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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13678
Folder ID Number: 13678-007

Folder Title:
Captive Nations Week 7/21/89 [OA 6266]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
FRIENDS. I WANT TO WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE.
AND TO AN OCCASION -- CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK -- MARKED BY
SADNESS, BUT BLESSED BY HOPE.

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TODAY, WE MEET TO SIGNAL OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE
FATE OF NATIONS AND PEOPLES WHOSE LIBERTY HAS BEEN HELD
CAPTIVE. AND WE APPLAUD THE MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY
TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD, AND THE CHANGES YET TO COME.

SIX MONTHS AGO THIS WEEK, I SAID IN MY INAUGURAL
ADDRESS: "IN MAN'S HEART, IF NOT IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE TOTALITARIAN ERA IS PASSING,
ITS OLD IDEAS BLOWN AWAY LIKE LEAVES FROM AN ANCIENT
LIFELESS TREE."

WELL, I HAVE JUST RETURNED -- HOPEFUL, AND ENCOURAGED -- FROM VISITS TO POLAND AND HUNGARY, TWO NATIONS ON THE THRESHOLD OF HISTORIC CHANGE. AND I CAN SAY TO YOU: THE OLD IDEAS ARE BLOWING AWAY. FREEDOM IS IN THE AIR.

FOR FORTY YEARS, POLAND AND HUNGARY ENDURED WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE DILEMMA OF THE SINGLE ALTERNATIVE: ONE POLITICAL PARTY, ONE DEFINITION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, ONE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MODEL. IN SHORT, ONE FUTURE -- PRESCRIBED BY AN ALIEN IDEOLOGY.

BUT IN FACT, THAT FUTURE MEANT NO FUTURE. FOR IT DENIED TO INDIVIDUALS, CHOICE; TO SOCIETIES, PLURALISM; AND TO NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION.

YET IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, A COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WOULD NOT YIELD TO DESPAIR. THERE, AS ELSEWHERE, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD NOT GO OUT.

TEN DAYS AGO, I WATCHED THOUSANDS BRAVE A DRIVING RAIN TO ACCLAIM THIS LOVE OF LIBERTY. THEY CHEERED FOR FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE PRESS AND SPEECH, AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

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AND FILLED A SQUARE IN BUDAPEST NAMED AFTER A FREEDOM-FIGHTER WHO BELIEVED IN THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH LINKS THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

LAJOS KOSSUTH [LOY-OSH KO-SHOOT] ARRIVED IN AMERICA IN 1851 AFTER HUNGARY'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM HAD, TEMPORARILY, BEEN LOST. YET IN HIS REMARKS TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, HE WAS HOPEFUL, NOT EMBITTERED. HE SPOKE OF HIS "STEADY FAITH IN [THE] PRINCIPLES" OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, OPPORTUNITY, AND INDIVIDUALITY.

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MY FRIENDS, THE HEROISM OF SUCH PATRIOTS INSPIRES US, AND TEACHES US. FOR THEY EMBODY THE SPIRIT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. THE SPIRIT WHICH SAYS THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IS NOT DIVISIBLE. AND WHICH LIVES IN THE BRAVE IMMIGRANTS FROM CAPTIVE NATIONS WHO STAND BESIDE ME: POLITA GRAU DE AGUERO [PO-LEE-TA GRAUW DAY AH-GWER-ROW], FOR INSTANCE, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CUBA BEFORE FLEEING TO AMERICA.

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OR HAING NGOR [HANG NAW], WHO FLED CAMBODIA AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND WON AN ACADEMY AWARD FOR HIS ROLE IN THE KILLING FIELDS.

THESE SEVEN PEOPLE ARE HEROES. FOR THEY HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OF COURAGE AND FREE EXPRESSION. AND LAST WEEK, I SAW HOW THE PEOPLES OF POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE LEADING THE WAY TOWARD THIS DEMOCRATIC FUTURE -- CASTING RAYS OF LIGHT ON OTHER NATIONS THAT ARE NOT AS FORTUNATE.

FOR WITHIN THESE NATIONS, MEN AND WOMEN ARE STANDING UP FOR THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, OFTEN AT ENORMOUS COST. A CAUSE THE CZECH WRITER VALAV HAVEL [VATS-LAV HAV-EL] ONCE CALLED THE ACT OF "LIVING IN TRUTH."

THIS TRUTH FORMS THE HEART OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. FOR IT DICTATES THAT LIBERTY BE POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. "LIVING IN TRUTH" SUGGESTS THAT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS CAN MAKE ALL THINGS POSSIBLE FOR A NATION, AND ITS PEOPLE.

AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, IS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW.

WE SEE THAT TRUTH IN THE SUCCESSFUL RETURN OF DEMOCRACY TO PAKISTAN. AND IN AFRICA, WHERE LIBERTY LIGHTS THOSE NATIONS MOVING AWAY FROM STATE SOCIALISM, WITH NEW SUCCESS. THE HATED SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

AND IN OUR HOPE FOR A CAMBODIA WITH SELF-DETERMINATION FOR HER PEOPLE -- AND A COMPLETE AND VERIFIED VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL, WITH NO RETURN TO POWER BY THE KHMER ROUGE.

TODAY, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY IS ILLUMINATING THE FACE OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE. AND REFLECTING THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION -- TOWARD GREATER OPENNESS AT HOME AND AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION ABROAD.

SUCH OPENNESS PROMPTED THE BARBED WIRE FENCE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY TO BE DISMANTLED. THE PORTION I RECEIVED AS A GIFT IS NOW ON DISPLAY HERE. AND A SPIRIT OF RENEWAL LIGHTS THE BALTIC STATES -- LATVIA, LITHUANIA, ESTONIA -- STRIVING TO RECAPTURE THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY.

MY FRIENDS, THESE NATIONS KNOW -- AS WE KNOW -- HOW THE TIDE IS MOVING -- TOWARD CHANGE, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.

FOR AROUND THE WORLD, WE SEE DEMOCRACY OPENING MARKETS,
AND BOUNDARIES. FREEING HEARTS. FREEING MINDS.

THEREFORE, TO NATIONS OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL
EUROPE, STRIVING TO RECLAIM THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE, WE
SAY: AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE PEOPLES OF CHINA, VIETNAM AND LAOS, ETHIOPIA
AND NICARAGUA STRIVING FOR FREEDOM, WE SAY: AMERICA
STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE ETHNIC TURKS IN BULGARIA UPROOTED FROM THEIR
HOMES AND FORCED TO FLEE ACROSS THE BORDER, WE SAY:
AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

INDEED, TO ALL NATIONS, AMERICA PROCLAIMS THAT
TRUTH CANNOT FOREVER BE INTIMIDATED BY FORCE. FOR
HISTORY SHOWS -- AND THE HUMAN WILL PROCLAIMS -- THAT
LIBERTY CAN LIGHT THE DARKEST NIGHT.

LAST TUESDAY, THOUSANDS FILLED THE STREETS IN GDANSK -- PEACEFULLY, MOVINGLY -- TO HONOR THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY. BUT THEIR PRESENCE DID MORE. IT EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT DEMOCRACY UNDERSCORES THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

AMONG THE CELEBRANTS WAS THE PATRIOT WHO, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, HAS MADE POLAND'S FUTURE POSSIBLE. ASTONISHED BY THE TURNOUT, HE FOUND PRIDE IN FREEDOM'S PAST -- AND HOPE IN ITS TOMORROW.

AS POLES -- CHEERING, MANY CRYING -- FLANKED OUR MOTORCADE, LECH WALESZA TURNED TO ME AND SAID SIMPLY: "THIS IS FANTASTIC." HE WAS MOVED -- STIRRED -- BY THE WONDER OF THE MOMENT.

IN COMING YEARS, THAT WONDER CAN UPLIFT THE WORLD. IN PRAGUE AND KABUL. IN TALLINN [TAL IN], RIGA [REE GA], AND VILNIUS [VIL NEE US].

IN THE HOPES, AND DREAMS, OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN AN OPEN AND PEACEFUL WORLD. AND WHO HAVE ENDURED MUCH -- AND WILL SURVIVE EVERYTHING -- THROUGH THE TRIUMPH OF THE HEART.

TO LOVE FREEDOM -- TO OVERCOME OPPRESSION -- THIS IS THEIR SPIRIT -- AND THE MEANING OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK.

WE LOVE THEM, AND WE ARE WITH THEM. FOR WE WILL NEVER WAVER, NOR SURRENDER.


TOGETHER, LET US RAISE WHAT LAJOS KOSSUTH CALLED "THE MORNING STAR OF LIBERTY." THE STAR THAT CAN HELP ALL CAPTIVE PEOPLES KNOW THE DIGNITY THAT SETS MEN FREE.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WONDERFUL OCCASION. I WILL NEVER FORGET IT. GOD BLESS YOU, THANK YOU FOR COMING TO THE WHITE HOUSE, AND GOD BLESS THIS BELOVED LAND -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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MY FRIENDS, THE HEROISM OF SUCH PATRIOTS INSPIRES US, AND TEACHES US. FOR THEY EMBODY THE SPIRIT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. THE SPIRIT WHICH SAYS THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IS NOT DIVISIBLE. AND WHICH LIVES IN THE BRAVE IMMIGRANTS FROM CAPTIVE NATIONS WHO ARE BESIDE ME: POLITA GRAU DE AGUERO [Po-LEE-TA GRAUW DAY AH-GWER-RROW], FOR INSTANCE, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CUBA BEFORE FLEEING TO AMERICA.



Webster's
New
Geographical
Dictionary

A Merriam-Webster®

bel-yák\ City, / of Klagenfurt; tourist resort; thermal springs

la-\ Seaport on a; pop. (1970p)

tyón\ also Con- tina, on Para-) 18,720. Town, Aragua s; pop. (1961c)

1, San Salvador 30,157.

wn, W Córdoba Córdoba; pop.

, Chiapas state, (1970p) 38,946;

kā-dā-lōz-bār- n, 37 m. SE of

-dē-vā-rōn-ā\ y, 10 m. SW of Austria and

-fro \-vē-lāf-\ d as remotest ímac. Coahuila state,

ā-dā-ā-rō-sā\ Atlantic Ocean 24,076; flour,

oma, N suburb

Padua, Padova bet. Italy and

en, Illinois, 20

rov., E Argen- 63.

of Presidente ik of the Para-) 2400; named the U.S. who

erly San Juan * of Tabasco p. (1969e) 78- bananas, and

own and com- Alicante; pop.

pality, S cen. .627 (munic.);

(1824); Northeastern Junior Coll. (1956).

Villa-nue-va \vê-yo-nú-ā-vā\ Municipality, Zacatecas state, Mexico, 25 m. SW of Zacatecas; pop. (1970p) 35,553.

Villanueva de Cór-do-ba \vê(i)-yo-nú-ā-vā-dā-kórd-ā-bā- ā-vā\ Commune, Córdoba prov., S Spain, 31 m. NNE of Córdoba; pop. (1970p) 11,270; soap, flour, woolens.

Villanueva del Ar-zo-bis-pō \-del-ār-sō-bēs-(i)pō\ Commune, Jaén prov., S Spain, 47 m. NE of Jaén; pop. (1970p) 10,320; produces wine, oil, flax; manufactures soap; stock raising.

Villanueva y Gel-trú \-ē-hel-trú\ Commune, Barcelona prov., NE Spain, on Mediterranean 26 m. WSW of Barcelona; pop. (1970p) 35,714; textiles, flour, preserves.

Vil-lány \vil-ān-(yō)\ Town, Baranya co., S Hungary, near Yugoslav border, ab. 18 m. SSE of Pécs; pop. (1970p) 3948; produces wine.

Villa Oli-va \vê-yō-ō-lē-vā\ Town, Neembucú dept.; SW corner of Paraguay, on the Paraguay river 55 m. S of Asunción; pop. (1970c) 1959.

Villa Orotava. See LA OROTAVA.

Vil-la Park \vil-ā-\ Village, Du Page co., NE Illinois, 25 m. W of Chicago; pop. (1970c) 25,891.

Vil-lard-Bon-not \vê-lār-bō-nō\ Commune, Isère dept., SE France, on the Isère; pop. (1962c) 6499.

Villa-re-al \vê-yō-rā-āl\ Municipality, Samar Occidental prov., Phil., on S shore of Villareal Bay (ab. 12 m. wide and long) 13 m. S of Catbalogan.

Vil-la Rica \vil-ā-rik-ā\ City, Carroll and Douglas cos., W Georgia, 30 m. W of Atlanta; pop. (1970c) 3922; cottonseed oil; gold-mining center in early 19th cent.

Villa Rica de Vera Cruz. See VERACRUZ 2.

Villa-rre-al \vê(i)-yō-rā-āl\ or Villarreal de los In-fan-tes \-dā-lōz-in-fānt-ēz\ Commune, Castellón de la Plana prov., E Spain, 7 m. SSW of Castellón de la Plana; pop. (1970p) 33,215; manufactures liquors, paper.

