



freedom and democracy. The rights of national minorities are respected and they can freely develop their language and culture. The Ukrainian nation is experiencing a cultural renaissance. Individual rights are respected, and we have freedom of the press. Restrictions on intellectual and economic creativity have been abolished: all of this compensates to some extent for the shortages of goods and their high price. The new Ukrainian society arising from the ashes of communist ruins is varied, diverse, multiparty - it is an exciting place.

DIRECTIONS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

Let me end by a discussion of Ukraine's foreign policy. In July 1993 Parliament adopted a document *Principal Directions of Ukraine's Foreign Policy*, which states:

"Having become, through historical circumstances, the owner of nuclear weapons bequeathed to it by the former USSR, Ukraine will never sanction their use, and excludes from the arsenal of its foreign policy the threat of the use of nuclear weapons."

This paragraph evoked various interpretation in the world press. Some newspapers said that Ukraine had retracted its decision to become a nuclear-free country. This is not the case. Ukraine merely affirmed the law adopted 10 September 1991 "On Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations under All-Union Jurisdiction Located in Ukraine." The 1991 law states, [quote] "All that is located on the territory of Ukraine is its property." This law, which flows out of the Vienna convention on successor states, is for us, an axiom. Those who wish to resolve the question of nuclear weapons in Ukraine have to come to grips with a simple fact: these weapons have to have an owner; they have to belong to someone! And only the owner can define how, when, with whom, for what purpose, the weapons are to be destroyed. As an owner Ukraine has to bear the responsibility for the use or non-use of its property. At issue is responsibility for technical control to ensure the NON-USE of nuclear weapons. We have to ensure that nuclear weapons are not used. And we are a people whose

country has been ravaged by Chernobyl: so please, do not preach to us lessons about nuclear danger!

Let me remind you that we gave the Russian Federation our tactical nuclear weapons. They were to have been destroyed under joint control. But where are those weapons? Are they really being destroyed? Or have they been dismantled and sold off in bits to other countries? Have they been distributed to various military units? No one knows for certain.

The world community and the political elites of the world community showed no interest in this matter. And Ukraine derived no moral or material benefit from the transfer to Russia of our mobile tactical nuclear weapons. No one even said thank you for this unprecedented step. I am certain this would have been the case with strategic nuclear weapons had it not been for the fact that we have learned lessons from our bitter experience.

A new factor in the situation are the territorial claims of Russia on Ukraine. This dangerous development ended with Russia's Parliament passing a decree "On the Status of Sevastopol". Not surprisingly this irresponsible step has set off alarm bells amongst Ukraine's Parliamentarians and the population at large. Now that Russia has formally announced territorial claims on Ukraine, many deputies now consider that the transfer of strategic nuclear weapons to Russia immoral and irresponsible.

I do not wish to be categorical, but I think that it is most likely that the ratification of Salt II and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) will be considered separately. This means that Parliament will likely agree to destroy the 130 missiles of Russian manufacture which contain very toxic fluid fuels. But the 46 SR 22 missiles, built by Ukraine, will remain under Ukrainian jurisdiction for another year and a half, that is until 1995 when NPT will be reviewed.

Undoubtedly this is the correct decision, especially from point of view of law. Ukraine is a subject of Start I - which means that to a significant degree its nuclear status has been recognized. Ukraine is a nuclear state, not in the full

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S MESSAGE FOR UKRAINE

*Message from Ramon Hnatyshyn
Governor General of Canada
to the President of Ukraine on
Ukraine's National Day,
August 24, 1993.*

On behalf of the people of Canada, I am pleased to convey to you, Mr. President, and to the people of your country, our sincere congratulations on the occasion of the second anniversary of the declaration of independence of Ukraine. This event, as you know, has a particular significance for Canada, given the presence here of so many Canadians of Ukrainian descent.

My wife and I have fond memories of our visit to Ukraine last September. The trip to the land of my ancestors exemplified the special relationship existing between Canada and Ukraine which we want to develop.

I can assure you that Canada strongly supports Ukraine on its difficult path to political and economic reform and is confident that your country will overcome its economic difficulties and be able to play an even more significant role in European and world affairs. Canada is firmly committed to working with your country to bring about a better and stronger Ukraine. To that end, I am confident that the important cooperation programmes, already underway, will be further expanded.

On behalf of the people of Canada, I wish you, Mr. President, and the Ukrainian people every success in building a stronger and more prosperous independent Ukraine.

sense of the word: we did not produce these weapons, but we played an important role in their development, and we did inherit them according to the law of successor states. The demand that Ukraine join NPT as a non-nuclear state is juridical nonsense. Amendments to NPT have to be made, after which Ukraine will sign the agreement. In the meantime, we will abide by the terms of Start I.