Staffed

Grant / Simon
A: KIEV.ARR Draft three
July 25, 1991

BRIEF REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN KIEV
AUGUST 1, 1991

Barbara and I are delighted to visit Kiev, the city of golden domes -- we saw so many beautiful hilltop churches from the window of Air Force One as we landed.

Ukraine is the motherland of thousands of Americans. In fact, back home in Washington, D.C., stands a statue of the Ukrainian poet and painter, Taras Shevchenko. Once, reflecting on the democratic experiment in America, he wrote: "When will we have a Washington with a new and righteous law? One day we shall have him."

I am here to tell you: the day of new and righteous law is approaching. Together, we stand committed to a new world order based on the rule of law and the guarantee of freedom. Yes, the world is changing profoundly. But with change comes opportunity, and hope for the future.

The American people are hopeful. They are looking forward to a new Soviet Union, one turning toward free markets and free people. To offer help and hope where needed, we recently opened a Consulate General in this city.

We've just concluded two long days of very productive work in Moscow, which included the signing of an historic treaty that will, for the first time, reduce nuclear forces between our countries.

The American people are sincere. In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, we shared the pain of those who were hurt. American citizens and private relief organizations responded with deep concern and generosity to that sad event. American physicians are helping Ukrainian officials to study the long-term health effects of the accident -- in fact, a team is arriving this fall to examine children.

see letter in file

You are a strong people, with a rich and glorious past spanning centuries of change and upheaval. You first brought Christianity to this part of Europe, over 1000 years ago -- in the days of Prince Vladimir of Kiev. The Prince sent emissaries first to explore all the great religions of the world. After hearing about their inspirational visit to the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul -- ((I was there two weeks ago myself)) -- Prince Vladimir decided on the Orthodox faith. When he baptized his followers in the Dnieper River, Christianity took hold in Eastern Europe.

Eerdmans' Handbook to the History of Christianity p. 311

Now, for the first time ~~since the Russian Revolution,~~ in 40 years the patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox + Catholic Church has returned ~~to Kiev~~ -- and a spiritual renewal has begun. A new day, in some ways, is already here.

Reuters 10-20-90 5-26-91

Again, it's a pleasure to be here. To Chairman Kravchuk -- thank you for your warm hospitality. To all the Ukrainian people -- **Slava Ukraini** [SLAH-va OO-kra-YEE-nee]! **Glory to Ukraine!**

Andy Fantasy

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

May 26, 1991, Sunday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 227 words

HEADLINE: UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PATRIARCH SAYS KIEV MASS AFTER PROTESTS

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD:
SOVIET-CHURCH

BODY:

The patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic church held his first service in the republic's capital Kiev Sunday after an ugly confrontation with protesters from the rival Orthodox church.

The Catholic church's press office said singing and shouting demonstrators prevented Cardinal Miroslav Lubachivsky from preaching in St. Andrew's church as originally planned.

Eventually he took the service in St. Nicholas Pretyska in another part of Kiev.

No comment on the allegation was immediately available from the Orthodox church, which is subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate.

Dictator Josef Stalin merged the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is closely linked with the Ukrainian independence movement, with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946.

Since then the patriarch had been in exile in Rome, to which the church owes allegiance. But Lubachivsky returned this year and celebrated Mass March 31 in the church's seat in the west Ukrainian city of Lvov.

The press office said the Catholics had been petitioning Kiev city council for use of a church for more than a year. The council finally offered the vacant church of St. Andrew.

But when the patriarch arrived, a crowd of Orthodox believers blocked the stairs leading to the church, chanting prayers, the Catholics' account said. Negotiations through police and local militia failed to shift the crowd.

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

October 20, 1990, Saturday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 237 words

HEADLINE: THOUSANDS GREET RETURN OF UKRAINIAN CHURCH LEADER

DATELINE: KIEV, Soviet Union

KEYWORD:
SOVIET-CHURCH

BODY:

Thousands of Ukrainians, many in national costume, greeted the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous church when he returned to Kiev after more than four decades abroad.

Metropolitan Mstislav, 92, obviously in frail health, was welcomed in a city square Saturday by about 5,000 well-wishers, some of them in tears.

He was taken most of the way through the city in a wheelchair, attended by groups of young women wearing ribbons in the yellow and blue Ukrainian national colors.

"The patriarch has come from Egyptian exile and is now in Nazareth," Acting Patriarch John told the crowd.

The Autocephalous Church, a branch of the Orthodox faith, was founded in the 17th century and made subservient to the Moscow Patriarchate in 1686.

Repressed by Russia's czars, it regained its independence in 1921 and had about 2,000 churches. But 1,500 of its priests fell victim to Josef Stalin's purges in the 1930s.

Like the Ukrainian Catholic Church, banned by Stalin in 1946, it remained underground until it was re-established this year under new Soviet laws guaranteeing freedom of religion. Most of its adherents live in the western Ukraine.

Mstislav, whose real name is Stepan Srypnik, was jailed by the Nazis during World War II and left for Canada in 1947.

He has directed the Autocephalous Church in North America since 1949 and later also became responsible for Europe and Australia. He now lives in New Jersey.

KIEV ARRIVAL REMARKS

It is a delight to visit a region which is the ancestral home of millions of my countrymen. Decendants of your soil have enriched the history, culture and well-being of the United States.

I am especially excited to be here at a time when Ukraine and the Soviet Union as a whole are undergoing the most important and fundamental changes since Prince Vladimir and his people adopted Christianity on the banks of the Dnieper in 988.

We have taken satisfaction in the growth of contacts with Ukraine in recent years -- a growth symbolized by the recent opening of our Consulate General in this city.

In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, we shared the pain of those people who were hurt. American citizens and private organizations responded with concern and generosity to that sad event.

And now, after two days of productive work in Moscow, which included the signing of an historic treaty that will for the first time reduce nuclear forces, I look forward to seeing the lovely and historic city of Kiev.

I would like to extend my appreciation in advance to Chairman Kravchuk and the Ukrainian people for their hospitality.

REED SMITH SHAW & McCLAY

Pittsburgh Philadelphia Harrisburg Washington D.C. McLean Va.

91 JUL 25 P2:22

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July 25, 1991

VIA TELECOPY

Robert A. Snow, Esq.
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of Speechwriting
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17th and Pennsylvania Avenues, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Re: President's Speech - Kiev, Ukraine

Dear Tony:

The President frequently refers to "people-to-people" projects.

The Pittsburgh-Chernobyl Collaborative Study of Eye Pathology in Children deserves consideration for mention in the President's speech before the Ukrainian parliament.

The Pittsburgh-Chernobyl Committee, with the approval and cooperation of Dr. Jurii Spizhenko, Minister of Health of the Ukraine, has commenced a medical/scientific study of eye pathology in children exposed to ionizing radiation, the result of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident which released radioactive materials into the atmosphere.

In this collaborative study, the Ukrainian Ministry of Health is funding the US medical/scientific team's in-country transportation, food and housing costs; the Pittsburgh, PA and tri-state Ukrainian-American community, together with the support of area health professionals and Pittsburgh-based corporate and private foundations (such as The Allegheny Foundation), are funding the purchase of necessary equipment, film and processing, travel of the medical/scientific team and related costs.

The on-site visit by an advance party of the medical/scientific team was completed in April, 1991. The Pittsburgh-Chernobyl Committee's four-week in-country physical and ophthalmological examination of children will begin in mid-October, 1991.

REED SMITH SHAW & McCLAY

Attached is a brief summary of the Study to date with supporting documentation.

If additional information is required, please contact me at the telephone number above or via FAX (412-288-3069).

This medical/scientific collaborative effort presents President Bush with an unique opportunity, before the Ukrainian parliament, to stress our mutual interest in the Ukraine and the continuing willingness of US citizens and organizations to be of assistance.

Very truly yours,

Andrew N. Farley

ANF/lbc

Enclosures

cc: Mr. David F. Demarest, Jr.
Assistant to the President for Communications

CHILDREN OF CHORNOBYL RELIEF FUND
TRI-STATE COMMITTEE

Rev. 24 July 91

Pittsburgh-Chernobyl Collaborative Study of Eye Pathology in Children

1. Research Objectives

1. Determine the prevalence of lens opacities (including subclinical changes) and retinal pathology among children (6-16 years-old) residing in the exposed (Narodychi, Polesskoye) and unexposed (Trostianets) study sites.

2. Statistically compare the prevalence of eye disease in two pediatric populations which differ significantly with respect to their exposure to low levels of ionizing radiation; and

3. Investigate the evidence, using dosimetric and residential data, for a dose-response relationship between cumulative exposure to low levels ionizing radiation from the Chernobyl accident and the prevalence of eye pathology among school-aged Ukrainian children.

2. Background and Significance

Radiation-induced cataracts and retinopathy have been well described for acute, high dose exposures in adults occurring under therapeutic, occupational and wartime conditions. The sensitivity of the same tissues in children, particularly under conditions of long-term exposure to low levels of ionizing radiation, is less well known. The contamination from the Chernobyl nuclear accident has created a unique natural laboratory for the investigation of this important issue in a human population.

The Chernobyl nuclear accident, which occurred in the early morning hours of April 26, 1986, resulted in the largest release of radioactive materials into the atmosphere ever recorded, contaminating more than 25,000 Km^2 in three Soviet Republics with radioactive nuclides of iodine, caesium, strontium, and plutonium. One of the most important consequences of the accident was the long-term exposure to low levels of ionizing radiation of four million Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian citizens, including more than one million children. There have been numerous anecdotal reports of an increased incidence of radiation-related medical conditions, such as leukemia, thyroid cancer, and cataracts among the members of exposed populations. Soviet attempts to objectively evaluate these reports have been largely unsuccessful due to ineffectiveness of the health care system, the lack of trained epidemiologists and biostatisticans, and the mistrust of the medical establishment by the members of the general public living in the contaminated areas.

The need for an epidemiological study of ophthalmic complications in this population is supported by the recently released finding of the International

Chernobyl Project, a study of the radiological consequences of the accident conducted by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The interim technical report of the IAEA Advisory Committee concludes that an absorbed dose of ionizing radiation as small as 0.2 Sv (20 rem) to a child's eye might have important physiological consequences. Given the known levels of contamination in affected rural regions of the Ukraine ($\geq$ 40 Ci/Km^2), the report suggests that detailed epidemiological studies of ophthalmic complications should be considered for the residents of the contaminated areas who were infants at the time of the accident.

3. Progress Report

The impetus for this study originated in June 1990 as a follow-up to reports from Ukrainian ophthalmologists and physicians concerning an increased incidence of eye pathology among children living in the areas affected by the Chernobyl accident. In response to these reports, a member of the executive board of the Tri-State Committee of the CCRF consulted with scientific and medical representatives from the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public Health and the Eye and Ear Institute of Pittsburgh regarding the possibility of organizing an inquiry into the validity of these reports.

These initial consultations were followed by a November 1990 meeting, hosted by a representative of the National Cancer Institute, with Dr. Juri Spizhenko, Minister of Health for the Ukrainian S.S.R. Dr. Spizhenko agreed that a pilot study should be carried out to assess the validity of the reports of increased eye pathology among children residing in contaminated areas of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian government agreed to provide all of the in-country housing, food and transportation for the research team. It was agreed that all equipment used in the study would be donated to the Health Ministry upon completion of data collection. Finally, it was agreed that all records, film and results would return to the United States and there are to be no restrictions on the analyses or publications of the group's findings.

Since the pilot study needed to be of sufficient scope and complexity to meet American standards of sensitivity, reliability and validity, the Minister issued a formal invitation for the members of the research team to visit the affected areas of the Ukraine to assess the feasibility of the study. A two-week site visit was undertaken in April 1991 with the following key results: (i) A working group within the Health Ministry was established to coordinate Ukrainian collaboration on the project; (ii) two exposed sites (Narodychi, Polesskoye) and a comparison site (Trostianets) were selected; (iii) all three sites were visited by the team and assessed for physical facilities and administrative cooperation; (iv) independent radiation dosimetry was carried out and soil samples were taken for transport back to the United States; (v) complete lists of all children residing within the boundaries of each town were obtained for sampling purposes; and (vi) arrangements were made with local genetic research institutes which would have responsibility for processing biological samples. The field team also attempted to validate local reports of radiation-induced cataracts among individuals exposed to fallout from the Chernobyl accident. Using a portable slit lamp, the team ophthalmologist was able to examine a sample of 30 selected cases. He confirmed that at least two of these individuals had cataracts of a type that are consistent with the classic descriptions of the radiation-induced lens opacities provided by Cogan and the Hiroshima investigators. Based on the results of this on-site visit the study was deemed feasible and planning for the data collection phase of the project was begun.

4. Research Methods

4.1 Epidemiological Methods

Selection of Study Sites - Based upon current knowledge of the geographic dispersion of products of the Chernobyl accident, Narodychi and Polesskoye were selected as the exposed study sites (see attached map). The town of Trostianets, located 300 km to the east of Chernobyl, was chosen as the control site because of its similarity to Narodychi and Polesskoye with respect to rural location, local economy, diet, and ethnic composition, while measuring only normal background levels of radiation. All three study locations have been visited and determined to have adequate physical facilities (e.g., electricity, transportation, examination space, food, housing) and administrative support for the research teams.

Sampling Procedures - At each study site, an age-stratified, random sample of 600 children between the ages of 6 and 16 years will be selected from comprehensive medical and school lists of all children living within the administrative boundaries of the town. Age distributions at all three sites will be similar. In order to insure that the sampling frame lists provided by the Ukrainian authorities are comprehensive, random sections of each town will be selected for a door-to-door survey by project staff to cross-check and verify the names of resident children against the sampling frame lists. Random samples will also be collected from the local pediatric clinics to insure that chronically ill children who are not attending school are not excluded.

Sample Size and Power Analysis - The attached table presents power estimates for various age-specific sample sizes and true prevalence rates of pathology. The entries on this table should be interpreted as the probability of observing at least a single case of radiation-induced eye pathology within a five-year age group, given a specific sample size and prevalence rate. The dotted line on the table is the boundary for 80% power across various entries. The projected sample sizes would permit us to detect with 80% power site-specific prevalence rates of $\geq$ 2-3 per 1000.

Core Data Analysis - The sample sizes allow us to estimate a maximum prevalence rate that could exist without the investigators identifying a single case. Hence, we could not claim to have proven that there are no radiation-induced cataracts in the populations sampled, but we could claim to have determined, with a high probability, what the upper limit on the true prevalence rate could be. In the event that one or more cases of radiation-induced cataracts are identified in the populations studied, then 95 percent confidence intervals will be placed on the observed rate(s) using exact (Poisson) methods.

4.2 Ophthalmic Methods

It is estimated that 200 subjects can be screened daily by three ophthalmologists. Three complete days will be required at each of the three test sites in order to complete a total of 1200 examinations of the exposed population and 600 control examinations.

Acuity and Refraction - The ophthalmic evaluation has been carefully designed to allow for rapid assessment of a large number of participants while taking into consideration the difficulties of poorly controlled examination conditions. A cycloplegic refraction with an autorefractor and visual acuity assessment made with the standardized target of the instrument (the autorefractor will be modified to display Cyrillic characters) will provide the most consistent and rapid assessment of

refractive error and acuity at minimal cost and with the most effective use of manpower. A streak retinoscope and a skiascopy rack will be taken as a backup system for the autorefractor.

Lens and Fundus Examination - After the children are dilated and autorefracted, they will be seen by one of the two American ophthalmologists on active duty. A slit lamp examination including anterior segment, lens, and fundus examination with a 78 D lens will be performed. Standardized forms will be developed to record lens and retinal pathology. The two primary slit lamps will be fitted with beam splitters and observer optics so that the third ophthalmologist can simultaneously observe the examination. In this fashion, approximately 1/3 to 1/2 of all participants will be seen by two observers. This provides a critical assessment of reliability for both false negative and false positive evaluations as well as to insure examination consistency. All lens opacities will be classified according to the LOCS (Lens Opacity Classification System) method developed by Dr. L. Chylack of Boston, MA.

Photographic Documentation - Photography will be relied upon to provide documentation of pathology rather than serving as a diagnostic tool. Lens opacities will be documented by slit lamp photography and retroillumination slit lamp photographs. Fundus photography will be employed for all retinal lesions and fluorescein angiography will be available on a limited basis for specific vascular lesions.

4.3 Dosimetric Methods

Dosimetry will involve computer-automated determination of dicentric chromosome aberration frequency. The technique involves drawing 0.5 ml of venous blood from selected subjects. These blood samples must be transported on a daily basis to the Laboratory of Cytogenetics, Institute of Experimental Radiology in Kiev where they will be prepared as slides. All prepared slides will be transported back to the University of Pittsburgh where the automated analysis of the slides will be carried out. The number of subjects that can be examined is limited by the complexity of the procedure. It will be possible to test all of the study subjects determined to have ophthalmic pathology, in addition to a random sample of 50 non-pathological subjects at each site.

4.4 Additional Information

Detailed residential histories and limited dietary information (e.g., consumption of local food items) will be collected on all of the participants in the study. Detailed medical information, including a medical history and a pediatric examination, will be collected on all subjects determined to have ophthalmic pathology.

5. Composition of Study Field Team

The study is organized such that all data will be collected by American investigators. Ukrainian investigators will be limited to observer and consultant status. The project field team will be composed of the following 16 American trained personnel, all of whom have donated their professional services without charge:

3	ophthalmologists, two bilingual
1	ophthalmological photographer
1	ophthalmic technician for autorefractor
6	bilingual nurses and/or medical technicians

1 bilingual pediatrician
1 radiation safety officer
1 biostatistician/epidemiologist
1 consulting scientist
1 project coordinator

6. Current Funding

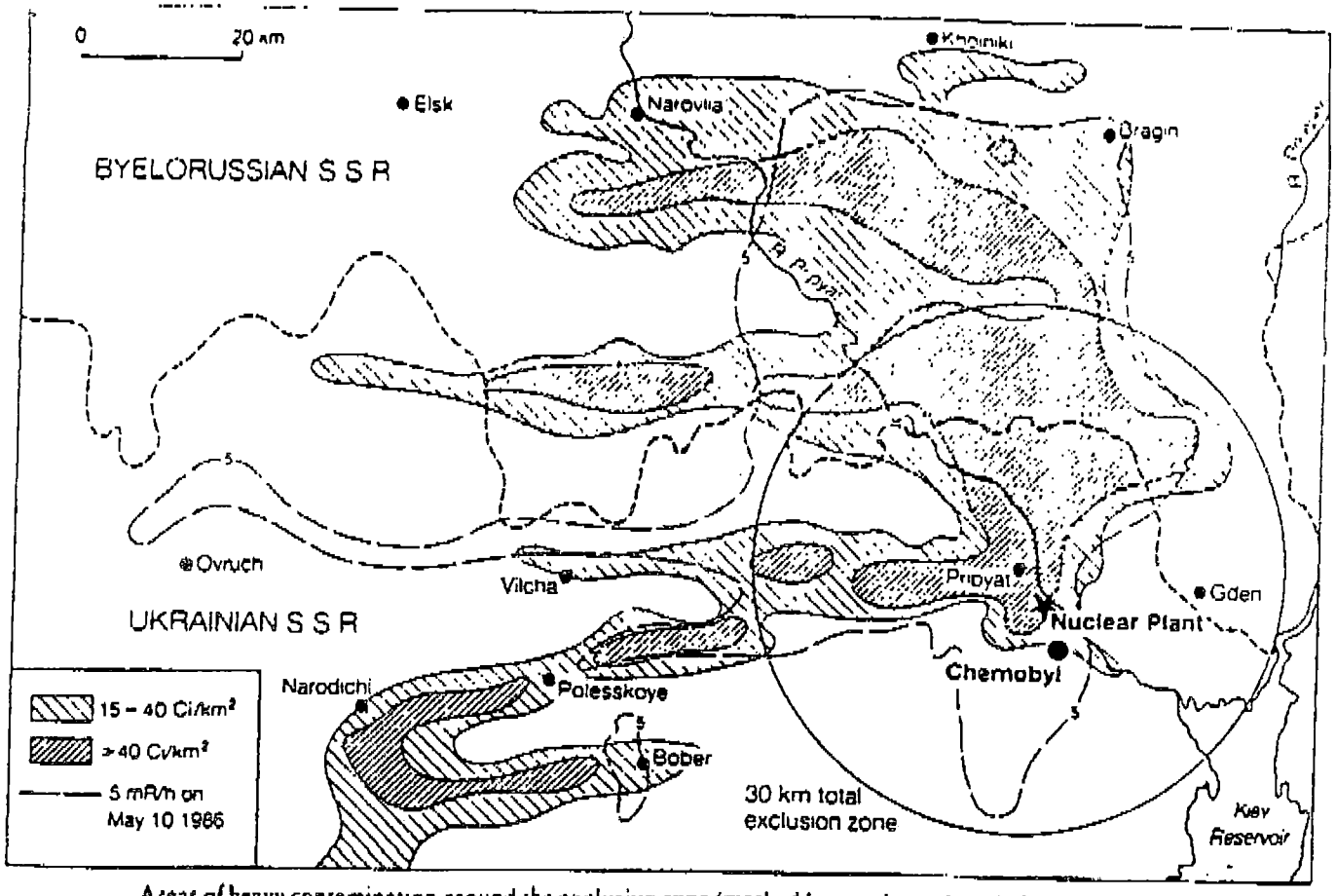
The initial phase of project development Project relied upon funds donated by Pittsburgh's Ukranian-American community and grant received from Pittsburgh's Allegheny Foundation, of Pittsburgh. The data collection phase of the project will also draw upon grant funds from private and governmental sources, as well as corporate donations of supplies and equipment.

7. Timeframe

The time available to complete this pilot study is limited due to the stated intention of the Soviet government to relocate the members of the exposed population. The relocation program is beginning and is scheduled to be completed within two to three years. The selection of the study series from the exposed areas and initial screening must be completed prior to resettlement. Once the study participants have been selected, the Ukrainian government has agreed to undertake the necessary tracking so that future longitudinal studies will be feasible. Our current plan is to carry out the study from October 27 through November 17, 1991.

Attachments:

a. Map of Ukraine and Radiation Exposure
b. Table of Power Estimates by Sample Size and True Prevalence Rate
c. Data Collection Flow Chart
d. List of Key American and Ukrainian Study Personnel



Areas of heavy contamination around the exclusion zone (marked by a 30 km radius circle) with the caesium-137 as measured during 1988. Only two levels are indicated. The contour marked by isolines indicates the territory which was contaminated above 5 mR/h of gamma radiation on 10 May, 1986.

