

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A quarterly journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

Spring, 1992

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A Quarterly Journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

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EDITORIAL

A New World Order, or a Restructuring of the Old?

In recent months much has been said and written about the imminent emergence of a “new world order” that will purportedly lead to a more stable and peaceful system of international relations, in which any emerging conflicts can remain “regionalised” and subject to the control of the self-proclaimed forces of stability in the world. Peace and stability in the “old order” were primarily a function of a policy somewhat euphemistically referred to as “deterrence”, or what in effect amounted to nuclear blackmail (“mutually assured destruction” — MAD). The two leading co-architects of this old world order were the USA and the USSR. Using their military advantage, both powers engaged in a division of the world into their respective “spheres of influence”, while casting the long and ominous shadow of the total nuclear Armageddon over all of humankind.

Apparently, the present American administration would like to continue this policy, even though its former antagonist has collapsed under the weight of its own systemic internal contradictions and by the force of the various national-liberation struggles that had been unfolding long before *glasnost*. At one time, Moscow had deployed a considerable segment of its nuclear arsenal on the territories of the nations that it had subjugated over the years, particularly in Ukraine, in a seemingly successful attempt to manoeuvre NATO into targeting Western nuclear missiles on these territories. Consequently, the lands of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations were transformed into one vast nuclear laboratory, in which the engineers of the MAD policy were to conduct their diabolical experiments. As a result of Moscow’s irresponsible nuclear policy, Ukraine was victimised in what is the first major peacetime nuclear disaster, which the world now knows as — Chornobyl. Now the West is comforted in the knowledge that with the collapse of the USSR the nuclear arsenal of the now defunct Soviet Russian empire will remain in the hands of the government of the Russian Federation, itself a “mini-empire” in which numerous smaller non-Russian nations and national groups continue to languish in colonial bondage, and which has made belligerent overtures to Ukraine and other former vassal “republics”.

The “new world order” that has been projected by President Bush apparently will still be a nuclear order, in which the two major military-nuclear powers will continue to partition the world into neo-colonial “spheres of influence” all in the name of “global peace and security”. This policy, in effect, amounts to an attempt to maintain as much of the *status quo* as can be salvaged, given the dissolution of the Soviet Union and its global network of “client states”. The only thing that will be new about this world order, the central mantelpiece of which will still be the atom bomb, as a “deterrent” to war, will be that this continuing process of global parcelling will now be conducted in a cooperative, rather than an antagonistic, fashion.

Humankind will never be able to live in peace and harmony as long as it is subjected to the threat of nuclear annihilation. A vision of a genuinely new world order, however, based on the universal ideals of freedom and justice and liberated from Damocles’ nuclear Sword, was already projected, on an ideational plane, in the national-liberation struggles of Ukraine and the other formerly subjugated nations. The aim of this struggle was not only national independence and statehood, but to also liberate the world from a nuclear power that was set upon global domination. As of December 1, 1991 — the day that the Ukrainian people overwhelmingly voted in favour of national independence, thereby precipitating the USSR’s ultimate demise — this goal has been partially realised. Now it is time to fulfil the vision. Ukraine has already taken the lead by becoming the first nuclear power to begin dismantling its entire nuclear arsenal and striving to become a “nuclear-free zone”. The challenge for the rest of the nations of the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear alike, is to transform the entire world into one contiguous “nuclear-free zone”, which will allow all of freedom-loving humankind to begin living in a more sane, a more gentle, a genuinely harmonious and truly new world order.

Politics

EX ORIENTE LUX

By Roman Zwarycz

The 20th century — what a paradox! On the one hand, this is a century that has witnessed the final liberation of nations and the individual; an epoch during which the empires of the world, including the last, albeit most sadistic, “prison house of nations” — the Russian communist empire — have all been dismantled, thereby allowing the processes of building a new, free and just, world order to enter their final, decisive stage of historical evolution. On the other hand — this is also a century that has brought upon all of humankind the most terrifying of nightmares: the atom bomb, which has forced humankind to come to grips with the very real possibility of total, irreversible extinction; the irrevocable elimination of human and all other forms of life from the face of the earth.

What kind of evil joke is this? At a time when all of humanity can enjoy the fruits and graces of freedom and justice in genuinely free societies; in an era when we have learned how to talk to one another across the vast expanses of oceans, when we have acquired the ability to fly with impudence over those very same oceans, or even to the moon itself, at this very same time we have come to recognise the tangible reality of that which once was prophesied in the Bible: Armageddon ... the finality of absolute Death...

The joyful optimism of unbounded expectations... has become intertwined with a foreboding pessimism of imminent doom.

How did we get into such a seemingly inescapable, frightening predicament? How can we together escape from the futureless future to which we, as a race, all seem to be unalterably predestined? Is there any chance for humankind to build a genuinely just and free world order, one that would be delivered from under that damned nuclear Sword of Damocles? Where are we to search for that force that can bring salvation for all of humankind... for our common home, that we all call — Earth?

In order to understand the menacing whirlpool in which we all seem to be caught, a short historical excursion into the past is in order — in search of the root causes of something that historians have already enshrined as — the Cold War. Soon after the cessation of hostilities following the Second World War, instead of a reduction in military “power projection”, the world witnessed one of the most remarkable arms races in all of history. The competition involved two, hostile global camps: between the so-called Free World and that anti-world that had arisen behind the “Iron Curtain”. The competition was, indeed, global, inasmuch as the

world was artificially divided into bi-polar, neo-colonial clusters of “spheres of influence” with their two respective centres: one in Moscow, and the other — in Washington. The imperialism of one of these two military superpowers manifested itself along traditional avenues in the form of the colonial exploitation of the nations that were subjugated by Moscow; but it also had that inherently Russian character that had not heretofore been seen in any of the historically European empires: a determined and total policy of repression and brutal Russification that was designed to destroy all vestiges of a national consciousness in the subjugated nations. A Russian way of life was forced upon these subjected peoples with the intent of completely disenfranchising them of not only all power, but of their culture, their history, their language and their unique “spirituality”.

The “neo-colonialism”, however, of the other military superpower was exercised in a more surreptitious fashion. American capitalism also sought to assert its own, inherently materialistic way of life, particularly on the non-Western nations of the world. Instead of a “Kalashnikov”, the “weapons” of American capitalism were a bottle of Coca-Cola, the golden arches of McDonald’s, or a pair of Levi’s blue jeans. In many respects, the capitalist agenda for the world was probably innocently benevolent. Nonetheless, the same desire to establish global dominance, that was the operative principle in the USSR, also was the primary *modus operandi* in the West, particularly the USA. There were not-so-isolated instances, for example, where American mega-businesses were known to have dumped farm products that had glutted the world market into the sea, so as not to undermine the fixed global pricing system, rather than give them back to the starving peasants from Third World countries that had cultivated these products. The mythical success story of the “American dream” raised the US dollar to a nearly sacrosanct position in the world, eventually leading to the erosion and a “materialisation” of the life and spirituality of indigenous peoples, many of whom had a many millennia-old cultural, historical and political heritage.

A clash occurred between these two inimical, but not necessary diametrically opposed, concepts of a way of life, two different world views, as the treasure-house of humankind’s culture, once a multi-dimensional mosaic of many different national cultures, was now being either forcibly “Sovietised” (i.e., Russified), or — benevolently “Americanized”. All this formed the backdrop for the more dramatic political struggle taking place, as both the USSR and the USA were striving to establish their own brand of global hegemony. Both military superpowers, however, had to agree on one point: that there had arisen one force, one concept, one idea, which stood in the way of their plans and, hence, it had to be destroyed in order for the competition for global influence to continue unabated. This revolutionary force, this concept of a new world order, can be called the “national idea”. Despite all attempts to throttle it, to bury it under the immense weight of

“great power politics”, this national idea stubbornly continued to acquire objective reality in the various national-liberation movements that emerged in the subjugated, or simply economically impoverished countries of the world. This idea carried within itself the nucleus of a new world order, built upon the universal ideals of freedom and justice; i.e., — in the international sphere — a commitment on the part of *all* the nation-states of the world to respect and recognise every other nation’s right to national independence, sovereignty and statehood; and — in terms of internal socio-political relations within a country — the recognition of the nation, its common good (as opposed to the amoral “good” of socially irresponsible self-centred egotists), as that most fundamental ordering factor in the life of a sovereign, politically enfranchised people.

This revolutionary idea, which continued to triumph despite the “globalist” plans of both military superpowers, was perceived to be a threat that was serious enough so as to precipitate a rapprochement in their at times hostile, at times cooperative inter-relations. Khrushchev was able, for instance, to speak of “peaceful coexistence”, while Nixon pursued something that was subsequently labelled — “detente”.

Having effectively divided the world into separate geopolitical “spheres of influence”, both sides continued to arm themselves at a hectic pace in preparation for what was perceived to be a final and decisive clash. Both superpowers had well-entrenched military-industrial establishments that were allowed to run amok with increasingly deficit-laden state budgets, although this dangerous arms race undoubtedly cost Moscow much more dearly, since the USSR did not have a sufficiently stable economic base in order to effectively compete with the West over the long haul. For this reason, Moscow — although economically impoverished in many respects according to Western standards — decided that it was necessary to reap the immediate, short-term advantages of the military parity that it had with great effort established with the West, while using its nuclear capacity as a tool of blackmail that was used to preempt any Western counter-measures. The USSR embarked on a course of global expansionism that took on many different forms: either direct military intervention (e.g., Afghanistan), although such cases were rare so as not to provoke the West; or, more often, by nurturing “client state” relationships and by fighting “proxy wars” through these “clients”, or by supporting “wars of national liberation”, particularly in areas where the USA’s interests and positions were not clearly defined and/or secured. In the meantime, Moscow’s agents of terror were also busy financing and directing the “revolutionary” activity in most Western countries of several terrorist/communist “Red Brigades”.

Much lip service was paid throughout this period to the need to effectuate global peace and security. And again another paradox emerges: the foundation upon which this world peace was to be built was none other than the atom bomb! As long as

neither the USA nor the USSR were able to establish a “first strike” capability, argued the “globalists” in both Moscow and Washington, “peace” would be maintained. Ironically, such a worthy goal as world peace became the object of the mutual blackmail (“mutually assured destruction”—MAD) of two military nuclear superpowers. For the first time in the history of humankind, such a thoroughly repulsive instrument as blackmail (the policy was given the benign label of “deterrence”) acquired the status of some morally perverted “categorical imperative”. The dialectic was well thought-out.

A digression is now in order: *in retrospect, the only rational, morally responsible and politically tenable position throughout this entire period could only have been the argument that this nuclear instrument of death and total annihilation must itself be forever destroyed.* The “globalists” in both camps, however, were obviously not interested in morality, as they were busy building a world order, the critical cornerstone of which was that very same atom bomb.

“Peace and stability” — a phrase that was considered to be mandatory in the commercialised soundbites that substituted for real policy directives, had become the guiding criteria of all international relations — at least in terms of declared policy. In actuality, the basis of this anachronistic, morally perverted world order was simply a brutally frightening policy of nuclear blackmail. Matters had reached such a point of absurdity, that both nuclear superpowers had the capability to destroy the world not once, or twice, but ten times over! Of course, someone had to be a victim of this “peace crusade”. The “globalist” crusaders from both sides (but playing the same game) argued that the slightest alteration in the *status quo* may lead to unpreventable global catastrophe. For the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its “satellites”, this policy was tantamount to their irreversible relegation to a position of eternal colonial servitude. In 1975 in Helsinki, for example, during the first Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the principles of the “inviolability of borders” and “territorial integrity” was firmly etched into the immutable granite of international politics. While the West continued to fight the Cold War with its arch-enemy from behind the Iron Curtain, the “Trilateral globalists” in Washington perceived a greater threat to Western interests in the possible dissolution of the Soviet Union under the pressure of evolving revolutionary processes there. Hence, the West decided that it must continuously bolster the Soviet Russian empire, so as to be able to continue competing with it, since without such a competitor, the very basis of the West’s political agenda would have been severely undermined. The absurdity of the situation had reached its zenith...

The dialectics of peace presented Moscow with the opportunity to improve its international position, while concurrently undermining the West’s position in various geopolitical areas of the world. Western technology, which was unilaterally

transferred to the USSR almost as a gift, was soon turned into anti-Western weaponry. American grain was not used to feed the impoverished population of the Soviet Union, but was instead used by Moscow as a basis for acquiring much needed credits, or natural resources from various Third World countries, which in turn would be used to build ever-more sophisticated means of warfare.

In the meantime, continuing to cash in on its peace dividends, Moscow was also able to transform the subjugated nations, particularly Ukraine, into one vast nuclear/political laboratory. By deploying a considerable portion of its nuclear arsenal on Ukrainian territory, Moscow thereby manoeuvred NATO into targeting Western nuclear missiles on Ukraine. Hence, the forces of liberation in the subjugated nations, which were the West's natural allies, were neutralised to some extent. Moreover, the West, from its vantage point, could ill-afford to render support to the revolutionary, national-liberation processes that were unfolding in the subjugated nations and which potentially could have neutralised, if not completely dismantled, Moscow's expansionist war machine from within. The Western Democracies were terrified of a spectre that Moscow had raised before their eyes: that these nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of some extremist "fanatics". Never throughout its history having had pursued an expansionist, or colonial policy, Ukraine, whose people never wanted these weapons of mass destruction in the first place, was now perceived — from the perspective of this convoluted dialectic — as a serious threat to global security.

By the 1980s Moscow had clearly over-extended itself, having nearly depleted those economic and financial resources that it had managed to accumulate in direct proportion to its policy of colonial exploitation of the subjugated nations and which it desperately needed if it was to keep pace with the USA in the arms race. Already under Andropov's short-lived tenure in the Kremlin, the Soviet ruling elite had come to the conclusion that the centralised command economy and the hierarchical administrative infrastructure in the USSR, with its primary operative principle of a *diktat* from above, had become completely bankrupt. A decision was then taken to begin the painful process of rebuilding the economic/administrative system on the basis of a limited free market, through which wider echelons of workers would be integrated into new socio-economic relations. In order to effectuate this plan of rebuilding and mass integration, however, the Kremlin leaders realised that they must first gain the trust of the heretofore severely repressed masses. This was to be accomplished by first raising a new set of political values, according to which this restructuring would take place. With Gorbachev's ascendancy to power, this two-pronged policy and new thinking was given its new ideological justification under the somewhat deceiving labels of "glasnost" and "perestroika". What needs to be underscored, however, is that a liberalisation, or a democratisation of what was until then a totalitarian mode of government was certainly not the end goal of this

reform programme. "Glasnost" was to be the primary means for the effectuation of the ultimate goal of "perestroika", i.e., economic/administrative restructuring. This pseudo-democratic programme of reform from above was designed to gain the trust of the very cynical, even nihilistic, masses, by integrating them into new political, seemingly democratic processes, from which the people were until now completely alienated. Any freedom that was to be granted to the masses was somewhat illusory, since the new modes of mass political participation were to be orchestrated from the centre. The hope was that this revived political activity would eventually cascade down to the economic sectors, leading to a much higher degree of worker productivity, concomitant with the perception that the worker now would have a greater stake in the system. The Gorbachev "reformers", however, neglected to consider two factors in their projections for the future: a) that it would be difficult, if not impossible, as a matter of principle, to effectuate a speedy metamorphosis, a "democratisation", of what were strictly totalitarian structures; b) that in the subjugated nations, whose national aspirations were frustrated and suppressed for so many long years, these newly released political processes would quickly take on the form of a wide-scale national-liberation struggle, whose ultimate goal was the dissolution of the USSR into national and democratic, independent and sovereign nation-states. Instead of burying, or at the very least — coopting, the "national idea", it now exploded with volcanic force, for the first time since the Second World War acquiring mass, or rather — all-national, proportions.

At first, the West was caught off guard, initially not being able to devise inventive and creative means of responding to these new and unprecedented events rapidly unfolding in the Soviet Union. In time, however, most Western leaders became convinced that — in the words of former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher — they "can do business" with this new, "democratised" (or perhaps — "capitalised") USSR, headed by the "liberal-minded" President Gorbachev. Hardly anyone in the West considered the possibility that this "last empire" may finally collapse, imploding under the weight of its own internal contradictions. President Bush, in his public policy utterances, began to speak of a "new world order" that was now emerging. In retrospect, what he apparently meant was that the old, neo-colonial order was changing, but that the two major protagonists would still divide the world into their spheres of influence, albeit not on the basis of their conflicting interests, but rather on the basis of their newly-forged cooperative relations. The Cold War ended (with an apparent victory for the capitalist West), but the strategic thinking of the "globalist" forces in both Washington and Moscow continued along the same neo-colonial lines. Only the ideological framework had changed for what remained the old, neo-colonial, world order.

A key factor in this new strategy, however, was Gorbachev's "new union treaty". The caretakers of the Soviet Russian empire in the Kremlin fully

understood that the integrity of the USSR must be maintained at all costs, safeguarded from the increasingly revolutionary processes that were threatening to tear it asunder. In this respect, however, a growing rift within the ruling Soviet Russian imperialist elite is already apparent as early as 1988. The “hard-line” elements wanted to use the tried-and-true methods of repression in order to force the “republics” to enter into a “new union”. The other, somewhat more sophisticated “reformers”, headed by Gorbachev, argued that only by “democratically integrating” the non-Russian peoples and by coopting their national elites into “new, all-union” structures, a policy that required tempered patience on the part of the ruling elite, could this “new union” be built on a stable and rock-solid foundation. This second group of reformers won a temporary victory, although this victory was certainly not so clear-cut, as to give Gorbachev the necessary leverage that he needed to proceed with his programme in a forceful and unimpeded fashion. Many “hard-liners” remained in positions of power and authority, particularly within the KGB and the military, which partially explains the various “zig-zags” in Gorbachev’s own policy directives. On the one hand, the USSR President needed to accommodate the hard-line faction somewhat, trying to convince them to be patient, while — on the other hand — incrementally coopting the “republican” leaders into new “union” structures.

On August 19, 1991, the worn-thin patience of the “hard-liners” had finally broken. Now there can be no doubt that the aborted coup attempt was primarily precipitated by Ukraine’s hesitation to enter into a “restructured” union. The decisive death blow to what was already a quickly crumbling empire was dealt on August 24, when Ukraine declared its independence. This Declaration of Independence was then ratified on December 1 by over 90% of the Ukrainian people. The vote was so overwhelming that it became clear to everyone, except the increasingly pathetic Soviet President, that the Soviet Union, i.e., the Soviet Russian empire, had been *de facto* and *de jure* dissolved.

In fact, the historical and political significance of the December 1 referendum in Ukraine goes much deeper. On that day not only was the “last empire” finally dismantled, but the old world order, built on the “great power” interests of two military/nuclear superpowers, was also severely undermined, since one of its co-architects was now relegated into the dustbin of history. As the saying goes — “it takes two to tango”. As of December 1, 1991, Washington no longer had a partner with whom to dance.

Contrary to the prognoses of the “Trilateral globalists”, a new world order was, indeed, being constructed long before President Bush began speaking about it, since it was ideally projected in the national-liberation struggles of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communism. This was a vision that had nothing to do with the US President’s “new (sic.) world order”. It was a revolutionary vision

that was deeply rooted in the universal ideals of freedom and justice, towards which all of peace-loving humankind has been striving since time immemorial. The cornerstone of this genuinely new world order will be the national ideal; i.e., contrary to the old, anachronistic, neo-colonial system of the *ancien regime* — this will be an order in which — instead of the privileged interests of a self-proclaimed and exclusive club of global powers — the interests of all peoples, of all of humankind, of the individual as such, will always and everywhere be taken into account in accordance with the principle of absolute equality, since in this new world order the inter-relations between nations will be the result of a higher, more developed understanding of justice. Until now, such a global order of freedom and justice was beyond the realm of possibility, since the existence of an expansionist-minded, inhuman, anti-human Soviet Russian empire required the maintenance of a set of “conflict relations” in all geopolitical areas of the globe between the two primary protagonists, which — in turn — precluded the peaceful resolution of most, if not all, regional conflicts. The absurdity and irrationality of the situation had reached its pinnacle when the atom bomb, that most terrifying means of total annihilation and human extinction, was made into the fulcrum of a system of global peace and security. In the new, free and just, world order of tomorrow, this weapon of mass destruction will simply become obsolete.

Is this a utopia?... Yes, indeed, this is a utopian dream. It is a dream, however, that is shared by all freedom-loving humankind. Moreover, it is a dream that is founded in the only ethically acceptable, morally responsible position for the future: *that global peace and security can be secured only when ALL nuclear weapons are completely destroyed and forever removed from all corners of the world.* This dream may not be fully realised in the upcoming 21st, or even in the 22nd centuries, but ultimately it must be realised, since the alternative is imminent nuclear holocaust and the irreversible extinction of all humankind,... of all life as we know it.

For that matter, this dream has already partially become reality, since the greatest threat to world peace, a military and expansionist-minded power that placed humanity under that nuclear Sword of Damocles — the Soviet Russian empire — has already collapsed, imploding from the internal pressure of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations — a force that represents that which is most progressive in today’s world. The Western Democracies, particularly the USA, will initially probably see a grave threat to the existing order, of which they were the co-architects, in this revolutionary vision of a world order, that will be liberated from the insane politics of nuclear blackmail. Already they are trying to force Ukraine and other former colonies of Moscow to unilaterally transfer their nuclear weapons under the strategic command (and not the control, which precludes their use) of the recently established “Commonwealth of Independent States”, which in effect amounts to giving command of these weapons

to a resurgent, and increasingly chauvinistic, Russian leadership. What the West neglects to see is that Ukraine is, indeed, the first nuclear power that voluntarily and with a great sense of responsibility for the future of all humankind embarked on a course that will transform this newly-independent country into a nuclear-free zone. Ukraine is the first nuclear nation that will rid itself of all of these weapons of total annihilation, which were placed on its soil by its enemies in some diabolical plot to transform the bountiful Ukrainian lands into one vast nuclear/political laboratory in the insane game that was called — MAD (“mutually assured destruction”). The first experiment in this laboratory took place in April 1986 in the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The Ukrainian people then understood that they probably would not survive another such experiment.

For this reason, Ukraine has now proclaimed to the world its unalterable desire to become a nuclear-free zone. The other countries of the world, nuclear and non-nuclear states alike, would do well to find in this determined policy a blueprint for the future construction of a new, genuinely free and just, world order; one that would be delivered from the terrifying and dangerous politics of nuclear blackmail. This is today’s “categorical imperative” for all humankind: to follow the example not of those nuclear powers that until now have led us down the road towards a nuclear inferno, but to follow the lead of Ukraine — the world’s *moral* superpower. It is far too little for other countries to also declare their intent to become nuclear-free zones. All of freedom-loving humankind must now proclaim a **Charter of a New World Order**, built upon a solemn oath to transform the entire world, Mother Earth, into one global nuclear-free zone. This is the challenge that Ukraine is issuing to the world. Ukraine has the moral right to do so, since its people were victimised in the only peacetime nuclear catastrophe, because of which they will continue to suffer for many long years; a catastrophe that was brought about by the irresponsible nuclear policies of one of the two nuclear superpowers that constructed the old, neo-colonial nuclear world order.

Only those countries that adopt such a Charter, by which they will obligate themselves to work towards a global nuclear-free zone and towards the total elimination of all nuclear weapons of mass annihilation, can become, together with Ukraine, the co-architects of a genuinely new world order. The same holds true for the Western Democracies, particularly the USA, who are now desperately trying to force Ukraine to transfer its nuclear missiles and tactical nuclear weapons to the Russian Federation — a euphemism for what still remains a “mini-empire” in which many peoples continue to languish in colonial servitude. Such baseless demands on the part of the USA and the Western countries can only be perceived as a function of the anachronistic politics of blackmail, which formed the cornerstone of the old, neo-colonial, world order, and for this reason alone Ukraine has the right and, indeed, the moral responsibility to categorically reject them. The West needs

to break away from the myopic intellectual matrix of "great power" politics and begin thinking along more progressive and morally more responsible lines. Instead of forcing Ukraine to play by the rules of this insane game of blackmail, the West should try to understand that the only guarantee of a genuinely stable world order of peace is the necessity of eliminating all nuclear armaments. Ukraine is already thinking along these lines. Not the politics of nuclear blackmail, great power fear-mongering, or colonial exploitation, but the mutual respect, based on complete egalitarianism, of the rights of all the nations of the world, large and small, in the cognizance that all of humankind is enriched when every nation has the full opportunity to add its unique contribution in the development of a multifaceted mosaic of human culture and in the construction of a new, free and just, world order — these are the principles according to which future generations will learn to live with each other in genuine peace and harmony.

Some time ago, Fyodor Dostoevsky, the Russian writer, wrote the following prophetic words: "*Ex oriente lux!*" (And the light will come from the East!) This Russian, messianic writer most certainly wanted to say that this Eastern light will come from Russia, which — in his mind — was to establish its hegemony over the world. On the cusp of a new century, a new era, however, it seems that this light from the East is already shining brightly, but not in Moscow, where a new imperialist power is ready to take over the reins of the old; but in Kyiv — the capital of the first nuclear country to begin the process of dismantling this terrifying instrument of death. This light presages the coming of a new world order, one that was already prophesied by Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet, who once wrote:

*And there will be a son, and there will be a mother,
And there will be Human Beings on this earth.*

... Fiat lux! ...

WILL THE RUSSIAN EAGLE TURN INTO A PHOENIX?

By Ihor Dlaboha

After all is said and done, commonwealths, whether they are formed for broad international reasons or specific regional concerns, are not bad ideas. Even the controversial Commonwealth of International States, formed by Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia, might not turn out to be detrimental to Ukraine.

However, to ensure that this commonwealth maintains an "equal among equals" arrangement, a great deal of diligence is required on the part of the government of Ukraine, the Supreme Council, the people and, finally, the diaspora.

On the positive side, the commonwealth for all intents and purposes signed the death certificate of the Soviet empire; though it did so three days after the Supreme Council of Ukraine declared the Union Treaty of 1922 null and void. The commonwealth treaty further said that all-Union government and administrative structures have no legitimate authority on the territories of the member-states.

The commonwealth treaty, itself, emphasises coordinating mutual interests among the three member-states; establishes a coordinating office in Minsk, and provides no provisions for an executive chamber, though insiders have said that the chairmanship of the coordinating office would rotate in alphabetical order among Byelorussia, Russia and Ukraine (and whomever else joins). It does not foresee an international or UN role for the Commonwealth. In addition to proclaiming the importance of safeguarding human and civil rights, the treaty guarantees the territorial inviolability of each member-state.

At a press conference upon returning to Kyiv from Minsk on December 9, President Leonid Kravchuk explained that the treaty, which was earlier conceived by Byelorussia, then shelved and finally resurrected, was designed to prevent total calamity and inhuman suffering in the wake of the Soviet Union's ultimate collapse. In other words, by grabbing the wobbling framework, the signatories hoped to ease their countries' and their region's transition to a new way of life.

Mercilessly castigating the imperial centre's inability to rule or to satisfy the basic daily needs of the peoples, Kravchuk also said, "We will do everything possible not to ever have that centre in our relations, so that we can be truly independent states. However, attempts to scare us are not needed. It is essential to heed the people. And we will carry out the highest authorisation of the people of Ukraine and we will do just that".

Threats to Independence

Addressing the Supreme Council the next day, Kravchuk said that on the eve of the referendum there were genuine efforts under way to revive the old all-Union structures. Gorbachev kept changing planks in his platform while all the time garnering additional powers, Kravchuk said, adding that ultimately his being president would have been too little for Gorbachev.

"Today, the president of the USSR declares that he is only beginning his fight. Immediately the question emerges: 'With whom?' and by what means? Was it necessary to demolish the Union in order to later fight for it by dragging into this battle millions of people", Kravchuk said.

Kravchuk accused the imperial centre of undertaking dangerous steps that are aimed at confrontation, "setting one nation against another, summoning underground forces, which still exist, in order to further incite the political situation".

Consequently, Kravchuk said, the leaders of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia formed this commonwealth in order for "each state to decide its questions, to assist one another".

"This document is designed to stabilise the situation, resolve by mutual efforts economic, ecological and military problems. In this context, each state remains a state in its fullest meaning, not losing even a gram of its independence", Kravchuk said.

From these words, it seems that the commonwealth was formed to protect the three countries from an impending war, which many people, among them Gorbachev and Baker, warned against or threatened.

Again, an honourable gesture, even when added to this one and the Union's death is the thought of placating the West.

Ukrainian lawmakers ratified the treaty but only after adding about a dozen amendments relating to the military, open borders and others which replaced the original concept of "coordination" with consultation.

Still, is this the right time for the infant independent Ukrainian state to join an association with its age-old nemesis, Russia? The only two, truly free and independent decisions of the Ukrainian people have been the overwhelming ratification of independence and the election of a president. Everything else in Ukraine is based on pre-August 24 structures — the government, the ministries, the parliament, the constitution.

The December 11 edition of the Kyiv newspaper "Koza" observed: "Instead of laws about denationalisation and privatisation, instead of the promised proposals regarding the structure of the executive branch of government, President Leonid Kravchuk, in his first act, concluded an international treaty on the Commonwealth of Independent States. As people are saying, Ukrainian independence lasted seven days. By participating in deciding the fate of Gorbachev, are we faithfully deciding the fate of Ukraine?"

Before setting out to change the world beyond its borders, the Ukrainian government should have first changed the world inside its borders. And first among those tasks is to call new elections to the Supreme Council. The current one does not reflect the interests of the citizenry, thus leaving them virtually disenfranchised. In addition, a new parliament, which would imbue its legislators and the people with renewed confidence, would serve as the very much needed counterbalance to the powers of Kravchuk, which he so denounced in Gorbachev.

Then, new ministers could be appointed from both sides of the political aisle, forming an unquestionably coalition government. And, finally, the lawmakers could finish writing and adopt a new non-Soviet constitution, and not merely live off the remnants of the old one by erasing the words "SSR", "Soviet" and "communist" in hopes of pacifying everyone.

Ukraine, too, must be more careful in its selection of allies. Russia and Byelorussia are not equal partners for Ukraine. Many international barometers have placed Ukraine's economic and industrial potential among the top countries of the world. This commonwealth arrangement will keep Ukraine as the warehouse for Russia and Byelorussia, draining it of natural resources, goods and services, and manpower. A more prudent course of action would have been to join economic, trade and other pacts with countries that can offer Ukraine more than orders and invoices. To be sure, the economy of Ukraine is not strong, but neither is Russia's. Ukraine has to trade goods and services to earn capital, but Ukrainian wheat does not necessarily have to be sold exclusively to Russia in return for its oil. Arab countries, which do not have wheat, are not that much farther away.

Ukrainian relations with Russia have never been good, neighbourly, friendly or congenial. Russia was always dominant and Ukraine — subordinate. The possibility of that kind of relationship resurfacing has never abated, witness Yeltsin's sabre-rattlings since August 24. And, even if he stops threatening to seize Ukrainian lands, what is to stop Russia from becoming the dominant force in the commonwealth, dragging Ukraine and Byelorussia in its wake as they kick and scream that they are too weak and small to resist.

In the first few days since the formation of the commonwealth, Yeltsin has already taken the lead — he called Bush about the commonwealth, he went to see Gorbachev about the commonwealth and the media is calling the new arrangement "Yeltsin's commonwealth".

Kravchuk tried to assuage these fears by explaining why Minsk was selected as the coordinating point for the commonwealth: "Russia is a big state, Ukraine also is not small. In this manner we wanted again to underscore that there will be no younger brothers nor older. We will treat ourselves as equals". But based on Russia's historical overbearing presence in the international community and its physical dimensions, will a signature on a treaty really safeguard against the "Big Brother" rising from its ashes?

Many people in Ukraine and in the diaspora have already labelled the commonwealth a 20th century Pereyaslav Treaty. Reuters on December 12 quoted an unnamed Kyiv historian as saying, "I think we Ukrainians definitely have a Bohdan Khmelnytskyi complex. It is an inferiority complex quite natural for a nation which has never had its own state".

Noted opposition deputy Mykhailo Horyn also addressed this topic: "For Ukrainians, contact with Moscow has always led to one thing only — the colonial position of the Ukrainian people". Nonetheless, Horyn, who supports the commonwealth, added, "But it's dangerous to be opposed to all agreements with Moscow. I think this particular agreement is a great achievement. The Soviet Union has been buried without bloodshed".

Inferiority Complex

The historian and Horyn admit that Ukrainians do have an inferiority complex, a latent willingness to submit to benevolent or even malevolent dictatorships. Is that not enough reason to be leery of the commonwealth arrangement? If Ukrainians are fighting with an inferiority complex, then don't the Russians have a historical reason to boast of a superiority complex?

The November edition of "World Press Review" published a translation of an article by Andrei Zubov from "Literaturna Gazeta", whose headline predicts that possibility: "A Strong Russia may rise again — after things fall apart, they could come back together".

Zubov writes: "From where do the eastern Slavs get such a strong urge to preserve the union? The Russian people's 'great-power genes' were formed over many centuries. Covering vast expanses of north Eurasian plains and devoid of clear-cut natural frontiers, the eastern Slavic state has repeatedly been the target of expansion both by nomads of the steppe and by neighbouring European countries. The most effective way to combat the invasions turned out to be incorporating the source of the expansion into the Slavic state".

Zubov continued that by incorporating former adversaries into the Russian state and giving them certain rights, the security of the Russian centre was ensured. Believing that the Slavic peoples have a common goal, Zubov said that today "as the centre weakens and the pacified 'enemies' recall their one-time independence and pull away, the Slavic peoples see a threat to their security". This, he wrote, may prompt the state to take rigid control of the situation.

As the government and the economy in the former USSR stabilise, Zubov said, "one can expect the recreation of an economically and politically powerful centre in 10-15 years. So the centre will regain its strength. But it will be an authoritarian centre".

He further noted, "In the long run, only a democratic and economically solid centre will be able to guarantee the independence and well-being of the Soviet Union's former outlying regions".

It's questionable whether Zubov knew of the commonwealth plans when he wrote his article, but he certainly knew about Gorbachev's economic and political union plans. Nonetheless, union or commonwealth, some pundits in Russia are moving ahead with reviving, if not, a Soviet imperial centre, then a Russian one. But as the saying goes, "A rose by any other name still smells the same".

The task before Kravchuk, who swore to defend Ukrainian independence and the interests of the Ukrainian people, the government and Supreme Council, at this moment in Ukraine's history, is not easy. The commonwealth can still turn out to be a harmless arrangement. The news of Ukraine's untimely death at the age of seven days can turn out to be premature. The phoenix can still be prevented from rising from its ashes. But before that happens, Ukraine's leadership, people and diaspora cannot forget old complexes — ours and theirs — and constantly bear in mind that the interests of the Ukrainian people have never been served by Moscow.

Out Now

The Third Reich and the Ukrainian Question. Documents 1934-1944

By Wolodymyr Kosyk

In this 175-page collection Wolodymyr Kosyk subjects the Third Reich's attitude towards the Ukrainian question to a painstaking analysis by compiling and commenting on the crucial documents covering a decade (1934-1944) which encompasses both peace and war.

This period of German-Ukrainian relations has heretofore been largely overlooked by Ukrainian and other scholars. Thus, Kosyk's attempt is a pioneering one. He draws the materials for his work from such unimpeachable sources as: the German Federal Archives (civil and military), the German Foreign Ministry, and the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg.

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History

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

(Part 1)

By Peter E. Lycholat

Introduction

It is truly a nightmare to be a witness to the atrocities which have consumed the people of Ukraine, the worst of them committed in this very century. In December 1991 Ukraine democratically voted for secession from the former Soviet Union. This has been a great achievement for Ukraine since her history has overflowed with national desire to be an independent nation-state. As a "member" of the Soviet Union, Ukraine has been dictated to and severely influenced by Moscow. But not only Soviet rule has marred the progress of Ukraine to fulfil her goal of independence and self-government; Poles, Czechoslovakians and Romanians have also had their share in ruling parts of Ukraine, as well as the Russians. German influence too has been substantial.

With the aid of contemporary Western newspaper reports (French, German, American and English), British Foreign Policy Documents, contemporary Soviet and Ukrainian journals and booklets (translated into English), and also the reminiscences of a Ukrainian emigre, this article aims to establish why so many neighbouring countries have strived to possess Ukraine. This involves highlighting the attraction to Ukraine and the advantages certain countries would gain by developing definite policies aimed specifically at controlling Ukraine in as many spheres as possible.

Three countries come to the fore in executing policies determined to coerce and occupy Ukraine for their own advantage that have also divided Ukraine into East and West and threatened the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to independence and sovereignty — aspirations that have dominated Ukraine's very being; since the First World War Germany, Poland and Russia, leading dramatically up to the Second World War, have all contributed to an "assault" on Ukraine. This article details this assault by the three countries and in doing so also uncovers why external Western authorities have ignored the pleas of the Ukrainian people, especially in the late 1920s, when it was obvious that terrible atrocities were being committed against them in the Polish controlled part of Ukraine (Western Ukraine) but also in Soviet Ukraine especially under the Stalinist dictatorship.

This article unveils the *real* attitude of the Soviet government to the nationality problem — its unjust and unlawful nature. All three aforementioned countries have at one stage or another during the interwar period considered themselves

"liberators" of Ukraine and her people. It shall be revealed whether any country really has "liberated" Ukraine. A documentation of the people of Ukraine and how they have been treated throughout the periods of suppression, liberation, foreign intervention and cultural expansion is provided giving an appreciation of that which has been especially experienced by yesterday's Ukrainian generation.

The Ukrainians, "...a people of high culture, with a history of a thousand years and possessing immeasurable raw material resources guaranteeing their economic prosperity",¹ are a race who above all things have looked forward to the day when they can be internationally recognised as citizens of an independent Ukrainian nation-state. The summer of 1991 has brought hope into the aspirations of the nationalistic Ukrainian people. They have separated from the USSR and are now on the way to independence and democracy. But this road to freedom has been a difficult path to follow; history has been unkind to the Ukrainians and their desire for independence. This is nowhere more obviously displayed than in the title of a 1962 documentary report entitled "The Shame of the Twentieth Century"² which specifically deals with the effects of Polish and Soviet control of Ukraine.

The Versailles Treaty (June 28, 1919) completely overlooked the concerns of the Ukrainian people; Poland was allowed by the Supreme Allied Council to continue to occupy Western Ukraine (incorporating Eastern Galicia) and proceeded to introduce an occupational policy that treated Germans, Jews as well as Ukrainians as second class citizens. March 1923 had seen the Polish Republic receive sovereignty over Eastern Galicia. This was drawn up by the Council of Ambassadors and signed by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Poland. Many Ukrainians believed that their fate had been sealed when the West allowed Poland to effectively rule Western Ukraine, although Poland had agreed to the Minority Treaty of 1925, established to uphold the equal rights of all citizens under Polish jurisdiction irrespective of their ethnic origin. In this Treaty Poland declared her desire, "...to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she has assumed sovereignty". However, five years later, appeals to the League of Nations from Western Ukrainians proved how wrong the West had been about Poland and the effectiveness of the Minority Treaty.

The Soviet occupation of Eastern Ukraine was characterised by oppression and inhumanity, Ukraine experiencing real "Red" terror under Russian chauvinism; "Le gouvernement sovietique a sur la conscience les plus grandes crimes qu'un gouvernement ait jamais commis au cours de toute l'histoire de l'humanite".³

¹ "Volkischer Beobachter", November 12, 1937, Berlin. Appears in the "Manchester Guardian", November 13, 1937.

² "The Shame of the Twentieth Century — Bolshevik Methods of Combating the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement", (London 1962, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.).

³ "Journal de Geneve", June 3, 1935.

Lenin had been alarmed at the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people from the beginning of the Russian Revolution of 1917 up to 1921 (when Russian Communist Party control had been established in Ukraine and was active), this period witnessing the Ukrainian War of Liberation when Ukraine politically and physically fought for its independence and rights of self-determination against the Russian Communist Party and Red Army. But it was really Stalin who was determined to deny Ukraine its rights of self-determination and who also denied that there *was* a national question or problem in Ukraine. This denial often supported by the use of force convinced the Soviet leadership that anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary nationalistic elements in Ukraine were being oppressed to secure the essential well-being of the Soviet Union. Both Poland and the Soviet Union have treated Ukraine harshly, but an external influence in the 20th century which perhaps made matters worse for the Ukrainians was interference from Germany, whose designs on Ukraine were expressed nowhere more strongly than in Hitler's "Mein Kampf". German interest ensured that confusion, agitation, and provocative activity misleadingly became and remained the proponents of Ukrainian nationalism. The USSR, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania have had the greatest involvement with Ukraine in the 20th century — in a role that has been oppressive, inhumane, misleading and downright insulting. The West too has played its part in this game of territorial occupation and rather than Ukraine being a pawn in this game, it has in fact figured more significantly as the actual playing board.

The "Vechirnyi Kyiv" newspaper on February 19, 1991, reports that Ukraine ranks among Europe's most productive countries. 1989 official government statistics compare Ukraine with Britain, France and West Germany, and come to the conclusion that Ukraine ranks first in the production of coal, iron ore, steel, potatoes and sugar. Ukraine ranks second with regard to natural gas and oil and also with regard to grain, milk and butter.⁴ The economic richness of Ukraine, as the above report demonstrates, is practically perfect for a nation's self-sufficiency. In this sense Ukraine has always been rich and desirable which explains the temptation of possessing Ukraine and the long denial by occupying neighbours that Ukraine is entitled to be a free nation-state. But it is not only her wealth that has been and is so attractive, so too is her geographical and military-strategic position in the sense that it is a gateway between East and West. Ukraine has survived through a continuous three pronged attack during the interwar years and the following three chapters demonstrate in full the effect of the policies and desires of Pilsudski, Hitler and Stalin.

⁴ "The Ukrainian Review" (Spring 1991, Vol. XXXIX, no. 1, p. 74).

1: Ukraine (1917-1923)

"The Provisional Government considers it to be its right and its duty to declare at this time that the aim of free Russia is not domination over other nations, or seizure of their national possessions, or forcible occupation of foreign territories, but the establishment of a stable peace on the basis of the self-determination of peoples".⁵ This fair, reasonable and honest statement by the Provisional Government in 1917 reflected a temporary mood of justness that if expanded and realistically implemented by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 would probably have ensured that the Soviet Union would never have come into existence.

The "self-determination of peoples", this concept expounded by President Wilson of the United States of America in 1918 ("Wilson's Fourteen Points", January 8, 1918) was implemented and approved with some flexibility by the "peacemakers" among the Allied Powers after the Great War. The fact that it was the Allied Powers that had to determine whether calls for self-determination were justified enough for a race of people to develop and establish a nation-state, also implied that some countries, those who were presumably under Russian communist jurisdiction, would find no support from the West with regard to national self-determination demands. The fact that Poland, Finland and the Baltic states were granted independence by the Russian government of 1917 *does* help to make sense of why Ukraine was not. Ukrainians and Russians were both of Slavic origin whereas the Finns, Latvians and Lithuanians spoke a completely separate language and were culturally different. Poland had been granted independence only when most of this land had been occupied by the Germans, and in reality the Russian government lost nothing in acknowledging Poland's right to self-determination. Naturally, Ukraine was the most important area to hold because of its economic and geographical importance.

Wilson's Fourteen Points stated that, "...the interests of the populations concerned [in dealing with the adjustment of colonial claims] must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined". The Fourteen Points in fact aroused the hopes of the Ukrainian Central Council (Rada) which had taken advantage of the revolutionary situation to claim independence. The Rada believed that its country had been treated as a colony by the Tsarist autocracy and did not want Ukraine to remain a colony any longer. But complex relations between the Rada and the Provisional Government

⁵ "The Provisional Government's Declaration of March 27 on War Aims", Prince G.E. Lvov, Minister-President: Rech', No. 73, March 28, 1917, p. 2 as translated in Golder, pp. 329-331. (see "The First Provisional Government", Browder and Kerensky, Vol. II, p. 1045, No. 909).

from 1917 onwards ensured that Ukraine *would* go on being treated as a colony and denied the right of secede secession, mainly because by maintaining Ukraine within the framework of the “former” Russian Empire the Bolsheviks would have at their disposal a very influential and productive source of food and raw materials; Ukraine produced 24 per cent of the entire industrial output of Russia prior to World War I⁶ and in 1913 it produced over 20 per cent of the output of large scale industry, 78.2 per cent of coal, 57.7 per cent of the steel and over two thirds of the iron ore.⁷ Ukraine was recognised in 1917 (as under Tsardom) as being a direct gateway to the Balkans and to the trading ports of the Black Sea. Stephen Oleskiw writes, “...The favourable economic position of Ukraine made it the prize possession of Tsarist Russia and an essential area to be conquered by Soviet Russia”. Although it was very honourable to speak of rights of national self-determination, the West did nothing to help Ukraine become and continue to exist as an independent nation-state, or to counter Bolshevik offensives against Ukraine which was later acclaimed by S.V. Kossior in 1934 to be for Ukraine’s own good — the 1917 Ukrainian Revolution had been led by “bourgeois nationalists” who fought to maintain and consolidate the power of the bourgeoisie. Kossior ironically explained that if the “bourgeois nationalists” had been successful, “...The workers and peasants of the Ukraine would only have received another master, they would merely have received a new exploiter in place of the old”.⁸

The Bolshevik takeover of the former Russian Empire in 1917 headed by Lenin announced the complete equality of all nationalities and their rights to self-determination. But the marked difference between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples⁹ did not limit the aims of the Russian Communist Party to pursuing the 1919 Party Programme line, that, “...it is necessary to abolish all privileges of any national group, to proclaim the fullest equality of all nationalities and to recognise the rights of colonies and oppressed nations to separation”.¹⁰ Despite these claims of “fullest equality” the Bolsheviks were to resolve the national and self-determination “problem” by force. The Party established a new regime which had to be accepted in order to gain a foot-hold. Utopian ideals and words of appeasement soon turned into cruel reality and the uncovering of another oppressing government; the attitude of the Russian and Soviet governments to national problems changed as the “problem” grew more serious and threatened

⁶ “Soviet Ukraine” (1970), p. 244.

⁷ Ibid, p. 252

⁸ P.P. Postyshev and S.V. Kossior, “Soviet Ukraine Today” (1934).

⁹ Mackenzie Wallace commenting on the Ukrainians and the Russians stated in 1905, “...I should say that we have two distinct nationalities, further apart from each other than the English and the Scotch”.

¹⁰ The 1919 Party Programme, “National Relations”.

Russian Communist Party central control. The advantages and necessity of possessing Ukraine constantly occupied a place at the back of the Bolsheviks' minds.¹¹ Lenin was in favour of a republic's cultural autonomy as long as politically this republic was equal to the other republics and kept to Russian Communist Party policy. Stalin on the other hand required national minorities to be subordinate to the strong chauvinism of Russia. The marked difference between the ideas of these two leading figures in Soviet history explain how the personality of the Soviet leader has to a degree determined how Ukraine has developed. In the revolutionary situation, with a war to fight, political disarray, and with order to maintain the new Bolshevik regime like the weak Russian Provisional Government before it could do little to oppose the Ukrainian Central Council's First Universal Manifesto of June 23, 1917; "...Let Ukraine be free. Without separating entirely from Russia, without severing conditions with the Russian state, let the Ukrainian people have the right to order their own lives in their own land".¹² Bolshevik resistance to the Ukrainian Rada's independence claims was so ineffectual that the Rada was able to proclaim on January 22, 1918, its Resolution on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, which in effect was also an expression of the Rada's attitude to the Russians — that they were enemies.

Richard Pipes states succinctly that, "...nationalism is treated as the single greatest foe of communism as well as its greatest ally". This is borne out by the fact that Lenin had two conceptions of nationalism; when it was progressive and when it was reactionary. It was left to the Party to decide when nationalism was progressive and when it was reactionary. Pipes continues, "...it [nationalism] is a foe when it serves to divide the peoples and countries of the socialist bloc [reactionary]; it is an ally when it helps to divide the forces of the enemy [progressive]". This double edged policy on the nationality "problem" highlights the Russian Communist Party's abuse of national minorities rights in the Soviet Union in 1919. It is unfortunate for the national minorities like the Ukrainians that once they had claimed independence and established a representative body of the nation [the Ukrainian Rada], the enforcement of a puppet socialist [Bolshevik] government using force to overthrow the Rada, permitted the Bolsheviks to define their attitude and relevant actions towards national minorities. Lenin soon (in 1920) arrived at the conclusion that non-Russian nations, if they tried to separate from the Soviet state were in fact guilty of a counter-revolutionary act.¹³

¹¹ A.I. Savenko expressed in 1911 that the Ukrainian problem was injurious to Russia and that unlike the Ukraine, "...Poland, Finland and other borderlands did not give Russia her greatness".

¹² Orest Subtelny, "Ukraine — A History" (1988)

¹³ This point is enforced in "Soviet nationalities in Strategic Perspective". (Edited by S. Enders Wimbush).

In addition to continuing the war with Germany, the Bolsheviks had to contend with an internal war with Ukraine [Ukrainian War of Liberation]. The treaty between Ukraine and Germany forestalling the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 3, 1918, was signed to expel the Bolshevik Red forces from Ukraine by way of foreign aid. The Brest-Litovsk Treaty permitted Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, and the whole country to rest from war but at a price — Ukraine's treaty with Germany for international assistance in 1918 was paid for by promising to provide German and Austrian forces with grain and mineral resources. Instead of continuing the fight against the Red Army, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty stopped the war on the Eastern Front with Russia ceding Ukraine, the Baltic provinces and Russian Poland to German control — "...In view of the fact that we have no army, that our troops at the front are in a demoralised condition, and that we must make use of every possible breathing space to retard imperialist attacks on the Soviet Socialist Republic, the Congress resolves to accept the most onerous and humiliating peace treaty". (Lenin to Bolshevik Party Congress of 1918)

German influence in Ukraine (even under General Skoropadskyi who had been permitted by the Germans to re-establish the Hetmanate) lasted until the end of the war (November 1918) and whilst in power it was then that General Kraus, commander of the Austrian Eastern Army in Ukraine, stated in his report to the Austrian General Staff from Kyiv in June 1918, that, "...Germany pursues a definite and political aim in the Ukraine". This is actually one of the first indications that Germany's East European policies were expansionist and primarily concerned with the possession of Ukraine. Oleh S. Fedyshyn states that Germany's Ostpolitik did not really concern itself with Ukraine until the spring of 1918 when, "...the Ukraine became the most coveted object of Germany's designs and ambitions in the east".¹⁴ The withdrawal of German troops and the end of the war dashed German hopes of continued exploitation of Ukraine. Russia had the opportunity to regain control of the former German occupied area and clashed immediately with the Ukrainian government which now had a competitor in politics in the Bolshevik Party. The Ukrainian government looked to Poland for help against the Bolsheviks, but the Poles were already taking advantage of the situation and advancing on Western Ukraine as Russian troops advanced in the north. Symon Petlura, the commander of the Ukrainian army, formed a military coalition with Pilsudski against the Russians which failed mainly because Poland did not trust the Ukrainians and did not fully equip them with arms. In order to ensure control over Western Ukraine Poland signed the Treaty of Riga in 1921 with Russia which then defined the eastern and western borders between Poland and the Soviet Union respectively. The Ukrainian National Republic ceased to exist.

¹⁴ Oleh S. Fedyshyn, "Germany's Drive to the East and the Ukrainian revolution 1917-1918".

The First World War and the Russian Revolution had a major impact on the future of Ukraine and the nationalistic Ukrainian desire for an independent nation-state. It created the circumstances to establish a nation-state, but it also gave Germany the chance to realise its expansionist goals in Eastern Europe. The "New York Times" on reporting on German designs in Eastern Europe in the late 1930s writes that in 1918, "...Berlin missed the scheme of an independent Ukraine which should have German tutelage and protection".¹⁵ The feeling among some Germans that Ukraine and Germany should be closely related (perhaps only in the sense of German exploitation) continued after the war. The actual occupation of Ukraine during the Great War influenced Hitler's Eastern European visions; in Hitler's "Twenty Five Points" published on February 24, 1920, Point Three states, "...We demand land and territory [colonies] for the nourishment of our people and for settling our superfluous population". Hitler was more specific regarding this land in "Mein Kampf", "...We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze towards the land in the east". "...If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia and her vassal border states [Ukraine]".¹⁶ Actually being in Ukraine and realising what it offered had acted as a stimulant to German ideas as a "New York Times" headline shows in 1938, "...Wealth of Ukraine Lures Germans — Their Interest Aroused by Conquest During the World War".¹⁷

The calls for Ukrainian independence and separation from 1917 to 1921 caused the Provisional Government and the Bolshevik leadership great concern. A re-evaluation of the benefits of maintaining Ukraine under Petrograd (and Moscow after 1918) jurisdiction meant that there was a strong organised oppositional force in the Bolshevik Party determined not to lose such a "...pearl of Russia".¹⁸

Amidst civil war, nationalist dissatisfaction and particularly the situation at the end of the war in Ukraine, the Polish forces under Pilsudski took advantage and began to "reclaim" land that had been under Polish control before the partitions in 1722 when land had been seized by Tsarist Russia. One of these major areas was Ukraine. It is particularly significant that the West did not protest against the "retaking" of these lands. The Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919, was in fact very favourable towards the Poles, as this treaty was one of "revenge" — to make Germany pay for the First World War and to ensure that it would never be able to cause another war again. This involved establishing a Western-friendly country east of Germany to act as a buffer against German expansionist goals in the East —

¹⁵ "New York Times" December 18, 1938.

¹⁶ Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf".

¹⁷ "New York Times" November 27, 1938.

¹⁸ Ivan Dzyuba, "Internationalism or Russification?".

Poland. The larger this country was the more effective it would be as a counterweight to German expansionism — i.e. Poland would be a Western formulated anti-German security system in the East.

The annexation of Western Ukraine broadened Poland's borders. As a dual safety measure, in addition to keeping the borders of the potentially threatening Soviet Union as far away as possible from Poland proper, the West looked on Poland as a buffer against the Soviet Union's anti-capitalist communist ideology. The threat of communism was so real that the Versailles Treaty even allowed for German troops to remain in the East after the war as a counter-measure to any potential Russian invasion. Poland was permitted by the Supreme Council to continue to occupy Western Ukraine in 1919 although as the "Manchester Guardian" correctly states in 1938, the Poles had overthrown, "...the West Ukrainian Republic in 1919 by *armed force* [own emphasis]".¹⁹ It is most likely that the Poles were able to exercise control of Eastern Galicia so easily because, together with Poland, this area of Western Ukraine geographically separated Germany and Russia. Western fears of a Russo-German alliance were alleviated by maintaining control of this area in Polish hands. The Poles claimed that it was essential for them to control Eastern Galicia for reasons of military defence against the Bolsheviks, but Eastern Galicia was also an area that was, "...rich in productive agricultural land and in mineral oil".²⁰ Pilsudski was following a potential policy of exploitation.

In June 25, 1919, the Supreme Council proposed that Poland should have a mandate over Eastern Galicia for a period of twenty-five years, after which there would be a plebiscite to decide the fate of the region.²¹ The Poles objected, perhaps for the reason that the majority of the population in Eastern Galicia was Ukrainian and would never vote for Polish rule. Riga confirmed Poland's hold over this area in 1921 (incorporating Volhynia, Polissia and Kholm). The Ukrainian people had no say in the matter whatsoever.

Such was the situation in 1922 — there was Soviet Ukraine and Polish controlled Western Ukraine and both these areas were ruled by occupational powers which had used force to get what they wanted and had then signed a treaty with one another giving the appearance that all was in order. The West indirectly acknowledged and ratified this partition and occupation of Ukraine by giving Poland sovereignty over Eastern Galicia in March 1923. The "Manchester Guardian" reports that, "...On March 23, 1923, Mr. Bonar Law [then Prime Minister] stated in the House of Commons in reply to a question by Sir John

¹⁹ "Manchester Guardian" December 1, 1938.

²⁰ Wasył Swystun, "Ukraine — The Sorest Spot of Europe" (1931).

²¹ This is particularly well explained in "Sorest Spot of Europe".

Simon, that the Conference of Ambassadors had assigned Eastern Galicia to Poland subject to the condition that the Polish Government 'has recognised that ethnographical conditions make autonomy necessary in that region'.²² A law had been passed in the Polish Sejm (council) on September 26, 1922, conferring Home Rule upon Eastern Galicia and guaranteeing the rights of the Ukrainian four-fifths majority of the total population in Western Ukraine. "...As for the law of 1922, it was never put into effect. It remains a dead letter in the Polish Statute books to the present day".²³ The "Manchester Guardian" reported again in 1931 that the Western Ukrainians had really been, "...handed over to a hostile power with no protection except that of the Polish 'Minority Treaty'". This treaty had been arranged in 1919 between the Polish government and the Allies at Versailles. It stipulated that, "...Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion".²⁴

Soviet Ukraine was left in 1923 having signed two Union Treaties (December 8, 1920, and December 30, 1923) confirming that it was a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the signing of the treaties the government in Ukraine was heavily influenced by the Russian Communist Party and did not represent the wishes of the Ukrainian people. These treaties sealed the fate of many Ukrainians, whose territory would once again be treated as a colony. But as "Le Temps" stated in 1936, there was and continues to be, "...effervescence parmi les paysans ukrainiens".²⁵

To be continued

²² Cecil L'Estrange Malone, House of Commons, "Manchester Guardian", August 12, 1931.

²³ "Manchester Guardian" April 14, 1931.

²⁴ Article 1 of June 29, 1919, Minority Treaty.

²⁵ "Le Temps" August 31, 1936.

*Literature***HER EXCELLENCY**
A dramatic poem in five acts

By Lesya Ukrainka
(Transl. Vera Rich)

Introductory Remarks

Larysa Kosach-Kvitka, better known by her pseudonym, Lesya Ukrainka, was born on February 25, 1871, in Novohrad Volynskiy. She came from a prominent intellectual family. Her mother Olha, a sister of the Ukrainian scholar and historian, Mykhailo Drahomaniv, was herself a writer, who wrote under the pseudonym, Olena Pchilka. Her father, Petro Kosach, had organised schools for Ukrainian peasantry and had occupied various prominent positions in public life.

Lesya Ukrainka from her earliest years was in close touch with Ukrainian intellectual life and learned the importance of understanding Ukrainian national problems. She owes her early interest in literature to her mother, who encouraged her young daughter to study Ukrainian folk songs and taught her the importance of Ukrainian literature. As a consequence Ukrainka grew to understand and to love the Ukrainian people, and the problem of the liberation of Ukraine became the ideal which inspired her to write patriotic poetry, and to be devoted to the Ukrainian national cause throughout her life.

Lesya Ukrainka studied modern European languages with particular interest and had a good knowledge of English, German, French, Italian, Russian and Polish. She also studied Latin and Greek, and learnt Spanish in later life. Being well educated Lesya Ukrainka was familiar not only with the works of Ukrainian authors, but was also well versed in those of Hugo, Schiller, Goethe, Byron, and other prominent European writers and poets. Lesya Ukrainka was also very interested in Roman and Greek history and literature, and her great knowledge of ancient writings was reflected in her dramatic plays and poems "The Babylonian Captivity" (1903), "In the Catacombs" (1906), "The Orgy" (1913), "Rufinus and Priscilla" (1911),

“Upon the Ruins” (1904), “Cassandra” (1907), “Iphigenia in Tauris”, “The Advocate Martianus” (1910), “The Possessed One” (1901), and others.

Ukrainka wrote her first poem, “Hope”, at the age of twelve. At around the same time she fell prey to tuberculosis, which plagued her for the rest of her life.

In 1892, when Lesya Ukrainka was twenty, her first book of poems, “On Wings of Songs”, was published.

This was followed by two other books of poems, “Thoughts and Dreams” (1899) and “Echoes” (1902). In a desperate fight for her life Ukrainka did not abandon her activity. She was forced to travel from one health resort to another, spending her winters in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and in Bulgaria, where her uncle, Mykhailo Drahomaniv, was a professor at the University of Sofia.

In 1897 she underwent an operation in Berlin. However, in 1901 tuberculosis struck again. In search of a cure Lesya Ukrainka went to the Carpathians in western Ukraine, where she met the Ukrainian poet and writer, Ivan Franko, and the Ukrainian novelist, Olha Kobylanska. Franko highly praised her great contribution to Ukrainian literature.

In 1907 Lesya Ukrainka married a Ukrainian musician, Klyment Kvitka, but shortly afterwards her disease returned and she was compelled once again to travel to Berlin, where the doctors advised her to go to Egypt and remain there in the mild climate. During her last year Lesya Ukrainka never lost her interest in life. In that time she produced her greatest works, and her spirit refused to be broken and confined. Struggling against the disease Ukrainka, in her poem “Contra Spem Spero”, expressed her great desire to overcome the illness and to live, as she could not die leaving her duty unfulfilled.

Lesya Ukrainka’s masterpiece is “Forest Song”, which was written in June 1912 in Kutaisi. Through the hero, Lukash, a poet and musician, the poet interprets the world of the Ukrainian peasants of Polissia, their beliefs, customs, and their close contact with nature and all their surroundings.

Well acquainted with the writers of the Romantic school, Lesya Ukrainka wrote “Three Moments” (1905) — a theme from the days of the French Revolution, “Her Excellency” (1910) — a Ukrainian theme, “Don Juan” (1912) — a subject already well known in world literature, and “Isolda of the White Hand” (1913) — a story of spiritual and earthly love. She worked very hard to bring Ukrainian literature onto a more advanced European

stage, and was convinced that the new Ukrainian literature must adopt the ideas common to all humanity.

Lesya Ukrainka's literary work represented something new and modern in Ukrainian literature. Throughout her life she was conscious of the fact that she had a great mission to fulfil for her people and for Ukraine.

On August 1, 1913, this great poet of the Ukrainian modernist movement died in Surami, Georgia, at the age of forty-three.

"Her Excellency" was written in Helwan, Egypt, in June 1910. It is set at the time of Hetman Petro Doroshenko, who ruled Ukraine during the so-called era of "Ruin" in the 17th century.

The heroine of "Her Excellency" is Oksana, the daughter of a prominent Ukrainian kozak. She marries Stepan, a young Ukrainian *boyar* and member of the tsar's entourage, and moves with him to Moscow. Oksana finds Moscow a different and alien world, and the foreign environment and strange customs awaken her longings for Ukraine. Moscow's hostility towards the Ukrainian national liberation movement deepens Oksana's feelings of alienation and despair. As a result she falls seriously ill. In an effort to improve her health Stepan suggests they should return to Ukraine. Oksana, however, rejects the plan, arguing that Stepan has no right to return to his homeland because while the liberation movement in Ukraine was being suppressed by Moscow, he remained passive in the service of the tsar.

In "Her Excellency" Lesya Ukrainka expressed her deep patriotism and grief for the fate of her native land, and presented her views on Ukrainian independence and national and cultural identity. Although set in 17th century Ukraine, the ideas expressed in the drama can easily be related to the problems of Lesya Ukrainka's own age. For these reasons publication of "Her Excellency" was banned by both the tsarist and communist regimes. (ed.)

Dramatis Personae

Oleksa Perebiynyi, a Kozak officer.

Madame Perebiynykha, his wife.

Stepan, a Kozak, now in the service of the Tsar of Muscovy.

Oksana, daughter of Perebiynyi.

Ivan, son of Perebiynyi.

An orderly.

Stepan's mother.

Hanna, Stepan's sister.

A Kozak visitor.

Maids in the houses of Perebiynyi and Stepan.

Act I

A garden in front of the house of Perebiynyi, a Kozak of renown, although of no great wealth. The house gives on to the garden with a wide verandah which runs the entire length of the building. There are chairs and a table on the verandah; the table is laid for supper. Old Madame Perebiynykha is putting the finishing touches to the table, helped by her daughter Oksana and a maidservant. Across the garden towards the verandah come Perebiynyi and Stepan, a young man dressed in the costume of a Muscovite nobleman, although it is quite clear from his face that he is not a Muscovite.

PEREBIYNYI: *(to Stepan)*

My wife has certainly worked swiftly. See!
She has our supper laid and waiting ready,
While we were lingering back in the churchyard
And talking there.

PEREBIYNYKHA: *(coming forward a little on the verandah to welcome the guest)*

Your excellency, I pray you
To share our bread and salt with us.

STEPAN: *(bowing)*

And gladly
I'd do so, madame, but I do not dare,
The older noblemen might be offended —
I have been absent from them for some time.

- PEREBIYNYI: No cause for worry there. Pidkomoriy
Invited them to feast with him, but I
Begged for you as our guest "I am", I told them
"Not feeling at my best today, I can not
Therefore enjoy a feast; as for Stepan,
For the sake of oldtime friendship with his father,
I want to take him home to be my guest,
He is a young man; it is not befitting
He should take part in such a mighty feast".
The noblemen, flushed with the scent of mead
And grog, were now all in a mellow mood
And said: "Let the young fellow run along.
He can stay with you, till we all depart.
Why should we need him?"
- STEPAN: Then I thank you, sir,
From all my heart!
(He goes up on to the verandah with his hosts)
- PEREBIYNYI: I'll tell the orderly
To go and fetch your baggage to us here,
And I shall keep you in captivity,
Until the nobles set you free.
- STEPAN: Dear God!
This is captivity more sweet than freedom.
- PEREBIYNYKHA: *(to Oksana)* Oksana, run along and find Semen.
(Exit Oksana. After a few moments she returns)
- STEPAN: I fear that I am putting you to trouble... .
- PEREBIYNYKHA: Not in the least! Our home has always room
To welcome in a guest!
- PEREBIYNYI: Now, son, forget
All ceremony here with me. Your father,
God rest him, took his bread and salt with us
When we were brother Kozaks.
(He seats Stepan at the table, then sits down himself)
Come, Oksana,
You ought to pour the first glass for our guest.
(Oksana takes a bottle and pours two glasses — for her father and the guest)

OKSANA: Your Excellency, pray accept this drink.

STEPAN: (*taking the glass, he rises and bows to Oksana*)
God grant you, fairest lady, happiness
And a fair fortune!

OKSANA: Drink, sir, in good health.
(*Stepan drains his glass and again sits down. Oksana serves her father. They all begin to eat*)

PEREBIYNYI: (*to Oksana*)
And at the start, he did not recognise you.
Did you know? He asked who was the young lady
In the first pair, the one who held the banner.

OKSANA: (*smiling and glancing at Stepan*)
When was it?

PEREBIYNYI: When they sang the three-fold "Holy"
And you came forward in your Guild procession.

STEPAN: And do you always hold the banner?

OKSANA: (*with a certain self-satisfaction*)
Well,
I am chief sister in the Maiden's Guild.

PEREBIYNYI: (*with a sly wink*)
She is no longer the small girl Oksana
For whom you used to carve those little spindles!

OKSANA: I have those spindles still, safe put away...
(*She stops speaking, covered in confusion*)

STEPAN: (*joyfully*) Indeed?

OKSANA: (*interrupting a conversation which embarrasses her. To her mother*)
But mother, where is our Ivan?

PEREBIYNYKHA: Where is he? In the street among his friends.

IVAN: (*Oksana's brother, a young Kozak, entering from the house*)
Wrong! Here I am! Give me some supper, Mother!

PEREBIYNYKHA: But first of all, you have to greet our guest!

IVAN: (*sitting down, unconcernedly*)

We've met already back there, by the church.

