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Bishop Husar granted extraordinary powers as Lubachivsky's auxiliary

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — The World Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC) meeting in Lviv, made the first move toward naming a successor to the ailing head of the Church on October 14. They bestowed upon Bishop Lubomyr Husar of the Kyiv-Vyshhorod Exarchate extraordinary powers and assigned him the title of auxiliary bishop to the archbishop-major of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, a decision that was confirmed by the Vatican.

Many in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church's laity have thought it only a matter of time until Bishop Husar was asked to take charge of the Church.

Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, major archbishop of the Church, who is 82 years old, has been ailing and has kept a low profile for the last three years. During celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the Union of Brest (Berestia), which took place a week before the Synod of Bishops, he failed to appear at many of the events. Most notable was his absence at the October 13 archepiscopal divine liturgy in Freedom Square.

The announcement by the Synod was not a surprise. All during the celebratory week murmurs abounded that Bishop Husar, who took the reigns of the newly created Kyiv-Vyshhorod Exarchate in June, would soon climb the next step towards succession. He is seen by many as the heir-apparent to Cardinal Lubachivsky.

What powers Bishop Husar's new post confers upon him is still murky, however. The appointment does not make him the acting head of the Church or give him any right to succession.

It does, however, give him high visibility and authority. Archbishop Stephen Sulyk, metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States, told *The Weekly* that Bishop Husar now has "almost all the powers of the Church; he has the power to call synods, to preside over them and to approve their decisions."

Orysia Potupa, director of the UGCC press service, said Bishop

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Ukrainian Catholics mark 400th anniversary of union with Rome

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

LVIV — More than 30,000 people jammed Freedom Square in Lviv on October 13 to hear the divine liturgy as the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church celebrated the 400th anniversary of the reunion between a portion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Union of Brest (Berestia) was proclaimed on October 16, 1596, between the Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian) Orthodox Church of what was then the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Church of Rome. The move was spurred by the Turkish conquest of the Patriarchy of Constantinople in 1453, the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1589 and internal strife within the

Ukrainian Church. The agreement recognized the pope as head of the Church but allowed Ukrainians to retain their Eastern rite traditions.

The crowd that came to celebrate the anniversary filled the square from the Lviv Opera House back to the Taras Shevchenko monument, and spilled onto Shevchenko Street. A giant stage with an

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Roman Woronowycz

Cardinal Achille Silvestrini, Archbishop Michael Bzdel and other hierarchs celebrate liturgy in Lviv's Freedom Square.

Leadership Conference reviews five years of Ukraine's independence

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON — Ukraine's accomplishments and shortcomings during the first five years of its independence came under review at the 1996 annual Leadership Conference of The Washington Group, and the many speakers and expert panelists gave the country a mixed report card: high marks in the area of geostrategic relations, domestic politics, democratization and human rights; marked improvement in economic reforms; but lagging far behind in energy and health care.

The conference, held October 11-13, heard from President Bill Clinton's point man on relations with the new independent states Undersecretary of State Strobe Talbott; former U.S. representative to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who spoke on behalf of President Clinton's Republican presidential challenger Robert Dole; Ukrainian Supreme Court Judge Oleksandr Volkov; and some 20 other experts representing the U.S. and Ukrainian governments, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, academic institutions, think-tanks, corporations and

foundations dealing with Ukraine.

About 300 persons from throughout the United States and Canada attended the three-day event, which was co-sponsored by the Embassy of Ukraine, the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation and the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America.

Undersecretary Talbott set a positive tone in a major foreign policy address outlining the Clinton administration's assessment of Ukraine's accomplishments and of Washington's relationship with Ukraine.

Listening to his speech preceding a reception at the Ukrainian Embassy, in addition to conference participants, were the ambassadors of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and Uzbekistan as well as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, John Deutch.

Mr. Talbott cited the various steps Ukrainians took in building a strong nation, from the declaration of independence to the passage of a new Constitution in June, and in reforming its economy, which went from a period of hyperinflation to the introduction of its new currency,

the hryvnia, in September, when the monthly inflation was down to 2 percent.

"There is much hard work still to be done," he said "But Ukraine does not face the challenge alone." The Clinton administration has joined in supporting Ukraine by calling on the international community to secure \$1.9 billion in cash commitments in 1996, and "has gone beyond the mandates of Congress to provide Ukraine with \$330 million in bilateral grants and \$860 million in trade and investment credits."

