren will undoubtedly say that we did the right thing".

A representative of the self-styled Cossack movement, interviewed on television in full national dress, praised the restoration of Ukrainian statehood after seven decades of Soviet Russian rule. But the mood contrasted sharply with last August's first anniversary celebrations of parliament's independence proclamation, when all Ukrainians here and abroad joined street festivals or watched the national guard march in their new uniforms.

"We have learned that independence is not a ready buttered piece of bread", wrote the parliamentary daily "Holos Ukrainy". "Rather, it is the possibility to grow grain and churn butter in our back yard for our own needs and export".

Since the August celebrations, an unpopular conservative prime minister widely viewed as a brake on reforms was dismissed and replaced by Leonid Kuchma, former head of Europe's largest missile factory. Kuchma has won respect from Western financial institutions by ending confusion over policy, promising a gradual transition to the market, a campaign against corruption and crime, and help for pensioners worst hit by economic tumult.

Opposition groups, too, have been willing to give him a chance for the time being. And Kravchuk, still one of Ukraine's most popular politicians, said the long-term resilience of Ukrainians meant they would never perish.

"Only a person without a candle can lose his way in a tunnel. Our people will not lose their way", he said. "Be there a cataclysm, war, earthquake, drought or flood, our people will always find a way out".

*Politics***A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF UKRAINE'S
INTERNATIONAL POSITION**

By Tanya Tarapacky

As a result of a long struggle, in 1991, Ukraine reappeared on the international scene after centuries of national repression. The Ukrainian state has transformed itself from a colony of the Russian empire in its Soviet expression into an independent state.

Ukraine's refusal to sign Mikhail Gorbachev's Union Treaty precipitated the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Commonwealth of Independent States was hastily formed in an attempt to keep the former colonies together. Ukraine is one of the CIS's fiercest opponents. In fact, Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's President, only agreed to join this alliance as a temporary measure to facilitate a peaceful breakup of the Soviet Union. Ukraine refuses to participate in a common military pact and Kravchuk has constantly maintained that the CIS is not a legal entity. President Kravchuk did not attend the CIS summit on May 15. Ukraine has also decided to leave the rouble zone. Dmytro Pavlychko, the Head of Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Commission had said that it is time that "the world realise that the CIS is a rather unstable and cumbersome alliance with the tendency towards self-destruction. The secession of Ukraine from the CIS should be tied to the system of collective security in Europe".

Ukraine is one of the key players in post-communist Europe. Ukraine is the second largest country in Europe and it provided the former USSR with more than one fifth of its GNP. However, the primary reason for Ukraine's importance is geopolitical. Ukraine provides an important geographical buffer between Russia and Europe and it could assure political stability in Eastern Europe. Ukraine also separates Russia from its former satellite states Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Moldova, which were historically subjects of Russian expansionist foreign policy. On the other hand, Ukraine has declared itself a neutral, non-nuclear state. This may prove to be critical in keeping Russia's imperial interests at bay, especially considering that Russia is a nuclear power. As Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote: "Above all it is geopolitically essential that Ukraine succeed in stabilizing itself as a secure and independent state. That will automatically increase the chances of Russia's evolution as a democratizing and increasingly European post-imperial state. Accordingly a critical component of Western strategy has to be the

deliberate effort — not only economic but also political — to consolidate a stable and sovereign Ukraine. Elsewhere in the former empire the process of nation building is likely to be even more complex than in Ukraine, and yet it too will have to be supported simultaneously with the postcommunist socio-economic transformation itself". ("Foreign Affairs", Fall 1992)

A main aspect of Ukrainian foreign policy is the inviolability of all existing borders in Europe. This principle is a basic component of a policy which intends to ensure stability in Europe. A main aspect of Ukraine's internal policy is the installation of a functional system for the protection and guarantee of human rights in the personal realm, and minority rights for groups and individuals. Ukraine has already forged good relations with its neighbours, and has expressed its willingness to become the fourth partner in the Vysegrad process. Ukraine also desires good neighbourly relations with Russia, but this goal needs a transformation of the Russian mentality which includes the recognition of Ukraine not only as a geographical denomination.

The focus on Europe has been another cornerstone of Ukraine's developing foreign relations. The government is aware that the inclusion of Ukraine in the European Community requires profound transformation of the political, economic, social and cultural system. Ukraine is confronted with the same problems and challenges facing other post-communist countries. But in Ukraine's case, the process of liberalisation from a totalitarian ideology goes together with the process of national liberalisation. Ukrainian leaders hope that the initiation of the much-needed transformation will result in membership in the European Community.

The transformation from totalitarianism to democracy and from a state-run inefficient economy to a free market system is not easy. The introduction of a new currency — the hryvnia — was planned for the end of October. A separate currency and departure from the rouble zone are necessary for the establishment of a stable monetary system and foreign trade. The introduction of the coupon was intended as an interim measure. The stability of a new currency also requires the ability to assure the steady and neutral balance of payments. Up until now, foreign trade has been primarily between countries of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine must find trading partners outside the rouble zone and attract foreign investment. Ukraine's government has already introduced measures and very attractive incentives for foreign investors, but unless the new currency is introduced soon, accelerated investment is not likely to occur. Up until now, 49 per cent of foreign investment has come from Germany, and in particular from Bavaria.

Ukraine's foreign policy is western-oriented with focus on Ukraine's full integration into Europe. But Ukraine's relations with the West are not without their problems, which stem mainly from the tendency of the West to view the CIS as a continuation of the former Soviet Union while overlooking the still-existing inherent qualities of Russian imperialism. The West's policy towards Ukraine, its

willingness to integrate Ukraine into Europe, could have a critical effect on the future course of foreign policy pursued by Ukraine.

The old mentality still persists regarding the false perception of the CIS as a substitute for the old USSR in the area of financial aid. Many Western countries still perceive Moscow as the rightful recipient of financial and technical aid. Ukraine and the other countries of the former Soviet Union perhaps need aid and support more than the old "centre", which has hoarded aid in the past. Of more use than monetary assistance would be technical aid programmes, economic development and the sharing of "know-how". The greatest gift to Ukraine and other post-communist states would be aid programmes which would technologically pull the countries out of the anachronistic economic systems they have inherited. But assistance must be of the sort that would assure the path to self-sufficiency through efficiency.

Education, training and exchanges should not be overlooked as an area, which should merit the most importance. The proximity of Europe and its highly developed economies could provide the training ground for the next generation of Ukrainians, who are building their new state and are eager to absorb as much as possible about new technologies.

Ukraine's re-entry into Europe could be facilitated by this kind of assistance. Ukraine has already become a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE and an associate member-state of the North Atlantic Assembly. A Ukrainian delegation has travelled to Brussels to discuss an agreement regarding Ukraine's status in the European Community. Ukraine is rapidly taking steps that will restore its place among other great European nations, and Ukraine could assist Europe by working towards maintaining European security and peace in a common military pact.

DEEPENING CRISIS IN THE CIS

By O. Chabarovskiy

The meeting of leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States, held in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, on October 9-10 failed to bring any positive results. Russia's proposals, supported by President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, to tighten political, military and economic relations in the CIS encountered vigorous opposition from Ukraine and several Central Asian countries. In consequence, only two countries, Russia and Kazakhstan, signed an agreement on economic, military and political cooperation, which in practice subordinated Kazakhstan to Moscow.

There is, however, a long way to go from signing the agreement to its realisation. In Kazakhstan the nationalist Republican Party, headed by Sabitkasi Akatayev, is gaining increasing political significance. Akatayev, whose goal is to free Kazakhstan from Russian colonialism, is winning the support of increasingly wider masses of the Kazakh population.

Moscow sees Ukraine as one of the primary culprits for the failure to realise the plan for tighter cooperation within the CIS. Ukraine, Moscow claims, firmly opposed the Russian plan for greater coordination, whose goal was to create a new Union under the leadership of Russia. This was obvious from the proposal put forward by Russia. This plan envisaged a joint economic region with the rouble as a common currency, coordination of internal and foreign policy, and a joint army.

Discussion of the control of nuclear weapons situated in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan led to conflict. The commander of the CIS armed forces Marshal Shaposhnikov claimed that Russia should have the exclusive right to control nuclear weapons. This, however, contradicts the previous agreement on this issue, which stipulated that there would be joint control of these weapons. In response, Ukraine announced that the nuclear weapons situated on its territory would remain under the control of the Ukrainian government.

Moscow's aspiration towards a monopoly on strategic nuclear weapons led to a renewed conflict between Russia and Ukraine. According to the "Financial Times", President Leonid Kravchuk rejected Russia's claim that Ukraine is incapable of exercising control over nuclear weapons. Kravchuk said that Ukraine is aspiring to become a non-nuclear country by 1997. Until then, however, it has all the technical means at its disposal to exercise control over the nuclear weapons situated on its territory.

According to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ukraine is formally one of the strongest military powers in Europe. Its air force (1,100 military aircraft) is superior to the air forces of individual NATO countries

in Europe. Presently there are more tanks and other armoured vehicles deployed in Ukraine than in any other European country, with the exception of Russia and Germany.

Old arguments concerning the purpose of the CIS flared up again in Bishkek. Ukraine, like several other CIS members, believes that the Commonwealth has to be a free union to coordinate the further dissolution of the USSR, a transitional period for Ukraine prior to joining the European Community.

Moscow, however, is continuing to push for a tighter cooperation between CIS countries, which would consolidate its political and economic influence in the Commonwealth, transforming the other CIS members into Russia's dependencies. To achieve this Russia is using the old Soviet imperial links between the centre in Moscow and the former republics, links which primarily concern the economy, particularly oil supplies to Ukraine and the other CIS member-states.

Russia's plans to increase cooperation between CIS countries — a more liberal form of Russian imperialism — are also being subjected to serious criticism by the other members of the CIS. Azerbaijan, for instance, recently stated that it is withdrawing from the Commonwealth and will remain merely an observer. To a large degree this move was brought about by the protracted military conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorny Karabakh.

In Bishkek President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan stated that Kyrgyzstan would also leave the CIS in the near future because the Central Asian republics have their own interests.

CIS forces are to be deployed in Tajikistan, a member of the CIS, where armed conflicts between various political factions are continuing. The CIS armed forces are, however, the centre of an argument. Marshal Shaposhnikov believes the CIS armed forces which are to operate in hot spots of the former Soviet Union demonstrate the need for a joint CIS army.

In general terms, the Bishkek meeting confirmed one more time the practical inviability of the CIS, which is split by a clash of two opposing tendencies. On the one hand there are the new independent states aspiring to consolidate their independence and to set up a normal state structure. On the other, there is the new democratic Russia, which has not yet shed its old imperialist tendencies. In these circumstances normal cooperation on the basis of equal relations is completely unfeasible. There is hope, however, that real political opportunities, the consolidation and stabilisation of the independent states, their resistance to Russian protectionism, and the continued dissolution of the former Soviet system, will come hand in hand with changes in Russia's policy, enabling real cooperation on the basis of equality. So far, however, such changes have not taken place in Russia.

PROBLEMS OF CORRUPTION IN UKRAINE

In the present economic and political instability in Ukraine, particularly the economic crisis caused by the decline of the old Soviet structures and the difficulties in forming new structures, the problems of mafia-related corruption have become widespread in the country. In a recent interview for Radio Ukraine the head of the Union of Ukrainian Officers Hryhoriy Omelchenko, who is also the head of the corruption and organised crime department of the Ukrainian Security Service, underlined the various causes of the spread of mafia corruption in Ukraine.

In his opinion, the fundamental cause for the existence of the former Soviet, and today Ukrainian, mafia and the widespread corruption in government and the administration, is the warped economy and economic disorder. According to Omelchenko, state property constitutes 84 per cent of all property, which is the first and foremost root of the evil, the basis for the spread of organised crime and corruption.

The principal mechanism for the allocation of material welfare lies in the hands of the state, of state officials. This means that the state owns nearly all the means of production. Every manufacturer is thus dependent on government structures.

Omelchenko further stated that investigations have revealed that, in 97 cases out of a hundred, anyone who wants to open a business, or to acquire a commercial license, has to pay a bribe. In the last six months, large numbers of officials in regional administrations and law enforcement agencies: the militia, the Security Service, the prosecutor's office, and the customs service, were arrested on charges of corruption. In some cases local representatives of the president have been arrested for corruption, showing how widespread corruption and the mafia structures have become.

In the last seven months alone, more than 900,000 economic crimes have been exposed. Around 600 million karbovantsi, 42 kilograms of gold and platinum, and 131 kilograms of precious metals have been confiscated. However, criminal responsibility for economic offences is almost nonexistent. Of the 8,500 persons apprehended for theft only 74 have been imprisoned, and only 30 of the 482 officials charged with corruption have been imprisoned.

To combat the large-scale corruption, primarily among government officials, the Security Service of Ukraine has set up a special department to fight corruption and organised crime with the support of a group of people's deputies.

For three years now the Ukrainian parliament has been working on a draft law on the fight against corruption and organised crime, which has so far not come into force. This bill has been blocked on several occasions and has thus failed to come before parliament. So far there is no law stipulating the dismissal of censured officials. Neither is there a law on compulsory declaration of private income from which the sources can be verified.

A law prohibiting peoples deputies and government officials, primarily central government officials, from working in commercial and other economic structures has so far not come into force either.

Furthermore, Omelchenko would like to know why there is no law authorising the law enforcement agencies to fight the widespread corruption and mafia structures in the state government and administration. The question appears rhetorical. Many Supreme Council deputies are opposed to such a move as they are themselves, directly or indirectly, involved with these structures.

History

THE NKVD AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

By Ivan Bilas

The reasons why the Ukrainian Catholic Church was forced to go underground nearly fifty years ago can only be objectively studied today when access to KGB archives in Moscow has been made available.

These documents paint a tragic picture of the planned destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which commenced under Stalin and continued until Ukraine gained its independence.

In 1989, the weekly magazine "Argumenty i Fakty" wrote that the many documents which tell this tragic tale were until recently thought to be destroyed. Another article in the same periodical uncovered the facts about the assassination of Father Oleksander Menya, after it was discovered that he had in his possession documents which showed the extent of KGB manipulation in the church.

Today there is still a cover-up of the facts, since the former communist rulers are not eager to disclose the entire process by which the Ukrainian Catholic Church was destroyed, especially since this church did not succumb to the totalitarian regime and continued to defend Ukraine's national interests, while the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church sold out to the party bureaucracy.

Today, as our society is healing itself as it builds an independent state, many questions still remain unanswered. How could this have happened? What caused this dark period in our history initiated by Stalin and his henchmen? What provoked them to wage a cruel war against the nations imprisoned in their state? How did Stalin succeed in manifesting himself as a living "god"? One of the secrets of Stalin's success, having created a religious vacuum, was to unite the atavistic and spiritual quests of the individual. Another was to instil in people the concept of a mythological figure as a ruler with god-like features and unlimited power. With the opportunity to analyse this period, our society can recuperate from the negative effects of this process and manipulation.

In Tsarist Russia, the church and the monarchy had a tenuous relationship which alternating between tolerance and despise. The October revolution of 1917 initiated a new era of confrontation between the church and the government, despite the law

separating church and state. Nonetheless, revolutions tend to release a groundswell of aggressive force and action. One of the institutions which was most closely linked to the old Tsarist regime was the Russian Orthodox Church, and hence it suffered a negative backlash. The decree on the separation of church and state elicited protest from religious activists, who called it discriminatory, especially the question of state control of church assets and valuables.

The church viewed its assets as belonging to society, but the way in which the church was forced to manage its assets caused revolt, protest and bloody struggles. Churches, monasteries, and religious schools were closed, church publishing was halted, and the Bible was no longer printed. Church monuments and buildings were demolished, religious books and icons were burned. Anti-religious propaganda became more widespread. Atheist extremists staged demonstrations mocking the clergy.

During revolutions when an old regime is destroyed and there is civil disorder, there is the danger that those who seek power for its own sake may take advantage of such a period. Such was the “Machiavellianism” of Stalin, who tried to build an absolute dictatorship, and thus eliminated all obstacles and persons blocking his way. His persona was forcefully tied in with every aspect of life: education, culture, art, even religion. However, this was not enough. Stalin believed that there should only be one god — the one in the Kremlin, and that faith in him should become the predominant ideology, over and above Marxism. The last battle was won by Stalin, when an amendment was made to the constitution banning religious propaganda. The symbol of Stalin’s victory was the demolition of many famous churches.

Stalin decided that the religious vacuum he had created was sufficient. However, the creation of a new religion was on the horizon as Stalin, the self-proclaimed “father of nations”, elevated himself to an even higher plane on Mount Olympus, towards the kind of absolutism that went beyond the dreams even of Emperor Augustus.

The Second World War drastically altered the position of the Russian Orthodox Church. There were many reasons for this change. The occupying armies of Nazi Germany did not oppose the reopening of churches, which was accepted favourably by the people forcing Stalin to follow suit (purely from a propagandistic-political perspective). Taking into account the overt rebirth of religious faith during the war, Stalin decided to utilise this to his benefit with the help of the puppet Moscow Patriarchy.

Realising that he was an uncrowned emperor, Stalin decided that it would be to his advantage to have the “blessing” of the same church that had sanctified the rule of the Russian Tsars since the 16th century. Subsequently, the church that was destined for complete liquidation suddenly gained approval. How did Stalin succeed in bringing to heel the Russian Orthodox Church?

It began with a casual conversation on September 4, 1943. When the outcome of the war had become clearer, Stalin summoned the NKVD officer in charge of religious affairs, H. Karpov, to his dacha to learn about the situation in the Russian

Orthodox Church. Lavrentiy Beria and Georgiy Malenkov, who was responsible for ideology, were also present. Karpov was well versed in this area and presented Stalin with an extensive report — from the health of the metropolitans, to the number of believers, and about relations with other orthodox churches in Rumania, Bulgaria, and so on. When Stalin had got all the answers he required, he decided that it was necessary to form a separate government body which would liaise between the authorities and the Russian Orthodox Church, and thus establish more control over church activities. Stalin then told Beria, Malenkov and Karpov that he wanted to meet immediately with Metropolitans Serhiy, Aleksiy, and Mykolay. Karpov called Metropolitan Serhiy and informed him that the intention of the meeting was to discuss the needs of the church.

The Metropolitans arrived at the Kremlin on that same day, and were surprised by their hospitable and accommodating treatment by Stalin. Stalin thanked the Metropolitans for the church's patriotic contribution to the war effort. They were unaware, however, that their belief in this deception would have grave consequences for millions of followers of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as of other religious denominations.

As a token of his gratitude, Stalin asked the Metropolitans if he could assist the church in any way. Metropolitan Serhiy, the patriarchal representative, pointed out that the biggest problem facing the patriarchy was the lack of centralised authority, especially since a church synod had not been held since 1935. He asked for permission to call a synod in order to elect a patriarch. The Metropolitan of Leningrad Aleksiy and the Exarch of Ukraine and Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych Mykolay supported this proposal. The Metropolitans stated that this synod would be canonical. But how could a synod that was organised inside the walls of the Kremlin under the watchful direction of history's worst tyrant be considered even remotely legitimate? In fact, the outcome of the planned synod was decided by Stalin — Metropolitan Serhiy would be the next patriarch. The script for the show that was called a canonical synod was written by Stalin with the help of the NKVD. The patriarchy would have an appropriate title — the Patriarchy of Moscow and all of Russia. Stalin's henchmen had even assisted with assembling together all the Russian Orthodox Church leaders within a record time (3-4 days) by providing air transportation. This enabled the date for the synod to be set for September 8, 1943.

The deal was almost complete. The Russian Orthodox Church became Stalin's puppet and transformed itself into a government organ in exchange for privileged status.

Requests for further assistance resulted in promises to reopen religious seminaries, permission to publish church literature, and the reopening of several churches. As regards the last request, the state authorities decided which churches could be opened. When the Metropolitans became more confident with Stalin, they even requested the release of imprisoned priests from prisons and concentration camps. A request was also made for financial assistance for the church. This was also granted, as was permission to reestablish autonomous church enterprises, such as candle-making, and so on.

Stalin assured the Metropolitans that all the church's needs would be met and that the church could count on government support for its development throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. Although this new direction violated the former laws on the separation of church and state and church from schools, it was totally in keeping with Stalin's subversive plans. It was in keeping with the specific socio-political situation of the time and was acceptable in terms of Stalin's further plans. By offering subsidies and support, Stalin succeeded in making the church subservient to state ideology.

After the needs of the church had been met, Stalin moved to the personal realm by offering the church hierarchy larger apartments, automobiles, deliveries of scarce food supplies, and so on. He realised that he had fully manipulated the church leaders. Now the true purpose of the meeting was revealed. Stalin turned to the Metropolitans and said, "If there are no other requests, then we will go to the task at hand — the creation of a Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, which will be headed by comrade Karpov". The church leaders agreed to this proposal and the deal was complete.

After such a decision the existence of an independent church was out of the question. The Russian Orthodox Church leaders, who succumbed to their own personal interests, were aware of this as they embarked upon a path that established them as an instrument of the state, and which later led them into direct conflict with other denominations, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The following day, September 5, 1943, Molotov wrote a communiqué for the radio and press about the decision to hold a meeting of bishops. Metropolitan Serhiy made a public statement that day expressing gratitude to Stalin.

Archival materials explicitly unravel the tragic tale that began with the meeting at which the Russian Orthodox Church sold out its beliefs and integrity for material gain. The recently-disclosed documents portray a vivid picture of this irrevocable relationship between the Soviet authorities and the NKVD-infiltrated church that was supported by personal gifts of large sums of money to the Metropolitans (some as large as 35,000 roubles in 1943!).

As far as Karpov was concerned, he remained an officer of the NKVD. He coopted other NKVD officers on his staff. This connection between the NKVD and the Russian Orthodox Church remained until the recent fall of the empire. The government had the final say regarding all prospective candidates for religious seminaries, the selection of priests, and so on.

However, the greatest victim of this historic sell-out became the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was prominent in western Ukraine, and also functioned in western Belarus and the Baltic states. The Ukrainian Catholic Church remained true to its ideals in spite of Stalin's tyranny.