Villa-rrí-ca \vê-yō-rē-kā\ 1 Volcanic peak, S cen. Chile, near Argentina border and bet. provinces of Cautín and Valdivia; 9318 ft. 2 City, * of Guairá dept., S cen. Paraguay, 70 m. SE of Asunción; pop. (1970e) 38,052; sugar refineries, distilleries, sawmills, flour mills, brick and tile works; founded 1570.

Villa-rro-ble-do \vê(i)-yō-rō-blād-(i)ō\ Commune, Albacete prov., SE Spain, 42 m. WNW of Albacete; pop. (1970p) 19,963; iron products, earthenware.

Villas, Las. See LAS VILLAS.

Villa-sis \vê-yā-sēs\ Municipality, SE Pangasinan prov., Luzon, Phil., near right bank of Agno river 25 m. ESE of Lingayen; pop. (1969e) 37,100.

Villa-vi-cen-cio \vê-yō-vi-sen(t)-sē-ō\ Town, * of Meta dept., cen. Colombia, on Meta river ab. 45 m. SE of Bogotá; munic. pop. (1968e) 80,675.

Villa-vi-cio-sa \vê(i)-yō-vē-sē-ō-sā\ Commune, Oviedo prov., NW Spain, on inlet of Bay of Biscay 21 m. ENE of Oviedo; pop. (1970p) 17,213; agricultural produce; fisheries.

Ville de Laval. See LAVAL 1.

Ville-de-Paris. See Paris, Ville-de- at table at FRANCE.

Ville-franche \vê(i)-ā-frāsh\ 1 Seaport, Alpes-Maritimes dept., SE France, on coast E of Nice; pop. (1962c) 6735; resort. 2 also Villefranche-sur-Saône \-sūr-sōn\ Commune, Rhône dept., E cen. France, on Saône river 16 m. NNW of Lyons; pop. (1968c) 26,338; textiles; trades in wine. Villefranche-de-Rou-erge \-dā-rū-erg\ Commune, Aveyron dept., S France, ab. 26 m. W of Rodez; pop. (1962e) 10,461; 13th-16th cent. church, 15th-16th cent. Carthusian monastery; founded c. 1252.

ville-\ N France, ENE suburb of Paris; pop. (1968c) 28;756.

Ville-na \vê(i)-yā-nā\ Commune, Alicante prov., SE Spain, 26 m. NW of Alicante; pop. (1970p) 25,473; liquors, flour, soap.

Ville-nave-d'Or-non \vêl-nāv-dōr-nō\ Commune, Gir-ronde dept.; SW France, just S of Bordeaux in the Graves dist.; pop. (1968c) 21,263; wine (Château Carbonnieux).

Ville-neuve \vêl-nē(r)v\ Town, Quebec co., S Quebec, Canada, 6 m. NE of Quebec; pop. (1971p) 4044.

Villeneuve-d'Agen. See VILLENEUVE-SUR-LOT.

Villeneuve-la-Ga-renne \vêl-nē(r)v-lā-gā-ren\ Commune, Hauts-de-Seine dept., N France, ab. 5 m. NNW of Paris; pop. (1968c) 22,715.

Villeneuve-le-Roi \-lōr-(ā)-wā\ Commune, Val-de-Marne dept., N France, SSE suburb of Paris; pop. (1968c) 23,074.

Villeneuve-Saint-Georges \-sā-zhōrzh\ Commune, Val-de-Marne dept., N France, on the Seine 7 m. SSE of Paris; pop. (1968c) 30,488; shipbuilding.

Villeneuve-sur-Lot \-sūr-lōt\ or sometimes Villeneuve-d'Agen \-dā-zha\ or early medieval Ga-jac \ga-zhāk\ Commune, Lot-et-Garonne dept., SW France, on Lot river 13 m. N of Agen; pop. (1968c) 21,682; paper, cloth, copper goods, table linen.

Ville Platte \vêl-plat\ Town, ⊙ of Evangeline parish, S cen. Louisiana, 35 m. NNW of Lafayette; pop. (1970c) 9692; cotton gins; rice.

Vil-lers-Cot-te-rêts \vêl-ler-kō-tre\ Town, Aisne dept., N France, 14 m. SW of Soissons; pop. (1962c) 5489; birth- place of Alexandre Dumas père; forest in vicinity was a battlefield in World War I; captured by Germans Aug. 1914; severe fighting June-July 1918 when it was the scene July 18 of the opening action of the great Allied offensive.

Ville-rupt \vêl-rüp\ Industrial commune, Meurthe-et-Moselle dept., NE France, on Alzette river on Luxembourg border 36 m. N of Metz; pop. (1962c) 14,377; coal mines, steel mills; iron foundries.

Ville-ta \vê-yāt-ā\ Town, Central dept., S Paraguay, S of Asunción; pop. (1970e) 14,038.

Ville-ur-banne \vêl-ūr-ban\ Industrial commune, Rhône dept., E cen. France, E suburb of Lyons; pop. (1968c) 119,879; electrical equipment, metal goods, textiles, chemi- cals.

Vil-ling-en \vil-īn-ēn\ Manufacturing city, Baden-Würt- temberg, West Germany, 30 m. ENE of Freiburg; pop. (1969e) 36,950; clocks, radios, meters, furniture, cutlery, electrical goods; founded 999.

Villmanstrand. See LAPPEENRANTA.

Vil-lu-pu-ram \vil-ā-pūr-am\ Town, NE Tamil Nadu, SE India, 92 m. SSW of Madras; pop. (1961c) 43,500.

* Vil-ni-us \vil-nē-s\ or Pol. Wil-no \vil-(i)nō\; Russ. Vil-na \vil-nā\ or Vil-no \-(i)nō\; Ger. Wil-na \vil-nā\ Com- mercial city, * of Lithuanian, S.S.R., U.S.S.R., 57 m. ESE of Kaunas; pop. (1970p) 372,000; railroad junction; agricultural machinery, electrical equipment, foodstuffs, machine tools; seat of Roman Catholic and Orthodox archbishops; cathedral, twelve 17th cent. churches, ruins of castle; univ. (1578, abolished 1832, reestablished 1919). History: Founded in 10th cent.; made capital of Lith- uania 1323; destroyed by Teutonic Knights 1377; suffered frequently from plagues, fires, and invasions 15th-18th cents.; passed to Russia 1795. Occupied by Germans 1915-19; scene of fighting bet. Poland and U.S.S.R. during 1919-20; confirmed as Polish by League of Nations 1923; in World War II occupied by Soviet troops 1939 and by

VILYANDI. See VILYANDI.

Vil-yui \vil-yü-ē\ River, W Yakutsk A.S.S.R., Russian S.F.S.R., U.S.S.R.; 1513 m. long; rises in E Evenki National Okrug, flows E into Lena river; as chief tributary on the W, it enters the Lena ab. 200 m. NW of Yakutsk; navigable for 900 m.

Vi-lyu-isk Range \vil-yü-isk-\ Mountain range, W Ya- kutsk A.S.S.R., Russian S.F.S.R., U.S.S.R., W of Lena river and serving as watershed bet. Olenek and tributaries and the Vilyui tributaries; highest point ab. 3500 ft.

Vi-mei-rō \vê-me(r)-ü\ Village, Lisboa dist., W Portugal, near Atlantic Ocean 32 m. NW of Lisbon; pop. (1970p) 945; important victory Aug. 21, 1808 (Peninsular War) of Wellington over French under Junot.

Vi-mer-ca-te \vê-mer-kāt-ē\ Commune, Milano prov., Lombardy, N Italy, 14 m. NE of Milan; pop. (1968e) 17-110.

Vim-i-nal \vim-ān-ī\ One of the seven hills of Rome. See SEVEN HILLS.

Vimou-tiers \vê-mü-tyā\ Town, Orne dept., NW France, NE of Argentan; pop. (1962c) 3786; center for Camembert cheese, first made in village 3 m. SW (see CAMEMBERT).

Vi-my Ridge \vim-ē-, vê-mē-\ Ridge near Vimy commune, Pas-de-Calais dept., N France, 10 m. N of Arras; captured by Canadians Apr. 9-10, 1917.

Vi-ña del Mar \vên-yō-del-mār\ City, a residential suburb 6 m. E of Valparaíso, Chile; pop. (1966e) 138,457; impor- tant seaside resort; textiles, paint, glass, beverages.

Vi-nai-gre, Mont \mō-vē-nāgr\, -negr\ Mountain, Var dept., S France; highest point 2020 ft. in the Estérel.

Vi-ña-les \vê-nyāl-ēs\ Municipality, Pinar del Río prov., W Cuba, 15 m. N of Pinar del Río; pop. (1967e) 18,710.

Vin-al-ha-ven \vin-l-hā-vān\ 1 Island at mouth of Penob- scot Bay off S cen. Maine coast, part of Knox co. 2 Town on S end of Vinalhaven I.; pop. (1970c) 1135; summer resort and fishing center; granite quarries nearby.

Vin-cennes. 1 \vin-senz\ City, ⊙ of Knox co., SW In- diana, on Wash river 55 m. S of Terre Haute; pop. (1970c) 19,867; paper products, footwear, glass; in wheat- and fruit-farming region; Vincennes Univ. (1804); site of memorial to George Rogers Clark. History: Oldest town in Indiana. On site of a French mission; fortified 1732 by François Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes and renamed after him 1736; ceded to Great Britain 1763; seized by George Rogers Clark 1779; capital of Indiana Territory 1800-13 (see NORTHWEST TERRITO- RY); incorporated 1856. 2 -Fr-va-sen-\ Manufacturing commune, Val-de-Marne dept., N France, 5 m. E of Paris; pop. (1968c) 49,143; 14th cent. castle, once residence of French kings, later a state prison, and now an arsenal; extensive park (Bois de Vincennes \bwād-vā-sen\); military school, hospital.

Vin-ces \vin(t)-sēs\ City, Los Rios prov., W cen. Ecuador, just N of Guayaquil; pop. (1962c) 5901.

Vindau. See VENTSPILS.

Vindava. See VENTA.

Vin-del \vin-dī\ River, Västerbotten co., N Sweden; ab. 280 m. long; flows SE into Ume river.

Vin-de-li-cia \vin-dā-līsh-(ē)-ā\ Ancient Roman province, cen. Europe, S of the Danube river, including modern Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, West Germany; later called Rae-tia Se-cun-dā \rē-sh-(ē)-si-kān-dā\.

Vin-dhya Mountains \vin-dyā-, -dē-ā\ Mountain range extending ENE across India from Gujarat to the Ganges

ā abut: ā kitten, Fr. table: or further: a back: ā bake: ä cot, cart: á Fr. bac: áu out: ch chin: ē less: g gift
i trip: i life: j joke: k Ger. ich. Buch: n Fr. vin: ŋ sing: o flow: œ Fr. œuf: œ Fr. feu: ó coin: th thin
th this: ü loot: ú foot: ue Ger. füllen: ũ Fr. rue: y yet: y Fr. digne \dēn\, nuit \nwye\: yü few: yú furious: zh vision

Riet \rēt\ River, SW Orange Free State, Rep. of South Africa; ab. 250 m. long; flows W into the Vaal.

Rie-ti \rē-āt-ē, -et-\ 1 Province of Latium, cen. Italy. See table at ITALY.

2 or anc. RE-ate \rē-āt-ē\ Commune, its *, 42 m. NNW of Rome; pop. (1968e) 38,720; synthetic textiles, olive oil, fertilizer; 12th cent. cathedral, 13th cent. papal palace. In ancient times a capital of the Sabines; birthplace of Marcus Terentius Varro 116 B.C.; Guelph free city in 12th cent. A.D.; came under States of the Church 1354.

Rif or Riff. See ER RIF.

Rifs-tan-gi, Cape \-rifs-taun-gē\ Cape, NE Iceland, W of Raufarhöfn.

Rift Valley \rīft-\ 1 Geological depression, Asia and Africa. See GREAT RIFT VALLEY.

2 Province of W Kenya. See table at KENYA.

* Ri-ga \rē-ga\ or Lettish Ri-ga \rē-ga\ Industrial city and seaport, * of Latvian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., at S extremity of the Gulf of Riga on the Western Dvina river 9 m. above its mouth; pop. (1970p) 733,000; one of the principal Baltic ports of the U.S.S.R.; produces diesel engines, electrical equipment, turbines, boilers, glass, chemicals, paper, cement; shipyards, fish-processing plants, sawmills; retains some medieval remains, incl. 13th cent. church, 14th cent. castle of the Livonian Order; univ. (1919).

History: Founded before 1190; established as a trading settlement 1201 by Bishop of Livonia and joined Hanseatic League 1282; fought over by Poles and Russians and burned 1558 in Livonian War (see LIVONIA); fell under Polish domination 1581; taken over by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden 1621 and granted self-government; ceded to Peter the Great of Russia 1710 after the defeat at Poltava of Charles XII of Sweden; port closed 1915 in World War I; evacuated by Russians 1915; occupied by Germans 1917; independence of Latvia proclaimed at Riga Nov. 1918; independence recognized by U.S.S.R. in treaty signed here Aug. 11, 1920; in World War II taken by Germans June 29, 1941 and retaken by U.S.S.R. Oct. 13, 1944.