-A-

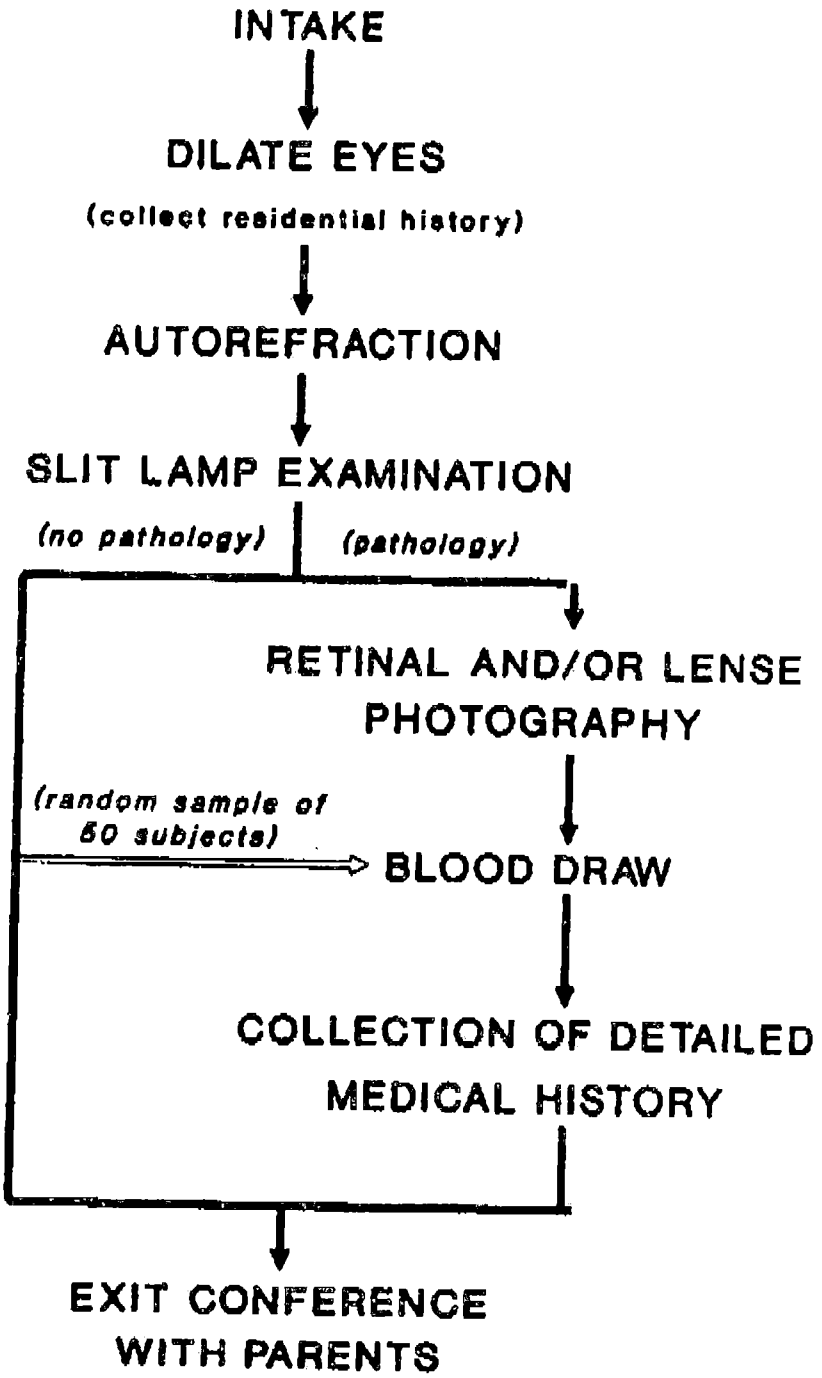
POWER ESTIMATES

BY SAMPLE SIZE AND TRUE PREVALENCE RATE

Sample Size	True Prevalence Rates						
n	.001	.005	.01	.02	.03	.04	.05
50	0.048794	0.221687	0.394994	0.635830	0.78193	0.87011	0.92306
100	0.095207	0.394229	0.633967	0.867380	0.95245	0.98313	0.99408
150	0.139355	0.528521	0.778548	0.951704	0.98963	0.99781	0.99954
200	0.181349	0.633042	0.866020	0.982412	0.99774	0.99972	0.99996
250	0.221294	0.714392	0.918941	0.993595	0.99951	0.99996	1.00000
300	0.259290	0.777707	0.950959	0.997667	0.99989	1.00000	1.00000
350	0.295432	0.826987	0.970330	0.999151	0.99998	1.00000	1.00000
400	0.329811	0.865343	0.982049	0.999691	0.99999	1.00000	1.00000
450	0.362512	0.895194	0.989140	0.999887	1.00000	1.00000	1.00000
500	0.393617	0.918428	0.993429	0.999959	1.00000	1.00000	1.00000

DATA COLLECTION FLOW CHART

(revised 1 June 1991)



LIST OF KEY AMERICAN AND UKRAINIAN

SCIENTIFIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE PARTICIPANTS

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Ihor G. Zachary, M.D., Medical Eye Associates, Inc., Clinical Professor, Case Western University, Cleveland, OH

Nikolai Sergienko, M.D., Director, Eye Microsurgery Center, Kiev, Ukraine

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A. Kartysh, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Health of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Kiev, Ukraine

Helena Steppaniuk, M.D., Director, Division of Ophthalmology, Ministry of Health of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Kiev, Ukraine.

UKRAINE

The Changing Political Landscape in Ukraine

Roman Solchanyk

Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty has had a visible impact on politics in the republic. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk has made the sovereignty issue the key element in his policies, particularly insofar as relations with the center are concerned. The state sovereignty of Ukraine also has broad support among the population of the republic, as became clear after the referendum on March 17. One of the consequences has been a realignment of political forces in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

The declaration on state sovereignty adopted almost unanimously in July, 1990, by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is one of the most important political developments in the recent history of Ukraine. Hardened "realists" would probably argue that, given the current political circumstances in the Soviet Union, this document, like similar declarations in the other republics, is largely of symbolic value. For example, although the Ukrainian declaration states that the republic has the right to its own military forces, the bloody events in Vilnius and Riga in January clearly show that implementing this right is quite another matter. Nonetheless, it is clear that the sovereignty declaration has had a significant impact on the political situation in Ukraine. For some time now, virtually every speech and interview given by Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, has had as its principal focus the sovereignty of Ukraine as the point of departure for Ukrainian politics, especially insofar as the question of future arrangements with the center are concerned. Kravchuk's position has, in turn, resulted in an interesting realignment of political forces in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, particularly within the Communist majority. Moreover, if the results of the republican poll on March 17 that was conducted simultaneously with the all-Union referendum on the future of the USSR is to be taken as a yardstick, state sovereignty has won the backing of the overwhelming majority of the voters in Ukraine.

The Kravchuk Phenomenon

When Kravchuk was elected chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet during the second round of voting on July 23, 1990, replacing Volodymyr Ivashko, who left for Moscow as Mikhail Gorbachev's deputy in the CPSU, he held the position of second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and member of its Politburo.[1] At the time, the predominant view within the democratic opposition was that the newly elected head of the Supreme Soviet would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor and defend, first and foremost, the interests of his backers—i.e., the Communist Party of Ukraine. This was to be expected, given his background; previously, Kravchuk had served as the Party's ideological secretary and had played a very prominent role in the Party's campaign against "Rukh" at the end of 1988 and in early 1989. On the eve of the election, Mykola Horyn', a "Rukh" activist, voiced the opposition's general assessment of Kravchuk when he told a Western correspondent: "It is only natural that Kravchuk will be elected, because he represents the Communist majority in parliament."[2] The opposition demonstrated its dissatisfaction with Kravchuk by withdrawing its candidate and boy-

[1] Kravchuk was elected second secretary of the Party at its Central Committee plenum on June 23, 1990, directly after the first stage of the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, held on June 19–23, 1990 (see *Materialy XXVIII z"izdu Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy 19–23 cherwnya 1990 roku [pershyi etap]*, Kiev, Politvydav Ukrainy, 1990, p. 137). He was relieved from this post at the plenum of the Central Committee in September, 1990, in connection with his election as chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (see *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, September 29, 1990).

[2] *The Independent*, July 24, 1990.

cotting the second round of voting. A statement read by Dmytro Pavlychko from the *Narodna Rada* (People's Council), which groups together members of the democratic opposition in the Supreme Soviet, declared that the election results had shown that the Party placed its interests above those of the people and added that the opposition "relinquishes responsibility for the activities of the newly elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR."[3] In a recent interview, Kravchuk recalled:

> Ivashko's departure [from Kiev] was taken negatively above all by the parliamentary majority. The opposition also utilized the opportunity to emphasize: Look at these CPSU members! In difficult times they abandon Ukraine! And Kravchuk is from the same mold! Is it really possible to trust him—that is, me? My candidacy was proposed by the Communist majority in the Supreme Soviet.[4]

At the time, Kravchuk's remarks in his acceptance speech to the effect that his policies would be guided by "the principles of a democratic society, Soviet power and the Socialist choice, and also by the approved declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine" did not provide much ground for optimism.[5]

Today, the situation has changed dramatically. A recent poll shows that Kravchuk's popularity rating has soared from an initial 3–4 percent to 45 percent in Kiev and 30 percent in the republic as a whole.[6] Another survey, conducted by the newspaper *Holos Ukrainy*, placed Kravchuk at the top of the popularity list of politicians in Ukraine.[7] By comparison, a survey conducted in Kiev last November found him to be in twenty-first place among the most popular politicians, one notch above the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Stanislav Hurenko.[8] Even in Western Ukraine, which is regarded as a bastion of uncompromising anticommunism and deep-rooted nationalism, popular opinion appears to have shifted towards Kravchuk, as was evident during his successful visit to Lvov in early March. A press release of the Lvov Oblast Soviet commented:

> And now Chairman of the Supreme Soviet L. M. Kravchuk was in [our] ancient city. Could the former Party ideologist of the republic have imagined that "the center of extremism in Ukraine" would greet him so kindly? Probably not. But the citizens of Lvov immediately sensed the changes (albeit not significant ones) in the chairman's tactics and conduct during the recent sessions of the parliament and decided to thank him in advance for his desire to pursue a more constructive position.[9]

Sovereignty, the Union Treaty, and the Referendum

The explanation for this turnaround must be sought in Kravchuk's position on such issues as Ukrainian sovereignty, the new Union treaty, and his handling of the referendum conducted on March 17 on the future of the Soviet Union.

In a relatively short period, Kravchuk has established himself as the representative of the interests of a sovereign Ukrainian state both vis-à-vis the center in Moscow and in the international arena. His stance as a champion of these interests was reflected by his reaction to an announcer's sarcastic remarks on Soviet Central Television's main news program, "Vremya," regarding the insistence by a Ukrainian delegation during a recent visit to Germany that Ukrainian rather than Russian be used in the official negotiations with the German side. Kravchuk, who headed the delegation, promptly characterized the announcer's remarks as "an insult to Ukraine and its statehood" and instructed the Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs to lodge a protest with the Moscow television authorities.[10]

Kravchuk stated his position on state sovereignty forthrightly during his visit to Lvov:

> The president [Gorbachev], when he issues his decrees, forgets that there is our declaration, that there is a republic, that there is a road to sovereignty, that this is now not just a slogan, that it is entering into the conciousness and psychology [of the people]. And no one can now change this, regardless of how much they would like to. . . . When I voted for sovereignty (and I did!), I said that I would fight for it to the end. We will not diverge from this path.[11]

That these remarks were not specifically tailored to his Lvov audience was made clear in an interview with *Holos Ukrainy* several weeks later, where Kravchuk emphasized once again that there would be no turning back from the sovereignty declaration:

> There is no road back from sovereignty. There never will be, because this has entered into the blood of the people; it is now not just someone's desire, which can be this today and that tomorrow. The people have taken this road, they supported us, and, regardless of what happens—whatever kinds of storms, whatever

[3] *Vechirnii Kyiv*, July 24, 1990.
[4] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.
[5] Quoted by *Reuters*, July 23, 1990.
[6] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.
[7] *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16, 1991.
[8] *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, January 12, 1991; *Visti z Ukrainy*, No. 11, 1991.
[9] Cited by *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991. See also *Holos Ukrainy*, March 7, 1991, and *Radio Kiev*, March 13, 1991.
[10] *Die Welt*, April 22, 1991; *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, May 6, 1991; *Pravda Ukrainy*, May 7, 1991.
[11] *Za vil'nu Ukrainu*, March 5, 1991.

kinds of turbulent political processes—we cannot diverge from this path, we do not have the right. This is the order that we have been given by the people.[12]

Kravchuk adhered to his position on Ukrainian sovereignty no less adamantly during his recent trips to Switzerland, Germany, and Hungary. Indeed, in Budapest, he characterized the accords signed with Hungary as constituting "a real recognition of Ukraine as a sovereign state."[13]

At the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in December, 1990, the Ukrainian leader expressed his reservations about the draft Union treaty that had been published that autumn. The draft, he said, could serve as a basis for further work, noting that in some respects the treaty of 1922 was more democratic than the document now under consideration. "Our point of departure," Kravchuk maintained, "is that the Union is not the center; rather, it is the republics that make up the Union in the interests of all the people." Given the present realities, he continued, the task ahead consists of "building a new Union of sovereign states."[14] He outlined the contours of that "new Union" in an interview in mid-February following his return from the meeting of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland:

> Today I am in favor of a Union. But only as a Union of sovereign states. Sometimes one hears that Kravchuk is supposedly against a Union. I am against the Union that now exists. I am against the kind of Union in which, for example, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers can nullify a decree of a republican Supreme Soviet. There must be a very clear delineation of powers between the Union and the republics. Our fate, the fate of Ukraine, should not depend on who is the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the head of the cabinet, and so on. . . . And no one has the right to interfere in our affairs. But if we give [the center] any kinds of rights, that does not mean that it is forever.[15]

The revised draft of a new Union treaty that was published in March of this year also met with a negative response from Kravchuk. Within several days of its publication, he told Ukrainian television viewers: "I want to emphasize that this is not the draft treaty that we need and that would reflect the interests of the people of the republic."[16] Later, he characterized the draft as "politically and juridically inconsistent," saying that both he and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet had "a number of substantial critical remarks" to make concerning the document, which had not resolved such issues as the division of property, the delineation of the powers of the republics and those of the center, and the republic's contribution to the all-Union budget.[17] In a subsequent interview, Kravchuk remarked that he had objections to "practically every paragraph" in the draft and that these had been disseminated among the Ukrainian people's deputies.[18]

Perhaps his most successful political maneuver was his proposal that a republican survey be held simultaneously with the all-Union referendum on March 17. The referendum issue, as was to be expected, was emotionally charged. The democratic opposition argued that the decision to hold a referendum had been made in Moscow without consulting the republics and was therefore "illegal." Ukrainian Communists, of course, supported the referendum. On February 13, the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet introduced a draft resolution on the referendum for a vote in the Supreme Soviet. It criticized the wording of the referendum question ("Do you consider necessary the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of an individual of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?") as unclear and confusing and proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet deliberate the addition of a second question for voters in Ukraine ("Do you consider it necessary that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics become a Union of Soviet sovereign states in which each people will decide its own fate?").[19] The Communist majority in the parliament had its own draft resolution, which contended that voters should be asked only one question—the one formulated by the center. Neither draft was approved by the lawmakers; the presidium's draft resolution received 135 votes, and the majority's alternative was supported by 188 deputies.[20] Proposals that the referendum be boycotted altogether and that a referendum on full independence be held instead were also turned down.

At this juncture, Kravchuk proposed that the center's question be left as it was but that a republican survey be conducted at the same time. The formulation of the additional question was to be considered by the appropriate parliamentary commissions. Kravchuk's proposal was carried by 288 votes.[21] Two weeks later, on February 27, the Supreme Soviet passed, by a vote of 277 in

[12] *Holos Ukrainy*, April 3, 1991.

[13] *Radio Budapest*, May 31, 1991.

[14] *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, December 13, 1990.

[15] *Komsomolskoe znamya*, February 13, 1991.

[16] *Holos Ukrainy*, March 16, 1991.

[17] *Ukrinform-TASS*, March 28, 1991.

[18] *Holos Ukrainy*, April 3, 1991. For the text of Kravchuk's remarks and proposals on the revised draft of the new Union treaty, see *Prykarpats'ka pravda*, April 11, 1991. Kravchuk had announced in February, 1991, that he was working on his own version of a draft Union treaty (*Radio Kiev*, February 11, 1991).

[19] *Molod' Ukrainy*, February 14, 1991; *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, February 15, 1991.

[20] *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, March 2, 1991.

[21] *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, February 15, 1991.

favor and thirty-two against, a resolution approving a republican survey question to be worded: "Do you agree that Ukraine should be part of a union of Soviet sovereign states on the principles of the declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine?"[22] On March 17, 70.2 percent of the voters who participated responded to the center's referendum question in the affirmative, and 80.2 percent answered "yes" to the question posed in the republican survey.[23] Although the results are subject to various interpretations, Kravchuk has argued forcefully that the voting reflects mass support for Ukrainian sovereignty and that it constitutes a mandate for his policies.[24]

"Imperial Communists" and "Sovereignty Communists"

The failure of the parliamentary majority to push through its position on the referendum in February, taken together with Kravchuk's success in gaining approval for his compromise resolution, showed clearly that the Communist majority could no longer be viewed as a monolithic bloc and that a parliamentary center unofficially led by Kravchuk was in the process of being formed. In the words of Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Vladimir Grinev, the voting revealed that the majority was no longer the majority.[25] Increasingly, observers of the Ukrainian political scene are referring to two groups of Communist deputies in the Supreme Soviet—"the imperial Communists" and "the sovereignty Communists."[26]

From the standpoint of the Communist Party leadership, Kravchuk has turned out to be a disappointment. Although not in direct confrontation with the Party, he has assumed a distinctly independent position with regard to relations with the center. This became clear at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party in February, 1991, which dealt primarily with the referendum to be held in March. In his speech at the plenum, Kravchuk addressed the question of delineation of powers between the center and the republics and questioned the timing of the referendum. Ukrainian Party leader Stanislav Hurenko, *Izvestia* reported, "did not support L. Kravchuk's proposals." According to the newspaper: "For the first time in recent years, the participants [in the plenum] witnessed differences of opinion within the republic's leadership regarding how to solve the present difficulties."[27] In a recent interview, Hurenko, responding to a question about the diversity of views within the Communist majority in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet concerning the new republican constitution, tried to play down his differences with Kravchuk:

> I feel that it is in connection with precisely this issue that attempts are being made by all possible means to split the Communists. But I do not want to divide Communists into good ones and bad ones. It is true that I do not always find common ground with Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, but we both have one major thing in common: we both act in the mainstream of the political line of the Communist Party of Ukraine; from time to time we check this line. We do not have any fundamental differences. It's another matter that the emphasis on some issues is not the same.[28]

Kravchuk has been much more forthright regarding his differences with the Communist Party leadership. He sees these differences as having two sources. The first, in his words, is a "root" issue:

> I am convinced that Ukraine should be a sovereign, full-fledged, and full-blooded state. I do not hide this from the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, nor from the Politburo, nor from the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, nor at home, nor at the Supreme Soviet. I see that this approach does not suit everyone.[29]

The second problem is the inability of the Communist Party to understand that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet must stand above parties, including his own. "Many [Communists]," Kravchuk notes, "have not parted with the illusion that it is not a [Supreme Soviet] session in which they are participating, but a Party plenum."[30] This psychological barrier, he says, will require time to overcome.

Not long ago, a Western correspondent wrote that the biggest political mystery in Ukraine was the identity of its leader. Is he the Leonid Kravchuk who patiently worked his way up through the apparatus of the orthodox Communist Party of Ukraine, or is he a hidden Ukrainian nationalist whose true colors are now emerging? Kravchuk himself suggested as a third possibility what would be a new phenomenon in the Soviet Union: that he is a politician who tries to represent his constituents.[31]

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[22] *Vechirnii Kyiv*, February 28, 1991. For the text of the resolution, see *Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrains'koi Radyans'koi Sotsialistychnoi Respubliky*, No. 12, 1991, pp. 312–13.

[23] *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, March 23, 1991.

[24] See the interviews with Kravchuk in *Holos Ukrainy*, March 29, 1991, and *Le Monde*, May 28, 1991.

[25] *Molod' Ukrainy*, April 16, 1991.

[26] See *Holos Ukrainy*, March 15, 1991; *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 25, 1991; *Moskovskie novosti*, April 28, 1991.

[27] *Izvestia*, February 20, 1991. Perhaps not altogether fortuitously, coverage of the plenum in the republican press was minimal.

[28] *Molod' Ukrainy*, May 18, 1991.

[29] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 2, 1991.

(RL 222/91, June 3, 1991)

May by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency.[2] Worried that the IAEA's conclusions, which denied the existence of serious health problems, would mean less support from potential Western benefactors, the republican foreign ministers complained that the world still did not know the truth about the impact and scale of the Chernobyl' disaster. On June 27, moreover, the Belorussian Supreme Soviet issued an appeal to the European Parliament for additional financial and humanitarian aid, stating that

> only now, five years after the Chernobyl' tragedy, is the world coming to terms with the global and regional problems it engendered and the unprecedented and unforeseeable consequences the accident has had on the health of millions of people.[3]

Similar conclusions were reached by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the USSR and the Union republics that took place on June 28 in Minsk, at which the Chernobyl' dilemma occupied center stage. On that occasion, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh added his voice to the chorus of complaints about the IAEA's findings, stating that he found them misleading and unacceptable.[4] The meeting concluded with an agreement to strengthen cooperation between the USSR and republican foreign ministries on the matter of seeking international aid for Chernobyl's victims.

Five years after the accident, it is clear that controversy, contradictions, and unsolved mysteries still plague efforts to deal with the problems created by Chernobyl', which in Belorussia alone left approximately 2 million people, including 800,000 children, living in contaminated areas. The Soviet authorities, for understandable reasons, are more interested in focusing attention on the problems of today than in shedding light on the political decisions taken after April 26, 1986, that in all likelihood exposed many more people than necessary to radiation. Moreover, the Belorussian people's deputy whom Navumchyk quoted as saying that "certain forces are interested in not letting this information get out to the public" might have had not only high Party and government officials in mind but also the KGB, which is responsible for preserving nuclear secrets. The question remains how much and what kind of information is still being concealed from the world community whose assistance is now being solicited.

[2] *TASS*, June 19, 1991.

[3] *TASS*, June 27, 1991.

[4] *TASS*, June 29, 1991; Bessmertnykh was quoted in a report to the Belorussian service of Radio Liberty on June 29.

(RL 248/91, July 2, 1991)

UKRAINE

Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky Takes Up Permanent Residence in Ukraine

Kathleen Mihalisko

Thanks to relegalization, Ukrainian Catholicism is once again the predominant religious denomination in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts of Western Ukraine. The Church's position has been strengthened further by the recent decision of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lyubachivs'kyi to move from Rome to Lvov. These developments, together with the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, have reduced to a minimum the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in the area.

The office of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lyubachivs'kyi, the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, announced on June 12 that the cardinal and archbishop major of Lvov had decided to take up permanent residence in Ukraine.