After the Second World War, western Ukraine came under Soviet rule. Under Stalin, the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist legally but not in reality. The main orchestrator of the church's demise was Karpov. He had convened a synod on

March 8-10, 1946, in Lviv with the intention of liquidating the church. Before Soviet Russia occupied western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had 4,440 churches, an academy, 5 seminaries, 2 schools, 127 monasteries, 3 weekly newspapers and 6 monthly publications. The church was headed by Metropolitan, and had 10 bishops, 2,950 priests, 1090 monks and 540 seminarians. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had experienced great development during the time when Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi headed the church from 1901 until his death on November 1, 1944. He was succeeded by Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj.

The Soviet Russian occupation of Ukraine caused the physical destruction and forced resettlement to remote areas of the empire of many thousands of Ukrainians. In order to stop the physical torture and killing, shortly before his death, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi had responded to the request for a meeting with the Soviet government's committee on "religious cults" with the intention of "normalising" relations. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj sent a delegation to Moscow in December 1944. When the church delegation asked for a guarantee of its right to function, the delegation received a positive reassurance.

There were two reasons for this. Firstly, in 1944 the Radnarkom of the USSR had passed a law on the "reopening of prayer facilities for religious cults" (under whose jurisdiction came the Ukrainian Catholic Church), stating that religious unions must register their intention to hold services. Secondly, Stalin did not want to openly initiate a conflict with the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the war. However, it was difficult for Stalin to forgive the church's role in supporting the national movement for an independent Ukraine and the Declaration of Ukraine's Independence on June 30, 1941.

Shortly after, Molotov asked Karpov to devise a plan for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Karpov had decided that this should take place at the synod which had been called for March 1946, by infiltrating the church, creating conflicts among its leaders, presenting the Russian Orthodox Church as the only solution, and blaming the church itself for its own demise. The plan detailing the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in this regard on an international level, was submitted as document no. 58 on March 15, 1945. The arguments which were to be used in support of the motion to break away from the Catholic Church included declaring the Pope pro-fascist and the Vatican anti-democratic.

The plan required at least six months of preparation, since orthodox church leaders were to be invited from all over the world. As part of the preparations, they were to be instructed prior to the synod that it was for the good of the orthodox church that certain directives were followed. Much attention was also directed towards strengthening orthodox brotherhoods, which would pressurise church leaders into supporting only the orthodox church. However, the most important part of the preparations for the synod was to form an initiative group within the Ukrainian Catholic Church which would be persuaded to vote for secession from the Vatican.

The NKVD-devised strategy would be utilised by the Russian Orthodox Church to expand its power at the cost of other religious denominations. The plan was approved by Stalin on March 16, 1945, and by the following day, Karpov's plan for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and directives to the Supreme Soviet's committee on "religious cults" had been sent out by his first assistant, I. Poliansky. Six copies were sent with strict instructions that these incriminating documents must be returned after they had been read. All six copies remain in KGB archives today.

The use of the Russian Orthodox Church to carry out the directives of the NKVD was the beginning of the cooperation that was to last until recently. The tactical directives and argumentation were the following: The Vatican was strongly opposed to the Soviet Union during the war. The Vatican is theocratic in nature. The Vatican meddles in international politics and has a political role through the existence of diplomats/papal nuncios. The Vatican's diplomats include representatives from the "bourgeois" Lithuania. The Vatican has a strongly organised political "apparatus" in every country which informs the Pope of all Catholic activities. In 1943, the Vatican had strived for a "peaceful compromise" to end the war, which can only be interpreted as support for Hitler's fascism. Pope Pius XII, in his papal letters, is calling for forgiveness for the wrong-doings of Hitler's Germany, and the Vatican has always expressed a "dislike" for the Slavic nations of Eastern Europe, and specifically for Eastern orthodoxy.

The strategy involved discrediting the Pope and Roman Catholicism, following which the initiative group, comprised of "orthodox Catholics", would propose an alliance with the Russian Orthodox Church. Karpov and Poliansky then planned to discredit the opposition. Dr. Hryhoriy Kostelnyk, a member of the delegation sent by Metropolitan Slipyj to Stalin, was to be discredited because of an article he had written in 1933 entitled "Napoleon and Stalin", which was published in "Meta". In 1934, the same newspaper published his sermon at a memorial service for the millions who died during Stalin's forced famine in Ukraine. Excerpts from the articles would be used to discredit Kostelnyk.

Needless to say, it was Kostelnyk who was the most demanding and asked the difficult questions during the meeting with Poliansky in Moscow. At the meeting, the NKVD officers saw that Kostelnyk was a suitable candidate to influence and lead the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Furthermore, he had consistently and vigorously stated the legal and juridical arguments for the Ukrainian Catholic Church's right to exist.

Another member of the delegation, I. Vilhovyi, on the other hand, had tried to bend over backwards to accommodate the Soviet authorities. Vilhovyi had requested permission to form a group which would give financial and moral support to wounded Soviet Army war veterans. Permission was, however, denied.

In the meantime, the NKVD was busy instigating artificial conflicts between the Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

One of the most “extensive” accounts of this forced “unification” of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church can be found in the book “Diyania Soboru Hreko-Katolytskoyi Tserkvy 8-10 bereznya 1946 roku u Lvovi” (The Sobor of the Ukrainian [Greek] Catholic Church March 8-10 1946 in Lviv). It was compiled and published by the NKVD. On page 13, the authors cynically note that only the truth is written in this book.

In 1946 signs of the first post-war spring could be seen on the streets of Lviv. They did not, however, bring the anticipated hope of revival for millions of believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine. The liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the foundations of which were laid by Stalin, was underway, the blame for which would be placed directly on the initiative group of Ukrainian Catholic clergy.

Although Soviet historians and scholars claimed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had ceded its right to exist, the documents mentioned in this article clearly indicate that the initiative group was set up by the NKVD.

This group was formed in Lviv on May 28, 1945. It consisted of Rev. Dr. Kostelnyk, Rev. Dr. M. Melnyk, and Rev. Plevetskyi. The aim of the group was as follows, “Our church now finds itself in a state of flux and disorganisation. This situation has negative effects on our church life. That is why we, the undersigned, have decided to lead our church out of a state of anarchy”.

On May 28, 1945, the initiative group asked to be acknowledged officially. This in itself indicates that there was anarchy in the church. Why? Because the initiative group was created by the NKVD. On April 11, 1945, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and Bishops Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnetskyi, Hryhoriy Khomyshyn and Ivan Latsyshevskyi were arrested. Their guilt was established without a trial.

With the help of the NKVD, an interview with the head of the initiative group, Kostelnyk, was printed in “Lvivska Pravda” on March 1, 1946, in which he stated that the leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had been arrested for collaboration with the Germans and had been convicted by a Military Tribunal. Ukrainian Catholics, believing that justice would prevail, wrote a petition to Molotov. Many were later arrested and sent to concentration camps. The Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground in Ukraine. After many years of torture and imprisonment, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was released from the Soviet gulags and continued to head the Ukrainian Catholic Church in exile as Patriarch. He resided in Rome until his death in 1984.

In the diaspora the Ukrainian Catholic Church remained vibrant. The many believers in Ukraine who gathered in forests and private homes to worship must always be remembered for their undying spirit and their refusal to sell out to the Soviet authorities.

YOUNGER THAN SPRINGTIME

By Ralph G. Bennett M.D.

When I close my eyes and remember my grandmother, not only can I see her face clearly in my mind's eye, but I can also hear her voice. Her favourite song, in her later years, was "Younger than Springtime" from the musical "South Pacific". This I always thought to be a bit ironic since Grandma was one of the lucky ones who lived to be an old lady indeed. At the time that I became interested in learning about my family's history, Grandma was in her late 80s and living in a nursing home. Yet, she still presented a very dramatic appearance: bewigged ("To hide my thinning hair", she said) and wearing dense white face powder ("To hide all the wrinkles!"). To me, she looked like a "spin-off" of the grooming style of Queen Elizabeth I! Although she was physically frail, her memory was as "sharp as a tack" and she could recall details that occurred sixty and seventy years ago as if they had happened yesterday. She, at first reluctantly and then more and more openly, revealed her secrets. I was surprised to find out so many details of her background that I never knew before.

One fact I knew for sure, which I had heard repeated by Grandma Sunja all through my childhood, was that she was the youngest, in her family, of the fourteen children who had lived to adulthood. She was born in the town of Monasteryshche in Ukraine. In later years when I was trying to pin down exactly her point of origin, I discovered, to my consternation, that the town's name meant "the little city of the monastery" and was the name given to innumerable small villages throughout Ukraine. So exactly which Monasteryshche it is that Grandma hailed from, I have never been able to figure out definitely. The essential point of her story was that the custom, in those days, was for the girls in the family to get married in the order in which they had been born. Because of this, there was great pressure for an arranged marriage to be consummated for an older sister when a younger one had a beau.

Ralph G. Bennett M.D. first became interested in the history of his family when he discovered that his roots spanned at least five countries. From genealogy his interests over the years have broadened to involve scholarly study in a number of other areas as well. Dr. Bennett has written numerous articles concerning medical subjects, history, genealogy, art history and economics. His work has been accepted for publication in the United States and six other countries and has been translated into four languages. Dr. Bennett is a physician whose practice encompasses Dermatology and Allergy in Hayward, California, (a suburb of San Francisco) — but only when he is not collecting dead relatives!

Because Grandma had been the youngest, she was the only one on whom there was no great parental pressure for marriage. This was a fact that could not have been more in agreement with Sunja's plans. Considering the time and place in which she was born, she was a young woman engaged in extraordinarily progressive thinking with a great passion for singing. She hoped, against all odds, to use her fine soprano voice as an entree into a glamorous operatic career. In that way she hoped to escape her sleepy village. She day-dreamed endlessly about the glamorous high time in Kyiv or even Moscow or St. Petersburg! She had seen her older sisters led off, one by one, to the altar by her parents, thenceforth to spend their lives with big bellies from repeated pregnancies and to pass the days working on the farms or in the shops of Ukraine. That wasn't to Sunja's taste at all! She was the rebel who pined for an independent life of her own away from the sleepy and provincial town of her birth.

All of that changed somewhat when a troupe of strolling players came to town to present their travelling dramatic production and Sunja found herself smitten by one of the young actors named Vasylii. The troupe was only in town for a few days. Sunja, a buxom, star-struck young woman at that point, managed to catch Vasylii's eye and extract from him a promise that he would write to her from the various cities on his itinerary. How she wished that she could join his band of players! How glamorous it would be to dress up in costumes and make-up and travel all over the country singing, dancing and emoting drama! Of course, her parents were horrified. This was not at all the sort of young man they had in mind for one of their daughters! Everyone knew that a young girl needed a stalwart, stable husband who could provide for her. An actor? Rubbish!

The years passed and, amazingly, letters from Vasylii did occasionally arrive. Sunja continued to dream of him and of forging her own career on the stage. Her parents kept suggesting eligible young men, but she brushed them aside. "I'm the youngest", she said, "There's no rush for me to marry. Besides, I'm too busy taking singing lessons!" and she would put them off until they stopped nagging, if only temporarily.

Whatever fantasies Sunja harboured were dashed by the onset of World War I. Suddenly, the country was plunged into pandemonium. There was no way now that she could escape Monasteryshche. Young men were being drafted into the army and everyone was paralysed by fear of impending attack. Somehow, despite all the disorganisation and chaos, a letter came though from Vasylii. He wrote that he had decided to leave the country in order to avoid conscription. Sunja wondered where he would go and day-dreamed about someday joining him. He was her idol and the more her parents and sisters made fun of her aspirations, the more she clung to them. But the war was not the only glitch in Sunja's romantic fantasies. Just after the war ended, the Communist Revolution began.

Grandma always referred to the Communists as the Bolsheviks. On the night an army of them invaded her village and began to murder all the townspeople, she was

having dinner with the family of her married sister, Oksana. When they heard screaming in the street, they became panic-stricken. From the windows, they could see that a rowdy mob of strange young men were shooting at the townspeople. Some of their neighbours were being hung in the streets that were awash with blood! But Sunja had an idea. She was the only one of the family who knew how to speak true Russian because of her dramatic training; all the others spoke Ukrainian. Quickly, she made her sister and brother-in-law and all of their children hide in the attic. Then, alone, she prepared to face the soldiers who were banging on the front door. With perfect Russian diction, she greeted them, “Zdravstvuite, Tovarish” (“Greetings, Comrade”). The soldiers were surprised to find a real “Russian” woman in this Ukrainian town. However, being quick on her feet, she explained that she had come from a poor family and had hired herself out as a maid-servant. “But where are the master and lady of the house?” the soldiers wanted to know. “Oh”, lied Sunja, “they’ve been away on a business trip. Come, Comrades, and have a glass of tea!” Thus, it was that she distracted and entertained the troops. Finally, they left so that her sister’s family was, of all the households in the district, virtually the only one that escaped unharmed.

After this frightening incident, all the others prayed to God and “thanked their lucky stars” that they had been spared. But Sunja could not join them in their complacent faith that God would look after them nor could she resume life as usual. She was now determined to leave. But where would she go and how could a single young woman escape alone from those tumultuous times in the country? Her family would never allow such a thing. Secretly, she made preparations to steal away at night.

As a child, I had heard vague stories as to how my grandmother, of all the members of her family, had managed to escape, alone, from her war-torn revolutionary country. The details had been quite sketchy but now I finally learned directly from Grandma something of her experiences. Somehow, she had made her way to Riga, Latvia, hoping to board a ship that would bring her to England where she was sure that she could track down Vasyliy. At Riga, the ships were crowded with waiting lists stretching months ahead of refugees all of whom were in hopes of better lives in Western Europe and in the New World. Finally, she set off overland again and eventually boarded a ship at Danzig that would take her west to follow her dreams. Time was passing for her with agonising slowness but, finally, the shores of Britannia were in sight! Once she arrived, she found a Ukrainian community gathering there and inquired as to Vasyliy’s whereabouts. To her horror, she discovered that, only a few weeks before, he had boarded a ship bound across the Atlantic for New York City. Her money was gone and, although the thought of travelling all the way to the New World was very frightening to her, she decided that she had to continue. She got work as a seamstress and lived practically on “air

and water” until she had accumulated enough money for the passage. Finally, one day in 1921, she boarded the SS Astoria in Liverpool bound for New York.

I had never realised the extent to which she and the other refugees, streaming out of Europe, had suffered in those years. In my mind, I had always pictured her flight to freedom as being imbued with a kind of radiant, charmed magic, like in an adventure story. It was only recently, in fact, that I read a book about what conditions were really like at that time. My research revealed that, at the turn of the last century, Liverpool, along with Rotterdam, Bremen and Southampton, was a major port for the exodus of refugees from Eastern Europe. In the book “Days of Our Years”, Pierre van Paassen, who grew up in those times, described a typical scene. He wrote how, at the age of ten he saw all of the immigrants passing through on their way to the new land of freedom:

“Thousands... were waiting to board ships for the great unknown. It was evening when we arrived on the wharves. In the sheds, by the unsteady light of a few petrol lamps, we could see that mass of fugitives lying or sitting on their bales and sacks of baggage. Infants wailed. Young girls shrieked in their sleep. Old men were sitting forlornly in the open doorways, staring with unseeing eyes at the river which at that hour was sprinkled with silver by the last rays of a sinking sun. Most of these people were in rags. Hunger and long years of destitution had left an ashen imprint on their faces. There was an air of hopeless impotence about their movements; a dumb defeatist resignation, almost unhuman. We learned that many of the emigrants had not eaten for days. Others had spent their last kopecks in buying bread in local bakeries. Naturally, certain charitable organizations had done their utmost to relieve the distress, but their resources had proved inadequate. Every arrival from the east brought new contingents of poverty-stricken starvelings who had invested their last resources in a steamship ticket”.

Somehow she had made it! Once ashore in New York, Grandma again put out feelers amongst the Ukrainian community, hoping to track down Vasylii. All the while that she had been sailing across the ocean, she had hoped against hope that he would stay in New York and not set out for some outpost still farther west. What supreme delight she felt when she discovered that he still had a New York address. But this feeling of elation soon turned to despair when she discovered that Vasylii had met a girl during his sojourn in England, had fallen in love with her and, as soon as they arrived in New York, they had married. So there was Sunja, destitute, alone, and far from the comforting circle of family and friends. However, the people among the Ukrainian community who had gathered in New York were friendly to her. Within just a few months, America had accomplished for her what she had striven so hard to avoid back home: she had met a kind, gentle man, (my grandfather to be), they were married, and she was pregnant with my mother). She settled down to a life of domesticity, into a safe refuge from the long struggle and from her many disappointments. She had come to America with dreams of

becoming a great opera singer and of finding her true love. Instead, as it was with so many other hopefuls, fate led her elsewhere; she became a housewife who indulged her fantasies by singing at family gatherings.

Why had no one in my family ever heard the details of this romantic story before? A large part of it was Sunja's embarrassment at revealing that she had married my grandfather "on the rebound". Also, she had given up her chance of an independent career of her own and, upon reflection, it seemed to her that she had forsaken her aspirations just when she had arrived in the place where fulfilment of them was possible. That was typical "Grandma" thinking — always dreaming of a scenario far removed from practical reality and, yet, somehow rising to the occasion whenever a real crisis threatened.

Later, as I continued delving into the unknown details of my family's past, I discovered yet another reason for Grandma's reticence. It turned out that she was somewhat older than her husband and this she regarded as a great secret, to be repressed at all cost! As I was doing my genealogical research and began unearthing actual documents, I found, to my surprise, that in her panic to conceal her true age, she had adopted the "subtraction method". With each successive document that had to be filled out (her age on arrival in America, her marriage certificate, her nationalisation, the birth of each new child) she had subtracted a year or two so that, instead of getting older, she was actually getting younger! However, she had made the mistake of telling me the year that my grandfather had arrived in the United States and his age at that time, so I was able to calculate that he was born in 1889. Some further mathematics indicated that she was actually born in 1883, which meant that, although she readily admitted to being 85, at the time (1981) could it be... was she really in her late 90s? No! She absolutely denied it and she accused me of entrapping her by asking her questions about her family's past!

Yet I am sure that, when she died in 1983, she was over 100 years of age. I thank her now, as I did then, for revealing her secrets and telling me about the previously unknown and romantic heritage of my family, and all about her adventures in the far-off world of Ukraine so many years ago.

THREE TOWNS OF THE RUS PEOPLE (Old Hypotheses Revised)

By Sergij E. Maksimov

Today, with rapid political, social and economic changes taking place in Ukraine, certain historical concepts which used to dominate in the past are being revised. The origins of the Old Rus¹ people, who subsequently evolved into the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian nations, is one of such concepts.

For a long time it was the Norman theory of the origin of the Rus tribe that was recognised by official Russian and Soviet historiography. According to this theory the Rus people were of Scandinavian origin and arrived on the territory of present day Ukraine and Russia in the middle of the 9th century AD with the parties of Norman adventurers who were bound by a vow (*var*) and known as *Warings* or *Variags* (*Varangians*). The Viking *Rurik* settled on the *Volkhov* river in Northern Russia and his successor *Oleg* eventually occupied and ruled the capital of the *Poljane* tribe — *Kyiv*. This was the origin of the Old Rus' state.

Prof. A.A. *Shakhmatov* put forward another theory concerning the identity of the Rus tribe in 1916. It is still shared by some researchers today. This theory associates the Rus or Variags with *Frangs* or *Franks* through a rather obscure transformation *Frang* > *Varang*. The evidence used to support this thesis is the name *Ruthenia*, which applies to a certain territory in France, and the name *Rusyny* adopted by a group of *Transcarpathian* Ukrainians in the west of Ukraine.

However, according to Old Rus (Ukrainian) chronicles, the name Rus was

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¹ There are at least four ways of writing the name of the Rus' people. I use all four forms, though with different historical connotations. "Rus" (or "Ros") is a commonly used form in Ukrainian historical sources with reference to the tribe which existed before the 10th century AD; "Rus'" is mostly applied to the *Kyivan Rus'* state, and "Rūs" shows the way this name was pronounced by the Arab and Persian merchants.

known long before the so-called "invitation of the Variags", and most Arab and Persian texts clearly differentiate the Rūs and the Ṣaqlāb (Slavs).

In this article I avoid the "northern" and "western" theories and try to prove that the Rus people were of Slavonic origin, that they moved from the Dnipro river marshlands of Central Ukraine and intermixed with the Ṣaqlāb tribe. To substantiate my theory I use evidence from Arab and Persian geographies, but mostly data from the "Ḥudūd al-'Ālam" ("The Regions of the World"), discovered by Russian orientalist A.G. Toumansky in Bukhara in 1892 and first published in the original by V.V. Barthold in 1930.² The entire text has never been translated either into Russian, or into Ukrainian. There is only a rather obscure Russian translation of two small chapters referring to the Rūs and Ṣaqlāb people by Toumansky himself³ and a "free reproduction" of the same portions in the books written by B.N. Zakhoder and B.A. Rybakov.⁴ In this article all references are made to the English version of the text translated from Persian by V. Minorsky.⁵

Arab and Persian geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries AD wrote about "three towns of the Rūs" on the river Rūs (Dnipro): Kūyāba, S.lāba and Urtāb.⁶ B.A. Rybakov associates them with Kyiv, Perejaslav and Roden'.⁷ This is convincing as far as Kyiv is concerned, the only uncertainty being the reference to Kūyāba as "lying nearest to the Islamic lands", which, however, can be understood metaphorically, as eastern merchants often compared Kyiv for its beauty and wealth with Constantinople.

² See V.V. Barthold, "Ḥudūd al-'Ālam. Rukopis' Toumanskogo s vvedenijem i ukazatelem V. Barthol'da", Leningrad, 1930.

³ See A. Toumansky, "Novootkrytyj persidskij geograf X stoletija i izvestija ego o slavjanakh i russakh", St. Petersburg, 1896.

⁴ See B.N. Zakhoder, "Kaspijskij svod svedenij o Vostočnoj Evrope", Moscow, 1967, vol. 2; B.A. Rybakov, "Kievskaja Rus' i russkije knjazhestva", Moscow, 1982.

⁵ V. Minorsky, "Ḥudūd al-'Ālam. The Regions of the World. A Persian geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.", London, 1937.

⁶ "Ḥudūd al-'Ālam" (p. 159) reads as follows:

1. Kūyāba (? Kūbāba, &c.) is the town [land?] of the Rūs lying nearest to the Islamic lands. It is a pleasant place and is the seat of the king. It produces various furs (*māy*) and valuable swords.