PEREBIYNYI:

He will stay here with us, until they leave.

IVAN: (*as before*)

Oh, will he? Good! Oksana, look, this food's
Completely cold. Run out and get me some
That's nice and hot.

OKSANA: (*resenting his tone*)

The maid will soon be coming;
Tell her yourself!

IVAN:

Aren't we proud of a sudden! (*to Stepan*)
Back home in Moscow, I suppose, your girls
Are not so hoity-toity?

STEPAN:

I do not
Know any Moscow girls.

OKSANA:

Indeed?

STEPAN:

I lived
In Moscow only a short while. When Father
Was still alive, he sent me off to Kyiv
To study, mostly at the Academy,
Only when my father died, did I go back
To help my mother.

PEREBIYNYKHA:

Wouldn't it be better
To bring your mother back home here?

STEPAN:

Too hard!
We've nothing here to live on in Ukraine,
For, as you know, our whole estate was robbed
And plundered to the very bricks just after
Vyhovsky's uprising. We never had been
Exactly rich, and after that we lost
The small prosperity that once we had.
Before my father got himself established
In Moscow, we lived there in poverty.
At Pereyaslav, my father had sworn
An oath of loyalty to Moscow, and
Loyally he kept his word.

- IVAN: Why should we keep it?
 The Devil lured them to give such an oath!
- PEREBIYNYI: But at that time, son, you could look at it
 Two ways; no one knew how it all would end...
 And after... No one should betray an oath.
- IVAN: (*ironically*) For sure! Far better to betray Ukraine!
- STEPAN: (*flaring up then restraining himself*)
 My father was no traitor to Ukraine!
 He served her under the Tsar's hand no worse
 Than did his enemies serve her beneath
 The Polish crown.
- IVAN: Of course, it makes no difference
 Whose heel it is we lick, whether it is
 Poles or the Muscovites.
- STEPAN: How many were there
 At that time who stood independently?
- PEREBIYNYI: (*to Ivan*)
 Ukraine's affairs, my son, are very tangled...
 Old Bohdan was no more a fool than you
 Or me, but all the same he found he could not
 Stand firm by his own strength alone.
 (*Perebiynykha leans towards Ivan and whispers something in his ear. Ivan
 impatiently tosses his head*)
- IVAN: No, father!
 Why gloss it over? Let us speak plain truth.
 This is no private matter, but our people's.
 If there were fewer of them who were willing
 After they'd squandered all their honest wealth
 To run off yearning after Moscow's sables,
 And stretch their hands out eagerly for what
 The Muscovites call "moneybags"... .
- PEREBIYNYKHA: Ivan!
 (*She pulls her son by the skirts of his coat*)
- STEPAN: It was not for sables or moneybags
 That my father, God rest him, went to Moscow!

He did not wish in his own land to serve
 Any foreign lords; there in a foreign land
 He chose to serve his native faith, to aid
 Though from afar, his brothers in oppression,
 By winning favour for them from the Tsar.
 He was an old man; he could not bear arms
 For Ukraine's honour...

IVAN:

Yes, but you are young,
 So why did you not take up the arms again
 That fell from out your father's aged grasp?

STEPAN:

How can I make you see? When I was small
 My father taught me from the Holy Scriptures,
 And told me I must learn by heart the story
 Of Cain and Abel. "Watch and pray, my son",
 He said, "That one day you, with a clear gaze,
 Not clouded and not trembling as did Cain,
 Answer our Heavenly Father's questioning
 When He demands of you: "Where is thy brother?".
 And after that, how can I, in Ukraine,
 Bear arms in such a way that I might never
 Smite my own native brother?... Is it true
 Musket and sabre have a greater strength
 And honour than the pen, the sincere word?
 No, I was taught that this is not the case.

PEREBIYNYI:

We do not often hear such words as these...
 However... maybe in the world there'd be
 Far less of sin and grief if all men thought
 The way you do...

IVAN: (*scornfully*)

It was these Kyiv monks
 Taught you such a stuff.

OKSANA:

Ivan, you never studied
 In Kyiv, so however do you know
 What they teach there?

IVAN: (*sarcastically*)

So now, ail of a sudden,
 You have a strong protectress on your side
 Your Excellency!

- OKSANA: I just told the truth...
(She is embarrassed and comes down off the verandah into the garden. The Orderly comes out from the house on to the verandah)
- ORDERLY: Sir, I have brought all your guest's luggage over.
- PEREBIYNYI: Come with me then, Stepan, and I will show you
Where you will stay with us.
- STEPAN: *(to Perebiynykha)*
Thank you, good mother
For bread and salt!
- PEREBIYNYKHA: *(with a sidelong glance at her son)*
Forgive us, if perhaps
At first our welcome was not all it might be...
(Stepan and Perebiyny go into the house with the orderly)
- PEREBIYNYKHA: *(in a low voice, to Ivan)*
Well! Who'd speak to a guest in such a manner?
- IVAN: Huh! Let him hear the truth, at least for once!
- PEREBIYNYKHA: But you heard what he said...
- IVAN: Well! Any monkling
Is good at pulling wool over folk's eyes!
- PEREBIYNYKHA: I found him pleasant — he is a fine lad,
So courteous —
- IVAN: Obviously, he did not
Need a great deal of time to talk you round!
- PEREBIYNYKHA: That is as may be, but another time
Do not be so sharp with a guest! It seemed
We had invited him into our home
Only to scorn him. It is not good manners!
- IVAN: Oh, very well, then! I shall not provoke him!
(He gets down from the verandah)
- PEREBIYNYKHA: Where are you going?
- IVAN: Out to join my friends!
(He goes through the garden, jumps over the fence and disappears. A maid enters and begins to clear the table)

PEREBIYNYKHA: Where have you gone, Oksana?

OKSANA: (*Appearing from behind a bush with a watering can in her hand*)
Here, Mamma,
I'm watering the periwinkle.

PEREBIYNYKHA: Good!
They need it, they are quite parched by the sun,
And don't forget the ones that we transplanted!
(Perebiynykha and the maid finish clearing the table and exeunt into the house. Oksana waters the flowers, singing a spring ballad. Dusk falls over the garden. Stepan quietly climbs out of the window of his room on to the verandah, then swiftly and nimbly leaps down from the verandah and approaches Oksana)

OKSANA: (*breaking off her song and dropping the watering can*)
Help! Who is there?

STEPAN: It is I, fairest lady.
Forgive me. You must not be angry with me,
For you, yourself, have cast a spell on me,
Luring me, like a nightingale, with song.
It was not my own strength that drew me here...

OKSANA: (*embarrassed, but at the same time proudly*)
Your Excellency, what do such speeches mean?
It is not proper I should listen to them. (*She attempts to go*)

STEPAN: (*catches her by the arm*)
No, do not go...

OKSANA: (*offended, snatching her arm away*)
Where are your manners?
I am no serf on your Moscow estates!

STEPAN: (*utterly cast down*)
Truly I had no wish so to offend you.
And truly, you are free... What grief is it
To you, that I'll return to a foreign land
With broken heart; that a sweet memory
Of this dear meeting should be drenched with poison?
What am I to you? Vagabond, intruder...,
For thus do people call me everywhere...
You'll not even remember me tomorrow...

OKSANA: (*dropping her eyes*)

You have to leave tomorrow?

STEPAN:

Why should I

Stay on here just to irritate your eyes.

OKSANA:

To leave as if I'm driving you away...

And yet I have not said a word to you...

STEPAN:

But do I really have to wait until

You tell me outright; "Go! Be on your way"?

OKSANA: (*confused, she picks a few leaves from the cherry tree, nibbles them, and plucks them to pieces*)

Why are you strange like this? What should I say

To you? I am not used to such behaviour...

For I have known other young gentlemen

For many years, but never heard such things...

But you... you've only just arrived...

STEPAN:

My lady!

Without a worry those young gentlemen

Can stroll through gardens freely at their leisure,

They can select a blossom to delight them

And wait until it flowers in full perfection.

But I am like a prisoner who briefly

Breaks out from prison, and must soon once more

Take his leave of this world of happiness,

And has no time to wait until it blossoms.

This flower would be more than mere delight,

I see in it an image of life and freedom,

The beauty of my native land. For me

The little corner where I'd plant that flower

Would seem the whole wide world... I had forgotten

That you live here in freedom, that for you

There can be nothing to attract you, where

I live, nor, indeed, can there ever be...

OKSANA: (*quietly, bowing her head*)

How can you be so sure before you ask me?

It seems as if you think that I am truly

Only a plant; that I have in me neither

A heart nor soul...

(*There is a hint of tears in her voice. She breaks off*)

- STEPAN: (*Again takes her by the arm, she does not resist*)
 Oksana, my bright star!
 Forgive me... I do not know... No, I dare not
 (*impulsively*) *No, I'll not do it, I have not the strength*
To let you go! (He embraces Oksana)
 Tell me, beloved heart,
 Whether you love me? O, say but a word!
- OKSANA: If I did not, would I be standing here?
 (*She buries her face in his breast. Silence*)
- STEPAN: Tomorrow I'll send matchmakers for you.
 Will your father receive them?
- OKSANA: Papa likes you
 Exceedingly, so does mamma as well.
- STEPAN: But in a foreign land what can I give you
 To make up for the joys of your native land?
 I can give you my true love, nothing more...
- OKSANA: Don't think that I'm some empty-headed miss
 With nothing but frivolity and flirting
 To fill her mind. These hard times that we live in,
 Have taught girls, too, to think of serious matters,
 If you but knew how the blood burdens me;...
- STEPAN: The blood?
- OKSANA: Yes, often, back from some campaign,
 Young soldiers take their ease by dancing with us.
 A soldier offers me his hand to lead me
 Into the dance, — and suddenly it seems
 That all his hand is stained with crimson blood,
 A brother's blood. I find no joy in such
 Revelry. Nor, indeed, would I ever
 Have found it possible to accept a ring
 From such a soldier's hand... (*she looks at his hand*) This
 hand is clean
 Of any blood.
- STEPAN: Not everyone thinks that
 Is honourable.

- OKSANA: Yet my heart at once
Was drawn towards you for your tenderness.
Tell me, are all your family the same?
- STEPAN: Our family is small; my sister, mother
And little brother. Yes, all of my kin
Are kindly folk.
- OKSANA: But maybe, though, your mother
Will have no love for her son's stranger bride?
What could I do then in a foreign land,
So far from all my kinsfolk?
- STEPAN: No, Oksana,
Don't be afraid. Mother will be delighted
That I have brought a wife back from Ukraine.
My father, just before he died, wished I
Might marry somewhere in my native land.
And Mother will remember you in childhood
(He embraces her again)
And who could not love my true destined bride?
My own beloved darling, my Oksana?
Mothers-in-law are harsh only in ballads,
And you will see how my dear mother will
Treat you as her own daughter.
- OKSANA: May God grant it!
- STEPAN: And now it seems to me that in the whole
Wide world there is no more a foreign land
While we two are together. You will see
How we shall build a little nest together,
Although it is in Moscow. We'll have nothing
That's foreign in our little home — that's right?
- OKSANA: Of course. And, you know, I'm not really frightened
Of living in a foreign land.
- STEPAN: With me?
- OKSANA: *(smiling)* With you, of course. And then again, that land,
Is it so very much a foreign country?
It is the same religion there, and I
Can understand a little how they speak.

- STEPAN: It will not take you long to learn the language.
It is a little stiff... but that's no matter!
My clever little bride, Oksana, will
Soon learn it all.
- OKSANA: Don't overpraise me, though,
For that's unlucky!
(somewhat despondently) Yet I'm still afraid.
- STEPAN: Of what, my only dear?
- OKSANA: This joy has come
On us somehow so suddenly... I never
Saw anything like this... The girls I know
Who've been betrothed all had their fill of troubles
And griefs before the wedding day arrived,
While I...
- STEPAN: But just you wait! Maybe tomorrow
Your dear papa will just show me the door.
- OKSANA: No, no, he'd never do that, I am certain.
- STEPAN: *(joking)* It seems the pretty lady does not like this?
May be you still would rather turn me down?
- OKSANA: Enough! Is this a cause for joking?
- STEPAN: So
I cannot please you with my words! Well, then,
If that's the case I shall not speak at all!
(Without speaking he embraces and kisses her. At first she is reluctant, then she yields to his caresses)
- PEREBIYNYKHA: *(offstage, from the house)*
Oksana, you've been watering long enough!
It's late!
- OKSANA: *(breaking free)*
My mother's calling! *(She struggles to go)*
- STEPAN: *(restraining her. Passionately)* Just one moment!...
One little moment longer!...

OKSANA: I'll come back
To you when Mother's gone to bed.

STEPAN: Come, darling,
I shall be waiting for you until daylight!

PEREBIYNYKHA: *(as before)*
Where have you gone, Oksana?

OKSANA: Coming, mother!
(She embraces Stepan once more for goodbye, and goes into the house)

CURTAIN

Act II

In Moscow

The parlour in Stepan's house, decorated for a feast-day. The sound of bells can be heard from outside. Enter Stepan's Mother and Oksana, both in Ukrainian dress — the Mother in a coif and in a dark gown with a wide, turned-back collar, Oksana in a stiffened headdress, a laced bodice and jacket.

MOTHER: *(sits down on a couch, breathing heavily)*
I'll rest a little, then I'll go upstairs...
I'm old,... my legs won't carry me...

OKSANA: *(sitting down beside her)*
Dear mother,
You ought to have them bring your bed down here,
The stairs are much too difficult for you.

MOTHER: Oh, no, my darling, let it stay upstairs
In the women's bower. It's not the Moscow custom
For women to live downstairs. Folk would say
"She's old. — She doesn't know how things should be!"

OKSANA: But you were not brought up to such a custom!

MOTHER: What difference? Dear Oksana, folk don't ask
Where you grew up. Here we are interlopers —
"With wolves you dwell — then howl as well!"

OKSANA: (*smiling*)

O horror!
Does that mean I must learn to howl as well?

MOTHER:

What do you think? Today you surely heard
The whispers all around us in the church:
“Circassians!” “Ukrainian clods!”...

OKSANA:

I heard...
They have no fear of sin; there in God’s church
Instead of praying, all the people chatter,
And yet they boast they are more reverent
Than we are...

MOTHER:

That’s the way the world goes on,
Each land has its own custom, every Town
Its fashions, so folk say. Here women all go veiled,
While we, of course, don’t cover up our faces.

OKSANA:

Why, are we Turks, then?

MOTHER:

No, Good Lord defend us,
And neither are the Moscow ladies Turks.
But somehow such a fashion has grown up.
But you are now “Her Excellency”, a lady
Of Moscow, so it really would be fitting
For you to dress as they do.

OKSANA:

What of you?
You are “His Excellency’s” mother, aren’t you!

MOTHER:

A mother’s not the same thing as a wife!
Folk see that I’m well on the road to God
So there’s no need for me to change my costume.
(with a gentle melancholy smile)
It’s not worth while my ordering something new.
Why, my old husband — may God rest his soul —
Wore to the end the greatcoat of a Kozak,
And when he died I laid him out in it,
With his embroidered shirt...

(She wipes her eyes with a handkerchief. Oksana, moved, watches her. A short silence)

OKSANA:

But why does Stepan
Dress himself in a Moscow noble’s gear?

When we two stood beneath the bridal crowns,
He in his crimson Kozak greatcoat, Mother,
That was... (*she brakes off, covered in confusion*)

MOTHER: (*nodding good-naturedly*)

Indeed, for sure he put it on
To please someone or other...
(*more seriously*)
Nonetheless,
Dear, he must dress here as the Tsar ordains.

OKSANA: But you said that his father...

MOTHER: Dear, his father
Was old and feeble when the Tsar named him
An "Excellency". By then he could not
Leave the house, nor move in society.
But Stepan goes to all the royal receptions
Councils and audiences.

OKSANA: Would it be
Such a disgrace to go dressed as a Kozak?

MOTHER: Not only a disgrace... How strange you are, —
Your husband is a Moscow "Excellency"
And not a Kozak, don't you understand?

OKSANA: (*sadly*) And why should I not understand?...

MOTHER: You see,
Why I dress Hanna in the Moscow fashion,
For Hanna has a match made for her here,
And she will never go back to Ukraine.

OKSANA: Why did Stepan not bring her with him, when
He came to visit us?

MOTHER: It is not proper
That young girls should go travelling. They'd say
"She has gone off somewhere to trap a husband!"
No, let her stay, and wear a sarafan
Where she will marry...

OKSANA: Well, at least the girls'
Sarafans have some sort of shape to them,

But those for married women are so clumsy,
And, oh, so long, so long, like a priest's cassock!
It seems so gloomy, do I have to wear it?
And then that veil, so like a sieve, that has
To go over the head, Why veil the face?

- MOTHER: That is how it must be.
- OKSANA: I'm frightened, Mother...
- MOTHER: Why are you frightened, dear, tell me what is it?
- OKSANA: I cannot say it...
- MOTHER: Do not be embarrassed,
For I stand in the place of your own mother.
- OKSANA: (*kisses her hand*)
Yes, dearest Mother. It is... well, I wonder...
Sometimes Stepan might find me unappealing
If I wore such a costume...
- MOTHER: Well, my child,
What an idea! Do you find Stepan
So unappealing out of Kozak dress?
- OKSANA: But still perhaps...
- MOTHER: Enough of fancies, dear!
Or do you think Stepan is such a baby
He would not know you in another dress?
- OKSANA: Knowing is knowing, but...
- MOTHER: (*looking out of the window*)
Quick, come and see
Your eyes are younger, who is coming here?
Is it Stepan?
- OKSANA: Yes, it is him for sure,
And two gentlemen with him.
- MOTHER: Run, my daughter!
(*She gets up, and moves towards the door*)
- OKSANA: God bless us! Why have we to run away?
Is it the Tatars?

MOTHER: No more joking, dear!
 It's not the custom here for womenfolk
 To stay around when gentlemen converse.
(She opens the door and goes up the stairs to the women's bower)

OKSANA: *(following her)*
 Dear Lord, what customs people here do have!
 Whatever next!
(The scene suddenly changes. The women's bower. As well as Oksana and the Mother, Hanna, a young girl, Stepan's sister, is also in the bower. Hanna is dressed in the style of a Muscovite maiden of noble birth.)

MOTHER: *(Going to a large cupboard)*
 Now, dear, here is your dress
 In noble Moscow style. I had it made.

OKSANA: *(politely, but without joy)*
 I thank you , Mother.

MOTHER: Would you like to see it,
 Or try it on?

OKSANA: Perhaps a little later.
 I'm feeling rather tired. And anyway
 I shan't go out today, so I'll have plenty
 Of time to get changed later.

MOTHER: As you like.
 Have a nice rest! I'm going to rest, too.
 That's right upon a feast-day.

HANNA: *(who so far has been sitting, cracking pumpkin seeds)*
 Dearest sister,
 Why ever do we have so many feast-days?

OKSANA: What do you mean? Goodness, whatever's wrong?

HANNA: Lord, they're so boring!

OKSANA: But why sit here, bored?
 Go out, find some young people! Have some fun!

HANNA: Where can I go? Where shall I find young people?

OKSANA: You mean you know no other girls at all?

- HANNA: Girls?... Well, I know a few of them, the daughters
Of nobles... But how can I go and see them?
Mother is always ailing, and she never
Wants to go with me... You don't know them yet...
And I don't want to go, just with old Nurse,
She's such a...
- OKSANA: Why d'you need someone to take you?
You're not a baby now. Go by yourself.
It will be more fun without older folk.
- HANNA: A girl can't go about alone in Moscow.
- OKSANA: Someone might pounce on you?
- HANNA: Its not the custom!
- OKSANA: They're very curious customs you have here!
- HANNA: And what could nobles' daughters say to me.
They all sit in their bowers, I sit in mine,
We never see the world. So where's the fun?
- OKSANA: But why do you just sit? Make up a group,
Walk on the green, in the woods, by a stream
And sing together. When I was at home,
I never sat indoors upon a feast-day.
- HANNA: In *your* home maybe. But that wasn't Moscow.
They've never heard of anything like that!
To go out singing in the woods!
- OKSANA: You don't know
How in Ukraine young folk have fun together?
- HANNA: I can't remember much about Ukraine,
And Vanka was born here, of course.
- OKSANA: Why "Vanka"?
Why not "Ivas"?
- HANNA: That's what they call him here,
And we've got used to it. And he has, too.
The same with me; only Stepan and Mamma,
Still go on calling me "Hannusia".

- OXSANA: What
Do folk here call you?
- HANNA: “Annushka”.
- OXSANA: Aha.
(*as if considering it*)
“Hannushka”
- HANNA: (*correcting her*)
No, it’s “Annushka”, Oksana!
- OXSANA: I can’t pronounce it. All the same, its nothing
If someone knows the Moscow language well.
What would “Oksana” be then in their tongue?
- HANNA: “Aksinya” or “Aksyusha”.
- OXSANA: I don’t like it.
Oksana sounds much better. Dear Hannusia,
I want you always to call me “Oksana”.
- HANNA: (*snuggling close to Oksana*)
I’ll call you anything you wish, dear sister,
I love you, oh so much! Lord, I was glad
When brother brought you back here from Ukraine!
- OXSANA: Hannusia, dear, you’ve not yet got to know me.
Maybe I shall turn out wicked...
- HANNA: No!
You’re good! You always say to me, “Have fun!
Enjoy yourself, don’t sit and mope!” You ought
To hear the other ladies, always nagging
Their sisters and their daughters. Lord, they never
Let them set a foot outside the door!
(*She snuggles closer*)
Oksana dearest... darling one... I’ve something
I want to ask you...
- OXSANA: What is it, dear sister?
(*Hanna is silent with embarrassment*)
Maybe you’d like to have one of my dresses?
Take which you’d like. And I’ll give you a necklace,
And braid your hair with ribbons and I’ll dress you
Till you look like the daughter of a Hetman.

HANNA: (*gloomily*)

No, no. Mamma would never let us do it...
It isn't that at all. I want to ask you
Just to... come out into the Park with me...

OKSANA:

Is that all? Well, that wasn't much to ask.
Let's go out there at once.

HANNA:

Not now, but later...

OKSANA:

Say when you're ready. But what's in the Park?

HANNA:

You see... I cannot go out there and sit
All by myself...

OKSANA:

Is that forbidden, too?

HANNA:

And if I go with my old nurse, she'll gossip
To every one, why I like sitting there.

OKSANA: (*smiling*)

You hope to meet your fortune! Clever girl!

HANNA:

No, I do nothing... I just look and watch
Whether the Royal Regiment of Sharpshooters
Comes riding by. They parade every evening.

OKSANA:

Maybe there's one Royal Sharpshooter who's hit
His target in a maiden's heart?

HANNA:

You see,
Oksana, I'm betrothed.

OKSANA:

To a Sharpshooter?

HANNA:

Why, yes!

OKSANA:

Then why does he not come to call?

HANNA:

And if he did come, how am I to see him,
I, in the bower, and he down in the parlour?

OKSANA:

And so you two can never meet?

HANNA:

Exactly!

OKSANA:

Not publicly — but you have secret trysts?

HANNA:

A secret tryst! no, never!

- OKSANA: But you wanted
To meet him out there in the Park.
- HANNA: To meet him?
No, I have not yet lost all sense of shame!
However could you have imagined I
Would want to ask you to come out with me
To an illicit rendezvous?... Oksana
How could you think that I'd be so immodest?
- OKSANA: God bless you! What's all this "immodesty"?
When a young girl stands for a while to chat
With her betrothed, how can that be immodest?
- HANNA: Well, people think so here.
- OKSANA: Then why go out
Into the Park?
- HANNA: Well, I watch from afar,
When he goes riding past in the parade,
For otherwise, I'd never see him till
We meet in church.
- OKSANA: When have you spoken with him?
- HANNA: Never.
- OKSANA: But then however did he court you?
- HANNA: Through a matchmaker! Just like everyone.
- OKSANA: I still don't see!
- HANNA: Because you do not know
The customs here! But Mother can explain
It all to you, for I, myself, don't know
Every detail.
- OKSANA: And you really mean
That never having spoken once together
You two will wed?
- HANNA: With all propriety!
- OKSANA: What strange young people here!
(She smiles silently to herself at some memory. Then quietly and dreamingly)

- And every evening
I used to meet Stepan to talk with him.
- HANNA: When you were betrothed?
- OKSANA: Yes,... when betrothed...
But there was once before we were betrothed...
Otherwise how could anyone be courted?
- HANNA: *(crying out)* Oh, shame on you!
(Oksana silently shrugs her shoulders)
And I suppose you mother
Still does not know about your secret meetings?
- OKSANA: Why shouldn't she know?
- HANNA: You mean she forgave you,
And did not curse you?
- OKSANA: But whatever for?
For, Hanna, after all, they once were young,
And so they know what love is!
- HANNA: Oh, Oksana!
Whatever are you saying? *(Crying out again)*
- OKSANA: *(smiling)*
Silly girl!
- STEPAN: *(entering in haste)*
Oksana, quick, put on that Muscovite
Costume, my love. There are some nobles here!
- OKSANA: But Mother said ladies are not allowed
To mix with gentlemen.
- STEPAN: Look, dearest one,
You only have to bid a formal welcome
To them, and then come straight back here.
- OKSANA: That's all?
But how, Stepan, am I to bid them welcome?
In our manner, or some other way?
- STEPAN: You bring in mead to them upon a salver —
Mother will set it out as it should be —
You make your bow, His Excellency will kiss
You on the lips...

- OKSANA: Stepan! What are you saying?
 These nobles have to kiss me on the lips?
 Surely my ears deceive me?
- STEPAN: No, my sweetheart,
 That's how it is, there's nothing wrong in it —
 It's just the custom!
- OKSANA: Yet another custom!
 Well, let them keep it! I shall not go down!
- STEPAN: (*gloomily*)
 Just as you like, but you will ruin us!
- OKSANA: You must be dreaming!
- STEPAN: No, you do not know
 How vindictive folk are here. This noble
 Will take it as an insult if you won't
 Come down, he'll brood on it, and he has power —
 His son, though young, is now a Chamberlain,
 He'll lie about us to the Tsar himself,
 And that will mean "treason by word and deed".
- OKSANA: Surely you're joking?
- STEPAN: (*more glumly*)
 Well, what do you think?
- OKSANA: (*in terror*)
 Stepan, what is this place we've fallen into?
 It seems a sort of Muslim slavery!
- STEPAN: I never told you there was freedom here.
 But if we do not duly bend our backs
 Here, then back in Ukraine, the Muscovite
 Governors will bring down threefold destruction
 Upon our family. You grow quite faint
 With horror, because some old grandsire's going
 To touch your lips, and yet I have to bear
 To hear myself addressed as "Serf-lad Styopka!"
 And kiss their hands as if I were a slave,
 And is that nothing?
- OKSANA: O my God... Stepan!
 Who could say that is "nothing"?

STEPAN: So you see...
 But what am I lingering for? The old man
 Is waiting for me. But, please say, Oksana,
 You'll come?

OKSANA: I do now know...

MOTHER: *(coming out of her room)*
 Oh, please go down,
 My dearest, dearest daughter, I implore you.
 Don't let my old eyes witness when Stepan
 Is ruined utterly!

HANNA: Ah, dearest sister,
 If you could realise how fierce a man
 That old noble can be. I beg you, dear!
 My darling sister! Do not ruin us!
 (Sobbing she throws herself at Oksana)

OKSANA: *(coldly and unnaturally calmly)*
 I shall go down. Give me the Moscow dress.
 (Hanna rushes to the cupboard)
 And, dear Mamma, go and prepare the mead,
 Go, Stepan, you must entertain our guests.
(Exit Stepan, with bowed head. Oksana, pale as death, takes off her headdress).

CURTAIN

To be continued

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

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

UKRAINE, RUSSIA, BYELORUSSIA CREATE NEW COMMONWEALTH

MINSK — Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia formed a Commonwealth of Independent States here on December 8, signalling, as they and others have observed, the formal death of the Soviet Union.

“We, the heads of the states of Byelorussia, Russia and Ukraine, noting that talks on the preparation of a new union treaty have reached a dead end and the process of the secession of republics from the USSR and forming the independent states has come to reality”, the political pact of the Commonwealth stated.

In another statement, they said, “We, the Republic of Byelorussia, the Russian SFSR and Ukraine, being founding member states of the USSR, being signatories to the Treaty of Union of 1922, and hereinafter referred to as the high contracting parties, state that the USSR, as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality, ceases to exist”.

The treaty was signed by Boris Yeltsin, Leonid Kravchuk and Stanislav Shushkevich.

The document states that the commonwealth is open to all republics of the former Soviet Union and other states “who share the aims and principles of this agreement”.

Stating that the signatories accept “the responsibility before our people and the world community and the growing necessity of practical implementation of political and economic reforms”, the members of the commonwealth “intend to conduct a policy aimed at reinforcing international peace and security. They guarantee fulfilment of international obligations from treaties and agreements of the former USSR and ensure unified control over nuclear weapons and their non-proliferation”.

On Monday, December 9, Yeltsin flew to Moscow to formally inform Mikhail Gorbachev of the decision. The leadership of Kazakhstan has balked at supporting the commonwealth, holding out hope for Gorbachev’s plans.

The Soviet president, himself, has endorsed the commonwealth as he presses forward with his plans for reforming a new union. He has publicly pleaded with Ukraine and the other republics to cooperate with him, warning that all of them are on the threshold of anarchy and chaos, which will make the Yugoslavian civil war a joke by comparison.

The economic pact, signed by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich of Byelorussia, Secretary of State Gennadiy Burbulis of Russia and Prime Minister Vitold Fokin of Ukraine, calls for the coordination of many economic, financial, trade matters.

The signatories also agreed “to develop economic relations and mutual accounts on the basis of the existing currency unit — the rouble. To introduce national currencies on the basis of special agreements which will guarantee the preservation of the economic interests of the parties”.

DSU HOLDS ITS SECOND CONGRESS

LVIV, December 21-22 — The Second Congress of the association State Independence for Ukraine (DSU) was held in this western Ukrainian city. This was the first political congress since the December 1 referendum, which endorsed the Ukrainian parliament's declaration of independence of August 24.

DSU delegates and guests represented all regions of Ukraine. Of particular note was a large delegation from eastern Ukraine — Odessa, Zaporizhia, Kryvyi Rih and Kyiv.

The Congress was opened by DSU chairman Ivan Kandyba, which was followed by an address on the political situation in Ukraine by Petro Duzhyi — a leading member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

A representative of the OUN leadership greeted the Congress on behalf of the organisation.

The speakers who addressed the Congress included two representatives of the armed forces: Air Force Major Orest Yatsura and Major-General Oleksander Rol, who outlined his perspective of the establishment of Ukrainian armed forces. In his opinion Ukraine cannot end up a hostage of the nuclear weapons situated on its soil; they must continue to remain under the control of the Ukrainian leadership. "Where in the world is there a state whose military is controlled by another state", General Rol said.

Other speakers included: Viktor Shkuratiuk from Rivne, Roman Koval from Kyiv, Oleksander Chernenko from Zaporizhia, and Mykhailo Zelenchuk — the chairman of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast branch of the DSU. Zelenchuk explained the role of nationalism in the establishment of the Ukrainian state.

The second day was dedicated to practical issues. The Congress amended the Statutory by-laws and Programme of the DSU to keep in step with the new political situation in Ukraine, which the delegates endorsed with only minor amendments.

A statement to the large Ukrainian diaspora and a Congress resolution were also ratified.

Despite various propositions for a collective executive body, the Congress re-elected Ivan Kandyba as DSU chairman. In a move to rejuvenate the leadership the Congress also elected three young deputy chairmen: Stepan Balynskyi (Lviv), Viktor Shkuratiuk (Rivne) and Oleksander Chernenko (Zaporizhia).

It was also resolved to publish a journal and newspaper. Roman Koval from Kyiv will be responsible for the journal.

In the weeks leading up to the Congress the DSU's ranks swelled with new members from the young generation. At the weekend gathering the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast SNUM (Independent Ukrainian Youth Association) organisation, headed by Vitaliy Tsapovych, applied to join the DSU.

PARLIAMENT IN UPROAR OVER PRICE HIKES

KYIV, January 4 — The indignation which swept Ukraine in the first few days of the New Year in the aftermath to the large-scale price rises on goods and services, reverberated in the Supreme Council. On January 4 the Presidium met in a special plenary session with only one question in mind: Prime Minister Vitold Fokin's views on the situation in the country and measures for social protection of the population.

In his almost hour-long address the Prime Minister explained the government's views on the price hike and the consequences of this step for Ukraine. In a flurry of questions and speeches Fokin was reminded of the delays with preparations for the introduction of a separate Ukrainian currency, the delays in printing the multi-use coupons (which are to replace the rouble prior to the introduction of a separate national currency in Ukraine), inadequate social protection of the population, the abrogation of the treaty with Switzerland on the construction of a factory for printing currency, the semi-secret economic treaty with Russia.

The squall lasted almost four hours. Deputy Larysa Skoryk reminded the Prime Minister that over a year ago, in December 1990, in the very same hall he had asked for a motion of confidence for the government for the period of one year. In the event that the situation in Ukraine did not become stable, Fokin had promised to resign.

Other deputies also called for the Premier's resignation. Volodymyr Filenko, joint-chairman of the Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine (PDVU), and the new chairman of the Narodna Rada parliamentary opposition group, Les Taniuk, proposed that the executive function of the country be transferred directly to President Leonid Kravchuk.

Demands were also heard for the introduction without delay of the multi-use coupons.

The Prime Minister's attempts to give an explanation were unconvincing. He could not put up an adequate defence against any of the accusations. The day may possibly have ended with the dissolution of the government had it not been for the appearance of President Kravchuk at the evening meeting. Adopting the middle ground with the now well-known skill to reach compromises and settle disputes, the President managed to settle the conflict, which had erupted between parliament and government. Kravchuk did not defend the government. He proceeded only to put one question to the floor: whether Fokin's dismissal would bring any meaningful changes.

Outside the debating chamber it was widely believed that President Kravchuk had abstained from assuming direct control of the government through fears of losing his authority in the crisis situation.

Following negotiations with members of the parliamentary permanent commissions and factions and the government, a decision was reached. The minimum wage was raised to 400 roubles, backdated to December 1. The permanent commissions would prepare their own recommendations on the resolution of the crisis, which are to be submitted for review by the Cabinet of Ministers.

Before adjourning for the holiday (Christmas falls on January 7: Ukraine celebrates holidays according to the Julian calendar), the Supreme Council ratified a decree establishing deputies' salaries. A decree was also ratified establishing the President's salary and other services to which he is entitled.

A long recess until January 28 was announced to provide time to establish the situation and the further development of events.

BLACK SEA FLEET: PROBLEMS CONTINUE

KYIV, January 16 — According to the press centre of the Black Sea fleet, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Admiral Chernavin, issued orders that all new recruits were to swear allegiance to the CIS. No reasons were given for these orders.

However, as pointed out by the Sevastopol branch of the Ukrainian Officers Association, a large majority of officer cadets, sailors, and training units of the Black Sea fleet refused to pledge allegiance to the CIS and demanded instead to swear loyalty to the Ukrainian people. The same situation arose in other training establishments and on board other vessels of the Black Sea fleet.

On January 22 minesweeper PT-42 raised the Ukrainian national flag. The entire crew of PT-42 had resolved to go under the jurisdiction of Ukraine. The vessel commander filed a request with the Ukrainian Defence Ministry to post his ship to one of the Ukrainian ports.

On January 25 officers and midshipmen of the Admiral Oktiabrskiy training school were scheduled to take the oath of allegiance. They were, however, forbidden to do so. Thousands of relatives of the fleet's new recruits, who arrived to witness the ceremony, were forced to return home. They were prevented from entering the school although in the past visits on such occasions had been permitted.

ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN BUSINESSMEN FORMED

KHARKIV — The founding conference of the Association of Ukrainian Businessmen was held in this eastern Ukrainian city on January 17.

This organisation will protect the interests of its members and endeavour to create the optimal conditions for national and foreign capital in an effort to stabilise the Ukrainian economy.

The Association wants to see the introduction of new legislation which would protect the commercial rights of Ukrainian citizens instead of tightening state control.

The Association of Ukrainian Businessmen is based in Kharkiv.

UKRAINIAN OFFICERS PLENUM

KYIV, January 17 — In his address to the Plenum of the Ukrainian Officers Association (SOU) executive committee the SOU chairman, Col. V. Martyrosyan, proposed that the oath of allegiance to Russia or other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which Ukrainian officers were forced to take while serving in other states, should be declared null and void after their return to Ukraine. Martyrosyan is also chairman of the Cabinet committee on social welfare of servicemen.

The officers discussed the formation of Ukrainian armed forces, the social welfare and legal protection of servicemen, and the rehousing of military units in Ukraine.

It was also pointed out that until recently Ukraine had maintained a quarter of the entire former Soviet army, to which 32 per cent of its national income was allocated. In Western countries, it was noted, defence expenditures are significantly lower.

ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC COUNCILS DISCUSSES ECONOMY

Members of the association of democratic councils of people's deputies met in Kyiv on January 17.

The deputies, representing various levels of central and local government, discussed the difficult economic situation, called for new legislation to stimulate production and businesses, discussed the need to commercialise trade, demonopolisation, and the privatisation of businesses, land and homes.

Vyacheslav Chornovil condemned the totalitarian system, which has not yet been dismantled.

Other speakers included the chairman of the commission on the activities of the councils of people's deputies and the development of local self-government, M. Hryshko, and vice-premier O. Slepichev.

Slepichev's address evoked a considerable reaction, as the vice-premier avoided all references to the introduction of coupons, as well as other pressing issues.

PARLIAMENTARY PRESIDUM RATIFIES NATIONAL ANTHEM

KYIV — On Saturday, January 18, the Ukrainian media made public the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine "On the national anthem of Ukraine". The decree states:

1. To ratify the musical score of the Ukrainian national anthem, composed by M.M. Verbytskyi.
2. To introduce the universal performance of the Ukrainian national anthem, ratified by the decree of January 16, 1992.

The decree was signed by Supreme Council chairman, Ivan Pliushch.

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE BLACK SEA FLEET

On January 18-20 two members of the political association State Independence of Ukraine (DSU), Mykhailo Sukhar and Oleksander Cherepko, visited Sevastopol, headquarters of the Black Sea fleet, on a fact-finding mission for the DSU executive. They had been instructed to visit the city in view of the complicated situation which had developed in the Crimean peninsula concerning the Black Sea fleet.

Despite initial difficulties with the local militia, Sukhar and Cherepko were eventually permitted to enter the closed city and established contact with officers of the fleet. One officer, Capt. V. Melnyk, agreed to arrange a meeting with naval officers on January 19. It took place aboard the "Kerch", a large anti-submarine ship.

According to Capt. Melnyk the national composition of the Black Sea fleet is as follows:

- a) Senior officers: 55% — Russians; 30% — Ukrainians; 15% — Others.
- b) middle-ranking officers: 60% Ukrainians; 30% — Russians; 10% — Others.
- c) Junior officers: 65% — Ukrainians; 25% — Others
- d) Other ranks: 70% — Ukrainian; 15% — Russians; 5% — Azerbaijanis; 10% — Others.

SOLDIERS CONTINUE TO PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO UKRAINE; THREE MD COMMANDERS REPLACED

KYIV, January 22 — Units of the three military districts in Ukraine (Kyiv, Odessa and Carpathian MDs) are continuing to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people. That day, for instance, officers and soldiers of the communications battalion of the 17th Suvorov Guards tank division swore allegiance to Ukraine.

The same day a ceremony was held in the Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior, during which Interior Minister, Maj.-Gen. Andriy Vasylyshyn, was the first to take the oath. The chairman of the parliamentary Commission on Defence and National Security, Vasyl Durdynets, and the chairman of the Commission on Law and Order and the Fight Against Crime, Yaroslav Kondratiev, also swore allegiance to Ukraine.

At an evening meeting of the Commission on Defence and National Security Defence Minister Col.-Gen. Konstantin Morozov announced that more than two-thirds of servicemen had already sworn the oath of allegiance to Ukraine. The move was greatly precipitated by the negative position towards the formation of national Ukrainian armed forces adopted by the officers meeting in Moscow on January 17.

In contradiction to Moscow-based accusations that servicemen are being coerced into taking the oath and that Ukraine is unlawfully claiming the ex-Soviet forces deployed on its soil Morozov underlined that the oath of allegiance was being taken voluntarily and that the 16 per cent of servicemen who refrained from swearing the oath did so because

they are citizens of other states. The officers who did not take the oath but wish to serve in Ukraine have the option of signing a written agreement of loyal service to Ukraine, prepared by the Ukrainian Defence Ministry.

The commanders of Ukraine's three military districts found themselves in a paradoxical situation. According to the Defence Minister, Col.-Gens. Viktor Chechevatov, Ivan Morozov and Viktor Skokov refused to take the oath. The generals and officers on their staffs, on the other hand, did not hesitate to swear allegiance to Ukraine (Kyiv MD — 99.4 per cent; Odessa MD — 84 per cent; Carpathian MD — 87 per cent).

On January 29 President Leonid Kravchuk dismissed the three MD commanders. They were replaced by Lt.-Gens. Valentyn Boryskin (Kyiv MD), Vitaliy Radetskyi (Odessa MD), and Valeriy Stepanov (Carpathian MD).

DEFENCE COUNCIL OF UKRAINE MEETS

KYIV (Ukrinform) — At a meeting of the Defence Council of Ukraine, held in Kyiv on January 23, 1992, Minister of Defence Col.-Gen. Konstantin Morozov, said that the military reform in Ukraine is proceeding according to the laws adopted by the Supreme Council (Parliament) of Ukraine and the Minsk agreement among heads of states of the community of the December 30, 1991.

The meeting was chaired by President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk.

Col.-Gen. Morozov reported that nearly 280,000 servicemen have pledged allegiance to the people of Ukraine, while among the border troops and the National Guard more than 90 per cent have pledged allegiance. However, he said, many of the servicemen do not receive timely and accurate information regarding decisions adopted by the parliament, the President and government of Ukraine on military affairs, welfare guarantees for military servicemen and their families.

Morozov also said that it has been evident that military technology and hardware are being shipped out of Ukraine without authorisation.

The Defence Council of Ukraine resolved to present to the Parliament of Ukraine proposals regarding the further development of military reform in Ukraine, the conversion of the military-industrial complex, and the guaranteeing of social welfare of military servicemen and their families. The government and the parliamentary Commission on State Defence and Security have been authorised to present to the Parliament of Ukraine appropriate bills on this matter.

The Defence Council also instructed the Minister of Defence of Ukraine, the commander of the border troops and the directors of the security services of Ukraine to immediately interdict, in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, the unauthorised sale and expropriation from Ukraine of military technology, arms and hardware. All local commanders are to be reminded of their liability for violating these instructions, including discharge from the service.

The Commission on State Defence and Security of the Parliament of Ukraine at the same time issued a statement on the defence policy of Ukraine. The desire of independent Ukraine to form its own armed forces, the statement says, "is persistently being met with increasingly violent opposition from the former centre and its mass media". Tensions are being artificially aroused, inaccurate statements are being made by the politicians and leaders of the former Union Ministry of Defence, who are given to falsifying the facts, political speculation. It is being stated "as if Ukraine is forming its own armed forces through some uncivilised manner, seizing the armies by some underhanded means, forcibly coercing military servicemen to take the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine, etc".

Members of the Commission on State Defence and Security of the Parliament of Ukraine, the statement emphasised, sternly reject all unsubstantiated accusations and remind "everyone who sows the seeds of discord that the Ukrainian State for the nearly one year has been completely, carefully, soberly, conscientiously and without haste preparing a workable legal basis for building the armed forces of Ukraine, the border troops, the National Guard, and other military formations". The realistic results of this legal preparatory work is the adoption by the Parliament of Ukraine of an entire package of laws and other acts related to military affairs, in all more than 70 legal documents. A second package of bills, namely those on "General Military Obligations and Military Service" and "Pension Security for Military Servicemen and Servicemen of the Department of International Affairs of Ukraine" has been prepared for consideration by the Parliament.

Therefore, in the absence of a legal basis, these unsubstantiated accusations of choosing an uncivilised course were characterised in the statement as "a shameless intrusion in the internal affairs of a sovereign state".

As for the accusations against Ukraine for violating the Alma-Ata and Minsk agreements, the parliamentary commission stated: "During the meetings of the heads of states-members of the community it was agreed that independent states have the right to form their own armed forces, that Ukraine will implement this as of January 3, 1992. Once the stipulated task was undertaken, ambitious polemics unfolded around the Black Sea fleet, all-military meetings of officers were frenetically convened, ideas concerning the maintenance of united armed forces under a single command of nonexisting states began to circulate, and we have been called upon not to destroy the existing military structure".

Members of the commission declared that, "attempts to play the 'army card' will not produce positive results. Ukraine is and will be an independent state, steadfastly strengthening its statehood. It has its own border guards and National Guard, it is persistently and reasonably building its own armed forces, the process of which has assumed a step-by-step and irreversible character. The Ukrainian State, as has been lawfully affirmed and emphasised in the recent appeal by the

President of Ukraine to military servicemen, will fully guarantee the social and legal welfare of servicemen and their families”.

In the statement's appeal to those involved in military matters, they were asked not to contribute to inciting interstate conflicts between independent countries. The parliamentary commission also called upon all military personnel based on the territory of Ukraine “in this critical time not to succumb to any sort of provocation, to safeguard the peaceful life of the people of Ukraine, to adhere to order, authorised conduct and military discipline, to honourably and scrupulously carry out your military service”.

CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS HELD IN KYIV

Kyiv, January 22-23 — More than 1,500 delegates gathered in the Ukrainian capital for a Congress of Ukrainians of the independent states formerly republics of the USSR — an event in which politicians, journalists and the world community took an active interest. The forum was organised by the Committee on Nationality Issues of the Cabinet of Ministers, the “Prosvita” Society, and the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh).

With this act of good will — concentrating attention on fellow countrymen in various regions — Ukraine demonstrated its intention to follow a civilised path, and to take an uncompromising stance on the position of human rights. The 600 or so representatives from Siberia, the Far East, Kuban, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Baltic states, Moldova, Moscow and St. Petersburg show that the “eastern” Ukrainian diaspora is a force to be reckoned with.

The Congress was greeted by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. That same day Kravchuk addressed an all-Ukrainian gathering dedicated to the unification of two states — the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) on January 22, 1919. It was held in the evening on St. Sofia square. Also addressing the gathering were Ukrainian Republican Party President, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykhailo Horyn and others.

The Congress undoubtedly played an important role in the establishment of our young state. For the first time, under the roof of the “Ukraine” palace, Ukrainians gathered from various corners of the newly dissolved empire. Many of them are eye-witnesses to the results of total Russification, and the realisation of the malevolent “theory of the merging of nations”. But those, who until yesterday belonged to the unborn, to the featureless human “tumbleweed”, or to some Russian-speaking population which someone ironically referred to as “Ukrainianised”, are today unrecognisable.

Ukraine's attainment of independence provoked an outburst of national awareness among, as it seems, the Ukrainian diaspora of the former USSR levelled long ago. Among the topics discussed at the Congress were dual citizenship, the return of Ukrainian officers to their homeland and Ukraine's assistance in establishing cultural-national groups beyond its borders. Between sessions of the

Congress, aside from press conferences, many vibrant relationships developed between active individuals. Ukrainians from Lviv and Vladivostok, Odessa and Murmansk exchanged telephone numbers, addresses, fax numbers. The possibility of establishing Ukrainian lobby groups within the parliaments of other countries, for example Kazakhstan, was subjected to serious discussion. In the opinion of many delegates, it would be unwise to discount this form of political influence.

The participants of the Congress, both residents of Ukraine and those scattered throughout the huge territory of the ex-Soviet Union, sang the national anthem with inspiration. The word "unity", which they chanted in the palace auditorium and in the square, allows one to look into our future with optimism.

INTERNATIONAL BANK REPRESENTATIVES IN KYIV

KYIV, January 24 — The perspectives of international financial aid for the development of Ukrainian business were discussed during the visit of a team of experts from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Ukrainian capital. The commission arrived in Kyiv on the invitation of President Leonid Kravchuk.

The delegation, headed by Enrico Rueda Sabater, visited the State committee to assist small enterprises and business to study the system of state support for businesses in Ukraine.

During the visit Ukrainian officials explained the fundamental obstacles which are blocking Ukraine's transfer to a market economy. The bank representatives expressed their firm belief that, with its powerful economic potential and new economic course, Ukraine can be sure of eventual membership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

UKRAINE'S PARLIAMENT MEETS FOR FIFTH SESSION

KYIV, January 28 — The fifth session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council was opened not by people's deputies, but by the close to three thousand demonstrators who had gathered outside the parliament building to express their position on government policy and Prime Minister Vitold Fokin. The protest was organised by the All-Ukrainian Association for the Solidarity of Workers (VOST) and the Ukrainian Association of Afghan Veterans.

Opening the proceedings Supreme Council chairman, Ivan Pliushch, asked the deputies to ratify the agenda proposed by the parliament's Presidium. Amendments suggested by the deputies, including a vote of non-confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers, were ignored. Factions of the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Democratic Party called for the dismissal of the Cabinet of Ministers and the formation of a government which would enjoy popular support.

The day's meeting began with an address by President Leonid Kravchuk. Describing the internal political situation as difficult and potentially explosive,

Kravchuk stressed the urgent need for decisive measures, particularly in the economic field. Only a strong government can implement such measures effectively, he said, calling on the deputies to grant him additional powers. Kravchuk specifically asked:

1. to determine the composition and structure of the government with the key posts (foreign minister, minister of defence, interior minister, and finance minister), subject to ratification by the Supreme Council;
2. to issue temporary decrees;
3. for the subordination of government to the President; and
4. for the concentration of local power in the hands of a special presidential representative.

ADMIRAL KASATONOV REFUSES TO MEET KYIV DELEGATION

SEVASTOPOL, January 29 — The commander of the Black Sea fleet, Admiral Igor Kasatonov, declined to meet a delegation of people's deputies and representatives of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence. Kasatonov justified his action claiming that he had not been informed in advance of their arrival and that he was preoccupied with other matters.

After standing outside for over an hour and a half, the delegation agreed to meet other naval officers, and requested to go on board the ships and to visit the units stationed in the city.

The deputy chief of staff of the Black Sea fleet, Admiral Anatoliy Manchenko, who met the delegation, however, refused to grant this request.

The Kyiv delegation had arrived in the city immediately after Admiral Kasatonov's meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States forces, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

UKRAINE SIGNS 7-BILLION DOLLAR DEAL WITH IRAN

KYIV, January 30 — The Ukrainian government signed a joint trade agreement with Iran worth \$7 billion.

Under this barter deal Iran is to supply Ukraine with 3 billion cubic metres of gas and 4 million tons of oil in 1992.

Over the next four years Iran will provide Ukraine with 75 billion cubic metres of gas and 50-70 million tons of oil, some of which will be passed on to other European countries.

The agreement is intended to reduce Ukraine's reliance on Russian raw materials, particularly oil and gas, and assist in this country's drive for economic independence.

UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT APPROVES TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ARMY

KYIV — The Supreme Council of Ukraine voted on Friday, January 31, to set up a transitional army.

The decision came as President Leonid Kravchuk demanded the firing of the Black Sea fleet commander, Admiral Igor Kasatonov. A naval official in Moscow said the request was being examined but there were no grounds for removing Kasatonov at present.

Russia says the fleet is a strategic force and thus remains under joint command. Ukraine lays claim to the bulk of the force.

The presidents of the community of independent states are expected to meet in Minsk on February 14 to discuss their differences.

The Ukrainian parliament voted almost unanimously to approve the first reading of a bill to set up independent armed forces for the republic of 53 million people. The bill abolishes the rank of marshal and cuts military service to 18 months from 24 in the army and to 24 months from 36 for sailors.

"It is a synthesis of what there was in the Soviet army and what there will be in the Ukrainian army", Defence Minister Col.-Gen. Konstantin Morozov told parliament.

About 300,000 young men have been called up for military service this year but the final size of the Ukrainian army has not yet been decided. "Without such a law it is impossible to talk about national independence", said people's deputy Volodymyr Strelnikov. "It is not worth following in the Soviet defence ministry's footsteps and making our defence ministry an old people's home", another deputy observed.

Ukraine has forsworn nuclear weapons and says it wants tactical weapons deployed on its territory destroyed by July. But a nationalist group, the Ukrainian National Assembly, headed by Yuriy Shukhevych, called at a meeting on Friday, January 31, for Ukraine to retain them. UNA, which includes some members of parliament, said the current balance of nuclear arms was four-to-one in Russia's favour and called for parity.

Ukraine and Russia had agreed to put aside discussion of military issues until the Minsk meeting. But a navy spokesman said that Kravchuk had written to community commander-in-chief Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov demanding Kasatonov's dismissal. According to Kravchuk, 350,000 Soviet army personnel in Ukraine had sworn a new oath of loyalty to Ukraine. But Kasatonov angered Kyiv by blocking its attempts to get sailors to swear the oath.

The admiral told reporters in the fleet's home port, Sevastopol, that he had no regrets. "I only carried out my duty, striving to keep the fleet militarily prepared".

Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin played down the differences at a news conference in Kyiv. But he said: "With today's Black Sea fleet leadership, it is hard for us to find a common language". Fokin said he had agreed at a meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin last week that a deal needed to be worked out on how many of the fleet's ships and submarines should go to Ukraine and how many to the Commonwealth.

SUPREME COUNCIL DEBATES SECURITY SERVICE BILL

KYIV — On January 30 the Supreme Council of Ukraine discussed two draft laws on the national security of Ukraine. Debates focussed on intelligence operations and the National Security Service of Ukraine (SNB).

The intelligence service bill was introduced by the chairman of the parliamentary Commission on law and order and the fight against crime, Yaroslav Kondratiev. Deputies were astonished to hear that the bill gives the intelligence service the right to gather information from channels of communication, to monitor telephones and mail, and to conduct surveillance using photographic and video equipment, as well as various listening devices. To many in the chamber, who suffered repression for dissent, the bill must surely have brought back memories from their own past.

To allay concerns regarding who will control the intelligence service, Kondratiev was quick to point out that control over the service will be exercised by the Chief Prosecutor of Ukraine and prosecutors subordinate to him (article 16 of the bill).

At its evening meeting parliament discussed a bill on the National Security Service and the means of financing and supplying the SNB with material and technical equipment.

SNB chief, Yevhen Marchuk, who read the bill, stressed vehemently that analogies between the SNB, formed in September of last year, and its forerunner the KGB should no longer be made. The SNB, Marchuk further stated, is Ukraine's new security service and not a successor of the criminal secret police of the Brezhnev era. The tasks and activities of the SNB are directed towards the present-day needs of establishing an independent Ukrainian state.

Deputies were relieved to hear, however, that the bill does provide for a certain degree of public control over the SNB in addition to control exercised by state institutions. Article 7, in particular, guarantees unrestricted access to information concerning the overall budget of the SNB and its activities, as well as violations of the law by departments or members of the security service. The bill also prohibits the activity of all right, left, and centrist parties, movements and other civic organisations within the security system, as well as barring its personnel from membership of such organisations.

Although agreeing with the basic principles of the bill, particularly those concerning one of the SNB's principal tasks — internal security against hostile intelligence operations in Ukraine — the deputies demanded a clear answer regarding the composition of Ukraine's new security service: is it staffed by new cadres or former KGB officials reinstated in the SNB. Marchuk pointed out that out of 130 members of the former fifth ideological department of the KGB only around 30 have been employed by the SNB, and that 16 former KGB generals have not been appointed to senior positions in the new service.

Whether the winds of change actually sweep through the corridors of the extensive complex situated on Kyiv's Volodymyr Street remains to be seen.

KRAVCHUK: NO ECONOMIC UNITY

DAVOS, Switzerland — President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk rejected on Saturday, February 1, Russian hopes of preserving a single economic area on the territory of the former Soviet Union saying the area had already disintegrated. Kravchuk was representing his newly independent country at the World Economic Forum in Davos.

“I can imagine the joint economic space in theory, but I understand we don’t have that economic space any more”, Kravchuk said.

“A joint economic space like the European Community can only exist when products can move freely without any borders”, Kravchuk said. “We don’t have free movement of goods”. Ukraine did not want to split completely with the former Soviet republics, but wanted to be free to form closer ties with other countries, especially the European Community, he added. Kravchuk acknowledged the former Soviet republics had many common interests. For instance Ukraine accounted for nearly one fifth of goods sold in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

“We shouldn’t bury the idea of the Commonwealth of Independent States, but we shouldn’t exaggerate its significance”, he said.

Kravchuk defended Ukraine’s decision to pay its foreign debt separately from Russia, arguing joint debt servicing was impossible now that the countries had split. Kravchuk said a single currency was another requirement for a single economic area, but the rouble had now lost all value, and it was difficult to imagine it becoming convertible, a condition for creating a market economy. That was why Ukraine and other republics were pursuing plans to issue their own currencies.

“The inflation of the rouble is such that it’s very hard to imagine that the rouble will survive”, Kravchuk said. “Individual enterprises are having to resort to barter trade, as in the Middle Ages”.

Kravchuk said an agreement last year by the republics of the former Soviet Union and western countries to service debt jointly had been made when the Soviet Union still existed. “We think that behind this scheme there is a desire to keep all the countries in one unified state”, he said. But Kravchuk said the newly independent Ukraine would now handle its own 16.4 per cent share of former Soviet foreign debt, which all told is between 60 and 70 billion dollars. Under the agreement, debt payments were to be made through Vneshekonombank, the former Soviet foreign trade bank, he noted.

“So here’s the question: how 12 separate individual states can pay the debt through one single bank — especially when the bank is broke”, he said.

CRIMEAN BRANCH OF UKRAINIAN OFFICERS ASSOCIATION HOLDS CONFERENCE

SIMFEROPIL, February 2 — The first conference of the Crimean branch of the Association of Ukrainian Officers was held in this city in the Crimea. Assessing the complicated situation regarding the armed forces, particularly the Black Sea Fleet, the officers present expressed their adamant protest at the persecution and pressure brought to bear on those servicemen who took or are planning to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL READJUSTMENT OF OFFICERS

KYIV — The Kyiv institute of political science and social administration has provided a partial solution to the problem of the social readjustment of officers made redundant as a result of armed forces reductions.

On February 4, more than 200 reserve officers began classes at the institute to acquire professional civilian management training.

So far 1,800 soldiers have applied to attend the course.

NORWAY'S FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS UKRAINE

KYIV — The Foreign Minister of Norway, Thorvald Stoltenberg, arrived in the Ukrainian capital on February 5. He was met by President Leonid Kravchuk.

Kravchuk and Stoltenberg discussed issues of mutual interest. The Norwegian diplomat on the situation in Ukraine and the Commonwealth of Independent States, Leonid Kravchuk stressed Ukraine's aspirations to join the various European organisations. Stoltenberg promised support from his country, which is interested in establishing cooperation with Ukraine.

Kravchuk spoke about the need to establish close relations with Norway and invited the Norwegian King to visit Ukraine.

The Norwegian foreign minister also met his Ukrainian counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko. They signed an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

RETURN OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS

KYIV — The Ukrainian government has allocated 400 million roubles in aid to the Council of Ministers of the Crimean ASSR to organise the return of the deported Crimean Tatars to their homeland in the Crimea.

A republican commission was also formed, headed by vice-premier O. Slepichev. It is to coordinate the efforts of the government institutions of Ukraine and the Crimean ASSR to provide the deported peoples with a means of livelihood.

KYIV GETS NEW SECURITY CHIEF

KYIV — On February 7 Colonel Valeriy Malykov replaced Maj.-Gen. Yu. Shramko as head of the National Security Service (SNB; formerly KGB) for the city and oblast of Kyiv.

The announcement was made by the head of the SNB, Yevhen Marchuk. Colonel Malykov is also Marchuk's deputy.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON UKRAINIAN SECURITY

KYIV — The international conference on "National Security of Ukraine: the Foreign Policy Aspect" opened here on February 12. Numerous Ukrainian parliamentarians, government officials, and academics, as well as guests from the USA, Great Britain, France, Spain, Czechoslovakia and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States took part in this three-day event. The forum was organised by the Innovational Political Science Centre in cooperation with the permanent commissions of the Supreme Council and Foreign Ministry of Ukraine.

The programme of the conference covered four specific themes: the system of government as a guarantee of Ukrainian security; Ukrainian security in the context of relations with the sovereign states of the CIS; new Ukraine in the new geo-political situation; and the non-nuclear road to security.

The last day consisted of working meetings of various parliamentary and government commissions.

SIX AIRCRAFT DEFECT TO RUSSIA

STAROKONSTANTINOV — While politicians are struggling to resolve the question of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union, individual servicemen are taking matters into their own hands. On February 13 six SU-24 two-seater tactical bombers took off without permission from a military air base near the city of Starokonstantinov in the Khmelnytskyi oblast and landed half an hour later in the Smolensk region of neighbouring Belarus, near the city of Shatalov. From there they continued onto an air base outside Moscow.

Twelve military personnel defected with the aircraft, including the regiment's chief of staff, who took with him the regimental flag, for which he was personally responsible, and which was guarded 24-hours a day.

According to military personnel on the air base the defection appears to have been a planned political action. There was growing opposition to the creation of national Ukrainian armed forces within the regiment. The defection took place on the eve of the talks between the leaders of the 11 member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Minsk.

OLD GUARD RAISE THEIR HEAD; FORM UKRAINIAN "PEASANT" PARTY

KYIV — In an event reminiscent of the old days, the Peasant Party of Ukraine recently held its founding congress in the Ukrainian capital. While the familiar black Volgas, traditionally associated with the Brezhnevite nomenklatura, lined the street outside the building, the tables inside the hall were replete with food unavailable to the general population. What is more, not one farmer had been invited.

The attending "representatives of the agricultural community" elected the director of the "Kosmos" collective farm, Serhiy Dovhan, as chairman of the party Council. The Ukrainian Minister of Agriculture, Oleksander Tkachenko, was also voted onto the Council.

According to its Statutory by-laws, the party stands for a joint economic region within the borders of the former Soviet Union, and will develop farming under a "reformed socialist orientation".

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION IN UKRAINE

KYIV — A delegation from the parliament of Great Britain arrived in the Ukrainian capital on February 13. The members of the delegation, headed by Sir Geoffrey Howe, came to Ukraine to familiarise themselves with the work of the Supreme Council of Ukraine and to establish closer relations between the parliaments of the two countries.

The delegation was met by the chairman of the Supreme Council, Ivan Pliushch. Pliushch pointed out that Ukraine is presently facing a difficult situation. It needs aid from western countries, including Great Britain. The Ukrainian parliament has already created the legislative basis for such relations, he said. What remains is the practical steps to establish economic relations between Ukraine and Britain.

The head of the Ukrainian parliament further stated that Ukraine is acting in strict compliance with the November 19, 1990, agreement with Russia, according to which neither Russia nor Ukraine have any territorial claims towards each other.

The British MPs later met the vice-premier of Ukraine, Konstantyn Masyk, who explained his government's plans to tackle the economic crisis, and Ukraine's military policy, which is geared towards transforming Ukraine into a nuclear-free power.

As regards the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union, Masyk pointed out that Ukraine is ready to pay off its share. However, he stated, the question of the assets of the former Soviet Union has not yet been resolved.

The British delegation also visited the Ministry of Defence and the Supreme Council commission on foreign affairs.

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OPEN LETTER TO PARLIAMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Following is the text of an appeal to the parliament and peoples of the world, adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on December 5, 1991.

On December 1, 1991, the people of Ukraine, in a free expression of their will, confirmed the Act proclaiming the independence of Ukraine, adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on August 24, 1991.

More than 90 per cent of the participants of the referendum expressed their support for the independence of Ukraine.

The democratic nature of the referendum and the absence of violations in its conduct was confirmed by parliamentary observers from many countries of the world and by representatives of the European Parliament, the CSCE Office for Free Elections, and the Ukrainian and international communities.

The age-old dreams and aspirations of one of the most populous peoples of Europe to revive its repeatedly destroyed statehood have been realised.

Ukraine, with respect to itself, considers the 1922 Treaty on the creation of the USSR null and void.

Ukraine is creating a democratic, lawful state, the paramount aim of which is to ensure human rights and freedoms. To this end, Ukraine will strictly adhere to the norm of international law and will be guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international covenants on human rights ratified by Ukraine, as well as by other relevant international instruments. Ukraine is ready to join European institutions in the field of human rights, and, in particular, to accede to the European Convention on Human Rights.

Striving to affirm, in an independent and democratic Ukraine, the high principles of freedom, democracy, humanism, social justice, and quality of all nationalities constituting the people of Ukraine, the Supreme Council of Ukraine, adopted on November 1, 1991, the Declaration on the Rights of Nationalities in Ukraine, according to which the Ukrainian state guarantees equal political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights and freedom of religious beliefs to all peoples, national groups and citizens living on its territory.

Striving to ensure prosperity and to provide opportunities for its people to work freely in a free country, independent Ukraine is implementing a transition to a free-market economy and recognises the importance of private ownership. By its legislation of September 10, 1991, Ukraine provides protection of foreign investments and guarantees for foreign investors.

As one of the founding members of the United Nations, Ukraine, in full conformance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, will direct its foreign policy towards strengthening world peace and security and advancing international cooperation in resolving ecological, energy, food and other global problems. The foreign policy of Ukraine will be based on universally recognised principles of international law.

As a European state, Ukraine is ready to join in the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris and other documents of the CSCE. Ukraine calls on the parliaments and governments of the member-states of the CSCE to support its intention to become a direct and full-fledged participant in the European process and to take part in other European structures.

Ukraine is ready to establish diplomatic relations with other states and to develop bilateral relations with them on the basis of equal, sovereign equality, non-interference in their respective internal affairs, recognition of territorial integrity and the inviolability of the existing borders.

Ukraine considers its territory indivisible and inviolable and recognises as inviolate its existing state borders, and has no territorial claims against any state.

Ukraine reaffirms its international obligations and, consistent with the law "On the Succession of Responsibilities of Ukraine", adopted on September 12, 1991, will carry out all her obligations under international agreements signed by the former USSR which do not contradict the Constitution and the national interests of Ukraine.

In accordance with the Statement of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of October 13, 1991, Ukraine is ready on its own, or through an international mechanism still to be formed, to repay its share of the foreign debt and to receive its due part of the assets of the former USSR, based on the principle of shared responsibility.

Ukraine will adhere to the provisions of the 1991 Treaty between the United States and the USSR on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons in respect to nuclear arms deployed on its territory.

In conformity with the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on July 16, 1990, and the statement of the Supreme Council on the non-nuclear status of Ukraine of October 24, 1991, Ukraine will not be a nuclear power. To this end Ukraine desires to enter into negotiations with all interested states for the conclusion of international agreements.

Ukraine welcomes the proposals to provide assistance for the elimination of the nuclear capacity of the former USSR on its territory and is ready to accept such assistance.

Ukraine intends to join the 1968 Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear state and to conclude with the International Atomic Energy Agency an appropriate agreement to guarantee its fulfilment.

Ukraine neither possesses nor produces chemical weapons and calls for their total elimination and prohibition. Ukraine is a party to the Convention on Prohibition of Development, Production and Storage of stocks of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and their elimination.