Riga, Inlet of NE Baltic Sea extending S into N coast of Latvian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.; ab. 100 m. long by 60 m. wide; receives the Western Dvina river.

Rig-by \rīg-bē\ City, ☉ of Jefferson co., E Idaho, 15 m. NE of Idaho Falls; pop. (1970c) 2293; diversified agriculture; settled by Mormons 1884.

Ri-gi or Ri-ghi \rē-gē\ Mountain mass in cen. Switzerland, bet. Lake of Lucerne and Lake of Zug; highest peaks the Rigi-Kulm \-kūlm\ 5905 ft. in NW, and Rigi-Scheidegg \-shī-dek\ 5462 ft. in SE.

Rig-o-let \rīg-ə-let\ Trading post and village at head of Hamilton Inlet on narrows leading to Lake Melville, SE Labrador, Canada.

Ri-i-shi-ri \rē-sha-(r)ē\ Island in N Sea of Japan, off NW coast of island of Hokkaidō, Japan.

Ri-je-ka \rē-jek-ə\ or Ri-eka \rē-ek-ə\ or Ital. Fiume \fyū-(j)mā\ or Ger. Sankt Veit am Flaum \zäg(k)t-ſīt-ām-ˈflaum\ Seaport, Croatia, NW Yugoslavia, ab. 80 m. WSW of Zagreb; pop. (1971p) 132,933; ships agricultural products, lumber, tobacco, wine; shipbuilding, engineering, oil refining; naval base, episcopal see; Roman triumphal arch.

History: In Byzantine Empire; ruled by own dukes in 9th cent.; has been held by Austria, Croatia, France, and Hungary; occupied by Italy in 1918; its disposal became an issue which caused Italy to leave Peace Conference 1919; occupied by irregular troops under D'Annunzio 1919; by Treaty of Rapallo bet. Italy and Yugoslavia 1920, set up as independent free city; formally annexed to Italy 1924; transferred to Yugoslavia by Italian peace treaty 1947.

Rijn. See RHINE.

Rijs-wijk \rīs-wīk\ or Eng. Rys-wick \rīz-(j)wīk\ Commune, South Holland prov., NW Netherlands, suburb of the Hague; pop. (1970e) 50,172; residential; 14th cent.

War of the Grand Alliance bet. England and France, acknowledged William III as king of England and Anne as his successor, mutually restored conquests of England and France in America, and allowed France to retain Alsace separate treaty signed Oct. 30, 1697 by France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Ri-ker's Island \rī-kəz-\ Island in the East river off S coast of the Bronx, New York City, New York; attached to Bronx borough; large penitentiary.

Ri-ku-chū \rē-kə-chū\ Former province, N Honshū, Japan, now Iwate prefecture.

Ri-ku-zen \rē-kū-zen\ Former province, N Honshū, Japan, now part of Miyagi prefecture.

Ri-la Dagh \rē-lā-ˈdā(g)\ Range of mountains in SW Bulgaria, at W end of the Rhodope Mts.; highest point Musala 9596 ft.; contains sources of Iskür, Maritsa, and Mesta rivers.

Ri-ley \rī-lē\ County in Kansas. See table at KANSAS.

Ri-mac \rē-māk\ River, Peru; ab. 80 m. long; flows through the city of Lima into the Pacific Ocean.

Ri-ma-ta-ra \rē-mə-ˈtar-ə\ See TUBUAI ISLANDS.

Ri-mav-ská So-bo-ta \rīm-əf-skə-ˈsō-bə-tā\ or Hung. Ri-ma-szom-bat \rīm-ə-sōm-bāt\ Town, Slovak S.R., SE Czechoslovakia, ab. 60 m. WSW of Kosice near the Hungarian border; pop. (1968e) 13,343; part of Hungary 1938-45.

Ri-mi-ni \rīm-ə-(j)nē, ˈrē-mə-\ or anc. Arim-inum \ə-ˈrīm-ə-nəm\ Seaport, Forlì prov., Emilia-Romagna, N Italy, on the Adriatic 27 m. ESE of Forlì; pop. (1968e) 114,467; railroad junction; has flour mills, wineries, and railroad shops, but is primarily a tourist center; has Roman remains including a triumphal arch and a bridge; ruins of 15th cent. Malatesta castle, 15th cent. Malatesta temple, several medieval churches.

History: Founded by Umbrians; came under Rome 268 B.C.; Roman military base in Second Punic War and during Gothic invasions; scene of Council of Rimini 359 A.D.; under the Malatestas 1239-1508; passed to Papal States until 1860 when it joined kingdom of Italy.

Rim-ni-cu-Să-rat \rēm-nē-kū-sə-ˈrāt\ or Râm-ni-cul-Să-rat \rəm-nə-kīl-sə-ˈrāt\ Town, Buzău co., SE cen. Romania, ab. 20 m. NE of Buzău; pop. (1970e) 24,481; commercial center; has often been a battlefield; Moldavians against Wallachians, Turks against Wallachians, Austrians, and Russians; rebuilt since destructive fire 1854.

Rîmnîc-Vîl-cea \ˈvîl-tʃə\ or Râmnicul-Vâl-cea \ˈvɔl-tʃə\ City, ☉ of Vilcea co., S cen. Romania, ab. 100 m. NW of Bucharest; pop. (1970e) 34,668; has cathedral and episcopal palace; in vicinity are four monasteries, thermal springs, and salt mines.

Ri-mous-ki \rīm-ū-skē\ 1 County, Quebec, Canada. See table at QUEBEC.

2 City, its ☉, on S bank of St. Lawrence river ab. 180 m. NE of Quebec; pop. (1971p) 26,546; lumber, dairy products; port of call for ocean steamers; tourist center; Séminaire de Rimouski (1855). Coll. des Ursulines (1906). Scolastic Notre Dame du St. Bosaire (1957).

Rimp-fisch-horn \rīmp-ſīsh-hō(ə)r\ Peak in the Pennine Alps, in Switzerland, N of Monte Rosa; 13,776 ft.

Rin-cón \rīg-kón\ 1 Peak, E Antofagasta prov., N Chile, on Argentina boundary; 18,353 ft.

2 Municipality, W Puerto Rico; pop. (1970p) 1534 (town), 9350 (munic.); town is on coast ab. 9 m. SW of Aguadilla.

Rincón Bay. Bay in S coast of Puerto Rico.

Rin-con Peak \rīg-kān-\ Mountain, E Pima co., S Arizona; 8465 ft.

Rin-dja-ni, Gu-nung \gū-nūŋ-rin-ˈjā-nē\ Volcanic peak, N part of Lombok I., Indonesia; 12,224 ft.; one of highest peaks of Malay Archipelago; erupted 1964.

Rin-ge-ri-ke \rīg-ə-rē-kə\ Commune, Buskerud prov., Norway; pop. (1970e) 28,828

Ring-kø-bing \rīŋ-kør-bīŋ\ 1 County of W Jutland, Denmark. See table at DENMARK.

2 Town, its ☉, at N end of Ringkøbing Fjord; pop. (1970e) 6536.

Ringkøbing Fjord. Lagoon, W cen. coast of Jutland, Denmark; receives Omme and Skjern rivers.

Ring-nes Islands \rīŋ-nēs-\ The Ellef Ringnes and Amund Ringnes islands of the Sverdrup Is., N Franklin dist., Northwest Territories, Canada, W of Axel Heiberg I.

Rings-aker \rīŋ(k)s-ä-kər\ Commune, Hedmark co., E Norway; pop. (1970e) 28,764.

Ring-vass-øy \rīŋ-vä-söi\ Island in Arctic Ocean off NW coast of Norway, SW of Vanøey I., in Troms co.; 253 sq. m.

Ring-wood \rīŋ-wūd\ 1 River, New York and N New Jersey; rises in Orange co., SE New York, flows S through Passaic co., New Jersey, and unites with Pequannock and Ramapo rivers to form Pompton river.

2 Borough, Passaic co., N New Jersey, 17 m. NNW of Paterson; pop. (1970c) 10,393.

Rinfa. See RHENEA.

Rinns, The. See RHINNS, THE.

Rin-tja \rīn-(j)chā\ Small island off W end of Flores I., Indonesia, ESE of Komodo I.

Rio \Span. ˈrē-(j)ō, Port. -(j)u\ 1 For most names of rivers beginning with Rio (Span. Río, Port. Rio, "river"), see the distinguishing element.

2 City, Brazil. See RIO DE JANEIRO 2.

Rio Al-to Peak \rē-ō-ˈal-tō-\ Mountain, Custer and Saguache cos., S cen. Colorado; 13,573 ft.

Rio Ar-ri-ba \rē-ō-ˈə-rē-bə\ County in New Mexico. See table at NEW MEXICO.

Rio-bam-ba \rē-ō-ˈbām-bə\ City, * of Chimborazo prov., cen. Ecuador, 110 m. S of Quito and ab. 20 m. SE of Chimborazo volcano; pop. (1970e) 53,700; market town; produces textiles, carpets, footwear, dairy products; original town a few miles distant destroyed by earthquake 1797; first constitution of republic of Ecuador proclaimed here Aug. 14, 1830.

Rio Blan-co \rē-ō-ˈblanj-(j)kō\ County in Colorado. See table at COLORADO.

Rio Blanco \rē-ō-ˈblanj-(j)kō\ Municipality, Veracruz state, Mexico, 4 m. W of Orizaba; pop. (1970p) 27,266.

Rio Bran-co \rē-ō-ˈbraŋ-(j)kō\ 1 River in Brazil. See BRANCO, RIO.

2 City, * of Acre state, W Brazil, on Acre river; munic. pop. (1970p) 72,833; rubber, timber.

Rio Bra-vo \rē-ō-ˈbrāv-(j)ō\ 1 or Río Bravo del Nor-te \ˈdel-nōrt-ē\ Mexican name of the Rio Grande, bet. U.S. and Mexico. See RIO GRANDE 1.

2 Municipality, Tamaulipas state, Mexico, 40 m. W of Matamoros; pop. (1970p) 70,814; wheat, cotton.

Rio Cha-ma \rē-ō-ˈchām-ə\ River, Colorado and N New Mexico; ab. 100 m. long; rises in Conejos co., S Colorado, flows S across state border and empties into the Rio Grande in SE Rio Arriba co., N New Mexico.

Rio Cla-ro \rē-ū-ˈklar-(j)ō\ City, São Paulo state, SE Brazil, 90 m. NW of São Paulo; munic. pop. (1968e) 69,096.

Rio Cuar-to \rē-ō-ˈkwärt-(j)ō\ Town, Córdoba prov., cen. Argentina, ab. 125 m. S of Córdoba; pop. (1960c) 65,569; commercial center of livestock farming region; military base and arsenal.

Rio de Ja-nei-ro \rē-(j)ō-ˈdā-zhə-ˈne(ə)r-(j)ō, -dē-, -də-, -jə-, -ŋi(ə)r-\ 1 State of SE Brazil. See table at BRAZIL.

2 abbr. Rio \rē-(j)ō\ Commercial seaport, * of Guanabara Bay state, SE Brazil, on SW shore of Guanabara Bay; pop. (1970p) 4,296,782; former * of Brazil; principal port of Brazil and major transportation center; produces foodstuffs, beverages, tobacco products, clothing, soap, furniture, glass, chemicals, tires; publishing, metalworking, shipbuilding; federal univ. (1920), Catholic univ. (1960),

and several other educational institutions; one of the largest harbors in built on an alluvial plain shore of the bay in place ft.) at the entrance to t covado (q.v.) 2310 ft. N public buildings, museum one of the leading tou America.

History: Guanabara Bay 16th cent. (no proof of a first settled 1535 by Fr settlement expelled by P in 18th cent. after disc Minas Gerais made it exports; made capital of 1822, and of republic Congress 1906; in 1960 v Brasília (q.v.) and be Guanabara state.

Rio de Janeiro Bay. See RIO DELL \rē-ō-ˈdel\ Cit. SE of Eureka; pop. (197

Rio del Rey \rē-ō-del-ˈrā\ of Cameroon, W Africa,

Rio de Oro \rē-ōd-ē-ōr\ coast of Río de Oro zon harbor of Villa Cisneros

Río Dul-ce Nacional Par NE Guatemala; 117 sq. n

Río Gallegos. See GALLE

Río Grande \rē-(j)ō-ˈgran

Río Bra-vo \rē-ō-ˈbrāv- \del-nōrt-ē\ River, SW and S Texas; 181 near E boundary of San I then S through San Luis I forms W and SW bounda boundary; the section in

includes canyons of the l into the Gulf of Mexico: 2 County in Colorado. S

Río Gran-de \rē-(j)ü-ˈgran and two rivers in Brazil.

2 or São Pe-dro do Rio G dē... dē-sül\ City, SE I 150 m. SSW of Porto Alé,

ships meat products, w canned meat and fish, cā as fort on site nearby; mc city 1807.

Río Gran-de \rē-ō-ˈgrān-dī See GRANDE, RIO.