2. S.lāba, a pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade (? *bā bāzurgāni āyand*) to the districts of Bulghār.

3. Urtāb, a town where strangers are killed whenever they visit it. It produces very valuable blades and swords which can be bent in two (*ū rā du tāh tavān kardan*), but as soon as the hand is removed they return to their former state.

⁷ See Rybakov, op. cit., p. 233-234.

S.lāba, however, can not be associated with Perejaslav for several reasons. Many researchers of Arab and Persian geographies believe that their authors were using data collected much earlier than the actual time they compiled their geographies. B.A. Rybakov⁸ and V.V. Barthold,⁹ for instance, write that the main source of information used in compiling the geographies dates back to not later than the first half of the 9th century AD, though the anonymous author of “Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam” undoubtedly used some of the later data. Perejaslav is first mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 907.¹⁰ However, at that time it could hardly have been a town large enough to be mentioned by geographers. Under the year 992, describing the battle with the Pechenegs, the Chronicle reads as follows: “Volodymer went against them and met them and on the Trubesh on the ford, where Perejaslavl’ is now”.¹¹ The word ‘нынѣ’ (“now”) used in the text implies that “there was no Perejaslavl’ there before” or that “Perejaslavl’ appeared there quite recently”. Further on the text describes how “Volodymer [...] started a town on that ford and called it Perejaslavl’”,¹² which can be interpreted as the beginning of the building of fortifications around the town. The semantics of the ‘перѣ-’ (“pere-”) prefix in Perejaslavl’ also indicates the relative “unimportance” of this name.

So where should we look for S.lāba? The most likely location seems to be the Zarub hill-fort, which is situated on the right bank of the Dnipro river directly opposite the modern town of Perejaslavl’-Khmel’nyts’kyj. The distance between the two is 10 kilometres. The hill-fort was excavated in the 1970s and 1980s by the expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences led by Dr. Evgen V. Maksimov and Valentyna A. Petrashenko.¹³ It lies on a high (about 100 metres) and steep hill over the Dnipro directly above one of the oldest fords across the river known from the Chronicle as Zarub ford. The excavations and the large collection of artifacts discovered at the site show a very clear picture of the rise and fall of a proto-town which existed for three thousand years as several successive settlements on top of the hill.

The first settlement of Indo-European tribes dates back to 3000 BC (Trypil’s’ka culture). This was followed by the Bronze Age settlement of the second

⁸ See Rybakov, op. cit., p. 192.

⁹ See Barthold, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁰ See “Polnoe Sobranie russkikh letopisej”, Moscow, 1962, vol. 1, p. 31.

¹¹ See ibid, p. 122. The Chronicle reads as follows: «Володимерь же поиде противу имъ и срете и на Трубешни ни бродѣ, кде нынѣ Переяславль».

¹² See ibid, p. 124. The Chronicle reads as follows: «Володимерь ... заложи город на бродѣ томѣ наре и Переяславль».

¹³ See E.V. Maksimov, V.A. Petrashenko, “Slavjanskije pamjatniki u s. Monastyrek na Srednem Dnepre”, Kyiv, 1988.

millennium BC (Serednjodniprovs'ka culture), and later by a fort built over it by the Proto-Slavonic tribe of Ploughman-Scythians (6th-3rd centuries BC). The Scythian hill-fort was rebuilt and expanded by the early-Slavonic tribe of the Early Iron Age (Zarubynets'ka culture) of the 3rd century BC-second century AD, followed by a proto-town of the Slavonic Poljane tribe (8th-9th centuries AD), which finally regressed into a small but well-fortified fortress of the Kyivan Rus' period (10th century AD-13th century AD) known from the Chronicle as Zarub.¹⁴ The function of the latter was primarily military — to control the ford on the Dnipro river, one of the main trade and military routes connecting the Slavonic and the eastern world. (In comparison, the description in *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*: "S.lāba is a pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade to the districts of Bulgar", i.e. to the Ātil, or Volga, river districts).

Therefore the name S.lāba (or, perhaps, *Slavija, as B.A. Rybakov suggests) referred to the proto-town of the Poljane (8th-9th centuries AD), which was gradually losing its economic significance as it was situated in the isolated territory of the "Zarub Triangle" — an area of heavy geological displacements and difficult access from the "mainland" known as the Kaniv Hills. In this period Perejaslavl' came into being on the flat left-bank of the ford, rapidly developing into a mediaeval town causing S.lāba-*Slavija to regress into a small fortress controlling the ford. A monastery known from the Chronicle as Zarub Monastery was built nearby in the 10th century AD¹⁵ and both existed for three hundred years until they were eventually burnt down by the Tatars in the 13th century.

The area around the Zarub ford had attracted people for a long time. This is shown by numerous archaeological evidence some of which is of particular interest

¹⁴ The name "Zarub" (za- + -rub-) in the 10th century meant "a fortification which was cut from wood" or, perhaps, "a boundary, a border-line". It is interesting to draw a linguistic parallel with the name of the river Trubizh on the left-bank of the ford across the Dnipro, which has exactly the same root -rub- but is preceded by the letter t- which alters its meaning to "truba" (a "pipe", "tube", or a "groove", "rut" flooded with water). There was also another name for the location of the Zarub hill-fort. This name — "Summy", which survived through the centuries, means "pipes" in Ukrainian, i.e. is a Ukrainian translation of the plural form "truba". This name was registered by M.K. Karger ("Razvaliny Zarubskogo monastyrja i letopisnyj gorod Zarub", "Sovetskaja Arkheologija", vol. 13, 1950, p. 60-61) and by the expedition of Maksimov and Petrashenko, who recorded that the local people use that name with reference to the whole area of the former ford which was flooded by the waters of the Kaniv reservoir on the Dnipro in 1973. All the three names obviously form a semantic cluster and are associated with the ford. Thus, in Ukrainian "sumyty (i.e. "to make the sound of the pipe") is applied to waters running swiftly over stones or pebbles, and the notion of the tube could be applied to the whole water route running across the Dnipro and then along the Trubizh, which formed a natural border-line on the terrain.

¹⁵ See M.K. Karger, op. cit.

to us. This is a huge earth wall which almost completely surrounds this territory and stretches for 7 kilometres on the hilly right bank of the Dnipro between the former villages of Trakhtemyriv and Zarubyntsi. It was depopulated after the Kaniv reservoir was built on the Dnipro in 1973, "cutting off" the territory of the "Zarub Triangle" from the mainland. On the flat left bank it circles the modern town of Perejaslavl'-Khmel'nyts'kyj and several neighbouring villages for almost 70 kilometres and is known as the "Velykyj (Great) Karatul' Wall" (after the name of one of the villages). It is from 2 to 5 metres high with a ditch 3-4 metres wide on the outer side. The numerous artifacts discovered on and around the wall, as well as the structure of the wall itself, indicate that it was built between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, i.e. in the period of the Ploughman-Scythians. This wall is described by many authors who were collecting information about the so-called "Zmiev (Snake's) Walls", which stretch for hundreds of kilometres to the south-west of Kyiv. Unlike these walls, which were presumably built in the Kyivan Rus' period, the Trakhtemyriv and Karatul' walls are among the earliest earth fortifications in the Central Dnipro area (see map).

The third of the Rūs towns is Urtāb, which B.A. Rybakov associates with the town of Roden', described by the Chronicle as one situated at the mouth of the Ros' river to the south of Kaniv. There are two possible locations for Urtāb. One is a hill-fort of the 12th-13th centuries excavated by G.G. Mezentseva on the Knjazha (Prince's) Hill near Pekari village to the south of modern Kaniv,¹⁶ and the other — a settlement of the 10th-11th centuries in the village of Pekari itself.¹⁷ The latter seems to be the most likely location, being the earliest of the two.

What are the linguistic parallels between Urtāb and Roden'? Below is one hypothesis.

To the south of the Ros' river mouth, beyond the Moshnogirja Hills (another area of geological displacements), there lies the very large Irdyn' bog, where the Irdyn' river — an affluent of the Tjasmin river, originates. There are quite reasonable grounds to consider both the Irdyn' bog and the river, as well as Tjasmin itself remnants of an ancient branch or gulf of the Dnipro. This does not contradict the geological structure of the area and the relief of the Irdyn' valley. L. Pokhilevich writes that in 1820 people found the bow of a big ship and an anchor in a lake near Bilozirja village, which "proves that the lake was a gulf of the Dnipro in ancient times or that Tjasmin, with which the lake is connected by the Irdyn' bog, was once navigable".¹⁸

¹⁶ See G.G. Mezentseva, "Davnjorus'ke misto Roden'. Knjazha gora", Kyiv, 1968.

¹⁷ See P.P. Tolochko, "Kiev i Kievskaja zemlja v epokhu feodal'noj razdroblennosti XII-XIII stoletij", Kyiv, 1980, p. 149-150.

¹⁸ See L. Pokhilevich, "Skazanija a naselennykh mestnostjakh Kievskoj gubernii", Kyiv, 1864, p. 615.

Further evidence is the name of Svydivok village in the upper part of the hypothetical branch, which I believe has a common stem with the name of another village, Suvyd, which lies beside the mouth of the Desna river — left affluent of the Dnipro to the north of Kyiv. O.M. Trubachev¹⁹ reconstructs Suvyd as *Sovodk — “a place where waters meet”, and associates it with Σαμβάτας — a name for Kyiv used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Thus, the branch of the Dnipro which ran along the Irdyn´ valley can be associated with the river Rütā mentioned by Arab and Persian geographers, which flows in the south of the Rus country.²⁰ B.A. Rybakov associates Rütā with the Oka river.²¹ This is unlikely as the Oka flows not to the south, but to the north-east, i.e. outside the boundaries of the Rūs territory.

I.M. Zhelezniak, in her book on the hydronyms of the Ros´ basin, suggests that hydronyms with a **rut/rud** stem originate from the Indo-European *rou-, *reu-, *ru- (“to tear”, “to dig”). Hydronyms like Ruta, Ruda, therefore, mean “a low place, a rut flooded with water”.²² Broadly speaking Arab and Persian merchants could have referred to the whole trade route which ran from the Central Dnipro area and then further along the rivers Tjasmin, Ingul and Ingulets´ as “Ruta” because the Dnipro was not navigable in the area of the rapids.

¹⁹ See O.N. Trubachev, ‘Jazykoznanije i etnogenez slavjan. Drevnije slavjane po dannym etymologii i onomastiki’. In: “Voprosy Jazykoznanija”, 5, 1982, p. 15.

²⁰ The *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* (p. 75-76) describes the rivers of the *Ṣaqlāb* and Rūs countries as follows:

44. Another river is that of the Rūs which rises from the interior of the *Ṣaqlāb* country and flows on in an eastern direction until it arrives at the Rūs limits. Then it skirts the confines (*bar Ḥudūd*) of Urtāb, S.lāba, and Kūyāfa, which are the towns of the Rūs, and the confines of Khifjākh. Then it changes its direction and flows southwards to the limits of the Pechenegs (*ba .Ḥudūd Bachanāk*) and empties itself into the river Ātil.

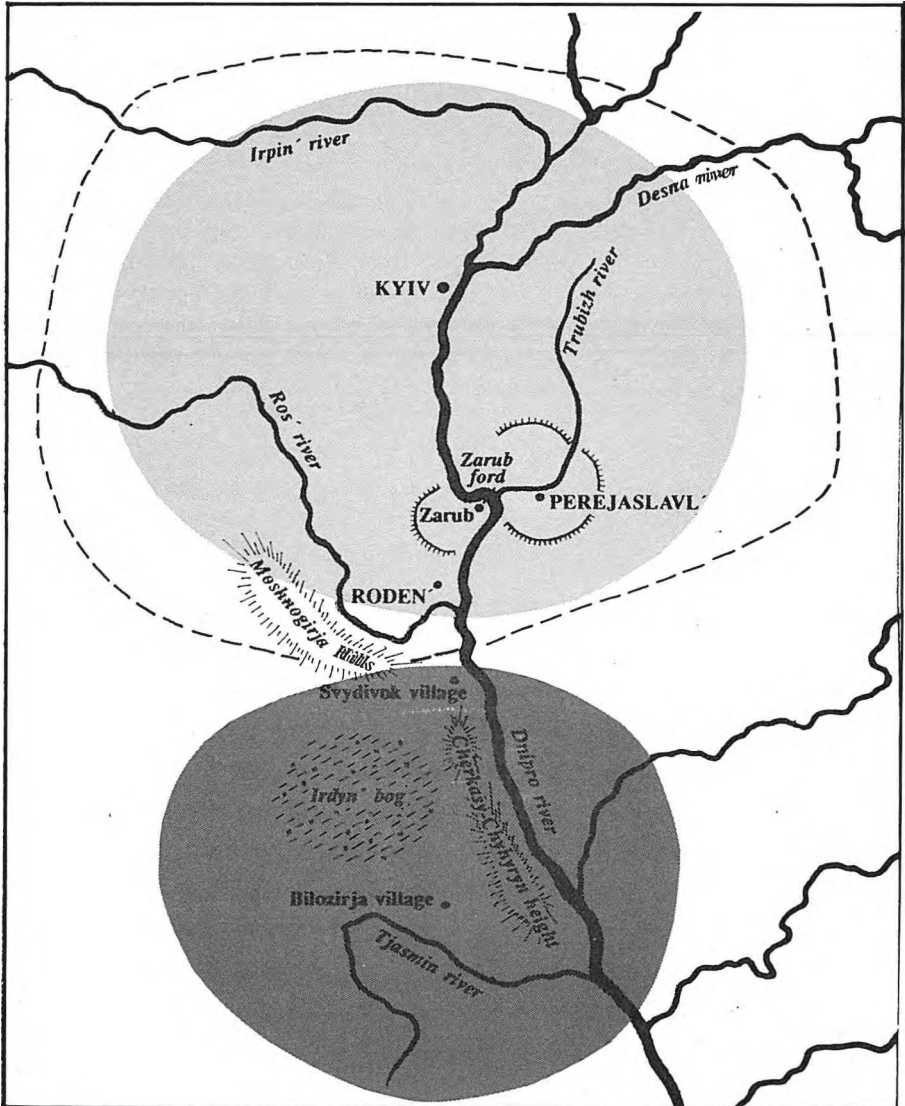
45. Another river is the Rütā (?) which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier (*sarhadd*) between the Pechenegs, the Majghāri, and the Rūs. Then it enters the Rūs limits (*andar miyāna-yi hadd-i Rūs*) and flows to the *Ṣaqlāb*. Then it reaches the town Khurdāb belonging to the *Ṣaqlāb* and is used in their fields and meadows.

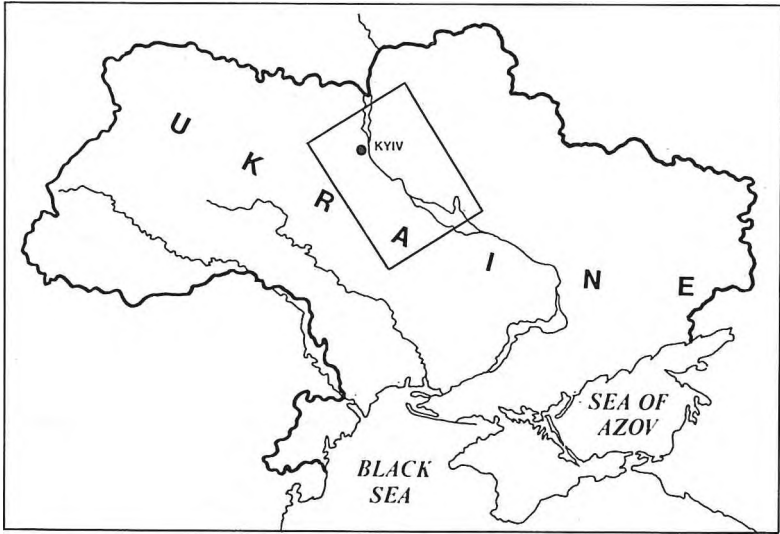
The statement that the Rūs (Dnipro) river empties itself into the Ātil (Volga) is definitely wrong. This confusion may have arisen because the Eastern merchants may have used the Dnipro (Rūs) — Irdyn´ — Tjasmin-Ingul-Ingulets´ (Rütā) water route for the reasons stated in the article. Further on describing the Rūs country *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* (p. 159) reads as follows: East of this country are the mountains of the Pechenegs; south of it, the river Rütā; west of it, the *Ṣaqlābs*; north of it, the Uninhabited Lands of the North.

²¹ See B.A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

²² See I.M. Zhelezniak, “Ros´ i etnolingvistychni protsesy serednjonaddiprjans´kogo pravoberezhzja”, Kyiv, 1987, p. 117.

Ethnic and Cultural Map of the Central Dnipro Area in the 5th-9th Centuries AD





Territory occupied by the integrated Poljane and Rus tribes in the 8th-9th centuries AD



Prague-Pen'kivka culture of the 5th-8th centuries AD (the Rus)



Poljane culture of the 5th-8th centuries AD (the Saqlāb)



Ploughman-Scythian ground walls round Zarub and Perejaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyj

A parallel can be drawn between the *Irdyn'* and *Urtāb* assuming that all three names had a common origin. B.A. Rybakov associates *Urtāb* (Roden) with the Slavonic deity "Rod" in whose name human (i.e., "bloody", "red") sacrifices were made.²³ So we can assume that in the early period of their formation the above names underwent mutual semantic influence, which led to their phonetic transformations.²⁴

It is also clear where we should look for the town of *Khurdāb*, which is reached by the *Rūtā* river, and which belongs to the Slavs according to *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*.²⁵ The following explanations are possible:

1) *Khurdāb* is a 'distorted' form of *Urtāb* (Roden). This most probably occurred because the anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* wrote his manuscript after the Rus and Poljane tribes had already become intermixed.

2) *Khurdāb* has not yet been discovered by archaeologists, who should look for it in the lower Tjasmin region, where there are numerous settlements of the Prague-Pen'kivka culture.²⁶

The above conclusion enables us to look for the mysterious island on which the *Rūs* people used to live according to Arab and Persian sources. A description of this island is an essential issue in the discourse about the *Rūs* in all Arab and Persian geographies²⁷ except *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, where the *Rūs* territory is said to include Kyiv.

I believe there are good reasons to associate the Cherkasy-Chyhyryn height with the *Rūs* island. Broadly speaking, the boundaries of the territory occupied by the *Rūs* people stretched from the lower Ros' river basin in the north-west to the mouth of the Tjasmin river in the south-east. In the centre of this area lies the *Irdyn'* bog (former lake or branch of the Dnipro). The Dnipro itself is to the north-east. The whole area thus covers a piece of land 120 kilometres long and 60 kilometres wide (see map). Archaeological finds show that this territory was occupied by the so-

²³ See B.A. Rybakov, op. cit., p. 332-333.

²⁴ Compare Proto-Slavonic words *ryti ("to dig"); *rdeti < *rbd- < *rud with the Indo-European *reudh, *roudh ("red"); *rod ("birth"); *roditi ("to give birth"). See G.P. Tsyganenko, "Etimologicheskij slovar russkogo jazyka", Kyiv, 1970, p. 393, 399, 407. Compare also with Russian *rvat'* — *irvat'* and Ukrainian *rvaty* — *irvaty* (spoken) which means "to tear". See M. Fasmer, "Etimologicheskij slovar russkogo jazyka", Moscow, 1987, vol. 3, p. 452.

²⁵ See note 20.

²⁶ See O.M. Prikhodnjuk, "Arkheologichni pamjatky Serednjogo Podniprovsja v VI-IX st. n.e.", Kyiv, 1980, p. 12, fig. 1.

²⁷ The earliest mention of the *Rūs* island is in Ibn Rusta (approx. 903 AD): "And what about the *Rūs*, they are on an island, around it is a lake; the island they live on is three days of travel, there are thickets and dense forests there; the island is unhealthy, damp, if a man puts his foot on the ground, the ground starts to shake from dampness" (See B.N. Zakhodar, op. cit., p. 78). Other authors of that time provide similar descriptions of the island (See *ibid*, p. 78-81).

called Prague-Pen'kivka culture, which was based mainly between the mouths of the Ros' and Tjasmin rivers.²⁸

V.V. Sedov believes that the Prague-Pen'kivka culture was of Slavonic origin and associates it with the Slavonic branch called the "Antes", suggesting that "Antes and Slavs were separate tribes, which had their own chiefs and their own armies, and conducted independent political activities. The differences between them were mostly ethnographical, and in terms of language did not undergo further dialectical differentiation".²⁹

B.A. Rybakov directly associates the antiquities of the Ros' and Tjasmin basins with a "definite Slavonic tribe — Rus or Ros",³⁰ locating the Rūs island at the mouth of the Danube river where prince Svjatoslav of Kyiv settled in 967.³¹ It is, however, difficult to agree with this late dating of the island with a complete absence of any reference to it in *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, which was written in 982. It is clear from this text that its author, who undoubtedly used sources from a different time describing the towns of the Rūs people, saw the Rūs as a separate people both ethnically and territorially, differentiating them from other Slavonic tribes (*Ṣaqlāb*). Therefore, this geography was compiled when the formation of the early-Slavonic nation had been completed, i.e. "when in the eighth-ninth centuries the Poljane and the descendants of Ros had become completely intermixed and their former cultural differences had disappeared".³²

In summing up I would like to make the following conclusions.

It is interesting to compare this description of the Rūs island with the description of the Irdyn' bog area in the book by L. Pokhilevich (1864): "Rus'ka Poljana — a village, situated in the forested valley stretching between the Dnipro and Irdyn' bog, which was, perhaps, an old river-bed of one of the arms of the Dnipro" (See op. cit., p. 614-615). "Bilozirja — a settlement which lies over a considerably great lake which is called Bile. Thick forests start near the settlement and stretch westwards. Some time in 1820 a bow of a big ship and a ship anchor were found in that lake. This proves that the lake was a gulf of the Dnipro in ancient times or that Tjasmin, with which the lake is connected through the Irdyn' bog, was navigable" (See, *ibid.*, p. 615). "Pozhezha [...]. This is a very old village. It is situated in the marshland [...]. At the beginning of this century there was a lake over a versta long and wide on the southern edge of the village. In the middle of this lake, which is a swamp, almost dried up by now, there lies an island covered with forest; there is an old hill-fort on it" (See *ibid.*, p. 625).