"We've done it and we'll keep on doing it...because it is in our own nation's interest to see an independent, secure, democratic Ukraine survive, succeed and prosper," Mr. Talbott said.

Speaking about Ukraine's relationship with NATO and Europe, Mr. Talbott quoted Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement that "a critical goal of the New Atlantic Community is to achieve Ukraine's integration with Europe." As a "vigorous" participant in the Partnership for Peace program, Ukraine "is already cooperating closely" with NATO, but only

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Ukraine at five: a progress report on U.S. policy

Following is the text of the address by Strobe Talbott, acting U.S. secretary of state, opening The Washington Group's 1996 Leadership Conference at the Embassy of Ukraine on October 11.

Thank you, Yaroslav [Voitko], very much. My friend Yuri Shcherbak has delivered a better speech than the one I'm about to give, and he's not even here. But I do want to thank him, despite the fact that he's not able to be with us tonight, my friend Mr. [Valeriy] Kuchynsky – and also my sympathies to Mr. Kuchynsky – and to Yaroslav [Voitko] and George [Masiuk], and to The Washington Group for including me in your celebration.

I know that some of you this evening have come from out of town. You've come from other parts of the country to take part in what promises to be a very stimulating and important and thoughtful conference. To those of you who are coming from out of town I want to say: welcome to Washington. During the Cold War, this city was often called the "capital of the free world." Washington still qualifies as exactly that today. In fact, with the collapse of Soviet Communism, with the disappearance of the USSR, and with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the free world not only still exists, it's a much bigger place today than it was just a few years ago – and today the free world includes an independent, democratic Ukraine.

Over the past three and a half years, I've had six opportunities to visit that brave young democracy. It's good to be back this evening on sovereign Ukrainian territory, and I'm grateful to the Embassy for opening its doors not just to me but to my colleagues from the administration: John Deutch [Director of Central Intelligence] gets applauded just for coming a few blocks to be on sovereign Ukraine territory [laughter] – imagine the reception you'll get, John, when you go to Kyiv for the first time [laughter] – also my friend and colleague Melanne Verveer from the Office of the First Lady who educated me a little on both Ukrainian history and on the Ukrainian language when we were together in Kyiv not too long ago, and Taras Bazyluk with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Bill Taylor and Bruce Connuck of the State Department, and Carlos Pasqual of the National Security Council. These are just a few of the members of the team that works in the executive branch on U.S.-Ukrainian relations.

President Clinton and Secretary of State Christopher have asked me this evening to convey two messages to all of you: First, they have asked me to extend their thanks for all that everyone here has done both for Ukraine and for U.S.-Ukrainian relations; and second, they have asked me to review briefly, from the vantage point of the Clinton administration, the past five years.

Everyone here tonight knows very well how far Ukraine has come in that short period of time. This room is filled with witnesses of the transformation that George [Masiuk] spoke of in his opening remarks. Some of you here this evening were a part of the "Chain of Unity" that stretched from Kyiv to Lviv on January 22, 1990. Some of you were in the Verkhovna Rada on August 24, 1991, the day when an honor guard brought in a giant blue and [yellow] flag and Ukraine declared its independence.

Others here were in Kyiv or Lviv or Kharkiv during the landmark presidential election in 1994, when Ukraine became the first new independent state of the former Soviet Union to transfer power from one democratically elected government to another. Or you've been back for subsequent regional elections that have produced victories around the country for a new generation of leaders who have made the cities and towns they lead into hubs of reform and sources of new ideas and new hope for the future. Or maybe you were there this past June, when Ukraine adopted a new Constitution that has codified the country's commitment to democracy and equal rights for all of its citizens.

Many of you – I'd guess most of you – have seen with your own eyes the industry and entrepreneurship of the Ukrainian people, which have spawned thousands of small businesses throughout the country. Those small businesses now account for more than half of Ukraine's national income. You've seen the hospitals where there are now MRIs and other modern diagnostic equipment, and you've seen the maternity wards where there are now for the first time incubators for premature babies. You've seen the churches and synagogues that are once again filled with worshippers.

In fact, many of you here this evening have been more than just witnesses of all this – you've been benefactors and participants in the process, and your contribution goes back a lot longer than just five years. For more than seven decades, the Ukrainian American com-

munity kept alive the dream of an independent and democratic homeland. Your faith nurtured the spirit and the substance of independence until the dream finally came true in 1991. Since then, you have labored on behalf of Ukrainian democracy, Ukrainian rule of law, Ukrainian freedom of the press, Ukrainian medicine and science, the Ukrainian environment – and Ukrainian prosperity.