2 Town, Zacatecas state, 80 m. NNW of Zacatecas

3 Municipality, NE Puerte 21,978 (munic.); town on

Río Grande City \rē-ō-ˈgrā Starr co., S Texas, on Ri pop. (1970c) 5676; fertiliz

Río Grande de Cayagan.

Río Grande de Mindanao.

Río Grande de Pampanga.

Río Grande de Santiago.

Río Gran-de do Nor-te \rē- Brazil; 20,469 sq. m.; po interior is semiarid; livest

Río Grande do Sul \rē-ū-g 108,951 sq. m.; pop. (197 rice, corn, wheat; livestoc

2 City, Brazil. See RIO GR

(1964e) 14,734. See KIRISHIMA.

City, Niigata Prefecture, NE of Toyama; pop. 274,367; a major and warehouse

prefecture, Honshū, 159,664; ships articles, including

New Zealand, 200.

Hyōgo prefecture, 1,000; pop. (1970c)

City, Hyōgo Prefecture, W of Kōbe; pop. 1,000.

Gumma prefecture, Maebashi; pop. 1,000.

Osaka prefecture, Osaka; pop. (1970c)

Ma, on right bank prefecture, Kyūshū, 1970c) 64,233.

City, Gifu prefecture, Nagoya; pop. 1,000.

Honshū, Japan, 2,019.

Iranistan. See table at

India, ab. 8 m. S of

1 Twin peaks at N of the higher peak. 1,000; pop. (1970c)

Alaska-Britain Columbia border, 1,000; pop. (1970c)

near its terminus.

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City, Niigata Prefecture, NE of Toyama; pop. 274,367; a major and warehouse

Kagawa prefecture, 274,367; a major and warehouse

Takutū. See TACUTU.

Ta-la \tā-lā-. Town, Jalisco state, W cen. Mexico, 20 m. W of Guadalajara; munic. pop. (1970p) 33,369.

Ta-lab or Tah-lab \tā-lāb-. River, SE Iran; ab. 175 m. long; rises near Zāhedān and flows SE to the border, then along the Iran-Pakistan boundary to Hammūn-i-Mashkel.

Talabriga. 1 Seaport, Portugal. See AVEIRO 3.

2 Commune, Spain. See TALAVERA DE LA REINA.

Ta-la-gan-tē \tā-lā-gān-tē-. City, Santiago prov., cen. Chile, SW of Santiago; pop. (1960c) 11,560.

Ta-la-kag \tā-lā-kāg-. Municipality, Bukidnon prov., Mindanao, Phil.; pop. (1969e) 24,100.

Ta-lak-mau, Mount \tā-lā-k-māu- or formerly Mount Ophir \tā-lā-fēr-. Peak in Barisan Mts., W Sumatra, Indonesia, NW of Bukittinggi; 9554 ft.

Talamanca, Cordillera de. See CORDILLERA DE TALAMANCA.

Ta-la-na Hill \tā-lā-nā-. See DUNDEE 3.

Ta-lang \tā-lāng-. Volcanic peak in Barisan Mts., W Sumatra, Indonesia; 8517 ft.

Ta-la-ra \tā-lā-rā-. Seaport, Piura dept., NW Peru, ab. 40 m. N of Paita and 610 m. NW of Lima; pop. (1969e) 38,200; oil refinery; export center for petroleum industry.

Ta-la-sea \tā-lā-sā-. Settlement, E side of Willaumez Penin. on N coast of New Britain, Bismarck Archipelago, WPacific Ocean; active trade in copra; occupied by U.S. Marines Mar. 6, 1944.

Talat. See MAHA SARAKHAM.

Ta-la-ta-koh \tā-lā-tā-kō-. See PENJU ISLANDS.

Ta-laud Islands \tā-lāud- or Ta-laur Islands \tā-lāur-. Island group, Indonesia, NE of Celebes I. and SE of the island of Mindanao, Phil.; 494 sq. m.; chief town Bontol. Comprises the main large island of Karakelong, two small islands S of it (Salebabu and Kaburuang), and the group of islets to the NE, Nanusa Is.; undeveloped; copra is only important product. First came under Dutch 1677.

Ta-la-ve-ra \tā-lā-ve-rā-. Municipality, Nueva Ecija prov., Luzon, Phil., 8 m. N of Cabanatuan; pop. (1969e) 38,900.

Talavera de la Reina \tā-lā-rā-nā- or anc. Tal-a-brig \tā-lā-brī-gā-. Commune, Toledo prov., cen. Spain, Tagus river 41 m. WNW of Toledo; pop. (1970p) 45,320; olive oil, agricultural machinery, tobacco and dairy products; town walls with 18 medieval towers. Founded by Romans; conquered by Moors by Alfonso VI 1085; important center of woolen industry 16th-18th cents.; 1809 scene of notable victory of British and Spanish forces under Wellington and Guesta over French under José Bonaparte.

Tal-bot \tāl-bōt-, 'tal-. Name of counties in two states of the U.S. See tables at GEORGIA and MARYLAND.

Talbot, Cape. Point, N coast of Western Australia, W Cape Londonderry; 13°48'S, 126°43'E.

Talbot Island \tāl-bōt-. Island off coast of Duval co., Florida, N of mouth of St. Johns river.

Tal-bot-ton \tāl-bōt-tōn-. City, ☉ of Talbot co., W Georgia; pop. (1970c) 1045; agriculture.

Tal-ca \tāl-kā-. 1 Province of cen. Chile. See table at CHILE 2. City, its *, 155 m. S of Santiago on the Claro river; pop. (1966c) 80,777; commercial center and railroad junction; produces clothing, flour, food products; founded 1690.

Tal-ca-hua-no \tāl-kā-(h)wān-(j)ō-. Seaport, Concepción prov., S cen. Chile, 9 m. NW of Concepción; pop. (1969e) 102,019; good anchorage; naval base.

Tal-dy-Kur-gan \tāl-dē-kū-(j)r-gān-. Town, * of Tal-dy-Kurgan Oblast, E Kazakh S.S.R., U.S.S.R., SE of Balkhash and ab. 140 m. NE of Alma Ata; pop. (1969e) 61,000.

Taldy-Kurgan Oblast \tāl-dē-kū-(j)r-gān-. Subdivision of Kazakh S.S.R., U.S.S.R.; 45,753 sq. m.; pop. (1969e) 1,000.

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Tal-ferro \tāl-fērō-. County in Georgia. See table at GEORGIA.

Ta-li-bon \tā-lī-bōn-. Municipality, Bohol prov., N coast of Bohol I., Phil., 48 m. NE of Tagbilaran; pop. (1969e) 42,300.

Ta-lien. See DAIREN.

Ta-li-hi-na \tā-lī-hī-nā-. Town, Le Flore and Latimer cos., E Oklahoma; 34 m. SW of Poteau; pop. (1970c) 1227.

Ta-li-ko-ta \tā-lī-kō-tā- or Ta-li-kot \tā-lī-kōt-. Town, N Mysore, W India; pop. (1961c) 12,800; scene in 1565 of major battle in which Muslim chieftains of the Deccan united in overthrowing the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Tali Lake. See ERH HAI.

Ta-lim Island \tā-līm-. Island in N cen. Laguna de Bay, cen. Luzon, Phil.; 10 m. long, ab. 11 sq. m.; belongs to Rizal prov.; has valuable stone quarries; its S point is Talim Point, 14°07'N, 121°14'E.

Ta-li-mu Ho. See TARIM.

Talin. See TALLINN.

Ta-li-gan \tā-lī-gān-. Town, * of Takhar prov., NE Afghanistan; pop. (1969e) 66,654.

Ta-li-say \tā-lī-sā-. 1 Municipality, Cebu prov., E coast of Cebu I., Phil., at N end of Bohol Strait 6 m. SW of City of Cebu; pop. (1969e) 42,300.

2 Municipality, NW Negros Occidental, Negros, Phil., on Guimaras Strait 5 m. N of City of Bacolod; pop. (1969e) 42,200.

Talla-de-ga \tālā-dē-gā-. 1 County in E cen. Alabama. See table at ALABAMA.

2 City, its ☉, 44 m. E of Birmingham; pop. (1970c) 17,662; cottonseed oil, lumber, woolen yarn, dairy products; marble and limestone quarries; Talladega Coll. (1867); incorporated 1835. Scene of battle Nov. 9, 1813, in which Andrew Jackson defeated Creek Indians.

Tal-la-has-see \tāl-lā-hās-sē-. City, * of Florida and ☉ of Leon co., N Florida, 25 m. N of Apalachee Bay; pop. (1970c) 72,586; tobacco market; lumber, turpentine, peanuts; Florida State Univ. (1857), Florida Agricultural and Mechanical Univ. (1887), Tallahassee Junior Coll. (1963). Dates from era of Spanish colonial rule; made capital of Florida territory 1823; incorporated 1825; state capital 1845; scene of adoption of secession resolution 1861.

Tal-la-hatch-ie \tāl-lā-hāch-ē-. 1 River, N Mississippi; 301 m. long; rises in Tippah co., flows SW to unite with Tallapoosa river in Leflore co. and form the Yazoo river; navigable for ab. 100 m.

2 County in Mississippi. See table at MISSISSIPPI.

Tal-al-Dafana. See DAPHNAE.

Tal-al-Kabir, Al- \tāl-tāl-kā-bīr-, a-tel- or Tell el-Kabir \tāl-el-kā-bēr-. Village, N Egypt, near Zagazig; scene of victory of British over Egyptians Sept. 13, 1882.

Tal-poo-sa \tāl-pū-sā-. 1 Navigable river, Alabama; 188 m. long; rises in Paulding co., NW Georgia, flows SW across Alabama border E of Heflin, S and then W to join

3 City, Haralson co., W Georgia, 35 m. S of Rome; pop. (1970c) 2896; cotton gins, sawmills.

Tal-las-see \tāl-lās-sē-. City, Elmore and Tallapoosa cos., E cen. Alabama; pop. (1970c) 4809.

* Tal-linn \tāl-līn- or Russ. Ta-lin \tāl-yīn-; formerly Revel \tā-rē-vəl- or Ger. Re-val \tā-rē-vāl-. Seaport city, * of Estonian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., on the Gulf of Finland opp. Helsinki and ab. 200 m. W of Leningrad; pop. (1970p) 363,000; one of the principal Baltic ports of the U.S.S.R.; extensive port facilities; industrial center, producing paper, electrical equipment, textiles, furniture, cellulose; large shipyards; extensive naval and military installations; medieval city wall, remains of 13th cent. citadel.

History: Probably founded by Danish King Valdemar II 1219; developed as trading port and Hanse town 13th cent.; sold to Teutonic Knights 1346; on dissolution of order passed to Sweden 1561; taken by Russians 1710; capital of Estonia 1918-40; in World War II occupied by Germans 1941-44 and suffered heavy damage, substantially repaired since 1945.

Tall Kelakh. See TELKALAKH.

Tall-madge \tāl-mīj-. City, Summit co., NE Ohio, 4 m. E of Akron; pop. (1970c) 15,274.

Tal-lu-lah \tāl-lū-lā-. 1 River, Georgia. See BURTON LAKE.

2 Village, ☉ of Madison parish, NE Louisiana, 57 m. E of Monroe; pop. (1970c) 9643; lumber, cottonseed oil; poultry.

Ta-lo-ga \tā-lō-gā-. Town, ☉ of Dewey co., W Oklahoma; pop. (1970c) 363; grain farms.

Tal-tal \tāl-tāl-. Seaport, Antofagasta prov., N Chile; pop. (1960c) 5291; exports nitrates and ores.

Ta-lu-ti Bay also Te-loe-ti Bay \tā-lū-tē-. Inlet of Banda Sea, S coast of Ceram I., Indonesia.

Ta-ma \tā-mā-. 1 County in Iowa. See table at IOWA.

2 City, Tama co., E cen. Iowa; pop. (1970c) 3000.

Tama \tām-. Peak, N Colombia, 20 m. ESE of Cúcuta; 13,126 ft.

Ta-ma-le \tā-māl-ē-. Town, * of Northern Region, N Ghana, W Africa, in plain E of the Volta, ab. 270 m. N of Accra; pop. (1970p) 81,612; road junction and trade and educational center; ships agricultural products (rice, peanuts, butter, cotton).

Tamalipta. See TAMLUK.

Tam-al-pa-is, Mount \tām-əl-pī-əs-. Peak, Marin co., W California, NW of San Francisco and overlooking the Pacific Ocean and San Francisco Bay; 2572 ft.; scenic resort.

Ta-man \tā-mān-. Peninsula and cape, E side of Kerch Strait, W Krasnodar Krai, Russian S.F.S.R., U.S.S.R.; ab. 25 m. long; oil field.

Taman Ne-ga-ra National Park \tā-mā-nā-gā-rā-. National park, Malaysia; rain forest; varied wildlife; established 1938.

Ta-ma-no \tā-mā-(j)nō-. City, Okayama prefecture, Kyūshū, Japan, 15 m. NW of Kumamoto; pop. (1970c) 68,446.

Tam-an-ras-set \tām-ən-rās-ət-. Wadi, S Algeria, N of the Adrar des Iforas.