In accordance with the statement by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of November 22, 1991, on the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, Ukraine considers it imperative to implement the provisions of this treaty with respect to all conventional armed forces deployed on its territory. The Armed Forces of Ukraine are subject to this treaty. They are being formed exclusively for the defence of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of Ukraine, and on the minimum scale required solely for defence.

Ukraine considers that the size of its military potential will depend also on the extent to which its security will be guaranteed by all-European mechanisms.

Ukraine is carrying out a programme of converting the military-industrial complex and restructuring a considerable part of the military-technical potential of the former USSR located on its territory to the needs of its social and economic development.

Hence, a democratic and independent Ukraine is an obvious and indestructible reality.

Parliaments and peoples of the world, striving to make out contribution to mankind's civilisation, winning our statement by peaceful means, we hopefully appeal to you for your support.

Supreme Council of Ukraine

STATEMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL INFORMATION AGENCY

Kyiv, January 8 — The Ukrainian National Information Agency distributed a statement to the mass media, in which it is stated that from the first days of the New Year, independent states — members of the Commonwealth of Independent States have undertaken significant reforms with the goal of converting to market economies. Currently, as the appropriate cabinets are examining these livelihood reforms, the shortcomings, dissatisfaction of the people, societal tensions are coming to the forefront. This situation is taking place in Ukraine and the other countries of the Commonwealth.

Ever quicker, it was said in the statement, the people of Ukraine recognise that in its neighbouring countries, civic leaders and the mass media are proceeding along different lines and are searching for the guilty parties beyond their own borders and are "finding" them in Ukraine. Ukraine is being subjected to countless and baseless economic and financial accusations. Recently, to these accusations

have been included accusations concerning Ukraine's violation of the Minsk accord in the sphere of military formations, specifically the Black Sea fleet. It is notably disconcerting that these accusations are coming from the leadership of the neighbouring state as well as from the military leadership of the non-existing USSR; they are broadcast over radio and television, and are disseminated in newspapers.

In connection with this, the Ukrainian National Information Agency has been authorised to declare that these accusations of violations by Ukraine of the concluded treaties in Minsk on December 30, 1991, are completely unfounded. According to the law of Ukraine, the property and funds formerly under control of the USSR that are located on the territory of Ukraine (the Black Sea fleet is principally located in Ukraine) are the national property of Ukraine. Without exception, all members of the Commonwealth legally recognised that Ukraine is fulfilling this law without any prerequisites from January 3, 1992. All of this is guaranteed in Article 2 of the Statement of the Council of Heads of States of the participants of the Commonwealth of Independent States on armed forces and border guards, as of December 30, 1991.

In fulfilling this agreement, the Ukrainian agency said, Ukraine, in the course of the negotiations on January 2-3, 1992, in Kyiv, proposed which strategic forces should be included in the Commonwealth until their total elimination by 1994. However, to the contrary, the representatives of the military leadership of the former USSR demanded that those units and bases which have nothing in common with strategic armed forces, such as airborne and infantry units, be turned over to them. These actions aimed at building an imperial military structure have been taken to heart by some in the Russian leadership. However, they are undermining the atmosphere of trust and true good-neighbourly relations between our two peoples and this is unacceptable to independent Ukraine. These steps are unthinkable and repulsive to its people. Efforts to form Ukrainian armed forces, including the Black Sea fleet, are being undertaken with the support of all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the basis of voluntary acceptance by the servicemen and in respect for their rights and convictions to the full extent of the law.

Ukraine is convinced, it is emphasised in the document, that the period of difficult economic and social conditions can be overcome by the members of the Commonwealth only through mutual tolerance and respect for national interests. Ukraine will endeavour to unswervingly adhere to these principles and expects similar commitments from all other members of the Commonwealth.

OPPOSITION IN UKRAINE DEMANDS REMOVAL OF INSUBORDINATE COMMANDERS

KYIV, January 20 — The coalition of opposition parties in the Ukrainian Supreme Council issued a statement on January 14 regarding Ukraine's plans to build its own armed forces and the increasingly apparent activity on the part of the Russian Federation to undermine these plans. This statement, signed by People's Deputy Les Taniuk, is printed below in its entirety.

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

January 14, 1992

The formation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, according to a packet of legislation on military issues passed by the Supreme Council of Ukraine, is a necessary process in the activity of state-building. This process requires from all concerned parties a level-headed approach, tolerant relations and political tactfulness.

The anti-Ukrainian campaign, presently being waged in the Russian press and television, certainly does not help. The odious remarks that were recently made by Messrs. V. Zhironovskiy and A. Sobchak clearly have a provocational character and certainly are not helpful in fostering a general understanding of the issues.

We are of the same opinion regarding the reckless and vague remarks of Russian President B. Yeltsin regarding the confrontational directives and programmes of the former Defence Minister of the USSR—Marshal Y. Shaposhnikov. They have created great difficulties in the process of forming the Ukrainian Armed Forces, complicating relations between Ukraine and Russia.

It is becoming obvious that under the abbreviation CIS certain forces are trying to effectuate their plans to resurrect the Russian empire.

The Ukrainian State guarantees all military personnel and their families the benefits of social and legal justice, replete with necessary living conditions and wages only on the condition of the Armed Forces' complete subordination to the Supreme Council and President of Ukraine. Contrary to the decisions of the Commonwealth of Independent States — the Alma-Ata and Minsk agreements — this process is being undermined by the commander of the Kyiv military district — Gen. V. Chechevatov, the commander of the Odessa military district — Gen. I. Morozov, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet — Admiral I. Kasatonov and others. They are actively promoting a colonial, anti-Ukrainian policy, forcing

soldiers to accept part of the text of the Russian military vows, which is contrary to the laws and the Constitution of Ukraine.

The position of these commanders stands in the way of the adoption of Ukrainian laws regarding social guarantees for the military personnel and the improvement of the living standards of their families.

The demonstrative refusal of the Black Sea Fleet Command to accept 350 million roubles, earmarked by the Government of Ukraine for the upkeep of the fleet and for a raise in the salary of the military personnel, is a shameful act of political chicanery and an attempt to exacerbate the tensions.

The National Council is mindful of the fact that V. Chechevatov participated in the coup attempt of 19-20 August and that his activity was not subject to legal scrutiny strictly because of the liberality of L. Kravchuk, who was then the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council. In light of the clearly anti-democratic activity of Gen. V. Chechevatov, it is our opinion, as well as in the opinion of many other deputies who are not members of the National Council, that he should be forced to resign and stripped of all his military designations.

The commander of the Odessa military district — I. Morozov — should also be forced to resign because of his insurrectionary insubordination. We are also mindful of the fact that his troops were ordered to participate in the conflict on Moldavian territory, which certainly did not help in establishing friendly relations between Ukraine and Moldova.

Admiral I. Kasatonov has also taken an uncompromising position regarding the formation of Ukrainian Armed Forces. The question of the subordination of the military units of the Carpathian military district to the Ukrainian Defence Ministry has also not been fully resolved.

The National Council demands from the President of Ukraine the removal of V. Chechevatov, I. Morozov, and I. Kasatonov.

The Ukrainian President should use decisive means for the formation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Les Taniuk

Chairman, National Council

APPEAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE TO THE WORLD FINANCIAL CIRCLES

Below is the text of the appeal of Prime Minister of Ukraine Vitold Fokin to the international financial circles. It was distributed on February 5 in the United Nations by the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UN.

Ukraine, the independence of which was confirmed by its 52 million people on December 1, 1991, and recognised by a majority of nations,

Being a founding state of the Union Nations and a number of international economic organisations,

Firmly adhering to its international obligations as well as those of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Signed, on December 4, 1991, together with other states-members of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Treaty on Legal Succession of the State Foreign Debt and Assets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Thus, Ukraine committed itself to pay part of the external debt of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through the Bank for Foreign Economic Activities, which has been authorised under the treaty to be an agent in servicing the debt.

With the aim of abiding steadily by the word and spirit of the treaty, Ukraine decided to become a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Together with experts of those outstanding international organisations, the Government of Ukraine drew up, for the first time in its history, its balance of payments and determined the limit of foreign debts to be approved by the Supreme Council [Parliament] of Ukraine.

In conditions of an extremely hard economic crisis, hyperinflation and impoverishment of diverse groups of the population, the government is trying to find the required currency to pay in the proper time its share of the debt. An export promotion system is being created urgently, an Export-Import Bank is being founded and the National Customs Service is being reinforced.

But the actions of the other parties to the treaty of December 4, 1991, are raising anxiety. The representatives of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and other states-successors of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have approved, without our authorised representative, a Statute of the Interstate Council to be legitimate under the treaty and to take decisions concerning debt servicing.

The activities of the Interstate Council actually contradict the treaty assumptions. The internal and external gold-device assets, real estate and property abroad of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, about which information is not available for other states successors, are being appropriated unilaterally. Having, according to the unilaterally adopted Statute, 61.1 per cent of the votes, Russia has the real possibility of legalising its actions by the decisions of the Interstate Council.

The decision to stop current operations of the Vneshekonombank of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was taken by the Interstate Council at the end of last year, which caused great damage to the economic interests of Ukraine.

Coming out for equal rights on the solving of these questions, Ukraine cannot agree with the dictate of one country, whatever potential it possesses. Thus, Ukraine addresses itself to the world financial circles with the request to:

(a) Take from the general sum of the debt in hard currency of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the Ukrainian share of 16.37 per cent for facilitation of the debt payment by Ukraine, thus meeting the requirements of the Treaty of December 4, 1991 (article 3);

(b) Give the direct opportunity to the National Bank of Ukraine and the Export-Import Bank of Ukraine to take part in all kinds of financial operations on the world market for timely fulfilment of debt obligations in order to provide the development of the market economy of Ukraine;

(c) Recognise and promote the property rights fulfilment of the Ukrainian share of 16.37 per cent of all kinds of assets on the territory of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and abroad, which will be a necessary guarantee of the fulfilment of Ukrainian international financial obligations. As an interim measure, Ukraine requests the suspension of the property rights of Russia on the objects of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics property abroad until its actual division between states-successors.

With the aim of accomplishing these proposals, the Government of Ukraine offers to convene an international conference in Kyiv on February 18 and 19, 1992, and to invite to this conference authorised representatives of the creditors, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Gennadiy I. Udovenko

Ambassador

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations

Reports

WHO HAD NOTHING... WILL HAVE NOTHING

At the press conference immediately after his inauguration Leonid Kravchuk announced that his first step as president will be to privatise the economy. The priority was correctly established. The denationalisation of the huge economic complex which Ukraine inherited from the now defunct Soviet Union is the key to economic reform. The monopoly of the state sector, which had no interest in maintaining economic efficiency, reduced the freedom of business activities, announced on April 1, to a fictional status. Lacking raw materials, fuel and factories, all of which are controlled by the state, unable to acquire industrial machinery and to organise production, private business grew into speculation. Several expensive restaurants, broker firms, and shops selling old foreign goods — all this is the result of nine months of a market economy.

The concept of privatisation in the form of a free transfer of state property to the people evolved during the electoral campaign. The privatisation of businesses and the distribution of land to the farmers is practically the only thing which can at this point encourage people to work and gain popular support. Something had to be given to the people, or at least promised.

That was a long time ago. Although the President made numerous first steps, privatisation remains only on paper — as a bill ratified by the Supreme Council.

The government plan claims that “every citizen of Ukraine will have the opportunity to acquire means of production... and land with the help of relevant stocks and shares, which guarantee the right to a free acquisition of the property subject to privatisation.”

The plan further calls for the establishment of a ministry of privatisation, a state property fund and numerous committees and commissions on privatisation. The overall value of the property which is being privatised amounts to 360-365 billion roubles (up to 65 per cent of the overall value of state property). Nominal certificates of the right to acquire state property, valued at approximately 180 billion roubles, will be distributed. This means that every Ukrainian citizen, including infants, will receive certificates to the value of 3,500 roubles. All the privatised property is to be sold at special auctions. Numerous confidential associations and other broker firms are to be set up to assist in the acquisition of shares.

Privatisation is to be introduced in two stages. The so called “small-scale” privatisation, involving small businesses, mostly trading companies, but also light industry and the food industry, is set for 1992-1993. Accordingly, the privatisation of heavy industry will take place in 1994-1995.

What course of action should the ordinary citizen adopt? Unfortunately, the problems are not limited to settling formalities. A majority of people do not have the opportunity to evaluate properties, their perspectives, equipment and machinery, and so on. Burdened by work and family matters, the ordinary citizen will not have the opportunity to attend the auctions. People will thus have to employ brokers. Although formally not a compulsory service, it will thus become necessary in order to acquire shares. And so some of the 3,500 roubles will have to go to the broker.

But this is not the worst that can happen. Because shares can also be bought for money at these auctions, as well as certificates, privatisation will therefore not, as claimed, be "costless". Presently it is already impossible to buy a good quality jacket for 3,500 roubles. Shoes will soon reach the same price. Thus, it is pointless to attend the auctions with the meaningless sum of 3,500 roubles allocated by the government. The distribution of certificates at a nominal value and their sale at market prices will have the consequence that the certificates will be sold at a maximum of 10 per cent in the best case. Apart from that, the introduction of privatisation in two stages will also cause the devaluation of the certificates. As all the certificates and money will be put into circulation during the first stage, this will accordingly reduce the offer on the market and reduce the value of the certificates.

During the second stage the certificates will have to compete with the immense capital already acquired by the new businessmen. The privatised government property will thus continue to remain out of the reach of the large majority of the population. The government plan to distribute property among the people is thus simply fiction. It is an attempt to gain moral capital and to conceal the true essence of the privatisation.

Who will benefit? In the first place officials from the ministry of privatisation, the state property fund and the other institutions directly involved with privatisation. They will control all business information and data. This opens the door to various manipulations including the chance to sell relevant information to interested parties. Furthermore, it is these officials who will evaluate state property, and future owners interested in retaining the minimal value of a business prior to a purchase, will generously reward such services.

The second group which will benefit from privatisation will be the numerous brokerage firms. They will not lose out for the sake of the certificates of small owners.

There is yet another way for select groups to become rich. The plan allows individual properties to be sold solely for certificates. Which particular businesses will be privatised is thus not specified. There is no doubt, however, that the best businesses equipped with the most modern machinery in the most profitable sectors will be valued extremely low at their nominal price. In this way they will fall into the hands of the state-economic elite and their relatives.

The plan of privatisation has glaring inherent flaws. Not only is it being carried out largely not in the interests of the population, but it is also unsuitable for a rapid transformation of Ukraine into a state with an effective market economy. First of all, the republic will not survive five years of privatisation. Nor will it survive one year of privatisation. The seven or so years of *perestroika* siphoned the last ounces of strength out of the people. The people are demanding improvements now and not some time in the unspecified future. Calls to "tighten the belt and work harder," emanating from all the former leaders from Lenin to Gorbachev, only led to irritation and anger.

Small-scale privatisation, which will be carried out during the first stage, will involve primarily trade and services, branches not directly involved in production. Thus, an increase in production and the reduction of the overall deficit cannot be expected in the near future. Attempts to organise effective production at state businesses are doomed to failure. Experience and theory both show that it is impossible to force those who have no direct incentive or interest to work well.

There were, however, alternative ways of introducing privatisation. The simplest, perhaps, would be to hand businesses over to employees. The advantage of this is speed. All it requires is a law transferring the ownership of businesses to labour collectives. The stock-market and market relations between businesses will be formed automatically. Naturally, such a scheme will not affect pensioners and those who work in the budget branches. However, if we take into account the expenditure involved in the introduction of privatisation according to the "Fokin plan", and the losses as a result of ineffective production for the next five five years, then small-scale privatisation does not appear so unjust. Furthermore, such a small sum as 3,500 roubles cannot be considered an adequate basis for statements on social justice. Those who wish to and have sufficient capital to become business owners can just as easily acquire stocks and shares not from the state, but from private auctioneers. A similar path of privatisation would give the opportunity to quickly settle effective work, resolve all financial problems of Ukraine and increase realistic allocation of funds for social programmes and increase wage levels/salaries in the budgetary spheres.

The second means lies in the separate sale of privatised property. Part of the property has to be sold only for certificates. Without competition of money the value of the certificates could be transformed into a real market value shares.

There were also other propositions, but out of all of them the Fokin government chose the most drawn-out, the most expensive and the least effective plan. The state-economic elite, which flourished during socialism, wants to remain the ruling stratum of society, but as businessmen and capitalists. This is natural. It is completely understandable. But what is the attitude to this of the people who have been misled so many times before? In the conditions of a total deficit Ukraine will hardly want to become the foot-rest of new rulers. No one will tolerate hardship

and hunger, working for someone else. The situation is extremely dangerous. The first signs of a future social explosion are already becoming visible in Ukraine. If the people do not see any real improvements in the next few months, if they realise that they have been misled again (this time by a Ukrainian government), then the outbreak of spontaneous uprising is inevitable.

During discussion of the draft law on privatisation in the Supreme Council the deputies subjected the Prime Minister's plan to bitter criticism and defeated it. Parliament recognises all its flaws. A commission was formed to review all pressing problems including the question of privatisation. However, no progress has taken place and no one can say with any certainty when the wagon will finally start rolling and Ukraine will have a real market economy and begin to enjoy prosperity.

A TEST OF STRENGTH

The Commonwealth of Independent States had hardly lasted a month when it began to disintegrate. The initial confusion immediately after the Minsk treaty slid into direct confrontation between Ukraine and Russia. The Commonwealth was created by states with diametrically opposed interests. Its geographical position, natural resources, a larger population and superior state apparatus, caused Russia to very quickly reveal its ambitions to assume a leading position in the new structure. Once he had removed Gorbachev, Yeltsin aimed to succeed him and adopted the same means which led to the political demise of the President of the USSR: to forcefully unite the imperial legacy of the Russian tsars in an artificial state structure. The Alma-Ata meeting paved the way for the Russian president. In comparison to the Minsk treaty at Alma-Ata Russia's position was markedly strengthened. Russia received the nuclear button, agreement was reached on a single economic territory, and the rest of the Commonwealth members petitioned the United Nations to hand over the former Soviet Union's seat on the Security Council to Russia. Russian dominance in the Commonwealth was determined very clearly.

In his struggle for leadership Yeltsin relied on three basic factors: the army, a single currency and joint foreign policy. With the disintegration of the USSR a single joint army has become senseless. The republics are not under threat. Furthermore, through its structure and national composition a single Commonwealth army, like the former Soviet army, would be primarily Russian. It would thus become a powerful tool of russification and an iron fist which could be brought to bear against republics which showed insufficient loyalty.

Through a single currency — the rouble, within the Commonwealth and a common banking system Yeltsin hoped to securely bind, this time economically, all the members of the Commonwealth to Russia. The liberalisation of prices and

economic reforms in Russia, according to his plan, would guarantee Russia's economic superiority in the Commonwealth. The rise in prices and control of currency by Yeltsin would effectively guarantee the transfer of the burden of economic reform onto the other republics and secure a more rapid economic development. This, in turn, would further strengthen Russia's dominant position.

The third factor in Yeltsin's plan was Russia's role in the world. Throughout the centuries the world has accepted Russia, and later the Soviet Union, as a single entity, failing to distinguish between the individual component republics. This is continuing today. The world accepted Russia as the heir of the Union and began to form relations with Moscow. The other republics remain in the shadows. Almost all aid programmes, be they economic, humanitarian or other, are orientated on Moscow. This situation places additional psychological pressure on the independent states and compels them to rally around Russia.

As regards Ukraine, this newly-independent state was motivated to join the Commonwealth by completely different reasons. Artificially tied to the single economic complex, bereft of its own currency and the opportunity to stockpile hard currency reserves and to receive Western aid, Ukraine was forced to join the Commonwealth of Independent States under the threat of economic blockade by Russia. A suspension of oil, gas, fuel etc. deliveries would lead to an immediate economic crash.

It was inevitable that this divergence of interests would shortly lead to conflict. The two most important factors — money and the armed forces, became the issues of contention. Although the half-hearted introduction of coupons by Ukraine, which is scarcely effective in the form proposed by the government, does so far not undermine the Russian rouble, the creation of a national Ukrainian army brought Russia's leaders to the verge of hysteria: Ukraine delivered a powerful blow to their imperial ambitions. Russian media and government officials spread rumours that military units in Ukraine were being coerced into taking the oath of loyalty and called the formation of Ukrainian armed forces out of units of the Soviet army unlawful.

The public statements of the Russian leadership demonstrate the "brotherly" relations between Ukraine and Russia. Russia cannot shed its superiority complex regarding Ukraine, and, as Leonid Kravchuk rightly put it, does not consider Ukraine an independent state. However, sentiments within the armed forces are pro-Ukrainian and there is no doubt that with individual exceptions the majority of servicemen will take the oath of loyalty to Ukraine.

The position of the Russian leadership is unable to influence events, and only acts to discredit Russia's leaders and creates anti-Russian sentiment.

The Black Sea fleet forms a separate problem. The commander of the fleet, Admiral Kasatonov, appointed after the August putsch by the head of the Ukrainian government, refuses to obey the minister of defence. According to official sources

Ukrainians constitute only 19 per cent of the officer corps and 30 per cent of the other ranks of the fleet. To expect a strong national movement from below is therefore out of the question.

President Yeltsin and his colleagues support Kasatonov's move. Their respective actions may well have been prearranged. Russia declared the Black Sea fleet a strategic force and stressed that as such it should come under the command of the joint forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, in other words Russia. The head of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, made an open statement to the effect that the Black Sea fleet was and will remain Russian.

The question of the Black Sea fleet is further complicated by the activities of powerful separatist pro-Russian groups in the Crimea, which have already staged several demonstrations in support of Kasatonov. It is thus possible that the question of the Crimea's secession will again be raised. If Russia harbours a genuine intention to take over the Black Sea fleet, then it needs a naval base on the Black Sea. So far Russia's only access to the Black Sea — Novorosiysk, is unsuitable as a naval base. For this reason Russia may have an interest in supporting Crimean separatism in the hope of annexing the peninsula.

In this situation Ukraine would face two possibilities. Firstly, to apply pressure on the commander of the Black Sea fleet. If Kasatonov wants to continue receiving material security and his salary from Ukraine, he has to obey the orders of the Ukrainian government. If not, he can look elsewhere. But Kasatonov can appeal to Yeltsin who will not turn him down. This would lead to acute tension in Ukrainian-Russian relations, especially if Russia makes new territorial claims on Ukraine.

The second possibility is a concession over the Black Sea fleet: Ukraine will have no fleet, but will have "assurances" that Russia will not make new territorial claims. Should Ukraine choose this option, its government will be compelled to surrender one position after another. The longer this lasts, the harder it will be for Ukraine to say "no" to new demands, so on until no vestiges of independence remain just the Act of August 24 itself. This is more dangerous than open conflict with Russia.

Whatever the outcome of the dispute surrounding the Black Sea fleet, it is already a certainty that the Commonwealth of Independent States has almost fully exhausted all its possibilities. Formed for the purpose of dismantling the Soviet Union, it cannot even resolve the conflict between individual component states. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that an effective joint political structure of this nature can be established on the territory of the former USSR.

WHO WILL COMMAND THE BLACK SEA FLEET?

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine concerning the Black Sea Fleet affected not only the two republics, but also gained significant attention around the world. The potential replay of a Yugoslav scenario within the Commonwealth of Independent States with the use of nuclear weapons created understandable concern.

Within a single state — the USSR — a single army and a single navy was possible. Following the demise of the Soviet Union and the apportionment of its property, however, no-one is disputing the right of every republic (not only Russia and Ukraine) to inherit part of this property. This also concerns the army and navy. None of the Commonwealth members opposes this division. Why then did the issue of the oath of loyalty of the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine cause such an emotional reaction in Russia?

The Black Sea Fleet, which consists of 45 large ships, 28 submarines, more than 300 smaller and medium-size vessels, 151 aircraft and 85 helicopters, constitutes no more than 10 per cent of the now defunct USSR's navy. It has no strategic significance: the Black Sea is closed off; the sole exit is controlled by Turkey. The Black Sea Fleet is not armed with strategic nuclear weapons and tactical nuclear weapons do not justify its classification as a strategic force. Furthermore, Ukraine has declared its determination to remove all tactical nuclear weapons from its territory by July 1992.

As a group of ships the Black Sea Fleet has no significance for Russia. Russia is not facing an external threat and has more than adequate defence forces in the Baltic, in the north and in the far east. Thus, possession of the fleet is not essential for Russia. The furious reaction of the Russian leadership was based on two factors. Firstly, Russia has to relinquish its great power ambitions. Shortly after the Minsk agreement (forming the Commonwealth of Independent States) Russia revealed very clearly its intention to dominate the Commonwealth and to form a new empire on its foundations. Yeltsin and the Russian leadership regard the creation by Ukraine of its own armed forces as an attempt to split away from the "big brother". Russia realised that its ambitions had suffered a final blow, hence the strong and sometimes acerbic reaction. Alongside the official position that the Black Sea Fleet belongs to the Commonwealth, President Yeltsin declared that the fleet "was, is and will remain Russian"; he called on the officers to refuse the oath of loyalty to Ukraine and offered them protection. Russia's Supreme Council chairman, Ruslan Khasbulatov, fully supported this policy.

Russian politician and mayor of St. Petersburg, Anatoliy Sobchak, was allocated almost an hour on Russian television, broadcast throughout the whole Commonwealth. Most of this time Sobchak (who is half Ukrainian) spent attacking

Ukraine, calling on the Black Sea Fleet not to submit and demanding the “return” of the Crimea to Russia. The commander-in-chief of the joint Commonwealth armed forces, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, sent an oath of loyalty to Russia to the military units based in Ukraine ordering commanders to take it by January 15. A similar situation within NATO would have created an unprecedented scandal. It would be absurd for NATO commanders to order the national armies of France, Italy and Germany, for instance, to take an oath of loyalty to the US.

But relations within the Commonwealth of Independent States have not yet reached the level of truly independent states. Despite official declarations, Russia does not consider the republics equal partners or independent states. It even resorts to pressure.

Secondly, two weeks of the so-called liberalisation of prices and economic reform have so far demonstrated the failure of the “new Russia’s” plans. Promises to fill shops with goods were not realised and prices have risen so sharply that the average person can only earn enough money to buy poor quality food. As always, such situations require an extreme remedy. An enemy who is responsible for all the hardships is needed. Why should Ukraine not become this enemy? The outburst of national feelings, fuelled by emotional demagoguery about Russian military glory, the historical legacy of Ushakov, Nakhimov, Kornilov, will make people forget the present hardships for a period of time and provides the opportunity for venting aggression.

A fleet requires seas to sail in. Without the Black Sea the Black Sea Fleet is useless for Russia. If the fleet is handed over to Russia what will happen to it? Russia has no naval bases on the Black Sea. The fleet could sail to the Baltic, north or to the far east, but would not meet with a favourable reaction. The arrival of a large number of officers, their families, and other military personnel, will undoubtedly create new complications for Russia, particularly in light of the lack of accommodations and basic provisions. The social infrastructure of Russian military bases, (the situation is the same throughout all of the former USSR) is extremely poor. There are shortages of everything: accommodation, fuel, food, stores. The new arrivals would not encounter a very warm welcome in their new homeland.

But would the Sevastopol sailors want to leave the warm and gentle Black Sea, where they enjoy reasonable living conditions, for the cold and hungry north? The Black Sea Fleet should remain on the Black Sea. To do this the fleet needs naval bases. Sobchak has already talked about a Russian naval base on foreign soil. This leads to a direct conclusion: Sevastopol — “the city of the glory of Russian sailors” — should be the natural base of the Black Sea Fleet, which “was, is and will remain Russian” (according to President Yeltsin). For this reason the Russian leadership is supporting the anti-Ukrainian movement in the Crimea. Support for the local population will provide moral justification for Russia’s actions. On the

other hand, the separatist forces in the Crimean peninsula cannot be effective without Russian support. For them the conflict concerning the Black Sea Fleet is a convenient opportunity to realise their so far unsuccessful plans to separate the Crimea from Ukraine. An alliance between the republican movement in the Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet commanders and the Russian leadership is thus completely natural. A demonstration in Sevastopol, whose participants shouted: "Kasatonov [commander of the fleet] for president of the Crimea", expressed full support for the position adopted by the commanders of the Black Sea Fleet.

If this situation develops further the Black Sea Fleet, which is a part of the joint Commonwealth armed forces under the leadership of Russia, will adopt the role of a military opposition to Ukraine.

At a recent meeting the Russian and Ukrainian delegations, headed respectively by the Russian deputy prime minister, Serhiy Shakhrai, and minister Antonov from Ukraine, agreed to hold frequent meetings to resolve all arising disputes, primarily the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. Both sides will manoeuvre in an endeavour to consolidate their positions prior to the decisive clash. So far Russia and Ukraine have both made temporary concessions. The president of Ukraine declared that it may be possible for the Black Sea Fleet to remain under Commonwealth command until the removal of the tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine. "This problem is not yet resolved, but its severity has been removed", said Leonid Kravchuk.

UKRAINE LOOKS TO ITS EASTERN DIASPORA

Throughout the centuries Ukraine witnessed mass-scale emigration. Wars, social disturbances and hardship drove hundreds of thousands to leave their homes "in search of happiness and a future". The Ukrainian emigration to the west settled in the prairies of Canada, in the United States, and in Australia. The free world gave Ukrainians the opportunity to establish their own cultural societies, religious communities, socio-political organisations, and their own press. In the period when the state was ruthlessly implementing its policy of total ethnocide against Ukrainians in the USSR the western diaspora continued to develop Ukrainian national traditions. Its energetic and generous efforts greatly contributed to the success of the national rebirth of the last few years.

The fate of the Ukrainians who settled in the east was different. Numerically much larger (according to deflated official figures 7 million ethnic Ukrainians presently live outside the borders of Ukraine) at the beginning of the 20th century the Ukrainian wave reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. As a result compact settlements populated predominantly by Ukrainians were established in Kuban, Siberia, Northern Caucasus and the Far East. The eastern diaspora not only formed its own national associations, schools, and press, but even managed to form its own state organisations: Green Ukraine, Grey Ukraine, the Kuban Council.

However, the decades of existence within the family of “brotherly, united” peoples of the USSR destroyed all the national vestiges of the Ukrainians settled in the east. The state policy of ethnocide brought grim results. At the end of the 1980s there was no Ukrainian civic association, school, or newspaper outside Ukraine, and the nationality of many ethnic Ukrainians (millions according to uncorroborated sources) was falsified in official documents.

The dissolution of the totalitarian communist system created the conditions for a national rebirth not only in Ukraine, but also beyond its borders, and Ukraine is striving to establish close contacts and cooperation with all its countrymen.

The first step was the Congress of Ukrainians of the states of the former Soviet Union, held in Kyiv on January 22-23. The forum was organised by the Committee on Nationality Issues of the Cabinet of Ministers, the “Prosvita” Society — the largest cultural organisation, and the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) — the most influential political organisation in Ukraine.

The Congress was opened by President Leonid Kravchuk, who addressed the more than 1,500 delegates, who included close to 600 representatives from Siberia, the Far East, Kuban, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Baltic states, Moldova, Moscow and St. Petersburg. The significance of the Congress organisers and the formidable attendance reflects how seriously Ukraine is treating the issue of establishing relations with the eastern diaspora.

The main problem facing the Ukrainian communities scattered throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States, as became clear from the numerous addresses, is the lack of funds and premises, a material and technical base, and the frequently negative attitude of the local administration. In many places the national movement among Ukrainians has not yet gathered mass proportions, but despite all the difficulties the growth of national consciousness is an undisputable fact. For the first time since 1917 Ukrainian newspapers began to appear in Moscow and Murmansk.

Ukrainians are uniting and demanding their national rights. In perspective, the Ukrainian diaspora in the east can become a significant socio-political factor, with a role synonymous with that of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

Ukraine is ready to help. The Congress resolutions were concerned with contacts between the homeland and its eastern diaspora, the education of Ukrainian youth living in the diaspora in Ukraine, the establishment of economic relations, the protection of national rights of Ukrainians residing in other countries, international agreements to establish dual citizenship for Ukrainians in the diaspora, and the establishment of a state-civic repatriation fund.

The Congress concluded with these words: “Let us carry the words of love and truth, spoken here at the Congress, to all our brothers and sisters, let us do everything to ensure that Ukraine will become a truly united state, a good mother for its citizens and all Ukrainians in the world”.

GOVERNMENT AND FREE PRICES AGAINST A FREE ECONOMY

The development of events in Ukraine from January 2 fully corroborates the pessimistic prognoses of government critics. Instead of seeing its shop counters filled with foodstuffs and other commodities, as was promised by the government, Ukraine found itself on the verge of economic catastrophe and a social explosion. People expected prices to rise no more than three-four times, but the real situation was much worse than anyone had expected. Prices rose by five-twenty times, and in some cases even as high as fifty times. Industry and trade reacted to the price liberalisation by reducing production. Instead of organising production and supply, state enterprises solved their problems by raising prices. As a consequence of the unforeseen rise in the standard of living, the majority of the Ukrainian population, who up to then had lived well below the poverty level, now found themselves below the begging level.

Sitting through the storm over the price rises in parliament on January 4, Prime Minister Vitold Fokin promised that the situation would stabilise itself within two weeks. He was unconvincing, but nothing affects people more than someone else's self-confidence. So much so that the deputies extended the mandate of confidence in the government for a few more weeks.

These few weeks have now passed and government policies have clearly failed. This was not difficult to foresee.

State-owned industry, unlike private industry, has no inherent tendencies to unlimited expansion. The state sector is interested merely in carrying out the plan, in securing the wage-fund and in reporting to the government. It is not interested in profits, which will go to someone else. The state's monopoly over a majority of enterprises and trade enabled the imposition of monopolist prices. In his address to parliament, President Leonid Kravchuk announced that the lucrative income of some businesses is presently 400-500 per cent. The Polish scenario has not worked in Ukraine.

Without the introduction of privatisation, without private businesses and trade, without competition, "liberalisation" became a means of extracting supplemental funds from the population. As a result of this hyperinflation, the internal government debt was in actual fact liquidated. The billions of roubles deposited in private accounts in Ukrainian savings banks were completely devalued. Presently, people who have worked all their lives and managed to save ten thousand roubles, for example, can now buy a coat and a pair of boots for this sum. The state budget deficit was resolved in the same fashion. State expenditure depends on unusually high taxes levied on businesses, taxes on the cost of production, and the cost of production on monopolist high prices. The Prime Minister did not take into account the potential negative social consequences of his financial policy or that it would stifle economic development.

The liberalisation of prices in the state sector led to a rise in market prices. The market price of a kilogramme of pork, for example, jumped from 20 roubles in

November to 100 at the end of December, and 200 in mid-January. In the same time-span a kilogramme of potatoes leapt from 3 roubles to 25.

Increased capital does not necessarily mean an increase in actual wealth. The private sector gained nothing from Fokin's liberalisation. Moreover, the consequences for the free economy are negative. The impoverishment of the population led to the reduction of the solvent demand for industrial goods, in other words, it reduced the internal market. The expenditure of all capital income for the acquisition of provisions precludes the opportunity to acquire goods other than everyday necessities. In such conditions a growth of industrial production in the private sector is becoming virtually impossible.

The objective doom of the reforms was exacerbated by the mistakes of the government. In an attempt to justify itself, the government announced that successful price liberalisation depended on analogous steps in Russia. At the same time the government rejected propositions to introduce a coupon system as a temporary measure to substitute currency with a change in price-scales. The official reason that was given was the supposedly administrative nature of such a move. This, however, did not prevent the Cabinet of Ministers from establishing two weeks later the official exchange rate between the coupon and the rouble at 1:10. Although they were due to be launched on December 27-28, the coupons weren't put into circulation until January 10. The introduction of these coupons with the new "free" prices led to a coupon inflation. The principal blame for the fact that sufficient quantities of coupons were not produced before January 1 lies with the Cabinet of Ministers. Both time and means were completely adequate.

The system of social welfare in the form of subsidies to particular industries and the retention of free breakfasts for primary school children could not protect the population from the "free" prices. The government ignored the experience of the developed countries with their system of social welfare and security, which has been well-entrenched for decades.

To prevent uncontrolled price rises, the government introduced profit margins for enterprises. This would give individual businesses the incentive to concentrate on producing the most expensive product. The financial policy of the Cabinet of Ministers is also proof that the government does not understand the new market conditions. Foreign currency is freely circulating in Ukraine; punishment for currency transactions has long been abolished. What remains is the lack of state security for private property, not materially or in roubles, but in dollars. The legalisation of currency transactions would open up an extensive area for the development of trade relations not only with Russia, with which Ukraine can only exchange hardships, but with the entire world. Instead, the government set the exchange rate between the coupon and the dollar at 10:1. The desire to save the Ukrainian economy from hard currency appears strange against an equally strange

failure to protect the market from the devalued rouble. Concurrently, Ukrainian foreign trade continues to consist mainly of tourist "raids" on second-rate Polish goods, to exchange vodka and irons for jeans and cassette-players.

Realising its own mistakes the government is striving to resolve the foreign economic problem by following Russia's lead. Instead of taking steps to establish trade relations abroad, the government detects a panacea in negotiations with "big brother", in requesting him not to halt supplies of fuel and gas to Ukraine. Fokin's other serious mistake was to conduct Ukraine's foreign economic transactions through Moscow. Ukraine's millions in foreign currency presently lie frozen in the Russian Foreign Economic Bank while Ukraine is choking without hard currency.

These outright failures led to bitter criticism. Indignation with Fokin and his government has united former antagonists: neo-communists and Rukh activists, former communist trade unions and the All-Ukrainian Association for the Solidarity of Trade Unions (VOST). The Fokin government has been accused not only of incompetence, but also of deliberate sabotage.

Fokin and almost his entire Cabinet are the products and students of the command-administrative system. Not everyone can make such political pirouettes as Kravchuk can. Most people would find it impossible to change the habits and outlook they developed over decades. It is, thus, not strange that in the new circumstances the Cabinet of Ministers in most cases shows neither an understanding of the situation, nor vigour, nor perseverance. For such an ineffective government to head a republic at a critical juncture in its history is a sure guarantee of catastrophe.

Almost all political parties are demanding the dismissal of Fokin and the Cabinet of Ministers, and the formation of a new government. The fate of the government may well have already been decided had it not been for the support of the President. Leonid Kravchuk has an inexplicable sympathy for Fokin and is, at the same time, in no hurry to take executive power into his own hands. The President does not identify his position with that of Prime Minister. Kravchuk's principal argument is that "no-one changes horses midstream". Although in his last address in the Supreme Council, Kravchuk recognised that there is a basis for criticism of the government. Kravchuk's ambiguous position is the result of one of two reasons. Either he does not wish to risk his authority and wants the responsibility for the unpopular measures to lie on Fokin's shoulders, or else there are well-established and thought-out connections between Kravchuk and Fokin, typical of the state-party elite of the former empire. One way or another the delay in the appointment of a new government cannot go on much longer. The President has already been subjected to harsh criticism for his unyielding hesitation to begin exercising his duties. The fate of the Cabinet of Ministers will be decided in the near future and the position adopted by Kravchuk will determine not only the composition of the next government, but also the fate of Ukraine on this crucial stage of its history.

Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays

In cooperation with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press has published the Canadian edition of "Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays", edited by I. S. Koropecykj. This collection, which represents the proceedings of the Third Conference on Ukrainian Economics, held at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in 1985, consists of fourteen essays dealing with the development of the Ukrainian economy from Kyivan Rus' to the outbreak of the First World War.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the orientation of the Kyivan Principality with regard to the Nomadic East and the Byzantine South. The authors of the volume's second part analyse the economic ties of the Ukrainian economy during the rise of Kozakdom and, subsequently, the Hetman State, with the West and Muscovy. The contributions in the third part deal with the important problems of economic development during Ukraine's rebirth as a modern nation in the past century. The authors are recognised specialists in Ukrainian history from the United States, Canada, and Ukraine.

"Ukrainian Economic History", 404 pages in length (ISBN 0-920862-72-1), is available for \$24.95.

New Study of Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia

In this year of celebration of the centenary of Ukrainian life in Canada, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press is pleased to announce the publication of "Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia, 1880-1900" by Dr. Stella Hryniuk, professor of history at the University of Manitoba.

This is the first monograph examining the social history of an area from which many of the Ukrainians who settled the Canadian prairies at the turn of the century originated. Dr. Hryniuk studied in depth five counties of southeastern Galicia in the last twenty years of the 19th century, two decades before large-scale emigration began. She examined village life by exploring new evidence in memoirs, eyewitness accounts, the press of the period, and statistical publications that have been largely neglected by earlier authors on this subject. The book details developments such as the Prosvita Society, the expansion of transportation networks, and improvements in preventive health care in this region, showing that Ukrainian society was modernising successfully as a result of the real progress made by individuals.

Stella Hryniuk's book challenges the existing interpretation of Eastern Galician history, which holds that Ukrainian emigrants were escaping from poverty and generally hopeless situations. The study shows that the Ukrainians who made their homes in Canada were indeed "peasants with promise".

The book is richly illustrated with period photographs and reproductions from newspapers of the period. "Peasants with Promise" (ISBN 0-920862-74-8) is available for \$34.95 (GST not included).

New Work on Ukrainian Economics

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies has published an important collection of essays by Professor I. S. Koropecyjk of Temple University (Philadelphia) under the title "Development in the Shadow: Studies in Ukrainian Economics". The focus of these essays, written over a ten-year period, is the decisive influence of the Russian occupation of Ukraine under tsarist and communist regimes on the development of the Ukrainian economy. Professor Koropecyjk concludes that this influence has been generally negative: compared with other parts of the former USSR, Ukraine's economic growth was among the lowest and its income per capita deteriorated steadily.

The essays in the first part of the volume consider the integration of the Ukrainian economy into that of the Russian Empire and the USSR; the continuity of national income transfers; and the issue of national income per capita. Part two consists of a major essay on economic prerogatives that examines change in the scope of economic decision-making. The final section considers the distinguished economists Ivan Vernadskyi and Tyt Voinarovskyi, and outlines the growth of academic economics in 19th-century Ukraine.

"Development in the Shadow", 311 pages in length (ISBN 0-920862-55-1), is available for \$24.95 (Canadian).

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A quarterly journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

Summer, 1992

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EDITORIAL

CIS Counts Down

With each passing day and meeting, it is growing increasingly apparent that the six-month-old Commonwealth of Independent States will soon go the way of the Soviet Union. The recent Tashkent session merely reinforced its predictable demise.

Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, desperately grasping at all possibilities, had hoped that this round of talks would help solidify the CIS and, moreover, formalise Russia's preeminent role in the commonwealth. Yeltsin's hopes were dashed by the obvious absence of Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk and four other heads of state. Yeltsin can belittle Kravchuk's staying away, saying "it's not tragic", but, realistically, he and most pundits in the CIS and around the world understand that without Ukraine's participation the commonwealth is doomed to failure. And nothing would be lost.

Officially, the CIS was formed in order to facilitate an orderly dismantling of the Soviet Union, however, informed sources in Ukraine have offered two other explanations for its formation: Yeltsin wanted to get rid of Gorbachev and Kravchuk wanted to get rid of the USSR and Russia. Regardless of the reasons for its establishment, since its inception on December 8, 1991, it has served no purpose and has accomplished nothing.

During his historic visit to the United States as the president of independent Ukraine, Kravchuk did not hide his contempt for Russia's efforts to turn the CIS into a new Russian empire, just as the old USSR was. Kravchuk said Gorbachev and Yeltsin are Russian national chauvinists with imperialist ideologies and Russia is striving to dominate that region of the world. At the United Nations he charged that Russia is unjustly treating Ukraine and the other member-states of the CIS, refusing to divide equitably the internal and external wealth of the old USSR, and that a joint CIS command of the Black Sea Fleet would eventually turn into a Russian fleet flying the Russian colours. He also described how Russian Vice-President Rutskoi recently embraced a cannon in Crimea and declared that Russia would never give up the peninsula. In other words, Russia has failed to reform, while the other members of the CIS are charting a course to democracy. Is there any reason to remain in such a club? Russia has not convinced, not for a lack of opportunity, its former colonies that it is trustworthy and will treat other independent states with respect not as possessions.

The Tashkent meeting produced six documents, including a mutual security treaty, which states that an attack on one signatory would mean an attack on all signatories. Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan declined to sign this and other accords. The US State Department immediately issued a statement saying that it would like to see continuing cooperation among the member-states of the CIS.

Pressure will be mounting on Ukraine to sign the defence pact but what the world and the United States, favouring Russia, will overlook to understand is that Ukraine, by its previously-stated declarations cannot join this defence bloc. Kravchuk has repeatedly declared that Ukraine will become a nuclear-free, non-aligned independent state. That means destroying all nuclear weapons on its territory, building its military for defence purposes only and not joining any military-defence-security arrangements. His statements were also ratified by the Supreme Council. Consequently, politically, morally and legally, Ukraine could not have signed the treaty.

The world is at Ukraine's doorstep and that is where its bilateral and multilateral priorities lie. If the other CIS members understood this as well, they would be better off and would not have to endure the big brother from the North.

History

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

(Part 2)

By Peter E. Lycholat

2: Soviet Ukraine (1923-1232)

The Ukrainianisation decree of September 1, 1923, affecting Soviet controlled Ukraine permitted nationalist Ukrainians to indulge in all that they had been politically and militarily trying to achieve since 1917, although an independent Ukrainian nation-state could not be reestablished. Lenin and the Russian Communist Party had been faced with a formidable opponent in the nationalistic Ukrainian organisations since 1917 and the Ukrainianisation policy was a way of "making peace" with the Ukrainians, establishing some sort of order in Soviet Ukraine, and ensured that the Communist Party would not be overturned.

F. Pigido astutely points out that the special Ukrainianisation policy was tactical in the sense that in order to achieve its ultimate goals in Ukraine, the Communist Party had to take, "one step back, two steps forwards". Combined with the New Economic Policy (NEP), the Ukrainianisation policy had a profound effect upon the Ukrainian economy that had been flailing since 1917 and that was so essential for the Soviet Union. Lenin appeased the Ukrainians not because he believed that their demands for a separate history and culture to the Russians were justified, (although, as James Mace states, Lenin wanted to foster the development of the local [Ukrainian] language and culture, recruiting members of the national group into the Party and wanted to employ the local language in all Party and state business under the Ukrainianisation policy), but because Ukraine was of the utmost economic importance; the development and spread of Ukrainian culture was officially recognised as a cover for the exploitation of the Ukrainian peasantry — "... the development of Ukraine's economy is taking place from the angle of its integration with Russia".²⁶

The Russian Communist Party realised the importance of Ukraine in its size as a minority group. It was the largest of the minority groups (in 1926 there were 69 million non-Russians, 31 million of these being Ukrainians)²⁷ and if this area could be appeased,

²⁶ Ukrainian Information Service, "Kyiv Versus Moscow" (1970).

²⁷ James Mace's figures.

coerced to work under Soviet control and perhaps even converted to Bolshevism and made into a model Soviet republic, no other minority group would dare to rebel against the Party and its control. Drawing Ukrainians into the Communist Party of Ukraine during the Ukrainianisation policy would in fact give the Russians and the Ukrainians something in common, which was essential for Soviet brotherhood. This would also mean that the West would think twice about helping an independence-hungry Ukraine that was apparently Bolshevik, which was something the West feared in the 1920s.²⁸

Professor M. Hrushevskyy (former President of the Ukrainian Central Rada) returned to Ukraine from exile. A national and cultural renaissance characterised by the establishment of new and former educational institutions asserted Ukrainian culture as the state culture of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. As the Ukrainian peasant was guided by the nationalistic intelligentsia to proudly practice and to reestablish links with their culture, folklore and history, they too became strong nationalists. The Soviet government was viewed, as strongly as ever, as an unjust occupational regime — a mortal enemy of the nationalistic Ukrainians.

Lenin and the Communist Party could not have dreamt in 1923 that Ukrainianisation could reach such extremes. Lenin died on January 21, 1924, and his successor as Soviet leader, Stalin, did not possess real control over the Communist Party until the late 1920s. Until Stalin assumed complete authoritarian control, nationalist Ukrainian propaganda permeated all strata of Ukrainian society, now able to make free use of books, newspapers, cinema and even the opera to fully exploit the limits of the Ukrainianisation policy. The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), among other movements, were established as a direct result of the freedom found in Ukrainianisation. "... The national and cultural revival in Ukraine during the years of independence in the 1920s and the continual striving for national freedom posed a direct threat to Moscow's policy of subduing the nationalities in the Soviet Union".²⁹

Oleskiw explains the attitude of the Communist Party to the rising national movements, stating that fearful of these movements, "...Moscow reverted to a policy of terror, mass executions, [and] deportations...". Oleskiw's opinion of that which occurred in the late 1920s in the Soviet Union is supported by P.P. Postyshev's speech in 1933, in which he claimed that it was essential for the Communist Party of Ukraine to adopt a mainline of, "... smashing up the wrecker and the nationalist elements who had penetrated into various sections of socialist construction, particularly in the sphere of Ukrainian socialist construction".³⁰

In 1929-1930 practically thousands of Ukrainian intelligentsia were arrested and

²⁸ Idea expressed in "New York Times", December 25, 1938.

²⁹ Oleskiw, "Agony of a Nation".

³⁰ P.P. Postyshev and S.V. Kossior, "Soviet Ukraine Today" (1934).

accused of being members of the "counter-revolutionary" and "anti-Soviet" Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. The year 1930 witnessed the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine trials through which Russia aimed at, "... the destruction of the Ukrainian nation by doing away with its leaders, its writers, its intellectuals. Obviously, deprived of leadership freedom forces become weak and frustrated".³¹ Hryrory Kostiuk believes that 1930 marked the beginning of terror and oppression in Ukraine. This year saw the emergence of Stalin as a leader who had complete control over the Party and it was one of his main aims, as Kostiuk points out, to economically unify all the national republics and to make them subordinate to the Kremlin. This implied enforcing a programme of proletarian internationalism to destroy the differences between all the nationalities in the Soviet Union. Many historians prefer to call this a programme of Russification that left Soviet Ukraine by the end of 1932 once more under the thumb of Russian chauvinism.

Accusations of Russification dictating Soviet nationalities policy in the 1930s are supported by P.P. Postyshev's desire, "... To turn serious attention to the proper implementation of Ukrainianisation, to cease carrying it out mechanically, to disperse Petlurists and other bourgeois nationalist elements from the Party and Soviet organisations, to painstakingly select and educate Ukrainian Bolshevik cadres, and to safeguard the Party's systematic leadership and control over the way Ukrainianisation is carried out".³²

Ukrainian nationalism was viewed as a serious threat to the Soviet regime by the end of 1932, although it had not become such a threat under its own impetus. It was the Soviet policies of Collectivisation (1929) and Industrialisation (1928-1933) that catalysed and magnified the scope and force of Ukrainian nationalism, interest in which was aroused especially among the peasantry. Oleskiw states that, "... Moscow realised that without a victory over the Ukrainian farmers, total victory and control over Ukraine was impossible".

Stalin thought that by breaking the Ukrainian peasantry, depriving it of means and reason for supporting a national movement, Ukrainian movements and their mainly intelligentsia leaders would soon be defeated. One way of curtailing the peasantry was to introduce a collective state farming system that would keep them in quota-bondage and labour intensive hard work. Collectivisation was introduced in 1929 and peasant resistance became acute by 1930. The year, as earlier stated, marked the beginning of terror and oppression in Ukraine. In resistance to Collectivisation, peasants hid grain, wrecked farm machinery, slaughtered their animals and fought government officials, all

³¹ Ukrainian Information Service, "Kyiv Versus Moscow" (1970).

³² See "Soviet Ukraine Today", "Sovetskaia Ukraina — nesokrushimyi for post velikogo SSSR (Iz rechi P.P. Postysheva na plenum Tsk KP (b) U)", "Pravda", December 6, 1933, p. 3.

to spite the Soviet policy that as well as being unjust, also involved a radical change in the Ukrainian peasant's living standards. What had existed under NEP was a "small holding economy"³³ that offered "free market socialism"³⁴ which Stalin believed enabled the peasant to charge what he wanted to the urban districts for agricultural produce. In 1927, Stalin believed that the collectivisation of agriculture was a policy for the far future: "... We plan to achieve collectivism in agriculture, gradually, by applying economic, financial, and cultural-political measures...". In a dramatic volte-face in 1929 Stalin decided to introduce forced Collectivisation to function hand in hand with his Industrialisation policy that had been implemented in 1928 partly in response to the war scare of 1927. Agricultural produce collected by the state would be sold abroad for capital to be invested in heavy industry, to release the USSR from its technological and economic backwardness. Collectivisation reduced the risks of crisis if NEP totally broke down, which would then destroy the industrial plans of Stalin and leave the USSR vulnerable to external invasion. Collectivisation imposed Soviet state authority in the countryside and over the Ukrainian peasantry and also kept a check on potential nationalist disturbances. The Ukrainisation policy and the forced implementation of Collectivisation heightened the peasantry's perception of the Soviets as the enemy. The Soviets of course did not like this flouting their "supreme rule" and reacted as vehemently as possible. Broadly speaking, "... Soviet rulers have succeeded in containing enormous internal pressures by an unprecedentedly elaborate apparatus of repression designed to make collective dissent unfeasible and individual dissent hopeless".³⁵

The Soviet leadership reacted to the "stubborn" Ukrainian peasantry and the national freedom introduced by the Ukrainisation policy by "reimposing" central authority".³⁶ Anticipating a violent reaction to Collectivisation, the Soviets confiscated arms and money from the peasantry before the policy was implemented.³⁷ Subsequently, they imposed the "Russian-bolshevik totalitarian system in Ukraine" with its "merciless policy towards the millions of working farmers", which included grain requisitioning, deportation of well-to-do farmers (Kulaks), plundering, uncollectable high quotas, and famine, which spread throughout Ukraine in 1932.

³³ V.P. Danilov, "Rural Russia under the New Regime".

³⁴ J.R. Millar, "What's Wrong with the Standard Story" (Problems of Communism, July-August 1976).

³⁵ "Soviet nationalities in Strategic Perspective" (edited by S. Enders Wimbush).

³⁶ Filtzer, "Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization 1928-1941" (1986).

³⁷ O. Kalynyk, "Communism — The Enemy of Mankind".

3: *Western Ukraine (1923-1932)*

Mauritz A. Hallgreen reported in the "Nation" in 1930 that, "... Pilsudski has now apparently decided to resort once more to the old imperialistic weapon of military invasion to pacify the inhabitants".³⁸ These inhabitants were the population of Eastern Galicia who had Polish rule forced upon them in 1923. Poland had signed the Minority Treaty in 1925 guaranteeing the rights and equality of the minorities within her domain.

In May 1926 Pilsudski seized power in Poland by a military coup d'état and began to establish a military dictatorship. By 1930 there was international uproar over the treatment of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, with appeals being sent to the League of Nations to help resolve the differences and arguments between the Poles and the Ukrainians. Many petitions were sent to the League with support from prominent British politicians. As the "Manchester Guardian" reported in 1930, there had been 36 petitions to the League of Nations (by the Ukrainian bloc in Eastern Galicia) over the previous ten years that had come to nothing.³⁹ Western apathy and inaction forced some Ukrainian radicals to use violence and armed force to make their point; they were a people on their own land that had been invaded and were being ruled by an oppressive regime that they detested. The Poles accused these radicals of being "terrorists". The "Manchester Guardian" gives an insight into the number of people involved with this Ukrainian "problem". "... According to Polish figures the Ukrainians in Poland number about 5,000,000; according to the Ukrainian figures they number about 7,000,000. In Eastern Galicia they number about 3,000,000".⁴⁰

The years 1919 to 1923 were a period of armed struggle for the whole of Ukraine against both Polish and Soviet forces. 1923 to 1930, in the history of Western Ukraine, were years that were characterised by readjustment. Ukrainians had to become accustomed to Polish rule and try to live as the Minority Treaty promised — as equal citizens with the Poles. 1930 and beyond (until the Soviet "liberation" of Western Ukraine in 1939) was a period which was characterised by unrest among the Ukrainians and hatred of Polish rule. 1930 and 1931 were years that witnessed apparently intense "terrorist" activity by some Ukrainian radicals, which then led to the implementation of the Pacification policy by the Poles as a counter-measure to revolutionary nationalist deeds. It is, however, unclear as to who was actually responsible for the initial outbreak of hostilities.

³⁸ "Nation", November 5, 1930 (New York).

³⁹ "Manchester Guardian", June 9, 1930.

⁴⁰ "Manchester Guardian", April 14, 1931.

To suggest that the Ukrainians were unhappy with Polish rule and that their terrorist actions invited Polish oppression is an easy statement to make. The main grievance of the majority of Ukrainians under Polish rule in the 1920s was that in their own land they possessed very little, as the Poles had taken land and redistributed it amongst themselves, prospered, and became large landholders who used and treated the second class Ukrainian citizens as a dispossessed and cheap labour force. It was this contrast in class difference that sowed the seeds of Polish-Ukrainian unrest and forced open hostilities to erupt. How could the Polish government guarantee equal rights in a European treaty and expect to succeed in treating the Ukrainians with racial and ethnic contempt?

Polish landlords were colonising Western Ukraine. Here in actual fact it was the Poles who formed the real minority, not the Ukrainians. There was tension, particularly in the countryside, that escalated into physical violence in 1930. This was understandable in view of the lack of interest shown by the League of Nations in the Ukrainian problem in Poland, and the complete disregard by the Poles of their Minority Treaty obligations.

Not surprisingly, Ukrainian political factions came into being to voice the opinions of the Ukrainian "minority", the most popular of these being the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) that when united in 1925 sought to fulfil the goals of, "... an independent democratic Ukrainian state with a constitutional parliamentary system and the incorporation of the West Ukrainian territories, on the basis of self-determination in this independent Ukrainian State".⁴¹

Clashes between the Ukrainians and the Poles over domination in Western Ukraine became so intense that an assassination attempt was made on President Wojciechowski on September 5, 1924, in Lviv. Pilsudski's coup d'état stretched amicable relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians to the limits because support for UNDO threatened his dictatorial rule.

Large-scale sabotage activity was carried out by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1930 against Polish landowners and Polish rule. This sabotage activity was countered even more viciously by the Polish Pacification policy that was being intensely implemented from September to November 1930. The Poles pointed out to UNDO that the Ukrainian desire for national independence or even home rule had not been guaranteed in the treaty with the Allies. For the nationalistic Ukrainians this was irrelevant since the Minority Treaty and all of its assurances had been unjustly implemented and seemed to have been nullified by its mal-implementation. The "Manchester Guardian" reported on

⁴¹ 'Ukrainian Political Life under the Polish Rule in the 1920s' in "The Ukrainian Review", Vol. IX, No. 3, Autumn, 1962.

September 6, 1930, that, “... conflict [was growing] violent of late”, and stated that the Poles had made hundreds of arrests in the previous few weeks, in retaliation for which Ukrainians had set fire to the property of Polish landowners. This lit the touch-paper of the Polish-Ukrainian explosion. Reporting on the situation, the “Manchester Guardian” outlined the fact that Western Ukraine had become a Polish colony, that higher administrative posts were being given to Poles in preference to Ukrainians, that there were Polish colonisers who were unwelcome, that the Ukrainian language was being restricted, that Ukrainian schools were being closed and replaced with mixed schools with Polish teachers, that politically active Ukrainians were under the surveillance of the “Defensive” (the Polish “Cheka”), and that peasant leaders such as Melniczak and Dietrich had been shot. It was these preconditions that gave rise to sabotage and pacification.⁴²

Pacification was not solely enforced in response to sabotage attacks. The “Manchester Guardian” wonders whether Pacification was implemented to hamper the Ukrainian vote at the elections in Poland.⁴³ Pacification, “... presented an opportunity that might not come again of wrecking the constructive achievements of the Ukrainian national movement”. On reporting on a village that had been pacified, the “Manchester Guardian” stated, “... the village was ‘pacified’ at the end of September, the Polish general election was in November, and although the peasants were told by the police that if they did not vote for ‘List No. 1’ — the Polish Government bloc — they would be ‘pacified’ all over again”.⁴⁴ This fully demonstrates the ulterior motives which lay behind the Pacification policy.

The Ukrainians appealed to the League of Nations again in 1931 complaining about their treatment under Polish rule and the Pacification policy. The “Manchester Guardian” reported that the Ukrainians were demanding damages for the “pacification”, the reopening of the Ukrainian schools and the release of imprisoned leaders.⁴⁵

The Polish government asked for a withdrawal of the Ukrainian petitions to the League and demanded a declaration of loyalty, and then relations between Poles and Ukrainians could improve. It would, however, involve Ukrainians forgetting all that they had endured under Polish rule for the previous ten years. This was completely unacceptable. However, a letter by M. Holowko (member of the Polish Sejm and Vice-Chairman of the Polish Government Bloc) in “Gazeta Polska” seemed to misunderstand the importance that the Ukrainians placed on justice and expressed the view that, “... Had the Ukrainian club [Ukrainian members of the

⁴² “Manchester Guardian”, April 14, 1931.

⁴³ “Manchester Guardian”, April 15, 1931.

⁴⁴ “Manchester Guardian”, August 31, 1931.

⁴⁵ “Manchester Guardian”, March 13, 1931.

Polish Sejm] accepted our proposal, then as a result of its decision it would have had to withdraw its complaints to the League Council, for one cannot simultaneously conduct suits and complaints on an international forum...".⁴⁶

Mme. Rudnycka (a Ukrainian member of the Polish parliament) speaking in London in June 1931 about the Polish proposal of reconciliation stated, "... Of course, the truth is that the Poles are very unwilling that the outrages shall be treated as an international concern".⁴⁷ The League of Nations did nothing to redress the Ukrainian situation in Poland and although only acting as an investigative body did not seem to take the accusations against the Polish government seriously. The League postponed its review of the Ukrainian question from one meeting to the next, thereby depriving it of an immediate hearing. The most likely motivation being to give the Poles and Ukrainians more time to sort their differences out internally. Alternatively, the Allies and founders of the League of Nations may also have been trying to avoid redressing a problem that they had themselves created in the years 1919 to 1923. In 1931 it remained imperative to keep Germany and the Soviet Union in check with a Polish barrier — a "free" Western Ukraine may have given cause to the Ukrainian nationals to seek to reunite with their Eastern counterparts who were still under Soviet rule. This, in turn, may have led to a Soviet invasion of Western Ukraine and the expansion of its Western borders into Europe, threatening the prevailing balance of power in Europe.

The West was pursuing its own interests when confronted with the Ukrainian question in Poland, and perhaps thought that by not amplifying the problem and granting it an international forum the peace which prevailed in Europe in 1932 would be maintained. The League of Nations was not an authoritative organisation and achieved relatively limited success in settling international disputes, no more so than in Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland, annexation of Austria, and occupation of the Sudetenland.

German interest in the Soviet and Polish controlled Ukrainian areas from 1923 to 1932 was negligible due to the harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty. Territorial losses, reparations, demilitarisation of the Rhine and reduction in the size of Germany's armed forces gave the Germans more than enough to contemplate over their own future in their own country, rather than over Ukraine. Interest in Ukraine would have been revived if Hitler's putsch in Munich in 1923 had been successful.

The Locarno Treaty of 1925 settled Germany's western frontiers leaving Germany's plans for expansion in the East room to develop. Until 1929 Hitler's popularity was limited partly due to American investment in German industry. But the Wall Street Crash in 1929 helped Hitler come to power and also helped him to

⁴⁶ Featured in "Manchester Guardian", March 24, 1931.

⁴⁷ "Manchester Guardian", June 4, 1931.

reevaluate his political policies. Because Hitler regarded the Versailles Treaty as unjust and oppressive he was all the more eager to "settle the score" with the West and to pick up where Germany had left off in 1918 — in a war that involved expansionist plans in Eastern Europe.

Perhaps it is the Allied powers after World War I who are responsible for moulding a man as revengeful as Hitler and a German people so susceptible to him. Once in control Hitler launched a covert thrust against the Soviet system. If the Allied powers had listened to the Ukrainian pleas for independence and supported the Ukrainians, they would have had a friendly country in the East, in addition to Poland, to counter Soviet and German military expansion, a country which would have welcomed the less "interested" help of Britain. The blame lies with the Allied powers and the passivity of the League of Nations in permitting Germany to grow strong again, and cause the gate to the East — Ukraine — to be opened, with grave implications for the Soviets, Poland, and Ukraine itself.

UKRAINIAN-POLISH PEACE TREATY OF ZBORIV IN THE ENGLISH AND GERMAN PRESS OF 1649 AND ITS BACKGROUND

(Part 1)

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At the turn of the 17th century, the Ukrainians were an oppressed and exasperated people. The French engineer in Polish service (November 1630-March 1647), Guillaume de Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan (1600-1673), noted in his memoirs that the peasants in Ukraine¹

were very miserable... In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay up anything, being under such hard circumstances. Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves.²

Polish political, national, social, and religious oppression of the Ukrainian population caused frequent tension and uprisings against the Poles. This culminated in the great national insurrection by the Kozaks in 1648 led by the

¹ In order to avoid several controversial terms in this article, the old historical terms "Rus'" and "Ruthenia" stand for Ukraine; "Rus'" or "Rusyny" and "Ruthenians" for Ukrainians. In the 17th century, the term "Rus'" could be used as a collective noun in the Ukrainian lands to refer to the Orthodox faithful, the faithful of the Eastern Church (both Uniate and Orthodox Rus'), or ethnic Ukrainians and Belarusians who shared a common cultural-linguistic-historical heritage. They were called "Rusyny", or "Ruthenian nation". In addition, Rus' as a geographical term referred to the Rus' palatinate, and also was used in various ways to describe a people, a culture, a faith, and a territory. For discussion see: Frank E. Sysyn, 'Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century', in Peter Potichnyj, ed. "Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present", (Edmonton-Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980, pp. 59-82.

² Guillaume le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan, "Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs Prouinces du Royaume de Pologne" (Roeun, 1651, 1660); I used an English translation: "A Description of Ukraine, Containing Several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland... in "A Collection of Voyages and Travels", 6 vols. (London, 1744), I, p. 449.

former Kozak captain Bohdan Khmelnytskyi³ (1595-1657). The direct cause that brought about these hostilities was a personal affair with the Polish nobleman Daniel Czaplinski.⁴ When Khmelnytskyi was absent (spring 1647), Czaplinski, a *podstarosta* (a royal official) of Chyhyryn, seized his family estate, destroyed the buildings, and insulted his family. Finding no justice, outraged, and robbed of his possessions, Khmelnytskyi fled and joined the Kozaks at the Zaporozhian Host (Zaporozhska Sich). There he was elected their hetman — Commander-in-Chief. To insure military success and to preclude any surprises from the rear, Khmelnytskyi concluded an alliance with the Crimean Tatars to gain military support and assistance. Now he was in position to take vengeance, which developed into civil war in the Kingdom of Poland.