Many of you have worked especially hard to put the Ukrainian economy on the right track. We all realize that that has been a monumental effort, and there have been some scary moments along the way. Not too long ago, Ukraine was looking over the edge of the abyss of hyperinflation. Yet last month, inflation was running at only 2 percent – which is a huge and very hopeful improvement. In September, Ukraine successfully launched its new currency, the hryvnia, which is already stronger than the karbovanets, the provisional currency that it replaced.

If Ukraine is to continue this progress – if it is to fulfill its tremendous economic potential – there is much hard work still to be done. That means cutting taxes and bureaucracy, promoting land reform, and building the legal foundation for a market economy.

But Ukraine does not face that challenge alone. The American people as a whole have followed the example of the Ukrainian American community. Which is to say, we've all joined together in the great task of supporting a free and prosperous and democratic Ukraine. President Clinton has led the way. He's done so by calling on the international community to secure \$1.9 billion in cash commitments for Ukraine in 1996. He has gone beyond the mandates of Congress to provide Ukraine with \$330 million in bilateral grants and \$860 million in trade and investment credits.

We're in Ukraine not just with our dollars but also with our know-how, our expertise, our can-do bent for licking the toughest problems. We're on the ground, making a difference for the better, working with real people. Americans are in Ukraine today training the next generation of entrepreneurs. And, by the way, our exchange programs work both ways. Through the U.S. Information Agency and the Agency for International Development, nearly 8,000 Ukrainians have come to our country to share our ideas, to learn first-hand about our way of life and work.

By early next year, we will have helped Ukraine privatize virtually its entire small business sector, and also a significant share of its larger enterprises. We have already helped Ukraine build democracy by sponsoring town hall meetings, and sending legal advisors and constitutional experts, and assisting Ukraine's growing independent media.

Let me also make special mention of America's efforts – both public and private – to help Ukraine deal with one of the defining disasters of our time. Ten years ago, an obscure town on the Prypiat River became world-famous overnight. When reactor No. 4 at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant blew its top, it was more than an isolated accident; it marked the beginning of the meltdown of the Soviet Union itself. But Chernobyl also left Ukraine with a health crisis that will last a generation – and it left the world with an obligation to ensure that such a tragedy never happens again. Through the work of numerous volunteer groups, many of whom are represented in this audience, there has been an outpouring of support for the victims, and especially the children of Chernobyl.

A number of you were present at the White House when Vice-President Gore and the First Lady commemorated the anniversary of the disaster – not just by looking backward in horror and in compassion, but by looking forward with hope and resolve. In this spirit, the United States has delivered over 100 tons of medical supplies to hospitals in Ukraine and Belarus. We have also used our leadership position in the Group of Seven major industrialized democracies to make available \$3 billion to support Ukraine's decision – its very courageous decision – to close Chernobyl by the year 2000.

Let me assert a key point here: Everything that we've done for Ukraine – and everything that we will do in the future – we do not just because we Americans are a generous people, although that is certainly the case. We've done it and we'll keep on doing it also because it is in our own nation's interest to see an independent, secure, democratic Ukraine survive, succeed and prosper.

Let me explain why that is by quoting our president. I was with him – as, of course, was Marta [Zielyk] – on a lovely spring day in May 1995 when he spoke to an audience of enthusiastic, welcoming students in front of the main building at Shevchenko University in Kyiv. President Clinton told that young audience that support



Bohdan Peter Rekshynskiy

Undersecretary of State Strobe Talbott

for Ukraine's young democracy reflects our most deeply held American values and advances our most fundamental interests. He said a Ukraine that fulfills the hopes of its 52 million citizens will also, as he put it, and I'm quoting, "provide an essential anchor of stability and freedom in a part of the world that is still reeling from rapid change." We have said over and over again – and we mean it every time we say it – that Ukraine is a key European country. It is a bellwether for a vast region that matters deeply and enduringly to the United States. If Ukraine stays on course toward a better future for its own people, that will be good for all of Europe and it will be good for the larger trans-Atlantic community of which we are a part. If, however, Ukraine goes off course, that will be bad for all of us. The rationale for a steadfast policy of American support for Ukraine is just that simple.