²⁸ See V.V. Sedov, "Vostochnyje slavjane v VI-XII vekakh", Moscow, 1982, p. 20. Map 4; p. 31, Map 6.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁰ See B.A. Rybakov, op. cit., p. 83.

³¹ See *ibid.*, p. 348.

³² See V.V. Sedov, op. cit., p. 112.

By the 8th century AD the formation of Slavonic (Poljane) tribal centres — proto-towns in the Central Dnipro area between the Irpin' and Ros' rivers, had entered its final stage. The most prominent of these proto-towns were Kyiv in the north, Roden' in the south, and a town known from Arab and Persian sources as S.lāba (*Slavija) in the centre. This town was situated on the right-bank of a strategically important ford across the Dnipro river opposite the mouth of the Trubizh river, where its predecessors — settlements of the Trypilja culture, the Bronze Age, the Scythian and Zarubinets'ka early Slavonic cultures, had existed for about three thousand years.

With the rise of the Kyivan Rus' state, the result of the integration of two Slavonic tribes, i.e. the Poljane and Rus' (or Antes), the latter moving up the Dnipro from the Ros and Tjasmin river basins in Central Ukraine, the town of S.lāba lost its strategic significance because it was situated on a hilly and heavily broken terrain difficult to access from the flat-land. It was eventually burnt down and destroyed by the Pechenegs in the 10th century.³³

S.lāba's successor developed on the left-bank of the ford and was named Perejaslavl', i.e. the one which inherited S.lāba or *Slava, *Slavija (literally "inherited *Slava" is homonymous to "inherited glory" from its predecessor).

The right-bank hill-fort was rebuilt at the end of the 10th century as a small fortress whose military purpose was to control the ford on the river. It entered Rus (Ukrainian) chronicles as Zarub, giving its name both to the ford and the monastery which was built nearby.

The Zarub and Perejaslavl' complex, alongside two other centres — Kyiv in the north and Roden' in the south, played an important role in the cultural, religious, political and military life of Kyivan Rus' — the first state on the territory of contemporary independent Ukraine

³³ See V.A. Petraschenko, "Gorodishche Monastyryok VIII-X vekov v svete novykh issledovanij". In: "Zemli Juzhnoj Rusi v IX-XIV vekakh (Istorija i arkeologija)", Kyiv, 1985, p. 79.

"MY NEIGHBOURS WANT TO KILL ME..."
A Study of Ukraine During the Interwar Period
(Conclusion)

By Peter E. Lycholat

"The New York Times" reported in 1938 that, "... Europe will have no rest as long as there are oppressed nations".⁸⁴ This statement has remained true up to the 1990s when the East European political situation proved beyond a doubt that oppression and dictatorship have hounded the establishment of peace throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The inter-war history of Ukraine is similar to many other Soviet republics and East European countries and it is only now that the atrocities committed under oppression and dictatorship are becoming common knowledge. The continued struggle to invade, conquer and rule has demonstrated the real policies and self-interest of greedy neighbouring nations. As Alexander Shulgik makes quite clear, "... The fertility of Ukraine has throughout history been both its good fortune and the chief cause of its misfortunes in the form of countless invasions".⁸⁵ Ukraine has suffered and suffered severely. The Bolsheviks, since October 1917, always regarded Ukraine as a gateway to the West, through which the Bolshevik ideas of revolution and socialist ideology could sweep through Poland and perhaps influence the proletariat in the capitalist countries and trigger the proletarian "World Revolution". The Western powers such as Britain and France realised the significance of Ukraine as a gateway for Bolshevik ideas and thus allowed the Poles and Eastern Galicia to act as a buffer against the socialist onslaught against capitalism. Germany also regarded Ukraine as a gateway, although one that was not ideologically sound. The Germans wanted to compete with the British in trade and Ukraine was a door to the East. For many countries Ukraine has been an area they either desired to possess or feared. This explains the passivity of the Supreme Allied Council, the hostility of the Poles against potentially Bolshevik Ukrainians, and the severe Russian oppression in Eastern Ukraine, an area that was influenced by the independence movements originating in Western Ukraine.

⁸⁴ "The New York Times", December 10, 1938.

⁸⁵ Alexander Shulgik, "Ukraine and its Political Aspirations", *The Slavonic Review*, 13.

The Tsarist Empire remained practically intact after the Russian Revolution save for a new name. Force was used from the outset to subdue the Ukrainians, who being nationalists were immediately recognised as counter-revolutionaries and potential terrorists. It is not surprising that Ukrainian nationalists, fearing Soviet and Polish rule in the 1920s, accepted offers of foreign aid to resolve their plight. Unfortunately, German interest in Ukraine was detrimental. Germany was an exploiter which increased the threat posed by Ukrainian nationalism to Soviet unity, which rebounded on Ukraine in the form of further oppression. German interest in Ukraine (both Western and Eastern) was concerned primarily with creating a rift between Ukraine and the Soviet authorities with a view to preparing for a future conflict (possibly an "Operation Barbarossa" type invasion, during which Ukrainians would fight alongside the Germans against the Soviets). Ukraine was let down by Germany at Brest-Litovsk, ignored by the West at Versailles, and abused by Poland and Russia at Riga, and thereafter fell victim to colonisation and russification. Ukrainianisation, as a tactical ploy, was not the right way to resolve the ill feeling created through apathy and abuse. Harsh central control brought with it the policy of russification and all that it entailed: Collectivisation, Industrialisation, man-made famine, and show-trials.

Western Ukraine suffered as severely under Polish rule as its Eastern counterpart did under Soviet rule. The Polish government was grossly unjust in its treatment of the Ukrainian minority in the 1920s (as well as the German and Jewish minorities). It should never have been permitted to implement its suppressive and inhumane policies, which the League of Nations sanctioned until Germany complained about the treatment of the German minority in Polish-controlled Upper Silesia in 1930. Whereas the German minority had a protector, i.e. Germany, the Ukrainian minority had no powerful champion. Colonisation and russification ensured the emergence of the so-called "terrorist" activities. German interest encouraged Ukrainian nationalists and gave them the impetus and means to commence the terrorist campaign. Less-interested help would have been more beneficial to Ukraine, yet the Western policy towards East Europe in the late 1920s-early 1930s was to keep Germany and Russia in check, which involved maintaining the existing balance of power in the area, affecting the whole of Ukraine.

The Allied powers share part of the blame for the rise of Nazi Germany in the 1930s. In part the Nazi feeding of Ukrainian nationalist spirit and activity, which was well known to the Soviets in 1933 and was probably expected in the late 1920s, was responsible for Collectivisation and Industrialisation, whose purpose was to prepare the Soviet Union for the imminent war, to improve its defences, and to feed the people without the fear of famine.

The Soviets were extremely concerned about Germany's potential power to seize or form an alliance with Poland, and advance into Western Ukraine and then

Eastern Ukraine — the gateway to the heart of the Soviet Union. This perhaps explains the speed and severity of Collectivisation and Industrialisation. The quicker Ukraine was sovietised, the safer Moscow would feel. Postyshev was concerned only with breaking Ukrainian national spirit and reestablishing central control in the borderlands. The Russians were effectively "at war" with the Ukrainians over Collectivisation, thereby increasing Ukrainian national resentment.

The "Evening Telegram" in 1930 was astute enough to appreciate that, "... it must be impressed first of all that there are two different situations. The problem of the Ukrainians in Poland is external. That of the Ukrainians in Russia is internal. The hope of the Polish Ukrainians lies in an appeal to the League of Nations. That of the Ukrainians in Russia lies in a revolution".⁸⁶ The League of Nations was ineffective in dealing with the Polish-Ukrainian problem in the early 1930s perhaps because of the Depression in the West, the fear of potentially communist Ukrainians, and the general apathy of the West. This was typified by Neville Chamberlain in 1938 when speaking about the Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia, which can be applied to the disputes between the Poles and the Ukrainians, and the Soviets and the Ukrainians, "... a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing". The Ukrainian revolution came at the time of the German invasion, which gave the Ukrainians a liberator who very soon became an oppressor, and whose attitude was, as Hitler made clear in 1942, that the Russians (also implying Ukrainians), "... have but one justification for existence — to be of use to us economically".⁸⁷ This exploitative attitude characterises the thoughts of every neighbouring country which has ever tried to "take an interest" in Ukraine: Ukraine was simply "... to be of use".

Lenin spoke wise words in 1917 to which neither he, his party, nor future Soviet leaders adhered to: "... Force will not check the Ukrainians. It will only embitter them. Accede to the Ukrainians, and you will open the way to mutual confidence and brotherly union between the two nations on the basis of equality!".⁸⁸ The Commonwealth of Independent States is an attempt to realise Lenin's words. But can so many years of oppression really forge an all-forgiving Ukrainian nation. With this in mind can one expect the Commonwealth to succeed? It will be most interesting to see where Ukraine will be within the next ten years. There is much to do and although hundreds of years of Ukrainian history have been shaped by independence movements, now the emphasis will lie on living the dream, and maintaining it.

⁸⁶ "Evening Telegram", November 1, 1930 (Toronto).

⁸⁷ Table Talk, January 23, 1942.

⁸⁸ Lenin, "Pravda", No. 84, June 30 (17) 1917. "The Ukraine and the Defeat of the Ruling Parties of Russia". Collected Works, Vol. 25.

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Literature

**IVAN FRANKO —
A SELECTION OF POEMS**

Ivan Franko, a Ukrainian writer, scholar, critic, translator, journalist, political and civic activist, was born on August 27, 1856, in Nahuyevychi, Drohobych county, Western Ukraine.

Franko graduated from the Drohobych gymnasium in 1875 and began to study classical philology and the Ukrainian language and literature at Lviv University.

Franko's political and literary activities attracted the attention of the police, resulting in his arrest in 1877. After spending eight months in prison he resumed his political activities with even greater fervour.

Despite being forced to discontinue his university studies following his second arrest in 1880, Franko continued his studies, first at Chernivtsi University (1891), where he prepared a dissertation, and then at Vienna University, where on July 1, 1893, he defended a doctoral dissertation.

In 1894 Franko was appointed lecturer in the history of Ukrainian literature at Lviv University, but opposition from Galician reactionary circles prevented him from obtaining the chair of Ukrainian literature at the university.

He began his literary career with the romantic novel "Petriyi i Dovbushchuky" (1875) about Carpathian brigands.

He followed this with a series of stories depicting peasant life after the abolition of serfdom in Western Ukraine: "Lisy i pasovyska" (The Forests and Pasturelands), "Dobryi zarobok" (Good Earnings), "Slimak" (The Snail), "Muliar" (The Mason), and others. In these he described the widespread misery of his time, the way peasants were being forced to move to the towns and cities in order to earn a livelihood, and their hard struggle for existence.

Franko then turned to a new phenomenon in Western Ukraine: the Boryslav oil industry, in his novels "Boa Constrictor" (1878), "Boryslav smiyetsia" (Boryslav is Laughing, 1881), "Vivchar" (The Shepherd), and others. In these, Franko portrayed the rise of capitalism and its conflict with labour.

In another series "Na dni" (In the Depths, 1880), "Do svitla" (Towards the Light, 1890), and others, Franko drew on his own experiences of imprisonment.

Several sympathetic stories describing the life of school children are notable for their fine psychological analysis and warm humanity: "Malyi Myron" (Little Myron), "Hrytseva shkilna nauka" (Hryts' Schoolwork), "Olivets" (The Pencil), and others.

In such stories and novels as “Osnovy suspilnosti” (The Foundations of Society, 1895), “Dlia domashnoho ohnyshcha” (For the Home Hearth, 1897), “Hryts i panych” (Hryts and the Lordling, 1899), “Perekhresni stezhky” (Crossed Paths, 1900), “Batkivshchyna” (The Fatherland, 1904), “Soichyne krylo”, (The Jay’s Wing, 1905), “Velykyi shum” (The Big Noise, 1907), and others, Franko described the complex social and personal conflicts in the life of the large landowners and the new Ukrainian rural and urban intelligentsia, struggling for a place in society.

Franko’s early poetry was summed up in his celebrated collection “Z vershyn i nyzyn” (From the Heights and the Depths, 1887). “Zivyalc lystia” (Withered Leaves, 1896) and later collections also introduce a wide range of deeply lyrical poetry, richly varied in form. His chief narrative poem, “Panski zharty” (A Landlord’s Jests, 1887), paints a realistic portrait of peasant life, while his philosophical “Smert Kayina” (The Death of Cain, 1889) is a new and original treatment of a theme from world literature, e.g. Byron’s “Cain”. The poem “Moysey” (Moses, 1905) on the conflict between a leader and his people, which crowned Franko’s life-long creative work and summed up his ideological outlook, is a jewel of Ukrainian literature.

The works of Ivan Franko were a great achievement in Ukrainian 19th century literature. His prose alone includes over 100 short stories and dozens of novels. A prolific writer, he covered a vast range of subjects. Although basically a realist, in his social, psychological, satirical, and historical novels and stories, and in his poetry, Franko employed successively romantic, naturalist, impressionist, symbolist, and modernist devices. He also had an immense influence on the cultural, social and political life of Ukraine.

The wealth of subject matter in Franko’s work is paralleled by the extraordinary variety of genres he used: stories, narratives, sketches, satires (“Istoriya kozhukha” [A History of a Sheepskin Coat], “Svynska konstytutsia” [A Piggish Constitution], and others), social and historical novels, such as “Zakhar Berkut” (1883).

Ivan Franko died on May 28, 1916, in Lviv. Like Taras Shevchenko and Lesya Ukrainka, Franko is regarded as one of Ukraine’s greatest creative geniuses whose works enlightened and raised the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. The political poems, such as “Kameniari” (The Stone Hewers, 1878), “Vichnyi revoliutsioner” (The Eternal Revolutionary, 1880), and “Ne pora...” (This is not the Time..., 1880), he had written during the first period of his creative work became patriotic anthems and influenced the outlook of a whole generation.

In this issue of the journal we are publishing a selection of Ivan Franko’s political poems: “The Eternal Revolutionary” (which in this translation appears as “The Spirit of Revolt”), “The Stone Hewers”, “The Modern Haydamaky”, and “This is not the Time...”, translated into English by Vera Rich.

The Stone Hewers

(Kamieniari, 1878)

I saw a wondrous dream. It seemed as if before me
A wild and empty plain all boundlessly did lie,
And I, with a great chain of iron fettered sorely,
Stood 'neath a lofty crag of granite, towering o'er me,
And there were others, many thousand-fold, as I.

Life and its griefs had furrowed deep on every visage,
But in the eyes of each a fire of love yet glowed,
And round the arms of each were chains like serpents twisted,
The shoulders of each man were drooping, bowed and listless,
For each and all were weighted down by a dread load.

A heavy iron hammer each of them was holding,
A voice on high, like thunder, thundered mightily;
"Smite at the rock! Deterred neither by heat nor coldness!
Endure your labours, bear your thirst and hunger boldly,
To smash these cliffs to fragments is your destiny!"

Together one and all, raising our arms on high, we
Struck, and a thousand hammers sounded forth their note.
And on a thousand sides hurled shards and splinters flying,
We clove the crags apart. With forces ever vying,
Upon the rock-face time and time again we smote.

Like roar of waterfall, like sound of bloody battle,
So our hammers thundered, time and time again,
Span by span a foothold from the rock we grappled;

Though not a few upon the crags were maimed and shattered,
We still went on, a march that nothing could restrain.

And each of us knew well: not unto us the glory,
That men would not remember this our blood-soaked toil,
When on this road mankind would move in endless story,

Where we had hewn a road, and everywhere smoothed o'er it,
Where underfoot our bones would crumble in the soil.

And yet for human glory we were not aspiring.
We were not heroes bold, nor doughty knights of yore.
No, we were slaves, but slaves who at their own desiring
Put on their chains. For slavery to freedom binds us!
On the road's progress we are stone-hewers, no more!

And all of us believed that by our endeavour
Of might and main we'd cleave the granite, smash the scree;
By our own lifeblood and by our own bones we'd sever
A mighty highway, in our wake would follow ever
Along it a new life, new good would come to be.

And all of us knew well, in the far world beyond us,
Which we had left abandoned for toil and sweat and chains,
The tears of mothers, wives and children deeply mourned us,
That friend and enemy in rage and anger scorned us,
Cursed us and our intent, our labour and our aim.

We knew this, and full often the soul ached within us,
The heart was torn, the breast grew tight with grief; but woe
And tears and burning ache of body failed to wring us,
Nor could curses ever from our labours win us,
And no one from his hands let hammer fall and go.

Thus one and all we march, one concourse forged together,
With hammer in our hands, a holy thought we own,
Though we be cursed, though men forget our great endeavour,
We'll smash the rocks, for truth we'll smooth the highway ever,
And happiness shall come to all, though on our bones.

The Spirit of Revolt
(Vichnyi Revolutsioner, 1880)

The spirit of revolt abides,
Spirit which spurs flesh to endeavour,
To fight for freedom, progress, ever
Lives with us still, it has not died.
No tortures of the inquisition,
No strong-built walls of Tsarist prison,
Neither armies strongly mustered
Nor cannon primed, around it clustered,
Nor the spy's art can seal its doom,
Nor force it down into the tomb.

It does not die, lives with us still,
Though born a thousand years back, coddled
Till yesterday, but now, unswaddled,
Forward it strikes by its own will.
Ever more powerful, stronger growing,
Thither it speeds where dawn is glowing,
Its word of power, like a reveille,
Calls millions forth, with it to rally,
And millions follow and rejoice,
Led onwards by the spirit's voice.

The spirit's voice is heard far round,
In hen-coop homes of peasant wretches,
Among the workers' factory benches,
Through tears and sorrow it resounds.
And where that voice is heard, there vanish
Away their tears, misfortune, anguish,
Courage and strength are born within them,
To cease their grief, strive onward, winning,
If not for self, a better life
Then for their children, in the strife.

The spirit of revolt abides;
Spirit, knowledge, thought and freedom
Shall never yield, and the impeding
Darkness shall never stay its tide.
Evil in ruins fell around us
The avalanche sped rolling downwards;
Where in this world such mighty forces
To halt its ever-onward courses,
Or, like a fire, to quench away
The sparks of its unfolding day?

This is not the Time...

(Ne pora, 1880)

Nevermore, nevermore, nevermore
Should we serve Pole or Russian again!
Now are ended Ukraine's wrongs and sufferings of yore,
It is time, now, to live for Ukraine.

Nevermore, nevermore, nevermore
For the laggard our lifeblood should flow,
Nor our love for the Tsar who has made our folk poor —
All our love to Ukraine do we owe.

Nevermore, nevermore, nevermore
Should we bring strife to our native home!
So now let discord perish, a phantom abhorred!
Let the flag of Ukraine make us one!

For a time of great deeds now begins:
In the grim, doughty battle to be
We would die, native country, if thus we might win
Freedom, fortune and honour for thee.

The Modern Haydamaky
(Novitni Haydamaky, 1903)

Have you heard, good people, of the signs that tell us clearly,
That certain Haydamaky in our village were appearing?
Not those Haydamaky, though, that in the woods roam, lurking,
But those Haydamaky who proclaim the truth, unshirking.
Not those Haydamaky, ever-fighting, ever-slashing,
But those Haydamaky who for poor folk show compassion.

O, the Haydamaky rang loud clarions resounding,
“Prepare yourselves, poor folk, to fight the dangers that surround us!
For soon there will be great attacks descending down upon us.
For to our lords we have become a burden and an onus.
Down on us comes that force which once kneaded us, unabated,
From Bohdan’s time down to Ivan has slashed and suffocated.

“To take us firmly in its grasp, so did that force desire then,
And tried its arts upon us, this and that way, never-tiring.
At once it says ‘Now Rusyn, give up your last shirt of tatters,
And I shall put upon your head a Polish four-square hat, then’.
The Rusyn would not yield, and the force cried out, all insistent
‘Though I die, I’ll not rest till Rus’ has vanished from existence!’

“So that we may more swiftly three parts unto death surrender,
It wants to tear our soul and body, into dust to rend them.
‘I shall take away from your land, your woods your rivers,
You shall be but beggar-men in your own land for ever.
But this will not suffice me yet! What men may earn, I’ll share then
To Mazovians and Croats — naught to you I’ll spare then!

“‘But this will not suffice me yet! Your children must forever
And your grandsons sit in darkness and have learning never.
But this will not suffice me yet! In the mire I shall drown you,
Throughout the world as a Rus “savage” spit on you, confound you.
But this will not suffice me yet! The soul within you dwelling
I shall creak, debase, profane, to lowliness compel it.

“All dignity and honour I shall take from you entirely,
And you shall sweep my tracks for me, and smile with a slave’s smiling.
By treason’s grace I’ll give you deputies fit for your station,
I shall take all rights from you, and leave you obligations.
Thus I shall confirm my lordship, like a stone, proclaim it
From sea to sea for aye, world without end, Amen!”

And the Haydamaky rang loud clarions resounding:
“Do you hear, good people, these reverberations pounding?
But if someone does not heed, a thick skin he possesses,
For not by word now, but by deed, the foe upon us presses,
And he who heeds, now let him toil, not fold his hands together,
For what we neglect today is lost to us forever.

“And let no one say: ‘By my own God I shall proceed now!’
Form your ranks like soldiers, when the word is given, heed it!
For the raven pecks the weak, the solitary wonder,
Only the community and fellowship defends him.
And let no one say: ‘Without me, surely, they can manage!’
When your brother’s house takes fire, yours, too, will burn to ashes!

“And let no one say: ‘Why about learning should I trouble?’
Learning is a wise art, it is stronger than the cudgel.
It will warm you in the frost, the darkness it will lighten,
It will comfort you in grief, the daily round will brighten,
It is strength and it is wealth, a beaten road to guide you.
A support for the oppressed, and for the weak a triumph!

“And let no one say: ‘My wealth for myself I am earning!’
For one day to the poor to beg for bread he may be turning.
And let none say: ‘I fear not. So wherefore the danger-cry, pray’.
Wolves can rend even the bold man on the beaten highway.

“Hold fast to one oath, good people, hold it to the limit!
Let the brave man lend strength to the courage of the timid!
Let the wise man lead the unwise on to wisdom forward!
Let the wealthy do no harm but strive to help the poor man!