Ta-ma-qua \tā-māk-wā-. Borough, Schuylkill co., E cen. Pennsylvania, 15 m. ENE of Pottsville; pop. (1970c) 9246; explosives, women's clothing, canned goods; coal mines; diversified agriculture.

Ta-mar \tā-mār-. 1 River, SW England; 60 m. long; rises in NW Devonshire, flows SSE, forming boundary bet. Devon and Cornwall, empties into the English Channel through Plymouth Sound.

→ kitten, Fr. table; → further; a back; ā bake; ä cot. cart; ä flow; ä Fr. bac; ä out; ch chin; e less; ē easy; g gift
 ü life; j joke; k Ger. ich. Buch; * Fr. vin; y sing; ö flow; ö flav; œ Fr. bouff; œ Fr. feu; ö coin; th thin
 ü foot; ü foot; ü Ger. füllen; ü Fr. rue; y yet; y Fr. digne \dēny/, nuit \nuity/; yü few; yü furious; zh vision



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FROM/LOCATION

1. Jim Cicconi / Paris, France

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. Counsel Gray

2. Fred McClure

3. Jim Pinkerton

4. John Gardner

5. Chris Winston -FYI

6. _____

7. _____

SITUATION ROOM

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WHITE HOUSE

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

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SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Sunday 07/16

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
(07/15 draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston in the Senior Staff Office, Rm. 1051, by NOON, Sunday 07/16, with an info copy to Jim Cicconi, Rm. 1051. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

SENSITIVE

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

(Smith/Blessey)
July 15, 1989
Draft Two
[Captive]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, but it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement towards democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

*Trans. Add
1/20/89*

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

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move to

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery and of conscience: The bravery that inspires the peoples of Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba; the conscience that teaches that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-rch MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech

Kossuth
7/11/87
watched

Kossuth
speech in
Wash.
11/7/82

Abroad in Amer.
to the New
Nation p. 12
speech
in
Wash.
11/7/82

NSC
Larry Laver
5732

Imre Madach
tragedy of
Man

Poland
& Hungary
graph
Hutchings

Lithuania
Lith.
Estonia

Hutchings

Structure
of
Captive
Nations
Week

Hutchings

Lithuania & Estonia

Hutchings

writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. That democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. ~~And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan.~~ In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

The tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. Around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to nations of East Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national destinies, we say: America stands with you.

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom we say: America stands with you. To all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression.

We know that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. Five weeks ago, thousands symbolized that democracy as they

Hutchings
Curt
"Living in Truth"

Jandy Charles
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Hutchings
Karl Jackson

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more Seminal
AUS Sweeping World
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Revolution

4 Combine with Kossuth

filled Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to pay homage to the heroes, and the spirit of Hungary's 1956 rebellion. But their presence did more. It honored the spirit of captive peoples everywhere.

N.Y.T
6/17/89
P.03

Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

Tallinn (Tallin)

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My friends, that wonder is liberty's wonder. In ^{Praga (de-9-9)} ~~Kabul~~ and ^{Vilnius} ~~Prague~~. Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ^{in the ideals of liberty} ~~ballots, not bullets~~. And who survive -- who will triumph -- through courage and determination.

Capt Nations
Habeas

Abroad in
P.127

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. Like them, we must never waver, nor surrender. Instead, let us raise -- together -- what ^{America} ~~Lajos Kossuth~~ called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can lead us toward the day when all captive peoples know the joy of freedom.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, and God bless America.

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Too much Hungary here.

Mozambican President Offers Talks With Rebels

Renamo Expected to Respond This Week

By Karl Maier
Special to The Washington Post

MAPUTO, Mozambique, July 17—President Joaquim Chissano today unveiled a peace initiative to end the war against rebels that has raged since the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) led this southern African nation to independence from Portugal 14 years ago.

Chissano told reporters here that the South African government has ended the support it had provided the rebels since 1980 and that he was awaiting a response to his peace offer from Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the insurgent Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo).

If Renamo agrees to renounce violence and to adhere to constitutional rule, Chissano said, the government could begin talks with the rebels "about the ways to end the violence, establish peace and normalize life for everyone in the country."

Chissano made the announcement just two days before the visit of Frederik W. de Klerk, who is expected to become South Africa's president after September elections. Years of negotiations, he said, had persuaded Pretoria to halt support for Renamo, although private groups inside South Africa continue to back the rebels.

"We are convinced that the South African government does not support Renamo materially," Chissano said. "We are prepared to believe that South African security and defense forces do not provide support. But everything indicates there are still elements in South Africa that support Renamo."

Presenting a previously confidential 12-point statement of principles, Chissano said the key to opening peace talks would be a rebel agreement to participate in a non-violent, constitutional political process. Negotiations could begin before the fighting actually stops, he said.

His announcement echoed state-

ments made last week by the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, after a two-day visit to Maputo. "I believe that it is now important that no group in Mozambique should seek to impose its will on the people or government through use of force or violence," Cohen said. "If Renamo announces the acceptance of this principle, I believe it is possible to proceed with negotiations in the very near future."

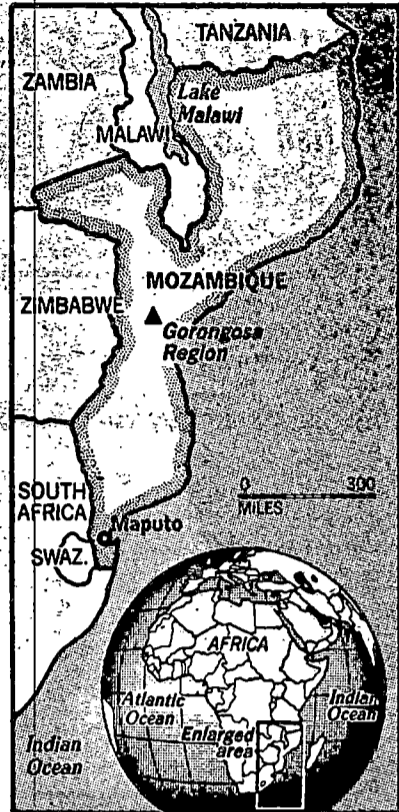
Chissano made no mention of a power-sharing arrangement, but his offer of "a dialogue" with the rebels on how to end violence went further than the country's 18-month-old amnesty law, which has had little effect on the war. All Mozambicans, including Renamo fighters, would enjoy constitutional guarantees to participate in politics, he said.

Dhlakama is expected to respond to the proposal on Wednesday when he meets with a delegation representing 18 Mozambican churches in Nairobi, the Kenyan capital, Chissano said. Frelimo government officials will also be there to monitor the discussions.

Roman Catholic Cardinal Alexandre dos Santos, of Maputo, and other senior church officials initially planned to meet with Dhlakama in Nairobi on July 12. Government, church and diplomatic sources said that meeting was aborted, however, when Frelimo forces attacked the main rebel base in the central region of Gorongosa and downed the plane that was to fly Dhlakama to neighboring Malawi en route to Kenya.

Chissano denied that the Frelimo army attack was intended to block Dhlakama's departure. The president said that the commander of the general offensive in Sofala province was unaware of the then-secret talks in Nairobi. He said Dhlakama had been delayed in arriving at previous meetings because of Renamo's disorganization.

Appearing confident that Dhlakama would both arrive in Nairobi and accept the peace offer,



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

Chissano said that Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, whose government sponsored the rebel-church contacts, would fly to Maputo this week to discuss how to keep the peace process moving. Diplomatic sources said the next step would involve preparations for direct talks between government and rebel representatives.

The peace initiative, Chissano said, had the full backing of Frelimo's 180-member Central Committee, which ended six days of meetings today in preparation for the party's fifth congress, July 24-31.

He acknowledged that there was no military solution to the war, which has left much of the vast nation, twice the size of California, ungovernable. One in 15 Mozambicans—a million people—have fled to neighboring countries, and the conflict has drained billions of dollars from the economy, already one of the world's poorest with an average annual per capita income of about \$155. A State Department report published in April last year accused Renamo of killing at least 100,000 civilians.

"We have found a great repudiation of terrorism by our people," Chissano said, "but at the same time a great desire to see the end of the war."

30 Killed In Afghan Rebel Feud

Guerrilla Leaders Ambushed After Strategy Meeting

175

By Steve Coll
Washington Post Foreign Service

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, July 17—As many as 30 Afghan rebel military leaders, including more than a half-dozen senior field commanders, were ambushed and killed by a rival guerrilla group while returning from a strategy meeting in northern Afghanistan last week, rebel sources and Western diplomats here confirmed today.

The killings, the most serious internecine violence reported among the U.S.-backed rebels in years, occurred in Takhar Province, about 200 miles north of Kabul, the capital, following a four-day meeting of rebel military leaders to plan renewed assaults against the Soviet-supported Afghan government.

Following the meeting, which was led by the legendary rebel commander Ahmed Shah Massoud, two groups of Massoud's officers set out for their bases to the south through a narrow stretch of the Fakhar Valley, which is controlled by a rival rebel faction. The first group, about five officers, was ambushed and killed Tuesday while traveling through the valley in a jeep. The following day, more than 20 more officers in a small convoy of vehicles were captured and subsequently executed, according to reports reaching Pakistan.

One senior Western diplomat here said the killings are certain to exacerbate the strategic difficulties already facing the guerrillas this summer because of continuing rivalries among rebel factions that have prevented coordinated military action against the government of President Najibullah. "Najibullah is going to put this on television

every night," the diplomat said, referring to the Afghan leader's efforts to rally domestic and international support for his government.

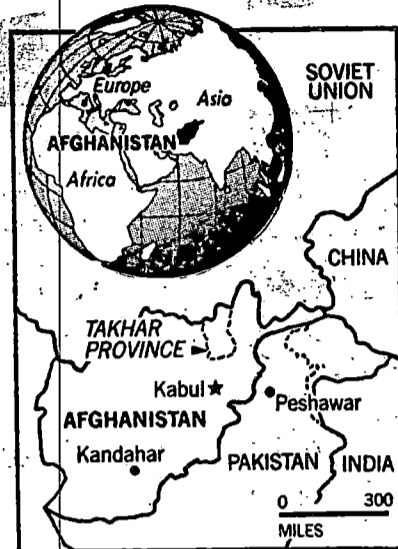
The slain guerrilla leaders were affiliated with a fundamentalist Moslem rebel group known as Jamiat-i-Islami, or Islamic Society, one of seven loosely allied rebel factions fighting the Kabul government. Rebel sources charged that the ambushes were ordered by Sayad Jamal, a northern field commander associated with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of a rebel group called Hezb-i-Islami, or Islamic Party, the most radically fundamentalist and anti-Western of the guerrilla factions.

Confirmation of the attacks reached U.S. officials Sunday, when Peter Tomsen, the recently appointed U.S. special envoy to the rebels, met with two of Massoud's brothers in the Pakistani border city of Peshawar, where many of the rebel groups are based.

In Washington today, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher called the attacks "tragic and brutal" and reiterated that initial reports indicated they were carried out by guerrillas associated with Hekmatyar. He said the killings "can only play into the hands of the enemies of a free Afghanistan. We urge the [rebel factions] to focus on the vital work of improving unity and coordination." Boucher added that the incident would not affect U.S. support for the Afghan rebels. "The nature and character of our support is unchanged, and it will continue," he said.

Rebel field units affiliated with Hekmatyar reportedly have been involved in a number of violent clashes with other rebel groups over the course of the decade-long Afghan civil war. As recently as May, rebel sources and diplomats said, Hekmatyar sent a force of 400 guerrillas to take part in assaults on the government-held southern city of Kandahar where they exchanged fire with a rival rebel group before eventually being forced to return to Peshawar.

Hekmatyar has been in Afghanistan meeting with military commanders for several weeks, but officials at his headquarters in Peshawar have asked for a detailed report on the ambushes from commanders in the region, rebel sources said. Ac-



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

According to one report reaching Peshawar, Jamal, the alleged instigator of the ambushes, has told allies that he was seeking revenge against Massoud because a Massoud field commander had killed one of Jamal's guerrilla chiefs a year ago.

According to the version related by Massoud's brothers, Jamal had reportedly sworn on the Koran, Islam's holiest book, that he would provide the Massoud officers with safe passage through the valley.

Massoud is regarded as the Moslem rebels' most important military commander in northern Afghanistan, where his reputation for military prowess has won him a following of thousands of guerrilla fighters and wide publicity in the Western press.

Massoud and Burhanuddin Rabbani, the scholarly leader of the Jamiat-i-Islami rebel faction, are both members of Afghanistan's ethnic Tajik minority, which has long struggled against the country's dominant Pushtun majority. Hekmatyar's well disciplined and militarily powerful Hezb-i-Islami is regarded as a leading representative of Pushtuns among the antigovernment forces.

The strategy session in northern Afghanistan from which Massoud's commanders were returning was one of a number of local meetings called in recent weeks to plan more closely coordinated assaults against government forces in Afghanistan's major cities, according to rebel sources.

Difficulties incurred by the rebels during an assault on the strategic eastern city of Jalalabad following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in February have prompted the rebels—at the urging of U.S. and Pakistani military advisers—to reevaluate their strategy.