The fact is, while Ukraine still faces numerous challenges, it has already emerged as a force for stability and integration in Europe. It has done so through its courageous decision in 1993 to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear-weapons state. In exchange for assurances worked out with the help of the United States, Ukraine in that decision enhanced its own security, and it set a valuable example for the rest of the world. As a result of that landmark of Ukrainian wisdom, the whole world is a safer place today, and it will be safer still in the next century.

Ukraine has shown similar statesmanship and strategic foresight by forging strong new ties with the West while maintaining and strengthening constructive relations with its neighbors to the east – and, of course, to the north. Ukraine was the first new independent state to join the Partnership for Peace program in February of 1994. This past summer American, Ukrainian, Russian and Polish troops trained together for peacekeeping operations on Ukrainian soil.

And that training is already paying off. Today, American and Ukrainian soldiers are together in Bosnia, working side by side to deal with the first major threat to the peace of Europe since the end of the Cold War. And a Ukrainian-Polish peacekeeping battalion is taking shape.

Ukraine has also managed its complex relationship with Russia with prudence and balance, working hard to defuse problems before they become crises. From time to time, when both parties have asked us to do so, the United States has helped, and it stands ready to do so again in the future.

We in the United States government fully understand the difficulty that often attends the right decisions. Therefore we will use every occasion, including this one here this

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Ukraine can decide if it is to become a member of that Western alliance, he stressed.

"Let me underscore two simple statements of fact – and of principle: first, Ukraine and only Ukraine will decide what associations or memberships it aspires to in the future; and second, NATO and only NATO will decide whom to admit to its ranks," Mr. Talbott said.

[As he left the Embassy, Mr. Talbott was asked about the U.S. reaction to Russian Security Chief General Alexander Lebed's remarks about Sevastopol being a Russian port. He said Washington does not view this statement to be Russian government policy. "The Russian government has been repeatedly and unambiguously clear that it regards Crimea to be part of Ukraine," Mr. Talbott said. As for the United States, he added, "We have supported the territorial integrity of Ukraine within its current borders from the day that Ukraine was born."]

The Dole position

Two days later, the issue of NATO enlargement came up during an address to the conference by Jeane Kirkpatrick, who stressed that "nobody wants to push or pull, or even encourage, Ukraine into NATO [and] no one wants to create problems for Ukraine by pushing or pulling other Eastern European countries, Central European countries into NATO."

"We want them to be able to do what they want to do. I think it's just that simple," she stressed. "It's what I want about NATO. It's what Bob Dole wants. And, I suppose, some of you, it must be what you want, too."

As for President Clinton's position on Ukraine, Dr. Kirkpatrick said Mr. Dole feels the administration "has not been quite as helpful to Ukraine as we think it should have been. We think it's had a tendency to Russia first," she said.

"We feel that on economic aid, for example, or some opportunities for institutionalized cooperation, the administration has not given as fair a shake to Ukraine as we think maybe should be the case," she said, adding that Mr. Dole and the Republicans in the Congress are committed "to supporting it in the future, as in the past, and to working as hard as they can to make certain that monies appropriated are, in fact, delivered."

In response to a question, she said that both she and Bob Dole were critical of President George Bush's "Chicken Kiev" speech and of Secretary of State Jim Baker's "Chicken Belgrade" speech.

Constitution's significance

The working sessions of the conference began on Saturday morning, October 12, following an address by Ukrainian Supreme Court Justice Volkov. Justice Volkov said the acceptance of the new Constitution June 28 began a new phase in the development of the separation of powers and the establishment of an independent judiciary in Ukraine.

A major task now before the justices, the Verkhovna Rada and the president, he said, is to draft new legislation, setting up the court system as well as criminal, civil and administrative court procedures. "Much remains to be done," Justice Volkov said. "Our task now is to create an independent judiciary. We feel that this will gain the people's respect for the judicial system, for the national government, and this will be for their own benefit. And we will do our utmost to achieve this."

The first panel discussion, on Ukraine's geostrategic position, was chaired by Roman Popadiuk, America's

first ambassador to Ukraine.

Presenting the Ukrainian government's view, Volodymyr Belashov, political secretary at the Ukrainian Embassy, said the enlargement of NATO should enhance security in Europe and that Ukraine does not oppose it. Nor does it oppose any new NATO-Russian agreement in conjunction with this enlargement, he said. Ukraine would like to see NATO enlargement be a gradual process done in parallel with the expansion of relations between NATO and Ukraine.