“Only traitors, only hirelings, sycophants and toppers
Should be banished from your threshold, find the door unopened!
Let them have no greetings from you, nor words of esteeming,
Until they repent sincerely, quit their evil scheming.

“But he who will not repent, in evil mire remaining,
Then let the community smite him with its disdain!”
Such are the Haydamaky, then, who roam the country over,
Such are the true words that they speak forth to all people over.
And he who has this true word fixed well in his understanding,
Cares well for himself and for Ukraine, his native land, then.
For this word, like wheat, in time to deeds will ripen duly,
And from these deeds for us and for Ukraine comes forth fortune truly.

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

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UKRAINE REJECTS "SHOCK THERAPY"

KYIV, August 31 — Ukraine's chief economic strategist said Ukraine would move toward a market economy gradually instead of attempting the "shock therapy" tried by Russia and other east European countries. First Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Symonenko also played down Kyiv's differences with the IMF over the course of Ukraine's economic reforms. He said Ukraine would launch a privatisation programme this autumn by opening privatisation accounts for every citizen worth 30,000 coupons (\$100). Symonenko said the government planned to open exchange counters where coupons could be changed for roubles, taking business away from black marketeers. He said a great deal of preparatory work, including the creation of a stabilisation fund, needed to be done before introducing a full-fledged new currency, the hryvnia, by the end of the year as planned.

CHOLERA CLOSES CRIMEAN BEACH

KYIV, September 1 — A case of cholera in Ukraine's Crimea region prompted the closure of a beach and strict checks in food markets. Kerch city authorities took these measures after a 32-year-old man was admitted to hospital suffering from symptoms of the disease. Ukraine reported two cases of cholera last month, one in Crimea and one near the Romanian border.

TRANSPORTATION STRIKE IN UKRAINE

KYIV, September 2 — Thousands of workers pressing for recognition of their trade unions went on strike throughout Ukraine, halting trains and planes and shutting down mines. A confederation of five trade unions are staging the strike asking for the same recognition as the "red unions".

INCREASE IN CANCER RATE

KYIV, September 2 — The European Centre for Environment and Health reported that thyroid cancer is occurring at 80 times the normal rate among some children exposed to radioactive fallout from the 1986 explosion at Chernobyl.

MILITARY CONTROLLERS STEP IN AS STRIKE SPREADS

KYIV, September 3 — After the second day of strikes which paralysed transport throughout Ukraine the government ordered military air traffic controllers to step in to keep planes flying. A trade union official said the country's only working airport

was in Kharkiv in eastern Ukraine. Twenty one rail depots were shut and 40 coal and iron mines were not working because of the strike. The unions said they would continue to strike indefinitely even though the government argued it could not fulfil their demands because of the poor state of the Ukrainian economy.

UKRAINE JOINS IMF

KYIV, September 3 — Ukraine joined the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and immediately asked the two lending organisations for money to back up its efforts to overhaul its economy. Ukraine's prime minister said he had asked for up to \$6.5 billion from the IMF to stabilise its proposed new currency. Deputy Finance Minister Oleh Havrylyshyn said that an IMF loan agreement was not likely until the end of this year, after Ukraine fills in the details of its plan to transform its economy from communism to capitalism.

UKRAINE UPHOLDS YUGOSLAV EMBARGO

BUCHAREST, September 3 — During a two-day trip to Romania, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said Ukraine would uphold the United Nations trade embargo against Yugoslavia. He denied accusations that Ukrainian ships sailing in the Danube river were violating the trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, which are accused of playing a major role in the civil war in Bosnia.

CIS DEFENCE MINISTERS DEADLOCKED OVER FUTURE CONTROL

KYIV, September 4 — Commonwealth of Independent States defence ministers ended a two-day meeting in Moscow deadlocked over how to jointly control their shared nuclear forces. Ukraine continues to refuse to transfer control systems and staff in charge of strategic nuclear forces on its territory to a CIS command.

CONCEPT OF A NEW MILITARY EDUCATION

At a recent press conference, the head of the military education department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence, Major-General Yuriy Prokofiev, announced that on September 3 the ministry began to implement its military education policy.

The ministry's plans include the reduction of military educational establishments in the country from 34 to 9. The plans also stipulate the establishment of 9 military secondary schools. The first of these is already operational in Lviv. A further 25 per cent of the officer cadres will be trained in civilian higher education establishments.

Prokofiev particularly underlined the proposed merging of the Black Sea Higher

Naval School and the Sevastopol Military Engineer School to form the Naval Institute of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. All units and formations deployed on Ukrainian territory are under the jurisdiction of Ukraine, said General Prokofiev. The above two schools are not an exception. Moreover, they have never formed part of the Black Sea Fleet.

UKRAINIAN DEFENCE MINISTER VISITS FRANCE

According to the press service of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence, during a three-day official visit to France Defence Minister Colonel-General Kostiantyn Morozov met with the French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe.

The negotiations concerned the question of mutual cooperation between the two countries. The members of the Ukrainian delegation also visited the operational centre of the French army, where they observed the situation in former Yugoslavia. The Ukrainian delegation was acquainted with the activities of the special purpose unit of the Gendarmerie and the training of French armoured troops.

Both sides regarded the visit as the beginning of mutual cooperation towards the realisation of the agreement signed by the French and Ukrainian presidents in June.

500,000 TONNE WHEAT TRADE

KYIV, September 8 — Ukraine bought 500,000 tonnes of soft wheat for October-December shipment at \$128-129 per tonne, cost and freight, under an EC credit line. Ukraine also bought 100,000 tonnes of barley, 150,000 tonnes of durum wheat and 100,000 tonnes of maize for the same shipment period. The price of the barley was \$116 per tonne, cost and freight. Ukraine launched a tender for the purchase of the same amount of grain under an EC food credit of 130 million Ecu. The credit is part of an overall 499 million Ecu credit line signed between the EC and eight former Soviet republics early last month and available for purchases of food and medical supplies since August 20, and until April 20, 1993. Five former Soviet republics have already signed grain contracts under the EC food credit — Moldova, Belarus, Tajikistan, Armenia and Georgia.

HARD CURRENCY FOR GOODS TRANSIT

KYIV, September 8 — Ukraine's Prime Minister said that his country intended to charge Russia and other countries convertible currency for shipment of goods across its territory. There was no indication whether Fokin's statement referred to the use of Ukraine's important network of pipelines to carry Russian gas and oil to the rest of Europe.

IMPORTING LIVESTOCK FEED

WASHINGTON, September 8 — Ivan Pliushch, chairman of Ukraine's parliament, said Ukraine will need to import livestock feed, but not food for human consumption for the next two years. Ukraine also wants to import agricultural machinery, technology and herbicides. Ukrainian officials recently announced the grain-producing region would not be importing food grains. Pliushch did not say whether Ukraine, which has used \$110 million worth of US agricultural credits, would seek more US credits for livestock feed purchases. At the news conference, held in conjunction with a two-week programme of Ukrainian legislators visiting the United States, Pliushch also said Ukraine needs a major international effort to deal with the aftermath of the massive nuclear accident at Chernobyl. He said Ukraine needs "the best minds and scientific experience to carry out work" of building permanent casings for the power plant that leaked radiation in a 1986 disaster. Pliushch also said Ukraine needs help in dealing with medical problems in Chernobyl's wake, and particularly needs medicines as the country still is trying to develop its pharmaceutical industry.

KRAVCHUK CALLS FOR "SHOCK THERAPY"

KYIV, September 8 — Ukraine's President, Leonid Kravchuk, called for swift action to implement economic reforms and defended his government's ability to do the job. His chief economic strategist set down the principles of a new government programme with heavy emphasis on privatisation. But opposition parties pledged to forge ahead with a campaign to force new elections to replace the country's conservative parliament. Kravchuk told a meeting of cabinet ministers and other officials that Ukrainians were being subjected to increasing economic hardship and politicians were too embroiled in polemics to move forward with change. The government of Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, he said, had a right to work unhindered from constant pressure from parliament.

PARLIAMENT OPENS

KYIV, September 15 — Ukraine's parliament opened and everyone expected the key issue to be the new economic strategy which would bring Ukraine closer to a free market economy or at least farther away from the old communist system, but debate on a plan to reorient the economy was postponed until later in the month.

Oleksander Yemets, a top presidential legal adviser, told reporters the economist overseeing President Leonid Kravchuk's reforms had withdrawn the plan for further elaboration on the eve of the parliamentary session. The plan emerged last week as the sole unified proposal to reform the economy after months of infighting between liberals and conservatives in different state institutions. Sources close to

the government said top advisers to Kravchuk had objected to several provisions, including a proposal to set up a committee to oversee the introduction of Ukraine's future currency, the hryvnia. The plan calls for rapid mass privatisation of the bloated state sector and an end to state subsidies for industry.

Deputies are also due to debate proposals for a new constitution, which Kravchuk hopes will give him additional powers to circumvent parliament, which he has accused of obstructing his government's proposals. The liberal opposition has been leading a high-profile campaign to force a referendum on staging new elections, weed out conservative deputies and curb presidential powers.

KRAVCHUK DELAYS EC

BRUSSELS, September 14 — A delegation led by President Leonid Kravchuk came to Brussels this week intending to initial the trade and cooperation accord. However Kravchuk delayed signing the accord with the European Community confining Ukraine to a declaration that it intended to do so. Kravchuk and Commission President Jacques Delors had also been expected to take formal steps to establish diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the EC. Neither was achieved, as the Ukrainian delegation said it had not finished studying the text of the accord. However, they did say there were no political questions outstanding, and that its problems were confined to minor textual matters.

\$1.5 BILLION NEEDED FROM IMF

KYIV, September 16 — Ukraine's Finance Minister confirmed that the former Soviet republic was seeking \$1.5 billion from the International Monetary Fund to stabilise its proposed separate currency. Ukraine's parliament, meanwhile, postponed approval of an initial list of enterprises to be privatised, saying it required further elaboration. He said the figure of \$6.5 billion cited by Prime Minister Vitold Fokin earlier this month referred to the entire assistance package sought by Ukraine.

RUSSIAN OIL PRICES POSE DANGER

KYIV, September 17 — First Deputy Economy Minister Leonid Minin stated that any steep rise in the price of oil in Russia will have dire consequences for Ukraine and shut down entire sectors of industry. Russia's decision to double prices and bring them closer to world levels would generate huge cost increases for Ukraine. Ukraine's Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has suggested in recent weeks that Kyiv could retaliate by charging Russia hard currency for shipment of all goods across the territory of the former Soviet republic.

CHORNOBYL SARCOPHAGUS CRACKED

KYIV, September 17 — A scientist told a nuclear technology conference that cracks have developed in the cement casing surrounding the damaged Chornobyl reactor, which was supposed to be hermetically sealed following the 1986 accident. Spartak Belyayev of the Kurchatov Institute, Russia's foremost atomic research institute, told the Nuclear Technology Tomorrow conference in St. Petersburg that the Chornobyl sarcophagus was cracking in a number of places. Belyayev also warned that the original plant structures, damaged in the accident, may be unsafe. Collapse of the original construction could cause radioactive dust to leak out.

US TOBACCO IN UKRAINE

KYIV, September 17 — The American cigarette competition spread to Ukraine as tobacco giant R. J. Reynolds announced plans to make cigarettes in two cities. R. J. Reynolds elicited support from Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who said in a statement, "It is with great pleasure that we unite with one of the world's leading tobacco companies, and we look forward to a long and prosperous relationship that will bring many benefits to the people of Ukraine".

Perhaps what pleased Kravchuk most is the somewhat unusual marriage of a lingering socialism with capitalist investment — his republic will be a 30 per cent owner of cigarette plants in which R. J. Reynolds will have a 70 per cent interest. The Reynolds-Ukrainian joint ventures will be in the Lviv Tobacco Factory and the Kremenchuk Tobacco Factory.

TYPHOID IN LUHANSK

KYIV, September 18 — Typhoid has struck more than 30 people in the eastern Ukrainian city of Luhansk which seems on the brink of an epidemic. Local doctors are saying the outbreak of the disease, was caused by poor quality drinking water and a "disastrous" state of the sewage disposal system in the city of 500,000.

ACID SPILL KILLS FISH

KYIV, September 18 — A hydrochloric acid spill in Ukrainian rivers has killed thousands of fish and spread into neighbouring Poland. Geologists on an expedition dumped an unknown amount of hydrochloric acid into the Ukrainian Zavadiivka and Lubachovka rivers near the border with Poland. Urgent measures were being taken by both sides to clean up the spill because the Lubachovka is a tributary of the larger Vistula river, which flows from Ukraine into Poland.

EP DELEGATION VISITS UKRAINE

KYIV, September 21-24 — An official visit of the European Parliament took place in the country's capital. The delegation for relations with the republics of the CIS, chaired by Mrs. Magdalene Hoff (SOC, Germany) indicated the importance attached to a deepening of inter-parliamentary relations with Ukraine. The European Community actively wants to support the ongoing process of privatisation and marketisation in Ukraine and the efforts undertaken by this country to bring about economic reform and recovery. Therefore, the Commission of the European Communities is now launching, in cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), a major technical assistance project within the privatisation sector in Ukraine. Ukraine is presently embarking upon an important privatisation programme involving most sectors of the economy. The projects, to which the Commission contributes Ecu 1.8 million, forms part of the overall EC Programme on Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia (TACIS). The privatisation project now under way will provide assistance to the Ukrainian authorities on key aspects for the setting up of the new privatisation programme.

CUBA SIGNS POLITICAL COOPERATION ACCORD

KYIV, September 22 — Cuba and Ukraine signed an agreement to exchange information and consult each other on foreign policy. The political cooperation protocol was signed at the United Nations in New York by Cuban Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon and his Ukrainian counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko. Under the two-year agreement, the two countries would exchange information about international and internal affairs. They would also consult over policies and positions adopted at international organisations, particularly at the United Nations.

CURRENCY EXCHANGE OPENS — NO DEALS

KYIV, September 22 — Ukraine's first currency exchange opened but not a single dollar, rouble or Ukrainian coupon changed hands. About 10 brokers at the inaugural session sat quietly around a table in the central bank headquarters. Trading in Kyiv is to be held once a week, with the rate established to be declared official for all banks throughout Ukraine. Andronov said he expected that traders would eventually deal with up to \$5 million at each session. "The central bank will intervene carefully on the exchange", he said. He said trading would also be introduced in German marks and roubles. Other banks are to be invited and foreigners can take part provided they invest the money within Ukraine.

GAS FOR UKRAINE — POWER FOR TURKMENISTAN

KYIV, September 27 — The Central Asian state of Turkmenistan will renew gas supplies to Ukraine after the two countries resolved a six-month dispute over pricing. Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov, fulfilling a campaign promise, also announced that residents of his energy-rich republic would receive water, electricity and gas free of charge starting in January. Niyazov and Ukrainian First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantyn Masyk agreed that Turkmenistan would supply eight billion cubic metres of gas in the last quarter of 1992 and 28.4 billion next year. In return, Ukraine would unblock supplies of food and other products which were suspended in February. Turkmenistan, which supplied 60 per cent of Ukraine's imported gas, cut off supplies in March after Kyiv refused demands for a sharp price rise. The interruption dealt a severe blow to Ukrainian industry.

IRISH AIR UKRAINE

KYIV, September 27 — A new Ukrainian-Irish airline will start flying from Kyiv to major European destinations in mid-November using Boeing aircraft flown by Ukrainians. Air Ukraine International was formed by state-run Air Ukraine and the Irish-based aircraft leasing company GPA. Air Ukraine broke off from the ex-Soviet state airline Aeroflot and now has no international service. GPA Vice President David Brodsky told reporters Monday that Kyiv's Boryspil Airport could become a major hub to southern and eastern states of the former Soviet Union, competing with Moscow and St. Petersburg. The company said the new airline will start with two Boeing 737-400 airliners, seating 150 people each. They will fly to seven or eight European cities, although the company declined to name them.

Direct service to North America will begin next year using Boeing 767s. It eventually hopes to have at least 10 737s and three 767s. Twenty Ukrainian pilots are currently being trained by Boeing in Seattle. Boeing has also sent technicians to Kyiv to teach ground engineers how to maintain the aircraft.

Air Ukraine, like the dozen or so national airlines forged from Aeroflot in the former Soviet Union, uses mostly Soviet-designed Ilyushin or Tupolev aircraft.

HP EXECUTIVE IN UKRAINE

FORT COLLINS, CO, September 29 — A high-ranking Hewlett-Packard manager is taking a two-year personal leave of absence to work in Ukraine as a Peace Corps volunteer. Meg Small, 37, will be leaving her position as financial controller for HP's Measurement & Control Systems Division (MCSY) in Fort Collins. Small, who has held a variety of financial positions at HP over the past 10

years, will be advising the Ukrainian government on economic and business development issues. Small's first stop will be the Peace Corps' offices in Washington, D.C., before leaving for Kyiv for a three-month cultural and language training programme. She will be given her job assignment, along with an assigned city within Ukraine, two months after arriving in Kyiv.

JAMAICA-UKRAINE JOINT VENTURE IN DOUBT

KINGSTON, September 30 — Jamaican bauxite officials said their recent visit to Ukraine left doubts about the two country's proposed joint venture. One Jamaican official said the Ukrainians were considering a number of projects and it is not known when they will make a decision. The government announced last December that the Jamaican government, the Ukrainian Mykolayiv alumina plant, and Global Inter-Holdings of New York would spend about \$50 million to reopen the Lydford bauxite mine, a former Reynolds works closed since 1984.

Officials had hoped to have the plant refurbished and in production by now. But funding constraints are forcing the Ukrainians to consider other options, including buying rather than producing bauxite, said managing director Audley Roberts of the state-owned Jamaica Bauxite Mining.

He said Ukrainian officials are considering bids from Jamaica, Guinea, Guyana and Australia to supply bauxite. They also are looking at joint-ventures with Jamaica or Guinea, to produce bauxite. Jamaican officials seek to expand markets for bauxite and alumina. Falling world aluminium prices have slashed earnings from the sector by 10 per cent over last year.

BULGARIA IMPORTS POWER

SOFIA, September 30 — Bulgaria, desperate for electricity after repeated failures at its troubled nuclear plant, has contracted to import emergency power supplies from Ukraine and Moldova. The supplementary power imports would compensate for lower output from Bulgaria's ailing nuclear plant at Kozloduy and help avoid lengthy power cuts such as those imposed last winter.

NEW OIL & GAS DEPOSITS FOUND

KYIV, September 30 — The Ukrainian academy of sciences said new oil and gas deposits had been discovered in the eastern part of the country. An academy report, published in the Holos Ukrainy newspaper, said a gas deposit totalling 100 billion cubic metres had been found near the city of Kharkiv. The report also said 12 oil deposits, with reserves totalling 219 million tonnes, had been found near Kharkiv and Luhansk.

UKRAINE'S PM RESIGNS

Addressing the Supreme Council on September 30, President Leonid Kravchuk announced that Prime Minister Vitold Fokin offered his resignation. President Kravchuk accepted Fokin's resignation.

On October 1 parliament overwhelmingly approved a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers and gave President Kravchuk ten days in which to appoint a new government head. The two would then work together to form a new cabinet.

Two opinions prevailed among the Ukrainian parliamentarians concerning the removal of Vitold Fokin. One group believes that the former premier was sacrificed. The more optimistic members of the opposition do not rule out the possibility of a change in the political course of the Ukrainian leadership.

The following day Kravchuk appointed Valentyn Symonenko acting prime minister.

SYMONENKO NAMED ACTING UKRAINIAN PREMIER

KYIV, October 2 — Valentyn Symonenko, architect of Ukraine's economic policy, was named acting prime minister for 10 days. President Leonid Kravchuk also ordered ministers, sacked en masse by parliament the day before, to retain their posts for up to 20 days pending the appointment of a new government.

UKRAINE STEPS UP SEARCH FOR NATURAL RESOURCES

KYIV, October 4 — Energy-hungry Ukraine is stepping up the search for oil and gas and hopes to extract enough gold, uranium and diamonds to set up a considerable hard currency reserve. Ukraine is looking for huge western investment to make fast use of the country's huge natural resources. Scientists estimate oil deposits of its Black Sea shelf to be between 1.4 and 4.5 billion tonnes. Altogether, Ukraine needs some \$4.5 billion in investments. A smaller oil deposit has been found in the Carpathian mountains in western Ukraine. Its total reserve was put by researchers at several hundred million tonnes.

UKRAINE TO DROP ROUBLE

KYIV, October 4 — Russia and Ukraine took steps to heal an economic rift at talks between their acting prime ministers. Russia's Yegor Gaidar said after talks with his opposite number Valentyn Symonenko in Kyiv that the two sides had signed a package of documents to create "normal conditions" for the introduction of Ukraine's planned new currency and prevent it from damaging economic relations. Ukrainian officials said they also signed a trade agreement for 1993 whose provisions include the delivery of crucial Russian oil to its neighbour.

BULGARIA SIGNS TREATIES

SOFIA, October 5 — Bulgaria and Ukraine signed treaties to increase cooperation in trade, defence and culture. They were signed by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, who was in Sofia for a one-day visit. Ukraine will export two billion kilowatt-hours electric power and 2.5 billion tonnes of coal to Bulgaria in 1993 as well as spare parts for military equipment. Kravchuk pledged full rights for the 240,000-strong Bulgarian ethnic minority in Ukraine.

CRIMEAN TATARS RIOT

SIMFEROPOL, October 6 — Police in the Crimean capital Simferopol used tear gas and water cannons to disperse a crowd of Crimean Tatars who tried to storm the regional parliament building. Special police units pushed back several thousand demonstrators who gathered after police last week dismantled a Tatar settlement in the Ukrainian peninsula. Local officials put the number of protesters at several hundred. Police last week dismantled the settlement, erected near a collective farm, saying it had been built illegally.

CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL MANUFACTURERS IS HELD

KYIV, October 6 — An International Congress of Manufacturers and Entrepreneurs was held in Kyiv to offer recommendations on overcoming the economic crisis. Congress participants discussed the enhancement of congress activities to develop economic integration and help national economies overcome the crisis, as well as measures to improve and normalise payment relations and payments between enterprises and organisations of the states.