After the combined forces of the Kozaks and the Crimean Tatars defeated the Crown troops, the peasants rose up against their landlords all over Ukraine. In the process, many cruel atrocities were committed by each side against the other. The fate of many landlords, Catholic clergy and Jews became tragic when the revolt took on proportions beyond Khmelnytskyi's control.⁵ Many peasants and Kozaks used the opportunity to take revenge upon their oppressors. "They pillaged the estates of the Jews and nobles, burned churches and killed their priests", according to the chronicle of one eyewitness.⁶

After three notable, victorious battles in 1648 (Zhovti Vody, May 16; Korsun,

³ For extensive scholarly literature and source material to the Khmelnytskyi biography see: Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, "Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy", reprint, vols. I-X (New York, 1954-58), VIII, (2), pp. 151-165, also his "A History of Ukraine", translated by O. J. Frederiksen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), pp. 277-318; Frank E. Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine. The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653", Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1985), pp. 319-321; George Vernadsky, "Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); Ivan Krypiakievych, "Bohdan Khmelnytskyi", 2nd ed. (Lviv: Vyd. "Svit", 1990); Janusz Kaczmarczyk, "Bohdan Chmielnicki" (Wroclaw: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskiich, 1988); Orest Subtelny, "Ukraine. A History" (Toronto: University Press, 1988), pp. 125-128.

⁴ For discussion see: Hrushevskyi, "Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy", VIII, (3), pp. 151-165; Franciszek Rawita-Gawronski, "Hetman Kozacki B. Chmielnicki: Szkic historyczny jego zycia i walk" (Lviv: Wydawnictwo tow. im. Piotra Skargi, 1914) pp. 24-27; Vernadsky, "Bohdan...", pp. 26-33.

⁵ Mordekhai Nadav, "The Jewish Community of Nemyriv in 1648: Their Massacre and Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks", "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", VIII, No. 3-4, (December 1984), p. 379.

⁶ Yaroslav I. Dzyra, ed., "Litopys Samovydsia" (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1971), p. 52. For the violence of 1648, see: the outdated, but well-written study by Karol Szajnocha, "Dwa lata dziejow naszych, 1646, 1648", 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1900), vol. II. The major source about violence against the Jews see: Nathan Hanover, "Yeven Metzulah" (Venice, 1653), trans. by Abraham J. Mesch, "Abyss of despair" (New York, 1950), also see: Bernard D. Weinryb, "The Hebrew Chronicles on Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack-Polish War", "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", I, No. 2 (June 1977), pp. 153-177.

May 26; and Pyliavtsi, September 23), Khmelnytskyi moved towards the city of Lviv and besieged it, but spared the city after collecting a ransom. From there he moved to the fortress of Zamosc, besieged it, and sent his envoys to Warsaw to negotiate peace. Among them was his former professor, Father Andrzej Humel Mokrski, who suggested that if Jan Kazimierz, the half-brother of the late Wladyslaw IV, were elected as the new king,⁷ Khmelnytskyi would be willing to bring the war to an end. The hetman was aware that the Kingdom of Poland was still strong enough to strike back.⁸ In addition, the lack of siege artillery, the problems in provisioning, outbreak of a possible plague, and the fact that the Kozak army was not prepared for a winter campaign, all compelled the hetman to halt his march to Warsaw. Khmelnytskyi "did not seek to overturn the existing political and social structure of the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth..., but strove to force Warsaw to compromise, rather than to control Warsaw".⁹

In these circumstances, Khmelnytskyi decided to negotiate with the newly elected king, Jan Kazimierz. On November 15, 1648, the hetman sent a delegation to Warsaw. The delegation was headed by the hetman's cousin, Zakhariy Khmelnytskyi, and by Father Andrzej Mokrski, who delivered certain demands to the king. These demands can be summarised as follows: general amnesty for all participants of the uprising, and the restoration of the former rights and privileges of the registered Kozaks (increased to 12,000), who were not under the command of the Crown military authorities, but of the king and their own hetman. Furthermore, the Uniate Church of 1596 was to be abolished.⁹ With the exception of the second and sixth articles, these were a repetition of previous Kozak demands.¹⁰

The newly elected king Jan Kazimierz accepted Khmelnytskyi's terms and

⁷ For more details see: Myron Korduba, "Borotba za Polskyi prestil po smerti Wolodyslawa IV", "Zherela do istorii ukrainskoi Kozachchyny" ("Acta Historica res gestas Kozacorum Ukrainiensium illustrantia", V (1) (Lviv, 1911). For recent Soviet interpretation and historiography related to this period see: O. K. Kasymenko, "Rosiisko-ukrainski vzaemovidnosyny 1648-na pochatku 1651" (Kyiv, 1955), pp. 166-69; 177-204.

⁸ According to Ludwik Kubala, there were in the Commonwealth 50,000 troops ready for action, L. Kubala, "Jerzy Ossolinski", I (Warsaw, 1924), p. 330, quoted by Kasymenko, p. 168. Also see: Dymitri Zlepko, "Der grosse Kozakenaufstand 1648 gegen die Polnische Herrschaft", (Ph. D. Dissertation, Munich University), Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts Vol. 49 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1988).

⁹ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 162.

¹⁰ "Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho 1648-1657", comp. I. Krypiakevych and I. Butych, publ. by Instytut suspilnykh nauk Akademii Nauk Ukrainkoi RSR and Arkhivne upravlinnia pry Radi Ministriv Ukrainkoi RSR (Kyiv, 1961), No. 34, pp. 83-84 (hereafter "Dokumenty"). For discussion see: also Janusz Kaczmarczyk, "Bohdan Chmielnicki", pp. 73-75.

through his envoys promised to appoint a special commission for further peace negotiations, but insisted that Khmelnytskyi was to dismiss the Tatars and retire with his army into Ukraine.¹¹

The hetman agreed to the king's conditions and at the end of December 1648 returned to Kyiv, the centre of the cultural and intellectual life of Ukraine. There he was welcomed and honoured as a victor, national leader, and hero by the entire population led by the head of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth, Metropolitan Sylvester Kosiv, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisios, who was on his way to Moscow.¹² Khmelnytskyi was encouraged by the patriarch and envoys from Turkey, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moscow, and Moldavia, who awaited him in Kyiv, and realised that he had now become an international figure and a national leader with responsibility not merely for the Kozaks, but for the entire Ukrainian people. Therefore, in January 1649 when the commissioners arrived for negotiations, they noticed profound changes in the hetman's thinking. He had become intransigent and now vowed to liberate the entire Ukrainian people.¹³

The same month the commission, led by Adam Kysil, senator of the Commonwealth and palatine of Bratslav, arrived for further negotiations with Khmelnytskyi. Since at that time foreign envoys were residing in Kyiv, the hetman preferred to receive the commission at Pereyaslav rather than in Kyiv and treated it as simply another foreign delegation.¹⁴ On February 20, Khmelnytskyi received hetman's insignia. Negotiations began on the same day. "Kysil soon found out that Khmelnytskyi no longer acted like a Zaporozhian hetman receiving the symbols of authority from his sovereign, but rather, like an independent ruler negotiating with a foreign power. He described himself as "Autocrat of Rus'" and "claimed that he would liberate all of Rus' from 'Polish bondage', and he declared that his rule already extended to Rus'-Chelm, Lviv and Halych".¹⁵

The commissioners could not accept the hetman's demands and realised that war was inevitable. But in order to free prisoners and at least postpone a dangerous war, they begged the hetman to sign reasonable armistice terms. The hetman at first refused to do so ("shkoda hovoryty mnoho" — There is no point in discussing it), but finally, on February 24, he agreed to sign the armistice terms with the commissioners, which can be summarised as follows: confirmation of the receipt of

¹¹ "Dokumenty", No. 5, pp. 36-37.

¹² For discussion see: Kaczmarczyk, pp. 73-74.

¹³ Wolfgang Heller, "Die Moskauer "Eiferer für die Frömmigkeit zwischen Staat und Kirche (1642-1652)" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Heidelberg University) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), pp. 49-50.

¹⁴ For discussion see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", pp. 164-166.

¹⁵ Vernadsky, "Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine", p. 64.

the banner and the mace from the king and the declaration of the hetman together with the Kozak Host as faithful subjects of the Commonwealth; a neutral zone was to be established in Volhynia and Podillia, which should not be crossed by Polish or Kozak troops. This armistice was to remain in force until the Orthodox Pentecost (May 28, 1649 O.S.), at which time a new commission would arrive to complete the negotiations and the registration of the Kozaks.¹⁶

Although Khmelnytskyi often scoffed at Kysil during the negotiations, they both, nevertheless, composed a petition ("Supplication") to the king. The form and content of the petition revealed the influence of Kysil. Professor Frank Sysyn observes that "instead of the usual Cossack demands, the petition dealt almost entirely with church affairs and its earlier addresses before the Diet".¹⁷ The terms of this petition ("punkta supliki") to the king can be summarised as follows: the Uniate Church was to be abolished and the Orthodox Church was to be restored throughout the Commonwealth; the metropolitan of Kyiv was to receive a seat in the Senate; the two other lay senators from the Palatinate of Kyiv, the palatine and the castelan (who held Senate seats by virtue of their offices), were to be Orthodox — thus the request for three senators would be arranged; Roman Catholic churches (except the Order of Jesuits) were allowed to be reopened and continued to function in Kyiv; Daniel Czaplinski¹⁸ was to be extradited; and Prince Wisniowiecki was to be removed as commander of the army and recalled from Ukraine,¹⁹ (a demand that turned out to be superfluous since the king had already removed him from office at the Coronation Diet). On February 26, the hetman handed the commissioners the signed agreement along with personal letters to the king and the chancellor.

In general, these terms restated the previous modest demands, although with considerable changes to what Khmelnytskyi had desired at the opening of negotiations in November 1648. Unfortunately, very little is known about the hetman's aspirations before January 1649. It is possible, however, that Khmelnytskyi "may have moderated his statements in November so as to ensure that the Diet selected his candidate as king and refrained from raising troops so as to give him time to consolidate his army and administration"²⁰ However, many historians believe that having been greeted by the entire people in Kyiv,

¹⁶ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", pp. 164.

¹⁷ "Dokumenty", No. 49, pp. 103-104. For discussion see also: Sysyn, pp. 166-167, and Kaczmarczyk, pp. 81-85. 'Punkta supliki' were known in London. "The Moderate Intelligencer" of May 10, 1649, No. 216, relying on information from Danzig of April 6, 1649, published the terms in an abbreviated form.

¹⁸ For discussion see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", pp. 166-167.

¹⁹ See footnote No. 4.

²⁰ "Dokumenty", No. 50, pp. 105-106.

Khmelnyskyi realised the magnitude of his achievements. He now felt the leader not only of the Kozak army, but of the people. Encouraged by the clergy, and especially by Paisios, Khmelnyskyi began to make plans not only to increase his army and obtain additional rights for the Kozaks, but also to promote the interests of all the Ukrainian people, even to the extent of a struggle for the independence of Ukraine. Khmelnyskyi formulated his political programme to establish his control over the Ruthenian principality. However, his request for seats in the Senate for the Orthodox metropolitan and the palatine and castelan of Kyiv indicates that he had no intention of breaking with the Commonwealth.²¹

Returning from Pereyaslav, Kysil sent a pessimistic report to the king, warning him that the hetman aspired not only to control Kozak affairs, but also to sovereignty over the Ruthenian palatinates. The king and his chancellor, Jerzy Ossolinski, hoped, nevertheless, to resolve the conflict peacefully.²² On March 27, 1649, the king sent an emissary, Jakub Smiarkowski, to the hetman with a letter in which the king asserted that he had already begun to implement the Kozak demands.²³ The hetman detained the king's envoy using negotiations to gain time until the arrival of the Tatars. The hetman, in actual fact, intended to reply and merely dismiss Smiarkowski (May 21), however, the latter conspired with some Kozak colonels to depose Khmelnyskyi. One of the colonels denounced him to the hetman, who called a court-martial and Smiarkowski was killed.²⁴

Now war became inevitable and the king issued the first and second call for a general levy (May 9, 1649). That month, the Kozak-Tatar army, which numbered over a hundred thousand, began to move westwards. It was faced by much smaller royal armies under the command of Andrzej Firlej (the castelan of Belz), Stanislaw Lanckoronski (the castelan of Kamianets-Podilskyi and Bila Tserkva), and Mikolaj Ostrog (the crown cupbearer), which had advanced into Volhynia. In the meantime the hetman waited at Bila Tserkva for the Tatar khan Islam Girey III. On receiving information that the khan had crossed the Dnieper River (June 24) the hetman moved towards Volhynia. In these circumstances the royal troops and the private army led by Prince Jeremi Wisniowiecki retired into the fortress of Zbarazh. On July 10, 1649, a combined force of Kozaks and Tatars besieged the fortress.

²¹ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 164.

²² Ivan L. Rudnytsky, 'Polish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History', "Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present", ed. Peter Potichnyj (Edmonton-Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), p. 10; Kaczmarczyk, pp. 108-109.

²³ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 167.

²⁴ For details see: A. Krauzhar [Alexander Kraushar], 'Posolstvo Iakova Smiarkovskogo k Bogdanu Khmelnitskomu vo vremia osady Zamostia v 1648 g. (po rukopisnym istochnikam)', "Kievskaja starina" (1894), No. 12, pp. 445-460.

Despite the prince's leadership, the bravery and endurance of the Poles, their situation soon became desperate and a drastic shortage of food developed. Hoping that the king would send them reinforcements, the Poles continued their resistance. On August 7, a messenger was able to cross through the Kozak lines and reach the king's camp near Toporiv in north-eastern Galicia, where he appealed for immediate help for the besieged Polish forces at Zbarazh. The king, rushing to rescue his forces, tried to get rid of Khmelnytskyi by issuing a proclamation to the Kozaks in which he branded the hetman as "a traitor, who does not deserve to be called a Christian".²⁵ Moreover, the king appointed a new hetman, Semen Zabuskyi. This proclamation had no effect because there was no opposition against Khmelnytskyi and his authority was uncontested among the Kozaks.

Concurrently, informed by his spies of the progress of the king's army, Khmelnytskyi left the main body of his troops at Zbarazh and together with the elite troops of his cavalry and the khan's forces secretly hastened in a northwestwardly direction to intercept the approaching king. On August 15, after having safely reached Zboriv, the Poles started to cross the River Strypa without taking any special precautions. Then, at noon, when the king and half his army had crossed the river, the hetman gave the order to attack the totally unsuspecting Poles. The Polish army and the king were completely surrounded by the Kozaks and Tatars, and their defeat was certain.²⁶ In this critical situation, at the suggestion of the chancellor Jerzy Ossolinski the king wrote (August 15) the khan a personal letter. In his letter the king exploited an earlier episode of the khan's life: Islam Girey had been captured (1629) and spent five years in Polish captivity. It was through the efforts of his brother, Beduar Girey, as well as the Polish king Wladyslaw IV, brother of Jan Kazimierz, that Islam Girey III regained his freedom. The king also expressed his surprise that the khan was supporting the rebellious Kozaks, when there was no reason for this. The king assured the khan of his friendship.²⁷

Simultaneously the king also sent a letter to Khmelnytskyi in which he reproached the hetman with ingratitude and demanded that he retreat ten miles from the Polish camp and send his representatives for negotiations.²⁸

It is unknown whether the episode of the khan's captivity influenced him to respond

²⁵ Hrushevskyi, VIII, (3), 178.

²⁶ The proclamation of Jan Kazimierz of August 7, 1649, to the Kozaks was published in "Dokumenty ob osvoboditelnoi voine ukrainsogo naroda 1648-1654 gg." (hereafter "DOVUN"), ed. A. Z. Baraboi et al (Kyiv: Instytut Istorii Akademii Nauk Ukrainskoi SSR. Arkhivkoie Upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov Ukrainskoi SSR, 1965), No. 103, pp. 268-269. For discussion see: Kaczmarczyk, pp. 103-104.

²⁷ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 172.

²⁸ DOVUN, No. 105, pp. 277-278.

positively. The khan had good reason to negotiate with the king. Firstly, it was not in the Tatars' interest that the Kozaks become too powerful and independent. Secondly, the khan was aware of the hetman's contacts with Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich, and since the Porte instructed the khan not to provoke Poland's possible involvement in the Venetian-Turkish conflict, Islam Girey in his reply of August 16, 1649, agreed to the Polish proposals.²⁹

A letter, dated August 15, from the hetman arrived together with the khan's letter. The tenor of the letter was very modest. The hetman tried to justify and apologise for his actions. He, however, reminded the king of his father's services and also of his own services to the Commonwealth. Khmelnytskyi did not forget to remind the king, ironically, about Zabuskyi, to whom the king had granted the hetmanship (August 7, 1649), indicating that he would resign from his office if Zabuskyi arrived at the Kozak camp. At the end of his letter, Khmelnytskyi asked forgiveness, assuring the king of his loyalty and allegiance.³⁰ The king immediately responded (August 16) positively to the khan's letter.³¹ To the hetman the king's answer (August 16) was short and positive. He was ready to forgive the hetman if he demobilised his forces and showed loyalty and faithfulness.³²

On the same day (August 16), in the late afternoon, at Ossolionski's initiative, the Polish-Tatar negotiations, which continued on into the next day, began. They were, however, unfavourable for Poland.³³ Meanwhile, on August 16, the hetman wrote a letter to the king thanking him for his kindness and trying to justify Smiarkowski's death, accusing him of treachery and conspiracy.³⁴ The next day, August 17, the hetman's representatives brought another letter, written that very day, to the king. This time the hetman again apologised for the uprising, asked for pardon, tried to justify his alliance with the Tatars, and asked for the death penalty for Czaplinski.³⁵ In addition, the Kozak representatives brought a list of provisions, known as "Punkta o potrzebach Wojska Zaporoskiego do jego kr. mci. krolewskiej Mosci, Pana naszego milosciwego"³⁶ (The Articles about the needs of the Zaporozhian army submitted to His Royal Majesty, our Kind Lord, for coming negotiations.)

This list of August 17, 1649, contained eighteen provisions (*punkta*) which can

²⁹ Hrushevskyi, VIII, (3), pp. 199-200.

³⁰ DOVUN, No. 106, p. 279.

³¹ "Dokumenty", No. 65, pp. 122-123.

³² DOVUN, No. 107, p. 280.

³³ DOVUN, No. 108, pp. 281.

³⁴ Hadzy Mehmed Senai z Krymu, "Historia Chana Islama Gereja III", tr. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, comm. Olgierd Gorka and Zbigniew Wojcik (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), pp. 129-131.

³⁵ "Dokumenty", No. 66, pp. 124-125.

³⁶ "Dokumenty", No. 67, pp. 126-127.

be summarised as follows: recognition of the former Kozak rights and privileges; a separate Kozak judicial administration; demarcation of Kozak territory, which included the palatinates of Kyiv, Chernihiv, Bratslav, and parts of Volhynia; the Polish troops were not to be stationed on Kozak territory; public office for Orthodox noblemen; an amnesty for Orthodox and Catholic noblemen who participated in the uprising; neither Jesuits nor Jews were to establish residence on Kozak territory; reinstatement of the rights of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth; immediate abolition of the Uniate Church; abolition of the Roman Catholic bishopric in Kyiv; senatorial seats for the Metropolitan of Kyiv and for two other Orthodox bishops; and an oath by the king, six senators, and six delegates of the Diet to uphold the privileges of Orthodoxy.

It is evident from the hetman's political programme (*punkta*) that his intention was to remain within the Commonwealth. For example, article four reads: "The Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv should be ordained by the Patriarch of Constantinople and should constantly remain under his jurisdiction together with the Ruthenian clergy". Article six reads: "The Ruthenian having the same rights as the Roman Catholic clergy should perform their duties freely in the whole Crown of Poland and Lithuania...", and article seven states: "The Ruthenian Church must be in Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, and other cities...". All this indicates that Khmelnytskyi had no intention of bringing Ukraine under a Russian protectorate, otherwise he would have made provisions to transfer the Ruthenian Church under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow. On the contrary, the hetman acted as a defender of Orthodoxy and saw Ukraine's future within the framework of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore, the claims of some Russian historians that his goal was to unite Ukraine with Russia³⁷ are untenable.

On August 18, 1649, the hetman together with his chancellor Ivan Vyhovskyi met the Crown chancellor, Jerzy Ossolinski; the Lithuanian vice-chancellor, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha; the palatine of Belz, Krzysztof Koniecpolski; the palatine of Sandomierz, Stanislaw Witowski; and the palatine of Kyiv, Adam Kysil, for negotiations.³⁸ The negotiations were very difficult, since the khan was adamant that the Kozaks should be granted substantial concessions.

The agreement between Khmelnytskyi and the Commonwealth known (in history) as the Treaty of Zboriv, was concluded on August 18, 1649, and consisted of eleven articles.³⁹ The preamble refers to the Treaty as a declaration of grace from the Polish king given upon petition (*na punkta z supliki*) to the Zaporozhian

³⁷ "Dokumenty", No. 68, pp. 128-130.

³⁸ For discussion see: Kasymenko, pp. 168-173.

³⁹ DOVUN, No. 104, pp. 273. For discussion see: Senai, pp. 129-130.

army. The eleven articles of this agreement can be summarised as follows:

1. Kozak freedom shall be in accordance with old privileges.
2. The number of the registered Kozaks shall be set at 40,000 on the territory of almost all of Kyiv and Chernihiv palatinates and a part of Bratslav.
3. The Chyhyryn *starostwo*⁴⁰ shall be conferred on the hetman's office.
4. General amnesty shall be granted to all who had participated in the uprising.
5. A special amnesty shall be granted to Orthodox and Catholic noblemen, and punishment shall be nullified by decree of the Diet.
6. The Crown Army must not be based in those cities where the registered Kozaks reside.
7. Jews will be excluded from Kozak territory.
8. A guarantee that the metropolitan of Kyiv and the Orthodox clergy may negotiate the abolition of the Uniate Church at the next Diet. The Orthodox metropolitan of Kyiv shall have a seat in the Senate and Orthodox noblemen shall hold public office and appointments in the palatinates of Kyiv, Chernihiv and Bratslav.
9. The Jesuit school in Kyiv shall be closed, and no other Jesuit schools shall be permitted in Ukraine except for existing schools.
10. The Kozaks are permitted to produce brandy for their own consumption, but are not permitted to sell it.
11. All these articles shall be ratified by the Diet.

The Zboriv agreement did not include such Kozak provisions as: claims to parts of Volhynia; a separate judicial administration; the immediate abolition of the Uniate Church (instead the metropolitan of Kyiv and the Orthodox clergy could negotiate this issue at the next Diet, article VIII); the abolition of the Roman Catholic bishopric in Kyiv; senatorial seats for two Orthodox bishops; and the

⁴⁰ The full text of the agreement (treaty) of Zboriv is published in Polish and Russian translation in "Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khраниashchikhsia v Gosudarstvennoi Kollegii inostrannykh del" (hereafter "Sobranie"), III (Moscow, 1822), pp. 451-454. The original text is not preserved, however, its official 17th century copies do exist in the Arkhium Głowne Akt Dawnykh in Warsaw and Tsentralnyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv in Kyiv. Furthermore, there are also various imprints such as "Latopisiec albo kroniczka Joachima Jerlicza", ed. K. W. Wojcicki, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1853), I, pp. 105-108; "Akty otносиashchiestia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu", III and X (St. Petersburg, 1863-1892) and in contemporary pamphlets. In addition, there are several contemporary publications, where the text of the peace treaty of Zboriv is published. For details see: Konrad Zawadzki, "Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczace XVI-XVIII wieku. Bibliografia 1514-1661" I, (Wroclaw, 1977), pp. 125-128; title Nos. 478, 482, 483, 485, 488.

request for an oath by the king, six senators and six delegates of the Diet to uphold the privileges to Orthodoxy.⁴¹

The agreement of Zboriv was a compromise, of which both parties were well aware. "The Peace Treaty of Zboriv was *dura necessitas* for both the Commonwealth and the Kozaks, *tertium non datur*", remarked Polish historian Janusz Kaczmarczyk.⁴²

The articles of the Zboriv agreement increased the power of the hetman over the non-Kozak population, legalised his government in the said palatinates, and introduced a new social and political system of administration, different to that of the Commonwealth. In particular, the Zaporozhian army became the protector of Orthodoxy and education in Ukraine. While the peace treaty granted the Host more than the hetman hoped to gain in the previous year, it was never fully implemented because "the Poles believed that they had given up too much, and the Cossacks were convinced that they had received too little".⁴³

⁴¹ *Starostwo* meant by the 17th century an area of territory with a castle, given to a royal appointee — *starosta* — with rights to the revenue from the royal lands surrounding a castle. "Starostwo of Chyhyryn", was named after the principal city of this area; for details see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", XI, XII.

⁴² For discussion see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 173.

⁴³ For discussion see: Kaczmarczyk, p. 112.

Literature

HER EXCELLENCY
A dramatic poem in five acts

By Lesya Ukrainka
 (Transl. Vera Rich)

Act III

(A small remote room on the top floor of Stepan's house)

STEPAN: *(leading in a Kozak guest)*

Well, we can talk better up here, my friend,
 Down there, you know... here we'll be more secure.

(He surveys the passage through the open door, then shuts and locks the door, and closes the window. He and his guest sit down well away from the door. Their conversation is carried on in low tones)

There's great outrages going on, you say?

KOZAK:

Such things are happening, may God defend us!
 The Muscovite Governors never give us
 A moment's respite! All the time they dangle
 That oath we swore before our eyes...

STEPAN:

Indeed,
 An oath once sworn must be a weighty matter.

KOZAK *(more loudly)* Then why so *they* forget the Lord our God?

STEPAN:

Softer, my friend, there's still a chance some servant
 May overhear...

KOZAK:

That's true... I had forgotten.
(more quietly)

We do not want to break the oath we swore,
 But let the Tsar defend us from this horde
 Of rooks and crowns.

- STEPAN: It is a weighty matter.
Of course he must have someone there to keep
A watch on things, but all these Governors
Are all the same, unbendable. And when
One goes, why, his successor's just the same!
- KOZAK: The Tsar should send us a Ukrainian.
In Moscow there are such — why, even you —
Who for long years loyally served the Tsar,
And who would respect our native customs.
- STEPAN: They'll not send us...
- KOZAK: Why not?
- STEPAN: They do not trust us.
- KOZAK: Yet here you all seem to enjoy his favour!
- STEPAN: Here, yes, where he can see us, but he'll not
Let us out of his sight for long. Yes, maybe
We might be sent there on a short-term mission,
With some Muscovites, but not alone...
As for appointing us as Governors,
Why, that could never be!
- KOZAK: Then do not be
Surprised if we join Doroshenko's rising!
- STEPAN: *(Makes a movement with his hand as if to cover the Kozak's mouth)*
God help us, friend, whatever are you saying?
- KOZAK: *(controlling himself)*
Sometimes a word escapes thus from my grief,
The bitterest thing, my friend, that burns me is
That they will not believe us... Why, my kinsman,
Chornenko, you must know him?...
(Stepan nods his head)
He was so
Involved he barely came out with his life.
- STEPAN: Chornenko? But he always seemed to be
One of the Tsar's most faithful friends.

KOZAK: He was!
But he was slandered to the Governor.
They said that he has sent a letter to
Doroshenko in Chyhyryn. Disaster!
How his wife wept, cast herself at the feet
Of the Governor...

STEPAN: *(smiling bitterly)*

There is a proverb, friend:
“Moscow believes no tears!”

KOZAK: That’s the truth!
Nevertheless, some were found who could help!

STEPAN: Who were they?

KOZAK: Folk who like hard cash!

STEPAN: Indeed!

(a silence)

KOZAK: That’s what it was that with a firm rein pulled
The decision in our favour — nonetheless
There are people who fear nothing, who, despairing,
Can stand no more, and go to Doroshenko.

(He moves even closer to Stepan and continues in a whisper)

Our young girls — some of them from the same Guild
Of which your own wife used to be a member —
Embroidered a war-banner and have sent it
To Chyhyryn — in secret, naturally...

It was your wife’s brother, Ivan, who took it...

No one yet knows of it. If they found out,

I dread to think what might happen then!

(He moves away, and continues in a slightly louder voice)

So you can see how bold our folk have grown...

(Stepan twists the end of his girdle in silent thought. The Kozak stands up)

So then, my friend, you think that there’s no hope

The Tsar might grant us easier conditions?

STEPAN: *(startled out of his thought, also rises)*

Oh no, I’ll try my best. Why, later on,

I’ll see the Tsar at some select reception.

When he is in his cups, then maybe I
Can put him in good humour, sometimes he
Likes to hear my "Circassian" songs and jokes,
And all that kind of nonsense; he may even
Command that I shall dance the tropak for him.

KOZAK: Oho! Then you are really just a page-boy!

STEPAN: Ah well, as folk say: "He who pays the piper
Can call the tune"... But, my friend, I am ready
To go as far as risk my head itself
If I can win some benefit for you
And for Ukraine. So give me the petition
That you have drawn up ready for the Tsar.
When an auspicious moment comes, I'll give it
To him, into his very hands.

KOZAK: *(taking out a sealed document wrapped in a silk kerchief)*
My friend,
May God grant you His aid! If this petition
Should be in vain, then there must surely be
Bloodshed among our brothers.

STEPAN: Dearest God,
Let this not be!

KOZAK: Farewell. Now I must go.

STEPAN: Friend, may God guide you safely on your way.
(They embrace. Exit the Kozak)

OKSANA: *(Entering hurriedly with hasty steps through another door)*
Stepan, I've been looking and looking for you.

STEPAN: Why, what's the matter?

OKSANA: I need your advice.
Yakhnenko's come and brought a letter to me,
From a girl in my Guild.

STEPAN: *(hurriedly)* Where is the letter?
Burn it at once!

- OKSANA: Good Lord, whatever for!
Why should I burn it? She has written to me
To send her all the money that I can,
There is some pressing need that she must meet.
- STEPAN: Send nothing, for God's sake! Don't think of it!
- OKSANA: Goodness, whatever's wrong? I never thought
That you could be so mean. If that's the way
You feel, I'll send it from my marriage portion.
- STEPAN: It's not that I begrudge the money, dear.
- OKSANA: Then why do you say "no"?
- STEPAN: It isn't safe.
(He bends towards her and whispers)
They are in contact now with Doroshenko.
- OKSANA: *(She is silent for a moment from astonishment, and then smiles enigmatically)*
Then, maybe, they *do* need it.
- STEPAN: Use your wits!
You always have been so afraid of bloodshed,
But this war will be utter fratricide
That Doroshenko's raising in Ukraine.
He's even brought in Tatar allies, and
Pays them with Christian prisoners-of-war.
- OKSANA: *(sits down on the couch as if robbed of strength and leans against the table)*
There's-sorrow, now, whichever way one turns...
Tatars there... and Tatars here...
- STEPAN: Oksana!
What are you dreaming of? What Tatars here?
- OKSANA: Really? Don't I like any Tatar woman,
Sit in captivity? And don't you go
And grovel at your Lord and Master's feet
As if he were a Khan? There are stakes and scourges
All round... They trade in serfs... So aren't they Tatars?

- STEPAN: But here they have the Christian faith.
- OKSANA: The faith!
Oh yes... I go to church, but — God forgive me! —
I cannot recognise the service here!
They're wailing something, but you can't tell what...
- STEPAN: Oksana, what you say is sin!
- OKSANA: Dear husband,
This Moscow has grown sickening to me.
(She leans her head on the table)
- STEPAN: *(standing over her)*
I knew that this would happen... Didn't I
Warn you that there was nothing I could give you
Here, in a foreign land?...
- OKSANA: *(starting up, and embracing him)*
No, my beloved!
It is I who am wrong! As if I didn't
Know my poor darling has to suffer worse
Than all of us — and so we ought to pity
You most of all!
(Stepan clasps her close to him)
But tell me, my own dear,
How long still must we go on suffering?
- STEPAN: *(sighing)* God alone knows, dear heart!
- OKSANA: Then maybe we
Will perish in captivity?
- STEPAN: Have hope
In God, maybe one day the times will change.
As soon as things have quietened down a little
There in Ukraine, then I shall ask the Tsar
To give me leave to go there for a visit.
- OKSANA: Couldn't we go now?
- STEPAN: No, my only dear,
Now we can't even think of it. You see,

I must take a petition to the Tsar,
That people in Ukraine have sent to him,
Complaining of wrongs and injustices.
And I must add my weight to the petition,
It's not the time to ask for leave from Moscow.
"Yes", they would say, "his talk is sweet enough,
But just see where he's off to!" Now, Oksana,
We must be very cautious. "Not a fly
Must settle on our noses", as folk say.
God grant we do not fail, or else our cause is surely lost.

OKSANA: How can we be more cautious? They already
Think we're as sooty as an oven-cleaner!

STEPAN: Well, for example, you want to send money
To that friend in your Guild...

OKSANA: (*lowering her eyes*)

I shall not send it.
She surely will forgive me if I can't...
I'll write to her...

STEPAN: It's better not to write
At all, my sweetheart.

OKSANA: What do you mean, Stepan?
It would be most strange not to write!

STEPAN: The letter
Might well be intercepted — it does happen —
And then they'd be ready to torture you,
If they discovered about Doroshenko,
So that you would confess you were connected
With the Guild members...

OKSANA: Then I'll send a message
Verbally, by Yakhnenko...

STEPAN: I must beg you
That you don't see him in our home again.

OKSANA: But I have just invited him to come!
I can't chase him away!

- STEPAN: Then tell the maid
 To say you are not well.
- OKSANA: That would be rude.
- STEPAN: Just as you like. But don't complain when they
 Put you on the rack!
- OKSANA: What's that, "the rack"?
- STEPAN: What do you think? They must have a whole swarm
 Of Muscovite spies shadowing Yakhnenko.
 I know these people.
- OKSANA: *(filled with grief)*
 So I cannot even
 Send gifts or letters to my family.
- STEPAN: You know, my love, it really would be best
 Not to write now, especially to Ivan,
 For he's involved in most uncertain matters...
- OKSANA: I'm not to write even to my own brother?
 (Her eyes fill with tears)
- STEPAN: It's not for ever, darling one, only till
Things have grown quiet again. *(He embraces her again)*
- OKSANA: *(Not responding to his caresses, and without expression)* Oh, very well,
 I shall not write to anyone.
- STEPAN: My sweetheart,
 You are angry with me.
- OKSANA: *(in the same tone as before)* No, why should I be?
 You are quite right. What is the good of writing?
(Stepan releases her. Oksana wearily walks out of the room)

CURTAIN

Act IV

In the Women's Bower

(Oksana is working at an embroidery frame, her hands are slow and languid)

STEPAN: *(entering, and sitting down on a tabouret near Oksana)*
How my head aches!

OKSANA: *(without raising her eyes from her work)*
You came home very late.

STEPAN: It was dawn before I could leave that reception.

OKSANA: And was it pleasant?

STEPAN: It was utter torture!
They're all too scared to speak a word of truth...
They drink and drink, and when they're drunk they brawl...

OKSANA: Stepan, how did you fare with the petition?

STEPAN: No good at all! The Tsar said "We shall read
And think on it". We've heard all that before!

OKSANA: So, what will happen?

STEPAN: *(irritably)*
I don't know! Don't ask me!
(Silence. Oksana goes on sewing, then the needle falls from her hand)

STEPAN: Oksana, can't you talk to me a little?
I feel so miserable, my head's stuffed up,
With every sort of ill.

OKSANA: What can I say?
There's nothing that I ever see or hear,
I sit alone...

STEPAN: *(snapping at her, somewhat)*
But surely you do *something*?

- OKSANA: Yesterday I embroidered a red flower.
Today a blue... You find that interesting?
- STEPAN: It seems you're rather out of temper with me!
- OKSANA: (*through her tears*)
No, Stepan, I'm not out of temper with you!
- STEPAN: (*looks at the embroidery. Gently*)
And what is this embroidery for, my darling?
- OKSANA: (*once again without enthusiasm*)
I do not know. It's something Hanna started.
- STEPAN: Probably for her trousseau. It's not long
Now till the wedding day.
- OKSANA: About a month.
- STEPAN: Well, at the wedding you will have some fun
And can enjoy yourself.
- OKSANA: Yes, such enjoyment!
You bow and welcome them. "This humble house"...
And all the guests whisper behind your back:
"Circassian! A foreigner!"
- STEPAN: You pay
Too much regard to this.
- OKSANA: (*indifferently*)
No, I don't mind. (*A silence*)
- STEPAN: You seem to be really worn out today.
Maybe you're too much troubled with keeping house.
- OKSANA: No, I'm not troubled. Mother does it all.
Hanna and I are always sewing.
- STEPAN: Maybe
You shouldn't sew so much?
- OKSANA: What else is there?
I don't like cracking pumpkin seeds all day
As Hanna does. One must find something for
The hands and eyes to do...

- STEPAN: Oh, my poor darling,
(*Oksana bursts out sobbing*)
Oksana! What's the matter, dear? God bless you!
Who has upset you? Mother? Or is it Hanna?
- OKSANA: (*growing a little calmer*)
No, they're like my own kin... It isn't them...
- STEPAN: Then what is it?
- OKSANA: (*stops weeping; in a tone of despair*)
Stepan, can you not see?
I'm pining, wilting, I can't live like this.
(*devoid of strength, she leans on the embroidery frame*)
- STEPAN: It's quite true, flowers cannot grow in prison...
And yet I dreamed...
(*He walks round the room in deep thought, then stops in front of Oksana*)
Darling, don't be distressed,
We'll talk it over...
- OKSANA: Talk of what, Stepan?
- STEPAN: It's quite clear I've been ruining your life.
- OKSANA: No, I myself...
- STEPAN: No matter. I don't want
To poison your life like this any longer.
Although it's hard for me, I'm willing to
Send you back to your father.
- OKSANA: Stepan, what
Will you do?
- STEPAN: I'll stay here, you know that very well.
- OKSANA: (*passionately*)
You mean that I shall have to leave you, then?
Was it for this I stood beneath the bridal
Crown and made my vow?
- STEPAN: Oksana, I'm
No Tatar Khan to hold a person by
A vow, as if tied by a rope. You're free.
It's only I that am the slave.

OKSANA: (*shaking her head*)

No, Stepan.

STEPAN:

Why not? I'm giving back your vow to you...

(His voice breaks with emotion)

And I am begging you... forgive me, darling,

That I... enticed you from your family...

That I...

OKSANA: (*embracing him*)

No, that's enough! Don't say such things!

You do not know... Before you spoke a word,

A single word to me, in my father's house,

My whole soul was already all your own!

And do you think that if I leave you now

And go away I would not leave my soul

Behind with you?

STEPAN:

Then what can we do, darling?

OKSANA:

Why, let us all escape. Father will help

Us live, till you can get yourself established.

Let us leave all these Moscow goods behind!

Let us escape, go to Ukraine.

STEPAN:

The Tsar

Can still get at his nobles in Ukraine

And it would go hard for your family.

There's nowhere we could hide.

OKSANA:

Let us escape

To Poland! No, Wallachia!

STEPAN:

What's that?

Exchange one foreign country for another...

We shall be vagabonds, to wait around

A foreign threshold... Just the same as here.

OKSANA:

No, there it would be freer.

STEPAN:

I would have

Somehow to earn a neighbour's favour. How

Could I except by treachery to Moscow?

- OKSANA: Moscow deserves it!
- STEPAN: A sworn oath, Oksana,
Is a great matter. And the Tsar will not
Give back my oath as I gave back your vow.
And I, for my part, cannot give back all
The things I have received here from his hands.
(Silence. It begins to grow dark. Somewhere church bells are softly ringing)
- OKSANA: Stepan, dear, we must never talk about this,
Never again.
- STEPAN: No, indeed not, my darling...
(after a moment)
Why aren't you sewing?
- OKSANA: It's too dark to see,
And still too early to light up.
- STEPAN: Then sing
A quiet song, if you feel like it.
- OKSANA: Good!
(she sings quietly)
"Ah, what a pleasant gathering when kinsman drinks with
kin,
They drain a glass, they drain a second, call a sister in.
'O sister, sweet, O sister dear'"... *(breaks off)*
I can't
Go on. Maybe I've lost the trick of singing.
And my chest hurts a little. *(She coughs)*
- STEPAN: Oh, beloved,
Are you not well?
- OKSANA: Oh no! It's nothing really.
*(Enter the Mother and Hanna, followed by servants carrying parcels. The servants
put down the parcels and exeunt)*
- MOTHER: Good evening, children! And why are you sitting
Here in the dark?
- STEPAN: Just talking about something.

MOTHER: (*smiling delightedly*)

Your wife is whimsical, indeed, my son!

HANNA:

And such a pretty wedding song she sang
To me! Dear sister, sing it once again,
The song when they're unbraiding the bride's hair.

OKSANA:

No, it is sad, and you would cry again.
I'll be the cook who bakes the wedding bread
This time, or else a bridesmaid so just listen!
(*She sings in a loud voice, peasant style*)
"Don't worry, dear mother, don't worry!
Put on your red boots now and hurry!
Set your heels clicking and jangling!
So that our foemen cease wrangling!
Hey!"

(*With a whoop she jumps on to the couch*)

That's how the bridesmaids jump over the benches!

STEPAN: (*catching her and lifting her down from the couch*)

Now, now, my dear, you mustn't overdo it.

MOTHER:

That's true, my daughter, or the maids will hear you...

OKSANA:

Well! What of that? Her Excellency's happy!
Come, dearest Hanna, let us dance a jig.

HANNA: (*smiling*)

I don't know how to.

OKSANA:

Then I'll have to show you.
(*She twirls Hanna round her, singing*)
"Dance ye, dance ye, O my lady,
Off with sorrow dull and shady!
Be life bright or be it shady!
Dance ye, dance ye, O my lady!"
What is the matter, Stepan! Help us sing!

(*She is convulsed with laughter, which ends in a fit of coughing. Stepan rushes to her in alarm*)

CURTAIN

To be continued

Poems in Prose

Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi

Translated by Ursula Phillips*
 School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London

The Solitary

I listen to songs that no other hears; to my own soul
 singing.

Everywhere and forever I hear its beloved refrain.

“But you are alone!”

And nothing will ever quench it. I know it. Nothing will
 ever quench that gentle singing: I can still make it out in the
 moan of the blizzard, in the laughter of Spring, in a burst of
 thunder, in the splash of rain.

“Alone!... Alone!”

People surround me. Their eyes shine, their voices
 tremble... my mind spins a silver thread and my heart a golden,
 the wave of life recedes from the shore, breaking, shimmering;
 and whenever the cup of pleasure touches my lips, I can already
 hear the familiar requiem of my soul:

“But you are alone!...”

I weep. A stream flows from my heart too into the sea of
 human misery. And though my warm hand is extended to offer a
 friendly squeeze where it is needed, though my soul is bared to
 absorb another’s grief as a flower imbibes the dew, yet I still
 hear... at the same time, how it raises from the depths like
 an eternal curse:

“Ha! Ha! You are still alone!”

And even sometimes when a loving heart snuggles up to mine,
 when two sparks unite in a flame of happiness, when it seems the
 sphinx has been divined, even then... And even then the pained
 and haughty cry uncoils its black cloud in my breast:

“Yet I... am alone!”

*Ursula Phillips is also the translator (from Polish) of Wieslaw Mysliwski’s “The Palace”
 (Palac). London, Peter Owen (Ltd) Publishers, 1991.

Poems in Prose (2)

Olha Kobylanska

Chords

Far away and high in the sky, where the bright stars shine,
there perhaps lies my happiness. Thence the longing, which God
has placed in my heart and which none can still.

I await the angel of death.

I hear him coming... here... now here. He will appear...
now here, then there. Soon I shall hear him passing by my door...
And yet the stars smile down at me so welcomingly.

There, I'm sure, lies my happiness.

* * *

I have entered the forest.

So still all about me.

Here there reigns silence and chill — so immense, I am
fearful.

I want to bring the forest — and myself — back to life with
warm words, and so I utter those words.

No echo returns.

Just as still and empty as before... So dead in the lush
greenery, that sorrow overwhelms me.

Once again I cry out, from the depths of my breast, that
most burning word on earth... and can it be true? After a long
pause the echo rebounds, step by step, like a joyful traveller
rescued from the cold abyss: "I love you!" — it comes through the
forest and dwells long in the memory of all the flowers, though
it perished itself long ago

* * *

Everyone stops still once in their lives and doesn't know
where to turn. I know the path I must take. Solitude. It has
fixed its cold menacing eyes upon me, and blinked.

I am coming.

I shall serve you, O great heartless Solitude, and lay my
songs at your feet.

Smile at me then!

Such a yearned for... such a kind... such a sweet smile for
the weary heart, which implored in vain to find it among people.

* * *

From me to you — sprawls the bright road.

Like a silver ribbon.

Along its path the lilies of my heart walk with their light
step. The last lilies of my youth. Hanging their mournful heads,
they look back to bid me farewell: “We will never return... O
proud life, we will never return, we are the last... give us at
least a few days still to live...” And quietly they tread the
silent road that leads to you, there fade away...

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DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS: ROMANIA, TURKEY

DAVOS, Switzerland, February 1 — Romanian President Ion Iliescu met with President Kravchuk during the World Economic Forum to discuss diplomatic relations. Romania recognised Ukraine shortly after it declared independence and the two countries already had consulates in each other's countries.

ISTANBUL, February 3 — Turkey signed agreements establishing diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Moldova. Moldova's Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu signed for both countries and Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Lipatov signed for Turkey.

TROUBLE IN CRIMEA

KYIV, February 6 — Concerned about the growing discontent in the Crimea, the Ukrainian Supreme Council signed a joint statement on the division of powers with Crimean authorities, granting them the right to take part in any decision concerning the peninsula, including division of property. Citizens of the Crimea have started a campaign to hold a referendum on whether it should break away from Ukraine and join the CIS as a full member.

UKRAINE RECEIVES MEDICAL SUPPLIES FROM US

KYIV, February 10 — 50 tons of medical supplies were flown in from the US to Ukraine on a giant military transport. Government forces are to protect the supplies from being stolen by black marketeers, while the Red Cross, churches and children's foundations are to oversee their distribution. Supplies include bed-pans, surgical gloves, dental equipment, pillow-cases, antibiotics and drugs.

"OPERATION PROVIDE HOPE" IN UKRAINIAN CITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UNIS) — Operation Provide Hope, the western airlift of food and medical aid to the former captive nations of the USSR, is delivering 54 planeloads, carrying 18,000 tons of supplies, to newly-independent countries. The State Department reported that the following cities in Ukraine are targeted for the aid:

Kyiv — two shipments delivered on February 10 and 18.

Kharkiv — 1 shipment delivered on February 12.

Lviv — 2 shipments—mostly medical supplies scheduled to be delivered on February 17 and 18.

SAVING THE ENVIRONMENT

KYIV, February 11 — The Ukrainian Ministry of the Environment and the Academy of Sciences will undertake a joint complex study of the ecological situation of the Donbas region. Their main task will be to assess the pollution levels and make recommendations to protect subsoil waters and reestimate their reserves.

BORDER TROOPS ESTABLISHED

KYIV, February 14 — The Ukrainian Supreme Council established the strength of the republican border troops at 25,000. A total of 1.3 billion roubles have been allocated to finance the troops during 1992. However, due to the increase of persons and vehicles crossing the state borders, this number of personnel will supply only 40-60 per cent of requirements.

KRAVCHUK'S ADAMANT "NO" CASTS PALL OVER CIS

MINSK — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk dealt a major setback to the Commonwealth of Independent States on Friday, February 14, declaring that he rejected joint armed forces.

"United armed forces can exist only in a united state", he said. "There is no option of preserving united Commonwealth forces".

Military specialists from Ukraine had already suggested there was little room for compromise. Ukrainian defence officials brought a separate package of proposals to the Commonwealth's preparatory talks, demanding the virtual break-up of the united forces, leaving separate national armies and a united command centred on the nuclear arsenal. Ukrainian officials demanded that all servicemen below officer level from other republics should leave Ukraine by June 1.

The armed forces newspaper "Krasnaya Zvezda" said Belarus, Moldova and Azerbaijan supported the Ukrainian proposal of separate national armies. Ukraine has already begun forming its own army and is wrangling with Russia over the powerful Black Sea fleet. Kazakhstan's Nursultan Nazarbayev is a strong supporter of the Commonwealth concept.

"To my great regret, the Commonwealth we wanted does not yet exist", he said.

Russia sought to put pressure on Ukraine earlier that month by revealing plans for setting up its own army and navy. Col.-Gen. Dmitry Volkogonov, one of Yeltsin's closest military advisers, mentioned a figure of 1.5 million men. He said Russia would go ahead only if other Commonwealth states did so first.

The Russian Foreign Ministry sought to play down Volkogonov's remarks, made in a newspaper interview, saying this was a plan of last resort.

Ukraine had accused Russia of grabbing more than its share of the assets of the former Soviet Union. But later Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko denied that his republic had any conflict with Russia, saying there were “merely different interpretations of certain problems”.

Ukrainian fears that Russia is unwilling to let it become fully independent were reinforced on Thursday, February 13, by the publication of an interview by Yeltsin’s Vice-President, Aleksander Rutskoi, who has been adopting a more and more chauvinist position, who suggested that a unified state, including Russia, could be re-established on Euro-Asian territories. He gave no details.

Diplomatic observers believe that Ukraine’s decision to stay out of a joint Commonwealth armed force signals the end of a once-mighty military machine and threatens the Commonwealth.

Analysts and diplomats said on Monday, February 17, that last week’s Commonwealth summit in Minsk revealed sharply competing visions, particularly between Kyiv and Moscow. It underscored the extent to which Ukraine has taken the initiative, to a large extent shaping the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States by itself.

“The exclusion of Ukraine means any agreements reached were worth nothing”, said one diplomat in Minsk for the talks.

Ukraine takes a minimalist approach to the concept of commonwealth. Basic economic ties should be preserved and little else. Russia, backed for now by Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics, wants far more integration, including joint armed forces.

But by hinting it is prepared to play the spoiler, Ukraine has gone a long way towards shaping the future. “Ukraine proved the key”, said another Western diplomat. “President [Leonid] Kravchuk got what he wanted — he gave up nothing on a unified force. The Russians, meanwhile, were virtually invisible”.

The central issue in Minsk was the future of the huge conventional former Soviet military force. “It is absolutely imperative to preserve a single military-strategic space”, former Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksander Bessmertnykh told “Nezavisimaya Gazeta”. “Of all the spheres — political, economic and military — none will be completely destroyed as long as there remains a military-strategic one”.

Kravchuk, joined by leaders of Moldova and Azerbaijan, declined to join in a unified force for a two-year transitional period and is pressing ahead with his own army based on the “nationalisation” of former Soviet hardware and units. That decision was a blow to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who had sought to preserve a Commonwealth military, grouping conventional and nuclear forces. Yeltsin was uncharacteristically inactive, proposing that Kravchuk chair the session but offering little else. A brief television shot of Yeltsin, his head in his hands, appeared to sum up the Russian position.

Ukrainian Defence Minister Kostiantyn Morozov told reporters Ukraine's army was already a reality. He said more than 400,000 servicemen had so far taken a loyalty oath to the new state.

Senior Russian generals have said they are prepared to form an army of 1.5 million men — but only as a last resort. However, this army would not pose a threat to any country, experts said.

"It's really misleading to talk about the military any longer", said Raymond Garthoff, an expert on the armed forces. "There are a lot of arms, but no central military for lack of money and lack of purpose among different ranks, services and nationalities". Another US expert said the armed forces were divided by regional, national and political differences, making a concerted effort to rebuild a central state a risky proposition. "The possibility for cohesive action is very slim. Who could coup plotters count on?", said James Blackwell of Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, HUNGARY, UKRAINE — SIGN PACT

KYIV — Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine have signed an agreement on economic and environmental cooperation in their Carpathian-mountain region which all four countries share. The purpose of the agreement was to create economic and trading areas along the borders of the four countries. This would involve joint investment projects and duty-free zones.

TRANSFERRING COMMUNIST PARTY ASSETS

KYIV — In accordance with a resolution passed on December 20, 1991, a law was passed regarding the transfer of Communist Party assets in Ukraine to the state.

The text of this law was recently publicised in the media.

The Cabinet of Ministers and the National Bank of Ukraine have been given the responsibility of accounting for the assets and bank accounts of the CPSU, the Communist Party of Ukraine and all commercial-agricultural structures which they formed. They are also to conduct negotiations with the RSFSR regarding the allocation of part of the CPSU assets to Ukraine and their transfer to the Ukrainian nation. The Cabinet of Ministers is to report to Parliament quarterly on its progress with the project.

"UKRYTTIA" ESTABLISHED IN CHORNOBYL

KYIV — In accordance with a resolution passed by Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, an inter-departmental scientific-technical centre "Ukryttia" is being established in Chornobyl.

The new centre is to convert the fourth reactor to a more ecologically-sound system of containment until all nuclear waste and radioactive material can be completely destroyed.

CIS AIR DIVISION UNDER UKRAINIAN CONTROL

KYIV, February 17 — Ukraine declared that it would take possession of a strategic air-division of the Commonwealth armed forces based at Uzin near Kyiv. The air-base holds a fleet of 21 long-range bombers and the acting chief of staff, Georgiy Zhivitsa, stated that the airmen at the base have already pledged allegiance to Ukraine.

Commonwealth strategic air force commander Col.-Gen. Igor Kalugin was to have visited the base at Uzin with unit commander Maj.-Gen. Mikhail Bashkirov. Instead, he fired Bashkirov who was subsequently reinstated by President Kravchuk.

KRAVCHUK — CRIMEA — NUCLEAR WEAPONS

KYIV, February 17 — At a press conference held for foreign correspondents, President Leonid Kravchuk presented the Ukrainian Supreme Council's position regarding the Crimea. Documents prepared by the Ukrainian and Russian Supreme Councils regarding the transfer of the Crimea from the Russian Federation to Ukraine were presented by the President.

Reporters were curious as to whether Ukraine would intervene with yet another referendum attempt in the Crimea. President Kravchuk responded by saying that he is not opposed to the idea of a referendum, but in his opinion and in light of the fact that the referendum of December 1, 1991, favoured the Crimea remaining a part of an independent Ukraine, he deems it highly unnecessary. Although he has no plans or rights to prevent the peninsula from carrying out this referendum, Kravchuk feels that the Supreme Council of the Crimea should investigate the authenticity of the requests.

President Kravchuk was also questioned about the problems concerning the destruction of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. His response was that Ukraine wants to rid its territories of all such weapons, but does not want to sell or trade the warheads with other countries. Ukraine has no factories or means to dismantle the weapons on its own. Building such factories would take a great deal of time and capital — neither of which Ukraine can afford at this time. President Kravchuk hopes that other countries with the means to destroy such weapons will offer to help Ukraine accomplish this task. Russia has already agreed to help in the disarmament.

President Kravchuk also commented on his meeting with President Boris Yeltsin in Minsk. He said that his talks with President Yeltsin dealt strictly with economic issues. At the press conference President Kravchuk restated his position on national defence and said he has formally written to Mr. Yeltsin about the illegal transfer of aviation technology from Ukraine to Russia and requests an explanation for these actions.

DELEGATES FROM KUWAIT

KYIV, February 17 — The first delegation from Kuwait ever to visit Ukraine was led by Finance Minister Nasser Abdullah Al-Rawdan. They met with Ukrainian Cabinet ministers headed by Anatoliy Minchenko, the Minister of Economics. Discussions centred around the establishment of bilateral economic cooperation, which would involve the opening of Kuwaiti banks in Kyiv and the establishment of small joint business ventures.

Anatoliy Minchenko did not hide the fact that Ukraine places primary importance on the acquisition of petroleum and petroleum products. Ukrainian delegates stressed that they do not wish Ukraine to receive any charity. Ukraine must be treated as a full fledged equal partner in any business agreements if it is to rebuild its economy.

During the discussions it was agreed that commissions would be formed to draw up plans for a mutually beneficial cooperation.

Minister Al-Rawdan expressed Kuwait's effort to broaden contacts with Ukraine. Agreements were signed between the two countries regarding the protection of foreign investments and duplication of taxes.

CREDIT FROM CANADA

KYIV, February 18 — Ukraine signed an agreement with Canada for a loan of more than \$50 million. The agreement allows Ukraine to purchase food and other basic goods with a loan repayable in two years. Another part of the credits will be used to buy technology and will be repaid after 8.5 years.

TWO NEW LAWS PASSED

KYIV, February 18 — During the morning session the Supreme Council passed two new laws. The first law limits monopolisation and restricts unfair competition in business; the second law amends the Labour Code of Ukraine.

UKRAINIAN TRIDENT IS OFFICIAL

KYIV, February 19 — After persistent resistance the Presidium of the Supreme Council proposed a review of the "Ukrainian State Emblem". A commission of deputy ministers and other specialists was assigned the task of researching and proposing a national emblem for Ukraine based on historic and aesthetic value.

The head of the commission, Les Taniuk, reported that they have come to the conclusion that the State Emblem should be a gold Trident mounted on a blue

pentagonal background. This proposal met with considerable opposition, as it has in the past. The opponents claimed the Trident symbolised Petlura, the soldiers of the “Galicia” division and the banderites.

Ministers supporting the Trident, on the other hand, argued that its acceptance would have great historical significance dating back to the time of Kyivan-Rus', an act which would give credibility and legal succession to Ukraine.

The first vote yielded a result of only 201 votes in favour of the Trident. After a 40 minute recess, discussions resumed on the topic. The head of the Supreme Council, Ivan Pliushch, proposed the dissolution of the day's session since the lack of consensus would lead to a parliamentary crisis. Only 147 votes were cast in support of Mr. Pliushch. President Leonid Kravchuk then proposed a compromise — to accept the Trident as the minor national emblem of Ukraine which would be the main element of a larger national emblem. This proposal received a majority of support.

KRAVCHUK AND POLITICAL PARTIES HOLD “ROUND TABLE”

KYIV, February 21 — There are presently 12 registered political parties in Ukraine. Despite their different political orientations and differences in approach, they are united by one goal — to build an independent Ukraine. In an effort to consolidate his country's political forces towards a constructive development of an independent and democratic state, President Leonid Kravchuk convened a “round table” discussion with Ukrainian political leaders.

As he pointed out in his opening remarks, the role and place of the political parties in the development of a sovereign Ukrainian state needs to be established, that is an amicable working relationship with a constructive opposition. Today, Kravchuk added, Ukraine needs an alliance of the pro-reform forces, formed out of all the political parties and movements. In the present situation the President should not play the role of an arbitrator between inter-party squabbles. His task is to act as a mediator between the government and the parties, to consolidate all political forces in an effort to carry through the necessary reforms, Kravchuk said.

The political and trade union leaders taking part in this “round table” agreed with the President regarding the need for a consolidation of forces to resolve the crisis. As an initial measure they demanded a government based on popular support, formed out of various political groups, around which the pro-reform forces could rally and which could effectively coordinate the implementation of economic reform.

Several prominent opposition activists, among them Yuriy Badzio, Mykhailo Horyn, Oleksander Yemets, A. Kovalevskyi, Serhiy Plachynda and Ivan Drach, pointed out the crucial need for a well thought-out and decisive government policy

Presently, Rukh represents the entire spectrum of political forces in Ukraine — from former communists to national-radicals, united on the platform of independence.

Following Ukraine's declaration of independence, Rukh reached a crossroads. The Congress, therefore, promised a struggle between two rival conceptions: to transform Rukh into a political party along American lines, or to maintain it as a general national organisation, which would continue to coordinate the work of all political parties.

The present Ukrainian leadership has been making serious attempts to establish relations with Rukh. The Rukh programme was realised by its former ideological opponent, Leonid Kravchuk. The President considers Rukh one of his sources of support and stresses the need for wide-scale cooperation in the building of the Ukrainian state. President Kravchuk's address at the outset of the Congress was a gesture of support for the organisation. Kravchuk supports the idea of maintaining Rukh as a national organisation.

The Third all-Ukrainian Rukh Congress began on February 28. The three-day forum was attended by around 900 delegates.

Prior to the declaration of independence, this mass organisation represented the opposition in Ukraine. Today Rukh, as outgoing chairman, Ivan Drach, pointed out in his report, should cease theoretical activity and adopt practical measures, and transform itself into a constructive opposition.

On the first day President Kravchuk addressed the Congress. He pointed out that Rukh should unite all progressive forces, which want to work towards the building of the Ukrainian state.

The following day a bitter discussion on revisions to the Statute and Programme took place. The Rukh leaders — Ivan Drach, Mykhailo Horyn, and a majority of the central executive supported the idea of maintaining Rukh in its present form, and called for greater support for the President. Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of the opposing faction, based his position on the support of most of the regional delegations. In Chornovil's opinion, Rukh should keep a distance in relations with the President and act as a constructive opposition. His second argument was the de-partisation of Rukh, that is its transformation into a political party.

As most of the speakers expressed support for Chornovil, Ivan Drach read out a statement calling on his supporters to leave the Congress and meet elsewhere, and for a re-registration of local organisations.

After almost two hours of heated discussions, the two sides reached an agreement. Firstly, Rukh will now be led by a triumvirate: Ivan Drach, Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Secondly, all elective posts will be non-partisan.

In comparison to the dramatic events of the previous day, March 1 was peaceful. On the last day the Congress ratified the proposed changes to the Statute and Programme. The delegates discussed the goals of their organisation in the new conditions of independent statehood. They also expressed various positions on cooperation with the government, other public organisations, political parties,

religious confessions, and the Ukrainian diaspora. Rukh's role and perspectives in the resolution of complex socio-economic problems was also discussed.

Later, the three joint-chairmen nominated the Rukh leadership. According to the disposition of forces, Chornovil proposed two-thirds of the candidates. In all twenty-three persons were elected, including four deputy chairmen.

A number of statements, particularly on the Crimean situation, relations with Russia, the situation in Nagorny Karabakh, and the creation of national armed forces, were also adopted.

The speakers pointed out that the time for meetings and opposition has passed. It is time to build, time for hard and conscientious work and renovation.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL SPACE ADMINISTRATION

KYIV, March 2 — ITAR-TASS - Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree which provides for the creation of a Ukrainian National Space Agency. The agency will develop the state policy and provide for international cooperation in space research. It will also finance research and use of space.

GAS SUPPLIES CUT — TURKMENISTAN

KYIV, March 2 — Gas supplies to Ukraine from Turkmenistan were cut off due to price conflicts between the two countries. Sixty per cent of Ukraine's imported gas comes from Turkmenistan and the cut-off will greatly threaten heavy industry. Ukraine has retaliated by shutting down Turkmen gas exported by pipeline across its territory.

NEW AGRICULTURAL MINISTER

KYIV, March — Vasyl Tkachuk has been appointed Minister of Agriculture and Food Supply. He replaced Oleksander Tkachenko.

Vasyl Mykhailovych Tkachuk for many years was the head of a state farm in the Kolomyia region in the Ivano-Frankivsk province. In the 1980s he organised a multi-branched agricultural company "Prut" which was very successful in the production of agricultural products. Tkachuk was commemorated for his work by the former communist government.

DEFENCE MINISTER VISITS HUNGARY

BUDAPEST, March 4 — Col.-Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov visited Hungary to establish military and diplomatic relations. An agreement on military ties between the defence ministries and national armies of the two countries was signed. The first stage of the cooperation is to consist of exchange of information, joint consultation and meetings on military issues. Einoe Raffai, the State Secretary of the Hungarian Defence Ministry signed for his country.

FIRST LAW ON PRIVATISATION

KYIV, March 4 — The Ukrainian Supreme Council passed its first law on privatisation which will allow citizens to buy state owned factories and businesses. It is the first of three laws that will be proposed, and applies only to state enterprises valued over 1.5 million roubles. Citizens are to be issued bonds with which they can bid for property in auctions. All military and government property is exempt from the privatisation.

The second law is to deal with the amount of coupons to be issued to each citizen, while the third will set up rules for privatisation of small businesses.

NEW RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO UKRAINE

MOSCOW, March 4 — Russia appointed Leonid Somolyakov as its first envoy to Ukraine. He is an ethnic Russian, but has spent most of his life in Ukraine teaching philosophy.

DIRECT TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION

KYIV, March 5 — The Ukrainian Ministry of Communications celebrated the opening of thirty new direct telephone lines connecting Ukraine to Western Europe. This allows any citizen to dial cities in Western Europe from any public phone bypassing Moscow. The project costs \$5 million. It is expected that by November 1 170 lines will be operational. This station is currently being constructed by a Holland company "Post-Telegraph-Telephone" and an American company "American Telephone & Telegraph". Future plans also include a similar telecommunications station in Lviv.

GERMANY SENDS MEDICINES AND OTHER DRUGS TO UKRAINE

BONN, March 8 (ITAR) — A Kyiv-bound Boeing 707 plane with a cargo of humanitarian aid supplies for Ukraine left Cologne-Bonn airport today. The cargo includes medicines and other drugs worth more than 5 million marks. This humanitarian action is being undertaken at the expense of the German Foreign Ministry and the Bundeswehr. A German Foreign Ministry statement issued here emphasises that the medicines are being delivered at the request of Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin and are a manifestation of the Bonn cabinet's readiness to give humanitarian aid with a view to overcoming the complex situation in Ukraine. In Kyiv, the medicines will be handed over to the government of Ukraine by Duke von Bassewitz, the German Ambassador to Ukraine.

FIRST UKRAINIAN INTERNATIONAL BANK

KYIV, March 9 — The first Ukrainian International Bank opened today with its headquarters in Kyiv. It plans to open 15-20 branches throughout the country within the next 6 months. The bank was capitalised by a group of Western and Ukrainian investors led by AIOC Corporation and advised by Bank Mees & Hope N.V. AIOC is New York based and Bank Mees & Hope is a Dutch Bank in international trade and commodity finance.

FINLAND'S FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS UKRAINE

KYIV, March 9 — During a two day trip, Paavo Vaeyrynen, the Foreign Minister of Finland, visited Kyiv and Minsk. His meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko centred around bilateral discussions between the two countries. Finland's plans to open an embassy in Kyiv were also announced.

DIPLOMATIC TIES — CUBA

KYIV, March 12 — Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Cuban First Deputy Foreign Minister Acibiades Hidalgo agreed at a meeting in Kyiv that the two countries should open embassies in each other's capitals. Cuba formally recognised Ukraine in December and has since signed economic cooperation and trade accords with Ukraine.

SECOND PUBLIC DISMISSAL OF HIGH LEVEL OFFICER

KYIV, March 12 — Admiral Igor Kasatonov fired deputy submarine division commander Col. Yevgeni Lupakov for "provocative actions and cheating". Lupakov allegedly came aboard a submarine that was in port and read the Ukrainian oath over the vessel's intercom.

KRAVCHUK HALTS TRANSFER OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

KYIV — President Leonid Kravchuk on March 12 halted the shipment of tactical nuclear weapons from his country to Russia for dismantling, saying that Moscow has not provided adequate assurances that the arms will be safeguarded and destroyed as promised.

The decision, announced in the Ukrainian capital, caused concern in Moscow and Washington. Both capitals asked the Ukrainian government for a clarification of its decision.

At the same time, Ukrainian Minister of Defence Kostiantyn Morozov announced separately that Ukraine has assumed control of an airfield near Kyiv that has planes equipped with nuclear weapons under the formal command of the Commonwealth of Independent States — the loose political alliance that succeeded the Soviet Union. Morozov said Ukraine seized Uzin Air-base — but not the nuclear warheads stocked there — because commonwealth military leaders had banned Ukrainian servicemen stationed at the base from taking an oath of allegiance to Ukraine, according to reports from Kyiv.

Kravchuk sought to explain the decision by asserting at a news conference that “we cannot guarantee that weapons transported to Russia will be destroyed or that they will not fall into undesirable hands”. He said Ukraine wants fresh assurances that the arms “cannot be used anywhere” once they leave Ukraine, and he declared, in apparent reference to Russia: “I don’t want to make anybody else stronger”.