Lyubachivs'ky, a US citizen, returned to his homeland on March 30 for the first time after fifty-two years in exile in North America and Rome, receiving a jubilant welcome from tens of thousands of Ukrainian Greek Catholics who flocked to see him during his first days in Lvov. The cardinal's return to the seat of Greek Catholicism and his subsequent decision to remain mark the final stage in the full restoration of the rights of the Church after its forty-five-year existence in the catacombs. Soon after the announcement of Lyubachivs'ky's intention to stay, the Ukrainian government registered the Greek Catholic Church as a religious organization in accordance with the republic's two-month-old law on freedom of conscience.

In one of his first pronouncements after arriving in Ukraine, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky declared "invalid and

uncanonical" the synod of 1946 that resulted in the liquidation of his Church on Stalin's orders and the transfer of its assets to the Russian Orthodox Church. On March 31, Lyubachivs'ky became the first head of the Greek Catholic Church since that fateful year to say Mass in the Cathedral of St. George, the seat of the Church and, until recently, the object of a bitter property dispute between Catholic and Orthodox believers.

Though property is still the most contentious issue, disputes about it have tapered off, because the majority of priests and their parishes have had sufficient time to establish their affiliation with one or another faith. During his recent trip to Poland in connection with the visit of Pope John Paul II, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky told *Gazeta Wyborcza* that the number of Greek Catholic parishes currently stood at 2,000—the largest number of congregations of any single Christian denomination in Western Ukraine.[1]

The number of parishes loyal to the Russian Orthodox Church in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts had dropped, in contrast, to approximately 500 by April;[2] simultaneously, there was a dramatic rise in Orthodox congregations opting for affiliation with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which does not recognize the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate. The Patriarchate has lost so much ground to Greek Catholicism and to the Autocephalous Church that it is possible to say that the Russian Orthodox Church no longer has control over religious life in that region. What is more, the fate of its remaining 500 parishes is an open question. Until 1946, according to Greek Catholic Bishop Volodymyr Sternyuk, the Russian Orthodox Church had only one parish in Galicia,

> which was in Lvov, on Korolenko Street. Today, the newly created Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which claims to be separate from the Russian Orthodox Church, is attempting to seize the remaining parishes, as is the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The dispute is over 400–500 churches, the majority of which historically belonged to the Greek Catholic Church and must be returned to it accordingly.[3]

The Russian Orthodox Church, as the prime beneficiary of the ban on Greek Catholicism, sought to prevent its relegalization. Spokesmen commonly used derisive terms such as "the reanimation of Uniatism" and "the messiahs of national enmity" in their discourses on developments in Western Ukraine.[4] Now that those efforts have proven futile, a new set of ecumenical issues is waiting to be addressed. The past month or so has witnessed a more temperate public attitude towards Greek Catholics on the part of Russian Orthodox hierarchs. Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev, at a press conference for foreign journalists a few days after Lyubachivs'ky's arrival in Lvov, characterized the state of Orthodox-Greek Catholic relations as ridden with tension:

> The Churches are called upon to sow peace. . . . That is why the [Orthodox] Church is in favor of good relations with all Churches, including the Greek Catholic. Instead, however, antagonisms are mounting between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, especially nowadays. Let us take the example of Sambor, in Lvov Oblast, where aggressive-minded Greek Catholics are waging a battle against the Orthodox for possession of a Church building, using force.

Commenting further, Metropolitan Filaret alleged:

> There are forces that find it useful to stir up hostility between believers. Unfortunately, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky's arrival in Ukraine is contributing to this.[5]

These remarks, made in April, stand in marked contrast to a more recent pronouncement by Metropolitan Filaret before a public audience on June 18, when he maintained that the state of interfaith relations in Ukraine was "not a cause for serious concern."[6]

What does, however, seem to be a cause for concern for the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine is its pervasive reputation as an instrument of Russification and an institution out of step with the burgeoning Ukrainian national consciousness. This is to the benefit of the increasingly visible Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which considers itself the true heir of the Christian tradition of Kievan Rus'. The challenge by national-minded Ukrainians to the Russian Orthodox Church became serious enough to warrant an important step by the Moscow Patriarchate: last year, the Exarchate of Ukraine was raised to the status of Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Filaret has set about the task of shoring up his Church's Ukrainian image, adding words like "independence" and "sovereignty" to his vocabulary.[7]

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[1] *Gazeta Wyborcza*, June 8, 1991. Statistics for all religious organizations in Ukraine as of January, 1991, are provided in *Dovidka pro kil'kist' relihiinykh orhanizatsii v Ukrains'koi RSR. Stanom na 01.01.91 r.* (a document prepared for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet).

[2] The figure of 500 was cited by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev in a press conference summarized by, *inter alia*, *Sil'ski visti*, April 6, 1991. That already represents a sharp drop from January, when, according to the *Dovidka*, there were a total of 734 Russian Orthodox parishes in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts.

[3] *Literaturnaya gazeta*, June 19, 1991.

[4] See, for instance, the interview with Metropolitan Filaret in *Nedelya*, No. 8, 1989.

[5] *Sil'ski visti*, April 6, 1991.

[6] *Radio Kiev-3*, June 18, 1991, 2225.

[7] For instance, at a ceremony on June 4 at a Cossack grave site in Volyn, Metropolitan Filaret said the warriors had died "for the independence of our Ukraine and for the holy Orthodox faith." The statement was intended to impress upon listeners the

In the western oblasts, too, as Bishop Sternyuk's comment above suggests, many Greek Catholics are piqued by, and not a little suspicious of, the inroads made by the newcomer to the area, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which has already established 1,000 parishes there. Some feel that the Autocephalous Church is encroaching on Catholic territory, when it should be concentrating on the traditionally Orthodox eastern region.

Such resentment is not only an inter-Ukrainian matter; Polish-Ukrainian altercations are beginning to take place on both sides of the border. In his latest trip to Poland, Pope John Paul II personally intervened to try to settle a conflict over ownership of a church in Przemysl that had pitted the large Ukrainian population there against Polish Roman Catholics. Earlier this year, moreover, the democratically elected authorities in Lvov Oblast lodged what in Western countries would be considered a highly irregular protest against both the establishment of a Roman Catholic archdiocese in Lvov Oblast and the pope's appointment of Bishop Marion Jaworski, a citizen of Poland, to head it.[8] Speaking on behalf of the Lvov Oblast Soviet, Chairman Vyacheslau Chornovil justified the action on the grounds that "we did not sanction the new archdiocese. This event could become a catalyst for anti-Polish feelings in the Lvov area."[9] An official protest forwarded to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Polish Consulate General in Kiev repeated the claim that the creation of the archdiocese would cause "serious tension" in Ukrainian-Polish relations and charged that the Vatican's decision had been motivated less by concern for the needs of Catholics than by political considerations.[10]

As the facts attest, religious and national disputes are not only a matter of Russian Orthodox versus "Uniate." The religious landscape of Ukraine, where Western and Eastern Christian traditions meet and blend, remains charged with emotions. The presence of Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky should, however, speed the process of harmonization, since he has pledged to work towards the establishment of good relations with all faiths.

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fact that Ukraine's Cossack heroes had fallen in battle against nations not of the Orthodox faith (such as Catholic Poles).

[8] See Oxana Antic, "New Structures for the Catholic Church in the USSR," *Report on the USSR*, No. 21, 1991, pp. 16–19; Jan de Weydenthal, "The Pope Appeals in Poland for a Christian Europe," *Report on Eastern Europe*, No. 25, 1991, pp. 18–22.

[9] *Ratusha*, March 1–2, 1991.

[10] *Za vil'nu Ukrainu*, March 5, 1991.

(RL 249/91, June 26, 1991)

KIEV

Kiev is the political, economic and cultural capital of the Ukrainian Republic of the USSR. The Soviet Union's third most important city (after Moscow and Leningrad), Kiev is situated on the banks of the Dnepr River, some 500 miles southwest of Moscow and just north of the Ukraine's geographical heart. Kiev is slightly farther north than Winnipeg, Manitoba, and has a moderate continental climate (including hot humid summers and cold winters) similar to that of St. Louis, Missouri. Kiev's January 1986 population stood at 2,495,000, comprising Ukrainians (about two-thirds), Russians (roughly one-quarter), and Jews (about one-tenth). Kiev's 1989 population was 2.59 million.

History

For centuries before the Christian era the Dnepr River was a major north-south trade artery. Chronicles from the 6th and 7th centuries first mention Kiev as a center where forest- and plains-dwelling Slavic tribes engaged in trade with the Greek world to the south. By the 9th century, what historians call "Kievan Rus" had emerged, uniting various eastern Slavic principalities under Kievan leadership.

In 988, Kiev's sovereign adopted Byzantium's Orthodox Christianity for himself and his people. Byzantium went on to exert powerful influence on Kiev's subsequent political and cultural development. The 11th century has been called Kiev's golden age: the arts flourished; trade prospered; outstanding churches were constructed. Kievan Rus domination extended from the Black Sea to Lake Ladoga, and from the Western Bug and San Rivers to the upper Volga.

In 1240, a Mongol-Tatar invasion which resulted in the capture and destruction of the city decisively ended the Kievan Rus era. For the next century and more, Kiev was a vassal of the Golden Horde. Subsequently, rule over this area passed to Lithuania and later to Poland, with resulting strong influences on the politics, language and culture of the Ukraine. Permanent settlers filtering into the territory from the north, fleeing crop failure and feudal obligations, also notably influenced the course of Ukrainian events. Early in the 17th century Ukrainian revolts against Polish rule increased in scope and intensity; in 1648 the Ukrainians turned to Moscow for help. Kiev and surrounding Ukrainian lands entered into a special relationship with the Tsarist Empire which lasted more than a century before Catherine the Great terminated their special institutions and limited autonomy. Virtual annexation to the Tsarist Empire ensued. The Ukraine was in the forefront of the empire's expansion to the south and southwest; much of the territory of the present-day Ukrainian Republic was not acquired until late in the 18th century or afterward, as a result both of military showdowns with Turkey and of partitions of Poland.

By 1800, Kiev had become a provincial center of some 35,000 inhabitants with a wide variety of small workshops. Kiev's rise to national prominence was due in part to the rapid development of the rich coal, manganese and iron ore deposits of the southern Ukraine as well as the expansion of the rail network connecting this region and Black Sea ports to the European center. By 1890 Kiev had an electric power station and two years later the city boasted the country's first electric streetcars. On the eve of World War I, Kiev had established itself as the Tsarist Empire's third most important city, in political, economic and cultural terms.

World War I and the aftermath of the two revolutions in 1917 wreaked disruption and destruction on Kiev and the Ukraine in general. The years 1917-1921 were marked by violent changes: German occupation; independent but short-lived Ukrainian governments; Civil War between "Whites" and "Reds" complicated by "foreign intervention;" war with Poland; and famine. In 1922, the Soviet Ukraine signed a treaty with Russia, Transcaucasia and Belorussia to form the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Ukrainian republic was developed during the 1920s and 1930s as one of the USSR's principal industrial and agricultural bases. The Ukraine was the site both of the first giant factories and of Moscow's revolutionary collectivization of agriculture. Capturing the mineral and agricultural resources of the Ukraine was one of Hitler's major aims in attacking the Soviet Union in 1941. During World War II Kiev was occupied by German forces for 26 months; hundreds of thousands of inhabitants were killed or deported to German factories. ("Babiy Yar" is on the city's outskirts.) Postwar reconstruction and expansion has been rapid; local officials have made a point of restoring historic edifices and providing trees and green spaces.

The Ukraine and Ukrainians

The Ukrainian SSR, the third largest Soviet republic, occupies an area of 232,000 square miles -- making it larger than France and almost as big as Texas. It is the USSR's second most populous republic (50,973,000 in January 1986), trailing only the far-flung Russian Republic, (RSFSR). The Ukraine is one of the most productive agricultural areas in the USSR, as well as a major mining and industrial power. It has abundant and easily accessible deposits of iron ore, coal, manganese and natural gas.

As of the 1979 USSR Census, the number of Ukrainians in the USSR was 42,347,387. Roughly three-quarters of the Ukrainian Republic's inhabitants are of Ukrainian nationality. Well over five million Ukrainians live in Soviet republics other than the Ukraine. More than one million Americans and Canadians claim Ukrainian ancestry.

Ukrainians are Eastern Slavs with a distinct history. They share many traditions and sentiments with Russians, but also reject "Great Russian chauvinism." The Ukrainian language is distinct from Russian, although quite similar; many Ukrainians read and speak Russian and are thoroughly versed in Russian culture. At the same time, most Ukrainians are proud of a national culture rich in peasant folkways. Folk music and dances, traditional embroidery, wood carving, pottery and ornately ornamented Easter eggs are the background of a national culture which finds its contemporary expression in music, poetry and the theater.

Kiev the City

Kiev is the historical and emotional center of the Ukraine and Ukrainian nationalism. The city lies on the Dnepr River ("Dnipro" in Ukrainian), about 500 miles southwest of Moscow and some 300 miles north of Odessa and the Black Sea. The greater part of Kiev lies on the high western bank; the eastern bank now sports a rapidly growing massif of prefab high-rise apartment buildings. The older section of Kiev, which contains the main administrative offices and cultural institutions as well as many monuments from the city's distant past, lies on a series of hills along the western bank. Once known as the city of golden cupolas, Kiev's unusual panorama features gold-topped cathedrals and television towers against a background of huge trees and green areas preserved even in the center of the city.

Industry

Kiev is a major industrial city with a wide range of products and activities that reflect both the nearby productive agricultural areas and the major mining and industrial activities of the Ukrainian Republic. The city's factories turn out a variety of machine tools and heavy construction equipment. Kiev is the Ukraine's chief producer of motorcycles, record players, washing machines and such other consumer goods as silk textiles and leather goods. The city produces specialized goods of more than local importance, such as movie cameras, hospital equipment, precision instruments, and computers and electronic equipment.

Culture

Kiev is the cultural center of the Ukraine. Ukrainian is the city's chief language, but Russian is not far behind. The city is the traditional center of Ukrainian scholarship with standards equal to or closely approaching those of Moscow and Leningrad. Kiev's educational system is an extensive pyramid whose apex is Shevchenko State University (enrollment approx. 20,000), which is named after Taras Shevchenko (1814-61), a poet who symbolizes the 19th-century Ukrainian cultural renaissance and whose statue -- dedicated by

President Eisenhower -- stands at the corner of 22nd and P Street, N.W., in Washington, D.C. Kiev also is the home of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of over 200 scientific research institutes, including the Cybernetics Institute, which has played a leading role in introducing computerization to the Soviet economy.

The city has six major theaters, including a Ukrainian and a Russian drama theater. It also has a wide range of art and historical museums. The Golden Gates of Kiev and the partial remains the defensive wall that surrounded the city in the 11th century are preserved as monuments. The St. Sophia Cathedral, with its Byzantine frescoes and mosaics, is of special interest, as is the Pecherska Lavra, a complex of churches, monasteries and catacombs.

Media

Kiev's inhabitants have equal access to the central press from Moscow and to newspapers and journals published in Kiev in both Ukrainian and Russian. Radyanskaya Ukraina, Raduga and Vecherniy Kiev are publications with the greatest local orientation. The city has an ultramodern television center; local viewers have the choice of three channels -- with programs produced in Moscow as well as locally.

Recent Developments

For the past several years, the U.S. has been negotiating with the Soviets over establishment of a U.S. consulate at Kiev, with a reciprocal Soviet consulate to be based in New York. The status of these negotiations has mirrored the vicissitudes of U.S.-Soviet relations; the USSR's shootdown in September 1983 of a South Korean airliner, for example, set the talks back. Progress on opening the Kiev consulate has been evident in recent months, however.

The tangible consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe in April 1986 may have subsided, but Ukrainian politics are swirling with turmoil. Vladimir V. Shcherbitskiy, long-time first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, has come under indirect but sharp criticism in recent months for his handling of the economy and the Chernobyl disaster. Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev is evidently trying to oust Shcherbitskiy, who was a protege of the late Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev.

April 1987

The Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius met with success in its first three years. But any long-term results were lost when the invading Magyars destroyed the state of Moravia. The church of this area eventually developed along Western Catholic lines. The brothers' work did not disappear, however, because their followers carried their message and Slavonic books southward to the Bulgarians, who became fervently attached to Byzantine Orthodoxy.

The Bulgarian Czar Boris, who accepted Christianity for his people, prevailed upon the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople to recognize, in 870, the Bulgarians' right to have an independent church organization, under the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Bulgarians also won approval for their liturgy to be conducted in the Slavonic language. In this way a distinctive form of Orthodoxy was established in Eastern Europe: state churches employing local languages. In 927, the chief bishop of the Bulgarian church was raised to the rank of patriarch.

From Bulgaria, the Old Church Slavonic liturgical language and Byzantine Christianity were transplanted to Serbia, the third Slavic nation to be Christianized in the second half of the ninth century. The Serbian church remained in the shadow of the Bulgarians until the time of the most celebrated Serbian Christian, Sava. In 1219, he was consecrated Archbishop of Serbia. The Serbian archbishopric was promoted to a patriarchate in 1346, at the height of the Serbian Empire under King Stefan Dushan. Bulgarian influence also drew the church of Romania into the Orthodox fold.

Vladimir's choice

The most illustrious fruit of the brothers' Slavonic influence appeared when the pagan prince of Kiev, Vladimir, officially adopted Orthodoxy as the religion of his state. The magnificent legend of the conversion of the Russians narrates how Vladimir, around 988, decided that the interests of his realm required that he take up one of the major religions. According to the *Russian Chronicle*, Vladimir sent envoys to investigate Islam, Judaism, Latin and Byzantine Christianity. The first three failed to suit Vladimir, but he was won over by the report of those who returned from Constantinople, who declared that when they attended the mass in the great church of St Sophia they could not tell whether they were on earth or in heaven. Vladimir then ordered the mass baptism of the Russians according to the Orthodox form. Orthodoxy thus became the state religion of Russia, which it was to remain until 1917.

Although the details of the legend probably do not record actual history, they do reflect one of the most significant features of Russian Christianity. The forms of worship have always been more important than other aspects—such as theology or ethics. The primary appeal of Orthodoxy was aesthetic rather than intellectual or moral. Indeed, the name of the religion in Slavonic, *Pravoslavie*, means 'true worship' or 'right glory', reflecting the pre-eminence of the liturgy to the Russian mind.

After Vladimir's conversion, the Slavonic books of Cyril and Methodius were brought to Kiev. The Russians received a benefit which Christians of the Latin-using Western church did not enjoy. Their religious liturgy and writings existed in a language which was intelligible to all of them. Thus the church both civilized the Russian tribes and stimulated the growth of their native culture.

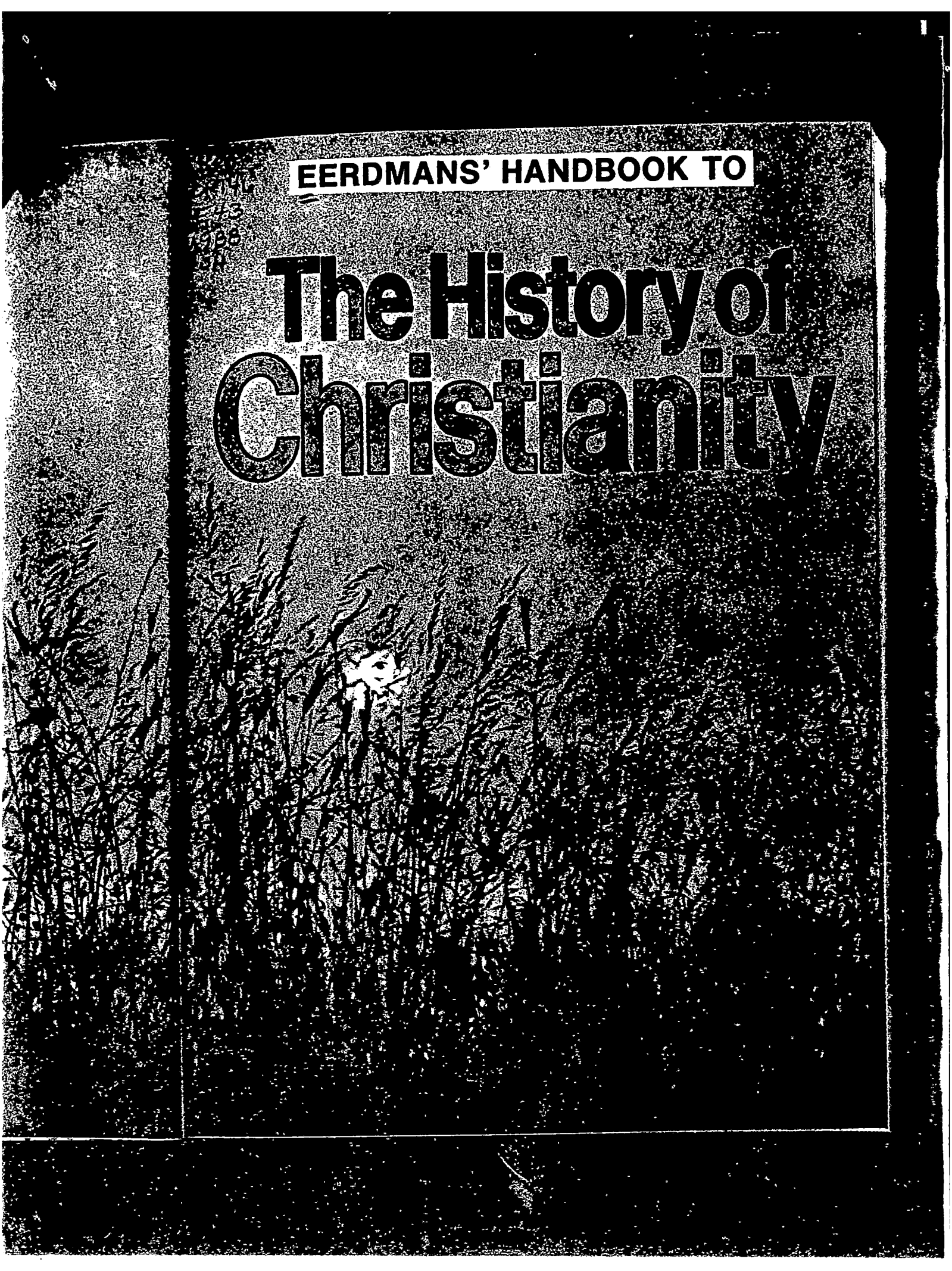
Vladimir's son and successor, Yaroslav the Wise, who began to rule in 1019, cemented the bonds between the Russian church and Byzantine Orthodoxy by accepting for his realm a bishop appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarch. In this way he acknowledged Constantinople as the overseer of the Russian church. Yaroslav provided the bishop, consecrated as the Metropolitan of Kiev, with a cathedral which he dedicated as St Sophia's in imitation of the mother church. For most of the next four hundred years, the head of the Russian church was a Greek appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Saint Sophia cathedral, Kiev—named after Saint Sophia, Constantinople.