Guerrilla leaders say they hope to step up attacks on supply routes to Afghan cities in the next several weeks.

Staff writer David B. Ottaway contributed to this report.

For Asia, The Strain Is Showing

185e

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BANGKOK, Thailand

AS negotiations about the future of Cambodia build momentum, with an international conference opening in Paris at the end of this month, the six countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or Asean, have managed to get their act together at least one more time. But the task is getting harder as the interests of the member nations — Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — begin to diverge.

Getting the world to pay attention to Cambodia has been one of Asean's major accomplishments, providing an impetus for this organization of non-Communist states. Understandably upset by the Vietnamese invasion of its smaller neighbor in 1978, which put Vietnamese troops on the border of Thailand, Asean worked to deny Hanoi a fait accompli and to underscore the principle that larger countries should not invade smaller ones, whatever the circumstances.

Now the Vietnamese, eager to rejoin the world and the regional economy, say they are withdrawing their troops by the end of September. But this clear policy success has strained Asean, which wants both to start trading in earnest with the Cambodians and the Vietnamese and also to impose upon them the sort of comprehensive solution for Cambodia that may be unattainable.

Thailand, whose policies are business-oriented, and to a lesser degree Indonesia and Malaysia, which have always been wary of Chinese ambitions, have already begun to come to terms with the Government of Prime Minister Hun Sen in Phnom Penh, no matter how much its illegitimacy is decried by Asean. While installed by the Vietnamese and hardly an outpost of liberal values, Mr. Hun Sen's regime is the only real barrier to a return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

At their yearly gathering, attended by foreign ministers of major trading partners like Japan, the United States and Australia, the Asean countries agreed that a Vietnamese withdrawal must be verified by an international control mechanism, which would only be possible in the context of a comprehensive solution including an interim power-sharing government. That is what the Paris conference is supposed to be about. Still, no one has clearly described how a solution would be negotiated over the heads of the Cambodians if they cannot agree among themselves.

The Vietnamese are regarded, grudgingly, as having played their "end game" very well thus far, despite holding a comparatively weak hand. Asean diplomats admit that the Vietnamese are leaving in any case, that an internationally supervised withdrawal is preferable to an unsupervised one, that the Thais will do their business no matter who is in charge in Cambodia, and that the Khmer Rouge will prosecute a continued civil war whether they are included in an interim government or not.

"What we're really talking about," said one such diplomat, "is the intensity of the civil war." But it is also important, he said, to "put markers down for the future, so that at least no one has illusions about what happens or about who's at fault."

Now, the U.S. Looks at Cambodia Differently

195P
By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON
FOR 10 years, the United States has condemned the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. Now that Vietnam's troops are leaving, the United States has had to refocus its policy on a different objective: how to prevent a return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

American diplomats do not like to acknowledge a change in policy. But they can hardly deny that under the Bush Administration a new approach to Cambodia, with a new emphasis, has been evolving.

Throughout the Reagan Administration, the United States followed the lead of other Southeast Asian nations and China in opposing the Vietnamese-backed Government in Phnom Penh and supporting a resistance coalition of which the Khmer Rouge was clearly the strongest military component. This policy appeared to remain in effect in the first months of the Bush Administration. In March, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said the participation of the Communist Khmer Rouge in a future coalition government was probably "a fact of life."

But in May, Vice President Dan Quayle, visiting Singapore, said the Khmer Rouge had nothing to offer "except what they offered in the past, and that was mass murder." Last month, the State Department said its support for non-Communist factions led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann would depend on the degree to which they separated themselves from the Khmer

Rouge. And on July 7 in Brunei, Mr. Baker said it was "our preference" that the Khmer Rouge have no role in a new government.

The statements reflect a growing perception that the Khmer Rouge is, in the words of Representative Chester G. Atkins of Massachusetts, "the greatest evil."

While acknowledging the shift in tone, a State Department official denied that there had been a radical change in policy. "Our position has always been carefully nuanced," he said. "We've tried to keep our options open. The policy is becoming more specific as the question of what to do about the Khmer Rouge takes on a reality it never had before."

In principle, the shift from an anti-Vietnam emphasis to an anti-Khmer Rouge emphasis was always contemplated. In practice, the United States had no detailed plans when Vietnam announced in April that it would withdraw all its troops by the end of September. In a policy statement Friday, the State Department said representatives of the current Phnom Penh regime could be included in a new government if Washington's ally, Prince Sihanouk, has genuine authority rather than "a figurehead position."

Sihanouk's View

While Washington prefers no role for the Khmer Rouge, Mr. Baker acknowledged that the Prince had a different view: He believes it is better for the Khmer Rouge to be represented than left out in the jungle fighting the government. From 1975 through 1978, the Khmer Rouge, under Pol Pot, presided over a brutal restructuring of society in which more than a million Cambodians died.

Washington's focus is on how to keep the Khmer Rouge out of power.

With Vietnam promising to complete its withdrawal by Sept. 30, the existing Government in Phnom Penh is increasingly seen in Washington as the main bulwark against return of the Khmer Rouge. Mr. Hun Sen, the 38-year-old Prime Minister of Cambodia, has been getting more respect from some countries in the region, especially Thailand, and at the same time has shown a willingness to accept some free-market economic activity.

"For all of its dastardly actions and questionable origin, the Hun Sen Government has begun the painstaking ordeal of rebuilding war-ravaged Cambodia," said Mr. Atkins.

The recent upheaval in China may make it more difficult to devise a settlement that excludes the Khmer Rouge, for which China has been the main supplier and supporter. The conservatives who suppressed China's democracy movement continue to insist that the Khmer Rouge have a substantial role in any coalition government. Roger A. Brooks, director of the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation, said: "The Bush Ad-

ministration has opposed stronger sanctions against China in part because it hopes China will reduce the influence of the Khmer Rouge after the Vietnamese pull out."

The Administration says its goal is to insure free elections so the Cambodians can choose their own leaders, and American officials say they doubt Mr. Hun Sen would win such elections. But Jeremy J. Stone, president of the Federation of American Scientists, who has taken strong interest in Cambodia, said: "The Administration has no choice. If it is serious about preventing the Khmer Rouge from regaining power, it has no alternative but to work with the Hun Sen Government in some form or fashion."

While the United States has long shunned the current Hun Sen Government as an illegitimate puppet regime, Mr. Baker accepts Prince Sihanouk's effort to work out a power-sharing agreement with Mr. Hun Sen, saying it is "crucial to the achievement of a viable political accord." The Prince and Mr. Hun Sen are to meet in Paris July 24, before an international conference seeking a settlement.

As preparations for that conference went forward last week, there was additional evidence that American policy toward Cambodia remains haunted, in Mr. Quayle's words, by "the ghost of Vietnam." President Bush had proposed sending arms to the non-Communist resistance forces. But the Senate Foreign Relations Committee set aside a proposal that would have allowed him to do so. Critics said the United States should not resume a military role in Indochina unless Prince Sihanouk abandons his alliance with the Khmer Rouge.

KEN ADELMAN

Worth a try in Cambodia

Sure, foreign involvement carries risks, as we learned in Vietnam. But non-involvement carries risks, too, as is clear now in that land of the "killing fields," Cambodia.

What was remarked about Austria's fate in the 1930s — that the situation there was hopeless but not serious — now is generally felt about Cambodia. Untrue then with Austria, whose fate became the harbinger of World War II, so it is untrue now of Cambodia.

Filled with strange names and initials of the various factions, Cambodia also is filled with moral and political importance. Vice President Dan Quayle, the administration point man on this issue, said publicly that the United States "has a compelling moral responsibility" to prevent the return to power of the killing-field commanders.

"By doing nothing, we would increase the likelihood of continued civil war and the potential for a return to power by the murderous Khmer Rouge," Mr. Quayle justifiably added. That's the gang that emptied out hospitals in the capital, abolished money, banned books and

As Frederick the Great once said, "Diplomacy without arms is music without instruments."

newspapers and closed schools. That's who slaughtered a million of their fellow Cambodians.

What should we do? Convince Congress to put muscle behind the only non-communist players — the indomitable Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his Sancho Panza-like sidekick, Son Sann.

Those in Congress, bewildered by the sundry factions and forces, need to pony up some \$20 million to show U.S. concern and to lend oomph to Sihanouk.

This he needs, not so much for the battlefield, but for the negotiating table. As Frederick the Great once said, "Diplomacy without arms is music without instruments."

And this Prince Sihanouk deserves, as the only quasi-"good guy" in Cambodia. Unlike yesteryear in Afghanistan, the strongest resistance fighters in Cambodia are arguably the "baddest" guys — the Khmer Rouge gang, which conducted the world's sole stab at national suicide in the 1970s. This group, with its butcher leader Pol Pot, now fields a formidable force of 30,000 to 40,000 soldiers.

I say "arguably the 'baddest' guys" since those currently in power under Hen Sen are no choir-boys. Vietnam hoisted them in power after invading and occupying Cambodia.

During our Vietnam War, we sought to leave a friendly government behind when our troops withdrew. We failed. This, however, the Soviets have succeeded in doing in Afghanistan, after their military forces left. "Afghanistan-ization" works.

Yet this should *not* be allowed to succeed in Cambodia. There, Vietnam should be prevented from leaving a friendly government after its troops return home, supposedly in September.

Ideally, we seek some cobbled-together provisional government, with Prince Sihanouk as at least titular head, to run Cambodia until internationally supervised elections are held.

That's about the only way to approach our three goals: to get Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia, to keep the Khmer Rouge from gaining power; and help secure free elections for Cambodians. Our purpose is not to continue that civil war but to help fashion a political solution to end it.

Admittedly, this constitutes a diplomatic high-wire act. It may be like cooking fried snowballs. Even Secretary of State James Baker lamented last March, "You're going to have Khmer Rouge there," no matter how nauseous that thought may be.

Still, it's worth a try to achieve our goals, especially now that the diplomatic game's afoot. Diplomacy, which usually moves at a snail's pace, is hustling along with a large international conference opening in Paris later this month.

It will include the fractious factions of Cambodians and various others. China will be backing the Khmer Rouge; Russia and Vietnam the Hen Sen stooges; and we will champion Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann.

We should do so with some conviction and moral fiber, since that's the right thing to do. As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote more than a century ago, "America is great because she is good, and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

(Smith/Blessey)
July 17, 1989
Draft Two
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. And to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but also by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive Nations -- endured what has been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom-fighter who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the principles of republicanism."

My friends, the heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week. Their spirit says that freedom around the world is not divisible. And celebrates the bravery that lifts the peoples of Cuba and Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia -- the conscience that says that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

Last week, I saw how Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on Nations

still suffering under repressive regimes. For within these Nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty, often at enormous cost. A cause the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el] once called the act of "living in truth."

My friends, this truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. It suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan. In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And hope endures for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

Today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of East and Central Europe. And reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. In particular, the Baltic States -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- are striving anew to recapture their national destinies. Their insistent calls for freedom -- now heard openly -- cannot long be denied.

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around

the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries.
Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to Nations of East Central Europe, striving to
reclaim their national heritage, we say: America stands with
you.

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua
striving for freedom, we say: America stands with you.

To the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes
and forced to flee across the border, we say: We look forward to
a day free of persecution. America stands with you.

Indeed, to all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot
be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression. For history
shows -- the human ^{will} ~~heart~~ proclaims -- ~~that the light of liberty~~
~~will not go out.~~ *that liberty can light the darkest night.*

Last Monday, thousands filled the streets in Gdanst --
peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit [and horizons]
of Solidarite. But their presence did ² ~~even~~ more. For it
expressed the belief that only democracy can underscore the
dignity of man. And honored the spirit -- and the heroism -- of
captive peoples everywhere.

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others,
has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he
found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As
Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech

Valesa turned to me and said: "No one could have imagined this ten years ago. For Poland, this is a wonder beyond belief."

In coming years, that wonder can be liberty's wonder. In Prague and Kabul. In Tallinn [TAL in], Riga [Ree ga], and Vilnius [VIL nee us]. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ballots, not bullets. And who ^{will} endure much -- and survive everything -- through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week.

We love them, and we are with them. For we will never waver, nor surrender. Together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can help all captive Nations know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, thank you coming to the White House, and God bless this beloved land -- the United States of America.

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(Smith/Blessey)
July 14, 1989
Draft One
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House -- and to say what a privilege it is to meet with fellow lovers of democracy. For although Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we sound our outrage at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. But we also applaud -- more than ever -- those changes already taking place, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. New leaves are growing. Liberty is on the march.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive Nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of

national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the lamp of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery, and of conscience: The bravery that lifts the peoples of Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba; the conscience that says that free expression will conquer tyranny -- and courage, oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. It suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan. In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

Now, there are some who say: We've done enough. Well, we haven't. For until liberty lives among all God's children, then none of us is free. Who can forget the blood of Panama City? Or the massacre in Tiananmen Square? But the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. And captivity is receding -- across Europe, and the world. Globally, and historically, democracy is winning. Opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to the Baltic States, striving to reclaim their national destinies, we say: We support your voice -- a voice that will not be stilled. And to the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua: America stands with you -- as brothers, and friends. To all Nations, America proclaims: Truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression. For only democracy can underscore the dignity of man.