Kravchuk emphasised that Ukraine has not changed its “main concept” that it wishes “to remain non-aligned, nuclear-free and eventually a neutral state”.

In Washington, a State Department official expressed concern about Kravchuk’s action, noting that the Bush administration has a “strong interest in seeing these things destroyed according to plan”. The official, who spoke on condition that he not be named, said that the two countries should “work things out in a responsible manner”, but added that “it is not clear at this point whether they will return to the status quo” — meaning the plan to complete the arms transfer by July.

Kravchuk proposed to resolve that dispute through construction of a separate facility in Chernobyl for dismantling the weapons. This is particularly appropriate, he said, because Ukraine’s determination to become a nuclear-free nation gives it the “moral right” to its own weapons-destruction complex. It also gives Ukraine the right, he said, “to request international assistance in the construction of such facilities”. Kravchuk also called on the West to support the establishment of an international civilian space and nuclear technology institute in Kyiv, which he said would draw the expertise of the Ukrainian factory where all Soviet long-range missiles were designed and built. The Ukrainian government has ordered the plant to stop all missile production by the end of the month. Ukrainian officials hope part of the centre’s expenses will be paid with the \$400 million allocated by the Bush administration to help with Soviet disarmament, but commonwealth leaders are pushing for the funds to be centrally administered.

“LAND CODE” CHANGED

KYIV, March 13 — After two days of debates the Supreme Council accepted changes to the “Land Code”. This law allows for a quick transition to private agricultural development in the country. State farmers will receive a personalised section of the state farm and will have the choice of continuing to farm the land together or become entirely private.

UKRAINE REINFORCES ITS BORDERS WITH MOLDOVA

KYIV, March 18 (ITAR-TASS) — In accordance with the decree of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk “on measures to protect the state border with the Republic of Moldova”, national guard units were ordered to help frontier guards and law enforcement agencies in ensuring the inviolability of the Ukrainian border and public order in the areas adjacent to the Republic of Moldova. This assistance will be rendered if armed groups try to violate the border of the Ukrainian state.

FORMER SOVIET AMBASSADOR ASSIGNED TO UKRAINE

KYIV, March 18 — President Boris Yeltsin has appointed Yuri Dubinin, former Soviet ambassador to Washington as chief negotiator with Ukraine on political, military and economic issues.

NUCLEAR REACTOR TROUBLE — KHMELNYTSKYI

KYIV, March 18 — A nuclear reactor at the Khmelnytskyi power plant was shut down after a narrow pipe in the refrigeration sector sprang a leak. The accident was reported as minor and plant operation was expected to be functional within 24 hours.

UKRAINE CHANGES ITS MIND — NUCLEAR WEAPONS

KYIV, March 18 — President Kravchuk reversed his order to halt the transfer of nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia. Kravchuk called President Boris Yeltsin and told him that Ukraine’s tactical nuclear arsenal would be moved to Russia by July 1 to be destroyed.

CIS SEEN ENDING COMMON GROUNDS

KYIV — The meeting of the heads of states of the CIS ended here on Friday, March 20, inconclusively with Ukraine not only vigorously promoting its national interests but its President subsequently saying that there is no future for the arrangement that paved the way for the demise of the USSR.

Representatives of the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States met in the Ukrainian capital in a tense atmosphere, according to Ukrainian and Western press reports.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin barely exchanged looks with Ukrainian President Leonid, the reports said.

“The New York Times”, among other Western newspapers, reported on March 21 and 23 that Ukraine refused to participate in any of the decisions that were reached by the other 10 member-states.

Kravchuk, in his darkest comments yet on the commonwealth, said on Ukrainian television on Monday, March 23, he no longer sees any future for the grouping he helped to found barely three months ago. Kravchuk said that journalists were asking him what prospects he saw for the arrangement after the widely-accepted failure of the summit in Kyiv, “I do not see it [a future] — not because Kravchuk is bad or because [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin is bad. It is an objective process at work”, he said.

The summit was reportedly dominated by sniping between Russia and Ukraine, increasingly at odds over the future of the 11-member state grouping, and Kravchuk said afterwards that unless the situation changed the commonwealth was doomed. Following the failure to deal with key economic and military issues, pundits have predicted an imminent breakup as each member-state pursues its own interests.

Itar-Tass news agency said senior leaders of Russia and Kazakhstan met in the Kazakh town of Uralsk on March 23 and signed documents on closer economic, banking, energy and agricultural ties.

“The Russian government is going to defend the interests of Russia and only those interests. I am going to defend the interests of Ukraine and only those interests”, Kravchuk said. “We want everyone to have equal rights and Russia does not. This is not something Kravchuk has invented. I was the one who always said we had common interests with Russia and that they were a priority for us”, he declared.

Public opinion in Ukraine is swinging against the commonwealth, with many leading politicians calling for a withdrawal from the organisation as soon as possible. Ukraine has already refused to take part in the creation of joint armed forces and other issues.

Kravchuk said he was becoming nervous about Russian claims to be the legal successor to the Soviet Union as a signatory of international agreements such as the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. “If Russia is to take over [former Soviet President Leonid] Brezhnev’s signature, has it not taken over all the other aspects as well — Brezhnev’s decision to send troops into Afghanistan, to strangle democracy and support putsches in other countries? I am starting to get worried”, he said. “What will happen if things go on like this? We will have a big ship sailing away in an unknown direction, and sailing behind it lots of smaller ships, tied to it with ropes. If the big ship sinks then the smaller ones will go to the bottom as well”. Kravchuk’s remarks were precipitated by Yeltsin’s earlier refusal to agree to a Ukrainian proposal to divide former Soviet assets.

News agencies reported that leaders of 10 former captive nations and Russia failed to resolve key issues dividing them in a summit highlighted by continuing tension between Russia and Ukraine. The central issue on the agenda was how to divide up the property, nuclear weapons and military resources of the former Soviet Union.

Kravchuk opened the third summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States since the demise of the USSR by calling the session a “turning point” that would show “whether we can deal with the problems we face”. At the end of the day, Kravchuk said, “If the situation does not change, the commonwealth is doomed. The situation among commonwealth countries has become considerably aggravated since the first meeting in Minsk”.

Yeltsin said, “There will probably be less optimism after this meeting, but I believe the commonwealth still has a future”.

The 11 heads of state did agree to meet again on May 15 in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, thereby pledging to keep their loose association alive at least until then.

However, they apparently barely talked about the issue that most concerns Ukraine: how to apportion the embassies and other assets of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine fears that Russia — by far the largest republic — will simply claim all such assets. Yeltsin said the issue had been raised without adequate preparation, according to officials present at the closed discussions. The issue was referred to panels of experts. Similarly, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan did not discuss the issue most important to Russia: how to divide the military might of the former Soviet Union.

Kravchuk reiterated his refusal, first announced the previous week, to continue shipping tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia for destruction. He said Ukraine has not received adequate assurances that the weapons will be destroyed.

“The question of dismantling nuclear weapons was decided long ago, but there are no mechanisms”, he said at a joint news conference with Yeltsin. “It must be done in such a way that the shipment of nuclear weapons does not strengthen one country and weaken another”.

Then, referring to reports from Moscow that week that he had called Yeltsin and reversed his position, Kravchuk, looking at the Russian President, pointed out the previously-stated lie saying that they had not spoken by telephone since February 16. That was not the only unpleasant exchange between the two leaders.

After Yeltsin commended Ukraine for its “constructive” position on agreements affecting the military, Kravchuk accused Yeltsin of sarcasm, since Ukraine refused to sign all but one such agreement today. “If we speak about Russia and its people, then my assessment can only be positive”, the Ukrainian President said. “But I forbear to comment on Russia’s leaders”.

The acrimonious collapse of the Commonwealth of Independent States summit was hailed by Ukrainian nationalists campaigning for the republic to leave the new group.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, former political prisoner and chairman of the Lviv oblast council, said the failure of the summit in Kyiv to achieve any major agreement on economic and military policy would show Ukrainians that the CIS had no future, and that they were better off on their own. "It was an utter failure. Thank goodness they signed no silly documents damaging to Ukraine's interests", Chornovil said in an interview. "Why don't we just let the terminally-ill patient die? I see no need for any special measures. We'll just carry on our publicity campaign to persuade people our position is the right one".

At a rally sponsored by the Ukrainian National Assembly and the Ukrainian Nationalist Union, some 2,000 demonstrators called for Ukraine to pull out of the CIS outside the former city Communist Party headquarters where the summit was held. Ukrainian newspapers, printed before the full extent of Friday's failures became known, were skeptical about the commonwealth's future and whether there was a place in it for Ukraine. "Kyivski Visti", in an article entitled "Looking for a way out of the CIS?", said Yeltsin's pledge for the summit to strengthen the commonwealth was "paradoxical" in view of his reluctance to discuss the issue of property. "Pravda Ukrainy" printed a front-page cartoon depicting republican leaders as doctors looking at an infant commonwealth, with Kravchuk saying "Shall we treat him?"

Chornovil said Ukrainians would see that the commonwealth was merely a temporary phenomenon "whose task is merely to ease the collapse of the Soviet empire". He predicted Ukraine would turn instead to the rest of Europe. "Why do we need anything else? Why do we need an Eastern bloc to confront a Western bloc? Russia has already dismissed the CIS and is preoccupied with its own problems. It will act not in the interests of a future empire but in the interests of Russians".

NEW NATIONAL BANK HEAD

KYIV, March 24 — Ukraine's Supreme Council fired Georgy Matvienko, the much-criticised head of the National Bank and announced the appointment of Vadim Geitman, until now director of the head of one of the country's commercial banks, to succeed Georgy Matvienko. The decision was made by parliament at a closed session. Geitman's appointment was welcomed by reformers who have attacked Matvienko for bungling the introduction of coupons and said he is the wrong man to introduce the planned national currency.

MOVES TO COMPLETELY DROP ROUBLE

KYIV, March 25 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk presented the Supreme Council with a document called: “The foundations of Ukraine’s national economic policy”, heralding the republic’s final rejection of the rouble.

According to the document, as of April 1 Ukraine will switch from roubles to coupons for all transactions. The coupons were introduced in the republic in January as a transitional means of exchange before the introduction of a new Ukrainian currency, the “hryvnia”, later this year.

There is still a dispute over what should be done with Ukraine’s roubles once the transfer to coupons has been completed, and there is some confusion about how many coupons are actually in circulation at the moment. Kravchuk in his speech to parliament said there were 40 to 70 billion, while Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Lanovoy has claimed there are as many as 90 billion. The document also provides for a full transfer to world prices for all deals with the other republics and for a radical restructuring of the Ukrainian economy and the financial system.

UKRAINE CONTINUES TO SUPPLY WEAPON PARTS TO INDIA

NEW DELHI, March 27 — Visiting Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk pledged today that his government will continue to supply weapon spare parts to India. Speaking at a press conference here, the President said that his country would not halt wide-ranging military links with India following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Ukraine would like to continue this cooperation as part of the agreement on cooperation in the field of science and technology, he added. Ukraine and India signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation and three agreements relating to trade and economic cooperation, science and technology.

UKRAINE, CRIMEA AGREE ON DIVISION OF POWERS

KYIV, March 27 — Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea have agreed that the divisions of powers is to be carried out in constitutional agreement form. Delegations from both sides agreed that a draft law would be first considered by the Crimean Supreme Council and then adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. The law will serve as a legal basis for relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea, which is part of Ukraine.

UKRAINE SAYS "NO" TO CIS PARLIAMENT

KYIV — Ukraine has refused to help create an assembly linking the parliaments of the former Soviet republics, according to news reports.

Ukraine, whose leaders have expressed doubt about whether to remain in the commonwealth, is opposed to any attempt to recreate Russian-dominated centralised Soviet structures. At the CIS meeting here on March 20, the Ukrainian delegation also declined to participate in the decisions.

According to the ITAR news agency, the Ukrainian delegation at a meeting of parliamentary heads in Kazakhstan on March 27 had not even taken part in talks on creating an inter-parliamentary assembly, designed to help coordinate work between legislatures. The local Kazrevue agency said the Ukrainian delegation had instead proposed that the parliaments' commissions should cooperate. Uzbekistan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed the document. Azerbaijan was represented by observers while Moldova and Turkmenistan were absent for unexplained reasons.

Russian parliamentary head Ruslan Khasbulatov, before the end of the four-hour talks in Alma-Ata, said the draft document had been toned down to remove some of the proposed coordinating functions of the body. He acknowledged some republics might not sign it.

"I don't see this as a tragedy. The birth of new structures of course takes time. Now the most important thing is to give an impulse to this international process", ITAR quoted him as saying. Ukraine's Defence Ministry, and the CIS strategic command are at loggerheads over an attempt by Moscow to regain control of a nuclear bomber base claimed by Kyiv. The army daily "Krasnaya Zvezda" on Friday March 27 said relations between the two republics were likely to deteriorate unless the problems over the base were solved.

"A Cold War between Russia and Ukraine could become a bitter reality", it warned.

POPADIUK FORMALLY NOMINATED AS US AMBASSADOR TO UKRAINE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — President George Bush on Friday, March 27, officially nominated Roman Popadiuk, a Ukrainian American whose parents met in a Nazi labour camp, to become US ambassador to newly-independent Ukraine.

Popadiuk has been a career Foreign Service officer since 1981. He served in Mexico City from 1982 to 1984 and from 1984 to 1986 he worked with the State Department and the National Security Council. Popadiuk, 41, deputy White House press secretary for foreign affairs for the past three years, reportedly has close ties to both Bush and his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft.

His parents lived in western Ukraine and experienced Soviet communism from 1939 to 1941 while the Soviet Union ruled part of Ukraine. When the Germans invaded in 1941, both his parents, who had not then met, were placed in Nazi labour camps in occupied Austria. His mother was working as a dairy maid and his father as a labourer when they met and married. After the war, they lived from 1945 to 1950 in a refugee camp in the western sector of Austria. Popadiuk and an older sister were both born in the camp.

The family moved to the United States in 1950, first working on a farm in Iowa and then moving to Brooklyn, N.Y. Popadiuk, who has a doctorate from City University of New York and once lectured in political science, received the 1991 Ukrainian of the Year Annual Achievement Award from the Ukrainian Institute of America. Popadiuk's nomination as ambassador requires Senate confirmation. "I appreciate the President's confidence and I look forward to doing a good job in representing the United States", Popadiuk said. "It's a turning point in world history and I'm very gratified to be part of this history".

KYIV HOSTS CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

KYIV — A Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists was held in the capital of Ukraine on March 28-29. The Conference, which was attended by over 600 participants from throughout all of Ukraine and the world, was held in the same historic hall that in 1918 was used by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic for its proceedings. The sponsors of the conference were the All-Ukrainian Brotherhood of the OUN-UPA [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army].

The Chairman of the Brotherhood — Mykhailo Zelenchuk — opened the Conference by commemorating all those who died in the struggle for Ukraine's independence. The Chairman of the Conference Presidium — Petro Duzhyi, a former political prisoner — then asked Slava Stetsko — the Chairman of the OUN — to deliver the keynote address. Mrs. Stetsko underscored the primary objectives of Ukrainian nationalists at the present time. She stated that the OUN Presidium decided to call this conference in order to help consolidate all the nationalist forces in Ukraine. The goal of the Conference was two-fold: "first, to present an historical survey of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in an objective light, accentuating its progressive, liberationist, state-building and inherently democratic roots, and secondly, to elaborate a programme for the future, with a view towards consolidating Ukrainian statehood and ensuring its further development".

The Conference participants were greeted by representatives of Ukraine's churches, various political, civic, social, military and youth organisations, as well as several noteworthy individuals both from Ukraine and the diaspora.

The Conference was itself divided into three plenary sessions, in accordance

with the general theme of the Conference — “Ukrainian Nationalism — the past, the present, and the future”. The theme for the first, essentially historical session was — “The liberation struggle for Ukraine’s independence”. Basing themselves on historical evidence, the speakers at this session explained that the Ukrainian nationalist movement very effectively organised the struggle for Ukraine’s freedom and during the Second World War led a two-front war of independence against both Nazi and Bolshevik forces. The second session, which was moderated by People’s Deputy Les Taniuk, was entitled — “Ukraine today”. In their presentations, the speakers at this session gave an analysis of the present state of affairs in Ukraine, in which they paid particular attention to the myriad of problems of state-building now facing Ukraine. The point was repeatedly made that many of these problems stem from the fact that the old, anachronistic colonial structures have yet to be dismantled in Ukraine. Among those who spoke in this session was People’s Deputy Larysa Skoryk. In the final, and probably most significant session — “Towards a resolution of the problems of state-building” — a series of speakers gave presentations in which they outlined the present-day nationalist platform in all areas of contemporary Ukrainian civil society. The need to create truly national, inherently Ukrainian structures of authority was repeatedly underscored. Some of the other significant points that emerged from the presentations were: the need to erect a market economy, which will guarantee a socially just order in Ukraine, and which will eliminate all forms of exploitation; the need to construct truly representative, democratic institutions, which will ensure that the will of the Ukrainian people is constitutionally incorporated into all the structures of authority, particularly in the legislative branch of government; the need to create a genuinely lawful society, in which the rights and liberties of all citizens are guaranteed, regardless of race, creed, political persuasion or ethnic origin. People’s Deputy Stepan Khmara also emphasised the need to establish Ukrainian armed forces, which is a prerequisite for consolidating statehood and national sovereignty. After the presentations were delivered in each session, various discussants presented their analytical comments on the material that was addressed by the speakers.

On March 29 the participants of the Conference were divided into ten working groups: the political group (which was headed by Yaroslav Dashkevych — a renowned Ukrainian historian), the economic group, the military group, the group on foreign affairs, the social group, the group on questions regarding culture and education (before which Yevhen Sverstiuk — a well-known Ukrainian writer and literary critic — delivered the introductory remarks), the legal group, the group on information, the youth group, the the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AMN) group. Following the meetings of the various working groups, the participants marched to the near-by site where a monument to Taras Shevchenko (Ukraine’s national poet) stands, before which a wreath was laid.

In the reports of the working groups, which taken together form the platform of the general Ukrainian nationalist movement today, the following points merit special attention: a demand that Ukraine disassociate itself from the so-called "Commonwealth of Independent States", which has only stunted the processes of state-building in Ukraine; a demand for the resignation of the entire Ukrainian government, headed by Prime Minister V. Fokin; a demand for new elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine, so that the Ukrainian people can have the opportunity to elect those deputies that will truly represent its will and will have Ukraine's national interests in mind; a halt to any further transfers of nuclear weapons from sovereign Ukrainian territory to Russia, the government of which has taken an increasingly hostile and belligerent position towards Ukraine, and which may subsequently use these weapons of mass destruction to blackmail not only Ukraine, but all of freedom-loving humankind; a demand that the present government of Ukraine introduce a national currency — the "hryvnia", which is an essential precondition for the consolidation of an independent (but not autarchic) economic system in Ukraine; an appeal to all the nations of the world to sign a Charter of a New World Order, based on the national principle, and liberated from all forms of nuclear blackmail, in which Ukraine can become a non-nuclear state within one contiguous, global nuclear-free zone.

Near the end of the Conference, Mrs. Stetsko informed the participants of the creation of a Permanent Secretariat of the Conference, whose primary responsibility will be to coordinate the activity of the nationalist movement in Ukraine in the spirit of the Conference Resolutions until a Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists can be held. The Conference issued the following Manifesto:

MANIFESTO
of the
Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists

Ukrainian people!

Through your will and your centuries-long struggle an Independent Ukrainian State was established. Your best sons and daughters fought and died in this struggle so that the dreams of many generations of Ukrainians could be fulfilled. They fought in the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic, of the Carpathian Ukrainian Republic, in the resistance movement of the League of Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), in the ranks of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), as well as in the military formations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during the Second World War. As a result of this heroic struggle

and historical circumstances which led to the dissolution of the last colonial empire in the world —the USSR, the Independent Ukrainian State that was proclaimed on August 24, 1991, became a concrete reality near the end of the 20th century.

From under the rubble of many centuries of ruin, brought upon the glorious past of Ukraine, upon her ancient culture and spirituality, by foreign colonial forces, a new and mighty entity is beginning to take shape. Our historical memory is again reemerging and Ukraine's voice, repressed for so long, is again being heard among the free nations of the world. Ukraine has embarked upon an irreversible and self-assured journey into a brighter future.

Just as the present has its roots in the past, so the future will emerge from the present. Ukraine has reawakened in a critical juncture of her physical and spiritual existence, but she emerges as one great wound, which was dealt to her by the enemies of her unique individuality and by the immediate exploiters of her spiritual and material resources. This physical and spiritual Chornobyl, which continues to cause Ukraine untold grief, is the result of many centuries of subjugation, that was particularly harsh in the past few decades. It is, therefore, imperative that we strengthen our resolve so as to breathe new life into the life-sustaining organs of immunity of our national organism, so as to heal the wounds and resuscitate the life-generating forces of our nation for its unimpeded growth and prosperity.

Ukrainian people!

Your future is in your hands. No one will come to your assistance, unless you yourself will create the necessary structures of self-salvation and unless you will bring down the walls that separate you from the free world, emerging as an equal among equals.

The participants of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists, who have gathered in the very heart of Ukraine — in Kyiv on March 28-29, 1992, your sons and daughters, who see a glorious future for Ukraine in the vision of Ukrainian nationalism, are committed to uniting all the creative energies and forces of Ukraine with a view towards the effectuation of the pressing obligations facing us on the path towards full independence and the consolidation of the bases of Ukrainian statehood.

Such a clear programme of Ukraine's self-salvation can only be found in the vision of Ukrainian nationalism, which has always fostered a deep and abiding sense of patriotism and has always acted only with the national interests of the Ukrainian State and its citizens as its first priority. The Ukrainian nationalist movement has proven its heroic commitment and determination in the struggle against all of Ukraine's colonial enemies. This movement has also clearly manifested its true democratic spirit, when the national and state structures of the Ukrainian State were being formed in 1941, as well as in the structures of the

Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was established by the OUN, was structured on an all-Ukrainian basis, without any party affiliations. The OUN was also instrumental in the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which united the leading representatives of 17 nations, subjugated by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. This is a guarantee that our relations with these nations and their ethnic minorities that presently live in Ukraine will be founded on mutual friendship and cooperation. Fundamentally, Ukrainian nationalism, in its simplest form, is nothing other than a deeply abiding patriotism, which respects all other nations who have no chauvinist or imperialist intentions towards Ukraine. As a manifestation of the Ukrainian nation's will to sovereignty and statehood, Ukrainian nationalism will defend the equal rights of all of Ukraine's citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin, race, or philosophical and religious convictions, excluding any diversionary or amoral tendencies, prohibited by law.

Basing itself on these positions, the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists will strive to achieve the following in the near future:

1. To unite all the positive national forces of Ukraine into one nationalist bloc on the basis of a common platform, which will secure all the fundamental interests of the Ukrainian State and of its citizens. Insofar as the national interest can only be one, although the paths by which it is pursued can be many, the existence of a given number of political parties will resolve this question.

2. The platform of the Ukrainian nationalist bloc includes the following common factors and national postulates:

- a. Ukraine must be a national-unitary state, which does not exclude self-administrative governmental bodies;

- b. a democratic, multi-party system must be the basis of the Ukrainian State's political order;

- c. the rule of law and a division of powers are to be the primary characteristics of the governmental system;

- d. taking into account Ukraine's geopolitical position, she must be capable of defending herself and militarily completely protected;

- e. the prosperity and health of the population of Ukraine must take priority and for this purpose Ukraine must have at its disposal the best technology, both in the fields of economic production and medicine, and a market system must foster the development of the productive and commercial potential of Ukraine;

- f. the privatisation of farming, industry and commerce must create a new socio-economic situation regarding property rights and the formation of social strata, the interests of which will be regulated by legislation and agreement among the various partners with a view towards the maintenance of stability and harmony in society;

- g. the spiritual cement in the formation of a highly civilised nation-state and its

population will be Ukraine's culture in the widest sense of the term, from our national customs and traditional crafts, starting with the creative arts of all types: literature, education, higher learning, religion, and ending with the arts and sciences.

In the struggle to realise these postulates, the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists calls into being a Secretariat of Ukrainian Nationalists, which will be based in Kyiv, and the primary responsibility of which will be to coordinate the activity of the Ukrainian Nationalist Bloc.

One of the first obligations of the Secretariat will be to work out a programme of action, reaching a consensus with other parties and organisations of the bloc and to disseminate this platform throughout all of Ukraine and throughout all of her civic-political structures, and, finally, to create such structures where none exist.

Dear fellow Ukrainians!

Ukrainian nationalism always depended on the inherent strength of the Ukrainian people, insofar as it is an emanation of the will of the people and its vanguard. Our movement once had as its goal the liberation of the Ukrainian nation not only from foreign colonial tyranny, but also to liberate it from the harmful monopoly of those exploitative structures that are remnants of the occupational regime. These structures are incompatible with a social market system and, hence, they must self-liquidate. They can no longer stand in the way of Ukraine's economic development, by continuing to be a means of pillaging and impoverishment of the population of Ukraine.

For this reason the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists calls upon all the citizens of Ukraine to support our all-Ukrainian campaign for the strengthening of Ukrainian statehood, based on the postulates presented above. We will always support the government of Ukraine, as long as that government will act in the interests of Ukraine, and we will subject the government to criticism for its inactivity or for any actions that it may take that will be harmful to Ukraine's interests.

Ukrainian people!

Ukraine is now entering into "the circle of free nations". The entire world is interested in cooperating with Ukraine. We have precious historical and traditional treasures in our culture, which the world has not yet seen, or it has seen them as the provincial artifacts of the former empire. The protection of the unique individuality of our culture must be a priority, because this is the calling card that we will present to the world. We can achieve this aim with the assistance of our diaspora throughout the world, which has always been concerned with Ukraine's fate and which knows the world outside Ukraine and is prepared to work in the interests of Ukraine.

Let us begin forming structures for the effective functioning of our institutions of higher learning, the various branches of our national economy and our civic associations, because our strength is in our Organisation and our unity. Ukraine needs to find new strength — so let us create this strength.!

Glory to Ukraine!

Glory to her Heroes!

Kyiv, March 31, 1992

Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists

VATICAN NAMES ENVOY TO UKRAINE

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican has nominated a 55-year-old career diplomat as Papal nuncio in Ukraine, regarded as one of the Roman Catholic Church's most sensitive appointments, a spokesman said on Sunday, March 29.

Archbishop Antonio Franco has served the Holy See in Bolivia, Iran, France and the United States since joining the Papal diplomatic service in 1972.

Diplomatic relations with Ukraine were established last month, bringing to five the number of former Soviet republics in which the Vatican is represented.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was absorbed by the Russian Orthodox Church under orders from Soviet dictator Josef Stalin in 1946 but was allowed to reemerge in its own right under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev.

UKRAINE WARNS RUSSIA AGAINST SEIZING BLACK SEA FLEET

KYIV — In the wake of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's threat on April 3 to take control of the entire Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian government issued a stern warning to Moscow against such a dangerous move, reported news services.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk accused Russia on Saturday, April 4, of trying to intimidate his country and said Kyiv would take "adequate" measures to counter any Russian attempt to take over the disputed Black Sea Fleet. "Trying to scare Ukraine is imprudent and fruitless", Kravchuk told a Moscow television reporter. When asked what measures he would adopt if a Russian-inspired decree were passed transferring control of the fleet to the CIS, Kravchuk replied: "In any event, they would be adequate".

On April 4, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister also accused Russia of meddling in Ukrainian affairs as the two Slavic republics continued their war of words over the Black Sea Fleet. Reacting to Yeltsin's statement Morozov accused the Russian President of "interference" in Ukrainian affairs. "On August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament passed a resolution placing the Black Sea Fleet under the jurisdiction of Ukraine", Morozov told an Officers Association conference here.

First deputy chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, Vasyl Durdynets, denied any attempts on Ukraine's part to unilaterally assert control over most of the fleet. He said Ukraine wants to decide the fate of the fleet through negotiations as agreed upon in Moscow on January 16. A Russian-Ukrainian commission is working on the status of the fleet and Durdynets said Ukraine will wait until it finishes its work and presents its results before making any decisions about the fleet.

"We are creating a military navy, and naturally we will have one on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet", said Durdynets. "However, a decision will be made regarding the division of the fleet only according to these interstate negotiations".

Yeltsin had said on Friday Russia could take over the disputed Black Sea Fleet, partly claimed by Ukraine, and transfer it back to the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

"In the event of anyone's attempt to unilaterally change the status of the Black Sea Fleet, the Russian Federation will be obliged to take it under its own jurisdiction with subsequent transfer into the strategic forces of the CIS", he said in a statement.

Yeltsin made his statement after CIS fleet commander Admiral Vladimir Chernavin said Ukraine allegedly was planning to let the CIS keep only 10 per cent of the fleet, keeping the rest for itself. Such a policy, Chernavin told Itar-Tass news agency, could signal the end of the fleet. "Due to the real possibility of a sharp worsening of the situation concerning the Black Sea Fleet, which could lead to unpredictable consequences, I consider it essential to make this statement", Yeltsin added in remarks carried by Tass.

The Russian President's comments followed a speech by Kravchuk in which he said Ukraine would take over a portion of the fleet sufficient to ensure its security. Yeltsin dispatched Vice President Alexander Rutskoi to the Black Sea port of Sevastopol, where Rutskoi declared to the crew of the vessel Moskva, "The Russian fleet was founded on the Black Sea and the Russian fleet will be on the Black Sea". Rutskoi also said, "Russia will be resurrected and it will be the state which it used to be for centuries".

In a related military matter, Ukraine on April 3 did not allow six strategic bombers based on its territory to fly to an April 11 air show near Moscow. Ukraine's Deputy Defence Minister Lt.-Gen. Ivan Bizhan said he would not permit combat planes to participate in an air show in the Russian Federation.

OFFICERS ASSOCIATION HOLDS THIRD CONGRESS

KYIV — The Association of Ukrainian Officers held its Third Congress on April 4-5 in the Ukrainian capital. Participating in the gathering were 934 delegates from all regions of Ukraine and representatives of the Association in other countries of the former USSR. Five generals, 71 colonels, 163 lt.-colonels, 148 majors and junior officers took part in the event.

The principal problems discussed at the Congress included the formation of Ukrainian armed forces, the return of Ukrainian officers serving in other countries of the former USSR, the Black Sea Fleet, the ukrainianisation of the armed forces, and the social welfare of officers, all of which appeared in the Congress resolutions and demands addressed to the Ministry of Defence.

The officers elected Lt.-Col. Hryhoriy Omelchenko as the new chairman of the Ukrainian Officers Association. He replaced Maj.-Gen. Vasyl Martyrosyan. An executive committee was also elected.

BAKER: DOLLARS TO GO TO RUSSIA; UKRAINE TO GET CENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — US Secretary of State James Baker said during an April 7 USIA Worldnet's Dialogue programme that the \$24 billion aid package applies to Russia only.

Explaining the two-tiered package, Baker said, "So a \$24 billion package for the Russia Federation — element one. Element number two of the President's package was an additional \$1.1 billion in grain credits: \$600 million for the Russia Federation and \$500 million for other states of the former Soviet Union".

What Baker left unsaid was that Ukraine and nine other former captive nations will divide \$500 million among themselves. In other words, if that sum is divided equally, Ukraine will receive one-tenth of 2% of the total aid package.

In response to a question from Kyiv about the \$6 billion rouble stabilisation fund, Baker emphasised that it, too, was only for the rouble. However, he added, President Bush has asked for congressional support for a stabilisation fund or funds in the amount of \$3 billion. "The purpose of that provision, of course, is to provide leeway for there to be similar stabilisation funds for other new states of the former Soviet Union — of course, including Ukraine among those states".

Contrary to reports by Western wire services that Baker had reproached Ukraine by name for halting shipments of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia, the Secretary of State did not specifically mention Ukraine in his statement. While the question posed to him referred to Ukraine, he responded in general terms.

"What is expected is a consistent and firm and continuing commitment to credible economic reform, to economic reform that will move Russia to the market — that is, of course, privatisation, the institution ultimately of a workable price system, ultimately the convertibility of a currency, and things like that. Those are the things that are expected — in addition, of course, to a continuing commitment to democracy. But I have to say here, we've seen all of those things very forcefully articulated and being forcefully applied by the government of President Yeltsin".

Baker further said, "I happen to believe as well that we've seen similar measures being instituted by the Ukraine Government of President Kravchuk and by other

states of the former Soviet Union. So we are quite prepared to deal with each and every one of these new states as a sovereign, independent nation. We will determine the extent and scope of our assistance and our degree of cooperation by the commitment of those states to three things: nuclear safety and responsibility, democracy and free markets”.

Answering a question from Kyiv about who will ensure Ukraine’s security once it gives up all strategic and tactical nuclear weapons located on its territory, Baker said, “The United States has been opposed to the idea of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats for a long time, and the United States has stood steadfastly with its Western European allies in their protection and in their defence. We obviously will not look favourably upon any nuclear threat toward a peaceful, non-nuclear state that is committed to democracy, freedom and free markets”.

SUPREME COUNCIL APPROVES UKRAINE’S MILITARY POLICY

KYIV — Ukrainian lawmakers on Wednesday, April 8, approved plans to create an independent military, and President Leonid Kravchuk appointed a commander of the disputed Black Sea Fleet.

Kravchuk also sought to reassure the West by underscoring Ukraine’s commitment to keep nuclear weapons under commonwealth control. Lawmakers planned on Thursday 9 to discuss a resolution reaffirming Ukraine’s wish to be a non-nuclear state. Ukraine’s Supreme Council voted 323-6 for the resolution backing Kravchuk’s independent military policy. Kravchuk appointed Admiral Borys Kozhyn as commander of the Ukrainian navy. Kozhyn had been the commander of the commonwealth’s Donuzlav naval base.

In response, the commander of the commonwealth Black Sea Fleet, Admiral Igor Kasatonov, fired Kozhyn for “neglect of his official duties and abuse of authority”, the ITAR-Tass news agency reported.

Kozhyn told reporters the new Ukrainian fleet would concentrate on coastal defence activities and other defensive tasks.

Kravchuk also addressed the Crimean Peninsula. “In 1954 Ukraine was given a broken doll”, Kravchuk said. “We fixed it, and now they want it back”. Kravchuk appealed to residents of the peninsula to remain in the Ukrainian fold. “Ukraine is willing to give the Crimea as much autonomy and as many rights and freedoms as it wants”, he said.

D.C. WELCOMES UKRAINE’S DEFENCE MINISTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UNIS) — The metropolitan-area Ukrainian American community held a banquet at the Fort Myer Officer’s Club in honour of the Ukrainian Defence Minister Kostiantyn Morozov, his wife, Raisa, and the official

Ukrainian delegation, on the eve of his official welcome at the Pentagon amid pomp and ceremony and full state and military honours.

Ihor Gwadiuk, master of ceremonies, introduced the evening's guests: the Rev. Taras Lonchyna, who opened the event with a prayer of thanks, Nadia McConnell, president of the US-Ukraine Foundation and Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Commission on Foreign Relations of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, who welcomed the honoured guests with a toast.

After the dinner, Robert McConnell, chairman, government relations of Ukraine 2000, acknowledged the special guests in the audience.

The honouree of the evening, Col.-Gen. Morozov, was introduced by Maj.-Gen. Nicholas Krawciw, who briefed the audience on all of Morozov's accomplishments, which included: completion of the Kharkiv Advanced Aviation School for Pilots, the Gagarin Air Force Academy, and the Voroshilov General Staff Academy of the Soviet Armed Forces, rising through the ranks from pilot to commander of the Air Force. In September 1991, the Ukrainian parliament confirmed the appointment of Morozov as Ukraine's first Minister of Defence.

When Morozov took the oath of allegiance on October 22, 1991, the newly-independent Ukrainian state formally established its own national military. The responsibilities that lie before Morozov are both military and political: reshaping the army, reduction of troops and the building of independent spirit and professionalism within the ranks of the armed forces. As Krawciw stated, Morozov is the "Washington of the Ukrainian Army".

Addressing the gathering, Morozov began by saying that hundreds of thousands of servicemen have given their oath of allegiance to serve Ukraine and now stand ready, arms in hand. He congratulated the Ukrainian American community for fostering its heritage outside their homeland and thanked the United States for allowing the community to have such freedom.

Morozov said Ukraine "in reality will become a stable state". Not only did Ukrainians vote overwhelmingly for freedom, but Russians living in Ukraine and servicemen serving on Ukrainian territory voted for an independent Ukraine. Morozov emphasised Ukraine's importance saying "Ukraine can become one of the major powers of Eastern Europe".

Underlying Ukraine's position on several military matters, Morozov stated, "Ukraine has its own autonomous army, which is not dependent on another state and is not subordinate to the Commonwealth of Independent States".

Ukraine has its own Defence Ministry and it is in full compliance with international accords, especially nuclear-arms agreements, he added. The Ukrainian armed forces are divided into three groups: the Army, which defends the territory of Ukraine, the Air Force, which defends Ukrainian airspace, and the Navy, of which the Black Sea Fleet forms a significant portion.

A commander-in-chief has been named and his staff has been put together. Ukraine is aware of the problems regarding the Black Sea Fleet, he said. Understanding that the problem is connected with the general issue of the Crimea, Morozov guaranteed the audience that "Ukraine is doing all it can to avoid problems with the division of the fleet". He explained that the creation of the Ukrainian Naval Forces is based solely on the fleets which are stationed in Ukrainian ports.

Morozov emphasised that Ukraine does not lay claim to the entire fleet, but noted, "we will not give up that which is ours".

Morozov outlined Ukraine's military defence doctrine, saying that Ukraine does not see any potential enemies, Ukraine does not recognise the use of force to resolve issues, and Ukraine does not have any territorial claims against other countries. In addition, the training of military personnel is based on Ukraine's historical defence tactics, he said pointing out Dmytro "Bayda" Vyshnevetskyi, the Sich Riflemen and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

With regard to the nuclear weapons issue, Morozov explained that Ukraine has taken a definitive stand, which has resulted in respect within the international community. He explained, "For 50 years, nuclear arms have been pointed at the West and the United States, and now Ukraine is insisting on its right to control these arms on the territory of Ukraine for the purpose of their non-use, and the future destruction of these weapons". He said that this will be the "stabilising factor of nuclear disarmament".

Assuring the audience that Ukraine will reduce the number of troops stationed on its territory, Morozov explained that Ukraine is working on a programme to integrate the servicemen into civilian society. The number of troops necessary will be determined by the amount needed to secure Ukraine's territory and national interests. Ukraine seeks to incorporate into its national army any Ukrainian soldier serving outside Ukrainian borders. It encourages soldiers from the other countries of the former Soviet Union to serve in their own national army.

In regard to relations, Morozov stated, "Our neighbours understand and support us because they realise that Ukraine is a stabilising factor in Europe". He informed the audience that Ukraine has already signed agreements with Hungary, and is drafting similar treaties with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, France and Germany. Morozov emphasised that he hopes that this visit would facilitate inter-ministerial ties between United States and Ukraine.

Morozov further said, "The first time the voice of Ukraine was heard was when I was with Secretary Cheney in Brussels. Tomorrow I will propose strategies in which the United States will be able to assist Ukraine. We face many problems ahead, but the newborn Ukraine will rise from the ruins because Ukraine was, is and will always be. Glory to Ukraine! Glory to its heroes".

After his speech, toasts were raised by Col. Ihor Masnyk (ret.) of the Ukrainian American Veterans and Serhiy Kulyk, charge d'affairs of the Embassy of Ukraine. The Rev. Hryhoriy Podhurec, pastor of St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, delivered the benediction.

TACTICAL WEAPONS TO BE SHIPPED WHEN MONITORING SYSTEM WILL BE IN PLACE — MOROZOV

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Col.-Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov, Defence Minister of Ukraine, said during his second day here that the impasse over moving nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia will be resolved when a system is created to monitor the dismantlement and destruction of those weapons.

“The halt of the removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine was temporary, and right now we are discussing how to proceed with the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine”, Morozov said after a nearly three-hour meeting at the Pentagon on April 13.

“We hope it will be resolved soon”, Morozov said, but he did not offer a time when the weapons transfers might be renewed. Speaking to reporters through a translator, Morozov called his session with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and other Pentagon officials “very important”.

There was no immediate comment from the Pentagon about the session. Morozov said Ukraine has stressed that the weapons “should not be simply transferred from one state to another”, and that an international system for monitoring the weapons’ destruction should be created. The Defence Minister also insisted that Ukraine will act responsibly in regards to the nuclear weapons, and will “fulfil all our obligations concerning this question”.

When asked about nuclear weapons aboard the vessels of the disputed Black Sea Fleet, Morozov said the fleet’s tactical nuclear weapons should be destroyed along with other such weapons. Russia and Ukraine have suspended unilateral claims to the naval force to avert a clash over the fleet.

“The Black Sea should be free of nuclear weapons”, he said.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler announced that a high-level team from State and Defense departments will travel to Ukraine “to discuss the full range of political, economic and security issues” and prepare for Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk’s May 6 visit to Washington. The team is composed of Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Dennis Ross, the State Department’s policy planning staff director, and Ed Hewett, director of the National Security Council’s Russia and Eurasia desk.

KRAVCHUK: CRIMEAN SECESSION MAY LEAD TO BLOODSHED

KYIV — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, in another appeal to the people of Crimea, warned on Monday, April 20, that a proposed referendum on Crimean independence could lead to tragedy and bloodshed.

“A referendum is the tragic path towards a schism in the Crimea. And what that schism would bring, what misfortunes it would cause for the people of the peninsula and others besides, no-one may dare to predict”, Kravchuk said. “I should like to utter a serious warning: if the political process continues to develop in that direction, then there can be no guarantee that events in the Crimea will not lurch out of control and that human blood will not be spilled...”.

The Republican Movement of the Crimea has gathered a petition with more than 246,000 signatures in an attempt to force a referendum on breaking away from Ukraine. Kravchuk’s remarks, in an appeal to the Crimean people published by Ukrinform news agency, constituted his most forthright warning yet against secession.

Kravchuk denounced what he called Russian chauvinism and, in a swipe against hardliners in Moscow, warned Crimeans that “interference from outside” had already led to savage ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and Moldova.

“I ask you to understand that Russian chauvinism is no better than Ukrainian nationalism. And it is now already clear that the nationalist card is crudely being played in the struggle for power”. Kravchuk said he would never negotiate with those who sought the breakup of the country, adding that this was contrary to international law.

“Any claims against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine will be seen by the parliament, president and government of Ukraine and by the whole civilised world as a crude violation of the status quo in Europe and of international norms and agreements”.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev admonished conservatives in the Russian parliament for aggravating the situation, saying this could disrupt international arms agreements. But he said Russia would take a hard line on the Crimea and other issues if Ukraine tried to leave the CIS.

In a more conciliatory passage, Kravchuk quoted Russian President Boris Yeltsin as saying last year that the Crimea was a Ukrainian problem and noted that the two countries were parties to a 1990 treaty on friendship and cooperation. But he also told Crimeans that separation from Ukraine would spell economic disaster and damage their living standards. Ukraine favours development of a free economic zone in the Crimea and had allocated more than four billion roubles (\$40 million) this year to address problems of energy and water supply, ethnic relations and social security of the poor and pensioners, Kravchuk said.

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THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF UKRAINE ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE CONFLICT WITH CRIMEA

Statement-Appeal of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine to the people and Supreme Council of the Crimea

Presently certain political forces are demanding a change in the autonomous status of the Crimea, which constitutes an attempt to review the borders of Ukraine.

During a session of the Supreme Council of the Crimean ASSR, at the outset of a review of the draft Constitution, individual parliamentary groups proposed to omit a clause stating that the Crimea is part of Ukraine.

Taking into consideration the social tension which surrounds this issue, various political views of individual popular groups can push such demands towards a disturbance of social and national peace not only in the Crimea, but also throughout the whole of Ukraine. Moreover, this openly ignores and is an attempt to review the results of the December 1, 1991, referendum.

As regards legal aspects, such demands are a violation of the Constitution of Ukraine, particularly those articles which consolidate the status of the Crimean republic as an autonomous part of Ukraine (art. 75-1) and establish the supremacy of Ukrainian laws on all its territory (art. 71). The Supreme Council of the Crimea, like all government organs of Ukraine, should act in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and to prevent its violation (art. 4).

It should also be noted that people's deputies of Ukraine voted almost unanimously in favour of the Declaration on state sovereignty and the Act on the state independence of Ukraine, which are guaranteed by the principles of the indivisibility of the territory of the republic and the inviolability of its borders.

Those politicians who propagate the Crimea's secession from Ukraine are taking on a great responsibility before the much-suffering people of the Crimea, who may again be faced with the threat of a national and social upheaval.

Feeling responsible for the fate of the people of Ukraine and exercising its constitutional right (arts. 72 and 106 of the Fundamental Law of Ukraine), the Presidium of the Supreme Council appeals to the people of the Crimea, its deputies in the Supreme Council of the autonomous republic, to give much careful thought to drawing up the Constitution of the Crimea, and to show consideration for the social peace and harmony of the people of Ukraine.

We believe that the politicians and people of the Crimea will adopt this particular course.

Kyiv, February 28, 1992

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SERVICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
CONCERNING THE REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM UKRAINE**

The following statement was issued by the Press Service of the President of Ukraine on March 14, 1992.

Appearing at a press conference in Kyiv on March 12, 1992, President of Ukraine Leonid M. Kravchuk, while reasserting Ukraine's unchanged position regarding the removal of nuclear weapons from its territory for destruction, expressed doubt whether the tactical nuclear weapons that are being shipped out are actually being destroyed and concern that this process is being carried out without control. President Kravchuk announced a temporary suspension of their removal.

The concern was brought about by the fact that, contrary to the Alma-Ata and Minsk agreements, the process of dismantling and destroying these weapons is not being conducted under the joint control of the states of the CIS, and Ukraine has no information whatsoever about the fate of these weapons after their shipment from the territory of Ukraine.

Ukraine is convinced that its responsibility for the fate of the obviously large nuclear arsenal on its territory does not allow it to disassociate itself from participating in the destruction of these weapons.

For this reason, President Kravchuk directed the attention of the participants of the press conference to the possibility of establishing on the territory of Ukraine a centre for destroying nuclear weapons. This establishment would not only improve appropriate technical capabilities of the countries of the CIS, but would also allow for the conversion of waste from the atomic power plants of Ukraine, which is becoming more critical due to the problems that have recently surfaced in connection with resolving this question.

The President of Ukraine also underscored the necessity of establishing international control over the process of the removal and destruction of nuclear weapons.

Consequently, the press service of the President is authorised to state that Ukraine is not abandoning its principled approach regarding the removal of nuclear weapons from its territory for the purpose of dismantling and destruction according to the previously announced timetable: tactical nuclear weapons — by July 1, 1992, strategic nuclear weapons — by the end of April 1994, and wants to guarantee the implementation of the agreements to the fullest degree. Concern over this matter precipitated the statement by the President of Ukraine.

In accordance with the Alma-Ata agreement, the Government of Ukraine has undertaken practical steps with the aim of submitting the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons to the Parliament. For this reason,

with the participation of Ukrainian experts, drafts of an agreement on the principles and procedure to implement the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons were prepared for the next meeting of the heads of states of the CIS in Kyiv on March 20, 1992.

One of the primary foreign-policy tasks for Ukraine is to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state.

Ukrainian experts are ready to join international efforts in the area of the non-proliferation of nuclear technology, specifically, by participating in the work of the recently-established international scientific-technical centre. At the same time, Ukraine is prepared to discuss the question of building on its territory an establishment to destroy nuclear weapons should problems arise in destroying them with the assistance of other states. Thus, Ukraine will play the role of a stabilising factor for nuclear security in Europe.

Ukraine proposes to the governments of Russia and the other states of the CIS to immediately begin negotiations with the aim of devising a mechanism for joint control over dismantling tactical nuclear weapons in central facilities, as is stipulated by the Alma-Ata and Minsk agreements, and concluding an agreement on the procedure and time for transferring nuclear warheads to the central dismantling facilities of the Russian Federation.

Ukraine has embarked on a course to assume, as soon as possible, the status of a state, which not only does not possess, but also does not store on its territory nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction, and is committed to follow this course to the end.

DECREE OF UKRAINE'S PRESIDENT ON MEASURES CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF UKRAINE'S STATE BORDER WITH MOLDOVA

The following statement was issued by the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, on March 17, 1992.

Regarding the aggravation of the situation in the areas of Ukraine bordering with the Republic of Moldova, which is threatening the life and welfare of citizens of Ukraine, the normal functioning of the national economic structures on the territories adjacent to the state frontier of Ukraine, I decree that:

1. The State Committee on Ukraine's State Frontier Security, jointly with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National Guard, the Security Service, the State Customs Committee shall organise the guarding of the state frontier with the Republic of Moldova with the goal of ensuring the security and inviolability of the

territory of Ukraine, security of her citizens, maintenance of public order in areas bordering with the Republic of Moldova, non-admission of armed groups and other transgressors of the state and customs frontier.

A special regime zone shall be temporarily established within 50 kilometres of the state frontier with the Republic of Moldova.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall issue, within two days, Regulations on the special regime zone adjacent to the state frontier with the Republic of Moldova.

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Executive Committees of the Vinnytsia, Odessa and Chernivtsi Regional People's Deputies Councils shall render all necessary assistance to refugees from the Republic of Moldova.

3. Group travels by citizens of Ukraine and other states to the Republic of Moldova through the territory of Ukraine as well as use of transport vehicles for this purpose shall be temporarily suspended.

4. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the State Committee on Ukraine's State Frontier Security shall submit, within a week, to the President of Ukraine the proposals concerning the regime of the state frontier between Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.

5. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine shall inform, in due course, the corresponding bodies of the Republic of Moldova and the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the world public of the measures being undertaken by Ukraine in order to protect the state frontier, to ensure her territorial integrity, the rights and liberties of the citizens of Ukraine.

6. This Decree shall enter into force from the day of its signing.

PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON URGENT MEASURES CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES

KYIV — On April 6 President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine issued a decree on urgent measures concerning the formation of the Ukrainian armed forces. The text of the document follows below:

In connection with the interference of leaders of the Russian Federation and senior commanders of the armed forces of the CIS in the internal affairs of Ukraine and the ensuing worsening of the socio-political situation within the armed forces, stationed on the territory of Ukraine, and not incorporated in the armed forces of Ukraine, as well as the lack of effective control over the armed forces, I decree:

— To subordinate to the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine all military formations, stationed on the territory of Ukraine, and not specified in the decree of the

President of Ukraine of December 12, 1991, "On the Armed Forces of Ukraine".

— To subordinate strategic nuclear forces, deployed on the territory of Ukraine, until such time they are completely dismantled, to the commander of the strategic forces of the CIS in order to maintain a single control over nuclear weapons, which is regulated by a special agreement.

— To form a Ukrainian navy on the basis of units of the Black Sea Fleet stationed on the territory of Ukraine.

— The Ministry of Defence of Ukraine is to begin forming the command structure of the Ukrainian naval forces, having established with the commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the CIS the number of ships and units of the Black Sea Fleet temporarily under the subordination of the commander of the CIS strategic forces.

— The Ministry of Defence of Ukraine is to establish direct administrative control over all strategic forces stationed on the territory of Ukraine, ensuring their constant state of readiness and compliance with military discipline.

TO THE SAILORS AND CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE BLACK SEA FLEET

(Following is the text of a statement issued on April 9 by President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk to the staff and servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet)

I was compelled to address my statement to the Black Sea sailors and the civilian employees of the Black Sea Fleet by the following circumstances:

Recently, there have been attempts of gross interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of Ukraine by certain top military leaders and the mass media of the former Union.

The laws on the creation of the Armed Forces, adopted in the Republic, are being subjected to revision.

The accords on military issues, signed by the heads of the states of the CIS, are being misinterpreted.

Orders are sent, primarily to the units and forces of the Fleet, which incite political and social discontent among servicemen and stir up national discord in the military detachments.

We cannot ignore all of this, for such actions distort the essence of our policy, instigate among servicemen malevolent attitudes towards the sovereign state, on the territory of which they are stationed and almost all of the Black Sea Fleet is based.

I deem it necessary to reiterate some principal points of our policies, including our military policy.

Having proclaimed its independence, Ukraine, from January 3 of this year, set

about forming its own Armed Forces. It is proceeding with this task exclusively on a legal basis, strictly abiding by its international obligations and the agreements concluded between the member-states of the CIS.

Our military policy is aimed at achieving a non-nuclear, nonaligned status which is favourably regarded throughout the world. In this regard, we shall act consistently, under strict control, abiding by agreements and accords.

Ukraine, as a newly-independent state, is actively participating in negotiations both within the CIS and with other states of the international community, firmly upholding the interests of its people and adhering to universally-accepted principles.

We do not lay any territorial claims against any state and do not consider any people as an enemy. Ukraine is ready for fair and equal cooperation with all countries but at the same time it does not accept any dictate, regardless of the source.

It is strange, to say the least, that these elementary facts are not understood by the military-command structures of the former USSR, including the commanders of the Navy, who are constantly trying to impose their attitude and their view of the problem, in disregard of the policy of the Ukrainian state.

At the same time, the real situation is misinterpreted, disinformation and direct intimidation are used against those servicemen who have taken the oath of allegiance to Ukraine, chauvinistic psychosis, under the banner of a struggle against nationalism, is inflamed.

Such actions are incompatible with legal norms. They are sheer disrespect for our policies, our statehood, the right of our people to be independent masters of what is situated on our land.

Such impudent solicitations should not be left without a proper response. They challenge us to undertake drastic measures to protect the interests of our people, as well as those of the troops stationed on the territory of Ukraine, including the Black Sea Fleet.

We are concerned with the fate of the Fleet and its personnel not less, but unequivocally far more than the gentlemen from the Navy command. We cannot give the admirals a free hand in resolving this problem, for the problem is not a military but a state and political one, and it can have far-reaching consequences for world peace. We feel ever-growing concern about attempts of the military structures to place themselves above independent states, to solve the most complex political issues by way of dictate.

I believe that the Black Sea sailors will recognise these stratagems and intrigues, will not yield to pressure, and will consider whether admirals can comprehend the interests of sailors better than sailors themselves.

Sailors and soldiers, sergeants and sergeant-majors, non-commissioned and petty officers, officers, civilian employees of the Fleet! Families of the Black Sea

sailors! The Ukrainian state will protect you, and will strive for a complete and unconditional implementation of accords within the CIS.

Ukraine will have a Navy as a part of its Armed Forces. Ukraine will have a Navy, not the size the admirals will allot, but the size sufficient for an efficient and effective defence of the maritime borders of the sovereign state.

I ask you to support our stance, to come out in favour of justice.

While forming Ukraine's Navy we shall strictly abide by the agreements signed by the heads of state in Minsk and Kyiv. We see our Navy as non-nuclear but sufficiently powerful to maintain stability in this important region.

We shall strictly observe the Law on social and legal protection of the military, who serve on the territory of Ukraine, and their families, adopted in Ukraine, as well as the Agreement between the member states of the CIS on social and legal guarantees for military servicemen, retired and reserve personnel, and their families.

We guarantee all of them proper and normal working and living conditions during their service term. Today, we are already financing and will continue to finance from our budget the maintenance of all troops and forces stationed on the territory of Ukraine. We undertake to implement the necessary measures to improve the financial situation of the military, including sailors.

I appeal to the Black Sea military, to all who have linked their lives with the Black Sea Fleet and Ukraine, to show, during this difficult period, their self-control, understanding and wisdom in building our sovereign state, its Armed Forces, a better life for the people of Ukraine, your own future in the hospitable land of Ukraine.

*President of Ukraine
Leonid Kravchuk*

STATEMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON CRIMEA AND THE BLACK SEA FLEET

On April 9, 1992, Anatoliy Zlenko, Foreign Minister of Ukraine, sent the following letter to Secretary-General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali, concerning the developments surrounding Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet.

Circumstances which have arisen out of the situation surrounding Crimea and the Black Sea compels me to send you this letter.

Recently, certain high-ranking officials of Russia and the mass media have made attempts to rudely interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine. The legislative acts of Ukraine on its armed forces, signed by the heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, are being ignored. The appeals that provoke political and social discontent and inflame national hatred are being spread among the personnel of the Fleet.

We cannot leave these actions without attention because they instigate among the servicemen malevolent feelings towards the sovereign state on the territory of which they are deployed and where almost all of the Black Sea Fleet forces are based. The

situation around Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet has become more aggravated, and dangerous developments emerged after certain leaders of the Russian Federation had resorted to actions which might be regarded as irresponsible and illegitimate.

During his trip to Sevastopol on April 2 of this year, Mr. A. Rutskoi, vice-president of the Russian Federation, called for the separation of the Republic of Crimea from Ukraine. Such actions contradict international law and can be regarded only as deliberate attempts to undermine the territorial integrity of a sovereign member-state of the United Nations and the CSCE, as the bread of the international commitments pledged by the Russian Federation under the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Agreement in the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Treaty between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR of November 19, 1990, as well as other Ukrainian-Russian accords.

On April 7, President of Russia Mr. B. Yeltsin issued the Decrees on the transfer of the Black Sea Fleet under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation, while this Fleet is registered at the bases located in Ukraine and is under the jurisdiction of Ukraine. An attempt was undertaken to extend the application of the Decrees to the territory of another state — Ukraine. This contradicts the universally recognised norms of international law, since normative acts of one state have no extraterritorial effect and cannot be extended to the territory of another state.

The issue of this decree is a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Ukraine, an interference in its internal affairs, and provokes a serious conflict situation.

In trying to lay groundless claims to Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet, some politicians create the image of an enemy for Ukraine, and thus sow distrust and heighten tension in relations between the two fraternal nations.

Concerned with the safeguarding of its national security, Ukraine strives to solve all of the problems in the spirit of the principles of international law. Any other approach would contradict the national interests of Ukraine and Russia, as well as friendly relations between the peoples and the two countries.

At present, when Europe and the world at large are freeing themselves from the burdensome inheritance of the past, the obvious disregard by any state of the principles of the UN Charter creates a new dangerous system of international security, being established nowadays through persistent efforts of the world community.

Informing you, Mr. Secretary-General, about our position, we anticipate your understanding and cooperation.

(On April 8, a similar note was sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. The note emphasised the need to solve all controversial issues in the spirit of mutual understanding and requested Russia's Foreign Ministry to convey to the leadership of the Russian Federation the Ukrainian people's concern about the above-mentioned actions).

Reports

UN STUDY SHOWS SHORTCOMINGS IN UKRAINE; URGES INTERNATIONAL HELP AT CRITICAL TIME

By Ihor Dlaboha

A United Nations study that analysed shortcomings and problems in the economic and health programmes of Ukraine has urged international financial support to assist the country in averting a crisis at best or a social upheaval at worst.

“Ukraine is poised on the verge of a crisis. It is, above all, a crisis of time; time before existing stocks and material resources run out, time to adjust new systems that anticipate and respond to new needs, time to structure trade and financial agreements, time to exploit its vast agricultural and industrial potential before that potential decays”, said the recently-written report. “International assistance is needed to pull the country back from the edge, to give Ukraine some time”.

The UN study said Ukraine initially needs \$36 million. “Of this amount, some \$21 million is recommended for urgent and immediate support. These recommendations include medical assistance, support for nutrition, family planning, environmental concerns and health information”, the study observed, adding that \$6 million, alone, are needed for a health-support fund for areas that have not been identified but are expected to arise due to the “rapidly changing situation”.

The study, titled “Ukraine: Crisis and Transition: Meeting Human Needs”, was prepared by a UNICEF/WHO collaborative mission with the participation of UNDP, UNFPA and WFP after a February 25-28 visit to Ukraine. The group met with officials from the Ukrainian ministries of Health, Economics and Finance, Foreign Affairs, and medical institutions.

The UN team examined current economic and welfare programmes of Ukraine and health-assistance policies, looking at their funding and applications. Chornobyl, it said, continues to tax Ukraine. The upshot was that the international aid is needed to help Ukraine strengthen its existing plans.

“An effective and humane transition cannot succeed unless sound policies are backed by international support. This will require a several-fold increase from current levels of resource flows, as part of an overall transition package”, the study recommended. “These resources must also be better adapted to national needs, in part through greater flexibility by donors, both in the kinds of support they provide and in the modalities of disbursement. Coordination of external assistance, especially coordination by the government, will be vital”.

Due to the previous regime's centralised planning system, the collapse of the Soviet Russian empire, the study said, threatened production capabilities, supplies of essential goods and health across the board. For example, it was stated that pharmaceuticals and vaccines previously ordered from Moscow cannot be ordered because of a lack of hard currency, the absence of an adequate intra-CIS trading arrangement or even Moscow's inability to buy raw materials it once acquired from other republics.

Living standards are further being eroded by declining industrial output, paralysis of trade and price increases which surpass incomes, the report indicated. The economic and physical hardships are "compounded by psychological stress due to the abruptness of change, the fragility of public support structures, household economic insecurity, an unclear vision of the future, and the demands of the participatory government", the United Nations said.

Massive inflation is unknown in Ukraine, however in the past two years it did rear its head in the country. In 1991, inflation in Ukraine stood at 85 per cent, skyrocketing to 250 per cent in the first two months of this year, the report said. In 1989 and 1990, inflation merely reached 2 and 4 per cent, respectively.

"Family incomes have fallen farther and farther behind. In addition, the impact has been uneven and unpredictable. Neither economic nor social logic has determined who will fall the farthest behind", the study revealed. "The compression of real wages has also met a growing dependence on government support, particularly pensions and family payments. These sources many now account for some 20 percent of non-farm family income".

In order to avoid absolute poverty, the United Nations warned that large parts of the Ukrainian population will continue to depend upon social support mechanisms. If they fail, the study continued, "widespread human suffering and social upheaval could be the result".

According to the report, "Ukraine stands on the threshold of major decisions regarding its future". Production has declined by some 11 per cent in the so-called CIS and non-CIS trade by some 43 per cent. Ukraine's commerce was highly dependent on trade with the other former captive nations, the study pointed out, but today it is rapidly falling because of an unsatisfactory payment mechanism.

Even based on sketchy statistics, the study concluded that Ukrainians' purchasing power is declining. For example, from November 1991 to February 5, 1992, the following price increases in percentages were recorded for these foodstuffs: beef, 770; pork, 890; bread, 480; pasta, 500, butter, 380; oil, 310; cabbage, 370, and milk, 300. The study said there is no relief in sight.

The study indicated that in December 1991 food accounted for 30-35 per cent of the family budget, while this year the figure edged up to 50 per cent. Family incomes, which are sporadic and uneven by sectors, have not kept pace with the increases. In 1989, the average income was 167 roubles, the next year it rose to 172 roubles and in the third quarter of 1991 the figure jumped to 332 roubles.

Among the essential recommendations of the UN mission is the maintenance of social expenditures. Social safety nets must be instituted or strengthened, it said.

“Key areas of social support such as pensions and family grants must be maintained and therefore need an effective mechanism for indexing”, the mission continued. “An effective consumer basket will need to be developed, implying the determination of a methodology to do so. Certain philosophical questions will have to be confronted as well, such as the relative weights of items in an appropriate standard of living, and the appropriate level of poverty below which Ukrainians should not be expected to live. The new methodology should be transparent, automatic and socially defensible”.

Women will face a disproportionate burden in this transition, the study found. “Squeezed family budgets, lengthier lines for scarce essentials, sharply reduced day-care at the workplace, even increased unemployment will particularly hit women. Their concerns must be adequately reflected when priorities are established”.

The study insisted that “an effective and humane transition cannot succeed unless sound policies are backed by adequate international support. This will require a several-fold increase from current levels of international resources. These resources must also be made more flexible to ensure their adaptation to national needs”.

Health, health care, funding and health information are also inadequate, the mission found. Calling that sector “grim”, the study said it shows “signs of imminent emergency alongside chronic degradation and decay”.

The UN mission determined that the economic and health-related problems, coupled with an uninformed population, have led to an increase in infant deaths. Maternal mortality is “relatively high”, the study said, at 30 per 100,000 live births. The birth rate is also steadily declining from 15 per 1,000 in 1985 to 12.2 per 1,000 in 1991, and infant mortality has risen from 12.3 per 1,000 to 13.3 in 1991.

The report discovered that for 1.6 million pregnancies, 700,000 are terminated in abortions. It said there are 82 abortions per 1,000 Ukrainian women, “an exceptionally high level”, and seven out of 100 abortions take place outside the hospital.

“Abortion remains the main method of controlling births. The number of abortions registered annually exceeds 1 million”, the study reported. “The effect of frequent abortions on women’s health is particularly serious in areas affected by Chernobyl, where women’s general state of health tends to be depressed and there is a high level of anemia”.

Citing a recent survey of sexually-active women in Kyiv, the study said that among those aged 19 and under, 10 per cent have had abortions, in the 25-29 age group, some 50 per cent have had abortions, and among women over 35, 60 per cent have had abortions.

Family planning services are available in theory, but not practice, the study said, and sex education for the general public is virtually non-existent and modern contraceptives are in short supply.

All of this places great demands on women which has led to prenatal mortality. "Over 92 percent of all women work, most of these in agricultural and industrial occupations, some 1.5 million women are employed in activities that require heavy labour or expose them to polluted environments", the report showed.

Consequently, as women age and no longer have the strength to maintain this work pace, younger women enter the work force thereby perpetuating the cycle. "The government is now considering legislation prohibiting the employment of pregnant women for hard physical labour or in chemically hazardous working conditions", the mission said.

Maternal care and breast feeding are not properly monitored because of misconceptions and a lack of recognition of its importance in infant nutrition. The study cited insufficient milk, poor nutritional and health status of women and social factors as reasons for not breast feeding.

Infant and child nutrition have aroused public concern. Assistance is available, but "economic reform, however, is already casting a long shadow on budgetary provisions for such social benefits and it is unclear whether levels of assistance will be maintained", the report pointed out.

The lack of vaccines, immunisation programmes and medical equipment such as syringes compounds the problem.

The government's outlays for health have been minimal until this year. In 1986 the expenditures were 2.9 billion roubles and have been relatively consistent until 1991 when they rose to 9.5 billion roubles. This year the government has proposed 98 billion rubles for health care, and roughly the same amount for dealing with the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe, which continues to pose a major logistical, financial and psychological burden on the people and government.

Some 180 tons of nuclear fuel are still buried under Unit 4, which is covered by a porous, decaying sarcophagus. Radioactive material and equipment used to remove it have been deposited at more than 800 locations, which need to be controlled and monitored.

"Specialized health care must be provided to the affected population, which is facing considered cancer and genetic risks", the report warned.

Eleven out of 25 oblasts were contaminated by the explosion and the Dnipro (Dnieper) continues to be recontaminated because it receives water from small rivers from the most contaminated areas of Ukraine and Belarus. Radionuclide levels in food is still high.

Children have not been isolated from any of these problems, the study said, and Chernobyl has only aggravated the situation. In the first days after the explosion, 14,000 children were exposed to very high doses of radioactive iodine, over 200 rems. The ruinous effect could have been alleviated if the regime were truthful about what happened and provided iodine to the affected regions.