Ukraine sees the Commonwealth of Independent States as a "useful framework" for bilateral and multilateral contacts, Mr. Belashov said. Ukraine places a high priority on its relationship with Russia and is working hard to resolve such problem areas as the Black Sea Fleet and trade issues, he said. But there are dangers, he added, resulting from the uncertainties caused by President Boris Yeltsin's health.

As for the United States, Mr. Belashov said, Kyiv is satisfied with its "strategic relationship" with Washington and grateful for the U.S. assistance it receives, especially for bringing about market reforms.

Ilya Prizel, professor at the Johns Hopkins University Paul Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, concentrated on Ukraine's relations with its large East European neighbor, Poland. The relationship is high on symbolism – Poland was the first of its neighbors to recognize Ukraine's independence, Dr. Prizel said, but added that Poland's top priority is joining NATO and the West; everything else is secondary.

Poland views Ukraine, like Russia, as a competitor and not as a partner, he said. Dr. Prizel pointed out that, in many ways, the Ukrainian government has been more astute than the Polish government, especially in recognizing that the expansion of NATO must be slow and transparent.

But Ukraine should learn from Poland's economic development, he said, pointing out the importance of small private business, which has been the driving force behind Poland's 6-7 percent annual economic growth. Ukraine's future will depend not on the production of its old behemoths, but on its small private businesses, he said, adding that this is what will stabilize its security and its currency.

Sherman Garnett, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, poured some cold water on some of the "warm language of yesterday" (Undersecretary Talbott's speech). He said the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship was riding on the momentum of past accomplishments. While Ukraine's government is coherent on where it stands, the same cannot be said about Ukrainian society, Mr. Garnett said.

There are still many misunderstandings in the trilateral U.S.-Russia-Ukraine relationship, which, he said, is dying. Europe is still rather uninvolved in Ukraine, he added, and the United States must make this a topic of discussion with its Western European allies.

Andrij Masiuk, the director general of the International Management Institute in Kyiv, paraphrased a frequently asked question in the U.S. presidential campaign, in his opening remarks about Ukraine's economic reforms: "Are you better off today than five years ago?" he rhetorically asked of Ukraine.

Economic milestones

He got a response from Yuri Yakusha, alternate executive director for Ukraine at the International Monetary Fund. Micro-economic stability has been achieved, Mr. Yakusha said, and Ukraine has passed several remarkable milestones: one-half of Ukraine's GDP now comes from the private sector; small enterprise privatization is complete; the 1993 hyperinflation has been brought

down to 1 percent per month in recent months, and was 2 percent in September; and the value of its currency increased 10 percent against the dollar last year.

Financial stability is not enough, however, Mr. Yakusha said. Economic reforms must continue, especially in reducing taxes and broadening their base, in reducing the budget deficit, in cutting red tape and regulations, and in securing a social safety net. Mr. Yakusha pointed out that Ukrainian exports were rising, although they encounter protectionist hurdles in Europe as well as in Russia, which, he added, "is not in line with Russia's responsibilities to international financial institutions."

"In general, I must admit that the IMF is optimistic about what's going on in Ukraine," Mr. Yakusha said. And that's amazing for a country that five years ago had fewer people working in the foreign ministry than countries that recognized its independence, he said.

The American business analysis was provided by Kathryn Dickey Karyl, director of international operations at the Eli Lilly and Co., which began its activities in Ukraine in 1992. Eli Lilly produces insulin for diabetes, cancer products and medication for central nervous system and heart diseases. The company opened eight centers for diabetes testing in Ukraine and has had no problems finding talented employees to staff them, she said. Much of its work has been charitable, she said, although the operation in Ukraine may break even this year, she added.

In the future, Eli Lilly wants to focus on research and development, to invest and test products in Ukraine, which is not being done now. But Ukraine must provide incentives for such investment. "Ukraine is competing not only against its neighbors, but with the world," she said. Health, unfortunately, is not high on the government agenda, she added.

Building a democratic society

Ukraine's progress in building a democratic society was the subject of the last panel discussion October 12, moderated by Orest Deychakiwsky, a staff member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Mr. Deychakiwsky, who recently returned from monitoring the elections in Bosnia (he had monitored Ukrainian elections as well), said he did not see the possibility of a Bosnia-like scenario in Ukraine, as was suggested in a recent article in Forbes magazine.