Yaroslav's death coincided with the year traditionally regarded as marking the final rupture between the Latin and Greek churches (1054). The newly-converted Russians quickly learned to despise the Catholics as 'heretics'. Their hatred of the Latin Christians was greatly reinforced when German knights tried to take advantage of the

EERDMANS' HANDBOOK TO

The History of Christianity



successful U.S. feature of its kind. In 1930 he established a school for radio announcers of the Columbia Broadcasting System; rejecting British pronunciation, he insisted on American standards.

Vizianagaram, also spelled VIZIANAGRAM, town in north Vishākhapatnam district, northeastern Andhra Pradesh state, southern India. Situated in the heart of the Eastern Ghāts, Vizianagaram is a rail junction and shipping centre for sunn hemp (jute substitute) and jute products. Manganese is mined nearby. The town has four colleges. Pop. (1971 prelim.) 86,548.
18°07′ N, 83°25′ E
·map, India 9:278

vizier, Arabic and modern Persian WAZĪR, Turkish VEZIR, (from old Iranian Pahlavi *vçir*, "judge"), a title of ministers of state since early Islāmic times; in the Ottoman Empire it designated the highest office in the administrative hierarchy.

The office of vizier began in the early 'Abbāsid period and was probably inherited from the Sāsānian Empire of Persia. Under the early Ottoman sultans, the office was called *perwāne* ("advice"), a usage inherited from the Seljuqs of Anatolia. The title vizier was first conferred on a military commander *c.* 1380. Thenceforth until the conquest of Istanbul (1453), it denoted the highest rank in the ruling institution and could be held simultaneously by several persons, including the ministers of state. In this period members of the powerful Çandarli family served periodically as ministers and held the rank of vizier.

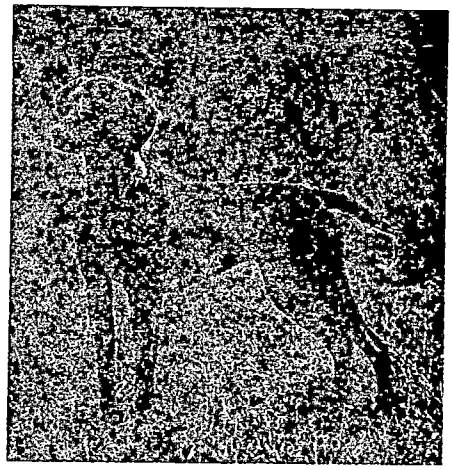
Under the sultan Mehmed II (reigned 1451–81), the Ottomans assumed the old Islāmic practice of giving the title vizier to the office of the chief minister, but they had to use the distinguishing epithet "great" (or "grand"). A number of viziers, known as the "dome viziers," were appointed to assist the grand vizier, to replace him when he was absent on campaign, and to command armies when required. Later the title vizier was granted to provincial governors and to high officials such as the *defterdar* (finance officer).

The grand vizier was the absolute representative of the sultan, whose signet ring he kept as an insignia of office. He presided over the Imperial Divan (state council), controlled all appointments in the army and in the central and provincial administration, commanded the armies in war, was responsible for maintaining law and order in Istanbul, and represented the sultan as the chief dispenser of justice. The actual power of the grand viziers, however, varied with the vigour of the sultans; the tenures of the powerful viziers Sokullu Mehmed Paşa (served 1560–79), and the two Köprülüs (served 1656–76), for example, coincided with a period of retiring sultans.

In 1654 the grand vizier acquired an official residence known as the Bab-ı Ali (Sublime Porte), which replaced the palace as the effective centre of Ottoman government. Under the sultan Ahmed III (reigned 1703–30), the abolition of the dome viziers further increased the grand viziers' powers. Beginning in the 19th century they presided over the council of ministers, appointed by the sultan; and after 1908 they acquired the right to appoint the Cabinet ministers. The title disappeared with the collapse of the empire.

·Egyptian administration of law **6**:502a
·Islām and caliphal rule **9**:921h
·New Kingdom office and function **6**:471h
·political evolution and importance **13**:776a
·Second Intermediate Period power **6**:470f
·unprecedented power in Teti's reign **6**:467g

vizsla, sporting dog whose ancestors were probably brought to Hungary by the Magyars more than 1,000 years ago. The vizsla can generally work both as a pointer and a retriever. Developed on the open plains of Hungary, it was bred to be a swift and cautious hunter, wary of alerting its quarry. It is a graceful, pointer-like dog and has a short, smooth, red-



Hungarian vizsla
Sally Anne Thompson—EB Inc.

dish-gold or sandy-yellow coat. It stands 53 to 61 centimetres (21 to 24 inches) and weighs 18 to 27 kilograms (40 to 60 pounds).

Vizzetelli (family): *see* Vizetelly.

Vlaams: *see* Netherlandic language.

Vlaanderen, plateau in Belgium.
·physical geography and cultural significance **2**:817c

Vlaardingen, municipality (*gemeente*), Zuid-Holland province, southwestern Netherlands, on the Nieuwe Waterweg, just west of Rotterdam. An early Dutch naval victory was won nearby when Dirk IV defeated Emperor Henry III in 1037; the victories of Count William V (1351) near the town established the Bavarian line of Holland. Vlaardingen has developed in the 20th century from a small fishing village into the third largest seaport of The Netherlands. The completion of the largest shipyard in Holland, on nearby Rozenburg Island in 1958, greatly increased the town's industrial importance. Economic facilities include herring fisheries, dairies, and metallurgical and chemical (phosphates) works. Historic landmarks include the town hall (1650), the Grote Kerk (1643), the weigh bridge (1156), and the fish market (1779). Pop. (1972 est.) 81,579.
51°54′ N, 4°21′ E
·map, The Netherlands **12**:1060

Vlachs, European people constituting the major element in the populations of Romania and the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as smaller groups located throughout the Balkan Peninsula, south and west of the Danube River. Although their Slav neighbours gave them the name Volokh, from which the term Vlach is derived, the Vlachs call themselves Romani, Romeni, Rumeni, or Aromani; they are also referred to as Romanians or Rumans.

The Vlachs traditionally claim to be descendants of the ancient Romans who in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD occupied Dacia, a Roman province located in the regions of Transylvania and the Carpathian Mountains of modern Romania. A more generally accepted theory suggests that their ancestors were a Thracian tribe, native to the Roman province of Dacia, which intermarried with the Roman colonists and assimilated their language and culture.

After the Romans evacuated Dacia (AD 271) and the area was subjected to a series of barbarian invasions, the Romanized Dacians probably took refuge in the Carpathian Mountains. They remained there for several centuries as shepherds and primitive farmers, until conditions settled and they returned to the plains.

Another theory suggests that the Romanized Dacian or Vlach population moved south of the Danube when the Romans left Dacia, and, after the invasions subsided, migrated northward back to their native habitat. This theory cites the major role the Vlachs played in the formation and development of the Second Bulgarian Empire (also known as the Empire of Vlachs and Bulgars; founded 1184) as evidence that the centre of the Vlach population had shifted south of the Danube.

By the 13th century the Vlachs were re-established in the lands north of the Danube, including Transylvania, where they comprised the bulk of the peasant population. From Transylvania they migrated to Walachia (Land of the Vlachs) and Moldavia, which became independent principalities in the 13th and 14th centuries and combined to form Romania at the end of the 19th century.

Other groups of Vlachs migrated to other regions of the Balkan Peninsula. The Macedo-Vlachs or Tzintzars settled on the mountains of Thessaly. According to the 12th-century Byzantine historian Anna Comnena, they founded the independent state of Great Walachia, which covered the southern and central Pindus Mountain ranges and part of Macedonia. (After the establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople in 1204, Great Walachia was absorbed by the Greek Despotate of Epirus; later it was annexed by the Serbs and in 1393 it fell to the Turks.) Another Vlach settlement, called Little Walachia, was located in Aetolia and Acarnania (*i.e.*, southwest of Great Walachia). In addition, Vlachs known as Morlachs or Mavrovlachi inhabited areas in the mountains of Montenegro, Hercegovina, and northern Albania as well as on the southern coast of Dalmatia, where among other settlements they founded Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik). In the 14th century some Morlachs moved northward into Croatia, causing much of northern Dalmatia to acquire the name Morlacchia; and in the 15th century others, later called Ćići, settled in the Istrian peninsula.
·Moldavia and Walachia **2**:620a

Vlacic, Matija: *see* Flacius Illyricus, Matthias.

Vlacq, Adrian (1600?–67), Dutch mathematician; published tables of common logarithms of numbers between 20,000 and 90,000.
·history of calculatory device and table **11**:650f

Vladimir (ruled 889–893), tsar of Bulgaria, son and successor of Boris I of Bulgaria.
·policies and deposition **3**:43h

Vladimir I, Saint (b. *c.* 956, Kiev—d. July 15, 1015, Berestova, near Kiev), grand prince of Kiev and first Christian ruler in Russia, through whose military conquests the provinces of Kiev and Novgorod were consolidated into a single Russian state, and whose Byzantine baptism determined the direction of Christianity in Russia.

Son of the Norman-Russian prince Svyatoslav of Kiev by one of his courtesans, in the Rurik lineage dominant from the 10th to the 13th centuries, Vladimir was made prince of Novgorod in 970. On the death of his father in 972, he was forced to flee to Scandinavia, where he enlisted help from an uncle and overcame Yaropolk, another son of Svyatoslav, who attempted to seize the duchy of Novgorod as well as Kiev. By 980 Vladimir had consolidated the Russian realm from the Ukraine to the Baltic Sea and had solidified the frontiers against incursions of Bulgarian, Baltic, and Eastern nomads.

Although Christianity in Kiev existed before Vladimir's time, he had remained a pagan, accumulated about seven wives, established temples and, it is said, taken part in idolatrous rites involving human sacrifice. With insurrections troubling Byzantium, the emperor Basil II (976–1025) sought military aid from Vladimir, who agreed, in exchange for Basil's sister Anne in marriage. A pact was reached *c.* 987,

when Vladimir also consented to the condition that he become a Christian. Having undergone baptism, assuming the Christian patronal name Basil, he stormed the Byzantine area of Chersonesus (modern Korsun, Ukrainian S.S.R.) to eliminate Constantinople's final reluctance. Vladimir then ordered the Christian conversion of Kiev and Novgorod, where idols were cast into the Dnieper River after local resistance had been suppressed. The new Russian Christian worship adopted the Byzantine rite in the Old Slavonic language. The story (deriving from the 11th-century monk Jacob) that Vladimir chose the Byzantine rite over the liturgies of German Christendom, Judaism, and Islām because of its transcendent beauty is apparently mythically symbolic of his determination to remain independent of external political control, particularly of the Germanic Goths. The Byzantines, however, maintained ecclesiastical control over the new Russian Church, appointing a Greek Metropolitan, or archbishop, for Kiev, who functioned both as legate of the patriarch of Constantinople and of the emperor. The Russian–Byzantine religio-political integration checked the influence of the Roman Latin Church in the Slavic East and determined the course of Russian Christianity, although Kiev exchanged legates with the papacy. Among the churches erected by Vladimir was one in Kiev (designed by Byzantine architects and dedicated *c.* 995 to "The Virgin Mother of God") that became the symbol of the Russian conversion. The expansion of education, judicial institutions, and aid to the poor were other legacies of the Christian Vladimir.

A marriage, following the death of Anne (1011), affiliated Vladimir with the Holy Roman emperors of the German Ottonian dynasty and produced a daughter, who became the consort of Casimir I the Restorer of Poland (1016–58). The Kiev Cycle of Russian legendary epic verse celebrates Vladimir's foundational deeds.

·Basil II conditional alliance **2**:749b
·Byzantine Christian influences **6**:153g
·conversion to Orthodox Christianity **3**:561g
·Kievan expansion and institutions **16**:40e

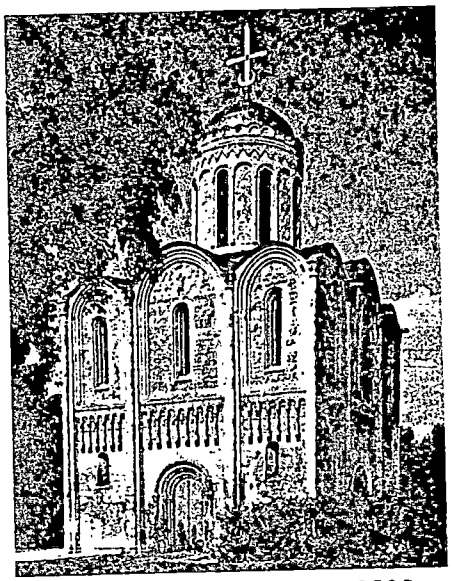
Vladimir II Monomakh (b. 1053—d. May 19, 1125, near Kiev), grand prince of Kiev from 1113 to 1125. The son of Grand Prince Vsevolod I Yaroslavich (ruled Kiev 1078–93) and Irina, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, Vladimir became actively engaged in Russian politics, helping his father and uncle Izyaslav I (ruled at Kiev intermittently 1054–78) defeat his cousins Oleg Svyatoslavich and Boris Vyacheslavich at Chernigov (1078) and succeeding his father as prince of Chernigov when Vsevolod became grand prince of Kiev. Vladimir ruled Chernigov from 1078 to 1094, restoring order among his cousins in Volhynia (1084–86) and assuming a leading role among Russian princes at the conferences held to avert perpetual warfare among themselves (1097 and 1100). In 1113, when his cousin Grand Prince Svyatopolk II (ruled Kiev 1093–1113) died, the *veche* (city council) of Kiev named him the successor to the throne of Kiev.

During his reign, as prior to it, Vladimir was almost constantly involved in wars, fighting a variety of enemies, but primarily against the Polovtsy, who had settled in the steppe region southeast of the Kievan state and had been raiding the Russians since 1061. In his "Testament," which he wrote for his sons and which constitutes the earliest known example of Russian literature written by a layman, Vladimir recounted participating in 83 noteworthy military campaigns and recorded killing 200 Polovtsy princes. In addition to his martial qualities, Vladimir Monomakh was known as an adept administrator, whose ability to curtail the internecine warfare among his princely relatives revived, if only temporarily, the declining strength of Kievan Rus. He was also noted as a builder, who founded the city of Vladimir on the Klyazma River in northeastern Russia, which by the end of the 12th century replaced Kiev as the seat of the grand prince.

·early education document **6**:331d
·Rus reunification and institutions **16**:41a

Vladimir, *oblast* (administrative region), western Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, centred on Vladimir city; it has an area of 11,200 sq mi (29,000 sq km) and lies east of Moscow in the basin of the Oka River. The greater part is a low plain, with extensive swamps in the south. The *oblast* has a natural vegetation of spruce, pine, and oak, but much of the forest has been cleared. The *oblast* is part of the central manufacturing region, producing textiles, engineering goods, timber goods, and glassware. Of lesser importance, agriculture is concentrated chiefly in the northwest, where there is considerable market gardening. Much land reclamation has taken place in the swamps. Pop. (1970) 1,511,000.

Vladimir, city and administrative centre of Vladimir *oblast* (region), western Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, on the



Cathedral of St. Dmitry at Vladimir, Russian S.F.S.R.
Shostal

Klyazma River. Vladimir was founded in 1108 by Vladimir II Monomakh. It became the centre of a princedom, deriving importance from trade along the Klyazma. In 1157 Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky moved his capital there from Kiev. In 1238 the city was devastated by the first Tatar invasion, and in 1293 it was again sacked by the Tatars; on each occasion it rapidly recovered. In 1300 the Orthodox metropolitan was established there, but in 1325 the church authority and in 1328 temporal authority were transferred to Moscow. Thereafter the city, suffering several further Tatar attacks in the 15th century, became a minor local centre, although in 1796 it was made a seat of provincial government.

Post-Revolutionary Vladimir has grown chiefly on the basis of its textile, light-engineering, and chemical industries. The city has many surviving buildings of its long history, including some superb examples of early Russian architecture. Especially noteworthy are the kremlin; the Cathedral of the Assumption, built in 1158 and several times rebuilt or restored; the Cathedral of St. Dmitry (1197, restored 1835); and the triumphal Golden Gate of 1158, restored under Catherine II the Great. Pop. (1970 prelim.) 234,000.
56°10′ N, 40°25′ E

·Alexander Nevsky's historical relation **1**:478f
·map, Soviet Union **17**:322

VLADIMIRSKAYA BOGOMATEY (*c.* 1130), icon of the school of Constantinople that played an important role in the development of the Umilenic type of icon.

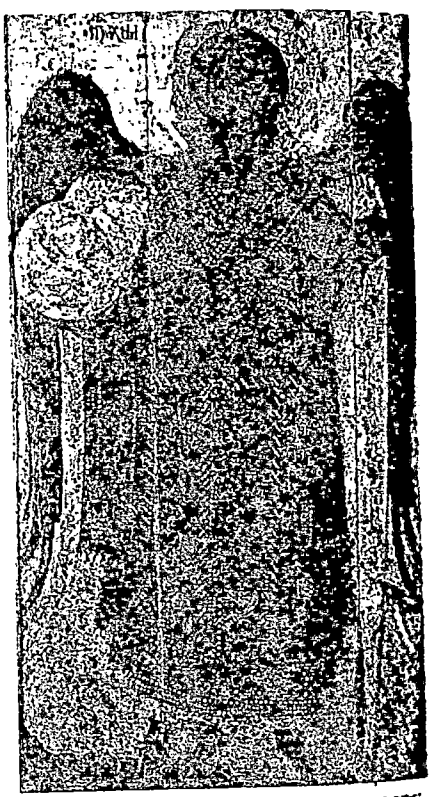
·Byzantine visual art developments **19**:335g
·tempera on wood depiction, illus., **19**:Visual Arts, Western, Plate III

Vladimirescu, Tudor (b. *c.* 1780, Vladimir, Walachia, now in Romania—d. June 7, 1821, Tîrgovişte), national revolutionary hero, leader of the popular uprising of 1821 in Walachia.

A former officer in the Russian Army, Vladimirescu was influenced by the autonomist movement in Serbia. He initially allied himself with the Greek revolutionary society —the Philikí Etairía—that sought to overturn Turkish rule throughout the Balkans. But with the Etairist rising in Moldavia under Prince Alexander Ypsilantis (March 1821), he disavowed the Greek leadership of the revolution in the Romanian principalities. He organized a popular rising in Walachia to evict the predominantly Greek administration of the Turkish government and end the spoliation of the native Romanian aristocracy (*boieri*). His movement at first enjoyed considerable popularity, but his eventual accommodation to the provisional aristocratic government at Bucharest eroded his support. When Ypsilantis suspected Vladimirescu of conspiring with the Turks to cut off the retreat of the Greek revolutionary forces from the Bucharest region, he ordered the arrest of the Romanian leader, who was court-martialled and executed.

·uprising of 1821 **2**:625h

Vladimir-Suzdal school, school of Russian medieval mural and icon painting that flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries around the neighbouring cities of Vladimir and Suzdal in the Suzdal region of northeastern Russia. Vladimir-Suzdal, along with the city of Novgorod in northwestern Russia, was one of the two areas that inherited the Byzantine artistic traditions of Kiev, Russia's first capital, which lost pre-eminence to Vladimir in 1157. Like

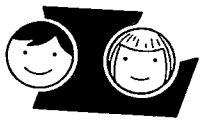


"The Archangel Michael," icon by an anonymous artist of the Vladimir-Suzdal school, egg tempera on panel; 1300; in the Tretyakov Art Gallery, Moscow
Novosti Press Agency, Moscow

The IN AMERICA *Series*

THE UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA

MYRON B. KUROPAS



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Volodymyr the Great, who adopted Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus in 988

Jaroslav the Wise was known as the "father-in-law of Europe" because his daughters married the kings of Hungary, Norway, and France.

The first recorded Slavic tribe in Ukraine were the Antae. They came as permanent settlers and in time their tribal descendants, each of which came to be known by a different name, had established tribal communities throughout Ukraine. By the ninth century, the most powerful of the Ukrainian-Slavic tribes were the Rus, who settled in the vicinity of the Dnieper River and founded the city of Kiev.

In 879, Kiev was captured by the Varangians (Vikings), and the Rus came under the rule of the Scandinavian royal family of Rurik. Adopting the language, customs, and traditions of the people they conquered, the new Rus rulers began to develop a powerful state. In time the Rus were able to unite all of the Ukrainian-Slavic tribes and to build a vast and powerful empire which came to be known as Kievan Rus.

2. *Kievan Rus*

Kievan Rus reached the height of its power in the 10th century. Under the wise and popular Volodymyr the Great, the first Ukrainian state was expanded and consolidated. In 988, Volodymyr adopted Christianity as the state religion. He began a massive church and

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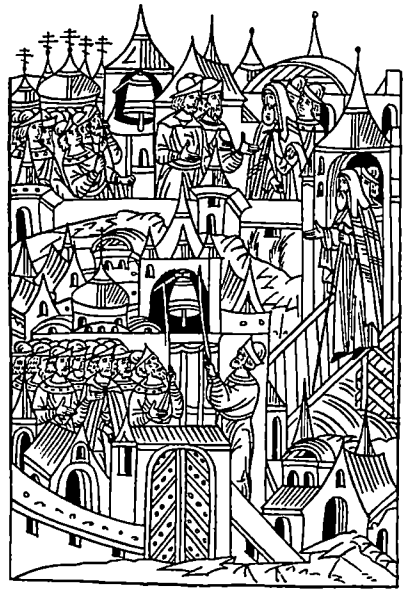
school building program in Kiev, and in time the ancient Ukrainian city became a place of splendor and beauty. In 1017 a visiting German bishop recorded that city possessed over 100 churches and eight trading centers. At the time of Volodymyr's death the empire of Kievan Rus stretched from the Black to the Baltic seas and from the Volga River to the Carpathian Mountains, an area of some 1.2 million square miles.

Another great ruler of Kievan Rus was Jaroslav the Wise, who succeeded Volodymyr. He strengthened Christianity by building churches and monasteries throughout the provinces and by having Kiev recognized as a Metropolitan See (or Archdiocese) by the Eastern Christian Church. Jaroslav also wrote the opening section of the *Ruska Pravda*, the first written code of laws in the Slavic world. Recognized as the ruler of a powerful and cultured state, Jaroslav was able to have his daughters marry the kings of Hungary, Norway, and France.

At this time, the people of Kievan Rus enjoyed an unusual combination of monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic government. Political control of the state was shared by the Prince (the head of the state), the *Druzhina* (a body of royal landowners), and the *Veche* (local councils of representatives elected by free citizens). For the Ukrainian people, this element of democracy is a cherished inheritance from the days of Kievan Rus.



This 14th-century woodcut shows citizens being summoned by a bell to attend the *Veche*, a local council of representatives.