A 1991 study by the Institute of Nutrition on children in contaminated and non-

contaminated areas found that in both areas 60-75 per cent of children under three years of age had health problems. In older groups, nearly all children in the contaminated areas have had health problems.

“A large portion of young children in Ukraine suffer from various health problems that have probably gone undiagnosed until now, but which are being detected in connection with the Chernobyl disaster. This could well point to a weak health care system and harsh living conditions”, the study found.

“Children living in contaminated areas feel sick and believe (rightly or wrongly) that their health has suffered irremediable damage. This is a great psychological burden for a youngster to carry”.

The mission suggested that greater openness is needed in making appropriate information available to the public and additional research could prove the situation to be less alarming than previously thought.

“The international community could play a valuable role in taking some of the initiative and responsibility for conducting such activities. In so far as possible, the benefits of international expertise in environmental health should be exploited, either through the provision of technical experts, or study visits by Ukrainian authorities to countries (eg. Scandinavian) successful in implementing such work”, it said.

As for HIV infection and AIDS, the study said Ukraine has conducted intensive screening of the population since 1987. Only 257 HIV-positive cases have been reported, of which 83 are Ukrainian citizens and 174 foreigners. Eight cases of AIDS, resulting in six deaths, have occurred. However, Ukrainian officials fear that there could be more than 500 HIV-positive individuals in Ukraine today. The study said a majority of those infected live in Kyiv or seaport areas. The primary means — 53-56 per cent — of transmitting the infection was sexual contact.

In a related matter, the mission said Ukraine is the only one of the CIS countries that annulled the penal code article prohibiting homosexuality.

While the population has reasonable access to information, printed and broadcast, more information is needed to maintain a healthy society, the study said, as well as local manufacturing of healthcare-related products.

“The sudden disruption of economic links among the former USSR republics has obliged Ukraine to focus attention on local production of vaccines, essential drugs and medical equipment, to the extent that it can be economically justified”, the study recommended. “During the transitional period, there will be an urgent need for vaccines, essential drugs, renewable supplies and medical equipment, which the foreign exchange provisions cannot cover. Some of the shortfall will affect critical essential drugs, vaccines and supplies that are of the highest priority”.

The government of Ukraine must be supported in analysing a rapidly changing situation and quickly identifying priorities, the UN report said. “Enhancing the government’s capacity to rapidly assess the situation and respond quickly with programmatic interventions should receive a high priority. Supporting the capacity to collect, analyze and, in particular, to present data will be important for both the government’s own operations and for its efforts to mobilize and coordinate international assistance”.

Jacyk Centre Receives NEH Grant for Translation of Hrushevskyi's "History of Ukraine-Rus"

Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's "History of Ukraine-Rus" constitutes the most important history of Ukraine written in modern times. As a scholarly accomplishment, it remains unsurpassed in amassing sources and examining scholarly literature for Ukrainian history from ancient times to the mid-17th century. In intellectual history, the "History of Ukraine-Rus" stands out as the major historical statement of the modern Ukrainian national revival. The importance of the work is confirmed by the priority to its republication in Ukraine since 1988. After securing the rehabilitation of Hrushevskyi in 1988-89, Ukrainian historians and cultural leaders began a campaign to overcome the bureaucratic and financial problems involved in issuing the "History of Ukraine-Rus". The first volume, in an edition of 100,000 copies, appeared in 1991 as the joint publication of the Archaeographic Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University, and the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the University of Alberta.

The English translation of "History of Ukraine-Rus" will be the first rendition in a Western language, except for the German translation of volume one. The history is of essential importance for scholars and laymen interested in East European, Russian, Balkan, and Middle Eastern (particularly Ottoman) history. Given the rather limited knowledge of Ukrainian, even among specialists, the English language translation will serve to integrate Hrushevskyi's work fully into the scholarly community. It will also serve a wider community, such as university students of East European and Russian history, who will find the volumes a basic source for numerous research themes. For those concerned with modern intellectual history and the development of historiography, Hrushevskyi's work may be approached as a classic statement of national history by one of Eastern Europe's great intellectuals.

Dr. Frank E. Sysyn, director of the Centre, has successfully applied for a \$60,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in the US to support the translation of volumes seven to nine, which bear the subtitle "A History of the Ukrainian Cossacks". (Out of approximately 150 grant applications, about 21 were chosen.) The grant proposal, drafted by Dr. Sysyn and Bohdan Hlid, assistant to the director, explains that for the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks Hrushevskyi remains the master in the quantity of sources used and subtlety of interpretation. The volumes are of particular

importance to those interested in Cossacks as a social phenomenon of the frontier. The volumes are also significant to specialists in Polish, Russian, and Ottoman history who wish to understand the role of the Cossack polity as a power in east European affairs. Students of Jewish history will turn to them for a depiction of the context of Jewish settlement of Ukraine and the massacres after 1648. Hrushevskiy's work will also provide important materials for students of state-building, revolts and "revolutions", and religious relations on the border of Christianity and Islam, as well as relations among the Christian Orthodox, Protestants and Catholics.

Marta Skorupska, who has completed the translation of volume one, will translate the volumes. Uliana Pasicznyk, editor of the Jacyk Centre, will edit the texts. The grant period is from 1992 to 1995. The first volumes of Hrushevskiy's "History of Ukraine-Rus'" will appear in 1993. Volumes seven to nine will be published in the late 1990s.

Classic Canadian Novel Reissued

A classic of Canadian literature, the novel "Yellow Boots" by Vera Lysenko, has been made available in a new edition by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press. The book has been co-published with a well-known literary publishing house, NeWest Press of Edmonton, and the new edition was prepared by Myrna Kostash. This edition also includes an introduction to Vera Lysenko's life and work by Alexandra Kryvoruchka, a doctoral candidate at the University of Alberta who is completing a dissertation on Lysenko.

Vera Lysenko (1910-75), born and raised in a Ukrainian immigrant family that settled in north-end Winnipeg, was one of the first Ukrainian-Canadian women to complete a university degree. She went on to work as a teacher, journalist, social historian, playwright, poet and translator. She is best known for her first book, "Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study of Assimilation" (1947), one of the first attempts at a comprehensive history of Ukrainians in Canada.

"Yellow Boots", originally published in 1954, tells the story of Lilli Landash, who overcomes a harsh upbringing in rural Manitoba to establish herself as a professional singer. Music and dance, as well as the many facets of peasant tradition, are the vehicles through which Lysenko explores the continuity of Ukrainian folk culture in the face of the "robot uniformity of industrialisation". Lysenko's strong-willed heroine, who must battle a tyrannical father in order to assert herself, is also one of the first feminist characters in Canadian fiction. In the words of Janice Kulyk Keefer, "Yellow Boots" is "at once an ethno-cultural documentary, a people's portrait-of-the-artist, and a feminist fable of identity... a landmark in the development of a truly open and representative Canadian literature".

"Yellow Boots" (ISBN 920862-73-X), 378 pages in length, is available in paperback for \$14.95 Canadian (plus \$1.05 GST).

Documentary Collection on Trade in Ukraine Published by Jacyk Centre and Archaeographic Commission

Last year the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies reached an agreement with the Archaeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to cooperate in research projects and publications. Plans include co-publication of primary sources, the classics of Ukrainian historiography, and a Ukrainian translation series of important works on Ukrainian history published in the West. The Archaeographic Commission proposed a volume of documents on trade in Ukraine as the first joint publication. The Commission invited Dr. Frank E. Sysyn, Director of the Centre, to join the editorial board and accommodated his suggestions for improving the collection. Printed by the Naukova Dumka publishing house in Kyiv, "Torhivlia na Ukraini XIV-sere-dyna XVII stolittia. Volyn i Naddniprianshchyna" (Trade in Ukraine from the Fourteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Centuries. Volhynia and the Dnipro lands) constitutes the first volume published by the recently established centre at the University of Alberta.

"Torhivlia na Ukraini" is the first collection of documents about commerce and trade in medieval and early modern Ukraine. As its compilers, Volodymyr Kravchenko and Nalaliia Iakovenko, point out, this is not because Ukrainian archaeographers have not undertaken such work in the past. The volumes prepared by Mykola Tyshchenko in the early 1930s were never published, and even the materials that he collected have not survived. Only since the revival of the Archaeographic Commission in 1987 has it become possible to return to this project. Regrettably, the tremendous loss of archives during World War II has greatly reduced the source base.

Of the 255 documents included in the volume, only 38 have been previously published. Most documents originate in the Volhynian territories between 1550 and 1650. This geographical and chronological focus reflects the limited survival of documents from earlier periods (56 in the volume) and from lands further east. The documents do, however, contain a wealth of information that sheds light on economic and social trends in earlier periods and other territories. Written predominantly in Ukrainian and found in the registry books of Lutske and Volodymyr (now preserved in the Kyiv State Historical Archive), the documents provide information on goods, weights and measures, trade routes, and merchants.

The court cases, contracts, and tariff records are far more than just dry information on commercial transactions. They constitute a full and often lively account of the activities and world-views of the inhabitants of old Ukraine. Each document contains an account of the daily life of the age. For example, the book dealer Mykhailo Sliozka makes a complaint against the archpriest of Volodymyr, who accused him of selling a book stolen from a church. The furriers of Lutske

charge that they have been set upon by Scottish merchants from Brody. There is an account of a Kozak attack on a Turkish caravan near Oster castle.

The primary importance of the volume consists in the evidence it brings to the study of major questions and social history. The sale of forest and agricultural products, the development of magnate domains, and the relationship of Ukraine with the Baltic and Black Sea zones are all highlighted in the volume. Many documents deal with the economic activities of the Jewish community in Ukraine.

"*Torhivlia na Ukraini*" contains translations of documents in German, Italian, Latin, Polish, and Russian into Ukrainian. It also contains subject and geographical indices and glossaries of difficult terms, as well as of weights and measures. There are numerous black-and-white period illustrations and a map of Volodymyr povit in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The volume, 406 pages in length, is priced at \$11.95 (Canadian).

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A quarterly journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

Autumn, 1992

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EDITORIAL

Democracy or Dictatorship?

One year after the historic proclamation of Ukraine's independence and already the country is straddling the fence between democracy and dictatorship.

The first anniversary celebrations in Kyiv were overshadowed by President Leonid Kravchuk's unnecessary and unwelcome tirades against local opponents and Ukrainians from the diaspora.

At the historic World Forum of Ukrainians, the first such conclave in the history of Ukraine, Kravchuk soured the moment when he displayed an obviously partisan attack against Vyacheslav Chornovil, considered by everyone to be his principal opponent. In his 40-minute address on the current state of affairs in Ukraine, Kravchuk minced no words when he expressed his contempt for the loyal opposition in Ukraine. Focusing his bombardment on Chornovil, Kravchuk said, "Mr. Chornovil is an extraordinary person but not the last Ukrainian. I value him, his fight, his talents. But today he is only harming Ukraine. And that's the truth".

It was completely uncalled for to use the Forum, which was to have been the focal point of the independence anniversary celebration by Ukrainians from around the world, as a platform from which to beat the opposition. It was demeaning for the participants, Ukraine, and the President. The attendees were visibly disturbed by Kravchuk's pronouncements and replied with jeers and boos of "shame" and stamping of their feet.

Unfortunately, the worse was yet to come.

Kravchuk was publicly agitated by all of the criticism he and Vitold Fokin's government were enduring, and the straw that broke the camel's back occurred at a rally on the day of the anniversary. Speakers from Ukraine and the diaspora, among them OUN leader Slava Stetsko, with the support of the 8,000 people present, called for government and constitutional reforms and the resignation of Fokin and his ministers. Kravchuk reportedly stormed out of the rally and the following day issued instructions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to expel from Ukraine any foreigner, Ukrainian or otherwise, who publicly criticises the government or, as he said, undermines the legal authority of Ukraine.

In further explanations, Kravchuk said that this kind of behaviour on the part of the Ukrainian diaspora, no matter how much they love Ukraine, is tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine, which has the right to protect its interests. He also said, "We were taught and dictated to in former times by Moscow. Now our brothers abroad are trying to do it".

Hard to believe. The synthesis of this is: beloved diaspora, give us your money and brains, but not your constructive advice. Keep that overseas. Since its independence, Ukraine has been subjected to more threatening statements by Russian chauvinists the likes of Rutskoï and Zhirinovskiy, but they haven't been threatened with expulsion. Only Ukrainians in the diaspora, who contributed in no small measure to Ukraine's independence and will continue to do so, are being intimidated with a one-way ticket out of Ukraine never to return again.

On the one hand, Kravchuk allows himself a harsh attack against a critic, but on the other, when criticism is directed against him and his government, that is called interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine. Hardly an appropriate reaction by a statesman.

In the past twelve months Kravchuk has repeatedly emphasised that independent Ukraine will be a democratic country and fully honour human rights. What can be said of these pledges in the wake of his scandalous anniversary performance?

Politics

FROM DAGOMYS TO YALTA

By Viktor Fedorchuk

The Dagomys meeting between the Presidents of Russia and Ukraine marked a turning point in relations between the two states. Russia finally achieved strategic superiority and the ensuing course of events spelled out Ukraine's retreat in all aspects of its relations with its northern neighbour.

The first debacle was the loss of Crimea. Without explanation or any apparent reason Ukraine consented to the establishment of a state within a state. Crimea's status within Ukraine goes beyond federative ties. The closest analogy that can be drawn are the British dominions. In some aspects the members of a commonwealth have more independence, in others — less, but generally speaking this is the closest-knit form of intrastate structure. However, to call Crimea an integral part of Ukraine is analogous to calling Canada an integral part of England.

Ukraine, which has so far successfully played the leading role in destroying the CIS, substituted loyalty for disobedience. In contradiction to self-assured predictions of foreign analysts regarding the ultimate demise of the CIS, the causes of the Commonwealth's new burst of vitality resounded in the speeches of representatives of government and pro-government circles in Ukraine and in the official Russian media. As became very clear, the potential for cooperation within the CIS is far from exhausted.

The jolt of the Commonwealth's revival was felt immediately. At the meeting of CIS interior ministers, Ukraine renounced its former warnings and signed an agreement on cooperation between the security services of the CIS countries. Officials of the Ukrainian and Russian security services signed an agreement suspending intelligence operations against one another. This is completely absurd. Every government needs independent information about the state of world affairs, particularly in neighbouring countries. Governments cannot rely solely on the good-will and honesty of their neighbours. This is completely natural for all countries, including NATO members. With the suspension of intelligence operations between Russia and Ukraine a future integration of the two security services can only be expected.

In Yalta further steps were taken towards "finding common interests" in relations between Russia and Ukraine. Freedom of travel, for instance, is in itself a very good thing. It does, however, imply a great degree of unity between the two countries, similar to the British Commonwealth and the European Community. The Yalta agreement is particularly significant as Ukraine is leaving its eastern borders wide open, while at the same time preserving almost intact the integrity of the

Soviet iron curtain in the west. In practical terms, the groundwork is being laid for the establishment of greater ties with Russia, curbing any further development of relations with Europe. The tendency towards an even greater integration of Ukraine in the CIS, a sphere of great-Russian influence, is blatantly obvious.

The second critical aspect of Ukraine's post-Dagomys retreat is the complete debacle of its policy in the Trans-Dnister region. From the very beginning, Ukraine remained outside the ethnic conflict in the region. This position was dictated by the fear of violating existing CIS borders. Ukraine maintained a strict neutrality, defending not Moldova, but the principle of the inviolability of borders. Kyiv gave neither moral nor material support to the Trans-Dnister Ukrainians and Russians, although it was mostly Ukrainian names that appeared on casualty reports. Ukraine did not even request the Moldovan government to grant cultural and national autonomy to the 600-700,000 Ukrainians living in Moldova, who constitute almost a quarter of the republic's population. By failing to raise the issue, Kyiv lost its one and only real chance to establish any kind of authority and influence among the Ukrainians living in Moldova.

Under Russian pressure, Kravchuk reversed Ukraine's position on Trans-Dnister. He recognised the right of the local population to autonomy, and in the event of a union of Moldova and Rumania, their right to self-determination. This move, however, came too late. Russia no longer required Ukraine's help. Leaving Kravchuk on the side, Yeltsin reached a direct agreement with President Mircea Snegur on separating the warring factions and the deployment of a Russian peacekeeping force in Moldova. Ukraine was simply left on the sideline. As a result, the local population sees Russia as its champion and Ukraine as an indifferent and unreliable neighbour. In short, Russia has gained a reliable ally in the west, indebted to Moscow for its very existence. Ukraine, on the other hand, through its "prudent and thought-out" policy of non-intervention, has gained nothing.

The agreement establishing a unified Black Sea Fleet is also particularly unfavourable and poses a serious threat to Ukraine. Kravchuk renounced his previous statements that all the ships stationed in Ukrainian ports and naval bases belong to the Ukraine. This is an affront to the country's national dignity with no material compensation. In recognising Russia's exclusive right to all the other fleets of the former Soviet Union and its right to part of the Black Sea Fleet, Ukraine recognised its own subordinate position. With a unified fleet Russia will continue to maintain its military presence in the south of Ukraine. Adding to that the prevalent sentiment of the command structure of the Black Sea Fleet, then Ukraine's part in the unified command will be strictly nominal.

Although the agreement stressed that Sevastopol belongs to Ukraine, Kyiv has to all intents and purposes forfeited its presence in this town. Serving as the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol has always been administered as a military base. All power lies in the hands of the naval command. The role of the civilian authorities has been almost completely diminished. Even the economy of

the town is geared exclusively towards serving the fleet. With a unified fleet and a joint naval headquarters, the building of the presidential representative in the city is effectively all that remains of Ukrainian presence in Sevastopol. What is now preventing an independence referendum in Sevastopol? Nothing. Ukraine has lost its military vantage point in southern Crimea, and Russia has acquired a base from which it can neutralise Ukrainian attempts to control the peninsula.

Crimea's Council of Ministers issued a decree on the simultaneous circulation of the Russian rouble and the Ukrainian coupon on the territory of the peninsula. In this way Crimea continues to remain within Russia's economic zone. Furthermore, the weak Ukrainian coupon, which is now worth only 65 kopeks on the black market, has no chance of surviving alongside the relatively strong Russian rouble. This is a further step towards Ukraine's ultimate loss of the peninsula.

The decree of the Council of Ministers is an insolent challenge to Ukrainian statehood. Monetary policy is an exclusive prerogative of central government. Simferopol, however, is conscious of its actions and does not fear the consequences. In the present situation Kyiv will tolerate everything. There was, after all, no reaction whatsoever from the government to the arbitrary actions of Bagrov and company.

The conviction that Russia has not come to terms with the loss of its predominance and is prepared to employ desperate measures to restore the old empire is widespread. History has shown that no empire has been able to painlessly part with its domains and live with the retrenchment of its international status. The long and bloody wars of Poland, Turkey, France, Spain, and China became striking examples of imperial nostalgia. It is unlikely that Russia, which is hardly a world cultural centre, can become a fortunate exception. Illia Glazunov, a notable Russian artist, openly stated: "For some it is the CIS, and for us — Great Russia". Although he does not occupy a government post, his words reflect the sentiment of broad circles of the Russian intelligentsia, which provide the cadres for the government structures. Russia's position is becoming stronger, expediting the reimposition of Moscow's rule in Ukraine. Crimea — the Russian stronghold in the south, Trans-Dnister — a loyal Russian vassal in the east, the Black Sea Fleet — as a military lever, and raw materials and fuel as an economic lever are the four factors which have compelled Ukraine to coast obediently in the shadow of Russia.

The collapse of the economy is the source of weakness of Ukrainian foreign policy. The position of Ukraine's independence is becoming increasingly more precarious. At present, Ukraine is still close to the source of the new, and this time final integration of Ukraine with Russia. The opportunity to alter the course of events is still far from being lost, but the impending circumstances leave no time for procrastination. Ukraine has just celebrated the first anniversary of its independence. However, if the present tendency prevails, the first anniversary may also become the last. Whereas in the spring one could optimistically say "goodbye Asia, hello Europe", now one can state with pessimism that everything is returning into its former place.

History

THE PATH TO INDEPENDENCE

By Wolodymyr Kosyk

Losing their statehood in the middle of the 14th century, the Ukrainian people struggled throughout the centuries for political independence. At the basis of this struggle lay a deep awareness of their past, their national and ethnic individuality, and their national rights.

It was with good reason that, in their "Protest" of April 28, 1621, the Ukrainian church hierarchy headed by Metropolitan Job Boretskyi pointed out that the Ukrainian Kozaks were part of the "Rus' nation", the same nation that fought against the Byzantine empire "on the Black Sea and on land", and under the leadership of the "Rus' monarch Oleh and Volodymyr the Great fought in Greece, Macedonia and Illyria".

In 1711 Pylyp Orlyk, who succeeded Ivan Mazepa, wrote in his "Development of the rights of Ukraine" that "Ukraine is a free principality" because from the day of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's uprising "the Kozak nation and Ukraine were free". It was Moscow which forced Ukraine "to renounce Kozak sovereignty". Further in this document we read: "But regardless of the strength of Muscovite force, it gives the Muscovites no legal right with respect to Ukraine. Conversely, the Kozaks have human and natural rights, one of the fundamental principles of which is that a nation always has the right to protest against oppression and to restore its ancient rights when the time is right".

At the beginning of the 19th century the author of the "History of the Rus' People" attributes the following words to Bohdan Khmelnytskyi: "All nations, living in the world, always have and always will defend their lives, freedom and possessions".

Towards the end of the last century, after a lengthy period of floundering and searching, Ukrainian national activists began to propagate the course of Ukraine's fight for freedom, including armed struggle, as is evident in Mykola Mikhnovskyi's "Samostiyna Ukraina" (Independent Ukraine). Circumstances were such, however, that this struggle could only develop after the revolution of 1917. The Ukrainian Central Rada was promptly established in Kyiv. Initially satisfied with autonomy, the Central Rada finally took full control (November 16, 1917) and proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic. One month later Soviet Russia recognised the Ukrainian National Republic, followed by France (January 4, 1918) and Great Britain.

The new Russian government's negotiations in Brest Litovsk and Soviet Russia's aggression against Ukraine (December 20, 1917) complicated the situation for the Ukrainian government, which formally proclaimed Ukraine's independence

on January 22, 1918, with the aim of clearly emphasising the desire of the Ukrainian nation to be free and to simultaneously reveal Soviet Russian intervention as foreign aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic. The Ukrainian lands then under Austrian rule proclaimed independence on November 1, 1918, and joined the Ukrainian Republic on January 22, 1919.

Under the leadership of Symon Petlura, a long and brutal war was fought for Ukrainian independence, which ended in mid-November 1920, while guerrilla warfare lasted about another four years. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians perished in the drawn-out struggle against Soviet Russian aggression and occupation. Ukraine was forcibly annexed into the Soviet Union, created by Moscow with the help of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the end of December 1922.

The Soviet government began cruel repressions against Ukrainians for their aspirations towards independence, intensifying the fight against Ukrainian nationalism, which reached its peak in the 1930s. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians ended up in prisons and concentration camps, while others were shot.

Since 1927, Moscow has obsessively feared Ukraine's secession from the Union either through its own efforts, or with the intervention of neighbouring countries. As part of its fight against the independence movement, Russia engineered the horrific famine of 1932-1933 with requisitions and a special economic policy, as a result of which 5-6 million (according to other sources 7 million) Ukrainian peasants, whom Moscow regarded as the backbone of Ukrainian nationalism, died.

Prior to the Second World War, Transcarpathia gained autonomy and officially adopted the name Carpathian Ukraine. In October 1938 the autonomous Ukrainian government noted in a memorandum to the German government that Carpathian Ukraine was a part of Ukrainian territory and would remain under Czech protection until it was united with Ukraine. But when Hitler decided to invade Czechoslovakia, he allowed Slovakia to proclaim independence, and handed Carpathian Ukraine over to Hungary. In response, Carpathian Ukraine declared independence on March 15, 1939, against Germany's wishes.

Ukrainians used the Second World War to continue the fight for independence. On the initiative of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941. The proclamation caught the Germans by surprise, leading to repressions. Numerous leaders of the Ukrainian national movement were arrested and deported to Germany (Bandera, Stetsko, Ilnytskyi, Lenkavskyi, and others). The first mass arrests took place in the middle of September. In response, the OUN organised a general uprising. As a result, on November 25, 1941, German police authorities in Kyiv ordered the arrest and liquidation of all OUN-Bandera activists on the territory of Ukraine. In addition to the repressions against the OUN-Bandera, which continued until the end of the

occupation, the Germans also increased repressions against the OUN-Melnyk and all nationally-conscious Ukrainians.

With the explicit aim of achieving Ukraine's independence from Nazi German and Stalinist Russia, the national forces began an armed struggle. In mid-October 1942, the small military units of the OUN-Bandera in Volyn began to combine into larger formations, leading ultimately to the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The struggle against the German occupation lasted until September 1944, and continued against the Soviet occupational regime until 1952-1956.

Following the armed struggle, apart from the underground activities of the OUN, the Ukrainian people embarked on a peaceful path to attain their rights and independence. A series of illegal organisations sprang up. A critical literary role among the young intelligentsia was played by the *shestydesiatnyky* (sixties generation), and later, from 1970, by the *samvydav* publications. From the end of 1976, the brunt of the struggle was borne by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

As a result of the liberalisation of the regime and the release of political prisoners, people and nations began to lose their fear. It was the beginning of a political battle within the legal framework. The year 1989 saw the establishment of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh). This was followed by the formation of Ukrainian political parties. In March 1990, the national forces participated in the parliamentary elections, gaining around 25 per cent of the seats in the Ukrainian parliament. As a result of the elections, power in the three western oblasts (Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil), fell into the hands of the national opposition.

It is an undisputable fact that the primary role in this situation was played by the tradition of the OUN-UPA's struggle for the rights and independence of Ukraine, a fight in which tens of thousands participated. The need for independence was openly discussed in the press.

Influenced by deputies of the national democratic front, parliament declared the sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990. The national independence movement continued to spread. A year later, taking advantage of the obvious weakening of the central imperial power as a result of the unsuccessful coup in Moscow, the Ukrainian parliament proclaimed independence on August 24, 1991.

The path to independence has been long and hard. It was scarred by great sufferings, repressions, and a protracted struggle with millions of sacrifices. Under no circumstances was independence granted to Ukraine by Russia, nor was it a result of the attempted coup in Moscow. The declaration of independence, the first anniversary of which has just been celebrated, is a result of the Ukrainian nation's will to be free, whereas the coup in Moscow came about as a result of conjuncturous circumstances, of which Ukrainian leaders and leaders of other subjugated nations were able to take advantage. It is not possible to discuss Ukraine's independence today without mentioning the past struggle for independence and the historic acts of January 22 and November 1, 1918, March 15, 1939, and June 30, 1941.

THE UPA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

By Myron Shkuriatiuk

This year, Ukrainians throughout the world commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — one of the most courageous episodes in the long history of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle.

We pay singular homage and respect to the great military leaders, the many unknown heroes of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who lost their lives in the fight for Ukrainian independence.

In order to properly understand the role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the Ukrainian liberation struggle, a brief look at events leading up to its inception is necessary.

In 1941, the Germans invaded the Soviet Union and occupied the whole of Ukraine. Undeterred, Ukrainian nationalists restored Ukrainian statehood and sovereignty on June 30, 1941. A National Government was established in Lviv with Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister. By this act of independence, Ukraine declared war on Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. When the Germans promptly arrested the leading Ukrainian nationalists and deported them to concentration camps, Ukrainian nationalism now stood directly in opposition to Nazi German policy. The Ukrainian people, under the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), now had to fight against two of the largest and most evil imperialist powers of all time — Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

In response to the Nazi persecution of the Ukrainian people, a variety of local insurgent groups arose in rural Ukraine. In 1942-1943, these groups were consolidated by the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera into a single fighting force — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. To coordinate the actions of all Ukrainian political groups committed to the independence of their homeland, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was established in 1944. The Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and the Secretary-General of the UHVR was General Roman Shukhevych, also known as Taras Chuprynka.

Shukhevych's intense patriotism, organisational genius and imaginative grasp of military strategy enabled the UPA to combat massive enemy forces with outstanding success.

Before we can understand the basic aims of the UPA and the scope of its achievements in the Ukrainian fight for independence, we must look more closely at the nature of the UPA as an organised military force.

According to propagandist Soviet literature, the UPA was "a band of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who fiercely opposed Soviet authority". In reality, the UPA

was an insurgent army, using guerrilla tactics in its battle against Nazi German and Soviet Russian military forces. It drew its strength mainly from Ukrainian village youth, although its leadership comprised highly-experienced veterans who had participated in the underground conspiratorial activities of the OUN.

The UPA was, in essence, a truly revolutionary army of national liberation, and, being the army of the subjugated Ukrainian people, it naturally sympathised with the national liberation struggles of the other peoples oppressed by Russian communist imperialism. Because of this, the UPA gladly welcomed and recruited into its ranks members of other oppressed nationalities, establishing special detachments of Georgian, Uzbek, Tatar, and other soldiers, composed of former German war prisoners and deserters from the Red Army. Mass desertions and even the casual attitude of some Red Army commanders towards the Ukrainian insurgents enabled the UPA to rapidly grow in strength.

Although it is very difficult to determine the numerical strength of the UPA, estimates made by leading authorities on the subject show it to be a considerable fighting force. Estimates range from 20,000 to 100,000 for the total strength of the UPA at the peak of its operational effectiveness around 1944. The sheer power of the UPA can be appreciated from the fact that it took a special tripartite pact between three hostile communist countries — Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia — to finally defeat the forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Despite having no armament facilities of its own and sorely lacking military resources, even enemy commanders conceded that the UPA was a disciplined, highly-organised and formidable fighting machine. Its system of military training was said to be among the best available and its tightly-organised underground network covered practically the whole of Ukraine, providing efficient logistical support and medical care for the fighting detachments. The UPA used abandoned, lost or seized weapons captured from Russian, German and Polish units. With the chaotic collapse of the German front in Ukraine and the hectic retreat of German occupational forces, the UPA successfully captured the military supply stores of the retreating German army. However, these stores furnished only light arms: rifles, sub-machine-guns, pistols, and so on, so that the UPA suffered from a serious lack of heavy munitions, profoundly impairing its range of possible tactics.

The medical care of sick and wounded soldiers was a prime concern of the UPA, and a well-organised Ukrainian Red Cross was established for this purpose. The UPA drafted into its service many Jewish doctors who were thus saved from the racist genocidal policy of the Nazis. Wounded soldiers were cared for in secret underground bunkers by the Red Cross' female nurses whose selfless dedication in the face of hardship and uncertainty can only be remembered with deep gratitude and praise. Between the years 1946-1948, many of these bunkers were overrun by Soviet troops and the Ukrainian medical personnel were savagely slaughtered.

The primary political goal of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army can be summarised in one sentence: "You will achieve a Ukrainian state, or you will die in the struggle for it". It was this basic ideal which inflamed the heart of every Ukrainian patriot and enabled the UPA to continue fighting against seemingly overwhelming odds. The key concept in the political philosophy of the UPA and the OUN was the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state, organised on the basic principle of parliamentary democracy, guaranteeing private as well as cooperative ownership of the nation's resources, a just social order free of class exploitation, freedom of speech and religious belief, and the judicial assurance of civil rights for all citizens of Ukraine, irrespective of ethnic, racial, or social affiliation and origin. This was the political platform of the UPA. The vast and unanimous support the UPA enjoyed among the Ukrainian working masses in their opposition to the Soviet system and Russian imperialism is testimony to the wholehearted acceptance of the political principles of the UPA-OUN by the Ukrainian people.

In the early stages of the war, Ukrainians believed that Germany and Russia would exhaust themselves in a drawn-out conflict and thus give the Ukrainians, under the command of the UPA, an opportunity to restore independence. With the collapse of the German front in Ukraine in 1943, the worst nightmare became horrible reality — the reoccupation of Ukraine in 1944 by the Soviet Russian forces. The UPA, as the sole defender of the Ukrainian people, was now left standing against the mighty armies of Soviet Russia. The leaders of the UPA realised that mass resistance as practised before was now no longer possible. A fundamental strategic reorganisation was necessary. Exposed flat areas, unsuitable for guerrilla operations, were evacuated and the main units of the UPA were broken up into smaller, stronger underground cells. Thus, the UPA began its transformation from a mass guerrilla army into a strong underground organisation, which was to continue fighting until well after the Second World War.

What did the UPA accomplish in these post-war years. Firstly, it defended the Ukrainian people from Soviet Russian persecution and mass deportation. In the Ukrainian lands occupied by communist Poland, the UPA fought against the forced and bloody deportation of Ukrainians from their ancient native lands, a successful operation that was only defeated in 1948 by much stronger communist forces. Inside the Soviet Union, the UPA prevented a deliberate mass deportation of the Ukrainian population planned by the Russian communist government under Khrushchev. Some of the UPA detachments managed to struggle through Central Europe to reach the Western Allies, thus making known to the free world the truth about the Ukrainian liberation struggle and its importance for the peace and security of the Western democracies in the face of the growing Russian communist imperialist menace.

Secondly, the Ukrainian insurgents, inspired by a deep Christian faith, rallied to the defence of the persecuted Ukrainian Church, protecting its priests and faithful

from the vicious anti-Ukrainian and anti-Christian policy of the Russian communists. The UPA actively fought against the shameless collaborators who, used by their Russian masters, tried to destroy the Ukrainian Church.

Thirdly, the UPA actively opposed the forced implementation of the collective farm system in Ukraine — something intensely hated by the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasantry. Reliable underground sources reveal that, because of this concerted UPA activity, supported wholeheartedly by the Ukrainian rural populace, the Russian government could not set up a single collective farm in the Ivano-Frankivsk province of western Ukraine before 1950.

From our present vantage point in history, we can look back and try to assess the achievements of the UPA in the long history of the Ukrainian independence movement. We can also try to understand the effect of the UPA on the future development of the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for political liberation.

While the rest of the world settled down to rebuild its normal, peaceful life after the destruction and carnage of the Second World War, Ukraine was still caught up in the ravages of war and death. The human cost of the UPA's heroic struggle was very high. Thousands of the UPA's most courageous and ablest fighters were killed. Vigorous UPA leaders lost their lives in active conflict, such as General Shukhevych, killed by Russian MVD troops in 1950, Osyp Diakiv-Hornovyi, killed in the same year, and the great UPA commander and leading member of the OUN Major Petro Poltava, killed in 1952. In their merciless search for UPA fighters, the Russian troops used all means at their disposal. The population of areas suspected of UPA activity was deported; villages, forests and farmland were destroyed in hunting raids seeking out UPA detachments.

But the UPA also inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. In 1944, it ambushed and killed the Red Army Marshal Vatutin. Altogether, the UPA inflicted losses amounting to 3,567 killed, wounded or captured on the Red Army units stationed in western Ukraine.

In a very real way, the UPA shattered the image of the invincibility of the Soviet Russian army and the Soviet Russian empire. Of course, the Russian imperialist forces won a physical victory and became the masters of Ukraine. But the UPA, battling successfully for many years, largely unknown to the free world, had scored an ineradicable moral and psychological victory for the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union. The sustained armed resistance of the UPA showed Ukrainians and all oppressed peoples that there is a very real alternative, other than submission to imperialist power, no matter how brutal or mighty.

The Ukrainian independence movement has always been much more than just armed military conflict. It has included a struggle for the very soul, the very national essence of the Ukrainian people. The success of the UPA, its undoubted spiritual victory, lay in the great, unanimous support it enjoyed from the ordinary

Ukrainian people, who, frequently at great personal cost, hid and protected UPA fighters, supplied them with valuable information regarding enemy forces, and carefully guarded arms caches required for the independence struggle. Even today, many of these weapons are still buried underground, silent and poignant testimony to the scale and intensity of the Ukrainian people's fight for liberation. Like the UPA fighters, these countless Ukrainian men, women, and children who supported the UPA played an important role in the success of the independence movement and sincerely deserve our unreserved praise.

We live during a period of momentous historic change. The Soviet Russian empire has crumbled to extinction before our very eyes. The peoples of this former prison-house of nations — the last great empire in world history — have destroyed the shackles of oppression, exploitation and servitude, and have taken the first steps towards national statehood, freedom and democracy. On the ruins of the former Soviet Russian colonial empire, independent, sovereign, national states have arisen, among them Ukraine. On December 1, 1991, the Ukrainian people declared to the whole world that they wish to live in an independent state of their own, free of all foreign domination. The restoration of Ukrainian national statehood, affirmed on this great historic day, is the culmination of the centuries-long struggle of the Ukrainian people to take their rightful place in the world community of free and equal nations.

Today, when our dreams have been fulfilled and Ukraine, like the proverbial phoenix, has arisen from the ashes of colonial ruination to the splendour of independent statehood, we owe a propound debt of gratitude to all those countless generations of Ukrainian freedom-fighters who sacrificed their lives for the ideal of a free Ukraine.

On this special fiftieth anniversary, we pay homage to the valiant and heroic fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Animated by the same heroic courage, fortified by the same Christian faith, like their legendary Kozak forefathers, the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army did not flinch from paying the ultimate price in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state.

From their blood, spilled on the field of battle, a new, free independent Ukraine has arisen — a Ukraine destined to become the joyous and everlasting common possession of Ukrainians living and yet to be born, a true and bounteous mother to her beloved sons and daughters everywhere.

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

(Part 3)

By Peter E. Lycholat

4: Ukraine (1932-1939)

The national freedom found under Ukrainianisation was severely countered by a new Soviet policy — Russification — that of terror and oppression against the Ukrainians. Nowhere was this more shockingly displayed than in 1932 when Ukraine suffered a nationwide famine, which many historians, such as Conquest and Mace, believe was fabricated and permitted to develop unchallenged purely for the sake of breaking the national spirit of the Ukrainians, the resistance of the peasantry to Collectivisation, and for the successful enforcement of Soviet central control in the countryside. The harsh Collectivisation policy had been a significant factor in producing the famine. Uncollectable high grain quotas, Soviet reaping of the Ukrainian countryside of anything of any value (in attempting to collect the high quotas), and peasant destruction of cattle and crops did nothing to lessen the severity of the imminent famine. In September 1932, "... Many bezprizornye [waifs] have appeared in Moscow. The majority of them are Ukrainians".⁴⁸

The Russification policy, of which the famine formed a part, is described by James E. Mace as, "... a watershed in the history of Soviet Nationality Policy",⁴⁹ and by Stephen Oleskiw as, "... a desperate attempt by the Russians to totally subjugate the Ukrainian nation". Oleskiw sees the famine not as an isolated attack against the Ukrainians but as, "... part of a whole series of attempts by Russia to subdue the Ukrainian nation in its constant struggle for national independence and sovereignty".⁵⁰ The complete turnaround in the 1930s from Ukrainianisation to

⁴⁸ Trotsky's "Bulletin of the Opposition".

⁴⁹ James E. Mace, "The Famine of 1932-1933: A Watershed in the History of Soviet Nationality Policy" (appears as Chapter 10 in "Soviet Nationality Policies", edited by Henry R. Huttenbach).

⁵⁰ Stephen Oleskiw, "Agony of a Nation".

Russification was characterised by force, terror and death, where, "children", as Arthur Koestler stated, "... looked like embryos out of alcohol bottles".

The perpetrator of these crimes against the Ukrainians was Moscow's Pavel Postyshev, appointed Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1933. He had to ensure that Party activities in Ukraine were in line with state party policies, and achieved, as Hryhory Kostiuk says, the, "... wholesale occupation of key posts in the country by the staff of Stalin's satrap".⁵¹ Kostiuk believes that the All-Union CP(b) Party was not concerned with the impending catastrophe in Ukraine and the effect that it would have upon the people, but was more concerned with how the CP(b)U was carrying out its Collectivisation policies. Mace states that Postyshev had a dual mandate of intensifying the grain seizures (and therefore the famine, and breaking resistance to Collectivisation), but also had to eliminate the "national deviation" elements from Ukrainian society whom Postyshev believed had grown in number due to, "... a breakdown of Bolshevik vigilance, such that wrecking counter-revolutionary elements have attained their widest field of action in Ukraine".

Postyshev continued, "... they sought to undermine and weaken the proletarian dictatorship, feverishly preparing new actions against the USSR, not excluding dreams of detaching Ukraine from the Soviet Union". The actions taken by Postyshev fulfilled his task, "... of preparing and carrying out the spring sowing... the substantial strengthening of our repressive measures against Kulaks, sub-Kulaks, Petliurists, wreckers and other anti-Soviet elements". The famine was, as "The New York Times" reported in 1938, "... a squeeze play, as a result of which some 2,000,000 Ukrainians died of starvation".⁵² Khataevich, Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Party, commented thus on the success of Postyshev's policy, "... it took a famine to show them [Ukrainian peasantry] who is master here. It has lost millions of lives, but the collective system is here to stay. We have won the war".⁵³

As well as "purging" the Ukrainian peasantry, the Soviets "purged" Ukrainian culture and its intelligentsia. Kostiuk believes the period 1930 to 1937 was marked by purge trials and the, "... engineered liquidation of almost the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine". These trials, Kostiuk continues, were, "... fabricated in order to provide a pretext for the physical destruction of a substantial part of the Ukrainian nation's intellectual cadres", which Postyshev clearly acknowledged: "It is sufficient to say that those regions of the Ukraine alone where the purging is now taking place, out of 120,000 members

⁵¹ Hryhory Kostiuk, "Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine. A Study in Mass Terror" (1960).

⁵² "The New York Times", December 18, 1938.

⁵³ In Victor Kravchenko's, "I Chose Freedom", p. 130.

and candidates of the Party who have passed through the purging, 27,500 persons, class enemies and unstable and demoralized elements were expelled".

Postyshev was certainly blatant over the aims of the purges. "... This drove the enemy out of his lair, paralysed his work, demoralized him, purged our state apparatus, cleared the fulfilment of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and of the government... and made the decisions of the Party and of the government known to every collective farmer, and to every individual farmer". The Russification policy headed by Postyshev clearly demonstrated its purposely intolerant nature and supposed innocence — Postyshev's introduction of "new" Soviet men to the Party in Ukraine, the accusations by Stalin that the old Party in Ukraine was responsible for the uncollected quotas and therefore the famine, and the incessant search for national deviationist scapegoats was so quickly and intensely implemented that within two years the Communist Party in Ukraine was glorifying the success of Ukraine in its role as a model Soviet republic and reflecting upon the necessity of Collectivisation in the Ukrainian countryside and the necessary Soviet intervention. Stalin stated, "... There is no use seeking for the causes connected with the grain collections among the peasantry; we must seek them among ourselves, in our own ranks. Because we are in power, we are in command of the instruments of government, we are called upon to lead the collective farms and we must bear the whole of the responsibility for the work in the rural districts [own emphasis]".⁵⁴ Influenced by Stalin's words Postyshev was determined to declare, as he did in 1933, that, "... the Ukraine has emerged from the lag it was in in 1931-32, [and] has caught up in agriculture".

Postyshev continued to stress his conviction to purging the Ukrainians, Russifying them, and making them model Soviet citizens in a speech delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on November 19, 1933. He stated: "... The victory of the Ukraine is the victory of the whole Soviet Union, the triumph of the general line of the Party, the result of the wise counsels of the leader of the Party and of the worldwide proletariat, Stalin, and of the Bolshevik struggle of the Communist Party of the Ukraine to put these counsels into practice". Postyshev wanted to make Ukraine a model Soviet republic of the USSR which would then deter any other smaller republic from rejecting central Soviet state control. Postyshev was of the opinion that Russification had been beneficial for Ukraine, an idea reflected in "Moscow News" in 1935. Kyiv had apparently become a modern city and there were no more regular famines in Ukraine, "... The general contours of that vast reconstruction which will change Kiev from an urban museum of all epochs of Ukrainian culture to a city of the

⁵⁴ Stalin, "Work in the Rural Districts. From the First to the Second Five Year Plan", p. 80.

future, are already taking shape".⁵⁵ Kossior stated that it was essential to reconstruct anew the whole of Ukraine's national economy, to create a powerful industrial basis upon which to raise the whole of the economy and to develop culture [that would notably be of Russian orientation). "... The transfer of millions of peasant farms from individual, scattered farming with a very low productivity, to large-scale, socialist farms based on the latest technical developments, has laid the foundations of a mighty growth of agriculture", he said. Russification destroyed much that was Ukrainian, as spelling and vocabulary became more Russian and monuments of culture and art in Kyiv were demolished or destroyed by the Bolsheviks between 1934 and 1936.⁵⁶

Mace's account of the change in policy includes the rewriting of national histories to coincide with the "history of the USSR". Standardisation would supposedly bring unity. This idea was expressed by "The New York Times" in 1937, which wrote that Russification had given the minor nationalities a feeling that they were, "... not 'conquered races' but members of one great brotherhood".⁵⁷ Russification was essential to keep Ukraine within Soviet control. The calls for independence and sovereignty in Western Ukraine up to 1932, and the Ukrainian question receiving an international forum at Geneva was rekindling interest in the Ukrainian problem — division between Polish and Soviet control. The Soviet leadership did not want successful national movements in Western Ukraine influencing Soviet Ukraine to demand separation. The quicker Soviet Ukraine was "re-Sovietised", the stronger Party control would be.

But it was not only the Pacification policy and the continual struggle between Poles and Ukrainians that forced the Soviet leadership to clamp down on the national elements in Soviet Ukraine. Although Germany had remained silent concerning its interest in Ukraine after the Great War, the growth in popularity of Hitler and the National Socialist Party in the late 1920s worried the Soviet leadership. The 1932 Reichstag elections, which established the Nazis as the largest single party in Germany, and Hitler's appointment as Chancellor in January 1933, gave rise to a force that harboured expansionist ideas in Eastern Europe and had a powerful influence on Hindenburg. The Reichstag fire in 1933 confirmed Hitler's hatred of the communists, and when Hitler became Führer in 1934, Stalin was well aware that he was faced with a leader in the West who wanted to bridge the gap between Germany and East Prussia (the Polish Corridor) and perhaps continue expanding eastwards if the situation permitted.

⁵⁵ "Moscow News", January 31, 1935.

⁵⁶ "The Destruction of Cultural and Historical Monuments in Kiev 1934-1936".

⁵⁷ "The New York Times", February 5, 1937.

The threat of Germany's renewed interest in Ukraine was clearly recognised by 1933, and the Russification policy can, in part, be seen as a response to the imminent clash of interests between the Soviets and the Germans. S.V. Kossior stated in 1933 that Ukraine, "... is the centre of attention of the imperialists and the object of their evil designs"⁵⁸ and that, "... it must on no account be forgotten that the Ukraine occupies the foremost position in the Union of Soviet Republics in relation to capitalist encirclement, and this makes it incumbent upon us to be particularly vigilant...". These words clearly showed that the Soviets were well aware of Germany's secret intentions. Like Kossior in 1933, Postyshev emphasised this point: "... The establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany, the direct support given to the Russian and Ukrainian White guards by the German fascists and English diehards, the open propaganda for the secession of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union carried on in the German fascist press, the public utterances of responsible Polish fascist circles in favour of an anti-Soviet bloc between Poland and fascist Germany, and finally the struggle between Polish and German fascist circles for hegemony in the Ukrainian counter-revolutionary camp...", had given rise, Postyshev believed, to anti-Soviet activity in Western Ukraine that was sure to have a "knock-on" affect in Eastern Ukraine.

Hitler had stated at the Nuremberg Parteitag (September 3, 1933) that, "... If a single people in Western or Central Europe were to succumb to Bolshevism, this poison would spread farther and would destroy that which is to-day the oldest and fairest cultural treasure in the world. By taking upon herself the struggle against Bolshevism Germany is but fulfilling, as so often in her history, a European mission". In an interview with Mr. Baillie of the "United Press" in November 1935 Hitler again stressed that, "... Germany is the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism". Germany had already come to disregard Poland, the West's friendly anti-German and anti-Bolshevik bulwark, as an effective buffer against the Soviets. This very action should have sent alarm bells ringing regarding Germany's attitude to the Poles. Hitler regarded the Ukrainians as potential if not real Bolsheviks, the same as the Russians. In this sense, "liberation" of the Ukrainians was a tactical ploy to simply gain possession of the territory and to become its master just as the Poles and Soviets had been. Hitler regarded the Ukrainians as enemies, as equals to Bolsheviks, but who would be useful in the Nazi front-line (as with the Baltic provinces) for destroying the Soviet Union in war.

German interest in Ukraine grew acute by 1937; the Nuremberg Congress in August 1936 had endorsed Hitler's aim of colonising Ukrainian territory. "The New York Times" in 1936 emphasised the Congress of Soviets' determination that no

⁵⁸ P.P. Postyshev and S.V. Kossior, "Soviet Ukraine Today" (1934).

German designs in Eastern Europe would affect the Soviet Union, "... Only let Germany try and she will be beaten back on her own soil".⁵⁹ "Moscow News" in 1937⁶⁰ reported that the German Command had been subsidising Petlura newspapers, whilst the "Manchester Guardian" reported that the headquarters of the National Ukrainian Kozak Movement was supposedly in Munich.⁶¹ In 1938 "Moscow News" emphasised Soviet concern with German antagonism, "... The Ukraine with its tremendous wealth has always figured prominently in the plans of German Imperialism",⁶² and highlighted the advantages of Germany maintaining an interest in Ukraine, i.e. a vantage point for further expansion into the Near East and for threatening British rule in India. "The New York Times" assumed correctly in 1938 that Ukraine, "... possesses vast resources of oil, of wheat, of coal and of iron. Sliced off from Russia and connected to Germany it would mean an enormous reservoir for the supply of many of the things Germany now lacks".⁶³ These advantages were to be achieved, as "The Sunday Times" reported in 1938, "... With the same meticulous care with which they [the Germans] prepared the conquest of Germany, of Austria, [and] of the Sudetenland..."⁶⁴ "... The Nazis are now laying their plans for the 'systematic exploitation of the rich lands beyond the Carpatho-Russian mountains' meaning the Ukraine", "The Sunday Times" continued,⁶⁵ and control of this area would be "an especially severe blow", as "The Daily Telegraph" reported in 1938, "... since it would mean the loss of one fifth of her population, the Dnieper Coal and industrial area, and of access to the Black Sea except through the remote Caucasus".⁶⁶

It is possible that Hitler wanted to establish a Ukrainian state under German domination at the expense of Russia and Poland, which would place him in a position of advantage, as he spoke, of, "... full exploitation of South Eastern and Eastern Europe". By the late 1930s the Poles fully recognised this threat. Germany showed a great interest in Ruthenia, an area of Southeast Czechoslovakia heavily populated by Ukrainians, and as the "News Chronicle" reported in 1938, "... secured autonomy for Ruthenia under the new name of Carpatho-Ukraine so that it might be used as the spearhead of an advance, if the time came into the Polish and Russian Ukraine".⁶⁷

Germany was stirring up Ukrainian nationalism, as "The Sunday Times" reported, "... to a point where, with German assistance, the Ukrainians in Poland

⁵⁹ "The New York Times", November 27, 1936.

⁶⁰ "Moscow News", January 6, 1937.

⁶¹ "Manchester Guardian", May 4, 1937.

⁶² "Moscow News", November 21, 1938.

⁶³ "The New York Times", December 19, 1938.

⁶⁴ "The Sunday Times", December 4, 1938.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ "The Daily Telegraph", December 19, 1938.

⁶⁷ "News Chronicle", December 12, 1938.

and Russia may be induced to revolt, and form either a German vassal state of between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 inhabitants or a province in the German World imperium now dreamt of in Berlin".⁶⁸ The "Manchester Guardian" clearly saw Ruthenia as, "... an appanage of the German Reich",⁶⁹ and the Poles were correct in recognising German interest in this area as a provocation. The report from Sir H. Kennard to Viscount Halifax clearly said, "... There are over four million Ukrainians in Poland who dream of the union of all Ukrainians and who are believed to be encouraged, if not subsidised, by German sympathisers, and the existence of an autonomous Ruthenia, which would form on the borders of Poland a nucleus of an independent Great Ukraine".⁷⁰ "The Sunday Times"⁷¹ pointed out that Western Ukrainians could become a sphere of influence of the Third Reich: Polish Ukrainians, "... severely oppressed for years, discontented and strongly nationalistic, they represent an ideal field for foreign agitation".

Relations between the Poles and Ukrainians had not improved by 1932. The League of Nations continued taking no action concerning Ukrainian appeals, whilst the Poles still treated the Ukrainians as lesser beings. The Pacification policy continued up to the "liberation" of Western Ukraine by the Red Army in 1939. Continual OUN "terrorist" activity lasted until 1936, and was responsible, in June 1934, for the assassination of Bronislaw Pieracki, the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, who was blamed for the Pacification policy. Pacification could never be forgotten, nor could the incessant Polonisation. A Ukrainian socialist quoted in the "News Chronicle" in 1938, when asked about German intervention in Western Ukraine and his attitude to the Poles, suggested that it was better to have, "... an alliance with the devil than continued Polish oppression".⁷²

In 1938 German designs on Ukraine were internationally recognised as extremely provocative. Poles were even complaining that the Ukrainian demand for full autonomy in the Bill submitted to the Polish Sejm bore, "... all the marks of German legal craftsmanship".⁷³ German influence in Western Ukraine was so intense in 1938 that the "News Chronicle" ventured to guess that, "... 5,000,000 Marks has been spent by the Germans on anti-Polish propaganda in the Polish Ukraine during the past four months".⁷⁴ Anti-Polish and anti-Soviet behaviour was

⁶⁸ "The Sunday Times", December 4, 1938.

⁶⁹ "Manchester Guardian", December 16, 1938.

⁷⁰ H.M. Stationery Office, "Documents on British Foreign Policy" — Sir H. Kennard (Warsaw) to Viscount Halifax (received 22 October 1938 — Warsaw 14 October 1938, No. 206).

⁷¹ "The Sunday Times", December 4, 1938.

⁷² "News Chronicle", December 9, 1938.

⁷³ "Daily Herald", December 10, 1938.

⁷⁴ "News Chronicle", December 16, 1938.

no less worryingly expressed in "The New York Times" in 1938, which wrote, "... great efforts are being made by pro-German agents in forming a free-corps of Ukrainians to be used for eventual action against Soviet Ukraine, together with similar bodies already made up of Ukrainian emigres in Germany and elsewhere".⁷⁵

The "Manchester Guardian" reported that, "... The establishment of an independent Ukraine within the present frontiers of Poland would be the prelude to carrying out the familiar plans which Hitler has for the dismemberment and colonisation of Russia".⁷⁶ "The New York Times" agreed with this view, stating that, "... Southeastward from the Nazi's mecca of Munich by way of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania is the Russian Ukraine — the ultimate goal of imperialism".⁷⁷ But the newspapers did not stop at simply reporting that Hitler wanted to possess Ukraine. They also emphasised Ukraine's importance as an economic and territorial prize and suggested with some alarm that German liberation of Ukraine (i.e. Germany playing the role of protector of Ukraine) would be met with undying gratitude. "The Daily Telegraph" stated in 1938, "... An autonomous Ukraine bound by ties of gratitude and interest to the German liberator would bring an immense addition to the economic and strategic strength of Germany and provide her with a secure foothold on the Black Sea at Odessa".⁷⁸ What the newspapers seemed to omit was the concept that once "liberated", the Ukrainians would not tolerate another foreign oppressor government and would seek to govern their own land with their own people. There would be no room for simple subordination once freedom had been achieved. This was perhaps one of the reasons why Germany was unable to break the resistance of the Red Army during the Second World War. They did not use the Ukrainian forces to their advantage nor promise Ukraine complete self-government.

The period 1932 to 1939 was one dominated by secret plans, rumours of underground activities, and general paranoia. Poland believed that Germany and Russia were hatching a plot against her using the Ukrainian problem as one of the means to incite hostilities (the realisation of this plan being the Russo-German Pact of 1939). The Poles fully supported the view that the "Manchester Guardian" expressed in 1938 that, "... By supporting the Ukrainian nationalists he [Hitler] achieves an alliance that threatens Poland with disruption".⁷⁹ But the Poles were faced with a dilemma: in 1938 "The Times" wrote, "... the belief that Germany's

⁷⁵ "The New York Times", December 15, 1938.

⁷⁶ "Manchester Guardian", November 24, 1938.

⁷⁷ "The New York Times", November 27, 1938.

⁷⁸ "The Daily Telegraph", December 19, 1938.

⁷⁹ "Manchester Guardian", December 12, 1938.

stirring up the Ukrainians in an anti-Polish spirit may be without foundation, no real evidence having been produced that German agents are active on the spot".⁸⁰

The Soviet Union believed, as Kossior had pointed out in 1933, that Germany and Poland were conspiring to ruin the Soviet Union, initially by using the nationalist spirit of the Ukrainians to break the western entrance into the Soviet Union. According to Kossior, "... Germany together with France, Poland and other capitalist states, will take part in the campaign against the Soviet Union. In exchange for this, Poland will relinquish to Germany all German territories previously seized by her and also the Danzig corridor".⁸¹ In return, Poland would be compensated with part of Lithuania and access to the Black Sea. There were dissatisfied Ukrainians in Poland conspiring with German agents to help rid them of the Polish yoke and also to help their brothers in Eastern Ukraine. The common factor in all these "liaisons" had been Germany. It is for this reason that Germany should be regarded as one of the major reasons for the failure of Ukraine's independence claims in the 1930s, which were in fact hindered by German interest, although the Germans helped the Ukrainians in the short-term, and misleadingly led them to believe that separation and independence were imminent with "liberation" by Germany. Germany can perhaps also be considered as the cause of intensified hostilities against the Ukrainian people in both Polish and Soviet controlled areas of Ukraine.

Although German interest (or perhaps even interference) in the Ukrainian problem was apparently, in the face of the international community, not taken seriously by the Soviets, it was made clear in 1938 that any attempt to interfere with the Soviet Union would mean war. This was emphasised in a report from Mr. Vereker to Viscount Halifax. The report said: the Soviet Union, "... remains absolutely indifferent to the noise made outside its frontiers over the so-called Ukrainian question", and believed that German attempts to incorporate Soviet Ukraine in some Greater Ukrainian state would only succeed through, "... an internal independence movement in the Soviet Ukraine, to which the Soviet Government would not be able to oppose effective resistance", or, "... an external attack on the Soviet Ukraine", or a combination of both.⁸² The internal attack had been continuing indirectly ever since Hitler came to power, and the purges and Russification in Ukraine showed to what degree the Soviet government felt threatened by German interest in Ukraine. "Izvestia" reported on December 16,

⁸⁰ "The Times", December 16, 1938.

⁸¹ P.P. Postyshev and S.V. Kossior, "Soviet Ukraine Today" (1934).

⁸² H.M. Stationery Office, "Documents on British Foreign Policy" — Mr. Vereker (Moscow) to Viscount Halifax (received 1 January 1939 — Moscow 28 December 1939, No. 503).

1933, that Postyshev was aware of the great danger of fascist propaganda in Ukraine, whose main object was the separation of Soviet Ukraine from Russia.⁸³ The external attack came on June 22, 1941. On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union and Germany signed a non-aggression pact with one another which led to the invasion of Poland by Soviet and German forces in November 1939. Western Ukraine was "reunited" with Soviet Ukraine, which, naturally, did not signal the end of oppression for the Western Ukrainians.

It seemed that the Non-Aggression Pact had brought about a temporary settlement of the Ukrainian question. In return for helping Germany, the Soviet Union received Western Ukraine and Sovietised it. The Soviet government now believed it could prevent Western Ukrainian national independence movements from influencing Eastern Ukraine, and could also limit the extent of Germany's influence in the Ukrainian question in the future, and thus close the gateway to the Soviet Union. November 1939 saw the union of East and West Ukraine not only in territory, people and economy, but also in oppressor. The outbreak of war, however, tore Ukraine apart once again. Ukrainians did not really care who "liberated" them. They lived through several bloody "liberations" by the Red Army and the Germans, both of whom had subjugated Ukraine by force. It did not matter who controlled Ukraine. History had taught the Ukrainians that if they did not have their own free Ukrainian government, they would always be ruled by an oppressive foreign power. This had been the case with Poland, the Soviet Union and Germany. In effect, the Ukrainians were regarded as a people that had to be subjugated and exploited in order to benefit from the advantages of possessing Ukraine. It is very true to say that the Ukrainians have been, "... victims of history", raped by neighbours and interested parties.

To be continued

⁸³ See "Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1931-1934".

UKRAINIAN-POLISH PEACE TREATY OF ZBORIV IN THE ENGLISH AND GERMAN PRESS OF 1649 AND ITS BACKGROUND

(Conclusion)

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Despite remarkable gains, Khmelnytskyi was not satisfied with the Zboriv agreement. Instead of establishing the Ruthenian principality under his rule, "he was designated by the Zboriv articles as merely a Zaporozhian hetman in the service of the Polish king, and his Cossack units were not even allowed in Volhynia".⁴³

Although the three palatinates were handed over to the authority of the hetman, the power and rights of the nobility in their estates in Ukraine were not abolished. Worse, although the Ukrainian peasants were pardoned, they were ordered by the hetman to return to work for their landlords as before. During this campaign the number of Kozak troops was significantly increased, and many peasants contributed to the hetman's victory no less than did the regular Kozaks. Now, according to this treaty, only 40,000 were permitted to be registered.⁴⁴ All others would have to return to their landlords. Thus already at Zboriv a conflict of interests arose between the Kozak officer corps (*starshyna*) and the populace (*chern'*). The discontent and disappointment with Khmelnytskyi increased because of his alliance with the Tatars. Realising that the conflict with the Commonwealth was likely to continue, the hetman wished to maintain his alliance with the Tatars. Among the Ukrainian population, however, this alliance was very unpopular because the hetman had allowed the Tatars on their return home to take many thousands of Ukrainian peasants into slavery.⁴⁵

If the Ukrainian people as a whole were dissatisfied with the Zboriv Peace Treaty, the Poles were much more so. Although many official celebrations were organised, no sign of genuine rejoicing was evident. After signing the agreement,

⁴³ For discussion see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 176.

⁴⁴ For discussion see: Vernadsky, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 74.

Jan Kazimierz returned to Warsaw to a cold reception. In spite of the king's bravery in the battle of Zboriv, he became the target of jokes and sneering.⁴⁶ Conversely, the Treaty of Zboriv was a grave disappointment not only for the hetman, but also for the king. Both were, however, compelled to "put a good face on it". The royal chancellery issued a report about the battle and the Peace Treaty of Zboriv entitled: "Relatio gloriosissimae expeditionis, victorissimi et potentissimi principis ac domini, domini Joannis Casimiri, regis Poloniae et Sveciae anno 1649".⁴⁷ This report praised the king's "great success" over the Kozaks and the Tatars. Moreover, the report even indicated that in "the short period of time a dreadful firebrand of war was extinguished which endangered not only the kingdom of Poland but all of Christianity".⁴⁸ This *relatio* was sent abroad ("relatio altera, quae ad extros missa est"), and was used by the foreign press. Yet, according to Mykhailo Hrushevskiy, a rumour spread in Ukraine that the Polish king was forced to conclude a favourable peace treaty with the Ukrainian hetman and that he had even intended to convert to the Orthodox faith in order to become a Ukrainian king.⁴⁹

Although the Polish negotiators had somewhat reduced the scope of the Kozak demands, the Peace Treaty of Zboriv was not really acceptable to the Diet. The question of the Uniate Church was particularly difficult to resolve. The metropolitan of Kyiv and the Orthodox clergy demanded the total abolition of the Uniate Church on the basis of the ancient rights of the Eastern Church. The hierarchy of the Uniate Church, on the other hand, used every argument of religious freedom. Having the support of the papal nuncio and the hard-line Roman Catholic delegates, they firmly defended their position.⁵⁰ In order to preserve peace, the Diet was willing to allow the king to make concessions to the Orthodox, but the Senate refused to accept the metropolitan of Kyiv as a member (the king had no control over that). Thanks to Kysil, a compromise was reached and many Uniate churches and estates were turned over to the Orthodox. The Uniate Church itself, however, was not abolished.⁵¹ Moreover, the Diet, realising that the Commonwealth possessed neither a ready army nor funds to raise one, reluctantly

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ DOVUN, No. 111, pp. 288-297.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 297.

⁴⁹ Hrushevskiy, VIII, (3), pp. 220-221.

⁵⁰ The nuncio Giovanni de Tores and the powerful Lithuanian vice-chancellor, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha, were extremely active in pressuring the court not to make major concessions to the Orthodox Church. For the nuncio's activities see: Athanasius G. Welkyj, ed., "Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes, 1550-1850", Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni (OSBM), VII (Rome, 1959-1969), pp. 36-87, quoted by Sysyn, pp. 338-339.

⁵¹ For discussion see: Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", pp. 178-179.

agreed to ratify the Zboriv Peace Treaty.⁵² Thus it became a legal document that did not specify in legal terms but gave *de facto* recognition to some form of Ukrainian statehood.

Although Khmelnytskyi was not able to create an independent state, a close study of the articles of this treaty suggests that a semi-autonomous Kozak political entity in Ukraine, namely the Hetmanate, would be established within the Commonwealth. This Hetmanate would be governed by the hetman who headed the Kozak army. The national liberation struggle thus constituted a turning point in the history of Ukraine. In the course of this struggle against Poland, the Ukrainian Kozak army was transformed into a body politic that exercised control over considerable territory. A system of administration and government was created that enjoyed for some years *de facto* independence. It was not without good reason, therefore, that the German historian Hans Schumann observed in his dissertation that the founder of this state, Hetman Khmelnytskyi, who conducted international diplomatic relations, was *de facto* a sovereign.⁵³ Similarly, the Polish historian Leszek Podhorodecki, in his outline of Ukrainian history, acknowledged this event as the achievement of Ukrainian statehood.⁵⁴

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi marked the failure of efforts to reform the structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a federation of three nations: the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Ukrainians. The Polish-Lithuanian wars inflicted irreparable damage on the Commonwealth, which ended in the partition of a century later.^{54a} Moreover, the struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom transferred Ukraine from the Polish to the Russian orbit. In fact, numerous historians believe that Khmelnytskyi used the Zboriv agreement as a model for his subsequent terms in the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654.⁵⁵

The Kozak insurrection aroused a great deal of interest in Europe. It was a sensation, especially since the Kozaks allied themselves with "infidel" Moslems, considered the principal enemy of Christianity, who were fighting the Christian ruler of the Kingdom of Poland. This insurrection was noted in the contemporary

⁵² "Volumina Legum", IV (St. Petersburg, 1859), p. 130, ("Aprobacja deklaracji naszej wojsku Zaporoskiemu danej").

⁵³ Hans Schumann, "Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764), I, (1), 1936, pp. 499-546; also reprint (Breslau, 1936), p. 4.

⁵⁴ Leszek Podhorodecki, "Zarys dziejow Ukrainy", 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1976), I, pp. 271-272, 277-278.

^{54a} Rudnytsky, 'Polish-Ukrainian Relations...', pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵ John Basarab, "Pereyaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study" (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982), p. 4.