STUDENTS RENEW PROTEST ACTION

KYIV, October 6 — The Union of Ukrainian Students (SUS) marked the second anniversary of the 1990 student hunger strike, which brought about the demise of the prime minister, by erecting a tent city in the capital's central square.

The students were demanding that new parliamentary elections be held in the spring of 1993, that a decision on parliamentary elections be made before a new prime minister and government were named, and Ukraine's immediate withdrawal from the CIS.

President Kravchuk met leaders of the Union of Ukrainian students on October 12. The following day student protesters clashed with police outside the Supreme Council. Several of the protesters were injured and others were detained.

CIS LEADERS SET UP ECONOMIC COMMISSION

KYIV, October 9 — Commonwealth leaders agreed to set up a commission to coordinate their economic legislation, but declined to create a centralised body with strong executive powers. Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia signed an agreement to create a single monetary system, or “rouble zone”, in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Ukraine, however, refused to sign, and Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Moldova said they needed to consult their parliaments before agreeing.

CIS LEADERS MEET IN BISHKEK

KYIV, October 10 — On his return to Ukraine following the meeting of CIS leaders in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, President Leonid Kravchuk met journalists at Kyiv’s Boryspil airport.

“It seems we succeeded in removing the foremost danger, or rather threat... that they want to form a new economic union, or some new structure”, was the fundamental conclusion Kravchuk drew about the meeting.

According to Kravchuk, a consultative economic commission was set to function alongside the council of government leaders. The commission is to assist the heads of government, but is not empowered to ratify any decisions. This situation, Kravchuk said, fully satisfies Ukraine.

Answering questions on the ongoing processes to strengthen the integration of the CIS countries and Ukraine’s participation in them, Kravchuk stated: “... We support objective processes based on market relations, as is the case throughout the world... If, however, these processes will be realised with the help of administrative structures... through any form of pressure then, naturally, we will oppose them”.

The participants of the Bishkek meeting, Kravchuk said, reacted calmly to the potential introduction of a national currency in Ukraine. Boris Yeltsin himself called for mutual understanding and pointed out that every state has the right to introduce its own currency.

Leonid Kravchuk further noted that Ukraine maintained its resolute position concerning control of strategic nuclear weapons. Ukraine’s principal goal in this matter is to prevent the use of the strategic arms situated on Ukrainian territory. The president announced that had Ukraine proposed its own candidate to command the Black Sea Fleet.

Kravchuk also gave a brief description of his meeting with the Russian president. Boris Yeltsin has taken steps to expedite the settling of mutual accounts between the two countries, he said.

During the Bishkek meeting Ukraine stuck by its own concept of the structure and purpose of the CIS. If the processes to reinforce centralisation in the CIS continue, Ukraine will oppose them. Only one alternative would then be open for Ukraine — to leave the CIS.

FOUR MINERS MISSING IN ACCIDENT

KYIV, October 12 — Four coal miners were missing after a methane explosion at their pit in eastern Ukraine. The explosion occurred on Saturday at a mine in the town of Shaktyorsk, near Donetsk. A series of disasters has hit the ill-equipped and loss-making pits in Ukraine's Donbas coalfield in recent months.

CONGRESS ENDS IN CRIMEA

SIMFEROPOL, October 12 — The World Congress of Ukrainians that ended in Simferopol urged the Ukrainian parliament to adopt a law establishing the post of Presidential Emissary in Crimea. The participants expressed hope the law could help enforce law and order and promote economic reform in the republic.

The congress was attended by 600 delegates from all cities and regions of Crimea.

The Congress adopted a statement denouncing the Crimean Parliament's attempt to introduce presidential rule in Crimea as contradicting the Ukrainian Constitution and the interests of the people of Crimea.

UKRAINE HAS NEW PREMIER

On October 13 the Ukrainian Parliament elected Leonid Kuchma as the new Prime Minister of Ukraine. Kuchma was elected by an overwhelming majority, with 316 of the 375 deputies present at the session casting their vote in his favour. According to the Supreme Council's decree of September 30, the new prime minister had ten days in which to form the new Cabinet.

Leonid Danylovych Kuchma was born in 1938. He is the director of the Dnipropetrovsk-based Yuzhmash company, one of the largest industrial enterprises in Ukraine's military-industrial complex, and said to be the largest arms manufacturer in the world.

On March 3, 1990, Leonid Kuchma was elected a people's deputy of Ukraine. He is a member of the permanent parliamentary commission on defence and state security.

Introducing his candidate to the deputies, President Kravchuk portrayed Leonid Kuchma as a man with great organisational abilities, capable of finding a way out of difficult situations. This was demonstrated by his successful leadership of the industrial giant Yuzhmash while other businesses were experiencing difficulties. Leonid Kravchuk called his protege a great leader.

Leonid Kuchma outlined the programme of the future government. His address was marked by the succinctness, quality and concreteness of a confident head of government. He clearly described Ukraine's economic situation as catastrophic. Not even the most energetic and efficient actions on the part of the new government can improve the situation in the near future, he said. The state needs to stop exploiting the country's businesses. It should instead create viable conditions for business to function efficiently. "If we continue to resolve problems at the expense of production", Kuchma said, "we will not be able to avoid the self-destruction of the economy".

The principal goal of the future government, Kuchma stated, will be the stabilisation of the economy and consecutive reform of the post-socialist economy towards a free market. The new premier plans to markedly reduce taxes and to change the whole taxation system, replacing income tax by a gains tax. Leonid Kuchma further believes that regional initiative to create free economic zones should be supported. He regards structural reconstruction as viable only if practical and comprehensive results are achieved, and the introduction of a national currency not merely as a goal in itself, but as an urgent national need. Ukraine desperately needs foreign investment and should offer all possible assistance to potential investors.

On many issues the new premier's views are diametrically opposed to those of his predecessor. The appointment of a government leader with no connections to the *nomenklatura* can be seen as an attempt to push the *nomenklatura* "diehards", shining examples of which were both Fokin and Symonenko, away from the trough of power. This constitutes a small putsch at the top. The opposition also gave their support to the new prime minister, particularly as he did not exclude the possibility of forming a government based on popular support. In these circumstances various surprises can be expected from the new Cabinet and its policies.

UKRAINE ACCUSES RUSSIA OF BREAKING YALTA ACCORDS

KYIV, October 13 — The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry sent a note of protest to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs after nine military ships led by Admiral Igor Kasatonov left Sevastopol and headed for Abkhazia.

"On October 10 and 11, 1992, in violation of the Yalta agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on principles of the creation of the Ukrainian and Russian Navy on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet of the former Soviet Union, dated August 3, 1992, nine military ships of the Black Sea Fleet, under direct command of Admiral Igor Kasatonov, left the home port in Sevastopol and headed for the city of Sukhumi, which lies in the zone of the conflict", the note said. "The fact that the Russian Federation has undertaken the above actions unilaterally, without the Ukrainian side's consent, is especially disturbing", the document reads.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry stressed "the inadmissibility of any attempts by the Russian Federation to assume rights and obligations under the Yalta accords unilaterally", adding that "all responsibility for possible negative consequences will rest with the Russian Federation".

UKRAINE CONFIRMS SEEKING GRAIN IN UNITED STATES

KYIV, October 14 — A Ukrainian government minister held talks in the US on the country's efforts to import three or four million tonnes of grain to cover feed grain requirements. Anatoliy Kovalenko, a senior civil servant in the office of the Ukraine cabinet, confirmed that Ukraine intended to buy between three and four million tonnes of grain.

BLACK SEA STATES DISCUSS SETTING UP REGIONAL BANK

KYIV, October 15 — Officials of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation group met in Istanbul to discuss the establishment of a development bank.

The Black Sea Trade and Development Bank would aim to finance regional trade and would be "the engine" of the 11-member pact.

Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Rumania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine signed a declaration in June which envisages cooperation in energy, transport, information, communications and ecology and the removal of trade barriers between them.

BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

KYIV, October 15 — The signing of a joint protocol on increasing cooperation between Ukraine and Bavaria became the chief result of a two-day visit to Kyiv by a Bavarian government delegation led by Minister-President Max Streibl.

The guests held talks with President Leonid Kravchuk, parliamentary speaker Ivan Pliushch and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

A large group of Bavarian business people, who arrived in Kyiv together with the delegation, held talks with their Ukrainian counterparts on the establishment and development of bilateral cooperation.

As a result of the talks, agreements were signed on the cooperation between the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and the Bavarian Ministry of Education, Worship, Science and Arts and between the Ukrainian State Duma's Collegium on Humanitarian Policy and the Hans Seidel Foundation.

Under the latter accord, large funds will be assigned for the training, upgrading and the extension of the knowledge of leading personnel and officials of the state institutions of Ukraine.

REFINERY SLOWS AS RUSSIA CUTS OIL SUPPLIES

KYIV, October 15 — A big Ukrainian oil refinery is operating at sharply reduced capacity because of lower shipments from neighbouring Russia. Nikolai Parsintyev said the Lisichansk refinery in eastern Ukraine was working at one-third capacity and some staff had been laid off. One of the three sections at the plant, which has a capacity 460,000 barrels a day, had been shut down completely because officials saw few prospects of future deliveries.

Russia has raised energy prices steeply this year, but levels still remain well below world market rates. Ukraine and Russia are arguing about pricing policies for Russian oil and gas and about fees Ukraine charges for use of pipelines across its territory.

CHORNOBYL LIVES

Kyiv, October 16 — The crippled Chornobyl nuclear power station began producing electricity again when its No. 3 reactor was switched on to help provide Ukraine with energy for the winter.

Reactor No. 4 was the site of the world's worst nuclear disaster in 1986 and reactor No. 2 was shut down after a fire in October 1991 destroyed part of its roof, and the entire plant had been idle for several months while the two operational reactors underwent routine maintenance.

The Ukrainian government plans to close the Chornobyl plant permanently next year, and it had been widely thought that the two working reactors would not be started up again. But earlier this month plant director Nikolai Sorokin said both reactors would operate through the winter.

STUDENT UNREST

KYIV, October 16 — More than 1,000 students calling for political reform marched towards the Ukrainian parliament building but were blocked by riot police wielding truncheons.

One student was arrested and several suffered minor injuries when they were hit by police, said Volodymyr Chemerys, 29, the head of the Ukrainian Students' Union, which organised the demonstration.

The students, chanting "Down with the president!" and "We want reform!" hurled eggs and tomatoes at the three rows of police blocking their path. Students have been demanding new parliamentary elections, a coalition government and Ukraine's withdrawal from the Commonwealth of Independent States. For the past 10 days, about 300 students have camped out in Kyiv's central Independence

Square, several blocks from the parliament building, vowing to remain there until their demands are met. This was the second time in one week that students have been blocked from marching to the parliament. Fifteen students were arrested and dozens injured when they tried to march.

USDA OFFERS \$200 MILLION

WASHINGTON, October 19 — The Agriculture Department offered Ukraine \$200 million in US backed-loan guarantees to buy US farm goods under the Export Credit Guarantee Program (GSM 102) for fiscal 1993.

The package includes \$138 million for feedgrains, \$23 million for protein meals and \$39 million for wheat. Of the \$200 million total, \$70 million in credit guarantees for feedgrains will be available for immediate use, while the \$130 million will be made operational at a later date.

The Commodity Credit Corp will guarantee 100 per cent of the principal on credit extended in connection with sales under the allocation. Under GSM 102, repayment of the guaranteed loans must be made within three years or less.

In fiscal 1992, the department offered Ukraine \$110 million in export credits. A trade delegation from Ukraine met with USDA officials last week to negotiate a food credit package to buy feed grains and soybean meal. The delegation said they needed the grain for winter shipments.

UKRAINE TO COOPERATE WITH CIA ON CRIME, DRUGS

KYIV, October 20 — Ukraine's security service and the US Central Intelligence Agency are to work together to tackle international crime, drug trafficking and illegal arms trading.

Heorhiy Kovtun, deputy head of the security service, said two days of "very successful talks" in Kyiv with CIA head Robert Gates ended with an informal agreement to pool efforts.

US EXPORTERS SELL CORN TO UKRAINE

KYIV, October 23 — US exporters reported the sale of 540,000 tonnes of corn to Ukraine and listed two other transactions involving a total of 440,000 tonnes of corn that will be delivered to unidentified buyers. All of the corn would be delivered during the 1992-1993 marketing year. By law, exporters are required to promptly report sales of 100,000 tonnes or more of grain. However, it sometimes can take several days for the identity of a buyer to become known.

MOLDOVA SIGNS ECONOMIC TREATY

KYIV, October 23 — Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Mircea Snegur of Moldova signed a bilateral treaty on economic and political cooperation.

Speaking to reporters in the Moldovan capital Kishinev, Kravchuk underlined that Moldova's independence and territorial integrity was also very important to Ukraine. Kyiv regarded the separatist Dnister republic as part of Moldova. Kravchuk stressed that the pact ensured the protection of the rights of ethnic Ukrainians in Moldova and of Moldovans in Ukraine. Kravchuk further added that neither the Moldovan nor the Ukrainian leadership wanted to enter talks on territorial questions that had surfaced in the wake of the armed dispute in the break-away Dnister republic.

Both Moldova and Ukraine were hit by an economic crisis that made it necessary to set a discussion on this issue aside for the time being. He was alluding to the predominantly Moldovan-populated region of Bessarabia which Moscow passed to Ukraine. In exchange Moldova received the Dnister region.

FOUR DIE IN MINING ACCIDENT

KYIV, October 27 — A methane explosion has killed four miners in the latest of a series of accidents to hit eastern Ukraine's outdated Donbas coalfield. A spokesman for Gortekhnadzor, the organisation responsible for mining safety, said the accident took place at the Novodzerzhinskaya mine near Donetsk. Four miners also died at the nearby Dobropole mine when fire broke out in a makeshift van used as a changing area.

FURTHER DELAYS IN NON-NUCLEAR STATUS

KYIV, October 27 — Ukraine has abandoned its earlier pledge to get rid of all former Soviet nuclear weapons by the end of 1994 and is now planning a much slower programme to eliminate them, Ukrainian Defence Minister Kostiantyn Morozov told Parliament in Kyiv.

Morozov said Ukraine could not afford to dismantle the weapons by 1994. Ukraine has also backed off from a plan to send the weapons to Russia. The defence minister said Kyiv would now deal with the weapons on its territory under the terms of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which calls for a massive reduction in American and former Soviet arsenals within seven years of ratification. Ukraine has yet to ratify the treaty.

STATE DUMA ABOLISHED

KYIV — The State Duma of Ukraine and the coordinating council on economic reform were abolished by presidential decree on October 27. This step was taken, according to the decree, “in order to improve organisation in the work and structure of the administration of the President of Ukraine, to eliminate duplication in the organs of state executive power”.

The two former institutions of the presidential administration have been replaced by a socio-economic council, a commission for contact with international financial institutions and control over foreign economic activities, and a commission for political-legal matters. The heads of the new bodies are directly answerable to the president.

In a separate decree, President Leonid Kravchuk appointed Valentyn Symonenko, the former first vice-premier, as the chairman of the socio-economic council.

USDA SIGNS RESEARCH PACT

KYIV, October 29 — Scientists from the United States, Russia and Ukraine will work jointly on a range of agricultural-related research projects.

Scientists from the three countries have signed 12 research agreements and nine more are pending, said Dean Plowman, administrator of USDA's Agricultural Research Service. ARS and Russian researchers will work on plant genetic material that can be used to breed improved crops. Seven of the agreements are in the area of bio-control, using natural and microorganisms to control weeds, insects and other crop pests.

Other agreements will develop methods to convert surplus starch or vegetable oil in value-added products, and to use biotechnology to create environmentally-friendly pesticides for controlling fungi in cereal and other crops.

PRESIDENT GETS FORMAL WELCOME IN CHINA

KYIV, October 30 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk began a six-day visit to China for what analysts believe could be talks on the sale of an aircraft carrier to Beijing.

Before leaving Kyiv, Kravchuk told reporters his country was studying China as a model of developing market mechanisms in a state-dominated economy.

The official Xinhua news agency said he would sign a number of important documents before his November 3 departure. Diplomats said they believed Kravchuk would discuss the sale to China of a 67,500-tonne Varyag aircraft carrier, currently under construction in the Ukrainian city of Mykolayiv. Japanese newspapers estimated it would cost \$2.4 billion.

FIRST UKRAINIAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVES IN ISRAEL

KYIV, October 30 — Ukraine's first Ambassador to Israel, Yuriy Shcherbak, presented his credentials to Israeli president Haim Herzog. The president expressed the hope that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Israel would stimulate bilateral relations in different spheres.

FIVE DIE OF DIPHTHERIA IN UKRAINE

KYIV, October 30 — Five people have died and 160 have fallen ill in the first outbreak of diphtheria in Ukraine in 30 years. Health officials said the disease had first appeared last year around the southern city of Odessa and had spread in the last few months. Two of the five dead were children as were nearly a quarter of those receiving treatment. Ukrinform said measures were being undertaken to halt the spread of the disease, which affects breathing, but there was not enough vaccine to inoculate either children or adults at risk.

STRONTIUM SEIZED IN NUCLEAR SMUGGLING ATTEMPT

KYIV, October 30 — Police seized nine containers of radioactive strontium-90 in western Ukraine before they were to be smuggled across the border to Poland. The containers, stolen from a former Soviet army base in Ukraine, were confiscated on October 19 in Rivne district, close to the border.

The Kyiv daily "Moloda Ukraina" said four servicemen had been detained in connection with the theft and that another consignment of the material had been stolen earlier this year.

The containers had already been sold for \$500 each to Polish customers when they were seized. Officials would not confirm the report. Strontium-90, a by-product of reactions at nuclear plants, is a relatively rare metal which has a variety of defence applications.

UKRAINE'S MOD DISBANDS KYIV MILITARY DISTRICT

KYIV — Ukraine's Defence Minister Col.-Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov issued an order disbanding the Kyiv Military District from November 1.

Those generals and officers who have completed their service and have a place to live have been placed on the reserve list. All remaining officers, until their appointment to new posts, remain under the direct control of the Ministry of Defence.

The reform of the Ukrainian armed forces includes the replacement of the former three military districts with two operational commands — the Western and Southern. Military units formerly under the command of the Kyiv military district have been transferred to these operational commands.

EX-COMMUNISTS RALLY IN KYIV

KYIV, November 1 — Some 3000 former communists gathered in Kyiv to cheer speeches in praise of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. The rally was held six days in advance of the 75th anniversary of the revolution. Oleksander Moroz is the leader of this group of people who claim to be 50,000-strong and now call themselves the Socialist Party. Several hundred Ukrainian nationalists staged a counter-rally on a central square. Riot police kept the groups apart.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN INTERIOR MINISTRIES OF MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE

KYIV, November 3 — Interior Ministers of Ukraine and Moldova Andriy Vasylyshyn and Kostiantyn Antosh signed a cooperation agreement between both countries in the fight against crime. The document was drafted on the basis of an earlier agreement signed in Kishinev by Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur.

The agreement stipulates an exchange of experience, technical equipment, information, as well as various assistance in criminal investigations and the arrest of criminals on the territory of both countries.

MONGOLIA ENHANCES ECONOMIC TIES

KYIV, November 3 — Mongolia's President Punsal Magiin Ochirbat and President Kravchuk discussed the development of economic cooperation between their countries during Kravchuk's visit to Mongolia. Two days later they signed a treaty on friendly relations and cooperation, which entails equal and mutually advantageous relations based on respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs. A joint inter-governmental commission responsible for the bilateral cooperation is to be set up in the near future.

RUSSIA AGREES TO SHIP OIL

KYIV, November 3 — Ukraine should receive sufficient Russian oil until the end of the year after an agreement clearing up debts between the two former Soviet republics. Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk told reporters that the agreement, signed in Moscow, should preclude any shortfall in supplies to Ukrainian refineries.

A top Ukrainian oil official said that projected deliveries of Russian oil until the end of the year had been slashed to 2.8 million tonnes from nine million. The agreement eliminates debts between banks and enterprises in Russia and Ukraine.

Ukraine and Russia have concluded an agreement on settling debts, avoiding a breakdown in trade between the two countries. Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk said the deal involved a credit of 227 billion roubles to Ukraine to pay for key Russian goods like oil and gas until the end of the year. Disputes over payment had practically halted trade between the two countries.

MAINTAINING NUCLEAR POWER

KYIV, November 3 — Heorhiy Hotovchyts, minister responsible for the aftermath of the Chornobyl disaster, said that Ukraine must maintain its potential to produce nuclear power despite strong public opposition.

One of three remaining reactors at the Chornobyl station was restarted last month and another one will be brought back on stream within weeks. One option being considered was to complete six reactors at four other sites whose construction was halted after the accident.

ECONOMY COULD LEAD TO SOCIAL UNREST

KYIV, November 4 — Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma warned that the economic mess left by his conservative predecessor was worse than anyone thought and could lead to serious social unrest. Inflation in the country is running 30-50 per cent per month and production in the country fell by 14 per cent in the first six months of this year compared to the same period in 1991.

Kuchma is calling for quick moves to replace the Russian rouble with a separate Ukrainian currency, a tight credit policy that would hurt stagnating state enterprises, and quick wide-scale privatisation of small business.

Among the biggest current headaches for Kuchma's government is the problem of settling debts between Ukraine and Russia and negotiating new payment rules for trade to allow Ukraine to drop the use of the rouble.

START TREATY THREATENED

KYIV, November 4 — Ihor Yukhnovskiy, the first deputy prime minister, told a news conference the 176 strategic missiles on Ukrainian territory belonged to the Ukrainian people and would not be given up for free.

It has been suggested that Ukraine may sell its strategic nuclear missiles to the highest bidder if it so desires. Unhappy with its status in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's collapse, Ukraine is threatening not to fulfil the START treaty.

Under existing agreements 140 of the missiles in Ukraine are to be transferred to Russia by the end of 1994. Ukraine has not yet ratified the START treaty for reducing strategic nuclear missiles and planes or the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, but Yukhnovskiy said it still intended to become a non-nuclear state.

The non-nuclear principle was enshrined in the Ukrainian declaration of sovereignty of 1990, but lawmakers call it nonsensical to transfer strategic weapons to Russia, which they consider a potential aggressor. The new Ukrainian government favours ratification of the START treaty, but wants a reward for becoming the first nuclear state to disarm voluntarily. All Ukraine's tactical, or shorter-range nuclear weapons were transferred to Russia this year, where they are supposed to be destroyed.