"Among the reasons is the Ukrainian government's positive treatment of minorities over the last five years – in being inclusive, rather than exclusive, in having a progressive law on citizenship – and in the ability to resolve inter-ethnic tensions through peaceful democratic means," he said.

Judge Bohdan Futey of the U.S. Court of International Claims, who has traveled to Ukraine many times over the past five years to help it establish its legal system and draft its new Constitution, pointed out that Ukraine was the last former Soviet republic to adopt its own Constitution, and that the Parliament would not have adopted it, were it not for President Leonid Kuchma's threat to bring it to a national referendum.

The document is a Western-style, democratic charter, but it has some problem areas, including what Judge Futey calls "claw-backs," which allow certain rights to be limited by future laws adopted by the Parliament. And many sections of the Constitution still require enabling legislation, he said.

Markian Bilynskyj, director of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation's Pylyp Orlyk Institute in Kyiv, took a critical view of Ukraine as a civil society. He noted that while Ukraine had most of the attributes of a civil society – it held elections; power changed hands peacefully; and there are



Bohdan Peter Rekshynskyj

Jeane Kirkpatrick

civic organizations – the view is not as bright when looked at more closely.

He pointed out that public opinion polls show that most Ukrainians would accept totalitarianism for the sake of stability, for example; the Parliament has a 2 percent positive rating and a 50 percent negative rating; there are 40 political parties, but most are limited numerically and geographically; and while there are 740 registered non-governmental organizations in Ukraine, most are not real or are commercial enterprises.

Ross Chomiak, who spent a year and a half as the grant administrator of the International Media Center in Kyiv, gave an overview of press freedom in Ukraine. The press in Ukraine is "really free," more so than in neighboring countries, and "somewhat irresponsible," he said.

In 1996 there were 5,000 periodicals published in Ukraine. And as of September, Ukraine finally has an independent national newspaper Den (Day). The other two national newspapers are government-subsidized – Holos Ukrainy (Parliament) and the Uriadovyi Kurier (Government).

Another thing that makes Den different, Mr. Chomiak pointed out, is the fact that it has a circulation manager. Ukrainian newspapers, for the most part, continue the old Soviet practice of letting the Post Office handle their circulation, he said.

The last day of the conference began with a presentation of the Oral History of Independent Ukraine Project by its co-directors, Sarah Sievers and Margarita Hewko. In a series of videotaped interviews, this project chronicles Ukraine's role in ending the Soviet Union and its decision to pursue full independence.

To date more than 70 interviews have been filmed and transcribed. They include Ukrainian political leaders – from President Leonid Kravchuk, to Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil, to Communist leaders Petro Symonenko – as well as leaders of neighboring countries, including the coup plotters in Russia.

The state of health care

The panel discussion on health care in Ukraine was organized by the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America and moderated by Dr. Roman Goy, a member of the UMANA board.

Myroslaw Kohut, an international health-care consultant who has worked with the World Bank and USAID in Ukraine, said that one can predict the health of a people by their income. In Ukraine, unfortunately, the needs of nation-building do not leave much resources for health care. He noted that the population is growing older and the

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health care system is breaking down. The fact that there have been five ministers of health in the last five years is another indication of the system's problems, he said. At the same time the system is shifting its function from that of a social safety net to that of an employment mechanism. The number of hospital beds per person continues to remain much higher than in the West, as do hospital stays (nine days for a typical birth).

Mr. Kohut proposed a number of recommendations for improving Ukraine's health care system, among them instituting cost-control mechanisms, focusing on quality, creating an environment of performance expectations and introducing evidence-based management techniques and clinical decision making.

Yaroslav Voitko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Embassy, presented government data about the state of health care in Ukraine based on testimony presented five days earlier in the Verkhovna Rada by the new health minister, Dr. Andriy Serdiuk. Mr. Voitko, as did Mr. Kohut, praised the new minister as a dedicated professional.

According to official figures: there is an increase in Chernobyl-related diseases; the birth rate is down; 6 million Ukrainians suffer cardiovascular disorders; 1.2 million are mentally ill; 700,000 have oncological diseases; 700,000 have tuberculosis; 1.5 million are disabled – 10 percent of them children; officially there are 56,000 drug addicts; every fourth person has a contagious disease; the number of infectious diseases such as AIDS is growing; and the population of Ukraine has decreased by more than 276,000 in 1995. And as for funding, as Minister Serdiuk reported, the entire health care budget is now being used for wages.