European press. For the most part it was reported in Germany, where the press was very well organised and informed about events in Ukraine in the years 1648 and 1649. The German newspapers described those events in detail.⁵⁶ The newspapers that regularly published detailed reports about the Kozak revolt were located in Hamburg, for example the "Wochentliche Zeitung".⁵⁷

The correspondents of the Hamburg newspapers regularly reported from such cities as Danzig, Königsberg, Lviv (Lemberg), Stettin, Warsaw and elsewhere. These Hamburg newspapers were well informed and were used as a source of information by many other contemporary newspapers and magazines.⁵⁸ It was common at that time for many publishers to simply copy news from other publications.⁵⁹

The Kozak insurrection was also reported in England. London newspapers such as "The Public Intelligencer...", the "Mercurius Politicus...", "The Moderate Intelligencer...", and "A Briefe Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions Civill and Military, both Forraigne and Domestique" (hereafter "Briefe Relation") commented regularly about the Kozak revolt in the Kingdom of Poland.

Of course, the 17th century newspaper cannot be compared with today's. According to the historian of English journalism, Alexander Andrews, the English newspaper has been developed "from a miserable sheet of flimsy paper, blotted with coarse letter-press...".⁶⁰ The form of the contemporary newspaper was more reminiscent of a book than of a modern newspaper. In the 17th century, however, the press was quite developed and influential. On July 11, 1637, the ecclesiastical authorities, namely Archbishop Laud, issued a decree limiting the number of newspapers to twenty. From then on the newspapers were licensed and appeared with such notices as "by order", "by authority", "cum privilegio", "with license", or "with allowance".⁶¹

⁵⁶ For discussion see: Joel Raba, 'Das Schicksal der Juden in der Ukraine während des Aufstands von Chmel'nyckyj in Spiegel zeitgenössischer Veröffentlichungen', "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas", XXXVII, No. 3, 1989, pp. 387-392.

⁵⁷ The "Wochentliche Zeitung", 1618-1678, was published under several headings, such as: "Ordinari Zeitung", "Wochentliche Donnerstags Zeitung", "Ordinari Dienstags Zeitung", "Europäische Mitwochentliche Zeitung", and "Europäische Sambstägige Zeitung", 1630-1675. The last two are listed in the bibliography as "Post Zeitung", cf., Raba, 'Das Schicksal der Juden...', p. 388.

⁵⁸ P. Riés, 'The Anatomy of a seventeenth-century Newspaper', "Daphnis. Zeitschrift für Deutsche Literatur", 6, 1977, p. 228, cf., Raba, p. 388.

⁵⁹ J. Kirchner, "Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftwesens", I (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰ A. Andrews, "The History of British Journalism", I (London, 1859), p. 1.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 53, 56.

Censorship did not, however, stop publishers from printing unlicensed newspapers. As a result, on September 30, 1647, the House of Lords passed a decree "prohibiting any person from making, writing, printing, selling, publishing, or uttering, or causing to be made, etc. any book, etc. etc., sheet or sheets of news whatsoever, except the same be licensed by both or either House of Parliament with the name of Author, printer, and licenser affixed, under pain of a penalty on the writer of forty shillings, or forty days' imprisonment..."⁶²

Clearly, the English newspapers were under severe censorship, which intensified during the reign of King Charles I (1625-1649). No wonder that the English newspapers at that time, according to Lord T. Macaulay, omitted domestic affairs, except for some unimportant events included in speeches of Parliament, and preferred to publish news about foreign affairs.⁶³ Instead, fear of the law grew and therefore "in all the newspapers of this time the foreign intelligence is the fullest and best reported" and a high standard of newspaper writing developed. The editors or writers were fluent in such foreign languages as Dutch, French, and German.⁶⁴

Since the English press used the German newspapers as its source of information, it would be useful to mention the development of the German press.⁶⁵ As in England, the German newspaper in the 17th century resembled a book and did not serve as a political organ. The objective of the editor was to amplify the incoming news and present it to the public in a clear manner. Because newspapers appeared regularly, correspondents were required to send news on time. As a rule, the names of the reporters were kept secret because of the severity of penalties. The publishers were held responsible for all that their newspaper contained, and any offence against any reigning monarch was punishable. It was not unusual for a publisher to be punished for such a slight offence as neglecting to print "His Majesty" in front of the name of an enemy king.⁶⁶ The editors were careful to avoid predictions or voicing opinions.⁶⁷ However, recent research suggests that the

⁶² Ibid, p. 54.

⁶³ James Grant, "The Newspaper Press: Its Origin, Progress and Present Position", I (London, 1871), p. 44.

⁶⁴ Andrews, "The History", pp. 101, 103-104.

⁶⁵ For the development of the German press in the 17th century see: Raba, 'Das Schicksal der Juden...', p. 387.

⁶⁶ H. Bingel, "Das Theatrum Europaeum, ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. Dissertation Munich 1906) (Berlin, 1909) pp. 111-112; L. Salomon, "Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Wiederaufrichtung des Deutschen Reiches". Band I: Das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Oldenburg, 1900), pp. 50-51.

⁶⁷ Ernst Consentius, "Die Berliner Zeitungen bis zur Regierung Friedrichs des Grossen", (Berlin, Haude und Spener, 1904), pp. 1-2.

editors were interested in influencing public opinion.⁶⁸ Communications for transmitting news were well organised. Since 1516 there were regular postal routes. From Frankfurt to Hamburg, for example, took seven days on horseback. Dispatches could reach Leipzig in five days.⁶⁹ Publishers of some newspapers sent their own reporters⁷⁰ to places where major events occurred, and the Kozak revolt provided rich material for the correspondents.

As mentioned, the Hamburg newspapers, through Stettin and Danzig, were very well informed. Close economic relations existed between Hamburg and Danzig since the latter was a very important trade centre for the export of grain and other goods from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷¹ How well the Hamburg newspapers were informed about events in the Kingdom of Poland is illustrated by the fact that already in May 1648 the correspondents from Danzig and Leipzig reported to the Hamburg publishers about the defeat of the Crown Polish troops at Zhovti Vody on May 16, 1648 (May 6 O.S.) and Korsun on May 26, 1648 (May 16 O.S.).⁷²

The London newspapers, using the German press as their source, also conscientiously reported about the Kozak insurrection. Thus Number 163 of "The Moderate Intelligencer" of May 4, 1648, using information from Danzig of April 1, 1648, reported that "a great number of the Cosaques of Saporoski being assembled together, after the beating of certain Polonian Troops, were withdrawn into place between two Rivers...".

The battle and Peace Treaty of Zboriv were reported in both Germany and England. In Germany, the semi-weekly "Europaeische Mitwochenliche Zeitung" (Hamburg, 1649) published a version of this treaty.⁷³

⁶⁸ Else Bogel, Elgel Blühm, "Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis mit historischen und bibliographischen Angaben", I, (Bremen, 1971), IX, cf., Raba, 'Das Schicksal', p. 387.

⁶⁹ Robert Eduard Prutz, "Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus. Zum ersten Male vollständig aus den Quellen bearbeitet von R.E. Prutz", Theil I (Hannover: F.F. Kius, 1845), pp. 90-91.

⁷⁰ Salomon, "Geschichte", p. 39.

⁷¹ For discussion see: Maria Bogucka, "Handel zagraniczny Gdanska w pierwszej polowinie XVII w. (Wroclaw, 1970); J. Baszanowski, "Z dziejow handlu polskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku (Gdansk, 1977); J.K. Fedorowicz, "England's Baltic trade in the early seventeenth century: A study in Anglo-Polish commercial diplomacy" (Cambridge, 1980).

⁷² "Ordentliches Zeitung", 1648, No. 24, Prima, 2 (Danzig, May 29); No. 26, Appendix 3-4 (Leipzig, June 16); "Wöchentliche Zeitung" (Leipzig, 1648), No. 106 (Danzig, June 21); cf., Raba, 'Das Schicksal', p. 389.

⁷³ For the full text see: Appendix 1; cf., T. Mackiw, 'Die deutsche Fassung des Friedensvertrages von Zboriv, 1649', in "Naukovi zapysy Ukrainskoho Tekhnichno-Hospodarskoho Instytutu", XXVI (1974-75), pp. 38-39.

Most probably this Hamburg newspaper used as its source of information a contemporary pamphlet (1649), written by an anonymous German officer in the Polish army, which contained the text of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv.⁷⁴

The London weekly "A Briefe Relation..." (October 16, 1649) published another version of this treaty.⁷⁵ It is likely that "A Briefe Relation" used the aforementioned Hamburg semi-weekly newspaper as its source of information since the editor stated: "... having formerlie given notice of what we had heard from Hambourgh...".

Polish, English, and German reports on the Treaty of Zboriv differ with regard to several of the articles. The terms of this agreement can be compared:

1. The preamble in the Polish text referred to a declaration of grace from the Polish king to the Kozaks, whereas the German text mentioned a settlement between the king and the Kozaks. In other words, the Polish text emphasised the king's benevolence, while the German version simply saw it as a settlement. The English report mentioned a settlement between Polish and Tatar representatives, thereby adhering to the German version.

2. Although all three reports cited the number of Kozaks as being 40,000, only the Polish version went on to indicate their specific territory, namely the three palatinates of Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv with their exact boundaries (Article II).

⁷⁴ Gründliche und Denckwürdige RELATION Der newlichen Cosaken-Unruh Wider Die Cron Polen/ Unter Commando Gen. Chmielnicki, als Gen. Hauptman/ Pultorock Cosaku, Obristen/ und Krziwanos, Obristen/ als Vornemsten Häuptern der Cosaken/ Von Anfang bis zur newlichen/ (Gott sey Lob!) unverhofften Friedens-Composition, so hiebey gefüget/ und darauff erhielten Königl. Perdon, Nach bewusten und zum theil selbst erfahrenen Umständen kürzlich verfasset Durch einen Namhafften Officirer/ jedoch dabey des Friedens Liebhabern. ANNO 1649./ — (The exact, memorable Report about the Command of General Chmielnicki [Hetman Khmelnytskyi] as the general military Commander, Colonel of the Kozak Regiment of Pultorock [such a name did not exist. It is so twisted that does not make any sense. Khmelnytskyi was a Colonel of the Chyhyryn Regiment] and Krziwanos [Maksym Kryvonis — "Wry Nose" — was an adventurer of Scottish extraction], a Colonel of the distinguished Kozak Commanders. From the beginning till the recent (Than God!) unexpected Peace Settlement, here attached and thereupon granted pardon by the King. Being well acquainted and having partly experienced the events, concisely written by a notable Officer, however, a lover of peace. Anno 1649). This publication is located in the Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAN) in Gdansk (formerly Danziger Stadtbibliothek) under the number PAN Gd NI 5, 80, adl. 5.

⁷⁵ "Briefe Relation" of October 16, 1649, No. 3, pp. 28-29. For the full text see Appendix No. 2. Another London weekly, "The Moderate Intelligencer" of October 4, 1649, No. 237 also published the terms of the Zboriv Treaty in an abbreviated form. For the full text see Appendix No. 3.

3. Only the Polish text mentioned that the Polish army was banned from the Kozak territory in the palatinates of Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv (Article VI).

4. The Polish text (Article VIII) reported on an agreement to hold negotiations concerning the abolition of the Uniate Church and the privileges of the Orthodox Church. In the German and English versions (Articles II and VI, respectively), the privileges of the Orthodox Church along with the abolition of the Uniate Church were actually specified.

5. All the higher offices in the palatinates of Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv were to be filled by noblemen of the Orthodox faith in the Polish text (Article IX). The German and English versions only mentioned that the palatine (*wojewoda*) of Kyiv should be of the Orthodox faith (Articles II and VII, respectively).

6. While the seventh article in the Polish text mentioned that the Jews were not permitted to live in the three said palatinates and the tenth article banned Jesuit schools from Kyiv and other cities in Ukraine, the German text relegated both subjects to Article X. The English text, by contrast, omitted both of these sections altogether.

7. Only the English text mentioned that Khmelnytskyi asked the king for pardon on his knees (Article II).

8. Articles IX and X in the English text stipulated that the khan should receive 100,000 crowns annually and that Poland must continue to pay the Tatars 12,000 crowns yearly as previously. The Polish and German texts, on the other hand, omitted all details altogether.

In conclusion, we can say that the reports in the London weekly "A Briefe Relation" of October 16, 1649, and the Hamburg semi-weekly "Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung" of 1649, contain no new details or material for further clarification of the Zboriv agreement. In fact, with careful comparison it is clear that the German and English newspapers presented rather distorted and incomplete versions of this treaty. Nonetheless, their publication does indicate the lively interest that existed in Western Europe concerning Khmelnytskyi's military operations and negotiations for the liberation of Ukraine.

Although the privileges granted to the Kozaks in the Zboriv Treaty did not secure a separate state, they did produce nascent Ukrainian statchood. The treaty was a recognition of an autonomous political entity (*raison d'etre*) in Ukraine. As Professor Sysyn pointed out, "the guarantee of a forty-thousand-man Cossack army ensured Hetman Khmel'nytskyi' his place as an almost independent ruler of the Ukraine".⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Sysyn, "Between Poland and the Ukraine", p. 173.

Appendix No. 1

The German text of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv in the Hamburg "Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung" of September 1649, No. 36:

Stettin/ den 8 ditto.

Aus Pohlen haben Nachricht/ daß weiln diese umb Perdon angehalten/ un dem König zu gehorsamen angelobet/ ein Vergleich getroffen seyn/ und auff diesen nachfolgenden Articulen bestehen solle:

Puncta des getroffenen Friedens/ zwischen Ihr Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und dem Chmielinsky.

1. Daß allezeit von der Kron Pohlen 40000 Cosaken gehalten werden sollen/ über welche der Chmielinsky¹ soll Hauptmann seyn/ deren Zahl er Ihr Kön. Maj. übergeben soll/ wie viel aus einem Dorff oder Stadt/ und weil ihm Pulver ist genommen/ daß sie ihme möge wider gegeben werden.
2. Daß die Griechische Religion in der Kron Pohlen soll gelitten werden/ auch zu Krakau und allenthalben/ und daß die Union soll abgeschaffet werden.
3. Daß der Woywoda zu Giow allezeit soll Reussischer Religion seyn.

Translation

Stettin, the 8th

We have a report from Poland that a settlement has been arranged between the King and the Kozaks, who requested pardon and promised the King obedience. This settlement consists of the following articles:

The articles of the treaty between His Royal Majesty of Poland and Chmielinsky¹ provide:

1. That 40,000 Kozaks should be maintained by the Kingdom of Poland at all times; they will remain under the command of Chmielinsky¹; he should submit to His Royal Majesty the register of the Kozaks; that the number of persons to be supplied by each village or city should be fixed individually as well as the amount of gunpowder.
2. That the Greek faith should be recognised in the whole Kingdom of Poland, even in Cracow, and that the Uniate Church should be abolished.
3. That the Governor of Kyiv should be of Ruthenian religion at all times.

¹ Khmelnytskyi

4. Was die Geistlichen der Reu-
schen Religion werden vonnöhten
haben/ daß ihrer Expostulation
möge ein genügen geschehen.
5. Daß die Herren/ wann sie wider
zu dem ihrigen gelangen/ ihren
Schaden an den Unterthanen nicht
suchen noch sich rächen sollen.
6. Daß die Herren/ wann sie wieder
zu dem ihrigen gelangen/ ihren
Schaden an den Unterthanen nicht
suchen noch sich rächen sollen.
7. Daß den Edelleuten/ so wol
Römisch alß Reußischer Religion
zugehan/ so sich bey Chmilinsky¹
auffhalten/ solches nicht vergol-
ten werde/ sondern frey seyn
sollen.
8. Daß den Cosaken soll frey seyn
Brandtwein zu ihrer Nohtdurfft
zu brennen/ aber nit zu verkauffen.
9. Daß die Kosaken zu Kiew und auff
der gantzen Ukraini/ wie auch zu
Cremickow²: Bar: und Winnica seyn
sollen/ Bier an die Krüge zu ver-
schaffen/ den Cosaken aber nur
Brandtwein zu ihrer Nohtdurfft zu
machen.
10. Daß kein Jesuiter auff der
Ukraine (inn den Kirchen ausgenom-
men) auff der Ukraine kein Jude
seyn.
4. That the needs of the clergy of
the Ruthenian religion will be met
at their request.
5. That all excesses that have
occurred hitherto should not be
mentioned and forgotten.
6. That the landlords, when they
return to their estates, should
neither seek reimbursement of their
losses nor take revenge on their
peasants.
7. That the noblemen of both Roman
Catholic or Ruthenian faith, who
joined Chmilinsky,¹ should not be
punished, but rather pardoned.
8. That the Kozaks should be free
to make brandy for their own use but
not to sell it.
9. That the Kozaks should be free
in Kyiv and in the whole Ukraine as
well as in Chernihiv, Bar, and
Vinnytsia, but are required to pro-
vide the landlords with beer, however,
they should be allowed to make
brandy for themselves only.
10. That no Jesuits should be
allowed to stay in Ukraine
(except in the churches); neither
should Jews stay in Ukraine.

¹ Khmelnytskyi² Chernihiv¹ Khmelnytskyi

Appendix No. 2

The text of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv published in the London weekly "A Briefe Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions Civill and Military, both Forraigne and Domestique" of October 16, 1649, No. 3, pp. 28-29.

... And it was agreed that the Pole should send his great Chancellour with eleven eothers, and the Cham¹ his Vizier with as many, and they being met in the view of the two Armies standing in Battalia it was agreed between them.

I.

That the King should give a generall pardon to all the Cosaques, and that all things past should be as if they had not been.

II.

That Chimelnisky² their Generall should demand pardon of the King upon his knees, and his head bowed downe to the ground.

III.

That he should neverthelesse continue Generall of the said Cosaques, to the number of 40,000, in which quality he should depend onely upon the King when he had made an Act of acknowledgement for the Republique as a Gentleman of Poland.

IV.

That the King of Poland should keepe a Register of the names and dwellings of the above said 40,000 men, who in case of the death of their General Chimelnisky,² should be commanded by one of their own Chiefs of the Greek Church.

V.

That the Army besieged should be set at liberty the same day.

VI.

That the Greek Religion may be exercised throughout the Kingdome, even at Cracovia,³ and that there shall be no more Greekes united to the Roman Church.⁴

¹ Khan

² Khmelnytskyi

³ Cracow

⁴ The Uniate Church (1596)

VII.

That the Palatinate of Kion¹ shall be always given to a Greek Lord.

VIII.

That the Metropolitan of the Greekes shall have his seat in the Senate among the Bishops, and shall have the ninth place.

IX.

That the Cham of Tartars shall retire with his Army; That he shall receive 100,000 Crownes, wereof third shall be paid in hand, and hostage sufficient and solvent shall be given for the other two thirds.

X.

That Poland shall continue to pay the Tartars the 12,000. accustomed for each yeare, as it hath been payd since the raigne of Sigsmund Augustas,² upon condition that they shall be obliged to come to the helpe of the Poles when they shall be thereunto required, with the number of 40,000.

XI.

That the Cosaques shall have permission to make aquavitae for themselves, but not to sell.

¹ Kyiv

² Sigismund II Augustus, 1548-1572.

Appendix No. 3

Another London weekly, "The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially Communicating Martiall Affaires to the Kingdome of England" of October 4, 1649, No. 237, published the terms of the Zboriv agreement in an abbreviated form:

It is confirmed, that the King of Poland's Army fought with, the Cossagues and Tartars two dayes together; on both sides a numerous multitude was slain, the King of Poland had the greatest losse, not being so numerous as his enemy, the most of his Gentry not yet come unto him, and those present did not fight so couragiously, insomuch, that the King after the fight was ended, was surrounded by his numerous Enemy, and so in a manner forced to make peace in the open field to his enemies great content, and his own disparagement, and prejudice to the Crown, the Cossagues have obtained not only their ancient privileges, honours and offices in temporall and spirituals, but brought to passe that the Jesuits, and Jews, be banished out of the Cossaque Quarters: The Articles agreed upon (almost which an act oblivion, and no party to seeke any revenge in the future in the least degree) are to be confirmed and performed and the next Dyet to be held for that purpose, after the Armies are totally withdrawn: Five Starorosteys or Counties pawned to the Cossagues till the Articles agreed on are performed, and Generall Chimelnisky¹ is in the King's Camp for the clearing of some intricate points and the waywode of Crakaw² is in the Cossagues Campe. The Tartars for their dispatch have 300,000 Guilders, which money, for the most part, is paid already, the Cossagues are to receive all their Arrears which Crown of Poland is owing unto them.

¹ Khmelnytskyi

² Cracow

Literature

HER EXCELLENCY
A dramatic poem in five acts

By Lesya Ukrainka
 (Transl. Vera Rich)

Act V

(Stepan's garden. The back wall of the house can be seen. The tiny panes of the windows of the women's bower are visible and a gallery with steps. At one side of the garden is a summerhouse covered in greenery and flowers. In the summerhouse, there is a large Turkish couch with cushions. The Mother and Oksana slowly come down the steps from the women's bower. Two servant-girls support Oksana's arms. Oksana is wearing a simple loose house gown, without a headdress. Her head is wrapped in a silk shawl in Ukrainian style. Oksana is ill, her eyes are sunken but very bright, her cheeks have an unhealthy flush)

MOTHER: *(going ahead to the summerhouse, and directing the servants to the couch)*

Now, help Her Excellency lie down there,
 Then off with you, and back to work again.

(The servant girls settle Oksana on the couch and return to the bower)

Well, darling, do you feel better out here
 You breathe more freely?

OXSANA: Breathe more freely?
 (She sinks back on the pillows)

MOTHER: Rest,
 Lie down and rest, dear! Would you like to sleep?

OXSANA: I'd like to sleep... Only I'm so afraid...

MOTHER: God bless you! What is it you are afraid of?

OXSANA: I have such horrid nightmares when I sleep.

MOTHER: Why, then, you know, you should pray to St. Joseph,
 For he's the patron who makes all dreams good.

- OKSANA: As soon as I came here, my dreams all changed,
When I was back at home I used to dream
That I was flying. It was really lovely...
I've never dreamed that here...
- MOTHER: You see, my dear
When you dream that you're flying, then you grow,
And so it is young people have such dreams.
But now you've finished growing...
- OKSANA: Yes... of course...
- MOTHER: *(arranging the cushions)*
Now lie back comfortably, have a good sleep,
(She sits beside her at her feet)
And I shall sit with you and say a prayer
That God will send you health while you're asleep.
(She takes out an amber rosary, and begins to pray, her lips moving quietly. Oksana falls asleep. Stepan enters from the ground floor of the house. His mother shakes her head, warning him to approach slowly and make no noise, then she gets up cautiously and goes to meet him at the other end of the garden, away from the summer house)
- MOTHER: *(in a low voice)*
What did the German doctor say? There's hope?
- STEPAN: "With God all things are possible!"
- MOTHER: Of course,
Nevertheless, it's not a sin to use
All human skill.
- STEPAN: He will do so, Mamma.
He is a scholar of great skill and learning
But, when an illness is so serious?
- MOTHER: But when exactly did it come upon her?...
Maybe someone bewitched her at Hannusya's
Wedding, for since then she's been growing weaker.
- STEPAN: No, it seems that it started long before...
- MOTHER: Really? No, no! She was a healthy girl.
It must have been the wedding... Well, what did
The German say? What does he think it is?
Is it the evil eye? Maybe a shock?

A pity that we have no village sages
Here; back at home, they'd know the counter-charm.

STEPAN: No. Mother, this is not a case for charms,
This is an illness.

MOTHER: What kind? What's its name?

STEPAN: He said, "Your gracious lady's pining for
Her native land — Yes, there is such an illness".
He even told me what it's called in Greek.

MOTHER: Let him say what it's called in every language,
Providing there's a remedy...

STEPAN: He said
That if we could get her back to Ukraine,
She might be well once more.

MOTHER: Well then, my son,
At least the German told the truth in this.
The poor dear girl has grown so weary here.
For, after all, she came from far away...
We can't all get used to a foreign land.
Some of us can, and others can't, so...

STEPAN: Mother,
I'll ask the Tsar to give me leave to visit
Oksana's father. Do you think he might?

MOTHER: He may well grant it, now the war is over.

STEPAN: I'll tell him that I have to go to Kyiv
To take my wife, who is an invalid,
To pray there to the saints in all the shrines
For her recovery — he might grant that?

MOTHER: He certainly should grant it. It's a sin
Not to let people go on pilgrimage!
Stepan, that is really a fine idea,
To go on pilgrimage would do more good
Than anything doctors can do for her.
(She sighs, looking at the sky)
Why see, the sun is setting; it is evening.
Son, you should go and rouse Oksana now,

- An invalid should never sleep at sunset.
And I shall go and brew her a tisane,
To have it ready for her for the night.
- STEPAN: Thank you, for taking so much trouble for her.
- MOTHER: Well, son, we brought the poor child far from home,
So we must do the best for her we can.
(Exit into the bower. Stepan goes to Oksana and kisses her quietly. She rouses.)
- OKSANA: Is that you, Stepan? I have been dreaming
How brilliantly the moon used to shine
Over my father's orchard...
- STEPAN: *(with forced gaiety)*
Moonlight, darling?
That's strange, for there is sunlight on you now!
- OKSANA: Why, maybe the moonlight is brighter there
Than sunlight here...
- STEPAN: Do not be sad, Oksana.
Soon we shall see once more how very bright
Both sun and moonlight are back in Ukraine.
- OKSANA: What? Am I dying, then? Then certainly
My soul will fly back home...
- STEPAN: God bless you, darling!
Would ever I say such a thing as that?
I have been thinking we might go together
To see your family.
- OKSANA: *(ironically)*
You have been thinking
Of miracles! The Tsar will change his mind!
- STEPAN: The Tsar will grant me leave. Things in Ukraine
Have quietened down.
- OKSANA: *(sharply)*
What was it you said?
Quietened down? When freedom is destroyed,
Ukraine is lying under Moscow's heel,
Is that what you call peace — an utter ruin?

Well I, myself, will soon have "quietened down"
In my grave.

STEPAN:

You'll get better in Ukraine,
For even Moscow can't block out the sun,
Blight all your native woods, nor parch up all
The merry streams.

OKSANA: (*gloomily and resolutely*)

Enough, don't speak of it!
Never again shall I go anywhere.

STEPAN:

Why not?

OKSANA:

I do not want to.

STEPAN:

What's the matter,
Oksana? You seem strange! What are you saying?

OKSANA: (*flaring up, and sitting upright*)

And it seems strange to me that you've the face
To think now of returning to Ukraine!
You sat and sat here safe and sound in Moscow,
Throughout the bloodshed, and while all the struggle
For very life was raging in Ukraine —
But now, when "things have quietened down", you're going
Back to enjoy yourself there in the sun,
To find what plundering hands have left unravaged,
To seek rest in what woods were left unburned.
You want to go sightseeing in the rubble,
Or where the rivers once flowed broad with blood
And tears?...

STEPAN:

So now you are reproaching me...
And yet you once told me that you could only
A suitor's hand providing it
Were clean of blood?

OKSANA:

Truly, I did say so...
We are both guilty. We were both afraid
Of bloodshed and of Tatars and the rack,
And crooked oaths and Muscovite informers,
And so we never thought how it would be
After it all had "quietened down" — Stepan,
Give me your hand...

STEPAN: What for

OKSANA: Do you not want to?

STEPAN: But why?
(he gives Oksana his hand)

OKSANA: (*looking at Stepan's hand and her own*)
It seems as if these hands are clean,
And yet I always dream that they are covered
Not with blood, no... but with a kind of rust...
Like sometimes on old sabre-blades, you know?
(*She drops his hand and lies back again. She speaks more slowly, languidly and with pauses*)

My father had a sabre just like that...
They'd put it in the attic. And we found it,
My brother and I,... we wanted to play "war"...
We could not draw it... quite stuck to the scabbard...
All rusted in... That is what we are like...
Grown like that sabre in its scabbard... rusted
Forever...

STEPAN: Ah, Oksana, you are skillful
At cutting with sharp words and not a knife.

OKSANA: That is the only skill I have, no other.
Even I ought to have some sort of skill...
(*Silence*)

When I am dead, don't choose another wife
Out of Ukraine, better a Muscovite...

STEPAN: Oksana!

OKSANA: Yes, we all can cut with words
But women here are too afraid to do it...

STEPAN: (*in agony*)
Pity yourself, and pity me a little!

OKSANA: I have done too much pitying — that's my grief...
If I'd been strong enough and had no pity
I would have broken out, clear from this yoke —
And you would have been free of clinging rust...
We're clean — but useless to ourselves and others!

STEPAN: Oksana, darling! Let's go to Ukraine!
I beg you, dear! Your father and your mother,
Your family and friends are there; among them
You will get better.

OKSANA: *(turning away)*
I should never dare
To look them in the face...

STEPAN: Then come to Kyiv
There we can pray and ask God to forgive us,
And to restore your health!

OKSANA: What good is that?
Will it help anyone if I recover?
Will it help me?

STEPAN: It will help me, beloved!
I love you dearly!

OKSANA: You may think you do...
You pity me, indeed, but as for love...
Why ever should you... Now, I have become
Such a bad wife to you, capricious, moody...

STEPAN: No, no, my lovely darling!

OKSANA: Am I lovely?
I may have been so once upon a time,
But any beauty faded long ago...

STEPAN: *(strokes her hand, bending his head over her)*
You will upset yourself speaking so,
You mustn't talk so much...

OKSANA: Yes, that is true...

STEPAN: And why do you reproach yourself thus, darling?
Fate has tormented us so bitterly
That God will surely pardon all our sins.
Some lost blood from their wounds, we from our hearts,
Some folk were exiled, others cast in prison,
While we must suffer unseen fetters on us,
Some have a moment's fortune in clear battle,
But we are stifled by a heavy stupor

And we have not been granted energy
To break free of the stupor...

OKSANA: *(more quietly and gently than before)*

Yes, that's true,
But there is no one who will understand
While we still live. And so we have to die.
You surely will outlive me, so I'll give
My will and testament into your hand,
And you must give it to my family
And friends, if any of them have survived.

STEPAN: *(with bitter grief)*

Better if I were saying this to you!

OKSANA: *(sitting up and drawing him to her)*

No, darling, the world still has need of you,
There are still tasks that you can carry out.
You were not born to be a fighter, but
After the war, you can help the defeated,
Often before, you've done it. Not all soldiers
Die on the field, there will be many wounded...
Help them grow strong again, and then, maybe
One day perhaps... they'll march again to war,
They will remember you with grateful words...
Or if not — don't regret that you have helped.

(They sit for a while in silence, embracing)

STEPAN: *(rising and giving Oksana his hand)*

Come, darling. I will take you back indoors,
Look, the sun has almost set.

OKSANA:

Let's go.

(Leaning on Stepan's arm she goes towards the house. Before she reaches the steps, she stops and turns to look at the setting sun which is just vanishing below the horizon)

Goodnight, dear sun! You're travelling west. So you
Can see Ukraine — Tell her I send my love!

CURTAIN

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

BLACK SEA FLEET DISPUTE UNRESOLVED

ODESSA, April 30 — Russia and Ukraine ended their talks on the Black Sea Fleet without an agreement on how to split up the ships of the former Soviet navy, but each side said it would refrain from further unilateral action. A joint communique said the two countries had agreed to a moratorium on any future unilateral actions to seize control of the fleet and that more negotiations would be held. The two-day negotiating session in the Black Sea city of Odessa was adjourned until mid-May.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION FROM CANADA

KYIV, April 30 — A Canadian delegation headed by Gerald R. Ottenheimer, Chairman of the Canadian Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Kyiv on a business visit. According to the Chairman, Canada is ready to help Ukraine to integrate the republic in the European and world economic processes by developing comprehensive cooperation with the country. A number of specific proposals were made including the possibility of constructing a car-building factory in Ukraine. Other projects were suggested in the fields of farming, tourism and sports.

AGREEMENT ON JOINT GAS VENTURE

KYIV, April 30 — Iran and Ukraine reached agreement on the transfer of 25 billion cubic metres of gas from Iran to Ukraine and the export of some of that gas to Europe. Oil Minister Aqazadeh, in a meeting in Teheran with Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Masik and some other visiting officials from that country, said: The three countries of Iran, Ukraine, and the Republic of Azerbaijan are to set up a joint company to transfer Iranian gas to Ukraine and Europe, with 45 per cent of the company shares belonging to the Republic of Azerbaijan. He added: This company will be responsible for constructing a 56-inch diameter pipeline, in the course of three years, for the purpose of transferring gas from Iran to Ukraine. To meet the financial costs of the project, international financial sources will be provided access.

UKRAINIAN REPUBLICAN PARTY HOLDS CONGRESS

KYIV, May 1 — The third congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party began in the capital of Ukraine attracting over 500 delegates from across the country. The Ukrainian Republican Party is considered to be one of the most influential parties in the country having some 12,000 members. A programme of action taken as a

principle by the party council stated that "The Ukrainian Republican Party believes the major CIS mission, a civilised self-elimination of the empire, has exhausted itself, and calls for the Ukrainian separation from the Commonwealth of Independent States".

KRAVCHUK MEETS TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

ANKARA, May 4 — During an official visit to Turkey, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk met with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. The two exchanged opinions on the development of mutually-advantageous bilateral cooperation. Kravchuk called for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the Black Sea Basin which would serve as an example for the entire world. He also brought up the problem of the returning Crimean Tatars, stating that this is not a regional problem and must be resolved through inter-state efforts.

REPRESENTATION AT NATO CONFERENCE

KYIV, May 5 — Lt.-Gen. Georgy Zhivitsa, acting chief of the general staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, participated in a conference of the NATO European Command which discussed military cooperation of NATO member-countries and East European states.

CRIMEAN PARLIAMENT DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

KYIV, May 5 — The local legislature in the Crimean peninsula declared independence for the region. The declaration of independence passed by a 118 to 28 vote in the Crimean parliament will come into effect and seek to cancel Ukrainian control of the area if confirmed by a referendum expected this summer in the Black Sea peninsula of 2.5 million people.

UKRAINE COMPLETES TACTICAL NUCLEAR TRANSFER

KYIV, May 6 — Ukraine has completed the transfer of the last of its tactical nuclear weapons to Russia for destruction. The last of the weapons was brought across the border to Russia 25 days ahead of schedule. Tactical missiles have already been removed from the former Soviet republics of Belarus and Kazakhstan. The larger inter-continental strategic missiles are due to be removed from Ukraine by the end of 1994, establishing Ukraine as a non-nuclear state.

\$110 MILLION IN GSM CREDITS TO UKRAINE

KYIV, May 6 — The Bush administration announced Ukraine is eligible to receive \$110 million in GSM-102 agricultural credits. That is the share allotted to Ukraine so far from the \$500 million in agricultural credits the White House extended to Ukraine and the other former Soviet republics — other than Russia — provided they could qualify for the commercial credit programme.

Ukraine originally requested \$300 million in credits to buy feed grains, wheat and other products. USDA has been collecting financial information on Ukraine to determine its ability to repay the loans, which are backed by the US government. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said Ukraine wanted US credits for technology and economic development as well as for food. He said after a meeting with President Bush that "Ukraine would like to have some credits to create new technologies and to transfer to a market economy as soon as possible. We are not asking for credits to eat them up as food products".

CRIMEAN PARLIAMENT REVERSES INDEPENDENCE VOTE

SIMFEROPIL, May 6 — The Crimean parliament reversed a declaration of independence by changing its constitution to say that the peninsula formed part of Ukraine. "The republic of Crimea is part of the state of Ukraine and determines its own relations with Ukraine on the basis of treaties and agreements", an amendment to the region's constitution said. The amendment was passed by a large majority of deputies.

US, UKRAINE LIFT TRAVEL BANS ON DIPLOMATS

WASHINGTON, May 7 — Ukraine and the United States signed an agreement that would allow their respective diplomats to travel freely in both countries. Before the breakup of the Soviet Union, travel by US and Soviet diplomats was severely limited. Many areas were closed and visits to "open" areas required advance permission. The State Department said in a statement this would still exclude military bases, sensitive installations and facilities normally closed to the public in all countries.

KRAVCHUK MAKES CASE FOR US INVESTMENT

NEW YORK, May 11 — Investment in Ukraine would give US business access to a huge market and help the fledgling state hasten economic reform, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told a group of US businessmen in New York.

Kravchuk said Ukraine was having difficulty embracing market reforms because links with the command economy remained. He said US business could speed up economic reform by investing in the country and bringing market expertise.

KRAVCHUK SAYS HE WILL MISS CIS SUMMIT

KYIV, May 12 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said he would miss the summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States because of a scheduled meeting with President Mauno Koivisto of Finland. "I have a meeting with Koivisto and will not be able to make it to Tashkent on time", the Ukrainian leader told reporters at Kyiv airport. The absence of Kravchuk, head of the Commonwealth's second most powerful state, from the planned summit in the Uzbek capital, Tashkent, is likely to irritate Russia and limit the summit's capacity to take decisions.

TOUGHER CONTROLS ALONG MOLDOVAN FRONTIER

ODESSA, May 12 — Ukrainian Minister Valentyn Simonenko issued an order on measures to guard the state borders with Moldova. The order envisages strict passport and other border controls for people crossing the Ukrainian-Moldovan border, as well as a suspension of all tourist and other package trips to Moldova. Additional border guards and militia units have been sent to the frontier area.

MILITARY SERVICE REDUCED

KYIV, May 12 — Ukraine reduced the term of obligatory military service for privates and petty officers from 24 to 18 months and granted one year service to draftees with higher education. The new law introduces 3 types of service - obligatory, contractual and alternative. The term of service by contract equals 3 years. Those whose religious beliefs do not allow them to carry arms are required to fulfil alternative service. The law states that the defence of Ukraine is the constitutional duty of each citizen. Military ranks remain the same with the Army General being the top military post.

UKRAINE ANNULS CRIMEAN INDEPENDENCE; RUSSIAN SAYS MOSCOW HAS NO CLAIMS ON PENINSULA

KYIV — The Supreme Council of Ukraine on Wednesday, May 13, annulled a declaration of independence by the parliament of Crimea.

The parliament voted by 340 votes to six to annul two resolutions passed last week by the mainly Russian-speaking territory proclaiming itself independent and calling a referendum for August 2. "We are talking about a region which could

become explosive and which involves two great powers — Ukraine and Russia”, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told the chamber in an impassioned speech. “We do not want Crimea to be that region which leads to tragedy in the relations between Ukraine and Russia”.

The vote came after the Crimean parliament first voted on Tuesday, May 5, to proclaim its independence then on the following day adopted a constitution which said that Crimea is a part of Ukraine but settles its matters autonomously.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, the chairman of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, said on Monday, May 18, that Russia has no claims on the Crimean peninsula and values good relations with neighbouring Ukraine. Khasbulatov was quoted as saying that a Russian parliamentary resolution questioning the legality of a 1954 transfer of Crimea to Ukraine from Russia did not mean Russia was claiming the Black Sea territory. “We value relations with Ukraine”, Khasbulatov said, adding that the people of Crimea had the right to conduct a referendum.

Prior to the vote in the Ukrainian parliament, Kravchuk said, “During and after a referendum in Crimea there will be a serious increase in tension in Crimea. We will all be responsible for bloodshed”. He appealed for top-level talks with Russian authorities to preclude any intensification of the dispute.

“Ukraine’s executive powers and its president will not allow that which is a violation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine”, Kravchuk said.

Deputies declared the Crimean declarations unconstitutional and gave authorities there a week to rescind them. They also authorised Kravchuk to take measures “to restore constitutional order” in the region. This was widely interpreted as approval for the dispatch of presidential officials to oversee affairs there. But parliament stopped short of declaring direct rule from Kyiv in the region, as many deputies had demanded.

Outside the parliament building, several thousand Ukrainians rallied against the Crimean independence vote. The protest was organised by the Ukrainian National Assembly and other groups, whose demands went beyond that which was adopted by the Ukrainian lawmakers. Some demonstrators demanded that Ukraine leave the Commonwealth.

Should Crimea fail to comply with Ukraine’s demand, it is expected that authorities in Kyiv could resort to tougher measures, including dissolution of the Crimean parliament.

Crimean deputies in Kyiv served notice they had no intention of backing down. Nikolai Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean parliament, said his region’s proclamation had the backing of both parliament and public opinion.

Other Crimean activists predicted Russia would use the referendum to press for the transfer to Moscow of other Russian-speaking areas in eastern Ukraine. Prominent Russian politicians, including Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi and the liberal mayors of Moscow and St Petersburg, have suggested Russia would be

within its rights to reclaim the region. But top Ukrainian officials have made it plain they have no intention of yielding any of their territory.

Among the most virulent opponents of the Crimean proclamation was Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the 200,000 strong Tatar minority deported en masse to Central Asia under dictator Josef Stalin.

BANKS HESITANT ON UKRAINE GSM LOANS

KYIV, May 13 — Private banks are hesitant to make loans to Ukraine under the GSM credit programme, even though the loans are fully backed by the US government. Because Ukraine has no track record handling letters of credit and other banking duties required by the credits, banks are likely to charge more on the loans to cover their risks. The US Agriculture Department on Tuesday allocated \$110 million in credits to Ukraine, with half to be available immediately and the remainder after June 30.

CIS SHOULD BE REFORMED

KYIV, May 14 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said the Commonwealth of Independent States should be reformed, but that he did not want Ukraine to secede from the 11-nation group. "If it is not useful it should be changed. That does not mean it should be destroyed", Kravchuk told reporters. He said other republics agreed with this view, including those of Central Asia. Hope for substantive agreements at a two-day summit of the ex-Soviet states beginning tomorrow in Uzbekistan's capital, Tashkent, has been dimmed by Kravchuk's refusal to attend. Presidents of some other CIS states, grappling with internal political turmoil, are also staying away. The participation of the presidents of Azerbaijan and Tadzhikistan is in doubt, while Moldova will be represented by Prime Minister Valery Muravsky. Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, who will attend the summit in Kravchuk's place, said he would have full powers to sign agreements at the meeting.

ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS SET UP IN RUSSIA

KYIV, May 15 — An Association of Ukrainians residing in Russia was set up at a conference in Moscow. Representatives from Ukrainian societies in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Volgograd, Elista, Magadan, Novy Urengoy, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Surgut, Ufa, Yekaterinburg, Murmansk and several other cities attended the gathering. There are now 42 regional and local Ukrainian fellow-countrymen's societies in Russia. The purpose of the new organisation is to pool the efforts of the

Ukrainian organisations in Russia in order to revive, study and propagate Ukrainian culture, to foster Ukrainian national awareness and to establish close contacts with between Ukrainians in Russia and Ukraine.

SHAKY SUMMIT

UZBEKISTAN, May 15 — The absence of five of the eleven CIS heads of state from a regular summit left many wondering if the commonwealth was as shaky as its meeting room, which was rocked by a moderate earthquake shortly after the session convened. Delegations from all 11 former Soviet republics gathered in the capital of the Central Asian republic Uzbekistan to discuss a long list of economic and political issues, but the meeting was overshadowed by the refusal of some top leaders to attend. Prospects for significant agreements were slim. The absence for various reasons of heads of state from Ukraine, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan and Azerbaijan demonstrated the flagging interests of some former Soviet republics in the commonwealth as well as escalating tension between some republics. An earthquake measuring between 4 and 5 on the Soviet 12-point scale shook the Uzbek capital shortly after the presidents of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan sat down with lower-level officials from the other CIS members and the Georgian prime minister who attended as an observer.

UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC BISHOPS HOLD FIRST SYNOD ON UKRAINIAN SOIL

LVIV — The first synod of Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops on the territory of Ukraine since the Church's liquidation in 1946 was held in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv from May 17-31, writes the Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The sessions, which were closed to the public, were held in the Cathedral of St. George, the cathedral church of the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivskyi, Major Archbishop of Lviv, Metropolitan of Kyiv-Halych and Bishop of Kamianets-Podilskyi.

This historic synod had special significance for two reasons. Firstly, it is the first synod to be held on territory since the elevation of the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to Major Archbishop with all the rights of a patriarch; and secondly, it is the first synod to be held on the territory of Ukraine and in the Cathedral of St. George since the liquidation of the Church at the pseudo-synod of Lviv of 8-10 March 1946.

All thirty Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops from Ukraine and the West arrived in Lviv to participate in this synod.

The synod opened on Sunday, May 17, with a pontifical divine liturgy at the Cathedral of St. George, celebrated by Cardinal Lubachivskyi and his brother bishops. The liturgy was broadcast live on Lviv television.

This synod was called by Cardinal Lubachivskyi a little more than one year after his return to Lviv on March 30, 1991. Of primary importance in the two-week long meeting was the appointment of new bishops; the establishment of new eparchies in Ukraine; the application of the new code of canon law for Eastern Churches and the development of particular rights for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church; the relationship of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the West to the Church in Ukraine; and the declaration of the invalidation of the pseudo-synod of Lviv.

The head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has retained the title of "Major Archbishop" since 1963. At the Second Vatican Council, the elevation in title was given to then-Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj who had suffered 18 years imprisonment under the communist government of the Soviet Union. The title of "Major Archbishop" gave all the rights of a patriarch to the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. These rights were effective only when the Major Archbishop was on territory and have been activated with the return of Cardinal Lubachivskyi to his See, the Archeparchy of Lviv.

In addition to celebrating the opening divine liturgy at the Cathedral of St. George, Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops celebrated divine liturgy in the Church of the Transfiguration on Sunday, May 24, and closed the synod on Sunday, May 31, at the Cathedral of St. George. A special concert was held at the Lviv Opera Theatre that evening.

UKRAINIAN-POLISH TREATY SIGNED

KYIV, May 18 — Poland and Ukraine signed a treaty of cooperation which seeks to set the stage for a golden age of cooperation between the two historical foes. President Lech Walesa and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk also signed documents on border crossings, college diplomas, transportation and agricultural and scientific cooperation, as well as a declaration on cultural cooperation. Significantly, the pact was signed two days before Walesa travels to Moscow to sign a similar treaty of cooperation with Russia — an indication of the political importance both nations place on improved bilateral relations.

UKRAINE AND BELARUS JOIN NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

KYIV, May 19 — Ukraine and Belarus have become associated members of the North Atlantic Assembly after a decision made by the Assembly's spring session in Banff, Canada.

OMAN ESTABLISHES DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

MUSCAT, May 19 — Oman and Ukraine established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. In a joint communique the two countries said that their relations would be founded on “the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect of sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit according to the United Nations Charter”.

KHMELNYTSKYI PLANT SHUT FOR 3 HOURS

KYIV, May 20 — The Khmelnytskyi nuclear reactor was shut down for three hours after a safety system was switched on by mistake. The safety system controlling the vibration of bearings in the turbine was switched on by mistake and in turn this stopped the turbine and the generator of the reactor. No changes in background radiation were registered in or near the station.

UKRAINE PROTESTS AGAINST DISCRIMINATORY RECRUITMENT

KYIV, May 22 — Ukraine accused the commonwealth military leadership of packing the disputed Black Sea Fleet with non-Ukrainian conscripts. Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov told CIS armed forces commander Yevgeny Shaposhnikov in a letter published by Ukrinform news agency such recruitment should be suspended and Kyiv reserved the right to prevent “illegal actions”.

KYIV TELLS MOSCOW — DON'T MEDDLE IN UKRAINIAN AFFAIRS

KYIV — In the wake of the Russian parliament's decision to invalidate the transfer of Crimea to Ukraine, the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine told Moscow that its intrusion into the internal affairs of Ukraine could destabilise the region.

Kyiv said on Saturday, May 23, that the adoption by the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation of the resolution is “a step which is contradictory to the norms and principles of contemporary international law and bears dangerous and unpredictable consequences. It is designed to undermine such basic principles of the Helsinki Final Act as the principles of territorial integrity of states and inviolability of borders”.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's statement also said that Russia's one-sided questioning of the existing borders between two sovereign member-states of the United Nations “may undermine stability on the continent”.

It underscored that the transfer of Crimea to Ukraine was undertaken in accordance with laws in existence in 1954. “The question on the status of Crimea is an internal matter of Ukraine and cannot be a subject of negotiations with any other

states", the Foreign Ministry's note declared, emphasising that Ukraine has no territorial claims against any state and rejects all claims against its territory. "Ukraine is striving to further develop good-neighbourly relations with the Russian Federation, believing that relations of that kind fully meet the national interests of the peoples of both states".

Russia's parliament had declared on Thursday, May 21, after the Crimean parliament rescinded its independence declaration that the Soviet-era transfer of Crimea from Russia to Ukraine was illegal. Deputies said the parliament, meeting in closed session, passed a two-point resolution saying the legal bases for the handover "were adopted in violation of the constitution and have no legal force".

The resolution said that, while Russia had no territorial claims on Ukraine, the status of Crimea should be settled in negotiations between Moscow and Kyiv.

Sergei Filatov, first deputy chairman of the parliament, told reporters that "the reaction of Ukraine would be painful". Liberal Sergei Kovalyov said after the vote that "territorial disputes are unavoidable".

Filatov also told reporters a 1990 agreement not to change existing frontiers "is valid only [as long as Ukraine remains] within the Commonwealth".

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev told Itar-Tass news agency the debate had been emotional but parliament had taken a "balanced" decision. "All these questions connected with Crimea must be solved by the path of negotiations with Ukraine", he said. The Russian parliament also approved in principle a statement accusing Ukraine, which has created its own army, of "senselessly" dividing the former Soviet military and wavering on a commitment to rid itself of nuclear weapons. "Painful wounds have already been inflicted on our [Russian] society by senseless attempts to divide the armed forces artificially, by the struggle for the navy... by zigzags in relation to the problem of destroying nuclear arms", it said.

It added that Russians were demanding "effective measures to protect the state interests of the Russian Federation". The declaration urged Kravchuk "to refrain from any action that could suppress the will of the Crimean population which has... the full right to decide its fate independently". Deputies were expected to approve a final wording of the statement on Friday before sending it to the Ukrainian parliament.

Earlier, the parliament of the Crimean peninsula voted to revoke its declaration of independence. The move ended almost 24 hours of confusion about whether the leaders in the Black Sea peninsula were backing down in their war of words with the Ukrainian leadership in Kyiv. The parliament also voted to delay a decision whether to hold a referendum on the future of the region, handed over to Ukraine by Russia as a "gift" in 1954.

"This decision satisfies us in principal but the question is not settled yet", Ukrainian parliamentarian Alexander Tarasenko told Reuters after the vote.

Tarasenko was in Simferopol as a Ukrainian observer to the independence debate. Ukraine has promised Crimea a large degree of autonomy to try to stave off pressure for

independence. A number of Russian-speakers in the region say the promises do not go far enough. The Crimean parliament had initially repealed the independence declaration on Wednesday but pro-Russian nationalists overturned the vote on a technicality, throwing relations between Russia and Ukraine into turmoil. On Thursday the conflict was smoothed out when deputies voted by 111 to 25 to revoke the independence declaration. On the referendum issue, 101 deputies voted in favour of delaying any decision. This would give Crimea time to consult with the Ukrainian parliament on the division of powers between the two regions. Sixteen deputies opposed the move.

UKRAINE, OTHERS SIGN START; AGREE TO GIVE UP NUKES

LISBON — Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus formally agreed with the United States and Russia on Saturday, May 23, to give up those weapons by the end of the decade and not to seek nuclear arms again.

In a wordless, austere ceremony in the barroom of a Lisbon hotel, Secretary of State James Baker and officials of Russia and the three other nuclear-armed former Soviet states signed a protocol, or legal supplement, to the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), pledging to carry out its terms. They laid the foundation for the ratification of the START treaty and for permitting negotiations between the United States and Russia for deeper cutbacks in nuclear arms to go ahead.

Signing the protocol with Baker and Kozyrev were Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Zlenko of Ukraine and Petr Kravchanka of Belarus and State Counsellor Tulegen Zhukeyev of Kazakhstan.

When the Soviet Union fell apart it left behind some 27,000 nuclear weapons — about 12,000 of them long-range warheads. Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus are eliminating about 3,250 strategic warheads as well as all their battlefield nuclear weapons. Russia, meanwhile, will dismantle enough of its 8,750 strategic warheads to meet the overall requirements of the treaty or might go further, US officials said. Russia has 20,750 short- and long-range weapons.

Following is the partial text of the protocol to the START nuclear arms limitation treaty, signed in Lisbon:

ARTICLE ONE The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine, and successor states of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the treaty, shall assume the obligations of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the treaty.

ARTICLE TWO The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine shall make such arrangements among themselves as are required to implement the treaty's limits and restrictions; to allow functioning of the verification provisions of the treaty equally and consistently

throughout the territory of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine; and to allocate costs...

ARTICLE FOUR Representatives of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine will participate in the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission on a basis to be worked out consistent with Article One of this protocol.

ARTICLE FIVE The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine shall adhere to the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968, as non-nuclear weapons states parties in the shortest possible time, and shall begin immediately to take all necessary actions to this end in accordance with their constitutional practices.

ARTICLE SIX One — Each Party shall ratify the treaty together with this protocol in accordance with its own constitutional procedures. The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine shall exchange instruments of ratification with the United States of America. The treaty shall enter into force on the date of the final exchange of instruments of ratification. Two — This protocol shall be an integral part of the treaty and shall remain in force throughout the duration of the treaty. Done at Lisbon on May 23, 1992, in five copies, each in the Belarussian, English, Kazakh, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, all texts being equally authentic.

WESTERN TEACHING METHODS IN CHERNIVTSI

CHERNIVTSI, May 26 — Teachers and students from Canada and the US who were training at Chernivtsi State University, also participated in the drawing up of the course curriculum for schools in Chernivtsi. The school administration for secondary school No. 15 in Chernivtsi offered jobs to teachers fluent in English and capable of teaching general educational subjects in English. Within 8 to 10 years this school plans to be graduating students with a solid general educational background and at least two foreign languages. However, parents of gifted children will be deterred by the high tuition fee of 22,000 roubles per year.

RUSSIA, UKRAINE REACH ACCORD ON DIVIDING BLACK SEA FLEET

MOSCOW — The Black Sea Fleet of the former Soviet Union is to be removed from joint CIS control and divided between Ukraine and Russia, the CIS's top military commander reported on Tuesday, May 26.

Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, Commander in Chief of the CIS armed forces, told journalists that bilateral talks between Russia and Ukraine would determine

how to divide up the fleet. Shaposhnikov said the last nuclear weapons carried aboard the fleet's 380 ships had been moved away early last month in an overnight convoy.

Russia had originally said the fleet should stay under CIS control and form part of a joint strategic force, but Ukraine disagreed. It said it was entitled to large portions of the fleet, which is based in the Crimean port of Sevastopol. Disputes between Russia and Ukraine over the division of the former Soviet military machine, including the Black Sea Fleet, have rocked the CIS since its formation last December.

Asked if the Black Sea Fleet remained part of the joint strategic forces after Tuesday's meeting of the CIS defence chiefs, Shaposhnikov said: "No it did not".

Deputy Ukrainian Defence Minister Ivan Bizhan told reporters after the news conference that in addition to the Black Sea Fleet, paratroop forces and most of the former Soviet air force had also been excluded from the strategic forces. He said the decisions corresponded to an earlier Ukrainian proposal to have a slimmer strategic force. The moves leave the strategic nuclear troops and nuclear-carrying detachments of the air force and the navy as the only effective joint CIS force. Russia, before starting to build its own armed forces, had advocated a much larger joint CIS army.

COUPON TO REPLACE ROUBLE ON JULY 1; ROUBLE TO REMAIN FOR FOREIGN TRADE

KYIV — Ukraine said late last Month that the rouble will be taken out of internal circulation by July 1 while retaining it for foreign trade.

Internally, Ukraine said the reusable coupons will be used until the hryvnia will be introduced, officials said.

But Ukrainian Deputy Finance Minister Pavlo Slipchenko told a news conference the move did not mean the country was leaving the rouble zone. He said Ukraine would continue to use the rouble in trade with Russia and other members of the CIS. Slipchenko said from July 1 all payments inside Ukraine would be made with the coupons, which are used already to pay salaries and accepted by all state-owned shops.

The coupon is seen as a transitional means of payment before Ukraine introduces its own currency. It is pushing ahead with plans for the hryvnia despite international calls for the countries of the former Soviet Union to do all they can to maintain a single currency.

On Thursday, May 27, Deputy Prime Minister Volodymyr Lanovyi said he could not give a date when Ukraine would introduce its own currency. Ukrainian officials have stressed that they would coordinate moves to introduce their currency

with Russia. The deputy head of the Ukrainian National Bank, Ivan Sivulskyi, said the next day that the July 1 target date appeared unrealistic as the move required detailed preparation, including an agreement with neighbouring Russia. So far no such documents have been signed, he said.

Speaking earlier to journalists after a meeting with his Russian counterpart Yegor Gaidar, Lanovyi said Ukraine would continue to use the rouble in the near term in foreign trade. "In the near future prices will be calculated in rouble terms", he said. "That is the way we have done things in the past and we will continue that way so as not to disrupt trade".

The initial exchange rate for the new currency reportedly would be one rouble to one Ukrainian unit, but as time went on the market would be allowed to set new rates, he said.

Ukraine is pushing ahead with plans for its own currency in the face of international calls on the countries of the former Soviet Union to do all they can to maintain a single currency within the so-called rouble zone. But Lanovyi said the International Monetary Fund had not condemned Ukraine's economic policies.

"International organisations understand that with all the difficult conditions and conditions of economic disintegration, it is very difficult to use a single currency", he said. Ukrainian officials have stressed that they will coordinate moves to introduce their own currency with Russia. They have also promised to pay their share of the foreign debts of the former Soviet Union, but Lanovyi confirmed Russian reports that Ukraine had not made any interest payments yet.

"The process of paying interest on this debt has not yet begun because we have not yet organised a structure of Vneshekonombank (the former Soviet foreign trade bank) which is under the control of all the states", he said.

Lanovyi also said Russia's decision to raise energy prices sharply was pushing his country's trade balance with its northern neighbour deep into the red. But he denied reports that Ukraine was tapping gas pipelines across its territory and cutting off supplies of gas destined for Russia's export market. "Supplies have not been cut", he said. Western oil company executives say pressure in gas pipelines through the CIS has fallen as Russia and Ukraine step up a battle over royalties Ukraine is claiming for the use of pipelines across its soil.

PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE TOURS US; IN NY, KRAVCHUK TELLS OF RUSSIAN CHAUVINIST THREAT AGAINST UKRAINE

NEW YORK — Rounding up an historic seven-day tour of the United States, President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk warned Ukrainian American civic leaders that national chauvinists in Russia continue to threaten Ukraine's independent statehood.

Kravchuk, speaking extemporaneously for about 15 minutes, severely berated both Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin for being national chauvinists and

harbouring imperialist ideologies. Visibly agitated, he condemned the Commonwealth of Independent States for being nothing else than a Russian empire, as was the former Soviet Union.

"In Ukraine, we must act decisively in defence of Ukraine because we may lose Ukraine and we must not lose Ukraine", declared Kravchuk.

Criticising Gorbachev for being the "author of national conflicts", Kravchuk said that while the former Soviet president condemns nationalism, he says nothing about national chauvinists in Russia.

Pointing out that there are still people who do not want Ukraine to stabilise its statehood, Kravchuk said that others wish to embrace Ukraine and then, gesturing with his hands, choke it. He said Ukraine must defend itself by forming a strong army and National Guard.

Kravchuk characterised his meeting with American political leaders as positive, saying that in talks with President Bush and others he saw that finally America will treat Ukraine as an independent state — "Russia will be treated as Russia, Ukraine as Ukraine".

The brief, impromptu meeting was held Monday, May 11, at the Ukrainian Institute of America after a 45-minute session with Ukraine's deputy prime minister, the president of the National Bank and other economic experts. Present were leaders of several Ukrainian organisations, among them members of the National Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Kravchuk thanked the Ukrainian community in America for its efforts on behalf of Ukrainian independence and again repeated his warnings of external threats against Ukraine.

In the course of his one-day stay in New York, Kravchuk met with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former President Richard Nixon, UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, and American businessmen.

At a UN press conference that day, Kravchuk spoke of the unjust treatment Ukraine and the other member-states of the CIS are experiencing at the hands of Russia. He said all former republics of the USSR jointly contributed to its wealth and while Ukraine has accepted its share of the foreign debt, Russia continues to refuse dividing the internal and external assets of the USSR among the newly-independent states.

Kravchuk derided Russia's claim of being the successor to the USSR, saying that none of the CIS member-states authorised the move. Mockingly, he said this raises a question in his mind: "Is Russia the successor of that totalitarian system, or of the new, democratic one?"

Kravchuk said that Ukraine and the other newly-independent states insist that Russia respect their statehood and not consider them part of Russia.

In his introductory remarks, Kravchuk reproached Western journalists for writing too little about Ukraine which has led to a general lack of information about Ukraine's independent policies. He further noted that what they do write is based on information not from Kyiv but from foreign capitals.

As for the Black Sea Fleet, Kravchuk said that Ukraine is demanding its share on the basis of CIS agreements and its contributions to the former USSR which amounted to 20-30%. "The majority of surface vessels were built in Ukraine of Ukrainian steel", he said.

If the Black Sea Fleet is incorporated into the joint military command of the CIS, Kravchuk fears it will be transformed into a Russia navy, flying Russia colours and the other state-members will have no say in its operation. Ukraine rejects the Russian position on the fleet, he said.

Turning the spotlight on his career, Kravchuk painted himself as a former communist, who in the aftermath of poring through archives about the Communist Party's crimes against Ukraine, had no other recourse than to resign and pursue the course he has followed since the independence declaration.

"Who reads these archives and has honour and a heart, and God in that heart, will change and will defend that kind of life which will ensure that that will never recur", he explained.

Kravchuk declared that Ukraine has undertaken all material and legal responsibilities for the return of Crimean Tatars to their ancestral homelands. Ukraine is striving to build in Crimea a way of life that will guarantee cultural and political rights to the Crimean Tatars, he said. However, he added, Tatars are not the only ones who are abused, Ukrainians, too, enjoy no cultural rights because everything in Crimea is Russian.

Responding to a question by a Polish journalist, Kravchuk said Ukraine's relations with Poland are a priority. He stated that friendly, fraternal and cooperative relations must be established with Warsaw and historical problems must be resolved fairly. Kravchuk affirmed that the Polish community in Ukraine enjoys all cultural and political rights and expressed hopes that Ukrainians in Poland can say the same.

"Poland does not have any territorial claims against Ukraine, which is something that Russia should take as an example", he noted.

Kravchuk also announced that the United Nations will soon open an office in Kyiv which will contribute to strengthening its relations with Ukraine and increase international assistance in alleviating the horrors of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

Kravchuk arrived for his historic visit to the United States on May 5 on the official invitation of President Bush. While previously Washington, D.C., had seen so many Ukrainian blue-and-yellow flags only during Ukrainian demonstrations, for Kravchuk's visit the country's capital, from the State Department to long stretches of Pennsylvania Avenue, was abloom with the national and state flag of Ukraine.

At Andrews Air Force Base, Kravchuk was welcomed by Secretary of State James Baker and representatives of the Ukrainian community. In the course of his talks with Bush and Baker at the White House, the State Department or Camp David, Kravchuk repeatedly emphasised the need to deal with Ukraine as an independent state.

On his first day in the United States, Kravchuk, in the presence of Baker and newly-appointed Ukrainian ambassador to the United States Oleh Bilorus, officially opened Ukraine's Embassy.

"We have become witnesses to an historical event — the official opening of the Embassy of independent Ukraine in the United States", said Kravchuk. "This has a great deal of meaning for us — this is one of the first embassies in this hemisphere. Many generations of Ukrainians in the native land and those whom fate has scattered beyond the seas have dreamt of this day".

He said that the path to the opening has been long and arduous but ultimately Ukraine has achieved truly independent statehood which cannot be denied. Kravchuk thanked President Bush and America for helping Ukraine fulfil its dream.

Kravchuk assured the American government that Ukraine would follow a policy based on openness and international security while bearing in mind the interests of the Ukrainian people.

Baker expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to be present at the opening of the Embassy, adding that Ukraine has finally assumed its rightful place among freedom-loving and independent nations.

At a joint press conference between Presidents Kravchuk and Bush, which was overshadowed by questions about the riots in Los Angeles, the American president said that now Ukraine is not only a friend of America but a partner. "Today, the future security of Ukraine is not only in the interests of America but of stability of Europe and we welcome President Kravchuk's assurances that tactical nuclear weapons will be shipped from Ukraine".

Bush pledged America's continued moral and material support for Ukraine's economic and democratic development.

Kravchuk responded by saying that Ukraine is looking forward to close, friendly and mutually-beneficial relations with America.

Throughout the visit, in conversations with American government leaders and the press, Kravchuk emphasised that Ukraine will sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. He gave assurances that Ukraine will become a non-nuclear, unaligned state. He also confirmed that all tactical nuclear weapons have indeed been shipped for dismantling to Russia.

However, he insisted that without nuclear deterrence, Ukraine's security should be guaranteed by the West, notably the United States. US leaders failed to agree to this request. On several occasions Kravchuk said that Russian claims against Ukraine continue unabated.

Kravchuk also denied the existence of anti-semitism in Ukraine, saying that organisations such as Pamyat would never be formed in Ukraine.

During his stay in the US, Crimea first declared its independence and on the next day, May 6, reversed itself by adopting a Constitution which states that

Crimea is a part of Ukraine. Kravchuk described the declaration as unconstitutional and emphasised that attempts to separate Crimea from Ukraine could lead to civil unrest comparable to that in Northern Ireland.

Ukrainian and American officials signed a number of treaties and documents, among them the most-favoured nation status, the establishment of a Peace Corps office in Ukraine, an Overseas Private Investment Corp. agreement, and other technical and humanitarian accords.

Before returning to the East Coast, President Kravchuk visited business centres in Houston, where he visited the Johnson Space Center and talked via telephone with the astronauts aboard the space shuttle Endeavor, and Iowa.

Kravchuk arrived in New York City on Saturday, May 9, aboard an Air Ukraine airplane, which is decorated with blue-and-yellow colours. He was met at Kennedy Airport by representatives of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps, headed by UN Ambassador Viktor Batiuk, officers of the UCCA and the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and Belarusian, Kazakh and Russian diplomats.

On the following day, the Ukrainian delegation drove to Philadelphia, where Kravchuk received a honorary doctorate from LaSalle College and was hosted that evening at a banquet with more than 1,000 people in attendance.

6 BILLION ALLOCATED TO CRIMEA

KYIV, May 28 — The Ukrainian government decided to allocate six billion roubles to Crimea most of which are for material resources to be invested into social programmes of the peninsula. The resources will be used to develop the weak infrastructure of Crimea. Ukrainian Economy Minister, Volodymyr Lanovyi, stated that the financial decentralisation envisaged in Ukraine might help Crimea easily solve its credit and monetary problems.

BBC BROADCASTS IN UKRAINE

LONDON, June 1 — The BBC World Radio Service renewed broadcasts to Ukraine for the first time in ten years. For now, broadcasts are seven hours a week, compared to 56 hours broadcast to Russia. Elizabeth Robson, who heads the Ukrainian section, plans to extensively cover problems of nationalism in the country as well as the aftermaths of the Chernobyl tragedy.

CRIMEA TO HAVE SPECIAL ECONOMIC STATUS IN UKRAINE

KYIV, June 1 — Crimea will remain part of Ukraine but enjoy special economic status, according to an agreement reached at talks between the heads of the Ukrainian and Crimean parliaments. A statement issued after the meeting in the Black Sea port of Yalta described the Crimean peninsula as "an integral part of Ukraine".