ARMENIA SIGNS ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT

KYIV, November 6 — Ukraine and Armenia signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1993. The document was signed by deputy Prime Minister Vasyl Yevtukhov and Armenian government minister Vigen Chitechyan.

EXPERT SAYS CHORNOBYL EFFECTS WORSE THAN FEARED

MINSK, November 6 — Medical tests on people in Belarus affected by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 "have produced some startling results", an expert told the German Press Agency.

Anatoliy Volkov, director of the International Radiation and Environment Centre, said that during the first five years after the catastrophe, about ten times as many children as before became ill with cancer of the thyroid gland.

MINING ACCIDENT CLAIMS MORE LIVES

KYIV, November 7 — A methane explosion killed nine miners in eastern Ukraine's Donbas coal-field. The accident occurred at the Kondratievskaya mine in Gorlovka, north of Donetsk.

BELARUS UNCOVERS URANIUM SMUGGLING RING

KYIV, November 10 — Authorities in Belarus said they had uncovered a smuggling ring that had been carrying Russian uranium to Poland. Acting public prosecutor Vladimir Kondratyev told parliament a Russian national had been detained at the border crossing of Brest with 2.5 kg of uranium. They quoted

Kondratyev as saying the man had admitted transporting three kg of uranium into Poland earlier this year. He said customs authorities believed the smuggling ring originated in Udmurtia, in Russia's Urals region.

MINE RESCUE SERVICE CREATED

KYIV, November 11 — A mine rescue service has been created in accordance with a government resolution. The purpose of the rescue service is to organise mine rescue operations in a more effective way and to protect miners' lives if accidents take place at coal producing or processing enterprises.

UKRAINE DROPS ROUBLE

KYIV, November 12 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk announced that Ukraine has abandoned the rouble and replaced it with coupons as a stepping-stone to introducing a new currency. The only legal tender in Ukraine will be the Ukrainian karbovanets, represented in cash transactions by coupons issued by the Ukrainian National Bank.

A government order said accounts in Ukrainian banks will be transferred from roubles to karbovanets coupons. Holders of roubles were ordered to exchange them for karbovanets within three days in unlimited quantities at an exchange rate of one karbovanets coupon per rouble.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LEGAL ISSUES

KYIV, November 12 — Ukraine and other countries are seeking to integrate into the European Community for which a legal infrastructure of the free market economy must be created.

A conference led by representatives of the EC was held in Kyiv and attended by representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

MINERS STRIKE

KYIV, November 13 — Coal-miners in Ukraine's key Donetsk region went on a one-day strike, vowing to force the government to withdraw planned new laws clamping down on industrial unrest.

Union leaders said 19 out of 21 pits in the region were affected by the one-day stoppage. Coal was not being brought to the surface and maintenance work was not

being carried out. Some 3,000 miners and their families held a rally in Donetsk to bring home their demands. Miners in the region, which is populated largely by Russian speakers, also want to turn Ukraine into a federal state.

UKRAINE SAYS "NO" TO CIS CHARTER

MOSCOW — Ukraine refused on November 13 to sign a charter of the Community of Independent States, which was to serve as the coordinating document for all CIS activities.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma was quoted as saying the draft charter was unsatisfactory and would be worked on further by ministers before the alliance's heads of state meet on December 4 in the Belarussian capital Minsk.

Kuchma told the Russian news agency Itar-Tass that "the president of Ukraine will not sign" the CIS charter in the form it assumed at the Moscow summit, which was attended by delegates from 10 of the 15 former Soviet republics. Kuchma said summit documents agreed by the CIS prime ministers in Moscow included accords on creating an inter-state space council, cooperating in exchanging scientific and technical information and in regulating securities markets.

The Community of Independent States, grouping 10 of the 15 former Soviet republics, has been operating without a charter since its inception on December 8 of last year. Ukraine is concerned the CIS's supra-national structures might compromise its independence. But Kuchma said that refusal to sign the draft charter did not mean that the alliance was doomed.

Ivan Korotchenya, head of the Commonwealth's coordination committee, said the alliance would survive even if only five states signed its charter.

Acting Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar said there were no differences among the leaders. He said finance ministers would meet to discuss "liquidation of mutual debt obligations". Tass did not say if a date had been set for this meeting. The agency said next month's CIS summit would focus on economic issues.

The failure to come up with a "rule book" defining exactly what the 11-month-old community actually is has severely weakened the organisation's image and led to tensions between member states, who argue incessantly about what future they see for the post-Soviet grouping, observers have said. Some, like Ukraine, see it as "an instrument for a civilised divorce", a forum for discussing the unsolved property disputes.

Tass said Turkmenistan also had reservations about the document.

SEMINAR ON NUCLEAR POWER PLANT SAFETY ENDS

ENERGODAR, November 13 — Nuclear Power plant security experts from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the US, France and Britain gathered in the city of Energodar in the Zaporizhia oblast of Ukraine to discuss the devastating effects of nuclear power plant disasters.

During the three day seminar, its participants discussed the most effective ways to share information about possible nuclear accidents and problems facing the countries.

BLACK SEA FLEET TALKS CONTINUE

KYIV, November 13 — Ukrainian and Russian government delegates met in Moscow to continue talks on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. The Ukrainian delegation is headed by First Deputy Chairman of Parliament Volodymyr Durdynets.

An agreement was reached on the joint command of the Black Sea Fleet for the duration of the transition period and on the status, aims and tasks for the transition period. A draft of this agreement was to be prepared and talks resumed at the end of the month.

OIL COMMITTEE FORMED

KYIV, November 16 — Ukraine disbanded the government body responsible for refining and distribution of oil after allegations of widespread corruption in the industry. A decree issued by President Leonid Kravchuk said Ukrneftkhim had been dissolved as part of a reorganisation of the structure of the country's government and was replaced by a State Committee on Oil and Gas.

Ukrneftkhim's chairman, Volodymyr Goryu, widely viewed as a supporter of former Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, was removed from his post. The decree did not say who would head the new committee. The body's affairs have come under close scrutiny since Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said shortly after his appointment last month that he had encountered "blatant plundering" of state resources in the oil industry. He said eight million tonnes of oil — nearly one-fifth of Ukraine's annual consumption — had been sold off to foreign buyers without any benefit to the country.

WEST IGNORING UKRAINE ON WEAPONS

KYIV, November 16 — President Leonid Kravchuk told NATO's top officer that the West was ignoring Ukraine's interests by failing to compensate the country for giving up its nuclear weapons. He suggested that if NATO countries did not make amends and provide military and economic help the Ukrainian parliament could vote against ratifying the START treaty on strategic weapons.

GRAIN HARVEST BELOW NEEDS

KYIV, November 16 — Ukraine's 1992 harvest has left it six million tonnes short of the amount of grain required to meet minimum domestic needs. Viktor Velychko, deputy chairman of the State Grain Products Committee of Ukraine, said Kyiv had already begun to make purchases under a European Community credit line that would enable it to buy 800,000 tonnes of grain.

It had also signed an agreement on a three-part US government credit under which the first shipment will be 600,000 tonnes of feed grain.

UKRAINE HIKES INTEREST RATES, SETS EXCHANGE RATE

KYIV, November 17 — Ukraine has raised interest rates and introduced an exchange rate for its temporary currency, the first steps in an attempt to rescue the country from what officials say is economic disaster. The measures appeared to end months of indecision and bickering as inflation spiralled and living standards plummeted.

UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN OIL SCAM

KYIV, November 17 — Deputy Prime Minister Yuliy Yoffe said that legal action was being launched against oil industry officials who allegedly sold off the country's scarce supplies while Ukrainian consumers were desperately short of fuel. He said a commission investigating illicit sales abroad of oil and electricity concluded that Energy Minister Vitaliy Sklyarov should resign, alleging he had been selling off power for hard currency.

RADIOACTIVITY SCANNERS AT BORDER

WARSAW, November 18 — Poland has installed equipment at a border post with Ukraine to scan for radioactive materials and crack down on smugglers.

Detection devices have been introduced at the Dorohusk checkpoint in southeast

Poland to screen vehicles and pedestrians for concealed radioactive objects. Similar equipment would be installed at two other checkpoints. A spate of smuggling of nuclear materials, including weapons, has started to worry Western leaders.

GOVERNMENT GETS NEW POWERS ON ECONOMY

KYIV, November 18 — Ukraine's parliament voted to give the new government of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma temporary expanded powers to implement economic reform without legislative or presidential approval. After a long day of debates the deputies voted 308-16 to suspend articles of the Ukrainian Constitution that had given the president and parliament powers to run the economy. Instead, the final resolution said, those powers will be held solely by the prime minister and his Cabinet until May 1, 1993, to allow the government to implement economic reform without the approval of parliament or President Leonid Kravchuk.

Kuchma said he would use the new powers to implement a plan for quick privatisation of small and medium-sized enterprises, to cancel easy credit for failing state enterprises and to reform the taxation system as a way to encourage business.

The government's programme would rescind taxes on hard-currency earnings, switch from taxes based on revenue to a 30 per cent profit tax and grant automatic tax breaks to enterprises that begin the switch from state to private ownership.

Kuchma also proposed a reform of the banking system to eliminate the monopoly of the country's five main state banks and to expand commercial banking. He also said he wanted the National Bank of Ukraine put under the control of the Cabinet.

The programme also includes a prohibition on foreign bank accounts for Ukrainian businesses, stronger customs controls and tariffs, and direct government price controls on products controlled by monopolies.

The new prime minister plans to lower inflation, decrease the budget deficit to 5 or 6 per cent and balance the trade deficit with Russia. He said the fall in production would undoubtedly continue, but should reverse in 1993.

UKRAINE JOINS INTERPOL

The Ministry of Internal Affairs held a press conference on November 18 to announce the acceptance of Ukraine into Interpol.

Participating in the press conference were the first Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Lt.-Gen. of the militia Volodymyr Korniychuk, Internal Ministry Chief of Staff, Maj.-Gen. of the militia Oleksander Ishchenko, and Foreign Ministry First Secretary Valeriy Ihnul'skyi, who were members of the Ukrainian delegation at the 61st session of Interpol's General Assembly on November 2-10 in Dakar, Senegal.

Interpol accepted 11 new members including Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Armenia,

Guinea, Estonia and Kazakhstan. As noted by Volodymyr Korniychuk, there were no particular obstacles to Ukraine's membership.

During the session the Ukrainian delegation signed mutual cooperation agreements with 20 countries. The first positive results of cooperation were quickly evident. Working with Polish officials, the two countries uncovered a group of criminals producing counterfeit coupons. Three million counterfeit karbovantsi were recovered along with an underground print shop.

From the Europeans the Ukrainians learned that Western police devote great effort to bank fraud, specifically the forging of valuable documents. The Europeans emphasised the need for Ukrainians

to verify foreign companies because many swindlers are laundering their "dirty" money in East European countries.

Attention during the press conference was also drawn to the criminal situation in Ukraine. The First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs noted that the majority of crimes committed in Ukraine are related to assets due to the difficult economic situation in the country. However, most disturbing are banking transactions. The following figures were presented. In one year 10 billion karbovantsi were taken out of the country. In ten days of Valentyn Symonenko's leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers 700,000 tonnes of black mineral oil were sold to the West while Ukraine must suffer through the winter without sufficient fuel.

The crime wave continues to increase. In the first ten months of this year 389,000 criminals were apprehended. The ministry's leadership gave assurances that the Internal Ministry has the situation under control. According to Korniychuk, however, the most difficult problems await Ukraine with the beginning of privatisation.

Finally, Ukraine is establishing a national Interpol bureau partially funded by the agency.

KRAVCHUK TELLS NATO CHIEF UKRAINE OWNS NUKE PARTS

KYIV (Ukrinform) — Ukraine does not have the intention of violating the status of a non-nuclear and nonaligned state. President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk made this statement on November 16 during a meeting with the Supreme Commander of NATO Armed Forces in Europe and the Commander of US Armed Forces in Europe General John Shalikashvili, who was in Kyiv on an official visit.

However, the president said, we are taking into consideration the situation in Ukraine, the thoughts of some of the parliamentarians and the population. They fear that Ukraine, having eliminated its nuclear weapons, will be a defensively weakened state, to which neighbouring states can dictate their will. The conflicting situations in various regions of the former USSR are also reasons for concern. In this atmosphere, he said, we should adopt decisions which would ensure our security.

Western states, the president of Ukraine emphasised, should guarantee that nuclear weapons will not be used against those states, which renounced using them, and support resolving the issue of including Ukraine in European structures.

And there is another problem. It refers to the question of ownership of strategic weapons, which are based on the territory of Ukraine. This is an immense wealth, Leonid Kravchuk said. We transferred from Ukraine more than 1,000 tactical nuclear weapons and we did not receive one cent for them. Now we are removing strategic missiles and we will lose nuclear fuel, which we will later have to buy from Russia at a high cost. Therefore it is imperative that we agree with Russia for compensation.

Ukraine will consequentially adhere to the course of becoming a non-nuclear state, the president continued. But we do not want anyone to speculate on this. Leonid Kravchuk pointed out that while it rejects nuclear weapons, Ukraine expects not merely moral support from Western countries. As a result, Ukraine reserves the right to call on other states to follow its example.

We welcome the establishment of cooperation with NATO, the president also said. It elicits in our citizens a feeling of defence security.

General John Shalikashvili expressed his understanding of the problem which Ukraine is facing and stated support for the continued expansion of cooperation in military and political spheres. He emphasised international cooperation regarding the debt of Ukraine and the other republics of the former USSR, which renounced nuclear weapons. The General expressed hope that the West would find the opportunity to help Ukraine and not merely with expressions of compassion and mutual understanding.

John Shalikashvili also met Ukraine's Minister of Defence Colonel-General Kostiantyn Morozov and Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

John Shalikashvili placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Park of Glory.

CONGRESS OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS OPENS

KYIV, November 20 — The second extraordinary congress of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine opened in Kyiv and plans to address the question concerning the need for deep changes in the strategy and tactics of Action in FITU and the trade union movement as a whole. President Kravchuk addressed the delegates to the trade union forum on the opening day.

RUSSIA TO PAY UKRAINIAN FOREIGN DEBT SHARE

KYIV — Russia will pay off Ukraine's 16.37 per cent share of the former Soviet Union's foreign debt under a new agreement reached on November 23, a Ukrainian government official said.

Ihor Zablada, a senior official at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, told reporters that Ukraine, in return, would renounce its share of debts owed to the former Soviet Union by third countries. But Ukraine still laid claim to a share of former Soviet property abroad and reserves of diamonds, gold and hard currency, he added. He said Moscow had agreed to these terms.

“Ukraine transfers [its share of] the debt of third countries to Russia, and Russia will pay the Ukrainian portion of former Soviet debt”, Zablada said. But on gold, diamonds, hard currency and property abroad, Kyiv still insisted on the principle of “legal succession” to former Soviet property and sought its fair share, he said.

The agreement placed Moscow in charge of managing the former Soviet Union’s assets and debts until December 31, said Yuri Gromushkin of Russia’s Foreign Economic Relations Ministry. “I think it can be seen as a breakthrough because it is an acknowledgement that Russia has the rights and powers to conduct negotiations with creditors”, he told Reuters by telephone. “Without such clear powers, it is impossible to successfully conclude an agreement with our creditors in the Paris Club (of government creditors) and London Club (of commercial bank creditors) on a medium-term restructuring of debt”.

Zablada said the agreement had been reached at talks in Kyiv between Ukrainian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Ivan Herts and Russian Foreign Trade Minister Pyotr Aven. Aven’s office confirmed the talks had taken place, but officials were not immediately available for further comment. Zablada said the agreement would be formally signed in Moscow by Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, but did not say when this would happen.

Former Soviet debt to the West totals at least \$70 billion, while third country debts to the collapsed superpower amount to \$146 billion, a Russian government official said last week. But he said much of the latter sum was owed by “hopeless debtors” in developing countries who were unlikely ever to pay. Russian and Ukraine have been arguing for months over who should repay debt to the West.

The conflict has delayed an agreement on rescheduling this debt, which Moscow is urgently seeking. The Paris Club of government creditors meets in the French capital on Wednesday to discuss the debt issue, which until now had been complicated by Ukraine’s insistence on servicing its portion independently from Moscow.

Zablada said Ukraine was still waiting for information from Moscow on the value of former Soviet assets abroad, which include embassies and other property.

Ukraine, which says it has paid \$10 million in debt servicing this year, had long insisted on paying its 16.37 per cent share of the debt separately. This was unacceptable to Russia, which wanted sole responsibility for the debt, but says it can only afford to pay \$2 billion of the \$9.8 billion falling due this year.

NATO-STYLE ARMED FORCES FOR CIS

KYIV, November 23 — The Commonwealth's defence chief, Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, urged several CIS states to bring together their armies in a NATO-style defence force. Shaposhnikov believes that since Commonwealth member states have their own armies it would be possible to unify them.

Such an alliance doesn't have to include all CIS states, it could include five or six and could be based on the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation model. Shaposhnikov made it clear he was referring to Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan.

US MAY BUY UKRAINIAN URANIUM

KYIV, November 23 — The United States may be willing to grant Ukraine \$150 million and to pay as much as \$5.5 billion during the next 20 years for uranium removed from former Soviet nuclear weapons in order to encourage disarmament.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn and Sen. Richard Lugar said they floated the proposals for US aid in meetings with the presidents of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Russia.

Ukraine in particular has provoked Western concern in recent weeks by calling into question its previous promise to give up all nuclear weapons left on its soil when the Soviet Union collapsed. If it reneges on its pledges to ship the weapons to Russia for destruction and to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, the country could become the world's third most powerful nuclear state.

SUGAR OUTPUT ON THE RISE

KYIV, November 24 — Ukraine plans to expand annual white sugar production to around 6.3 million tonnes by the year 2000. At a seminar in London, Oleksander Zayets said this would make it possible to cover domestic demand fully as well as make up to 3.0 to 3.4 million tonnes available for export.

Special attention would be paid to the reconstruction and re-equipment of sugar mills. At the same time five mills in the Zhytomyr area would be closed down.

CENTRAL BANK CHIEF FIRED

KYIV, November 24 — Ukrainian central bank Governor Vadym Hetman has been fired because of disagreements over policy with new Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

The reason for the dismissal of Hetman was that he did not follow the orders of

the new prime minister, especially in economic relations with Russia. Hetman disagreed with the transfer of the central bank from parliamentary to government control earlier this month following a request by Kuchma for extra powers to address Ukraine's economic crisis and Hetman and Kuchma had clashed over settlement of payments between Russia and Ukraine after Kyiv abandoned the rouble. Hetman had not carried out instructions to open an account at the Russian central bank into which roubles earned by Ukrainian firms could be transferred to help settle Kyiv's 245 billion rouble debt to Moscow.

Boris Markov was named acting governor. Markov was previously a deputy head of the bank.

CONSERVING NATURAL GAS

KYIV, November 25 — Ukraine introduced measures to conserve natural gas because of the decrease in oil supplies. Ukraine's gas needs are expected to be satisfied this year, but the Ukrainian State Oil and Gas Committee will ensure gas supplies to households of 565 million cubic metres more than in the same period this year. All other consumers will drop 23 per cent if Ukraine and Russia fail to reach an agreement about increasing oil supplies.

AIR LINK TO GREAT BRITAIN

The official introduction of the first historic air link between Kyiv and London-Gatwick was held on the evening of November 25 in London. The event was attended by various representatives of the Ukrainian community, led by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, as well as British politicians, businessmen and journalists.

Everyone gathered at gate 38 where the plane stood displaying the name Air Ukraine International and its logo on a blue tail — a trident on its side resembling a swallow.

The guests from Ukraine were greeted traditionally with bread and salt. Addresses were delivered by the Ukrainian ambassador Serhiy Komisarenko, Volodymyr Lazarovych Chorny (Press Officer, Department of External Affairs, Ukraine), Vitaliy Potemskyi (First Vice President of the national airline), Ivan Velychko, Derek O'Brien (Vice President of Air Ukraine International) and Andrew Varney (Director, Gatwick Airport). Lubomyr Mazur, president of the Association of Ukrainians, highlighted the achievements of the community in Great Britain.

Derek O'Brien emphasised the importance of the new link. "The opening of this air route represents, for us in the aviation business, a historic development for

Ukraine and for Europe. We have introduced the most modern equipment — the Boeing 737-400 aircraft. We have ensured, through training, that the service is the type of service that Western business people and holiday makers want and deserve, and we have made sure, that by flying direct, the links between Ukraine and the UK have improved and it is now easier to do business with Ukraine than it has ever been before and there are lots of people in Ukraine who want to do business”.

The plane seats 150, of which 48 seats are in first class, and will fly three times a week (Monday, Wednesday, Friday). Air Ukraine International will cooperate in this venture with the government of Ukraine and the international company Guinness Peat Aviation.

OIL REFINERY TO SHUT DOWN

KYIV, November 26 — Ukraine’s biggest oil refinery at Lysychansk will shut down because it is not receiving supplies from Russia.

Mykola Popovych, head of the resources section at Ukraine’s State Committee for Gas and Oil, said three other large refineries were also on the verge of closing. Supplies had also been halted to refineries at Kremenchug and Kherson, which would also have to close soon. Two other refineries, at Odessa and Nadvirna, were still receiving small amounts of oil.

UKRAINE INTRODUCES PRIVATISATION PROGRAMME

KYIV — Ukraine launched a plan on Friday, November 27, to sell off state-owned firms, promising to set up special bank accounts giving people funds to invest in firms of their choice.

A statement carried by the official Ukrinform news agency said each citizen would receive a bank account holding 30,000 coupons to buy a stake in shops or firms. Special cheques would be issued later allowing people to buy land. Government officials said the funds in the bank account would rise in line with inflation, but they could only be used in the country’s privatisation campaign.

“This will be a big test of privatisation because our citizens will not have the right to sell these accounts and they will not actually receive their certificate as if it were a security”, one official said.

After the privatisation campaign had run its course, money left in the special bank accounts would be transferred to the budgets of local authorities, he added. Ukraine’s path to privatisation differs from that in neighbouring Russia, which is providing its citizens with so-called privatisation cheques. These are worth a nominal 10,000 roubles, but can be bought and sold for cash as well as being swapped for land or for shares in shops and firms.