Ukraine is grateful for the assistance it receives through USAID and the American International Health Alliance which have some "very good programs" in Ukraine, Mr. Voitko said. Between 1992 and 1996, USAID spent close to \$12 million for health care programs, he said, but added that this was but 42 percent of the amount initially approved for Ukraine.

Dr. Zirka Kalynych, a senior staff physician at the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit, shared her observations from her experience in the Lviv Oblast. Among the rampant preventable health care problems there, she cited alcoholism, smoking, poor nutrition and pollution, which causes asthma, cholera and cancer. She pointed out that hospital stays are long for social rather than medical reasons; that the biggest cause of death in infants is ear infections, which are treated with microsurgery rather than antibiotics; throw-away devices are re-used many times; and there is an increase in traumas from auto accidents and at work.

Focusing on the health of women, Dr. Kalynych pointed out that for every 100 babies born, 150 are aborted; contraceptives are not available. Nor is breast cancer screening available and self-inspection is not taught. Over all, she said, people should be taught that they themselves should take responsibility for their health.

The crucial energy sector

The final conference panel discussion dealt with Ukraine's energy sector. Carlos Pascual, director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian affairs at the National Security Council, explained that, in fashioning a \$2.5 billion package for Ukraine, the G-7 chose to tackle its energy needs in a broader fashion than just shutting down Chernobyl and replacing its power capacity by finishing the Khmelnytskyi and Rivne nuclear power plants. The \$655 million earmarked for the completion of these plants, which the Ukrainian government would like to receive this year, will probably be released in mid-1997, after the analysis of the project is completed, Mr. Pascual said.

The World Bank has had a role to play in reforming the energy sector in Ukraine, and the bank's principal economist for infrastructure development in Europe and Central Asia, Laszlo Lovei, reported on these efforts. Mr. Lovei pointed to significant progress in reforming Ukraine's electricity sector, with the break-up of its monopoly and the establishment of a competitive wholesale market and a new regulatory system.

He also said that reforms in the coal sector, which started this year, are progressing rapidly; there is less progress in the gas industry, where the government has not fully adopted a comprehensive reform program; and in the oil industry, reforms which began early, have not been carried through to conclusion.

As for Ukraine's energy security, Mr. Lovei said that one may ask the question, "What is really threatening Ukraine's energy security? Is it that it is dependent on other countries for the import of energy – which many other countries are – or is it that it is unable to pay for its imports?"

Robert Archer, deputy chief of USAID's Energy and Infrastructure Bureau for Europe and the NIS, noted that energy efficiency is one of the least costly approaches and, therefore, "strongly applicable" in Ukraine. "Whatever is done has to be paid for," he said. "And it is going to be a process where people look for the least costly ways of answering their energy problems."

The TWG Leadership Conference also had a cultural side of its program. During the banquet Saturday evening, The Washington Group presented its "Friend of Ukraine" award to Hobart Earle, music director and principal conductor of the Odesa Philharmonic Orchestra, in recognition for his "outstanding contribution to Ukraine's efforts to take her rightful place in the international cultural community of nations."

Since taking over the reins of the Odesa orchestra five years ago, Mr. Earle has expanded its repertoire to include works by Ukrainian and Western composers, and has taken the ensemble on tours to Europe, North America and Australia. He was the first foreigner to be awarded the title of "Distinguished Artist of Ukraine," and under his direction the orchestra was awarded national status.

And, following the Sunday brunch, members of the Yara Arts Group performed a retrospective "In Verse," highlights of their past performances. Directed by Virlana Tkacz, this innovative intercultural theater group is a resident company at La Mama Experimental Theater in New York.

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The annual meeting of UNA Branch 28
 in Houston, TX

will be held on Sunday, October 27, 1996 at 11:30 AM
 in the Learning Center of the Pokrova Ukrainian Catholic Church.
 All active members are urged to attend.

Michael Danylyk
 Interim Secretary

Ukraine at five...

(Continued from page 6)

evening, to reaffirm our determination to ensure that there is a proud and prominent place for Ukraine in the growing community of market democracies – and in the institutions that undergird our common values, our common interests and our common aspirations.

My boss, Secretary Christopher, recently delivered a major speech on European security in Stuttgart, Germany. He laid out the President's strategic vision for a Europe that is increasingly stable, secure, prosperous and democratic – a Europe that will be undivided for the first time in history. Let me quote just one part of what Secretary Christopher had to say about Ukraine in that speech. "A critical goal of the New Atlantic Community," he said, "is to achieve Ukraine's integration with Europe."