Five weeks ago, thousands bannered that democracy by filling Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the heroes, and spirit, of Hungary's 1956 rebellion. Their presence celebrated the values of captive peoples everywhere. And honored the arching human spirit -- oft-abused yet free.

Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today, this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

My friends, that wonder is liberty's wonder. In Kabul and Prague. Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ballots, not bullets. And who survive -- who will triumph -- through family, and faith in God.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. Like them, we must never waver, nor surrender. Instead, let us raise -- together -- what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of

liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America, and God bless the democracy that can -- that must -- make captive peoples free.

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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June 17, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 821 words

HEADLINE: Looking Back at 1956: Passion, and Then Pain

BYLINE: By SHEILA RULE, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: BUDAPEST, June 16

BODY:

For Tibor Kalmar, the end of the 1956 uprising brought the beginning of state-ordered and unnecessary electric shock treatment. Then came the heart attack, endless unemployment and a bramble bush of poverty. But today, having come this far on faith, Mr. Kalmar knew the balm of forgiveness.

'Today, this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder,' said Mr. Kalmar, who took part in the rebellion. He was sitting next to his 18-year-old daughter, Katalin, in one of several rows of seats facing six coffins. 'For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything.'

Mr. Kalmar, 59 years old, represented one faith and one voice among the tens of thousands who attended the public ceremony in commemoration of those who were hanged for their part in the national uprising that the Soviet Union crushed in 1956.

He and his daughter looked at the coffin of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, who was hanged on June 16, 1958, and of those four other Communists who were condemned with him and thrown into unmarked holes in a potter's field of Budapest's largest cemetery.

Symbolic Coffin

Their remains were exhumed and their families were granted the right to give their husbands and fathers private reburials in marked graves. And public pressure grew until this day of remembrance came about.

Mr. Kalmar looked at the symbolic sixth coffin that represented all the others who were hanged. Then the gray-haired, soft-spoken man recalled that his task during the uprising had been to travel from the southeast of the country to the west to spread the word of revolutionary demands and yearnings for change.

He was eventually captured by the Soviets. He escaped but was captured again, this time by the Hungarian police, and taken to a psychiatric ward. After electric shock treatment, which Mr. Kalmar said was in retaliation for his political activities, he had three heart attacks. He was completely disabled by the time he was 42.

Bringing up his daughter alone, there were 'some days when we had food and some days when we did not,' he said. But when Katalin was old enough, Mr.

(c) 1989 The New York Times, June 17, 1989

Kalmar also passed on to her his yearnings for change.

'Biggest Day of My Life'

"This is the biggest day of my life so far," Katalin said, smiling at her father. "I learned political beliefs and views from him, and it has made me look at political events from a different view than the official view. My big happiness on this day is that he has received satisfaction. This means my life will be better, more peaceful."

Another voice in the crowd spoke, too, of a longing for peace. Margit Grof was in the hospital, having just given birth to a daughter, when her husband disappeared in 1956.

Her husband, Jozsef Sente, had fought in the uprising alongside Pal Maleter, the army general who defected to the insurgents' cause and was hanged with Mr. Nagy. Mrs. Grof and many others say they believe that before the Soviets unleashed their military power against the rebels on Nov. 4, 1956, the uprising had pushed Hungary toward peace and political change. But Mr. Sente was hanged for his participation in the rebellion, as were his father and brother.

"I was very nervous about this day," said Mrs. Grof, dressed in black. She has since remarried. "It tore open old wounds and I began to remember all of those things again. But I hope that this is a turning point. Funeral for a Tragic Period "I hope that we will be more of an open Western-like society now. This is a closing of the past and an acknowledgment. Perhaps we can expect some calmness now.

To many, the event was a funeral for a tragic period. The crowd, quiet in reverence, listened as the names, ages and occupations of some of those who had died for the 1956 cause were read aloud in the public, though unofficial, commemoration in Heroes Square.

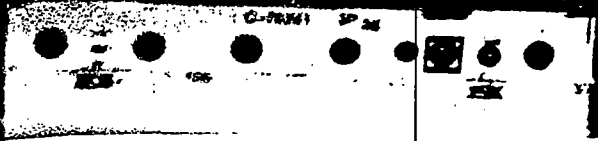
There was the 46-year-old cleaning woman, the 25-year-old medical student, the 23-year-old miner, the 43-year-old laborer, among others. Had it not been for Pal Maleter, Lajos Szvetelszky's name might have been among them.

Mr. Szvetelszky, leaning on a wooden cane at the edge of the crowd, was a university student 33 years ago. He and others transported food, drugs and military supplies to General Maleter and his men during the revolt.

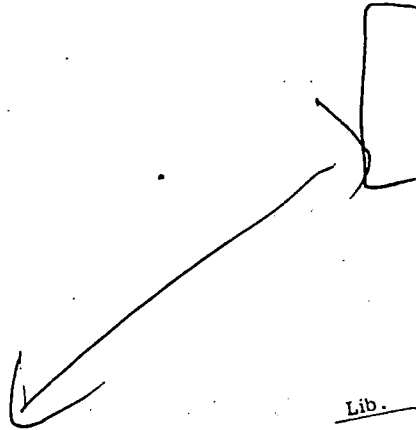
"I wanted to stay and help," Mr. Szvetelszky, a chemical engineer, said as men lighted flames near the six coffins. "I told Maleter that I thought I could be of some use, but he said that they were more in need of supplies than people and that I should continue doing what I was doing. I can thank him for the fact that I am here today. So you can understand that I am very happy that this is taking place.

"One friend died. He was a history teacher. He was hanged. He was innocent. Several friends were injured. So for me and them, this day is the fulfillment of 1956. My hope for then and now is the same - a free Hungary. "

SUBJECT: HISTORY



Imre Madách



Lib.



THE TRAGEDY OF MAN

FOREWORD

If we, Hungarians were asked to choose the literary work that we consider to be the closest to us, the most expressive of our history, the most modern classic which talks about our past and present with the same power and which, I believe, will also have a message for the future; well, this work would be *The Tragedy of Man*.

The strange thing about it is that the play does not take place in Hungary. It is a powerful vision of the poetplaywright about mankind, beginning with the creation up to an imaginary future through episodes of the history of the world in the form of the main characters' dreams.

If asked, I would not hesitate to say that no other play reveals so much about us to the world. For theatres and audiences throughout the world, the most easily approachable and receptive Hungarian drama would be *The Tragedy of Man*.

Up to now, it has been translated into 29 languages; there have been 9 different translations into English only. It has been put on the stage several times in different countries but I think the real breakthrough is going to come now.

This present volume is being published to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the first performance of the play and also to make it more widely and better known all over the world.

The book contains the thoughts and notes of the directors of the most interesting performances in the past one hundred years as well as an essay on the history of *The Tragedy of Man* on the stage written by eminent Madách-scholar Dr. Ferenc Kerényi. There are a lot of photographs and also a bibliography to make the book complete.

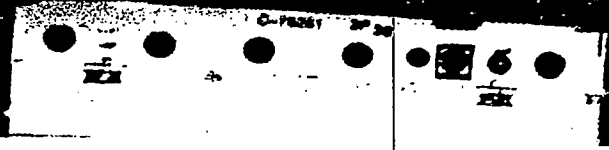
1985

The *Tragedy* is about the basic questions of our life today: it presents a whole series of dramatic problems. It is a dream, a vision

about Hungarian history, about mankind, politics, love, about the controversial relationship between man and God, between the individual and the masses.

We have to be aware that the Tragedy was written in one of the most tragic periods of Hungarian history. And in spite of all the inner doubts and contradictions expressed in it, it is the drama of everlasting fight and of survival.

György Lengyel



FERENC KERÉNYI

A DRAMATIC POEM FROM HUNGARY TO THE THEATRES OF THE WORLD

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György Lengyel

It may sound like a paradox, but *The Tragedy of Man*, one of the most famous works of Hungarian literature which has been translated into twenty-nine different languages, was born in 1859–1860 in a small god-forsaken village (Alsósztrégoňa/Dolná Strehová), in the backwoods of prewar, historical Hungary.

The country seat of the Madách family was not the only one in Hungary where landlords, after the daily toils of farming, found refuge in a rich library and in the centuriesold documents of the family archives. The Madáches could trace their origins back to the beginning of the thirteenth century and had every right to be proud of their past: they counted generals, poets and famous free masons among their ancestors.

Our poet, Imre Madách (1823–1864), started reading at a tender age; he studied books in the German, French, Latin and Greek original, as well as, of course, in Hungarian. He was but five and a half years old when he composed his first „manuscript”: a two-line poem in French, written for his father’s name-day. The future poet was only 14 when he started his university studies. The date was 1837; the year when the best sons of the Hungarian gentry took the lead in a movement towards liberalism. Theoretical books and practical experience had convinced them of the historical necessity of progress. The movement was aimed at the defeudalization of Hungary and at raising it to the Western European level of that time. Unfettered by linguistic barriers, the youth of this generation devoured everything that promised spiritual enrichment and social development: English economics, French political science, German philosophy and, naturally, literature: the great works of the flourishing Age of Romanticism. The subject of their enthusiasm was constantly changing much like Adam’s, the protagonist in *The Tragedy of Man*. They searched for forms of rational human activity, for means of self-expression and self-realization. Imre



Madách lived among these enthusiastic reformers, shared their feelings and ideas. Like the other members of his generation, he also tried his hand at poetry and romantic historical drama and applauded the performances of the National Theatre. After his graduation as a lawyer, Madách experienced the difficulties of introducing into practice in local politics the liberal and radical ideas he had encountered as a university student. The members of this generation prepared themselves consciously for the great historical task of de-feudalization; they tried to shape their roles by imitating the heroes of antiquity and of the French Revolution and Lord Byron, who had died for the cause of freedom. In 1848, at the „Spring-time of Nations”, it was they who formed the Hungarian vanguard of the European revolutions, it was they who fought the battles of the Hungarian bourgeois revolution and of the National War of Independence. In vain did Victor Hugo's, Heinrich Heine's and Henrik Ibsen's poems greet their struggle with enthusiasm, in vain did they enjoy the sympathy of the European people and of the American public opinion: the two great military powers of Europe at that time – the Emperor of Austria and the „Tsar of all Russians” – nipped the young Hungarian republic in the bud by their joint military force. Hungary became temporarily part and parcel of the powerful Habsburg Empire.

After 1849 Madách's liberal generation saw its very incentive to live collapse. The Madáches – like almost every other family in Hungary – mourned their sons who had fallen on the battlefields, been carried off to captivity or been forced to emigrate. Those who remained had to cope hidden among the walls of their manor-houses, with an other, internal but no less painful task: they had to confront the recent past, pondering over their seemingly defeated ideals, almost masochistically analysing the reasons for their failure, at times casting doubt on the very judiciousness of these ideals. In Hungary, as in all of Europe, the era of romantic enthusiasm was followed by a decade of doubts.

Without this short historical survey it would be difficult to understand how a poem on Mankind could have taken shape at the writing desk of Madách, a poem, Hungarian to its very core, albeit none of the scenes depicted takes place in Hungary and the work is

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completely free from self-bemoaning provincialism. Both heroes of
The Tragedy of Man represent the poet himself: Adam, the idealist,
as well as Lucifer, the sober disenchanter.

Madách wrote his poem on Humanity, a favourite genre of
romantic literature with which he was familiar. His library contained
copies of Goethe's *Faust* and Byron's *Manfred* and *Cain*, and their
influence on his work is undisputable. Madách's *Tragedy*, Victor
Hugo's *The Legend of Centuries* and Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* are not
connected by the dates of their creation alone, but also by their
common approach to the problem. Literary works dealing with
the meaning of the acts of man and, raising the ultimate question
of human existence had not been unknown in Hungary either.
Romantic fairy-tales, dramas which took place in the Land of
Nowhere and speculative poetry had dealt before Madách with
moments of helplessness, moments which occur only in the life of
men who are full of fervour and ready to act. All this was enhanced
by a new trend in philosophy which, in the 1850's, raised again the
perennial question of the priority of matter over mind. In this
period, new and more advanced scientific discoveries and arguments
strengthened the position of materialism. Natural sciences and the
philosophy of history, lyrical self-identification and positivistic
ideology are fused together in Madách's work. *The Tragedy of Man*
- as we have tried to elucidate - has values closely linked with the
given period, both in Hungarian national culture and world literatu-
re, a more detailed analysis of which is left to the scholars.

Here and now, however, we are intrigued by another paradox:
which are those timeless, to be more precise, theatrical values of
The Tragedy of Man which have preserved its place for a century
on the Hungarian stage and for more than nine decades on the
stages of the world? The content of the more than 4100 lines in
the work will be analyzed from the same perspective. Madách
wrote lyrical poems which reflect many thoughts expressed later
on in *The Tragedy of Man* but, frankly speaking, as a poet he was
quite mediocre. He, whose other dramas could be produced only
after considerable re-writing, found in the *Tragedy* the literary
genre which suited him perfectly. Both the possibilities of a play
unrestricted by time and space, and the structure of the dramatic
poem, were eminently suited to his thoughts and style.