UKRAINE REJECTS RUSSIAN CLAIMS TO CRIMEA

KYIV, June 2 — Ukraine's parliament dismissed Russian claims to Crimea as interference and rejected the idea of holding negotiations with Moscow on the status of the peninsula. Legislators approved with only four dissenting votes a resolution rejecting a decision by the Russian parliament that said the 1954 transfer of Crimea to Ukraine was illegal. The resolution said that the Russian decision on May 21 had no legal significance or "legal consequences" for Ukraine. Ukrainian and Crimean parliaments have agreed that Crimea would remain part of Ukraine but would have special economic status.

JOINT POLICE AGREEMENT

NYIREGYHAZA, Hungary, June 2 — The Hungarian and Ukrainian police have signed an agreement on cooperation. Under the agreement, police in the Hungarian region of Szabolcs-Szatmar and Ukraine's Transcarpathian region will carry out joint operations to combat crime in the border zone. They will investigate mainly crimes of an international nature, trying to expose and liquidate criminal organisations.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SECURITY COMPANIES

CHICAGO, June 2 — Rapid increase in theft, break-ins and vandalism is offering Western security companies an unprecedented marketing opportunity, says Walter Mirutenko, president of Chicago-based MKW Electronics, which specialises in commercial and industrial security. After several fact-finding trips to Ukraine, Mirutenko and his MKW partner, Walter Kosogof, decided to co-sponsor a security systems trade fair in Kyiv on August 16-23, with the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute. The show, named "Kyiv '92 Security Expo", will be held on the grounds of the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, a well-known engineering school in Ukraine. Facilities managers, plant engineers and other officials responsible for security management at industrial plants, and government facilities throughout the former Soviet Union are expected to attend. Western companies are being invited to exhibit such items as smoke detectors, alarm and access control equipment, locks, lighting and closed-circuit television systems as well as other products suitable for the plant engineering and maintenance market. Exhibitors will have the option of selling their wares for hard currency thanks to a special agreement that MKW Electronics has signed with a local distribution company in Kyiv.

BID TO REMOVE FOKIN FAILS IN PARLIAMENT

KYIV — Ukrainian opposition parliamentarians failed on Wednesday, June 3, in a bid to remove Prime Minister Vitold Fokin after President Leonid Kravchuk urged the Supreme Council against debating a no-confidence resolution.

Legislators rejected by 168 votes to 154 an opposition attempt to put the issue on the agenda.

Fokin's government is blamed for failing to carry out economic reforms.

"If you think the resignation of the prime minister will solve all the problems, then you are making a big mistake", Kravchuk said. "Vitold Pavlovych [Fokin] is doing everything possible", Kravchuk added, though he admitted that Fokin had made mistakes.

Kravchuk also rejected the idea of following the example of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and heading the government himself, saying this would also be a mistake. "In pushing for democracy we would concentrate all powers in the hands of the president... this would be not far from dictatorship", he argued. "They say that Yeltsin has done it. I can tell you, it wasn't the best decision Yeltsin has ever taken".

Using an analogy from chess, Kravchuk, who is an avid chess player, said he was playing with black pieces and could not be expected to make the same moves as Yeltsin who was playing white. He suggested that demands by his political foes for him to take over the government had ulterior motives: "The black pieces often lose the game, and some people would like Kravchuk to lose the game as soon as possible".

Kravchuk said a government crisis would be very dangerous for Ukraine and appealed for a closing of ranks behind the government.

Opposition deputy Volodymyr Filenko, speaking for the New Ukraine movement, said the government was divided and should be replaced by a team of consistent reformers. "This government is destroying the economy", he charged.

Several hundred demonstrators picketed parliament for the second day demanding the government's resignation. "Fokin — are you a member of the Moscow Mafia?" said one placard.

A day earlier some 2,000 demonstrators picketed the parliament building shouting "Down with Fokin!" and "Government resign!" while others called on Kravchuk to take over the government himself. Vyacheslav Chornovil, a leader of Rukh, reported that 153 deputies signed a motion calling for a vote of no confidence, which was expected to be put on the agenda later that week.

"The Fokin government is a government from the colonial era", Chornovil told reporters. "They are opposed to economic reform".

The New Ukraine movement, formed earlier this year, wants Minister of Economy Volodymyr Lanovyi to be given wider powers.

Chornovil accused Fokin of undermining Ukrainian interests and commented: "I am starting to wonder whether Fokin isn't working for Moscow". He said the

opposition had drawn up a shadow list for a new Cabinet which would include some members of the existing government. He declined to give details. "President Kravchuk should lead the Ukrainian government himself and take responsibility for the actions of the executive", Chornovil said.

The prime minister, a Russian, is often under attack for becoming too close to Moscow and failing to defend Ukraine's interests. Fokin was appointed in October 1990 after his predecessor Vitaliy Masol was driven from office by lengthy student protests in front of parliament.

ENTRY TO IMF AND WORLD BANK

KYIV, June 3 — Ukraine's parliament approved plans for entry into the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The entry terms, approved by the world institutions in April, will give Ukraine a 0.69 per cent share of the Fund's capital. Parliament approved the agreements by 301 votes to 3, although some deputies sought assurances that the Fund would not block Ukraine's introduction of its own currency, to replace the Soviet-era rouble. Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko told parliament the IMF was prepared in principle to back a Ukrainian currency with a stabilisation fund like that promised to Russia for the rouble.

UKRAINE, MOLDOVA DISCUSS CONFLICT IN TRANS-DNISTER

KYIV — Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and his Moldovan counterpart held talks on Thursday, June 4, on the conflict in the Trans-Dnister region.

Ukraine offered to mediate in a worsening conflict which has cost more than 150 lives, among them Ukrainians.

Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu, who held talks with Russian officials in Moscow on Tuesday, June 2, said his country would soon meet them again on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the region. "We are insisting on the withdrawal of the 14th army", Tiu said.

Moldova wants international supervision of the withdrawals.

Ukraine supports Moldovan sovereignty over the rebellious region. But Kyiv also has to take into account appeals for help from Ukrainian-speakers in the conflict zone, many of whom share the fears of Russian-speakers about a possible merger between Moldova and Romania.

Ukrainians in the Trans-Dnister region, meeting in Rashkiv on May 16, issued appeals for help to the Ukrainian government, the United Nations and Ukrainians around the world. They said that if Moldova remains independent, the Trans-Dnister region would be an autonomous country within a federated Moldova. However, they fear Romanian-Moldovan unification. If that happens, their appeals said, they would seek Dnisterian unification with Ukraine.

YELTSIN SETS UP STATE BORDER

KYIV, June 4 — President Boris Yeltsin said Russia had decided to establish its own border guard and create formal state frontiers with five former Soviet republics including Ukraine. The creation of a Russian border guard, taking over at least some functions from the united Commonwealth force, would be a major blow to the 11-nation community set up with the aim of retaining a free economic zone. Yeltsin stated that the new border force would be subordinated to the newly-created Ministry of Security (successors to the former Soviet KGB). The priority, according to Yeltsin, would be to establish customs and state frontiers with Ukraine, Azerbaijan and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

US AMBASSADOR ARRIVES IN KYIV

KYIV, June 8 — The first US ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadiuk, arrived in the capital of Ukraine. Popadiuk, 42, is a former deputy White House press secretary whose parents were born in Ukraine. The next day he presented his credentials to the Ukrainian government. Popadiuk will live in Kyiv with his wife, Judith, and their four children.

UKRAINE DEMANDS FREEZING OF FORMER USSR ASSETS

KYIV — Ukraine, pressing its claim to a share of former Soviet property, asked foreign governments on Tuesday, June 9, to freeze the status of all assets taken over by Russia.

A foreign ministry statement said all former Soviet republics had a right under international law to a share of state property, but there was still no formal agreement on dividing it up. Ukraine was therefore asking foreign governments “to ensure the preservation of state property of the former USSR and the property of all-Union non-governmental organisations and legal bodies... and prevent any attempts to change their status”, the statement said.

The Kyiv government unsuccessfully tried to force Russia, which took over all Soviet embassies and other property abroad when the Union collapsed last December, to hand over its share. Ukraine lacks foreign currency to open its own diplomatic and trade missions and wants to prevent Russia from selling off spare diplomatic premises.

Russia has agreed to discuss the subject of legal succession to the Soviet Union but has resisted a share-out of property, arguing that it alone has been repaying the former superpower's debts. Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk were to have met last month to try to settle a series of disputes, including division of the Black Sea Fleet and Ukraine's planned exit from the rouble currency zone.

UKRAINE UPSET WITH G7 SUMMIT

KYIV, June 9 — Ukraine expressed dissatisfaction with Russia's position as the West's main partner among former Soviet states and suggested it also deserved an invitation to a G7 summit in Munich next month. A foreign ministry spokesman said that if President Boris Yeltsin was attending the meeting of leading industrialised states, then Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk should also be invited.

DIGITAL EQUIPMENT FORMS UKRAINE SUBSIDIARY

NEW YORK, NY, June 10, Reuter — Digital Equipment Corp said it opened a subsidiary in Kyiv, its fifth new Eastern European unit in the past two years. Digital Equipment Ukraine said it will market, sell and provide service for the full range of Digital products. It currently employs 10 people and plans to locally recruit 20 more, in addition to opening more offices in Ukraine.

UKRAINE CUTS FOOD SUBSIDIES, FREES SOME PRICES

KYIV, June 10 — The Ukrainian government announced it was slashing remaining food subsidies and freeing prices on milk, butter and some other products, including vodka. The decision, broadcast on television by Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko and other ministers, means the price of milk will be free to rise to market levels from June 11, while vodka will go up 2.5 times. This brings Ukraine's price policies into line with those of Russia, which abolished centralised food subsidies earlier this year. No mention of bread was made and it was not immediately clear if the price of bread would also rise.

Deputy Economy Minister Viktor Kalnik said Ukraine's official retail butter price was 26 roubles (about 30 cents), while Russia's price was 171 roubles (\$2). The result was massive unauthorised sales of butter to Russia. The ministers said 16 million of Ukraine's 52 million people would receive income supplements to compensate for the rise in staple food costs. Half of these would be pensioners and the remainder low income families. The decision to cut subsidies is part of government efforts to cut Ukraine's budget deficit and win approval from parliament for a spending plan for the rest of the year.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH CHANGES LEADER

KYIV, June 10 — Russian Orthodox leaders today removed the head of the Ukrainian branch for breaking church rules. Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv was stripped of all his church duties and privileges, but may remain a regular monk, said Metropolitan Vladimir of Kyiv, Filaret's successor.

At stake is the unity of the church, which could split if Filaret's supporters refuse to recognise Vladimir's authority as metropolitan, the equivalent of archbishop. The five-page judicial act issued today by the Council of Higher Clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church said Filaret broke a long list of church rules and provoked a split in the church by seeking autonomy for Ukrainian believers.

Filaret has enlisted the support of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, and has urged the Patriarch of Constantinople, the leader of all Orthodox Christians, to grant full autonomy to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

OUTDATED COAL-MINES CLAIM VICTIMS

KRASNODON, June 11 — A methane gas explosion at the Krasnodon coal-mine, one of Ukraine's many outdated mines, initially claimed at least 43 lives and hospitalised at least 24 more. Miners were caught one kilometre underground when a mixture of methane and air ignited just as two shifts were changing at the Sukhodolskaya-Vostochnaya pit. Rescue operations are under way but the mine continues to claim victims. Four rescue volunteers were missing and presumed dead while trying to recover bodies of dead miners. Rescuers said the final death toll in the mine explosion was expected to reach 57 or 58. President Leonid Kravchuk proclaimed a day of mourning in Ukraine.

More than 100 of about 250 coal-mines in Ukraine date from World War Two or earlier, and 50 from before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Working conditions remind foreign visitors of the 19th century, with miners hacking away by hand in seams as little as one metre high. Ventilation is poor and safety standards are often violated. Figures show that each million tonnes of coal costs four or five lives, a rate far higher than elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

UKRAINE TO TRANSFER OFFICERS WHO REFUSE TO SWEAR ALLEGIANCE

KYIV — Defence Minister Kostiantyn Morozov has ordered the transfer from Ukraine of 6,000 army and air force officers who have refused to swear loyalty to Kyiv, officials said on Thursday, June 11. They said Morozov's order laying down procedures for the transfer committed the Ukrainian government to respect the officers' wishes and allow them to depart with full military honours, and with transport paid for them and their families. Morozov had earlier made the announcement at a meeting of the Association of Ukrainian Officers.

"All questions concerning the transfer of servicemen who have not sworn loyalty to the people of Ukraine... must be solved on the basis of social justice...", the order said. Major-General Oleksander Ihnatenko, head of personnel at the Ukrainian Defence Ministry, told the armed forces newspaper "Narodnaya Armiya" that of 9,500 officers who had refused the oath, 3,500 had already chosen to be

demobilised. "The remaining 6,000 are still serving", he said. He said the transfers would take place "at their request" but officials said it was clear the reluctant officers — increasingly viewed as a potential "fifth column" by Kyiv — would not be allowed to stay. Ukraine is also trying to push the high command of the CIS armed forces to speed up the return of Ukrainian officers who have asked to transfer to the Ukrainian army from Russia and other republics. Major-General Vilen Martirosyan, responsible for social welfare questions in Ukraine's Defence Ministry, said Ukraine wanted first to bring back officers serving with Commonwealth troops in crisis zones such as Moldova and the Caucasus. After that officers would be brought back from the Far East, Central Asia and the Arctic, then from central Russia and Belarus. Ihnatenko told "Narodnaya Armiya" that the CIS military command was not implementing an agreement signed on April 2 to exchange officers between Russia and Ukraine. "A month and a half have passed and only a few hundred have come back where we were expecting thousands", Ihnatenko said. Up to 150,000 officers of Ukrainian origin are believed to be serving in the CIS armed forces, although not all consider themselves Ukrainian citizens or want to go to Kyiv.

LANOVYI DEMANDS GOVERNMENT CHANGES

KYIV — Volodymyr Lanoyi, Ukraine's deputy prime minister and economics minister, on Friday, June 12, demanded full powers to overhaul the economy and said he found it impossible to work with some of the ministers in the present Cabinet.

Lanoyi said he might have to consider resignation unless the government was reorganised to give him wider powers. Lanoyi, 39, is regarded as the leading reformer in the government of Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, which is widely blamed for holding up economic reforms.

Lanoyi said in an interview with the newspaper "Molod Ukrainy": "I see no other way out than to obtain full powers to carry out economic reforms. Without these powers it will be impossible to undertake structural and personal reorganisation and without this... reforms will continue to stand still.

I have realised that I cannot work with some of these ministers. They do not accept new ideas and new authorities".

Lanoyi said he had been effectively excluded from drawing up policy for the introduction of Ukraine's new currency. "But people say to me — you're a member of the team. In fact I feel myself a 'white raven' [an outsider] there", he said.

Lanoyi charged he had been "led by the nose" in his relations with President Leonid Kravchuk but hoped the president now had full confidence in him. He was initially promised sweeping powers by Kravchuk, but has been effectively shut out of some key decisions, including the drafting of an economic strategy document.

approved by parliament in March. However, he played the main role in preparing the policy statement Ukraine presented to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in April.

Lanovyi is closely associated with the liberal New Ukraine movement, which backed an unsuccessful bid to oust Fokin earlier this month. Some have speculated that Lanovyi should be named prime minister.

BELGIAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVES

KYIV, June 11 — Belgium's ambassador and plenipotentiary to Ukraine, Ingeborg Christopherson, arrived in Kyiv. Christopherson became the twelfth ambassador of a foreign country to arrive in Ukraine.

FINANCIAL HELP FOR CRIMEA

KYIV, June 11 — The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine allocated financial assistance to Crimea in the sum of 700 million roubles. The funds are to be used by the Cabinet Ministers of Crimea to stabilise the economy of the peninsula during the transit towards a market economy and liberalisation of prices. Another grant of 5.8 million roubles is being provided for the construction of a children's diversified treatment hospital in Yalta.

KRAVCHUK IN PARIS

PARIS, June 16 — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk arrived in France for a two-day talk with President François Mitterrand, Premier Pierre Bérégovoy, and Defence Minister Pierre Joxe. Kravchuk signed a French-Ukrainian cooperation agreement and the Paris Charter of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) of November 1990 making Ukraine the 52nd party to the basic Treaty on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He also discussed nuclear disarmament as well as economic and technological cooperation with France.

NEW UKRAINIAN CURRENCY — SEPTEMBER?

PARIS, June 17 — While in France, President Leonid Kravchuk said Ukraine will start introducing its own currency, the hryvna, in August or September, slowly phasing out the rouble controlled by its neighbour Russia. Kravchuk said the Russian central bank had stopped printing roubles for use in Ukraine, where use of coupons was already widespread for cash transactions. The coupon system would be used as a transitional measure in all parts of the economy while the hryvna was being introduced, he said. Kravchuk said last week that coupons would be extended to the non-cash sector of the economy by July 1.

AIRCRAFT CARRIER SALES TO CHINA

TAIPEI, June 17 — A Taiwan official said Taiwan will not suspend humanitarian aid to Ukraine despite Ukraine's planned sale of an aircraft carrier to Taiwan's rival, communist China. Vice Foreign Minister Chang Hsiao-yen made the statement in response to a law-makers' call that Taiwan should stop aiding Ukraine in view of the reported planned sale of the aircraft carrier. "The government is closely monitoring and investigating the arms sales report. But international duty and humanitarian principles forbid us to politicise our aid to Ukraine", Chang told a press conference. Chang said that if Ukraine was going to sell weapons to China, it must have many considerations. The biggest consideration was to solve its economic difficulties. "Taiwan should not stop developing ties with Ukraine because of the arms deal. We should set our eyes on long-term relations. In a few years' time, Ukraine might sell arms to us". On Tuesday Taiwan reacted strongly to a "New York Times" report that China was seeking to buy an aircraft carrier being built by Ukraine, as well as other sophisticated land, naval and air weapon systems. Hoping to develop ties with the former Soviet republics, Taiwan has donated 15 million dollars' worth of medical supplies to Ukraine.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS — GHANA

ABIDJAN, June 18 — Ghana and Ukraine have established diplomatic relations at the level of embassies according to a statement distributed in Accra, the capital of the west African state.

BUDGET APPROVED

KYIV, June 18 — Ukraine's parliament approved the 1992 budget on the fifth attempt. Approval for the budget was 255 votes to 65 after Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko warned the economy was getting worse and inflation was gathering speed. The budget envisages expenditure of 1.18 trillion roubles and expenditure of 1.23 trillion roubles. The budget deficit is to be held to 54 billion roubles, or two per cent of Gross National Product.

STATISTICS ON RECESSION

KYIV, June 19 — Ukraine's economy slipped deeper into recession in the first five months of 1992, with national income falling 18 per cent compared to the same period last year, according to data issued today. Government statistics published in the official newspaper "Uryadovi Kurier" showed that May industrial

production was 9.4 per cent below levels in May 1991. Unemployment and short-time working both rose. The fall in national income compared with a drop of 11 per cent in the same five months of 1991 from a year earlier. National income in 1990 was 1.5 per cent below 1989 levels.

The data also showed that growth in personal income was outpacing price rises, giving further stimulus to inflation. April personal incomes were 7.3 times higher than in April last year. Consumer spending rose five times. But the report gave no information about current inflation levels, pushed up this year after Ukraine reluctantly matched a Russian move to free prices for key goods and services.

The report said the state budget deficit for the five months was 52 billion roubles (\$612 million at the central bank rate) — just two billion short of the figure approved by parliament on Thursday in its budget for the whole of 1992. The report said that in April consumers spent only 67 per cent of their available incomes, compared to 99 per cent in April 1991. "The rise in personal income and the fall in production of goods have led to a fast rise in savings, which increased in January-April by 28 billion roubles", it said. Retail trade turnover in constant prices for January-May was only 67 per cent of the level of the previous year.

BILL TO PRIVATISE HOUSING

KYIV, June 19 — The Ukrainian Parliament passed a bill on the privatisation of state housing which allows citizens to own dwellings for a symbolic rent. Houses and apartments will be transferred to individuals on a gratis basis — 21 sq. metres/person plus 10 sq. metres/family. They will also be sold to citizens residing in them.

REBIRTH OF THE KOZAKS

PEREYASLAV, June 21 — Some 500 Ukrainian Kozaks, dressed in traditional costume, gathered to formally renounce the treaty of allegiance to Russia signed by their ancestors in 1654. "It was because of the oath to the tsar in Moscow and the unification with Russia that Ukraine lost its freedom for three centuries and suffered its fill of Moscow's cunning and lies", said Vyacheslav Chornovil, leader of Rukh and hetman of the Kozaks.

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA SIGN AGREEMENT

DAGOMYS, June 23 — Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin signed an eighteen-point agreement in this Black Sea resort town.

The agreement encompassed political, economic, military, and other issues, and confirmed the terms of the November 1990 treaty between Ukraine and Russia, as

well as other agreements, and established the framework for a prospective political treaty. The Crimean issue, however, was not on the agenda.

The two men also laid the groundwork for the introduction of a Ukrainian currency and established the principle of open borders between their two countries with a gradual introduction of customs controls. Future economic relations between Russian and Ukraine would be based on world prices and a joint commission will be set up to work out the division of the former Soviet Union's assets.

Both leaders claimed this agreement was a major turning point in the tense relations between the two countries.

EC TO STUDY CHORNOBYL

BRUSSELS, June 24 — The European Commission signed a cooperation agreement with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine to study effects of the 1986 Chornobyl nuclear reactor disaster, according to an EC statement. The commission will carry out an extensive programme to study the nature of the radioactive contamination resulting from the accident, to broaden the skills needed to control such accidents in the future and to improve emergency management procedures. The programme will cost about \$12.5 million.

PARLIAMENT REVIEWS DRAFT CONSTITUTION

On June 30 and July 1 the Supreme Council of Ukraine held its first discussions of the new draft constitution.

The deputies resolved to make the ratified text available for public discussion and to hold a referendum on the draft constitution by November 1.

In his address, President Leonid Kravchuk stated that the new document makes provisions for a unitary state with a presidential form of government, and underlined his opposition to a federal structure in Ukraine.

CHANGES IN DELINEATION OF POWERS BETWEEN CRIMEA AND UKRAINE

At the same session the Ukrainian parliament also ratified changes in the law delineating powers between Crimea and Ukraine. According to the law, the peninsula is an autonomous entity within Ukraine; every Crimean citizen is simultaneously a citizen of Ukraine; and Crimean territory cannot be changed or ceded to another country without the approval of the Ukrainian and Crimean parliaments.

GOVERNMENT FACES CRISIS IN UKRAINE

KYIV, July 2 — The Ukrainian parliament voted overwhelmingly in favour of holding a vote of confidence in the Fokin government. Deputies took the step after the government announced that it would free food prices.

The following day Vitold Fokin accused the Supreme Council of interfering in the work of his cabinet and threatened to resign together with the government. Following his statement, most ministers staged a walk-out.

The government narrowly survived the vote of confidence, which took place on July 7. Parliament, however, passed a resolution calling on President Kravchuk to form a new cabinet by September, when the Supreme Council is due to reconvene after the summer recess.

Reformers suffered a further setback with the announcement by Deputy Prime Minister and Economics Minister Volodymyr Lanovyi of his intention to resign. The reason for this decision, Lanovyi said, was that his economic reforms did not have the support of President Kravchuk.

CRIMEA SUSPENDS REFERENDUM

On July 9 the Crimean parliament voted to suspend its May 5 resolution to hold a referendum on the peninsula's status. The referendum was scheduled for August 2. Nikolai Bagrov, the Chairman of Crimea's Supreme Council, argued that the plebiscite would be ill-advised at a time when negotiations with the Ukrainian government were moving in a positive direction.

NEW PARTY REGISTERED

JULY 17 — The Liberal-Democratic Party of Ukraine has been officially registered, bringing the number of political parties in the country to thirteen.

The leader of the new party, Volodymyr Klymchuk, stressed that the Liberal-Democratic Party has nothing to do with the Russian party of the same name, which is headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The Ukrainian Liberal-Democratic Party, whose primary concern is human rights, has joined the opposition coalition New Ukraine.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES AGREE ON COOPERATION

JULY 20 — The head of the National Security Service of Ukraine, Yevhen Marchuk, and Russia's Security Minister, Viktor Barannikov, signed an agreement on cooperation in their activities.

Both services also agreed to suspend further intelligence operations against each other and to combat intelligence gathering by other countries.

DEPORTED PEOPLES OF CRIMEA TO BE RESETTLED

JULY 23 — The Crimean parliament passed a resolution on the resettlement of Germans, Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks, who were deported from the peninsula during the Second World War. The resolution calls for the resettlement of some 70,000 people by the year 2000 and guarantees the cultural and language rights of the national minorities.

KYIV TO BE UKRAINIANISED

KYIV, July 25 — The presidential representative in Kyiv, Ivan Saliy, issued a directive that all signs and announcements in the capital were to be in Ukrainian by August 1. All forms and rubber stamps are also to be in Ukrainian by October 1.

UKRAINIAN-HUNGARIAN MINORITY COMMISSION MEETS IN BUDAPEST

BUDAPEST, July 29 — The Ukrainian-Hungarian commission on national minorities held its first meeting in the capital of Hungary. The delegates agreed to increase the number of border control points between the two countries.

The commission was set up following an agreement between Ukraine and Hungary last year on the protection of national minorities in both countries. The delegates also resolved to coordinate the preparation of material for history and geography textbooks.

RISING CRIME RATE IN UKRAINE

KYIV — More than 235,000 crimes were registered in Ukraine in the first quarter of this year. Serious crime increased almost one and a half times. The above statistics were presented at a press conference given by the chairman of the permanent parliamentary commission on law and order and the fight against crime Yaroslav Kondratiev, the head of the Ukrainian Security Service Yevhen Marchuk, and the first deputy Interior Minister Volodymyr Korniychuk.

Economic crimes are on the rise, and the number of armed gangs has increased, as has the influx of arms into Ukraine from CIS hot-spots, the speakers reported.

Widespread smuggling of valuable strategic raw materials and valuable metals out of Ukraine is causing great concern among the law-enforcement agencies. As a result of a recent joint operation with law-enforcement agencies of Russia and Kazakhstan a tonne of silver was confiscated from criminals. An attempt to illegally export 4.5 billion roubles' worth of precious stones and metals from Kyiv was also averted.

Incidents of military involvement in criminal activities are becoming more frequent. Using military aircraft and other means of transport, servicemen are making attempts to export gold, platinum, silver and other valuable metals from Ukraine. Soldiers are also selling military technology, property and arms.

Counterfeiting is becoming increasingly widespread. As a result millions of counterfeit coupons are today already circulating in Ukraine. There have even been incidents when wages have been paid out in counterfeit coupons. Three gangs of counterfeiters have already been rounded up. According to a previous investigation, the counterfeit money is being printed outside Ukraine, thereby constituting economic subversion against a sovereign state.

Street crime, drug addiction, the smuggling of cultural treasures, national consumer goods and products out of Ukraine, criminal activities within the banking and credit and finance system, and the intrusion of high-ranking officials and people's deputies in police investigations in an attempt to "close" particular criminal cases, also received mention at the press conference.

Some attempts by law-enforcement agencies to fight the crime wave have been successful. Hundreds of assault rifles, pistols, shotguns and grenades have been seized at control points on the border with Moldova alone. Recently, large criminal gangs have been neutralised in Crimea and the Dnipropetrovsk oblast.

To be able to fight crime effectively, the press conference participants believe, a national crime-fighting programme should be drawn up and a special coordination centre should be set up around the office of the president. These moves should be complemented by a thorough reorganisation of the law-enforcement agencies, the establishment of a criminal militia, and the draft of a new criminal code.

CONGRESS OF NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC FORCES

KYIV (*Ukrinform*) — Ukraine's withdrawal from the CIS; the replacement of the Cabinet of Ministers; the suspension of the Supreme Council's mandate and the holding of new multi-party parliamentary elections form the principal goals of the Congress of National-Democratic Forces (KNDS), which met in the Ukrainian capital on August 2.

According to its statutory by-laws, the Congress was founded to help implement joint measures for building and consolidating the Ukrainian state, and to reinforce national independence and democracy. The Congress members stand for a unitary state structure in Ukraine and the creation of a market economy through nationalisation and fair privatisation. They give priority to national enterprise and the introduction of a Ukrainian currency.

In his greetings to the Congress, President Leonid Kravchuk remarked that in the present circumstances when the consolidation of society is a guarantee of

further development, and the unification of political forces around a state-building platform, this initiative towards the formation of such a union of democratic forces of independent Ukraine deserves every bit of support.

"In building a democratic society, Ukraine is joining the world community with the programme of a peaceful, nuclear-free state", the presidential greeting states. "It aspires towards deepening the Helsinki processes, and is doing everything to join international and European structures, to develop constructive political, economic and spiritual ties with all countries. And I believe that the union of all democratic forces will give bring fresh impulse to this exceptionally important issue. Today the question stands as follows: if we achieve two great related goals — if we overcome the economic crisis and unite all the political forces and movements around statehood, then we will build a new, democratic, independent Ukraine".

The Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Party and other civic organisations, including the "Prosvita" society, the Association of Ukrainian Students, the Organisation of Crimean-Tatar People, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Insurgent Army Veterans, and the All-Ukrainian Society of the Repressed have joined together to form the Congress. The Popular Movement of Ukraine, on the other hand, whose representatives also took part in the Congress, has expressed its willingness to cooperate with the KNDS on the basis of a coalition.

The meeting elected a Congress Council, whose task is to form the executive organs of the KNDS.

UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN PRESIDENTS DISCUSS FRIENDSHIP TREATY; REACH TEMPORARY AGREEMENT ON BLACK SEA FLEET

Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Boris Yeltsin of Russia met in the Crimean resort of Mukhalatka, near Yalta, on August 3. The two leaders agreed on the main points of a prospective treaty on friendship, cooperation, and partnership between their two states.

Leonid Kravchuk announced that work on the basic propositions of the treaty was almost complete and that both countries' foreign ministries would now take care of the details.

At the meeting they reached an agreement on the future of the Black Sea Fleet for the next three years. According to the agreement, during the transitional three-year period the Black Sea Fleet will be withdrawn from CIS command and will become a "unified fleet of Ukraine and Russia". The joint command of the fleet will be directly responsible to the presidents of both countries.

Leonid Kravchuk further proposed that each year command of the fleet should alternate between Ukrainians and Russians. The command structure has still to be decided.

The Yalta agreement caused wide-scale indignation in Ukraine. The Association of Ukrainian Officers (SOU) claims that the whole of the former Soviet navy should be divided between the newly-formed states according to their respective contribution towards the building of the navy. The SOU further believes that Russian naval bases in Ukraine are a matter not subject to negotiation. According to a statement issued by the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Yalta agreement contradicts the national interests of Ukraine and will lead to the establishment of a new Russian hegemony in the Black Sea basin. Western commentators and analysts described this agreement as an easing of tension between Ukraine and Russia, and an adjournment of a permanent settlement of the issue.

History has shown that Russian national-chauvinists are certain to make attempts to take control of the Black Sea Fleet and the naval bases in Crimea. Neither the president nor the people of Ukraine, who endorsed Ukrainian independence in the December 1 referendum, can permit this to happen. Without its own fleet and Ukrainian control over the Crimean naval bases Ukraine's independence will be significantly diminished.

US AND UKRAINIAN NUCLEAR EXPERTS MEET

KYIV — American and Ukrainian experts on nuclear security met in the capital of Ukraine on August 11. The two delegations discussed the proposals made by US Secretary of State James Baker in Lisbon to help Ukraine in the field of nuclear security.

The US proposals include the establishment of a regional centre to train specialists in nuclear security in one of Ukraine's nuclear power stations, with an aim to reducing the level of risk in a short period of time.

Both sides established the agenda of subsequent meetings, which are due to take place in September. The United States is to fund the centre.

FOKIN AND UNIONS REACH AGREEMENT

KYIV, August 14 — At least social order has been temporarily preserved is the conclusion one can draw from the more than six-month-old negotiations between Vitold Fokin's government and the country's trade union leaders.

The core of the trade union coalition is formed by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine (FNPU). Participating unions: the Federation of Unions of Cooperative Workers and Free Entrepreneurs, the Council of the Union of Railway Workers and Transport Construction Workers, the Armed Forces Union, and the Academy of Sciences Union signed an agreement with the government regulating relations between employers and employees for the second half of the current year.

The irreconcilable positions of both sides caused the talks to become drawn out.

The unions demanded social guarantees and wage increases while the Cabinet of Ministers stood firmly in defence of the state budget.

The determination of the union leaders, however, brought matters to a head, resulting in the signing of the agreement. A month before, FNPU leaders, threatening a wave of mass strikes, presented the government with an ultimatum demanding that an agreement be signed. The threat proved effective. Both sides reached an agreement on the establishment of the poverty line, additional compensation for the purchase of food from October 1, and if bread subsidies are abolished, to raise the minimum wage. The agreement also proposes to draft amendments to the wage and labour laws, which are to be submitted to parliament for review. Other unions have been given a month in which to sign the agreement should they choose to do so.

Although the danger of mass strikes has been averted, it has not been totally abated. The fall in production and the hyper-inflation are reducing the volume of goods and purchasing power. Clearly, in the present circumstances it is impossible to stabilise this situation effectively.

One group which remained outside the negotiations is the influential Coordinating Council of Free Trade Unions, which unites pilots, dispatchers, train drivers and coal-miners. They held separate talks with the government, which have reached a dead end.

UKRAINE BEGINS DESTRUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS

KYIV — From August 18 to September 17 of this year Ukraine will destroy part of the conventional arms deployed on its territory in accordance with the CFE treaty.

The destruction of military hardware is taking place under strict international supervision. All signatory states have been informed in advance about Ukraine's proposed measures to destroy the arms.

On August 18, the Lviv tank factory began dismantling T-55 tanks, initiating the process to reduce the number of conventional arms in Ukraine. Factories in Kyiv and Zhytomyr will also take part in the destruction of military hardware.

COAL-MINE EXPLOSION

DONETSK, August 22 — A gas leak occurred at the Skochynskiy coal-mine of the Donetskvuhillia complex during detonation work, which resulted in an explosion.

As a result of the explosion and subsequent fire 15 people died, 5 are in a critical condition, and 25 are in hospital suffering from trauma.

WORLD FORUM OF UKRAINIANS

KYIV — From August 21-24 the capital of Ukraine hosted the World Forum of Ukrainians. The principal aim of this international event was to rally all Ukrainians, regardless of political views and countries of residence, around building a Ukrainian state. The event was organised by the Prosvita Society, Rukh, and the Cabinet of Ministers' commission on nationalities.

The Forum was attended by representatives of Ukrainian organisations from around the world: 447 delegates from the western diaspora, 335 from the eastern diaspora, and 470 delegates from Ukraine. Covering the proceedings were 414 journalists.

The Forum opened with an address by President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk. In his almost hour-long address, Kravchuk recounted the history of the Ukrainian people's struggle for independence, and described the plan to build an independent Ukrainian state. In the opinion of the President, Ukraine needs gradual reforms, privatisation, the nationalisation of the means of production, as well as its own banking system and national currency.

The President also emphasised the need for national consolidation, drawing a parallel with the liberation struggle of 1917-1920, when the absence of national unity brought defeat. In this context he criticised Rukh's joint chairman, Vyacheslav Chornovil, accusing him of personal ambition.

In his address, notable publicist and former political prisoner Ivan Dziuba gave a detailed analysis of the current situation in Ukraine. In his opinion, Ukraine is not yet a completely independent state. The difficulties of the transition from a totalitarian state with a planned economy to a democratic society and a market economy have been magnified by serious mistakes on the part of the leadership. At the same time, Dziuba said, the national-democratic movement has proved incapable of forming a clear and meaningful conception of reform and lasting organisational structures, which has led to the weakening of its position.

Speaking on "The Western Diaspora: Goals and Perspectives", the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Yuriy Shymko (Canada), also focussed his attention on the flawed economic policy of the Ukrainian leadership. Shymko stressed that the western diaspora is prepared to help, but wants to be certain that its efforts will actually be directed towards helping Ukraine.

Oleksander Rudenko-Desniak (Moscow), a member of the Coordinating Council of the Slavutych Society, reported on the state of affairs in the republics of the former USSR in his address, entitled "The Eastern Diaspora: Understanding the New Role".

Many other representatives of Ukraine's eastern and western diaspora, and political parties and organisations also took the opportunity to address the

gathering. Citing cases when substantial hard currency funds have been squandered, and calling on the western diaspora to take the Ukrainian communities in the countries of the former USSR under its care, Vyacheslav Chornovil accused the government of leading Ukraine into bankruptcy.

Other speakers described their disillusionment with the absence of any real help from the state for Ukrainians living in countries of the CIS.

On August 22, the Forum continued its work in the form of numerous commissions dealing with historical, political, international, linguistic, cultural, security, legal, ethnographic, demographic, economic, and ecological matters.

The commissions presented their reports the following day, when the Forum adopted its concluding documents. A World Coordinating Council was established, composed of 33 members. Ukraine, the western diaspora, and the eastern diaspora will each be represented by 11 delegates. The Council includes the joint chairman of Rukh, the chairman of the Ukraina Society — Ivan Drach, Pavlo Popovych — one of the world's first astronauts, the representative of the Slavutych Society Coordinating Council — Oleksander Rudenko-Desniak, People's Deputy Larysa Skoryk, and the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians — Yuriy Shymko.

On August 24 the delegates and guests took part in the Independence Day celebrations.

UKRAINE MARKS INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

KYIV — On August 24 Ukraine marked the first anniversary of its declaration of independence. The centre of the celebrations was the capital — Kyiv. The day began with the laying of flowers at the foot of the Taras Shevchenko monument. The ceremony was attended by members of the government, Supreme Council deputies, and delegates and guests of the World Forum of Ukrainians, which opened in Kyiv on August 21.

A religious service dedicated to the national holiday was held in the St. Sophia Cathedral, celebrated by Patriarch Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Metropolitans Filaret and Antonyi. The service was attended by President Leonid Kravchuk.

The Independence Day celebrations included the grand opening, after more than 200 years, of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a school once renowned throughout Europe. The first students of the Academy were greeted by the rector, Vyacheslav Briukhovetskyi, and honorary pro-rector Leonid Kravchuk.

That day a new exhibition opened in Kyiv's National Museum of History, dedicated to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. The new exhibits portray the role of prominent historical figures such as Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazepa, the Central Rada parliament in the era of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

The traditional centre of all of Kyiv's celebrations is St. Andrew's Rise, mentioned even in the mediaeval epic poem "Tale of Ihor's Host". As part of their contribution to the festivities, numerous artists and sculptors opened their street exhibitions in this old part of the capital, where a large number of Kyivites and visitors to the city gathered to mark the holiday.

That evening the city's grand main street — the Khreshchatyk — was filled with tens of thousands of people. A dirigible balloon, decorated with a huge national symbol, flew above Independence Square. Wearing new Ukrainian uniforms, a National Guard battalion marched down the Khreshchatyk accompanied by a military band.

Throughout the whole day various choirs and folk groups entertained passers-by on Independence Square. In the evening a multitude of young Ukrainians gathered on the square to listen to a rock concert.

To conclude the celebrations a rally was held on the square adjacent to St. Sophia. The 30-40,000 people, who completely filled the square, were addressed by political activists, government officials, leaders of political parties and organisations, and representatives of Ukrainian communities of the diaspora. In her address, the chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Slava Stetsko, criticised the sluggish tempos of political and economic reform, and called for the removal of the Cabinet of Ministers. The head of the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Insurgent Army Veterans, Mykhailo Zelenchuk, called for official state recognition of the role of the UPA, a military force that fought against foreign occupation, in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation.

Volodymyr Filenko, the chairman of the association New Ukraine publicly demonstrated the Fokin government's unpopularity by calling for a show of support for the Cabinet of Ministers. No hands were raised in favour of the government.

Patriarch Mstyslav handed over the military flag of the Ukrainian National Republic, which he had held in safekeeping, to a colonel of the National Guard.

Following a brief statement by Rukh joint chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn, the leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party, who led the proceedings, declared the rally closed. Although present at the rally, President Leonid Kravchuk did not address the gathering.

The rally ended with a firework display.

BODY OF PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ RETURNS TO UKRAINE

LVIV, August 27 — The body of the great Ukrainian Greek Catholic leader, Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, was returned to Ukraine as crowds estimated at over 250,000 people joined in the services for the former Soviet prisoner who spent 18 years in labour camps for his faith.

The importance of the event and the leader was underscored by the presence of representatives of the Orthodox Churches of Ukraine, who joined with their

Catholic brothers to mark this historic moment. The joining together of representatives of the three Byzantine Rite Churches — the Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Orthodox of the Moscow Patriarchate — together with leaders of the Latin Rite Churches was a tribute to the ecumenical spirit which Patriarch Josyf tried to foster during his life.

Ukrainian Greek Catholic Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivskiy led a delegation of Church leaders and government dignitaries which first met the Rome delegation escorting the body to Ukraine. The services began at approximately 14.00 hours Lviv time.

The coffin, draped in a Ukrainian flag with an embroidered cross, was received by Patriarch Myroslav Ivan, Patriarch Mstyslav I of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Archbishop Andriy Horak, representing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, Archbishop Marian Jaworski, archbishop for Latin Rite Catholics, Archbishop Antonio Franco, papal nuncio to Ukraine, Bishop Markian Tryfoniak, auxiliary bishop of Lviv for Latin Rite Catholics, all the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, as well as Metropolitan Archbishop Maxym Hermaniuk of Winnipeg, Bishop Isidore Boretskyi of Toronto and Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn of France.

First Patriarch Myroslav Ivan blessed the coffin and led prayers. He then turned to Patriarch Mstyslav I asking that he too bless the coffin. The elderly Orthodox leader rose from his wheelchair and gave his blessing upon the mortal remains of Patriarch Josyf. Patriarch Myroslav Ivan read a statement and then the crowd of 10,000 persons began the 10-kilometre procession from Lviv airport to the Church of the Transfiguration in the city centre. The route is the same which was used for the funeral of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi.

An honour guard of 500 priests and Ukrainian Greek Catholic youth led the procession as both sides of the streets along the route were filled with onlookers. The Ukrainian national flag was flown with a black ribbon on all official buildings and many residences. The crowds threw flowers all along the procession route and participated in the religious hymns sung by the choir "Antey". Soldiers from the Ukrainian Army stood at attention along the route and saluted as the procession passed. The entire event was broadcast live on Lviv Television and was re-broadcast that same night on Ukrainian National Television.

The procession arrived at the Church of the Transfiguration, where the pastor, Father Yaroslav Chukhniy, led services. Father Chukhniy played an instrumental role in the legalisation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church when he led the congregation of the Church of the Transfiguration to declare themselves Greek Catholic in October 1989. At the Church of the Transfiguration, the choir "Mria" sang the services and representatives from the Writers' Union of Ukraine addressed the crowd.

The procession then moved to the town square, where Lviv's mayor, Vasyl Shpitzer, and General Volodymyr Muliava of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence

spoke. From the town square, the procession proceeded to the Ivan Franko-Lviv University and then to the former seminary of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, where Patriarch Josyf was rector until he became coadjutor to Metropolitan Sheptytskyi. The building was seized by the communist government following the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in 1946 and was made the city post office. It continues to function as part of the post office today. At the former seminary, the rector of the current seminary, Bishop Julian Voronovskyi, spoke.

A highly emotional crowd awaited the procession at the prison on Lviv's Lonskyi Street, where Patriarch Josyf was taken after his arrest on April 11, 1945. The crowd knelt as the procession stopped and an extraordinary amount of flowers were thrown upon the bier. Representatives from the Organisation of Ukrainian Political Prisoners and Repressed Persons spoke, as did many of the persons who were prisoners in the Soviet labour camps along with Patriarch Josyf.

The final stop in the services was the Cathedral of St. George, where Patriarch Myroslav Ivan read a greeting from Pope John Paul II. Mykola Horyn, chairman of the Lviv Regional Council, spoke following Patriarch Myroslav Ivan. The body will lie in state in the cathedral until Saturday, August 29, when it will be placed in the crypt along with the body of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk will attend these services

Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

**UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLICS HOLD SERVICES
FOR PATRIARCH JOSYF CARDINAL SLIPLYJ
IN CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE**

LVIV, August 29 — With great solemnity, respect and admiration, the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, those of other confessions in Ukraine, and officials of the Ukrainian government, today honoured the blessed memory of a great Catholic leader and devoted son of Ukraine, Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Sliplyj.

His body lying in state in a special crystal coffin, the man of God would have been 100 years old this year, returned home to a Church which the Soviets attempted to destroy but has been reborn; to a nation which was once unmercifully repressed and is now taking its first cautious steps towards freedom.

Patriarch Josyf's suffering as a prisoner in Soviet labour camps for 18 years inspired many Ukrainian Greek Catholics to remain faithful to their Church and to jeopardise their safety by keeping it alive in the underground for over 46 years. His accomplishments in the West following his release in 1963 served to inspire an entire generation of youth, who had never seen their fatherland, to be loyal to their Church and work towards its freedom and that of the Ukrainian nation.

Today, the suffering and devotion of Patriarch Josyf culminated in the triumph of the return of his mortal remains and the vision of over one million persons waiting days to pay their respects to the man who said that the knowledge that he was suffering for Christ and for his people kept him alive. The former secret police of Ukraine, the KGB, who had arrested Patriarch Josyf on April 11, 1945, in the residence of the Cathedral of St. George, kept order as preparations were made for the first freely-elected president of Ukraine to come to the cathedral to officially pay his respects to the man the Ukrainian government had once persecuted.

Services began at 10.00 with a pontifical divine liturgy celebrated by His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivskyi and the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church from Ukraine and the West. The services being held in this cathedral were significant not only for the occasion, but also because it was the site where in 1946 the Soviets staged a pseudo-synod in which representatives of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church supposedly voted to nullify their union with the Universal Catholic Church and become a part of the Russian Orthodox Church. For this union with the Universal Catholic Church, Patriarch Josyf willingly suffered.

The bishops of Ukraine, all of whom were persecuted as young priests and later bishops, stood today at the altar paying homage to Patriarch Josyf, asking for his guardianship in these times of the reconstruction of their Church.

Joining His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan at the altar were Metropolitan Archbishop Maxym Hermaniuk of Winnipeg; Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv; Bishop Sofron Dmyterko of Ivano-Frankivsk; Bishop Izydor Boretskyi of Toronto; Bishop Ivan Martyniak of Peremyshl; Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn of France and Benelux; Bishop Filemon Kurchaba, auxiliary bishop of Lviv; Bishop Julian Voronovskyi, auxiliary of Lviv and rector of the Seminary of the Holy Spirit of the Archeparchy of Lviv; Bishop Mykhailo Sabryha, auxiliary of Lviv; Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, auxiliary of Ivano-Frankivsk; Bishop Iryney Bilyk, auxiliary of Ivano-Frankivsk; Bishop Ivan Margitych, auxiliary of Uzhorod and Mukachiv; Father Ivan Choma, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement in Rome and executor of the testament of Patriarch Josyf; Father Ivan Hryniokh, former professor of philosophy of the Lviv Theological Academy, former professor of the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement in Rome and a close associate of Patriarch Josyf; Father Izydor Patrylo, archimandrite of the Basilian Monks; Father Sebastian, Studite, archimandrite of the Basilian Monks; Father Rafael Turkoniak and Father Kenneth Nowakowskyi, vice chancellors of the Archeparchy of Lviv.

Present for Divine Liturgy were Archbishop Marian Jaworski, archbishop of Lviv for Latin Rite Catholics; Archbishop Antonio Franco, papal nuncio to Ukraine; Bishop Markian Tryfomiak, auxiliary of Lviv for Latin Rite Catholics; Archimandrite Nathan of the Armenian Catholic Church in Lviv.

Patriarch Mstyslav I of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Archbishop Andriy Horak, representing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, arrived for the services for the dead which immediately followed the Divine Liturgy. Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk also arrived at this juncture and was escorted by Father Ivan Dacko, vicar general of the Archeparchy of Lviv.

Other government officials present at the services included Stepan Davymuka, the representative of President Kravchuk to the Lviv region; Mykola Horyn, chairman of the Lviv Regional Council; Ivan Hel, deputy chairman of the Lviv Regional Council; many deputies of the national, regional and city councils throughout Ukraine; all the chairmen of the various regional councils of Ukraine and many ambassadors to Ukraine.

In accordance with the request of Ukrainian government officials, the mortal remains of Patriarch Josyf were not placed in the crypt in the Cathedral of St. George today. An estimated one million persons have already filed into the cathedral to pay their respects to the great Ukrainian church leader and several hundred thousand more are expected from throughout Ukraine, the countries of the former Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe.

A concert of religious music was held that night, attended by all participants in the services as well as President Kravchuk.

Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

BODY OF PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPIJ BURIED IN CRYPT OF CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE

LVIV, September 7 — Today, the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine joined together to bury the mortal remains of a great Catholic leader and devoted son of Ukraine, Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, in the crypt of the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv.

The body of Patriarch Josyf had been lying in state in the cathedral, in a special crystal coffin, since August 27 when it was returned to Lviv from Rome. Interment of the body in the crypt of the cathedral had been scheduled for August 29, following two days when faithful and others were to pay their respects. However, because crowds of over one million persons gathered in Lviv specially to view the body, interment was delayed by special request of the Lviv Regional Council.

Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivskyi agreed that interment would be on September 7, the eighth anniversary of Patriarch Josyf's death. Joining Patriarch

Myroslav Ivan for services were the bishops of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine as well as Father Ivan Choma, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome and executor of the last will and testament of Patriarch Josyf; Father Izydor Patrylo, archimandrite of the Basilian Fathers; Father Ivan Dacko, secretary to Patriarch Josyf until his death and currently vicar general of the Archeparchy of Lviv and many priests of the archeparchy. Representatives of the city and regional government were also present.

Following a pontifical Divine Liturgy and services for the dead in the cathedral, the body of the former Soviet prisoner, who would have been 100 years old this year, was taken to the crypt which had been specially renovated. Patriarch Josyf was buried with the bodies of his spiritual father Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovych.

Prior to interment, Patriarch Myroslav Ivan and Father Choma both spoke. Father Choma also scattered dirt from Rome on the plain wooden coffin prior to its burial.

Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

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RESOLUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF UKRAINE

Regarding the political situation which has resulted from the decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Supreme Council on May 5, 1992

Ukraine's Supreme Council, in accordance with the wishes of the Crimean population, and as a result of the historic and national characteristics of the region, February 12, 1991, passed a law by which it re-established the autonomous Crimean state within Ukraine. The appropriate changes were also made to Ukraine's Constitution.

According to a law passed on April 29, 1992, Ukraine's Supreme Council returned Crimea's broad powers to independently deal with economic, social and political issues.

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

Disregarding this, the Crimean Republic's Supreme Council passed resolutions on May 5, 1992, "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum", which violate the Constitution of Ukraine in which it is stated that the territory of Ukraine cannot be changed without its approval (art. 70) and that the Crimean Republic is an integral part of Ukraine and independently makes only those decisions which are accorded to it (art. 75-1). According to Ukraine's Constitution decisions regarding the state order of Ukraine are accorded by Ukraine's Supreme Council (par. 2 art. 97).

Ukraine's Supreme Council notes that the above-stated decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Supreme Council destabilise the situation both in Crimea, as well as all of Ukraine.

Upon discussing the political situation which has resulted from the decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Supreme Council on May 5, 1992, guided by par. 31 art. 97 of the Constitution of Ukraine, the Supreme Council of Ukraine resolves:

1. To recognise the "Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic", the resolution "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and the resolution "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" passed by the Supreme Council of the Crimean Republic on May 5, 1992, as unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

2. To stop all activity related to the resolutions of the Supreme Council of the Crimean Republic "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and the resolution "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" as activity which is unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

3. That the Supreme Council of the Crimean Republic revoke by May 20, 1992, its resolutions of May 5, 1992, "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" on the grounds that they are unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

4. That the Committee of Ukraine's Supreme Council responsible for legislation and legalities analyse all legislative acts passed by the Crimean Republic's Supreme Council on the basis of their accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and the legislation of Ukraine "On the Status of the autonomous Republic of Crimea" and submit its conclusions to Ukraine's Supreme Council by May 20, 1992.

5. To suggest that the President of Ukraine take immediate measures to restore constitutional order in the autonomous Crimean Republic.

The Supreme Council of Ukraine declares its readiness to continue a dialogue with representative bodies of Crimea regarding the establishment of Crimean autonomy on the basis of Ukraine's Constitution and Ukraine's legislation "On the Status of the autonomous Republic of Crimea".

*Chairman
Supreme Council of Ukraine*

KYIV RAISES ALARM OVER PLIGHT OF UKRAINIANS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Address delivered by Y.V. Kostenko, head of the Ukrainian delegation to the CSCE Institutions in Vienna, on May 15, 1992

I share the concerns which have been voiced here by the previous speakers regarding the situation in Yugoslavia and I fully support the opinion of the representative of Portugal who spoke on behalf of the European Community.

Moreover, I would like to draw your attention to a very important and specific detail which is an important element in this complex situation in Yugoslavia today. This pertains to the plight of the Ukrainian national minority in that area. The Ukrainian government has already brought this issue to the attention of the present authorities in Belgrade, its concern regarding violations of human rights and, in fact, the rights of the very existence of the Ukrainian minority in Yugoslavia.

Our profound concern and fear is shared by the Ukrainian community and the various organisations which exist all over the world. In particular, we have at our disposal an appeal directed to the Center of Conflict Prevention from the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of free Ukrainians, the head office of which is located in Toronto.

That appeal presents numerous facts which point out the brutal violations of the rights of the Ukrainian minority which have taken place in various regions of Yugoslavia. For example, in Prnjavor, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the policy of forceful displacement of the non-Serbian citizens, Ukrainians among them, has been taking place for quite some time. There now exists a very real threat of the full annihilation of the Ukrainian community in the Prnjavor region. According to the latest statistics, more than 40 Ukrainians have been murdered in the Vukovar and Petrovici areas, where most of the Ukrainian settlements have existed for more than 100 years. As a result, Ukrainian communities no longer exist in that area. Further details of this type can be cited. Those of you who would like to obtain the full text of the submission of the WCFU to the CPC, please contact our delegation.

As evidence, the policy of Belgrade is in direct violation of all rights of minorities, those rights which have become an integral part of the basic principles of the documents of the CSCE process.

We very much want to have our profound concern and our cause for alarm fully noted and understood by the present authorities, both in Belgrade and in the locations [of Yugoslavia] where members of the Ukrainian minority still exist.

I also feel that the existing mechanisms of the CSCE which deal with the question of national minorities should direct their attention in order to alleviate the tragic position in which the Ukrainian minority has been placed in today's territory of the former Yugoslavia.

APPEAL OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF UKRAINE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

The collapse of the USSR brought Ukraine the long-awaited opportunity to build its own independent, democratic state. So far, Ukraine, with its 52-million strong population, remains one of the few regions of stability and peace on the territory of the former Union, with no ethnic conflicts. This is particularly significant as regards stability and security on the European continent. Ukraine's government policy, which is based on laws guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of individuals and of ethnic minorities, and the norms of international law, particularly the Helsinki and Vienna agreements, help maintain stability. The building of a democratic state and the implementation of economic reforms in Ukraine is being seriously hampered by Russia's intrusion into the internal affairs of Ukraine in an attempt to drag Ukraine into territorial disputes, which became particularly clear in the deterioration of the political situation in Crimea. The decree adopted by the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation on May 21-22, 1992, on the legitimacy of the decision of the government of the Russian Federation on the change of status of Crimea, adopted in 1954, and the concurrent statement to the Supreme Council of Ukraine impels Ukraine to bring to the attention of the North Atlantic Assembly the judicial nihilism practised by Russia in relations with other states, and Russia's unlawful abolition of the laws of the former USSR.

All border changes concerning Ukraine were appropriately constituted by the legislation of Ukraine, Russia and the former Union. As an independent state, Ukraine, an integral part of which is Crimea, is today recognised within its existing borders by the states of the world including Russia. The Supreme Council of Ukraine regards the above decree of the Russian Federation as judicially invalid and one that has no legal effect in Ukraine. The status and future of Crimea, which forms an integral part of Ukraine, cannot be a subject of international negotiations.

The decree adopted by the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation, on the other hand, threatens the continued recognition by other European states of the universal norms of international law, the UN Charter, and the Helsinki agreements. Russia unilaterally abolished the Act of 1954 concerning Crimea, which is one of

many analogical acts on territorial issues adopted by the former Soviet Union. According to this reasoning, Ukraine should demand the abolition of the decrees of the former Union on the regulation of borders between the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian Federation and the Byelorussian SSR of October 16, 1924, on the basis of which Ukraine surrendered extensive territories to Russia, including the Haivoron, Putyvel and Novooskolsk districts of the Kursk gubernia, the Ostroh, Bohuchar, Birluchen-Voronezh, and Tahanrih districts of the Donetsk province, and the Temriuk and Yeiske districts of the Kuban region, where Ukrainians formed between 51 and 90 per cent of the general population.

This would, however, inevitably lead to a chain reaction involving the review of state borders, and catastrophic conflicts in Europe and the rest of the world. Realising this, Ukraine adheres firmly to the universal norms of international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki agreements, and is counting on the North Atlantic Assembly to help prevent Ukraine from being forcefully embroiled in territorial disputes with Russia, and maintain the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of Ukraine. According to the scheme which was in operation under the structures of the former Soviet Union regarding the Baltic states, the parliament of Russia is today trying to justify its intrusion into the internal affairs of Ukraine on the grounds of the alleged violation of the rights of the Russian population in Crimea. These accusations are being manipulated by the chauvinist organisations created and supported by Russia on the territory of Crimea, whose activity is geared towards the secession of Crimea from Ukraine. Ukraine adheres to its Constitution, which guarantees the rights and freedoms of all citizens, irrespective of nationality, and categorically rejects accusations of violation of the rights of the Russian or any other population in Ukraine. In connection with this, Ukraine appeals to the North Atlantic Assembly to send a special commission to Ukraine to determine the actual situation. Ukraine guarantees this commission its full assistance and cooperation.

KYIV, June 4

Reports**UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC MEDAL WINNERS**

BARCELONA — Eighty-two Ukrainian sportsmen and women took part in 21 forms of sport at the XXV summer Olympics in Barcelona, within the ranks of the Unified Team. Of the 112 (45 gold, 38 silver and 29 bronze) medals claimed by the Unified Team, Ukrainians took home 40: 17 gold, 14 silver and 9 bronze medals, that is more than one third.

For the first time in Olympic history the Ukrainian national flag was raised and the national anthem of Ukraine was played in honour of wrestler Oleh Kucherenko from Luhansk, gymnasts Tetiana Hutsu from Odessa, Oleksandra Tymoshenko from Kyiv, and Tetiana Lysenko from Kherson, and others.

In individual and team competitions Ukrainians won the following medals:

Gold medals:

Tetiana Hutsu (Odessa) — Gymnastics, team and individual gold in all-round
— 2 medals

Tetiana Lysenko (Kherson) — Gymnastics, team gold, balance beam
— 2 medals

Hryhoriy Mysiutin (Luhansk) — Gymnastics, team gold

Ihor Korobchynskyi (Luhansk) — Gymnastics, team gold

Rustam Sharipov (Kharkiv) — Gymnastics, team gymnastics

Oleh Kucherenko (Luhansk) — Greco-Roman wrestling, 48 kg category

Heorhiy Pohosov (Kyiv) — Fencing, team sabre

Vadym Hutsail (Kyiv) — Fencing, team sabre

Olena Zhyrko (Kyiv) — Basketball

Maryna Tkachenko (Kyiv) — Basketball

Yuriy Havrylov (Kyiv) — Handball

Serhiy Bebeszko (Kyiv) — Handball

Ludmyla Dzhyhalova (Kharkiv) — Track and field, 4x400m relay

Olha Bryzhina (Luhansk) — Track and field, 4x400m relay

Oleksandra Tymoshenko (Kyiv) — Rhythmic gymnastics, individual all-round

Silver medals:

Pavlo Khnykin (Vynnytsia) — Swimming, 4x400m relay, freestyle and combined

— 2 medals

Hryhoriy Mysiutin (Luhansk) — Gymnastics, all-round, floor exercise

— 4 medals

Serhiy Holubytskyi (Kyiv) — Fencing, individual foil

Tumur Taymazov (Khmelnyskyi) — Weight-lifting, 100 kg category

Tetiana Hutsu (Odessa) — Gymnastics, uneven bars

Tetiana Dorovskykh (Zaporizhia) — Track and field, 3,000m

Olha Bryzhina (Luhansk) — Track and field, 400m — 2 medals

Mykhailo Styvynskyi (Lviv) — Singles canoeing, 500m

Innesa Kravets (Kyiv) — Track and field, long jump

Rostyslav Zavulychnyi (Lviv) — Boxing, 81 kg category

**Bronze medals:**

Olha Kyrychenko (Kryvyi Rih) — Swimming, 4x100m relay, freestyle and combined — 2 medals

Tetiana Hutsu (Odessa) — Gymnastics, floor exercise

Tetiana Lysenko (Kherson) — Gymnastics, vault

Ihor Korobchynskyi (Luhansk) — Gymnastics, parallel bars

Tetiana Ustynova (Mariupol) — Quadruple sculls

Serhiy Kravchuk (Kyiv) — Fencing, team epee

Maryna Bazarova (Kyiv) — Handball

Tetiana Horb (Kyiv) — Handball

Oksana Skaldina (Kyiv) — Gymnastics, all-round

Had a Ukrainian team been officially represented in Barcelona, it would have occupied fifth place after the Unified Team, the USA, Germany, and China. An independent national team will represent Ukraine for the first time at the summer Olympics in Atlanta in four years time.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A quarterly journal devoted to the study of Ukraine

Winter, 1992

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW
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. Chabarivskiy

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 Latyshevskyi 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 Vasyliy. 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 Vasyliy 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’dā”, 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 ‘περε-’ (“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 сrete 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.

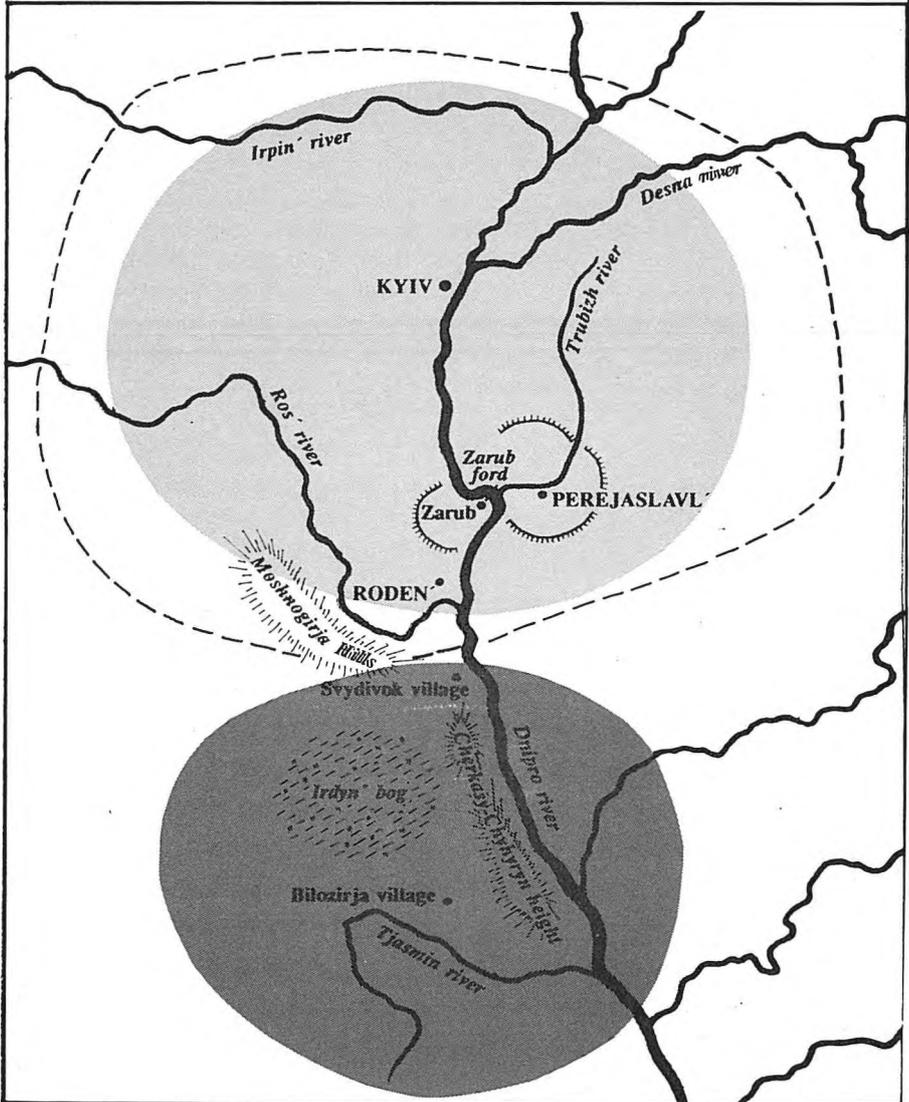
45. Another river is the Rütā (?) which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier (*sarhadd*) between the Pechenegs, the Majghāri, and the Rūs. Then it enters the Rūs limits (*andar miyāna-yi hadd-i Rūs*) and flows to the *Ṣaqlāb*. Then it reaches the town Khurdāb belonging to the *Ṣaqlāb* and is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

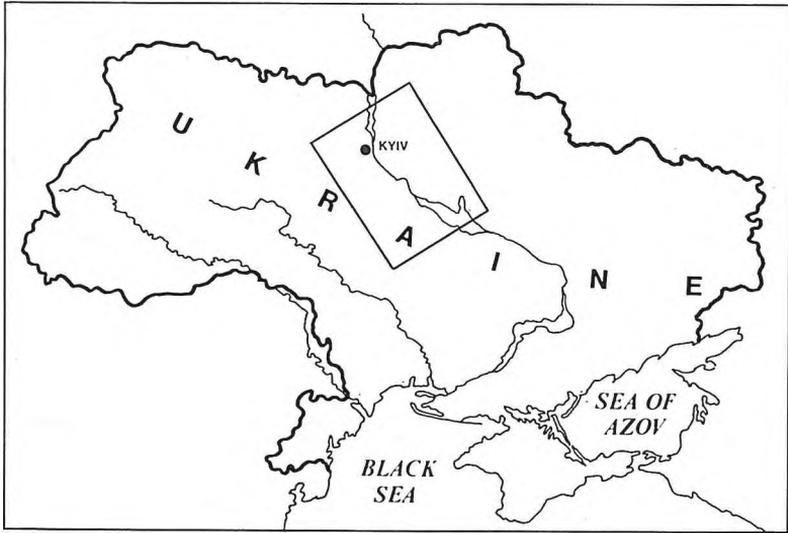
The statement that the Rūs (Dnipro) river empties itself into the Ātil (Volga) is definitely wrong. This confusion may have arisen because the Eastern merchants may have used the Dnipro (Rūs) — Irdyn´ — Tjasmin-Ingul-Ingulets´ (Rütā) water route for the reasons stated in the article. Further on describing 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 *Ṣaqlāb*s; 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. Petrashenko, "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), "Slymak" (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). “Zivyalie 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 “Kamniari” (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

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Reports

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.