“Russia’s vouchers have led to the stratification of society because they can be

sold”, Volodymyr Pryadko, head of Ukraine’s state property department, told a news conference on Thursday, November 26. “Our certificates will not be sold. We will give each citizen the opportunity to become a property owner”.

But government economic adviser Serhiy Terokhin said an official argument that printing special vouchers was too expensive was not valid. “It would be better if our citizens had the right to sell these accounts or to transfer them to other people”, he said. “Our citizens must have the right to sell accounts because at the moment the situation is too far from the free market”.

Ukraine, which won independence from the former Soviet Union one year ago, was slow to adopt a comprehensive programme of economic reforms and to announce how it would privatise state-owned firms.

But parliament approved a tough, market-oriented reform programme earlier this month, promising to end “criminal mismanagement” of industry and to bring inflation levels and the level of the budget deficit down.

Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, previously the head of Europe’s biggest missile producer, was granted special powers to propel Ukraine’s faltering economy to a free market system.

GERMAN TELEKOM IN UKRAINE

KYIV, November 18 — Deutsche Bundespost Telekom, the state-owned telecommunications agency, said it had taken over half of the 39 per cent stake held by American Telephone and Telegraph Co (AT&T) in UTEL, a venture aimed at expanding the telephone network in Ukraine.

A Telekom statement said Telekom’s participation would enable Ukraine to expand its plans to cover all 25 provinces instead of just 13.

The statement was issued the day after Ukraine inaugurated a satellite station that was built with US, Dutch and German firms, linking 16 Ukrainian cities with 167 countries.

The Ukrainian ministry for post and telecommunication owns 51 per cent of UTEL, the Dutch postal and telecommunications agency owns 10 per cent and AT&T and Telekom jointly own 39 per cent.

Telekom is already participating in a joint venture to create a mobile telephone network in 21 Ukrainian cities.

UKRAINE SEEKS PROTECTION GUARANTEES AND AID

KYIV — Ukraine hopes to obtain security guarantees and financial help from the West in removing remaining Soviet nuclear weapons from its territory, a senior official said on December 1.

Pavlo Mysnyk, deputy chairman of the parliamentary commission for defence and security issues, told foreign reporters this could be included in an extra protocol to the START treaty. Parliament is being asked to ratify the 1991 agreement signed by the Soviet Union and the United States on reducing strategic arms.

Mysnyk said the Soviet Union had made commitments which now extended to Ukraine. The Ukrainian parliament was set to ratify the treaty and desired in principle to be a nuclear-free state. But the world community should take seriously the concerns which have led to Kyiv's decision to eliminate its remaining nuclear missiles in seven years, as laid out in the START treaty, and not by 1994 as was agreed with Russia.

He said Ukraine had no opportunity to observe the destruction of Russia's weapons. Ukraine was also lacking the technical and financial means to dispose of highly-toxic rocket fuel. In addition Ukraine would lose uranium from the missile warheads from which it could profit either by its sale or its use for energy purposes.

Mysnyk said Ukraine required security guarantees from the West in case there were border disputes with neighbouring countries such as Poland, Turkey or Rumania. He said Ukraine and the leaders of the largest neighbour, Russia, "would be reasonable enough to respect the agreed inviolability of the borders". In a radio interview to mark the first anniversary of Ukraine's independence, President Leonid Kravchuk gave a positive resume despite economic difficulties, saying Ukraine had "entered the international arena".

AT EMBASSY OPENING IN OTTAWA, KYIV MINISTER DEMANDS GUARANTEES

OTTAWA — Ukraine wants guarantees that its independence will be respected before agreeing to destroy its nuclear arsenal, Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Mykola Makarevych said here on Tuesday, December 1, after officially opening Ukraine's Embassy in Canada.

Makarevych, emphasising that Ukraine is determined to eliminate its nuclear arsenal, said a committee of the Supreme Council was reviewing the START treaty and he predicted a heated debate before the agreement was approved. The treaty between the United States and the former Soviet Union calls for a major reduction in their long-range missiles.

"In these times of uncertainty in Europe, it is unusual that a country should get rid of its weapons before obtaining guarantees of its independence", he said.

Makarevych noted that Ukraine was holding talks with the United States and other Western governments to guarantee its independence, won a year ago with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and ensure its security as a nation once it had destroyed its nuclear arsenal. The demand for guaranteeing Ukraine's independence has been on Kyiv's agenda for several months.

“Ukraine has a very definite determination to become a non-nuclear power in Europe”, he said. But he added that disarming some 170 long-range nuclear missiles was expensive for Ukraine.

A special parliamentary committee would reach a decision on the non-proliferation issue within the next month, he said. “I cannot promise that approval of the START treaty will be easy... there will definitely be arguments and strong positions taken in parliament”, Makarevych said. “But we expect to implement it eventually”, he added.

Makarevych said the government coalition formed last month was pushing ahead with economic reforms and a gradual transition to a market economy through privatisation. Canada, which has one million inhabitants of Ukrainian descent, was the first Western nation to recognise Ukraine last December and provide trade credits and technical help. But Ukrainian officials said Canadian businessmen had been reluctant to invest there because they felt the country was still undemocratic.

“With the new coalition government in Kyiv, many Canadian businessmen are now more favourably disposed to cooperating and investing in Ukraine”, said Ambassador Levko Lukianenko.

Lukianenko said a durable partnership is being built between the two countries. Canada is offering important technical and economic assistance to Ukraine, he added.

Lukianenko pointed out that not everything in the bilateral relations is satisfactory. He believes that one of the chief tasks of the Embassy is to ensure that Ukraine is no longer overshadowed by Russia. The former Russian subjugation of Ukraine may still influence some Canadian politicians.

The Embassy was opened amid full Ukrainian and Canadian fanfare and the building was blessed by Ukrainian clergy.

UKRAINE, US SIGN MARITIME PACT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The United States and Ukraine signed their first maritime agreement on Thursday, December 3.

US officials called it “a very practical and helpful” step towards increased trade.

The three-year agreement was signed for the United States by Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card Jr., who said it was made possible by the end of the Cold War and signals a new relationship between the two countries.

“The rapid changes that have come in your country have made this treaty possible”, Card said after Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Vasyl Yevtukhov signed for his country.

Under the agreement, the merchant ships of each country are to be permitted access to ports in the United States and Ukraine after giving 24 hours advance

notice. American vessels, for example, will be permitted to enter Odessa, Yalta and 15 other ports along the Black Sea. Some Ukrainian ports will remain closed for security reasons, and Ukrainian vessels must apply seven days in advance to enter US ports where military facilities are situated.

It also provides assurance that the selection of vessels for transporting commercial cargo will be based solely on commercial considerations.

There are no cargo-sharing requirements in the agreement. However, representatives of the two nations will meet periodically to discuss cargo forecasts and carriage levels and, if necessary, what steps should be taken to remove any barriers.

The agreement permits each side to establish business offices, to own maritime facilities and equipment and to have access to terminal facilities. In addition, the terms of the agreement apply to trading with third countries.

“Each country’s vessels are to be given fair and non-discriminatory opportunities to compete for cargoes”, the Transportation Department said in a statement. “We believe this is a very practical and useful agreement that will promote trade between our two countries”, Card said. “Ukraine and the United States are on new terms because of the end of the Cold War”.

KASATONOV QUILS BLACK SEA FLEET

KYIV — The commander of the 380-ship Black Sea Fleet has left his post, Ukrainian television said on Friday, December 4.

The television, quoting a Ukrainian navy statement, gave no reason for the departure of Admiral Igor Kasatonov, widely disliked by Ukraine’s leadership. It said Kasatonov’s first deputy, Vice-Admiral Vitaliy Larionov, would perform his duties pending signature of an accord on the fleet’s command expected later this month.

There was no confirmation of the announcement from Russian military authorities.

Ukraine has been seeking Kasatonov’s removal for more than two months, saying he is ineligible for the job because he also serves as deputy commander of Russia’s navy.

Russia and Ukraine agreed last August to command the fleet jointly for three years. However, Moscow rejects Ukraine’s position that discussions on dividing property should begin now, not after the transition period. Talks on the issue have made little progress.

Ukrainian government sources have said an agreement on the command is likely to be signed at the next Commonwealth summit, due to be held in Belarus later this month. They say the accord will let Russia and Ukraine share the top jobs of commander-in-chief and chief of staff.

UKRAINE BUYS 500,000 TONS OF FRENCH WHEAT

PARIS — In the first week of December Ukraine bought 500,000 tons of soft wheat from France.

The wheat was purchased under a French government COFACE guaranteed credit for shipment starting in January 1993 at about \$147.50 a ton, cost and freighters, traders say. The credit line, covered by France's export guarantee body COFACE, is not yet finalised, they added.

"The credit is not signed yet, but it's on its way", one trader said. France's Finance Minister Michel Sapin announced last April that Paris was willing to grant a 500-million franc credit to Ukraine for the purchase of food or industrial projects.

During a visit of Ukrainian officials to Paris two weeks earlier, a protocol accord was signed for Ukraine to purchase 500 million francs worth of French grain, traders said. But the agreement was later suspended because other government officials in Ukraine had said they wanted to use the credit for industrial projects instead of grain, they said. The credit is guaranteed by the government export credit guarantee agency COFACE.

In a related matter, the former USSR is expected to import 26.5 million tons of wheat and coarse grains, including 19 million by Russia in 1992-1993, the London-based International Wheat Council (IWC) said in its latest market report.

This forecast was up by 1.5 million tons on the IWC's end of October forecast while for 1991-1992 the figure was 37.8 million. The coarse grain imports were left unchanged from late October at 11 million tons, of which 8.5 million were for Russia.

The wheat import forecast was raised by 15.5 million, of which 10.5 million were for Russia. Developing countries and the former USSR together have accounted for around 85 per cent of world trade in wheat in recent years while the ex-USSR and Saudi Arabia have together accounted for about half of total world barley trade. The Baltic states imported 1.5 million tons of wheat and coarse grain in 1991-1992.

CHORNOVIL ELECTED RUKH LEADER; NATIONAL ORGANISATION BECOMES PARTY

KYIV — The Popular Movement of Ukraine — Rukh — has elected People's Deputy Vyacheslav Chornovil as its leader.

The organisation, which is considered Ukraine's main opposition movement, on Sunday, December 6, abandoned a troubled joint leadership and also decided to register itself formally as a political party.

Rukh, which together with other civic and political organisations spearheaded Ukraine's drive for independence, elected Chornovil as the movement's sole chairman at its fourth congress, with only a handful of the 600 or so delegates voting against.

“We are the sole large political force in Ukraine with a democratic orientation”, Chornovil told a news conference after what was described as a largely subdued three-day congress. “Formally Rukh will be a party, but in fact it remains a social organisation. This coincides with a tendency in the West to form broad-based parties”.

With a membership of 50,000, but more than half a million sympathisers, Rukh is the main force among a plethora of splintered opposition parties a year after Ukraine’s independence from the Soviet Union, he said. But for the moment it gives conditional support to the new Ukrainian government’s plans to introduce market reforms, Chornovil indicated.

The full name of the party is the Independent Mass Civic-Political Organisation Popular Movement of Ukraine. In the revised by-laws, other political parties will not be allowed membership in the new Rukh, only civic organisations.

In his address to the assemblage, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economics Viktor Pynzenyk spoke of the dire economic straits of Ukraine and urged the group to refrain from strikes and prolonged actions of civil disobedience. He asked that Rukh support the new government of Ukraine because the formation of another government is unthinkable since Ukraine has run out of spare time.

The fourth congress was attended by many guests from the diaspora and was greeted by Prof. Omelan Kushpeta on behalf of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Rukh has long refused to take on the formal status of a political party, saying it wished to retain the broad-based appeal which helped imbue a sense of national pride pushing Ukraine towards independence. Its leadership decided to re-register as a political party to ensure it could nominate candidates in national and local elections.

“There is an allergy throughout society to the word ‘party’”, said Chornovil, a former political prisoner who finished second in last year’s presidential election. “This is linked to memories of the one-party communist system”.

His election follows a period of turmoil within Rukh during which it grappled with policy orientation after achieving the goal of Ukrainian independence. It elected three co-chairmen, including Chornovil, at an extraordinary congress earlier this year. But two of the three opted to support Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, a former Communist Party ideology chief, saying he was in the best position to protect Ukraine’s independence. One co-leader has since left the organisation and the other declined to attend the congress.

The party’s leadership said there was no analogy with Lithuania, where the popular movement Sajudis was elected in 1990, but was heavily defeated by the Baltic country’s reformist former Communist Party last month.

In his address to the congress, Chornovil chided the Ukrainian government for its actions since Ukraine’s independence. He said that Ukraine was considered among the leading countries of the USSR’s captive nations only now to be relegated to the last place. Russian imperialism was not properly dealt with, he said, adding that the past year can only be regarded as one of lost opportunities.

UKRAINE'S DEFENCE MINISTER VISITS BRITAIN

LONDON, December 7 — Ukraine's Defence Minister, Colonel-General Kostiantyn Morozov, began an official visit to Great Britain on the invitation of the Ministry of Defence.

The delegation, which included Major-Generals Bohdan Tymoshenko and Vadym Hrechunov, Vice-Admiral Ilyya Pivnenko, Colonels Yuriy Bubnovskiy and Volodymyr Petenko, and Captain A. Krylov met Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, with whom they discussed problems of European security, the military situation in the CIS and Ukraine, and a number of other important security issues.

In the opinion of the Ukrainian Defence Minister, relations between both countries, based on the new NATO policy concerning post-USSR and Warsaw Pact states, have good prospects. He assured the British Defence Secretary that Ukraine will continue to uphold its obligation to remove nuclear weapons from its territory. The difficulty lies, Morozov said, in the economic, political, ecological, financial and technical aspects of the matter.

Addressing the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, Kostiantyn Morozov said that an agreement on the division of the fleet had been reached during the Yalta meeting between Presidents Kravchuk and Yeltsin. The division is to begin after the appointment of a joint fleet command, and is to last until the end of 1995. In this period all Russian naval forces are to leave the territory of Ukraine. Morozov stressed that Ukraine was ready to reach a compromise in order to resolve the matter as smoothly and speedily as possible, taking into consideration both its own and Russian interests.

The following day, the Ukrainian delegation visited a British airborne unit, a naval base, and an air force base, where they met senior officers from all three services. The delegation also laid a wreath at the Cenotaph.

On the evening of December 9, General Morozov and the other officers met representatives of the Ukrainian community in Great Britain. The delegation was accompanied by the Ukrainian Ambassador to Great Britain, Prof. Serhiy Komisarenko, and members of the Embassy staff.

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RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD FORUM OF UKRAINIANS

The World Forum of Ukrainians resolves to:

1. Fully support the strategic course of Ukraine's leadership for building an independent democratic state and the national rebirth of nations in Ukraine.
2. Appeal to all political and community organisations in Ukraine, all Ukrainians of eastern and western diaspora, their associations and organisations to unify their efforts with respect to building an independent democratic civilised Ukrainian state.
3. Remembering the tragic lessons of history and striving to ensure that they are not repeated in the future, appeal to residents of all Ukrainian provinces, all forces, who opposed one another in the past, believers of all religious convictions, for national and confessional peace, community peace.
4. Attain the conclusion of agreements between Ukraine and other countries, especially Russia with respect to guaranteeing the rights of national minorities.

Unless otherwise stated, all the material in this section was provided by the Ukrainian Central Information Service

5. Defend, through diplomatic channels, the interests of Ukrainian communities which experience persecution. We believe it is unacceptable to ignore individual facts and the politics of persecuting our citizens beyond our borders.

6. Expand the network of embassies in areas of Ukrainian settlement, primarily in areas of utmost importance for economic contacts with Ukraine.

7. Appeal to the Ministry of Education to prepare a separate programme for the education of future pedagogues for Ukrainian schools in the diaspora.

8. Recommend that the 6th Session of the Supreme Council study the materials with respect to the violation of the rights of Ukrainian national minorities as well as laws governing citizenship taking into account the resolutions of the Forum of Ukrainians "On Ukrainian citizenship".

9. Assist Ukrainian communities in the diaspora to establish Ukrainian cultural centres (schools, colleges, national theatres, youth athletic complexes) in heavily populated Ukrainian communities.

10. Organise the publication of a newsletter about Ukraine for active circles in the diaspora with information about possibilities in Ukraine and needs according to priority.

11. Develop a network of contacts in the eastern and western diaspora, the exchange of experience and mutual assistance.

12. By developing a mechanism of coordination for Ukrainian communities, maintain existing structures, especially the Association "Ukraina", WCFU, appropriately gearing them towards working under new conditions.

13. We believe the diaspora's most important task to be propagating spiritual accomplishments of the Ukrainian nation in countries of settlement and raising the authority of Ukraine as a state.

14. Appeal to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine to examine the issue of creating a State Committee on migration issues and the return of Ukrainians to their homeland.

15. Appeal to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine to simplify the exchange of residences for Ukrainians returning to their homeland from states of the former USSR.

16. For the strengthening of Ukraine's state security, we recommend that the Ministry of Defence relieve officers and officer cadets who have not sworn an oath to Ukraine from the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

17. Create a permanent body of the World Forum of Ukrainians — the Ukrainian International Coordinating Council based in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv.

18. Appeal to the Ukrainian International Coordinating Council to summarise and categorise all proposals and recommendations of participants of the World Forum of Ukrainians, presented at the plenary sessions, during working sessions and round table discussions, and present them to the President of the Supreme Council and the Ukrainian government, as well as to international Ukrainian organisations.

We are convinced that the realisation of this acceptance of political, economic and spiritual programmes for the development of the Ukrainian state will serve the great cause of the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation, its entrance into the family of free democratic nations of the world.

Glory to the Ukrainian nation!

Glory to Ukraine!

THE POSITION OF UKRAINE ON THE USE OF THE NUCLEAR COMPONENT OF MISSILE WARHEADS, LOCATED ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE

In resolving the question of the utilisation of nuclear warheads of strategic offensive weapons, located in Ukraine, as well as of the tactical nuclear weapons removed earlier from the territory of Ukraine, Ukraine will be guided by the following.

FIRST — The property of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union, which was located on the territory of Ukraine at the time of attaining independence, including the entire property of the Strategic Nuclear Forces, belongs to Ukraine. This property includes, specifically, the physical components of the strategic nuclear missile warheads, which are currently located in Ukraine, as well as of the tactical missile warheads, which were transported from Ukraine to Russia in the spring of 1992 for dismantling and destruction.

SECOND — This policy of Ukraine does not mean that Ukraine intends to acquire control over the nuclear arsenal in a sense that would contradict the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Ukraine transferred the right of usage of these weapons to the United Command of the Strategic Forces of the CIS. As is known, Ukraine agreed that these nuclear weapons, located on its territory, be under the operational control of the United Command of the Strategic Forces of the CIS.

THIRD — Ukraine does not control directly or indirectly the nuclear warheads of the Strategic Forces, nor does it intend to control them. However, Ukraine proceeds from the position that all physical components of the nuclear warheads, from a legal point of view, are its properties. Based on its right of ownership of these warheads, after their dismantling, Ukraine intends to retain for itself only the uranium, which will have been reduced in grade to a level, which would allow it to be used as fuel for nuclear power plants and would eliminate its possible future use for building nuclear weapons.

FOURTH — Ukraine has not yet decided where the process of dismantling the nuclear warheads and the transformation of uranium and plutonium will be conducted.

In order to guarantee the most economical and ecologically-safe implementation of this process it is best that these operations be carried out in the facilities of the Ministry of Atomic Energy of Russia, where warheads were assembled. Furthermore, Ukraine is prepared to pay for the work of dismantling and transformation, though under the condition that the final nuclear material will be returned to Ukraine in its physical appearance as fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power plants or in the form of compensation for its sale to third countries. This also pertains to the nuclear material removed from the warheads of tactical missiles, transported from Ukraine. To this end it is imperative to conclude a treaty with Russia.

If such a treaty with Russia cannot be concluded, Ukraine will be compelled to search for other solutions, including the construction of appropriate facilities on its territory. The possibility of licensing proper specialists from the nuclear countries to perform the most sensitive operations is not excluded.

FIFTH — This position of Ukraine is commensurate with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Accord on the United Command of the Strategic Forces. The latter does not stipulate where the nuclear warheads are to be dismantled, and, consequently, Ukraine is free to decide this question in a manner it sees appropriate.

Ukraine

Permanent Mission to the United Nations

November 12, 1992

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NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATISTICS

Following is a breakdown of the number of long-range strategic nuclear missiles on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The figures were provided by the US Department of Defense.

BELARUS: Has 81 SS-25 single-warhead missiles that are mounted on mobile launchers.

KAZAKHSTAN: Has 104 SS-18 missiles, which are capable of carrying 10 warheads apiece.

UKRAINE: Has a total of 176 long-range missiles based in silos. Forty-six of them are SS-24 missiles, capable of carrying 10 warheads apiece; 130 are SS-19 missiles, capable of carrying 6 warheads apiece. Ukraine also has 21 Bear-H bombers, which can carry up to 16 long-range cruise missiles, and 16 Blackjack bombers, which carry long-range cruise missiles.

RUSSIA: Has a total of 1,060 intercontinental ballistic missiles. Of those, there are:

—296 SS-11 single-warhead missiles.

—40 SS-13 single-warhead missiles.

—44 SS-17 missiles, capable of carrying four warheads apiece.

—204 SS-18s, 10 warheads apiece.

—170 SS-19s, 6 warheads apiece.

—46 SS-24s, 10 warheads apiece.

—260 SS-25 single-warhead missiles mounted on mobile launchers.

Russia also has 22 Bear-H bombers, each capable of carrying 16 long-range cruise missiles. Its nuclear submarine force consists of:

—Six Typhoon-class submarines, which are capable of carrying 20 missiles apiece, each with up to 10 warheads.

—18 Delta I, which can carry 12 single-warhead missiles.

—Four Delta II, which can carry 16 single-warhead missiles.

—Fourteen Delta III, which can carry 16 missiles, with 3 warheads apiece.

—Seven Delta IV, which can carry 16 missiles, with 4 warheads apiece.

—Five Yankee I, which can carry 16 single-warhead missiles.