émigré writing in a more general way. The index to the collection is excellent, as are the notes to the individual essays.

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This admirable collection of twenty well researched conference papers and discussions presented at Harvard’s Ukrainian Research Institute in September 1992 provides considerable information on Ukraine’s economy, its resources, national income, population welfare, economic policy, and external relations from the early 1970s to August 1991. It is like a “White Paper” published on the occasion of Ukraine’s independence proclaimed on July 16, 1990.

In his introductory essay I. S. Koropeckyj notes that Ukrainians paid dearly for their geopolitical position first as victims of Petersburg and later Soviet imperial policies. Since the revolution Ukraine experienced more than its fair share of Soviet economic failures: inefficient heavy industry, low productivity in agriculture, underdeveloped infrastructures, environmental devastation, and a lower standard of living than elsewhere in the former USSR. Given this legacy, should this long-exploited nation now repudiate its economic dependence on Moscow?

Koropeckyj favors the above option on both economic and national grounds. Continuing Ukraine’s dependence on Russian trade and energy resources, he argues, would only replace outright exploitation with economic clientelism. Koropeckyj proposes to import oil and gas from the Middle East and look for alternative markets for Ukraine’s exports. Only full economic independence from Russia will allow Ukraine to introduce proper macroeconomic policies aimed at modernizing outdated economic structures, restoring balanced inter regional development, and protecting the environment including a ban on nuclear energy.

Koropeckyj does not trust Boris El’tsyn because of the latter’s contradictory statements on Ukrainian independence. Suspicious of the Kremlin’s security guarantees, Koropeckyj reminds the Western reader that Russia failed to protect Ukraine in both World Wars from being looted by Germans. He also wants to control the percentage of ethnic Russians living in Ukraine which grew between 1926 and 1989 from 7 to about 22 percent.

These views on future relations with Russia are not fully supported by the other contributors. For example, there is no discussion on how the foreign exchange could be earned to pay for Middle Eastern oil, yet the issue is quite important. Poland and Hungary have already learned the lesson of the European Community’s protectionism and the difficult barter deals for gas and oil with the Russian Federation. The chances are that except for a “warheads for money” swap with the USA, Ukraine may not be able to earn enough hard currency to pay for oil and
gas. Energy crises have already forced the Ukrainian government to recommission the Chernobyl' and other similarly dangerous reactors. The opportunity to conduct an independent energy policy by all East Europeans is severely limited.

In the following brief review, we shall discuss some of the more significant views emerging from the volume rather than its individual contributions. The papers in Part II (Resources) attribute the inefficient utilization of the resources of Ukraine to Moscow's cynical imperial policy towards Ukraine. One may argue, however, that even the nationally-determined investment decisions of Eastern Europe produced similar results. The Stalinist fixation on gigantomania and heavy industry permeated the entire system. Despite its meager energy resources, Ukraine was developing iron and steel industries whose energy consumption per ton of steel exceeded that of Japan by 60 percent. At the same time despite its fertile soil and moderate climate, Ukraine had one of the lowest yields in the former Soviet Union.

The papers in Part III (Performance) are more technical than those in Part II. The authors demonstrate the need for research on gross national product accounts, agricultural reform and infrastructure improvement. To reevaluate the Ukrainian GNP by Western standards, one must first replace the traditional division of "non-productive" and "productive" with a reliable method of measuring output in the service sector. Second, the contribution of fixed capital to the national product must be estimated. Third, one must give value-based prices to all components of the GNP. The present system of arbitrarily set asset values, prices, taxes, subsidies, and tariffs hinders rational decision-making at all levels. However, what values should be used? Should they be regional or Commonwealth-wide averages? Can an inter-sectoral and inter-republican model be calibrated empirically to fit Ukraine or the whole CIS? A liberal economist's advice in such a case is to reevaluate all factors of production by freeing prices and letting the market do the rest. However, since "shock therapy" is unrealistic, a selective deregulation to avoid disruption in inter-republican exchange might be a solution.

At present the most important task is to stabilize the monetary situation and curb the uncontrolled money supply in the form of wages and salaries and credits for state enterprises to subsidize their losses from below-cost sales. The lack of monetary discipline has already fueled high inflation and slowed or buried market reforms in Russia, Belarus and Latvia.

Part IV (Standard of Living) consists of three solidly researched papers on the well-being of the Ukrainians. The picture is not a pretty one; average real consumption in a selected resource-rich region has been 8-10 percent lower than the all-union and Russian Federation average, 25 percent of the republic's population was below the poverty line, and the overall levels of individual consumption were below the Russian Federation or union levels. Thirteen Ukrainian cities were among the one hundred most polluted Soviet cities. The pollution of air, soil and surface waters is reaching almost catastrophic levels. These problems are attributed to the Soviet/Stalinist drive for rapid industrial development at any cost, political decisions to invest in dirty heavy industries,