That statement will serve as a guiding principle for the United States in the months and years ahead. It means that we will support Ukraine's active participation in the Council of Europe and in the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the OSCE. It means that we will continue to assist Ukraine in its effort to join the World Trade Organization, and that we endorse Ukraine's interest in the Central European Free Trade Area, the European Union, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the OECD, which is the international forum for monitoring economic trends in free market democracies.

That same guiding principle – that same commitment to Ukraine's integration into the community of nations – will also help dictate our leadership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO is, and will remain, essential to the evolution of a new, post-Cold War Europe.

A solid, cooperative relationship between NATO and Ukraine is vital to European security. As all of you know, NATO is preparing to take in new members. There will be concrete steps in that direction next year. We are determined that the process of NATO enlargement will serve the larger cause of peace, security, prosperity, democratization and integration on the Continent of Europe.

This is more than just a matter of asserting a negative: it's more than being determined that NATO enlargement not create new dividing lines or harm the legitimate security interests of any of the new democracies that emerging from the old Soviet empire. Rather, it is also a matter of asserting a positive proposition – namely, that NATO will respect and enhance the security of the region as a whole and the security of all European states that deserve and aspire to integration. And that emphatically includes Ukraine.

As a vigorous, path-breaking participant in the Partnership for Peace, Ukraine is already cooperating closely with NATO. We've laid the basis for steadily developing relationship of cooperation and consultation. There is nothing to limit how that enhanced relationship might develop over time.

Let me underscore two simple statements of fact – and of principle: first, Ukraine and only Ukraine will decide what associations or memberships it aspires to in the future; and second, NATO, and only NATO, will decide whom to admit to its ranks.

The watchwords of NATO enlargement bear repeating here: the process will continue to be deliberate; it will be transparent; it will be open; it will be inclusive; it will be respectful. "Inclusive" means that none of the emerging democracies is to be excluded. None means none. It means there will be no special categories for inclusion into NATO, and none for exclusion from NATO. "Respectful" means that the rights and interests of all those states will be taken fully and properly into account in the way that enlargement occurs. Both of these principles apply to Ukraine.

Now, how we apply those principles is one of the most important items on the ever-growing agenda of U.S.-Ukrainian cooperation and consultation. No subject has occupied more attention than European security in the dealings that Secretary Christopher and I have had with our friend Foreign Minister Hennadii Udovenko, or in the talks that Tony Lake and I recently had with Volodymyr Horbulin, the very able secretary of the National Security and Defense Council. By the way, Foreign Minister Udovenko will be here again in just over a week for meetings with Secretary Christopher, Secretary Perry and National Security Advisor Lake.

The subject of Ukraine's important role in the building of a new Europe will also figure, along with a wide array of other topics, in a new channel that is opening between Washington and Kyiv: the U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission, to be headed by President Kuchma and Vice-President Gore.

Now, I do not want to impose on your kind attention very much longer. Nor do I want to delay the next stage of the embassy's hospitality. I've been here before for this event and I know that there's going to be a lot of good cheer and some excellent adult beverages in due course. But I do want to make one final point.

All of us in the Clinton administration – starting with the president and the vice-president themselves – are optimistic – we are fundamentally optimistic – about Ukraine's future, and I sense that you are too. One reason for our optimism is that Ukraine has come so far in such a short period of time.

The United States' own historical experience should make us Americans humble, patient, persistent and admiring when we look at Ukraine. After all, our own democracy has been a work in progress for 220 years. We must remember how long it has taken us to get it right (in fact, we're still working at it). The United States became a "new independent state" in 1776. When we celebrated the fifth anniversary of our own independence in 1781, we still had a very long way to go. It would take us another six years just to draft a Constitution. Independent, democratic Ukraine accomplished that task before it turned five. In our own evolution as a civil society and a multi-ethnic democracy, it took us 89 years to abolish slavery, 144 years to give women the vote, and 188 to extend full constitutional protections to all citizens.

All of which is to say that, even by the accelerated, fast-forward standards of the modern world, Ukraine at the tender age of five has much of which to be proud, much to make it confident about the future, and much that we Americans can be proud to support, to applaud and to join in celebrating – for Ukraine's sake, and ours. So, happy birthday, Ukraine. Mnohaya Lita, Ukraino.

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