Ukrainian wood carving

4. *Music*

There is an old saying among Ukrainians, "when two Ukrainians meet, we have the start of another choir." For Ukrainians the song is a second language. The first Ukrainian choir in America was organized in 1887 by Volodymyr Simenovych in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. From that time on each Ukrainian community has established its own church choir almost as soon as the community was organized. Early choral ensembles sang only during church services, but gradually they expanded their repertoires to include folk songs as well. Eventually a number of choirs began to produce their own musicals.

America came to know Ukrainian music soon after the arrival of the Ukrainian National Chorus, which was formed in the days of the Ukrainian National Republic. Under the direction of Professor Alexander Koshetz, the chorus toured Europe and the United States in 1922 and 1923 and was very well received. So popular did the Koshetz choir become that it was not long before Ukrainian songs were being translated into English. By 1935, Witmark Educational Publications had put out 20 Ukrainian songs. One of these, the beautiful "Carol of the Bells" by Nicholas Leontovych, has since become an American Christmas classic. It was first sung in the United States by the Ukrainian National Chorus.

After the Ukrainian Republic fell and was replaced by Soviet rule, Koshetz and his entire chorus elected to remain in America. Many

Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

Daniel B. Baker, Editor


Gale Research Inc. • DETROIT • NEW YORK • LONDON

jectives. A major objective is the
work of a private economy. The
l, insists that the individual must
yman Morse, *New Republic*, Jul

nions are held, but in how they
tively, and with a consciousness
idonment. —Bertrand Russell,

or are our equals in every sense
ess Casamassima", *The Liberal*

io tells other people what to do
ve cents", *Home*, 1966

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iow on which side they will be
Unbought and Unbossed, 1970

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d After, 1978

. —James Q. Wilson, *Time*, Jan

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ie interest of the majority is the
to James Monroe, Oct 5, 1786

en for injustice and inhumanity
ory of the whole world. —John
he United States, 1787-88

rbulence, violence, and abuse of
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l, that will, to be rightful, must
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naugural address, Mar 4, 1801

iot sufficiently respect the rights
tutional convention, Richmond,

ind practice of submitting to the
count. —James Madison, letter

ail against the voice of a nation.
2, 1831

2287. When a faction in a state attempts to nullify a constitutional law of congress, or to destroy the union, the balance of the people composing this union have a perfect right to coerce them to obedience. This is my creed. —Andrew Jackson, letter to Gen. John Coffee, Dec 14, 1832

2288. The tyranny of the majority. [*La tyrannie de la majorité.*] —Alexis, Comte de Tocqueville, sub-heading, *Democracy in America*, 1835

2289. The blessings of Liberty which our Constitution secures may be enjoyed alike by minorities and majorities. —James K. Polk, inaugural address, Mar 4, 1845

2290. No society in which eccentricity is a matter of reproach, can be in a wholesome state. —John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848

2291. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. —Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience*, 1849

2292. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. —Lord Macaulay, letter to Henry Stephens Randall, May 23, 1857

2293. Governments exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection: they have many friends and few enemies. —Wendell Phillips, speech in Boston, Massachusetts, Dec 21, 1860

2294. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. —Abraham Lincoln, first inaugural address, Mar 4, 1861

2295. The majority rules. If they want anything, they get it. If they want anything not right, they get it, too. —Sojourner Truth, speech in Rochester, New York, 1871

2296. Let us not fall into the ... pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is multitude. —James A. Garfield, speech at Hudson College, Jul 2, 1873

2297. The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877

2298. The one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority, or rather of that party, not always the majority, that succeeds, by force or fraud, in carrying elections. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877

2299. The minority is always right. [*Minoriteten har altid retten.*] —Henrik Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*, 1882

2300. In the majority beat many hearts, but it has no heart. [*Die Majorität hat viele Herzen, aber ein Herz hat sie nicht.*] —Prince Otto von Bismarck, speech in the Reichstag, Jun 12, 1882

2301. Desperate courage makes One a majority. —Andrew Jackson, quoted by James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1888

2302. So long as a minority conforms to the majority, it is not even a minority. They must throw in their whole weight in the opposite direction. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Indian Opinion*, Sep 14, 1907

2303. You can not have a decent, popular government unless the majority exercise the self-restraint that men with great power ought to exercise. —William Howard Taft, speech in Fresno, California, Oct 10, 1909

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 10, MADISON

"By a faction, I understand a number of citizens whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community."

"The latent causes of faction are thus sown into the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society."

"The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government."

"The interference to which we are brought is that the **causes** of faction cannot be removed and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its **effects.**"

"From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble a administer the government in person, can admit no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert results from the form of government itself..."

"The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States."

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 51, MADISON

"In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

"If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure. There are but two methods of providing against this evil: the one by creating a will in the community independent of the majority -- that is, of the society itself; the other, by comprehending in the society so many separate descriptions of citizens as will render an unjust combination of a majority of the whole very improbable, if not impracticable."

"In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights."

QUOTES ON MINORITY RIGHTS, RESPECTING MINORITIES

"The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

-- Lord Acton
The History of Freedom and Other Essays, Ch. 1
1907 1877 Feb 20

"What is a minority? The chosen heroes of this earth have been a minority. There is not a social, political, or religious privilege that you enjoy today that was not brought for you by the blood and tears and patient suffering of the minority."

"It is the minority that have... achieved all that is noble in the history of the world."

-- John Bartholomew Gough
Sunlight and Shadow
1880

"All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression."

-- Thomas Jefferson
First Inaugural Address
March 4, 1801

"Men are respectable only as they respect."

-- Emerson
Lectures and Sketches: Sovereignty of Ethics

"Neither our national nor our local civic life can be what it should be unless it is marked by... the mutual kindness, the mutual respect, the sense of common duties and common interests, which arise when men take the trouble to understand one another, and to associate together for a common object."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Century
January, 1900

"To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have some one else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that some one else for the good of both of us -- any man will speedily find that other people can benefit him just as much as he can benefit them."

-- Theodore Roosevelt, 1913

"We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
September 2, 1901

"I ask in our civic life that we... pay heed only to the man's quality of citizenship, to repudiate as the worst enemy that we can have whoever tries to get us to discriminate for or against any man because of his creed or his birthplace."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
October 14, 1912

"No democracy can long survive which does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of its minorities."

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
January 8, 1938

"The moment a mere numerical superiority by either states or voters in this country proceeds to ignore the needs and desires of the minority, and for their own selfish purpose or advancement, hamper or oppress that minority, or debar them in any way from equal privileges and equal rights -- that moment will mark the failure of our constitutional system."

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Radio Address
March 2, 1930

"On a candid examination of history, we shall find that turbulence, violence, and abuse of power, by the majority trampling on the rights of the minority, have produced factions and commotions which, in republics, have, more frequently than any other cause, produced despotism."

-- James Madison
Speech in the Virginia Convention
June 16, 1788

"If by mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view, justify revolution -- certainly would if such a right were a vital one."

-- Abraham Lincoln
Inaugural address
March 4, 1861

"Minorities are the stars of the firmament; majorities, the darkness in which they float."

-- Martin H. Fischer (1879-)

FREE TRADE/ADAM SMITH

"[T]hat trade which, without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally so, to both."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 3

"By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society. These great and important services foreign trade is continually occupied in performing to all the different countries between which it is carried on."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 1

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, [at peace]; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away."

-- FDR
Fourth Inaugural Address
January 20, 1945

"Every individual endeavors to employ his capital so that its produce may be of greatest value... He intends only his own security, only his own gain... By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more efficiently than when he really intends to promote it."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations
Vol. II, bk. IV, ch. 2

UKRAINE COLOR

* Ukraine means "frontier".

* Jaroslav the Wise, son of Vladimir and ruler of Kievan Rus in the 11th century, wrote some of the "Ruska Pravda", the first written code of laws in the Slavic world. It served Russian law-makers as a source and model for years to come.

* Under Jaroslav, local representatives of the people were elected by free citizens.

* Jaroslav built dozens of churches, including the gold-domed St. Sophia, the most revered church in Kiev, which still stands.

* For hundreds of years, monks lived underneath Kiev in a labyrinth of tunnels known as the Monastery of the Caves. Most of the caves are man-made. People could sometimes hear the eerie sound of the monks singing beneath their feet.

* Ukrainians are known for their singing. There is an old saying, "When two Ukrainians meet, we have the start of another choir."

* The most famous folk art is Easter Egg painting, which dates back to ancient times. Known as "pysanka", the eggs are painted with intricate geometric patterns."

* The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and the most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. The bell tower, the highest in the USSR, was built in 1731-45; it has been completely restored, and the dome reguilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them -- as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: SHEVCHENKO QUOTE

The Ukrainian guys at VOA say this quote will bring down the house if the President says this Shevchenko quote in Ukrainian:

"U svoyi khati, svoya pravda i syla i volya."
[oo SVO-yee KAH-tee, SVO-ya PRAV-da ee silla ee VOL-nya]
Only in your own house, can you have your truth, your strength and freedom.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITERS

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: RUSSIAN PROVERBS

Even if Truth is buried in a gold box, it will break out and come to light.

Walk fast and you can overtake misfurtune; walk slowly and it will overtake you.

The bear dances, but the gypsy collects the kopecks. (In other words, the Soviet people have been doing all the work, but the government decides how much they make.)

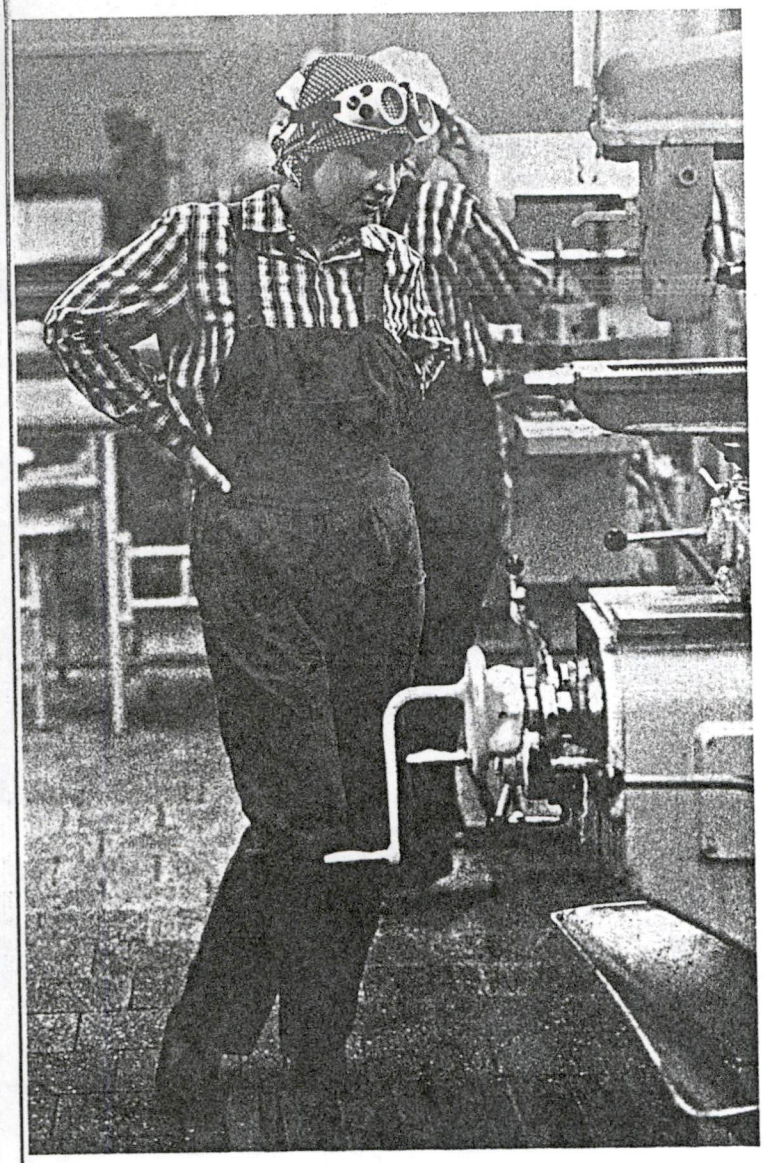
Don't drive your horse with the whip; use the oatbag.

(Source: Peter Pauper Press, 1960 PN6505.S5R8)

NOW PLAYING IN MOSCOW THEATERS:

Working Girl
Cocoon
Lambada
National Lampoon's Vacation
Alien
Gone with the Wind

Source (USIA 619-5057)



Working to learn, *young women at a vocational school attached to a tractor factory in Kharkov operate a drill press (**left**) one day a week. In the same school math students operate rudimentary computers. Moscow seeks to place 500,000 new computers in Soviet high schools by 1990.*

"We do not have a count," replied Father Ivan Chernenko when I asked the size of the St. Vladimir flock. No priest in any other church ever answered the question either. ("We do not have a five-year plan for church membership," one declared.)

No doubt priests fear that they will provoke official wrath if they seem to be bragging about growth. Nevertheless, Father Ivan told me that fifty to a hundred children are baptized every week at St. Vladimir's. "Some of them leave the church," he conceded, "and come back only when they are old. Some become atheists." And the Baptists, courting trouble by their aggressiveness, "probably catch some in their webs."

"Ukraine" means frontier; hence many Westerners say *the* Ukraine. (Some expatriate Ukrainians dislike the construction, since it implies their homeland is merely a region.) Like the 19th-century U. S. frontier, much of Ukraine was once (say, 450 years ago) a vast, nearly peopleless realm. Open land, mostly steppe, reached a thousand miles from the Carpathian Mountains in the west to the Rivers Don and Volga.

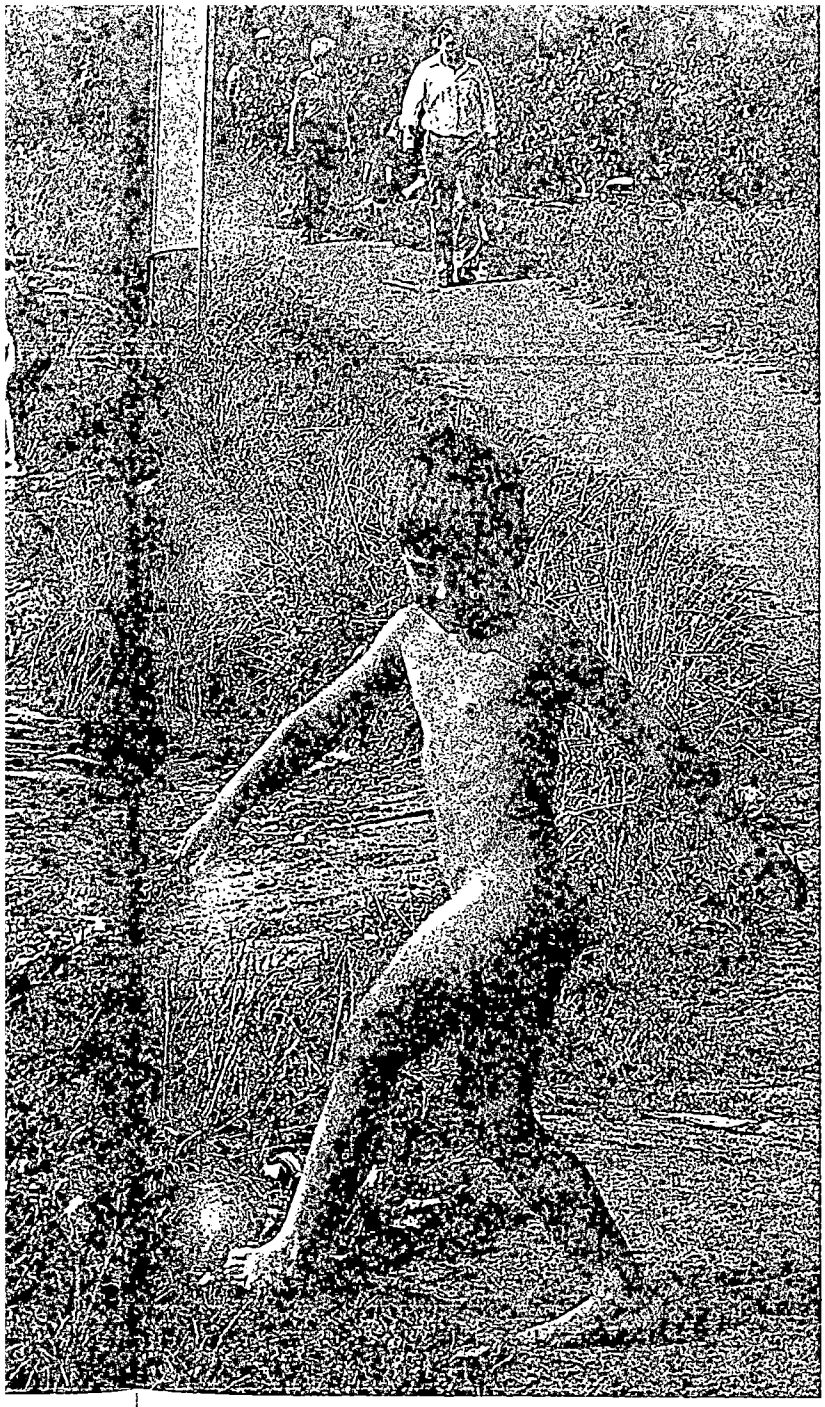
In Shevchenko's century (and until 1918) it belonged to Russia and Austria-Hungary. In earlier times Poland and Lithuania possessed large parts; the Mongols, Tatars, and Ottoman Turks carved off slices.

In the 17th century Ukrainian Cossacks —very much frontiersmen, in the Daniel Boone mold—wrought a short-lived independent state. In the chaos that followed the 1917 Russian Revolution and the collapse of Austria-Hungary, freedom was again in the air. Some Ukrainians wanted to cling to Russia, but free governments sprang up in Kiev and the western city of Lvov (Lviv, as Ukrainians spell it). The westerners then united with the Kievans in 1919.

Though Lenin had promised to recognize an independent Ukraine, the Red Army invaded. The free forces also faced Polish troops and anti-Bolshevik White Russians. There were battles and massacres. But by 1920 most of Ukraine was Bolshevik ruled, destined to become a Soviet republic. A western area with eight million people went largely to Poland, with pieces to Czechoslovakia and Romania.

So, one must ask: What, despite shifting boundaries, holds together the 50 million people of this realm larger than France? Language, yes, and old songs about Cossacks and love, and a body of literature (especially poetry), and a few art forms. Ukrainians excel at embroidery, and created exquisitely decorated Easter eggs until the Communists frowned.

And one thing more: faith. The people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are among the most devout in the Soviet Union. How many believe? By one guess, half. The number who attend services is only a small



Latter-day Viking, a youth takes to the water in Minsk, the home of several Olympic-class rowers for the U.S.S.R. By oar or sail, Viking vessels ruled northern waterways for some three centuries.

hesitant. At once the old woman grasped her head and led her into the tent.

Inside the tent the girl died beside her master by stabbing and strangling. Then the ship was fired. "Soon it was burning brightly—first the boat, then the tent and the man and the maiden and everything in the boat."

IRONICALLY, THE MAN who eventually ended such savagery in the East, Prince Vladimir of Kievan Rus, himself had been an idol worshiper and a libertine of Solomon's stature. If the Primary Chronicle is to be believed, Vladimir had 800 concubines—"He was insatiable in vice."

Perhaps to further ties with Byzantium, Vladimir chose the Orthodox Church to minister the Christian faith to his people.* His reign saw adoption of Slavonic for the liturgy in place of Greek, a step that helped preserve his independence from Byzantium. On a day in 988 his subjects walked into the Dnieper and submitted to mass baptism—it was that or risk his certain displeasure (painting, pages 284-5). Today's Kievans know the road they took. It is Kreshchatic, Christening Street, the main thoroughfare.

And Kiev, where the far-reaching steppe begins, has become the Soviet Union's third largest city, capital of the bountiful Ukraine. It is a stately city of hills and undulating avenues arched with poplars and chestnuts. In summer, from the bluff upon which the oldest section rests, one watches swift hydrofoils and leisurely passenger ships cleave the broad, slate-blue Dnieper. Sunseekers clutter a beach on the far bank. Over all this soar church domes resplendent in gold leaf. Here rose the important monastery and cultural center called Pecheryskaia Lavra, now a state museum (page 312).

And beneath this splendor lies a fearful nether world of labyrinthine catacombs. "There is a legend," said museum director Yuri Kibalnik, "that the Varangians hid cargoes and foodstuffs in the caves. For hundreds of years monks lived here in underground cells. People were attracted by the eerie sound of the monks singing beneath their feet. Most of the caves are man-made. We are still finding new passages."

Down the centuries a cult of holy relics developed as religious hermits lived out their lives in the chill labyrinths. Hunching my way cautiously through small, dank tunnels, I wondered how many eremites had contributed their bones to this charnel house. Thousands, judging from the evidence on all sides.

*See "Byzantine Empire, Rome of the East," by Merle Severy, in the December 1983 GEOGRAPHIC.

G. Krawciw/VOA Ukrainian Branch

TWO POSSIBLE UKRAINIAN QUOTES

1) As your great poet Taras Shevchenko said: "U svoyi khati, svoya pravda i syla i volya" ("У своїй хаті, своя правда і сила і воля") [oo SVO-yee KAH-tee, SVO-ya PRAV-da ee silla ee vol-nya]

PRONOUCIATION: "U (flat, as in Gunther Toody's "U-U") SVO-YÉE KHÁ-TEE (the KH is the slavic "X" sound), SVO-YÁ PRÁV-DA EE SÝLA (the "Y" as the "I" in silly) EE VÓ-LYA (the LYA as the NYA in Tanya Tucker)."

Translation: "Only in your own house, can you have your truth, your strength and freedom.

The president would bring the house down if he could say this in Ukrainian. The poet Taras Shevchenko has the same stature in Ukraine, as George Washington in the United States, and its a widely known quote. The implication of mentioning "freedom" may be softened by putting the quote in an "economic sovereignty" context.

2) Another Shevchenko quote: "U kozhnoho svoya dolya i sviy shlakh shyrokiy" ("В кожного своя доля і свій шлях широкий").

PRONOUNCIATION: "U KÓZH-NOHO (the "ZH" is the slavic "Ж" sound) SVO-YÁ DÓ-LYA (the LYA as the NYA in Tanya Tucker) EE SVEE SHLAKH (the KH is the slavic "X" sound) SHY-RÓ-KEE ("SHY" sound as in "ship").

Translation: "Everyone has his own fate, and his broad path (to tread)." Comes in as a poor second to the first quote.

But the peace of the world must be assured during the whole period of disarmament and I, therefore, propose . . . :

That all the nations of the world should enter into a solemn and definite pact of non-aggression; that they should solemnly reaffirm the obligations they have assumed to limit and reduce their armaments, and, provided these obligations are faithfully executed by all signatory powers, individually agree that they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature across their frontiers.

