



and calls for great-power expansionism. Attempts to realize such designs threaten not only newly independent states, but the world at large. To conclude this point I should stress that Ukraine's policy, domestic and foreign, is not anti-Russian: it is anti-imperial. Ukraine is vigorously seeking good business relations first and foremost with her neighbours, but in general with any prospective partner.

**UKRAINE'S POLICY,
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN,
IS NOT ANTI-RUSSIAN;
IT IS ANTI-IMPERIAL**

We know that we live not only in the CIS, but in Europe as well. Now in her third year of her independence, Ukraine has embassies practically in all European capitals. Our intention is to use to the utmost the possibilities of cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries, in the Black Sea area, in Transcarpathia, etc. This seems to be our natural geographic environment.

Here again, we may be guilty of the same mistake as our neighbours to the West. Guided by the Cold War precedents, we supposed that, seeing our desire to move towards market economy, the most outspoken proponents of this choice would rush to our assistance. But, for various reasons, it did not happen. On the contrary: assistance and partnership did not materialize. As one of our Prime Ministers observed, nobody is waiting for us with our goods on the Western markets; it seems they consider us to be too foolish. They give us a lot of advice, but no money. There are natural reasons for such behaviour - private capital is not lured by the difficulties of transitional period and the slow rate of economic reform. In our case there was an additional, unnatural reason as well. This was the desire, shared by the US and Russia alike, to strip Ukraine as soon as possible of the nuclear weapons, which are the third nuclear capacity in the world, and which were left on our soil as the remnants of the dead Soviet military power. For this reason, demonstrative attempts to isolate Ukraine were promoted from Washington and Moscow. Having transferred all the tactical nuclear weapons to Russia for destructions by May, 1992, and having received for this famous Russian "zero" option on all

counts (compensation, security assurances) combined with claims to our territory, in case of strategic nuclear weapons Ukraine tried to be wiser and asked for fair exchange and no robbery. But it seemed that in Washington they did not see the threats to our independence - those problems were overshadowed by nuclear missiles.

A consistent opponent of such a policy towards Ukraine is former National Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and in the cited issue of "Foreign Affairs", he observed that combined economic, military, political and propaganda pressure was exerted on Kyiv: "...given Ukraine's size and geostrategic importance, at the same time economic leverage has been applied through reductions and periodic cutoffs in the delivery of vital energy sources to Ukrainian industry, presumably in the hope of destabilizing the country to the point that a sizable portion of the population will begin to clamour for a closer connection with Moscow. To isolate Ukraine internationally, Russian policy-makers have also skilfully exploited the Clinton administration's preoccupation with Ukraine's nuclear status. Playing on American fears (and the administration's evident preference for Russian control over Ukraine's nuclear weapons), Moscow was quite successful in portraying the new leaders in Kyiv as a menace to international stability. Ukraine's ineptitude in conveying its concerns to the West also intensified its isolation and therefore its sense of vulnerability." (*ED: See pages xx in this issue*)

Brzezinski further suggested that, "Though continuing the pursuit of a deepening friendship with Russia, it would call for a more balanced distribution of financial aid to Russia and to the non-Russian states, the abandonment of the single-minded elevation of the question of nuclear arms to the status of litmus test for American-Ukrainian relations, and an even-handed treatment of Moscow and Kyiv. It would require the explicit recognition of the fact that Ukraine's independent existence is a matter of far greater long-range significance than whether Kyiv does or does not promptly dismantle its post-Soviet nuclear arsenal. It also would condition American aid to Russia on the end of Russian efforts to transfer them into fully subordinate satellites, and it would entail a greater

willingness to make an issue - including in the United Nations - of Moscow's transgressions against its neighbours."

The issue of Ukraine's ratification of the Start-1 and accession to the NPT culminated last November when the Ukrainian Parliament ratified Start-Treaty with 13 conditions. Nuclear ambitions never did characterize Ukraine's policy.

In the long run, Ukraine achieved what it wanted - security assurances from the nuclear powers, assistance in dismantlement and agreement on use of fissile material. Nevertheless, this prolonged special anti-Ukrainian campaign of the two formerly Cold War super-powers helped to aggravate economic deterioration in Ukraine. Nowadays, the American President qualifies the Ukrainian-American relations as the best ever during the whole period of Ukraine's independence. The self-evident confirmation of this statement is seen in the visit of President Kravchuk to the USA.

Now, when at last here in the West they can clearly see who's who - when mafia, putsch instigators, antigorbachevists, antiyeltsenists, together with other antiukrainists - freely stroll on Moscow streets and listen to Mr. Zhirinovsky's boasts about keeping the places vacated by them in prison reserved for Presidents Kravchuk and Yeltsin (for their crime of dissolving the great and mighty Soviet Union), the crucial role of the existence of an independent Ukraine for the independence of Eastern and Central Europe from the Urals to the Alps - is no longer a secret to any observing student of international developments.

Two or three years of concerted international effort are needed immediately to ensure that Ukraine will never again be as weak and helpless as she is now. On the other hand, two or three years without conscious up-keeping of Ukraine in her attempts at transformation, and I am afraid that a free Ukraine might disappear as quickly as she appeared.