Common sense points out that if any strong nation refuses to join with genuine sincerity in these concerted efforts for political and economic peace, the one at Geneva and the other at London, progress can be obstructed and ultimately blocked. In such event the civilized world, seeking both forms of peace, will know where the responsibility for failure lies. I urge that no nation assume such a responsibility, and that all the nations joined in these great conferences translate their professed policies into action. This is the way to political and economic peace.

Message to the nations of the world appealing for peace by disarmament, May 16, 1933

2 / I have made it clear that the United States cannot take part in political arrangements in Europe, but that we stand ready to cooperate at any time in practicable measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce.

State of the Union Message, Jan. 3, 1934

3 / A deep love of peace is the common heritage of the people of both our countries [the Soviet Union and the United States] and I fully agree . . . that the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace. The successful accomplishment of this mutual task will be of immediate and lasting benefit not only to the peoples of our countries but to all peace-loving peoples everywhere. FDR

Remarks to the first ambassador of the U.S.S.R. on presentation of credentials, Jan. 8, 1934

4 / The peoples of many countries are being taxed to the point of poverty and starvation in order to enable governments to engage in a mad race in armament which, if permitted to continue, may well result in war.

Message to Congress on the menace of uncontrolled manufacture and sale of arms and munitions, May 18, 1934

5 / I cannot with candor tell you t
outside the borders of the United St

I believe, however, that our o
toward other nations is coming to
maintenance of international peace is
unselfishly concerned. . . .

There is no ground for appre
nation will be otherwise than peacefu
the people of most nations seek relief
to the false theory that extravagan
limited by international accord.

State of the Union Message, Jan. 4, 19

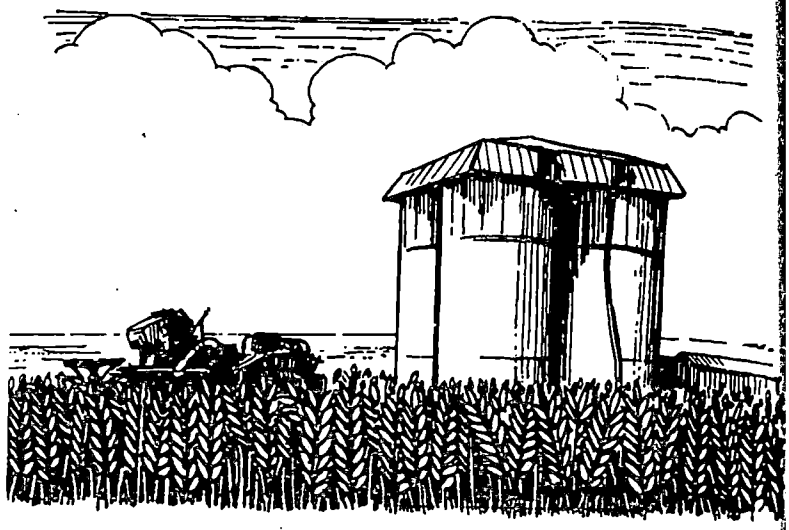
6 / It is the policy of this governn
between other nations, but it is a fac
can foresee all possible future situatio
situations that call for some flexibility
tions may arise in which the wholly
this [Neutrality] Act might have e
which was intended. In other words,
into war instead of keeping us out
definitely committed to the maintena
entanglement which would lead us
the policy of the government by ev
tanglement to cooperate with othe
promote peace.

Statement on approval of neutrality le

7 / [Foreign war is a] potent dan
civilization. It is not surprising that n
of apprehension lest some of the nati
twenty years ago and drag civilizatio
recovery may be all but impossible.

In the face of this apprehensio
one concern—the American people
what happens in continents overseas
and must remain, as long ago the Fathe
remain—unentangled and free.

Address, San Diego Exposition, San D



THE UKRAINE AND MOLDAVIA

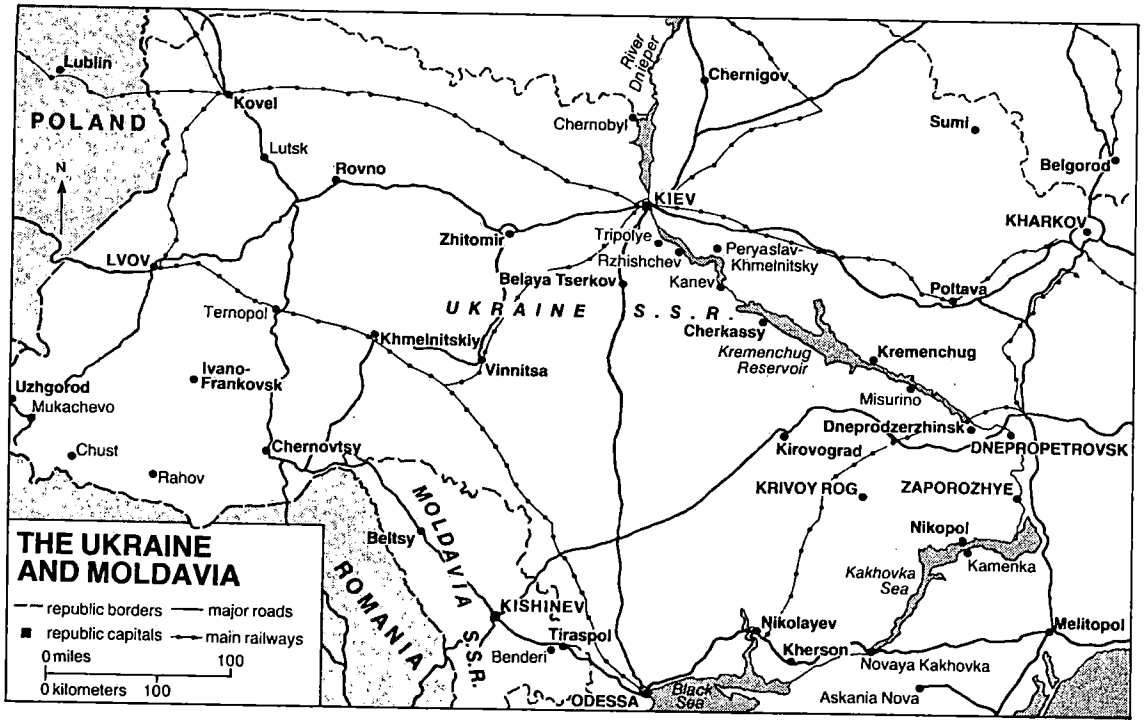
Breadbasket of the U.S.S.R.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic borders on Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and the Byelorussian, Moldavian, and Russian Soviet Republics. The Black Sea forms its southern frontier; the resort area is described in our chapter on the Crimea and Southern Russia.

With an area of 232,046 square miles and a population of more than 50 million in 1983, the Ukraine is the second largest republic in population and the third in size in the U.S.S.R. Forty-six percent of the population is urban; three-quarters are Ukrainian, 21 percent Russians, the remainder Jews, Byelorussians, Moldavians and others. Ethnographically the Ukrainians are Eastern Slavs. They have a strong national consciousness and an independent history. Kiev is the capital.

Ever since the Kievan period of history, the Ukrainian regional dialect has had distinctive features, and Ukrainian is now a separate language—although Russian is also spoken to a greater or lesser extent in all the big cities except Lvov.

It was in Kiev that Christianity first found a foothold in the European part of the present U.S.S.R. (in Armenia and Georgia, Christianity is considerably older), when Prince Vladimir had his people baptized in the river Dnieper in A.D. 988. After the Tatar invasion and the decline of the Kiev Principality (13th and 14th centuries), the Ukraine was held by Poland and Russia, with sovereignty repeatedly changing hands; it was devastated, sometimes completely and sometimes in parts, by the Crimean Tatars. In the mid-17th century the Cossacks, the most militant of the Ukrainian population, led by their Hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitsky, won independence


Lublin
POLAND
Kovel
Lutsk
Rovno
N
LVOV
Ternopol
Ivano-Frankovsk
Uzhgorod
Mukachevo
Chust
Rahov
Chernovtsy
Zhitomir
Khmelnitskiy
Vinnitsa
Belaya Tserkov
Chernobyl
River Dniepper
KIEV
Chernigov
Sumi
Belgorod
KHARKOV
Tripolye
Rzhishchev
Peryaslav-Khmelnitsky
Kanev
Poltava
UKRAINE S.S.R.
Cherkassy
Kremenchug Reservoir
Kremenchug
Misurino
Dneprodzerzhinsk
DNEPROPETROVSK
Kirovograd
KRIVOY ROG
ZAPOROZHYE
Nikopol
Kamenka
Kakhovka Sea
Nikolayev
Kherson
Novaya Kakhovka
Melitopol
Askania Nova
Black Sea
ODESSA
Beltsy
MOLDAVIA S.S.R.
KISHINEV
Tiraspol
Benderi
ROMANIA
THE UKRAINE AND MOLDAVIA
republic borders
major roads
republic capitals
main railways
0 miles 100
0 kilometers 100

from Poland and established their own state, occupying the central part of the modern Ukraine. In 1654 the new state was annexed to Muscovy. Ukrainian nationalism, with its demands for autonomy, had a strong revival early in the 20th century. During the Civil War of 1918–22, Germans, white Russians, Communists and various separatist groups struggled for control of the rich Ukrainian agricultural lands. Proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in December 1917 the Ukraine was one of the four original republics to form the Soviet Union in 1922. In 1939 the western part of the Ukraine, together with Lvov, until then a part of Poland, was returned to the republic, followed in 1945 by Transcarpathia, which had belonged to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In 1954 the Crimea was transferred from the Russian Federal Republic and annexed to the Ukraine.

The huge Ukrainian Soviet Republic can be roughly divided into three zones: the forests bordering on Byelorussia in the north; the wooded steppe with oak and beech forests; and the treeless steppe zone with its fertile black soil. The climate is much warmer than that of central Russia. Both industry and agriculture are well-developed; there are also rich deposits of coal, iron ore, natural gas and oil.

The major cities are Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk, Lugansk, Uzhgorod, and Mukachevo.

Kiev

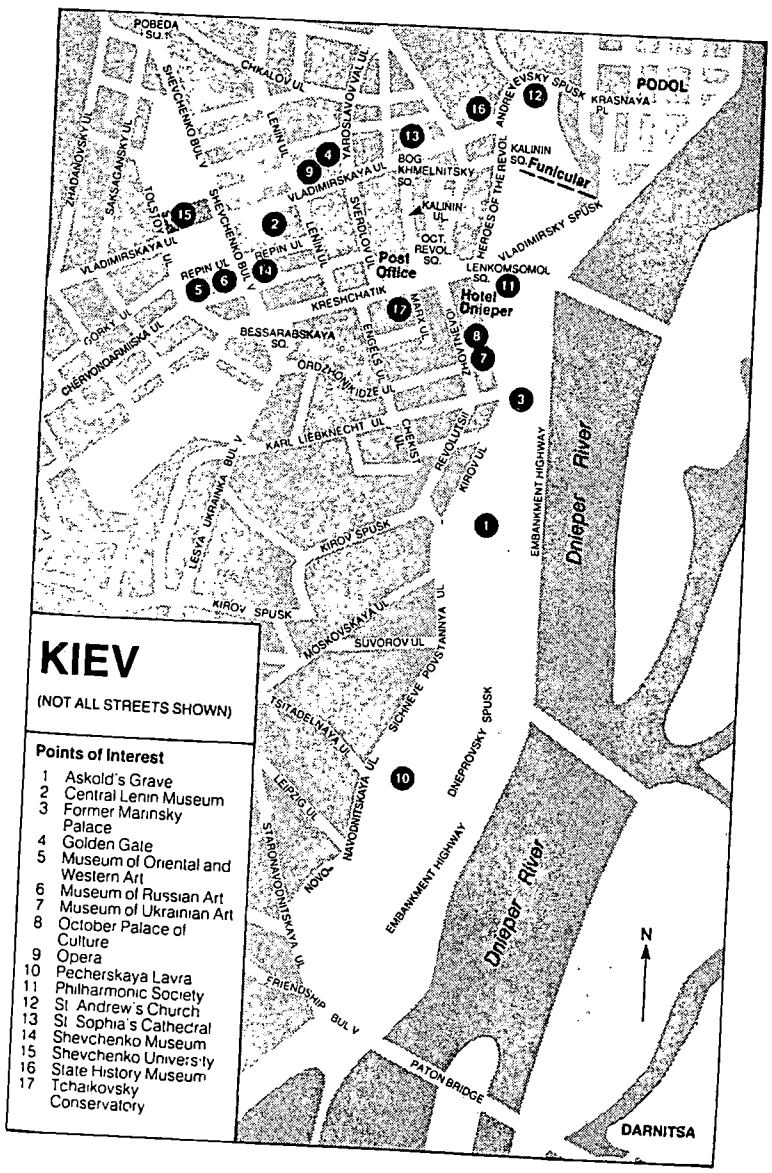
Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R., has a population of over two million and is one of the most important industrial and cultural centers in the Soviet Union. It lies on both sides of the Dnieper River; the right bank (western) is hilly, the left an extensive flat plain.

Kiev has developed rapidly in recent decades, absorbing several suburbs, and on the eastern bank of the river a whole new industrial area, the Darnitsa, has sprung up. Machinery plants are the chief industry, with light industries and chemicals coming second in importance. Kiev is also a major road and rail junction, a great river port and a busy airport; and a traditional cultural center with excellent colleges and universities. It is the seat of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and numerous research institutes. Its museums are richly endowed, and the city abounds in theaters, opera, ballet and other cultural institutions and entertainments. It is one of the most ancient of "Russian" cities, the original settlement probably dating from the late fifth century, in the chronicles it is described as the "Mother of Russian cities."

Kiev suffered severely during World War II; many irreplaceable architectural and art treasures were destroyed and the city center systematically demolished. Extensive restoration and a 1500th anniversary in 1982 put Kiev firmly back on the map. But the city hit the headlines for all the wrong reasons in April 1986 when the nuclear reactor at nearby Chernobyl exploded. Scientists generally accept that the city is now safe for normal-length tourist visits.

First Tour—The Kreshchatik

Exploring Kiev is best done in four installments. The starting point of the first tour is the Hotel Dnieper, where many Intourist groups are lodged. It stands at the eastern end of Kreshchatik, Kiev's main boulevard;


KIEV
(NOT ALL STREETS SHOWN)
Points of Interest
1 Askold's Grave
2 Central Lenin Museum
3 Former Mariinsky Palace
4 Golden Gate
5 Museum of Oriental and Western Art
6 Museum of Russian Art
7 Museum of Ukrainian Art
8 October Palace of Culture
9 Opera
10 Pecherskaya Lavra
11 Philharmonic Society
12 St Andrew's Church
13 St Sophia's Cathedral
14 Shevchenko Museum
15 Shevchenko University
16 State History Museum
17 Tchaikovsky Conservatory
POBEDA SQ.
CHKALOV UL
SHEVCHENKO BUL V
LENIN UL
YAROSLAVOVAL UL
ANDREYEVSKY SPUSK
PODOL
KRASNAYA PL
KALININ SQ.
Funicular
BOG KHMELNITSKY SQ.
VLADIMIRSKAYA UL
KALININ UL
OCT. REVOL SQ.
HEROES OF THE REVOL
VLADIMIRSKY SPUSK
ZHADANOVSKY UL
SAKSAGANSKY UL
TOLSTOY UL
REPIN UL
Post Office
LENKOMSOMOL SQ.
Hotel Dnieper
KRESHCHATIK
MARX UL
CHERVONOARMIISKA UL
CORAL UL
BESSARABSKAYA SQ.
ENGELS UL
TCHAIKOVSKY UL
ORDZHONIKIDZE UL
KARL LIEBKNECHT UL
CHERNYSHEVSKY UL
REVOLUTSII UL
KIROV UL
EMBANKMENT HIGHWAY
Dnieper River
LESYA UKRAINKA BUL
KIROV SPUSK
MOSKOVSKAYA UL
SUVOROV UL
SICHNEVE POVSTANNYA UL
TSITADELNAYA UL
DNEPROVSKY SPUSK
LEIPZIG UL
NAVODNITSKAYA UL
STARONAVODNITSKAYA UL
NOVO
FRIENDSHIP BUL V
PATON BRIDGE
DARNITSA
N

its entrance is on Lenkomsomol Square, a central location from which the main streets branch off like the points of a star. Opposite is the continuation of the Kreshchatik, the Vladimirsky Spusk, leading down to the river bank; the street to the north, named after the Heroes of the Revolution, leads to the famous St. Andrew's Church, and Kirov Street, leading south, also starts from this square. Lenkomsomol Square is an important traffic center and the terminus of several tram, trolley-bus and bus lines. The Kreshchatik subway station is nearby. An underpass with several branches crosses beneath the square. Opposite the Hotel Dnieper, left of the Vladimirsky Spusk, you can see the building of the Philharmonia (1882).

If you are staying at the Hotel Moskva, you can walk down to the Kreshchatik and turn right, and you will soon reach the Hotel Dnieper. From the old Intourist Hotel on Lenin Street you can get to the Dnieper Hotel via Lenin Street; and from the Hotel Ukraine, via Shevchenko Boulevard, walking downhill and then along the Kreshchatik.

The main street of the Ukrainian capital and its busiest thoroughfare are in a valley (there was once a deep ditch along here) and hills rise steeply on the left-hand side.

Clinging to the hill on this side is the 16-story Hotel Moskva; alongside the hotel October Revolution Street (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii in Ukrainian) leads up to the top of the hill where the government buildings are situated. At the beginning of October Revolution Street, already a steep slope, you will find the October Palace of Culture. Constructed in 1838–42 as a finishing school for young ladies of the nobility, it was restored and enlarged in 1953–57; its main hall seats over 2,000 and is chiefly used for concerts.

On the other side, the Kreshchatik broadens into Kalinin Square, once the site of the southeastern gate of the city wall, built by Yaroslav the Wise. House No. 2 was once the Noblemen's Diet; today it is a Teachers' Club. The large and elaborate building on the corner of the square and Kreshchatik is the main Post Office.

On the left of the Kreshchatik, Karl Marx Street leads uphill, with the Tchaikovsky Conservatory on the corner. If you turn into Karl Marx Street and follow it up the hill, you come to Ivan Franko Square. Here stands the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Drama Theater (built in 1898 and named after the great Ukrainian poet), which has followed the ideas and spirit of the Moscow Arts Theater in its presentation of modern Ukrainian plays.

Back down on the Kreshchatik, you will notice that the odd-numbered side has been made into a sort of parkway with trees, flower beds and benches. The buildings on this side are mostly apartment houses, cinemas, restaurants and hotels—while the other side consists mainly of public buildings and offices. The Kreshchatik underground station (center of the public transport network) is on the odd-numbered side; the largest restaurant in Kiev is in the same building. There is an escalator leading to the booking hall of the Metro (it costs five kopeks to use and this also gives you access to the trains). The escalator on the far side travels a much longer distance and takes you to the hill that rises above the river bank and forms Kiev's administrative district.

Continuing along the Kreshchatik, with its uniformly designed facades, you come to the passage which links the Kreshchatik and Zamkovetskaya Street. The entrance is under an arcade between two wings of a huge building. The building on the far side of the Kreshchatik (with the tall antenna) is the Kiev Radio and Television. On the passage side are Kiev's best

shops, among them the Children's Department Store (Nos. 15–17). Sverdlov Street starts on the opposite side; carrying on farther along the Kreshchatik you come to the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and then the tall City Council building. A little farther on is the Central Department Store, at the corner of Lenin Street.

Lenin Street climbs the hill rather steeply. Opposite the Central Department Store is the Pervomaiskaya Hotel. At No. 5 Lenin Street is the Russian Drama Theater, which is named after the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Ukrainka. Next comes the Teatralnaya Hotel, and across the street, on the corner of Pushkin Street, the technical bookshop; No. 26 is the Intourist Hotel.

Returning to the Kreshchatik you will see an impressive stairway leading up the hillside to the Druzhba cinema. Then you come to the vast Central Market (Krity Rinok). You are now in Bessarabskaya Square, one of the most important in Kiev. The avenue on the right is the wide Shevchenko Boulevard, with Lenin's statue at the entrance.

The Kreshchatik continues as Chervonoarmiiska (Red Army) Street, another busy main thoroughfare. No. 12 is a permanent exhibition hall for Ukrainian artists. Passing Saksagansky Street you come to the Operetta Theater and then the massive block of the Central Stadium and Sports Palace. It has a covered swimming pool as well as facilities for ice hockey, handball, tennis, football and athletics. The Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of the Peoples) Boulevard, which starts here, leads to the mile-long Paton Bridge. This bridge links the historical quarters of Kiev with the Darnitsa district on the far side.

Second Tour—Monastery of the Caves

Again using Lenkomsomol Square as a starting point, begin this tour by walking south on Kirov Street. Next to the Hotel Dnieper is the sociology department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The building also houses the Institute for the History of Literature and the ground floor is the Academic Bookshop. Still on Kirov Street, climb the slopes of the hill that rises above the Dnieper. The right side of Kirov Street is built-up, while the left is a series of large, well-kept parks. No. 1 Kirov Street, set in one of these parks, is the Republican Library. On the right-hand side, No. 6 Kirov Street, is the Museum of Ukrainian Art. Built in 1898–1900 on the lines of an ancient Greek temple with huge granite steps and a six-columned portico, the museum has a collection of Ukrainian art of the 15th to 19th centuries and of Soviet artists.

Next you pass the headquarters of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and, a few hundred yards further up, on the left, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine with its entrance in the adjoining square. No. 5 across the street is the former Marinsky Palace designed by Rastrelli and built in 1747 as a local residence for the Czar. The upper wooden story, which burned down in 1819, was reconstructed in 1870 and has survived in its 18th-century Baroque form. Outside the palace stands the memorial to the Civil War, with black marble and red granite decorating the mass grave.

On your left, in a park, is the entrance (No. 3 Kirov Street) to the Dynamo Stadium. The other side of the stadium faces on to the Petrovsky Promenade. A bridge divides the former Petrovsky Park into two parks; the northern part is called Pioneer Park and the lower, southern part, Pervomaisky.

In Karl Liebknecht Street (the sidestreet opposite the Supreme Soviet), you will see the headquarters of the Znaniye Educational Society, and in Rosa Luxemburg Street (Nos. 15–17), the Youth Theater. Chekist Street crosses both these streets further west; here is the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, and the headquarters of the Composers' Union. The writers, too, have their home nearby at No. 2 Ordzhonikidze Street, which runs parallel with Liebknecht Street towards the Kreshchatik. The editorial offices of several literary reviews are also here. Ordzhonikidze Street passes behind the Ukrainian Drama Theater (the Ivan Franko Theater), and you can see a statue of Ivan Franko himself by Suprun (1956) in the square beyond the theater.

Reaching the end of Kirov Street you come to Moskovskaya Street on your right. This leads eventually into Lesya Ukrainka. On your left, at the corner of Kirov Street and Sichneve Povstannya Street, stands the monument to the Arsenal Workers, commemorating their dead in the Civil War. Sichneve Povstannya Street is named after the January 1917 rising in Kiev. Suvorov Street begins on the right; its left side is a large park in memory of the dead of World War II. A street called Dneprovsky Spusk leads downhill on the left from the park. Here stands the monument to the Unknown Soldier.

To the left of Sichneve Povstannya, Tsitadelnaya Street leads to the Pecherskaya Lavra, the Monastery of the Caves. Founded in 1051 by the monks Anthony and Theodosius, Monastery of the Caves comprises a whole series of churches, cathedrals and monuments. Outside the complex of buildings stands the ancient church of the Redeemer of Berestovo, built early in the 12th century by Prince Vladimir Monomakh as a burial place for the princes of Kiev. The founder of Moscow, Yury Dolgoruky, was buried here in 1157. The church is built in characteristic late 11th- and early 12th-century style: a crossdome with six pillars. Its eastern wing, which faces the Dnieper, was added in 1640–44. In 1947 a marble sarcophagus was installed here in memory of Yury Dolgoruky.

The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. They include the Trinity Church, built over the entrance gate (today 21 Sichneve Povstannya Street), which dates from 1108, and has 18th-century wooden iconostases; the walls of the Upper Monastery, built between 1698 and 1701, stretch from this gateway around the compound. Another gateway is topped by the five-domed All Saints' Church (17th century). The main court of the Upper Monastery centers around the ruins of the Assumption Cathedral, built 1073–89 and destroyed by the Nazis in 1941. The majority of the surrounding houses are 18th century. The bell tower, the highest in the U.S.S.R. (316 ft.), was built in 1731–45; it has been completely restored and the dome regilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them—as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night!

Of the various museums in the Monastery, the Historical Museum is particularly interesting. Among its exhibits are 17th to 20th-century fabrics, 16th to 19th-century handicrafts, wood carvings, metal work, ceramics—all examples of Ukrainian folk art. Highlights are the delicately painted *krashenki,* Easter eggs.

The St. Anthony Caves contain 73 tombs and three underground churches. In the St. Theodosius Caves there are 47 tombs and another three churches. The two series of caves are quite separate from each other, and are reached by way of a covered gallery. The belfry of the St. Theodosius or Further Caves was built in the 18th century by the architect Stefan Kovnir. The most famous tomb is that of the chronicler Nestor, who died in 1115. Near the refectory walls are the graves of the Cossack leaders Kochubei and Iskra, executed by Ivan Mazepa in 1708.

If you leave the Lavra and walk along Tsitadelnaya Street you come to Novo-Navodnitskaya Street, which leads to Staro-Navodnitskaya Street and then on to the broad highway of the People's Friendship.

Cross the highway and you will find yourself in the Botanical Garden, which covers some 500 acres and affords beautiful views of the Dnieper and Kiev itself. Here, too, on the bank of the Dnieper, you will see the ruins of the Vydubetsky Monastery which you can also reach by taking trolleybus 15 to "Botanichesky Sad" stop. According to archeologists, there was a river ferry here in earliest times. In 1070–77 Vsevolod Yaroslavich, Prince of Kiev, had a monastery built on this spot; only the western side of a part of it, St. Michael's Cathedral (1070–88), has survived, but there are fine murals. In 1701, following a landslide, St. George's Church, a five-domed masterpiece of Ukrainian architecture, was built in its place. Nearby is the Museum of the Second World War, topped by the gigantic and controversial steel statue of "Mother Russia" which dwarfs the monastery domes on the river bank.

From the Paton Bridge you can return to the hotel by tram or trolleybus. Or you can walk along the quay until you reach the Dneprovsky Spusk, mentioned earlier. This is one of the sloping roads leading along the riverside parks. Askold's Grave, erected in 1809–10, is a rotunda where, according to legend, a Prince of Kiev was buried in 882. This is perhaps the most picturesque spot in Kiev and a favorite promenade.

One of the park roads leading north will take you to the open-air theater; its sloping amphitheater seats 4,000 people and is used for musical and dance shows and rallies. Nearby is the Kukushka open-air restaurant.

Descending to the quay again, you can cross by the footbridge (Peshekhodny Most or Parkovy Most) to the parks on Trukhanov Island and the city's bathing beach. Near the bridge is the monument built by Molensky in 1802–8 to commemorate the charter of the city of Kiev.

You can go back to the Hotel Dnieper by ascending the Vladimirsky Spusk. Nearby is the St. Vladimir Monument. Vladimir holds aloft a cross commemorating the conversion of Kievan Russia to Christianity.

Third Tour—St. Sophia's Cathedral

To explore the northern and western sections of Kiev, start at October Revolution Square (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii). Follow Kalinin Street to the north to reach Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square. Here you'll see the statue of the Cossack Hetman who freed the Ukraine from the Poles and later subjugated it to the Russian state. St. Sophia's Cathedral (Sofisky Sobor) stands in Vladimirskaya Street, behind the statue; like the major part of the Monastery of the Caves, St. Sophia's has also now become a museum (open 10–5, closed Thursday).

The cathedral was dedicted in 1037 by Prince Yaroslav the Wise as a mark of gratitude for the battle he won against the Pechenegs, an invading

tribe from the east. Here the first Russian library was founded and the earliest chronicles were written. St. Sophia is a stylistic combination of the traditional wooden church and the principles of stone building, with interesting mosaics and frescos in the central part and on the main dome. In the northeast part is the marble tomb where Yaroslav the Wise was buried in 1054. The iconostasis dates from the 18th century.

The bell tower (256 feet) was erected between 1744 and 1852. The Zavorovsky Gate is the main entrance to the Metropolitan's residence and is decorated with elaborate stucco ornamentation. The cathedral's surrounding wall was built in the 1740s. The whole complex is now a museum which also displays architectural models of other ancient Ukrainian and Russian towns, and local archeological discoveries. The entire precincts, as an "ancient monument," are maintained under a preservation order.

Leaving St. Sophia's, walk along Streletsky and Polupanov Streets until you reach a small garden containing the Golden Gate, once a part of Kiev's fortifications. The gate consists of two parallel walls built of brick and stone in 1037 by Yaroslav the Wise to guard the main entrance into the city. The arch was topped by the tiny Church of the Annunciation. The Golden Gate was restored for the city's 1,500th anniversary in 1982. You can reach it from the bus terminal by trolleybus 4 or 12, from the railroad station by trolleybus 2, and from the river station by bus 71.

The far side of the square is the continuation of Vladimirskaya Street. Walking southwest along it you come to the Opera House, then, at No. 57, on your left, to the Kiev branch of the Central Lenin Museum.

At the junction with Shevchenko Boulevard, on your left, is Shevchenko Park, where you can see a statue of the great Ukrainian classical writer erected in 1939 on the 125th anniversary of his birth. The large and impressive building opposite the park, on Vladimirskaya Street, is Shevchenko University, founded in 1834.

The far side of Shevchenko Park borders on Repin Street, which runs parallel with Vladimirskaya. Here there are two museums: No. 9 is the Museum of Russian Art and No. 15 the Museum of Oriental and Western Art. The former covers the 12th to the 17th centuries and includes icons of the Novgorod, Moscow and Stroganov schools; the 18th- and 19th-century rooms also have works by outstanding Russian artists. There is a fine collection of 18th–20th-century china, glass and crystal. The Museum of Oriental and Western Art has a collection that includes works by Bellini, Franz Hals, Rubens and Velasquez.

Continue south along Shevchenko Boulevard. Between Repin and Pushkin Streets, at No. 12, you will find the Shevchenko Museum, which is devoted to the life and work of the poet. Turn back to cross Vladimirskaya Street again and walk on further northwest and you come to one of the newer but important monuments in Kiev, the Vladimir Cathedral. Built in the 19th century, designed by Beretti and Bernhardt, it has seven gilded domes, three naves and several striking murals. It is still used for worship.

Further along Shevchenko Boulevard on the left you will see the University Botanical Gardens. Then after a short distance, the boulevard arrives at Peremogi (Victory) Square. Here you can visit the circus, and shop in the Ukraine State Department Store. Here also is the newest Intourist Hotel (Lybed), one of the country's best.

From here on, the Shevchenko Boulevard continues as the Brest-Litovsk Highway. Along it you will find the Kiev Zoo, which can be reached from Victory Square by trolley-buses No. 5, 6 or 7 and trams No. 2, 9 or 47. Close to it is the Medical Faculty of the University and the Dovzhenko Film Studio.

Fourth Tour

For your final walk, start again at Lenkomsomol Square but follow the Street of the Heroes of the Revolution until you reach Kalinin Square. At No. 2 Vladimirskaya Street is the Historical Museum. From there turn northeast, down Andreyevsky Spusk. Here at No. 23 is St. Andrew's Church, designed by Rastrelli and built by the Russian architect Michurin between 1744 and 1753, an important example of Russian Baroque architecture. This is the highest point of Old Kiev, overlooking the Podol district, the river and the plain to the east where, tradition says, the Apostle Andrew, who first preached the Gospel in Kievan Russia, erected a cross.

Built at the command of Elizaveta, the pious daughter of Peter the Great, St. Andrew's Church stands on a terrace at the top of a broad flight of steps. Its proportions are perfect. Today the domes are restored in silver-gilt and the walls painted in turquoise and white. The iconostasis was painted by Antropov and local masters. The church is now a museum, open 10–6 except Thursday.

Behind the church you can descend the Andreyevsky Spusk into the Lower Town, the Podol. At the foot of the hill turn left into Zelinsky Street and a few steps will take you to Krasnaya (Red) Square. The House of Contracts (Kontraktovy Dom), built here in 1817 expressly as a headquarters for the negotiating and signing of agreements, is an interesting example of the early 19th-century Russian classicist style.

The building on the corner of Red Square and Naberezhno-Nikolskaya Street (designed by Sedel and built in 1735) is a branch of the Academic Library. The courtyard wall has Baroque decorations. The building used to be the home of the Kiev Academy, which was founded in 1701 at the command of Peter the Great, to replace the former Kiev College. It had many distinguished graduates in its time.

Also on Red Square are the ruins of the Bratsky Monastery; the old house in the northwestern corner was Peter the Great's headquarters in 1706 when he prepared the attack on the Swedes, who had advanced to within 25 miles of Kiev.

East of the square, at No. 15 Kreshchatik Quay, which curves in from the river, is the former dormitory of the students of the Kiev Academy, the "Bursa." The ground floor was built in 1778; in 1809–11 two stories were added, with a four-columned gate, and the facade was remodeled in the style of the early 19th-century classicism.

Turning along Kreshchatik Quay towards the harbor, you can see Trukhanov Island on the far side. The island has been developed as an aquatic sports center. A wide promenade lines the riverbank where railway lines and warehouses once stood. Behind the harbor is Pochtovaya Square, a traffic center and terminus for the funicular which links the Lower and Upper Cities. Take the funicular to the Upper City terminal and you are back at Kalinin Square.

Excursions around Kiev

The permanent Ukrainian Exhibition of Economic Achievements covers 750 acres on Sorokichya Zhovtnya Prospekt, to the south of the city.

It can be reached by No. 11 trolley-bus directly from Lenkomsomol Square.

Pushcha-Voditsa, about 13 miles from the city center, is one of the finest parks in Kiev's green-belt. Extending over 1,875 acres, the park used to be a hunting preserve and also a refuge from enemies who attacked Kiev. It can be reached by tram No. 25 from the railway station or No. 12 from the Red Square in Podol.

An interesting excursion is to the open-air Folk Architecture Museum on the outskirts of Kiev, near Pirogovka village, which consists of 400 old homes, mills, forges and other structures from all over the Ukraine.

Lvov

Lvov is a regional capital, the traditional economic, transport, cultural and administrative center of the western Ukraine. For six centuries it was the scene of much strife and war between hostile powers, irreconcilable nations and opposing religions. Yet the monuments of the past, their different styles ranging from Ukrainian traditional to Italianate Renaissance, German Baroque and Polish, today form a unique whole. In Ukrainian, the city's name is Lviv.

The statue of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (by Popiel and Farashcuk, 1905) stands in Mickiewicz Square and has come to be a symbol of Lvov. Also in the square is the Intourist hotel, built in 1901, and close by, the shady promenade of the Shevchenko Prospekt to Rosa Luxemburg Square. The most important monument here is the Roman Catholic Cathedral, dating from 1270–1480, but never completed. It is still used today for services. The old Gothic houses in the square burned down in 1527 but their foundations, ground floors and, here and there, parts of their first floors have survived and been incorporated into more modern dwellings. The cathedral has 18th-century frescos and many decorative carvings and statues dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The chapels and the 214-feet-high Gothic tower were added between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Boim Chapel, built 1609–17 in Baroque style, belonged to a family of Hungarian origin, whose ancestor was private secretary to King Stephen Batory of Poland and Transylvania.

No. 2 Rosa Luxemburg Square (with its classicist facade) was built in the 18th century. No. 3 dates from 1630.

You entered Rosa Luxemburg Square from the southwest; now you leave it at its northeastern corner, where it is crossed by Russkaya (Russian) Street, the only street where Russian Orthodox believers were allowed to live at the end of the Middle Ages.

No. 2 Russkaya Street dates from the 16th century and has Gothic details. No. 8 is 18th century; notice the four relief carvings symbolizing the occupant's trade. But the most important landmark is the Church of the Assumption, one of the most beautiful in Lvov. After two previous churches had burned down, the present one was built in 1590–1629. In the courtyard there is a bell tower 226 feet high, dated 1572–78, with a bell called Cyril, cast locally in 1783 and weighing almost five tons. The outside walls of the church are decorated with a sculptured frieze depicting Biblical scenes; the interior contains 18th-century sculptures and 17th- and 18th-century icons. Russian Orthodox services are held here regularly.

Rinok Square

Rinok (Market) Square is like an architectural sampler of the centuries, so we will describe it in some detail. The old City Hall (now the City Soviet) stands in the center, and almost all the buildings around the edges of the square are worth close inspection. Of the 44 houses none is less than 200 years old.

No. 2 is a Gothic one-storied house dating from the 16th century, with a sculpture by Bellon and dolphin-reliefs on its façade. In 1627 this was the home of the first Lvov post office. No. 4, built in 1577 and known as the Black House (Chornaya Kamonica), houses a section of the Historical Museum. (The museum occupies several buildings, including also Nos. 6 and 24 in Market Square.)

No. 6 has also had a varied past. It is called the Korniakt or Sobieski house; it was built at the end of the 16th century by one of Lvov's richest burghers, a Greek merchant, who had special permission to erect a broad facade with six windows instead of the usual narrow frontage. In the 17th century the Polish King Jan Sobieski bought the house. No. 8 was built at the end of the 18th century in Classicist style but its front, stylistically a survival from the 16th century, was later decorated with balconies, wrought-iron railings and reliefs symbolizing shipping and trade.

No. 12 has also acquired Renaissance features during its long life; the ornamentation shows the plump-cheeked faces and bold moustaches of contemporary Polish figures. The portals of No. 14 display a winged lion, the symbol of Venice, denoting that this was once a diplomatic dwelling; Antonio di Massari, the Venetian consul, lived here in 1600.

No. 17, built in Louis Quinze style, is noteworthy for its elegance and air of serene luxury. No. 18 dates from 1523 and was one of the most richly-decorated mansions of its age. Under the balcony of No. 19 there are fantastic, half-human, half-animal masks.

No. 23 is massive, almost oppressive in its effect. The details, and decorative elements, the splendid masks, the stylized lions' and angels' heads belong to the traditions of the Italian Renaissance but their excessive use and the heaviness of the whole ornamentation betrays German and Flemish influences.

No. 24 is the third section of the Historical Museum; it dates from the 16th century but its front was rebuilt in the 20th. In 1707 Peter the Great received a deputation of the Stavronigy Brotherhood here and granted them a charter to sell their books freely in the Ukraine.

No. 28 is a real architectural anthology: its left side still displays the Gothic arches and flying buttresses of 1510, its Renaissance portico and window frames are 17th century, while its second story dates from the Baroque period. Built by an anonymous architect, it has a particular gracefulness and charm.

No. 29, in Classicist style, was built by peasant rebels captured at the end of the 18th century; as soon as it was finished, they were executed.

Almost the entire northern side of Rinok Square dates from the second half of the 18th century, but some buildings have earlier elements. The decorations are especially interesting, ranging from a laurel-wreathed, bearded head with a lion's body, to the hermit figures supporting the balcony of No. 40, and the grinning stone face with a huge mustache on the façade of No. 41.

Elsewhere in Lvov

Leaving Rinok Square at one of the northern corners, you come next to Armyanskaya (Armenian) Street, which is also filled with historical associations. Its most interesting building is the Armenian Cathedral, founded in 1363, with a bell tower dating from 1571. It includes the house where the Armenian Archbishop lived in the 16th century. A 16th-century column topped by a statue of St. Christopher stands in the courtyard. There are many other interesting buildings in the street, especially No. 23, dating from the 18th century, with a Classical façade bearing the signs of the zodiac and the symbols of the four seasons.

From Armyanskaya Street, turn into Krakovskaya, which crosses it behind the Armenian Cathedral. On your right is Daniel Galitsky Street, named after the founder of Kiev. On the square named after the 300th anniversary of the Russian-Ukrainian union stands the Church of the Virgin of the Snows, once the oldest Catholic church in Lvov. It dates from the end of the 13th century.

Reaching Bogdan Khmelnitsky Street, you will notice the Church of St. Nicholas, constructed between the 13th and 18th centuries. Russian Orthodox services are now held here. At No. 63 in the same street, there is another Orthodox church, the Pyatnitskaya, built in 1645, with a very old iconostasis. No. 34 is the St. Onufri Monastery, with a 17th-century church in which Orthodox services are still held; the bell tower and walls are 17th to 19th century. Ivan Fyodorov, the first Russian printer, is buried here. He died in 1583, having produced his first book in 1563 in Moscow, shortly after which he fled from persecution to continue his work in Lithuania and Poland.

This quarter is called Podzamese (Precincts of the Castle); on Bogdan Khmelnitsky Street there is a railway station of the same name. To get to the castle, turn to the right, uphill.

Zamkovaya Gora (Castle Hill) is the name of the former Prince's Hill where a fortress was built in the second half of the 13th century. Only parts of the southwestern walls remain today. The fortress survived many sieges and occupations; in 1957 Lvov's television mast was erected here in the middle of a park and a playground.

If you have any more time and energy for exploration, you may like to walk down Lenin Prospekt, the most important thoroughfare in Lvov. At No. 15 you can visit the Ethnographical and Handicraft Museum, which has an extremely rich folklore collection. No. 20 the Lenin Museum. At the end of the boulevard, you come to the Lenin statue by Merkurov (1952). Behind it stands the large and impressive Opera House, built between 1897 and 1900.

Another place well worth visiting is the Heroes' Cemetery in Lenin Park (No. 2 tram). Not far from Rinok Square, going eastwards, there is a fine Baroque building, the Church of the Dominican Monastery (1748). Nearby stands the former Royal Arsenal (1630), now used to house the Historical Archives (13 Podvalny Street), and the City Arsenal (5 Podvalny Street) which was built in 1554–56. Another medieval monument is the Gunpowder Tower, opposite the Archives, built in 1554, with walls nine feet thick, now the headquarters of the Architects' Union. All these sights can be reached by trams Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9 or 12.

To the south, on Vechevaya Square, stands the former Benedictine Convent, looking rather like a fortress, and its church, which was built between

1600 and 1630 in Renaissance style by Paolo Romano and Ambrogio. It contains valuable 17th and 18th century artworks.

Greek Catholics also built a cathedral in Lvov, sited on a hill in the southwestern part of the city: the St. George Church, designed in 1743–60 by Bernardo Meretini; it is a rich storehouse of Ukrainian Baroque, with a splendid equestrian statue of St. George on its roof. Its bell tower contains one of the oldest bells in the Ukraine, cast in 1341.

The Museum of Ukrainian Art, with its fine collection of 14th–18th-century icons, is housed at 42 Dragomanov Street, while the Ivan Franko Museum in Franko Street is in the house where the poet spent the last 14 years of his life.

An interesting open-air Museum of Wooden Architecture has been set up in a park in a Lvov suburb (open 11–7, closed Mondays; ask Intourist for directions).

Kharkov

A regional capital with a population of almost one-and-a-half million, Kharkov is an economic and cultural center accessible by rail, road and air. It is characterized by a preponderance of monumental buildings erected in the last few decades, but it has also several important historical and artistic monuments.

The Lopan River cuts through the city from north to south; near the upper city the little Kharkov River runs into it from the east. The Intourist Hotel is at the beginning of Sverdlov Street. Turning left out of the hotel you soon reach the traffic and architectural heart of the city, the huge Dzerzhinsky Square. Part of it is a regular square, opening on to Sumskaya Street, which leads towards Moscow in a northeasterly direction, while the remainder is a circle from which Lenin Prospekt opens.

Among the huge buildings in the square, the Palace of State Industry catches the eye. Built between 1925 and 1928, it was the first skyscraper in the Soviet Union. The building of the Gorky University, dating from the 30s, was almost totally wrecked during the war but was rebuilt with new ceramic decorations. The Party Headquarters stands at the corner of the square and Sumskaya Street. The seven-storied Hotel Kharkov is on the corner of Dzerzhinsky Square and Trinkler Street.

To the northeast of the main square lies another of Kharkov's main squares, the Tevelev, which was designed in the 1890s by the architect Beketov. The City Hall (now the City Soviet) was erected in 1885 on the corner of what is now Moskovsky Prospekt. Here too is the Tsentralny Restaurant, and several shops.

Kharkov's historical buildings are best approached from Tevelev Square. The fortress that formed the nucleus of the city once stood in the triangle formed by this square, Rosa Luxemburg Square and Proletarian Square. Of its 12 cannon, two can still be seen in the courtyard of the Historical Museum. The Pokrovsky Cathedral on the bank of the Lopan River was built in 1689. The Uspensky Cathedral (1777) on Universitetskaya Gorka has also survived. Situated on top of a hill, it can be seen from every part of the city, by virtue of its prominent bell tower (1841), which commemorates the 1812 victory over Napoleon and has a fine carillon.

Kharkov University was established in the 19th century on the former castle hill. It is now surrounded by a park. The Historical Museum illustrating Kharkov's story is at 10 University Street and is served by trolley-

Kremenchug is a district capital and a railway junction. Its fortress was built in 1590 against the Tatar marauders and peasant rebels.

The next stop is Misurino, one of the Ukraine's agricultural centers. On the left bank is the port of Perevolochno, where the remnants of the defeated Swedish army tried to cross the Dnieper after the Battle of Poltava (which Peter the Great won). Only King Charles XII and his ally, the Cossack hetman Mazeppa succeeded.

Now the Dnieper reaches the environs of Dneprodzerzhinsk, and traffic on the river becomes much heavier. Dneprodzerzhinsk is a center of the iron and steel industry. It has an interesting Museum of Local History.

Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye and Kherson

Dnepropetrovsk is the next main stop. A regional capital and major railroad junction, it has a large mechanized harbor and an airport. Founded in 1784 by Catherine II and originally called Yekaterinoslav, it has been an industrial town almost since that time. In 1990 Dnepropetrovsk was added to Intourist's list of cities open to foreign visitors; it was formerly only open to tourists on Dnieper cruises.

Its main thoroughfare is the Karl Marx Prospekt, lined with a double row of shady trees. The Shevchenko Park, the favorite recreation area of the city, is on a hill where you can see the poet's statue and the so-called Student Palace, built on the ruins of the former Potemkin Palace (1787–89). The Preobrazhensky Cathedral (1830–35), designed by Zakharov, is also here.

After Dnepropetrovsk, the ship enters Lenin Lake, which covers what used to be dangerous rapids and whirlpools. On the left bank is the Lenin Harbor, close to the great dam of Dneproges, one of the largest hydroelectric installations in the world.

Zaporozhye, a city with a large mechanized port, is the next stop. This, too, is a largely industrial community, built on the site of the former Fort Alexandrovsk. Since 1927 its population has increased tenfold. The Dnieper Power Plant was built next to Khortitsa Island, where the famous Zaporozhskaya Sech, a self-governing Cossack Community, was established in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

In Zaporozhye itself, the main street is the Lenin Prospekt, linking the old and new quarters of the city. There are few historical buildings, but many modern apartment blocks and offices, large parks and gardens.

After Zaporozhye the left bank of the river opens out into a plain crossed by many small streams and dotted with copses and woods. Belenka has a large camping ground for Pioneers (rather like Boy Scouts). After this, the river enters one more huge reservoir, the Kakhovka Sea. The next stop is Kamenka, on the left bank, the center of a large irrigation area. Crossing the reservoir you come to Nikopol on the right bank. Nikopol, a district center, has a Museum of Local History: a settlement on the site was first mentioned in 1530. Between 1638 and 1652 it was the capital of the Zaporozhskaya Sech.

Kherson is your final stop on the Dnieper. Founded as a fortress in 1778, it is both a river and sea port. From here you can visit the new town of Novaya Kakhovka and see the hydraulic power plant, or make an excursion to the steppe preserve at Askania Nova, with its ostriches, bisons, antelopes and wild horses. This is where you leave the Dnieper. From here you can take a hydrofoil to Odessa, which is only two hours' ride.

Transcarpathia

The Transcarpathian Region (Zakarpatskaya Oblast) is part of the Ukraine and was established on January 22, 1945 as an administrative unit. It extends from the basin of the Tisza River to the ridge of the Carpathians; it is surrounded by Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk regions of the Ukrainian Republic. Until 1914 it was a part of Hungary, between 1918 and 1939 of Czechoslovakia. When Hitler carved up the Czechoslovak state, Transcarpathia passed partly to Ruthenian and partly to Hungarian rule. It was occupied by the Soviet Army in the autumn of 1944. Its population is just over a million, and includes Ukrainians, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians and Slovaks. Its capital is Uzhgorod.

The region can be explored by following the valleys of the various rivers from the Tisza basin to the Watershed Range mountains and springs with their many cataracts and falls. The highest peaks do not rise abruptly but unfold slowly as you gradually climb out of the plain. Your tour will take you through a wonderful region of hills, ravines, steep cliffs, wide valleys, and, in the upper parts, mountain lakes.

After the Caucasus, the Black Sea and the Crimea, Transcarpathia is one of the most popular holiday areas in the Soviet Union. Much of it can be reached by car, but in the mountains the best way is to hike or use whatever local transport is available.

Uzhgorod

Uzhgorod is the largest town in Transcarpathia. It is an important rail and road junction and the best base for exploring the region. Situated on either side of the River Uzh, in the midst of a wine-growing region, Uzhgorod is mentioned in chronicles as early as in the eighth century.

Teatralnaya Square with the Intourist (Verkhovina) Hotel and the opera and drama theater is about halfway between Lenin Square and the castle. Nearby is the Philharmonia Concert Hall, a former synagogue. The square also has an Art Gallery where you can buy souvenirs and gifts made by local artists.

Behind the theater is the river Uzh embankment and a foot-bridge. Turn right here towards Lenin Quay. At the next bridge, turn right into Lenin Square. On either side of the huge City Hall there are other public buildings; on the eastern side the Trade Union house, on the corner of Lenin Quay the medical faculty of the University.

Turning back along Kalinin Street, you pass the Central Post Office overlooking Pochtovaya Square, then reach Koryatovich Square, with its colorful local market. Suvorov Street will take you back to Teatralnaya Square and the Verkhovina Hotel.

You can make another excursion in the opposite direction to climb Castle Hill. The castle dates from the ninth century; Slav Prince Laborets lived here until his murder in 903 by invading Hungarians. In 1312 Uzhgorod was presented by the Hungarian Anjou King Charles Robert to an Italian nobleman, whose family held it until 1692, when it passed to a Hungarian count. After that, it changed hands several times in the course of religious and national wars.

The castle as it stands today has a 16th-century facade; it was reconstructed in 1598 and in 1775 was given to the local bishop, after which

buses Nos. 1, 2 and 4. Kharkov's other great museum is the Fine Arts Museum at 11 Sovnarkomovskaya Street; tram Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, 20 and A will take you there, as will the trolley-buses 1, 2 and 4. It has 19 halls devoted to Russian and Ukrainian pre-revolutionary art, icons of the Novgorod, Pskov and other schools of the 16th century. There is a good collection of paintings by Repin, who was born at nearby Chuguyev, and Soviet artists are well represented.

Poltava

Lying 129 km. (80 miles) to the southwest of Kharkov, this is the administrative center of the Poltava Region of the Ukraine. The city is of ancient origins; its first mention dates back to the late 12th century.

In 1709 Russian troops, led by Peter I and aided by Ukrainian Cossack detachments, routed the invading army of Charles XII of Sweden near the city. The 17th-century Holy Cross Monastery and the Savior Church still stand, and there are some fine examples of 19th-century public building, notably the administrative offices encircling Round Square.

Poltava has an interesting Museum of Local Lore. The largely rebuilt city has several fine parks, theaters and a philharmonic society.

Vinnitsa

Vinnitsa, 241 km. (150 miles) south of Kiev, is the administrative and cultural center of the region of the same name. It lies in an area famous for folk handicrafts: pottery, embroidery, weaving and carpet-making. Beneath Mayakovsky Street are the ruins of a fortress 600 years old. The origins of Vinnitsa, however, go back much earlier—archeological excavations have proved that Slav tribes inhabited the area in very ancient times. During the war of 1648–54, Cossack troops routed Polish royal forces near Vinnitsa. A commemorative obelisk has been erected on the site of the battle.

Although Vinnitsa, like many cities in the Ukraine, suffered terribly during World War II, some remnants of early 17th-century architecture remain. The city is the birthplace of Ukrainian writer M. Kotsiubinsky, (1864–1913), and the house where he was born and lived is now a museum. Modern Vinnitsa has a Museum of Local Lore, a musical drama theater, and a philharmonic society.

Down the Dnieper from Kiev to the Black Sea

The great Dnieper River flows through three Soviet republics—the Russian, the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian—and is the third largest river in Europe (after the Volga and the Danube). Rising to the north of Smolensk, in the Valday Hills, it runs past Smolensk, then continues southwest till it reaches White Russia. Here it flows through the town of Mogilyov; its first great tributary is the Berezina. Later it is swollen by the waters of the Sozh and the Pripyat (Pripet), the latter gathering the waters of the huge Pripet marshes. After that for some 885 km. (550 miles), more than half its length, it traverses Ukrainian territory. This is its widest section and it flows through such important cities as Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye; its waters are exploited to the full for hydroelectricity with immense dams and power plants.

Many tragic and triumphant episodes in Ukrainian history have been connected with this river; Ukrainian poets, painters and composers have devoted innumerable works to its moods and landscapes; not surprisingly, it has become a national symbol.

There are ample facilities for excursions along the huge river and its tributaries. Cruises from Kiev northwards are unlikely to run for some time in the wake of the 1986 disaster at Chernobyl nuclear power station, about 95 km. (60 miles) north of Kiev. The most popular, most interesting cruise covers the 965 km. (600 miles) from the Ukrainian capital to the mouth of the river, to the city of Kherson on the Black Sea. Comfortable fast or slow passenger steamers ply regularly to Kherson; at major points en route there is time for short excursions. Even the express steamers stop for two hours in Dnepropetrovsk and an hour in Zaporozhye, about two-thirds of the way to Kherson.

Leaving Kiev, a boat first starts upstream, then swings south. On the right bank, huge public buildings rise above the parkland, and then you glimpse the domes of the ancient Monastery of the Caves. You pass under the Navodnitsky and Paton bridges—to the left lies the district of Darnitsa—and finally under the railroad bridge, the last landmark of Kiev.

The villages of Osokorki on the left and Korchevatoye on the right are still part of Greater Kiev, but Visenka, on the left, and the vacation settlement of Plyuyi on the right are outside its boundaries. The hills on the right bank begin to rise more steeply. The village of Tripolye takes its name from archeological finds discovered there dating from the Bronze Age to the so-called Tripolye culture of the fourth-to-second millennium B.C.

After Stayki and Kalnoye, you come to the first stop—Rzhishchev. This is the town where in 1654 the envoys of the Czar negotiated the union of Russia and the Ukraine with the Cossack *hetman* (commander), Bogdan Khmelnitsky.

Khodorov, on the right bank, is a small town, founded in 1506; Trakhtimorovo is dominated by the cone-shaped Mount Baturin which rises opposite the harbor of Peryaslav-Khmelnitsky, some eight miles from the river; it was here that on January 8, 1654, the union was approved by a council assembly of Ukrainian nobles.

Grigorovka (another stop) is on the right bank. It was here that, in the autumn of 1943, the Russian troops crossed the Dnieper, in a bitterly contested battle. On the right you will see Kanev, about one mile from the river. This is the home town of the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko; he is buried here and there is a large museum devoted to his life and work.

Prohorovka follows on the left bank; a former mansion where both Shevchenko and Gogol were visitors is now the holiday rest home of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Some 10 km. (six miles) beyond Prohorovka, the river widens into what looks almost like a sea—it is the reservoir of Kremenchug. At the far end is a huge hydroelectric plant. The ship stops on the right, at the mouth of the Olshanka River.

Cherkassy, one of the greenest cities in the Ukraine, is a major administrative and cultural center. Highways and railway lines converge here and there is an airport. The Museum of Local History displays the development of the city since the 16th century, through the Cossack-Tatar wars and later vicissitudes. Since the great reservoir was completed, Cherkassy has become an important river port as well.

it housed a seminary until 1945. A statue of the mythological Hungarian *Turul* bird stands in the garden. The Museum of Local History is at 27 Kremlyovskaya Street, inside the castle.

The slope between the castle and the river is the Gorky Park, with a swimming pool. Turning towards the river bank and walking towards the city center you pass the Botanical Garden and the Pioneer (Children's) Railway, then reach the theater and your hotel.

For your third walk, you might like to climb up the Hill of Glory. Turning into Kladbishchenskaya Street at the corner of Koryatovich Square, near the Hotel Kiev, follow a road that climbs the hill. After passing under a monumental arch, you enter the Cemetery of Heroes, where victims of the last war lie.

There are many long and short excursions and hikes you can take starting from Uzhgorod. The local Intourist office will provide guides, maps and information.

Mukachevo, Khust and Rakhov

Mukachevo is a lively town and is another good base for excursions. Standing on the river Latoritsa, it was first mentioned in history in A.D. 903 when the Hungarians arrived as invaders. After 1919 it became part of Czechoslovakia; it returned to Hungary in 1938, but joined the Soviet Union in 1946.

The most interesting sight is Palanok Castle, on the top of a hill just south of the city. Dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, this 200-foot-high building has served as a prison since 1782. A wooden Russian Orthodox Church stands in Bogomoltsa Street. This was brought from a nearby village in 1927 as an example of early architecture (1777).

Khust (Huszt) is a district center and a busy road junction. The mountain rising above the town is topped by the ruins of a 16th-century castle built to protect the nearby salt mines. The castle was destroyed in 1766 when a bolt of lightning caused gunpowder stored in a tower to explode. The town's Gothic church dates from 1459.

Tyachev is another district center lying on the Tisza River (Theiss) near the frontier with Romania. The road here follows the river through Solotniva, the site of a large salt mine and some interesting caves.

Rakhov is at the heart of the Hutsul region. The Hutsuls are a Slav tribe of great antiquity and colorful folk customs. Rakhov is an industrial and tourist center. The highway and railway lines lead from here along upper reaches of the Tisza towards its source. On the right is Kvasi, a spa known for its mineral waters. Yasina is 549 meters (1,800 feet) up (in a broad valley) on the bank of the Black Tisza. It has a 200-bed hotel, open in the tourist season, and Hutsul folk art (woodcarvings, embroidery) is on sale here. After this rather large village comes the Yablonitsky Pass (822 meters, 2,700 feet), from where the road continues towards Delatin and Kolomiya.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR THE UKRAINE

WHEN TO GO. As we have indicated, the climate of the Ukraine (except for the mountainous Carpathian region) is much milder than that of Russia. The spring

starts earlier and the autumn lasts longer, so April and October are pleasant months for a visit. However, most of the Dnieper river cruises run in the summer months only. There are winter sports facilities in the Carpathians.

GETTING THERE. By train. From the West via Czechoslovakia or Hungary to Uzhgorod and then to Kiev and points east and south. From Moscow and Leningrad to Kiev. From the southwest via Romania. Trains from Eastern Europe to the Ukraine are always full so reservations are advisable, indeed vital if you want sleeping-car accommodation.

By air. Regular connections from Moscow and Leningrad to Kiev.

By car. No. 3 tourist route begins at the Czechoslovak-Soviet frontier and continues via Uzhgorod, Mukachevo to Strij, Rovno, Zhitomir and Kiev. Route No. 7 takes you from Kiev to Kharkov and No. 8 from Moscow directly south to the Black Sea. No. 6 route runs from Kiev to Odessa. (These are the authorized routes for tourists; Intourist will have up-to-date news about changes.)

By boat. Regular sailing to Kiev via Kanev, Cherkassy, Zaporozhye from Kherson and Odessa. Intourist cruises include air travel from London to Kiev and back via Moscow (15 days). Several of these cruises were cancelled in 1990 because the boats were being used as hotels in Moscow. It's best to check with Intourist in advance for the latest details.

TOURS. Intourist organizes tours to Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, and Uzhgorod with various stopovers, either as separate excursions or as part of general tours. It also offers a special river cruise down the Dnieper.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS. A note on Ukrainian food: Ukrainian specialties include soups like *borshch* (beet base) and cutlets of meat fried in egg and breadcrumbs. Chicken Kiev was born here—the white meat of fat hens or capons stuffed with garlic and butter. *Kolbasa,* a long, thick, circular sausage, is always a reliable choice, and ask for *vareniki,* small dumplings filled with sugared sour cream. Ukrainian dishes make lavish but skillful use of garlic, pepper, and vinegar. The wines of Livadia and Massandra are perfectly drinkable, and you may come across a sparkling wine somewhat misleadingly called champagne. Experts also recommend *medivnyk* (spiced honey cake) and *kartoflia solimkoi* (deep-fried matchstick potatoes).

Chernovtsy (formerly Cernauti when part of Romania). *Bukovina,* 141 Lenin Street (tel. 3–8274), five-story, is best, followed by any of following: *Kiev,* 46 Lenin Street; *Radÿanska,* 34 Universitetskaya Street; *Dniester,* Kobylianskaya Street; *Verkhovina,* 7 Central Square. *Motel:* two miles east of city.

Campsite at 3 Novoselitskaya Street; 3 small hotels, restaurant, bathing beach.

Restaurants. Aside from hotels, try *Teatralny,* Kotlyarevskaya Street; *Zatyshok,* 6 Zelyonaya Street.

Kharkov. *Intourist,* 21 Prospekt Lenina (tel. 32–0508), moderate. *Mir,* 27a Prospekt Lenina (tel. 30–5543). *Kharkov,* 2 Trinkler Street. *Motel Druzhba,* 185 Gagarin Prospekt (tel. 52–2091).

Campsite *Lesnaya* at Vysoky Village (tel. 22–5200).

Restaurants. *Tsentralny,* Tevelev Square, and *Teatralnaya* at 2 Sumskaya Street, share top billing. Then either of these: *Lux,* Rosa Luxembourg Street or *Vareniki Café,* 14 Sumskaya Street, specializing in the Ukrainian national dish, a small dumpling with various fillings.

Kiev. *Rus,* 21 Kuibyshev Street (tel. 20–4255/4266). 22-story, 477 rooms. Fairly new. *Lybed,* Victory Square (tel. 74–0063). Reported good, with fair service, in 1990. *Intourist,* 26 Lenin Street. Officially classed as deluxe but we call it first-class. Only 43 rooms at last look.

Of equal rank are: *Dnieper,* Lenkomsomol Square (tel. 91–6569/4829). 200 rooms, very good restaurant (closed Mon.), moderate facilities. *Moskva,* 4 October

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NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

6/30/91

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Ukrainian Sovereignty

Ukrainian views are sharply divided on the question of whether Ukraine should sign a new union treaty with Moscow. Pro-independence sentiment is strong in Western Ukraine, the bulk of which was joined to the USSR after 1940. The people of this region, numbering about one-fourth of the republic's population, have retained a distinct identity; they are more likely to be Uniate (Catholic) than Orthodox and they are more likely to speak Ukrainian. The opposite end of the spectrum is represented by Crimea, which was transferred from the Russian to the Ukrainian republic in 1953. Ethnic Ukrainians are in a minority there and many Crimean residents have expressed fears that they would not fit into an independent Ukraine.

The populous eastern Ukraine generally opposes separatism. Not only are there many ethnic Russians who live in the area, but much of the Ukrainian population is "Russified." Some large cities, such as Kharkov, are economically dependent on the All-Union market, given the kinds of industry located there.

31.5 million Ukrainians (83 percent of eligible voters) took part in the March 17 Union referendum. 70.5 percent voted in favor of the Union referendum question, and 80 percent supported an additional republic plebiscite question on Ukraine's adhering to a Union of Sovereign States only on the basis of the Ukrainian Sovereignty Declaration of July 1990. Residents of three western provinces voted overwhelmingly in favor of a third plebiscite calling for a fully independent Ukraine.

Prime Minister Vitold Fokin represented Ukraine at the April 23 9-plus-1 talks with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk maintains that he will sign a new union treaty, although he has criticized the current draft union treaty for failing to adequately confirm the principles of republics' sovereignty.

One out of every five Soviets lives in Ukraine. Without the cooperation of that republic as well as Russia, Gorbachev's plans to reconstitute the USSR cannot succeed.

Multiparty Politics

New political parties are multiplying in Ukraine as a result of the increasing political awareness and national consciousness of the republic population. The Ukrainian government has tolerated, if not encouraged, the emergence of political parties since the official recognition of Rukh, the nationalist movement, in September 1989. The legal environment for political parties is fluid, without clearly established guidelines on registration and legalization.

Rukh

Rukh is a nationalist umbrella organization of various political and cultural organizations. Over the past 18 months, Rukh ("movement" in Ukrainian) has emerged as a powerful political force, holding at least one-third of the seats in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, one half in the Kiev City Council, and solid majorities in several key cities in Western Ukraine.

According to Rukh sources, the March 1990 legislative elections were manipulated by the Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP) to impede the nationalists and ensure a communist majority. The communist republic leadership has also taken steps recently to control the opposition forces' influence in the legislature and media and has passed a resolution curtailing public demonstrations.

Economic Reform

The republic leadership supports economic autonomy from the central government and cautious steps toward a market, codified in the legislature's July 1990 resolution on economic sovereignty. It has passed an economic reform program that includes privatization of property, issuance of a national currency, and entry in the IMF, IBRD and other international organizations, but the mechanisms for implementing it are still lacking.

Coal miners in the Donbass region, an important political force in Ukraine, joined other miners in a two-month nationwide coal strike that ended in early May. The miner's rejected Moscow's solutions to their economic problems but also, because their mines require subsidies to function, remain opposed to a true market economy.

Kiev Consulate

The U.S. Consulate General in Kiev began full-time operations in March 1991. Consul General Jon Gundersen and Second Secretary John Stepanchuk are working initially out of three leased apartments. They will be joined later this year by an Administrative Officer and a Press and Cultural Affairs Officer. We presently are negotiating with Kiev city officials for lease of additional temporary office and residential space to house the consulate.

Ukraine

- President: Leonid Kravchuk
- Prime Minister: Vitold Fokin

  Political Complexion: Republic Supreme Soviet is split between communists and "Rukh/Narodna Rada" nationalists, but communists retain majority. The republic government has taken an increasingly nationalist stance, in part to steal Rukh's thunder.

- Opposition: "Rukh" is one of the largest and best organized of the nationalist popular fronts. It controls most of western Ukraine and has about 25 percent of the seats in the Supreme Soviet.

- Key Trends/Issues: Autonomy/independence; economic reform; environmental problems/Chernobyl cleanup.

Uzbekistan

- President: Islam Karimov
- Prime Minister: Islam Karimov

  Political Complexion: Republic government is dominated by old-style CP machine; Karimov abolished Council of Ministers in November 1990 and took direct control over ministries.

- Opposition: The "Birlik" nationalist movement has attracted substantial support but remains in the minority. Islamic fundamentalism on the rise.

- Key Trends/Issues: Autonomy; economic reform; environmental problems; Russian minority's domination; Islamic revival.

-- Violence flared in May between Armenia and Azerbaijan, with Soviet troops apparently taking the side of the Azerbaijanis in shelling Armenian villages and depopulating the area surrounding the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan.

Moldova

- Moldova (formerly known as Moldavia) does not consider itself to be legally part of the USSR as it was annexed from Romania after World War II as part of the peace settlement with Romania, which had backed the Axis cause.

- The Moldovan government has had tense relations with its two largest ethnic minorities -- Russians and Gagauz (Turkic Christians) -- which seek to remain in the USSR and fear the consequences of Moldovan independence.

- Moldova is seeking independence, rather than reunification with Romania, but it is assumed by most observers that it could not survive independently of one of its two large neighbors.

- In recent months, Moldova has taken a less confrontational stance toward Moscow, but it is still refusing to participate in union treaty talks. Moldova has postponed a referendum on secession several times under pressure from both Moscow and its ethnic minorities.

Nine-Plus-One

- Of the nine republics that have agreed to participate in a new union, only Ukraine and Azerbaijan have sizable independence movements at present.

  -- In the western provinces of Ukraine, which were transferred from Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia to the USSR after World War II, independence sentiment is very high.

  -- Elsewhere in Ukraine, there is substantial support for independence but it appears to be a minority view: approximately two-thirds of Ukrainians voted for a new union in the March 17 national referendum sponsored by Gorbachev.

  -- Nonetheless, the future status of Ukraine, and the future attitudes of its people on the question, must be considered uncertain.