Madách based the substantial collection of thoughts in the *Tragedy* on philosopher's, well-known theory, according to which the clash between contradictions leads to the birth of a new, higher quality. Adam, reviewing in his sleep the history of Mankind, is confronted with the new and earthshaking ideas of the various eras. One by one these ideas turn into their opposites and thus become the starting points of new historical epochs. Yet in the play, this does not sound didactic or tedious as history is not presented with philological accuracy but in the form of visions seen by Adam. The thoughts of the historical ages presented in Adam's dreams in Scenes IV–XIII, of the *Tragedy* are worked into the biblical framework of Scenes I–III, and Scene XV. This arc is more than a mere dramatic fiction or a biblical paraphrase: it is a conflict-laden exposition; it is the struggle between God and Lucifer for the most valuable element of the newly-created world: Man. Madách preferred to leave the struggle undecided, as a full-blooded dramatic conflict. Up to Scene XV he interpreted the well-known biblical stories relatively freely, almost as poetic raw material. This interpretation distinguishes Madách's work from its predecessors, among others from the celestial prologue in Goethe's *Faust*. Yet Madách had to go beyond the traditional, romantic confrontation of Good and Evil; he did not want to restrict the manifold conception of his work to ethical problems. Thus, the struggle between God and Lucifer cannot be interpreted purely statically; it is more than a theological conflict, more than the beginning of a clash between „civitas dei” and „civitas diaboli” and more than the philosophical confrontation between idealism and materialism. A brief description of the various scenes will illustrate this point. In the first scene of the *Tragedy*, the mechanical perfection of the order of the newly created world on the one hand is confronted by its antithesis, eternal intellectual negation, on the other:

THE LORD

The giant structure is completed, yes!
The engine turns, while its Creator rests.
It will rotate for many million years
Before I must renew its wornout gears.

bs? Clear up my mind,
my destiny –
f by it,
worse than hell.

ich the hand of God
searching human eyes.
soul forever live
me stay on earth,
er would be virtue.
dust will take your soul
to majestic deeds,
eeting moment's joy?
e glimmers through a mist
your present lot,
will lift
e should make you stray,
will barricade your way –
ill prevail secured.

rious career!
all become your leaders –
can be realized
norance
ing guard beside them.
great things with man?
and from mud he is
– in blindness he is great.

need not laugh at me!
creation of your knowledge,
y human heart.

My Lord, who will assist me in my life
That I may walk along the proper way?
You took away Your guiding hands when I
Tasted the fruit of that forbidden tree.

THE LORD

Your arms are strong, you have a noble heart,
An endless age invites you to your start.
And if you listen, soon a call will sound
Steadily guiding and inspiring you;
Follow it always! If this godly voice
Is silenced by your active being's noise,
Then far from every selfish venture's toll,
This tender woman with her spotless soul
Will hear that message. Through her heartveins, she
Will filter it to song and poetry.
With these two instruments the smiling-eyed
Consoling Genius stands upon your side.

(To Lucifer.)

And, Lucifer, you also are a link
In my creation. Strain yourself and think
That your cold knowledge and negation will
Become the yeart to make man's spirit still
Ferment and deviate! – But never mind,
Man shall return to me; and if you find
The very man you wanted to destroy
Will keep on bearing beauty, greatness, joy –
Your punishment will then become eternal.

THE CHOIR OF THE ANGELS

It is so great freely to choose
Between the good and sinful ways,
To realize that we are still
Shielded by God's eternal grace.
Act bravely, man, and never mind
If thankless people laugh and scream.

Man only should look at his goal
And follow it with self-esteem.
All other actions would be shameful;
And still the consciousness of shame
Should nail the scoundrel to the earth
And lift the right man to his fame!
Walking along your splendid path
Do not let visions make you blind!
In every action that you do,
You act for God Who is so kind.
And if He ever needs your help
To satisfy, tool-like, His will,
Then you will earn an honored prize
Because God asked you for your skill!

EVE

Thank God, I do well understand the song!

ADAM

I also guess it and will follow it —
Only that end! If I could just forget it!

THE LORD

I told you, man,
Struggle and trust!... Be always confident!

THE END

this brotherly love; and at the very moment of my entering this hall, I was informed of a circumstance which I consider so important as to beg permission to make in respect to it one single remark. I am told that one of the newspapers, with friendly and generous intention toward that cause which I have the honor to plead before you, has pointed out as the success of my standing here, that there is a committee established out of such men whose very shape in that committee gives importance to it, and who are about to raise money for the purpose of revolutionizing Europe.—My axiom is that of the Irish poet, "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." All that I claim is fair play; and that is the aim for which I claim the United States to become the executive power of the laws of Nature and of Nature's God.—That is the aim for which I claim your generous public and private aid and support. The revolutions in Europe will be made by the nations of Europe; but that they shall have fair play is what the nations of Europe expect from the protection of the United States of America.—Remember the power which you have, and which I have endeavored to point out in a few brief words.—Remember this, and form associations; establish ladies' committees to raise substantial aid for Hungary. Who could, who would, refuse, when the melody of your voice is pleading the cause of my bleeding, my oppressed native land.

Now, ladies, I am worn out very much, so I am done. One word only remains to be said—a word of deep sorrow, the word, "Farewell, New York!" New York! that word will forever make thrill every string of my heart. I am like a wandering bird. I am worse than a wandering bird. He may return to his summer home. I have no home on earth! Here, at New York, I felt almost at home. But "Forward" is my call, and I must part. I part with the hope that the sympathy which I have met here is the trumpet sound of resurrection to my native land; I part with the hope that, having found here a short, transitory home, will bring me yet back to my own beloved home, that my ashes may yet mix with the dust of my native soil. Ladies, remember Hungary, and—farewell!

Speech given to a Congressional Banquet
at the National Hotel hosted by the
President of the Senate, Jan. 7, 1852.
by Lajos Kossuth.

SPEECH IN WASHINGTON.

Sir,—As once Cyneas, the Epirote, stood among the senators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-conscious majesty, controlled the condition of the world and arrested the mighty kings in their ambitious march, thus full of admiration and of reverence, I stand before you, Legislators of the new capitol—that glorious hall of your people's collective majesty. The capitol of old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands a monument of the fragility of human things—yours as a sanctuary of eternal rights. The old beamed with the red glare of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy night—yours beams with freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed the world by its own centralized glory—yours protects your own against absorption, even by itself. The old was awful with its restricted power—yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled—at the view of yours humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only introduced with fettered hands to kneel at the triumphant conqueror's heels—to yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles, invited to the honor of a seat, and where kings and Cæsars never be hailed, for their powers, might, and wealth, there the persecuted chief of a down-trodden nation is welcomed as your great Republic's guest, precisely because he is persecuted, helpless, and poor. In the old, the terrible *væ victis* was the rule—in yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to the vanquished in a just cause. And while out of the old a conquered world was ruled, you in yours provide for the common confederative interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of the old. There sat men boasting their will to be sovereign of the world—here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, and to do that their sovereign, the people, wills.

Sir, there is history in these parallels. History of past ages, and history of future centuries, may be often recorded in a few words. The

small particulars to which the passions of living men cling with fervent zeal—as if the fragile figure of men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel; these particulars die away. It is the issue which makes history, and that issue is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the Alpha, they must finish with Omega, and they will. Thus history may be told often in a few words. Before yet the heroic struggle of Greece first engaged your country's sympathy for the fate of Freedom in Europe, then so far distant, and now so near, Chateaubriand happened to be in Athens, and he heard from a minaret raised upon the Propylæan ruins, a Turkish priest in Arabic language announcing the lapse of hours to the Christians of Minerva's town. What immense history in the small fact of a Turkish Imam crying out, "Pray, man, the hour is running fast, and the judgment draws near." Sir, there is equally a history of future ages written in the honor bestowed by you to my humble self. The first Governor of independent Hungary, driven from his native land by Russian violence, an exile on Turkish soil protected by a Mohammedan Sultan against the blood-thirst of Christian tyrants, cast back a prisoner to far Asia by diplomacy, rescued from his Asiatic prison by America, crossing the Atlantic, charged with the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations, pleading, a poor exile, before the people of this great Republic, his down-trodden country's wrongs, and its intimate connection with the fate of the European continent, and with the boldness of a just cause, claiming the principles of the Christian religion to be raised to a law of nations; and to see not only the boldness of the poor exile forgiven, but to see him consoled by the sympathy of millions, encouraged by individuals, meetings, cities and states, supported by operative aid, and greeted by Congress and by the Government as the nation's guest, honored out of generosity, with that honor which only one man before him received—and that man received then out of gratitude—with honors such as no potentate can ever receive, and this banquet here, and the toast which I have to thank for—oh, indeed, Sir, there is a history of future ages in all these facts.

Sir, though I have the noble pride of my principles, and though I have the inspiration of a just cause, still I have also the conscience of my personal humility. Never will I forget what is due from me to the sovereign source of my public capacity. This I owe to my nation's dignity, and, therefore, respectfully thanking this highly distinguished assembly, in my country's name, I have the boldness to say, that Hungary well deserves your sympathy—that Hungary has a claim to protection, because it has a claim to justice. But as to myself, permit me humbly to express that I am well aware not to have in all these honors any personal share. Now, I know that even that which might seem to be personal in your toast, is only an acknowledgment of a historical fact; very instructively connected with

a principle valuable and dear to every republican heart in the United States of America. Sir, you were pleased to mention in your toast that I am unconquered by misfortune and unswayed by ambition. Now, it is a providential fact, that misfortune has the privilege to ennoble man's mind and to strengthen man's character. There is a sort of natural instinct of human dignity in the heart of man, which steels his very nerves not to bend beneath the heavy blows of a great adversity. The palm-tree grows best beneath a ponderous weight—even so the character of man. There is no merit in it—it is a law of psychology. The petty pains of small daily cares have often bent the character of men, but great misfortunes seldom. There is less danger in this than in great good luck; and as to ambition, I, indeed, never was able to understand how anybody can more love ambition than liberty. But I am glad to state a historical fact as a principal demonstration of that influence which institutions exercise upon the character of nations. We Hungarians are very fond of the principle of municipal self-government; and we have a natural horror against the principle of centralization. That fond attachment to municipal self-government, without which there is no provincial freedom possible, is a fundamental feature of our national character. We brought it with us from far Asia, a thousand years ago, and we conserved it throughout the vicissitudes of ten centuries.

No nation has perhaps so much struggled and suffered from the civilized Christian world as ours. We do not complain of this lot. It may be heavy but it is not inglorious. Where the cradle of our Saviour stood, and where his divine doctrine was founded, there another faith now rules, and the whole of Europe's armed pilgrimage could not avert this fate from that sacred spot, nor stop the rushing waves of Islamism absorbing the Christian Empire of Constantine. We stopped those rushing waves. The breast of my nation proved a breakwater to them. We guarded Christendom, that Luthers or Calvins might reform it. It was a dangerous time, and the dangers of the time often placed the confidence of all my nation into one man's hand, and their confidence gave power into his hands to become ambitious. But there was not a single instance in history where a man honored by his people's confidence had deceived his people by becoming ambitious. The man out of whom Russian diplomacy succeeded in making the murderer of his nation's confidence—he never had it, but was rather regarded always with distrust. But he gained some victories when victories were the moment's chief necessity. At the head of an army, circumstances placed him in the capacity to ruin his country. But he never had the people's confidence. So, even he is no contradiction to the historical truth, that no Hungarian whom his nation honored with its confidence, was ever seduced by ambition to become dangerous to his country's liberty. That is a remarkable fact, and yet it is not accidental. It is the logical consequence of the influence of institutions upon the national

character. Our nation, through all its history, was educated in the school of municipal self-government, and in such a country, ambition having no field, has also no place in man's character.

The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country—and many they have been, to be sure; we have seen a Convention, a Directorate of Consuls, and one Consul, and an Emperor, and the restoration—the fundamental tone of the Constitution of France was power always centralized, Omnipotence always vested somewhere; and remarkably, indeed, France has never yet raised the single man to the seat of power who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal ambition. It is sorrowful, indeed; but it is natural. It is in the garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm, that in your great country there exists not a single man through whose brains has ever passed the thought that he would raise the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty. If he could, such a wish is impossible in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows the wind will reap the storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws, not only the material but the moral world; and every law is a principle, and every principle is a law. Men, as well as nations, are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that once chosen, the consequences must be abided. With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is justice and patriotism. With centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells despotism. Happy your great country, Sir, for being so warmly addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home to freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy your great country, Sir, that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord, to prove the glorious practicability of a federative Union of many sovereign States, all conserving their State rights and their self-government, and yet united in one. Every star beaming with its own lustre, but all together one constellation on mankind's canopy.

Upon this foundation your country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period. You have attracted power in that. Your fundamental principles have conquered more in seventy-five years than Rome by arms in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example of your freedom, welfare, and security, mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost, and the respect of the State rights in the Federal Government of America and in its several States, will become an instructive example for universal toleration, forbearance, and justice, to the future States and Repub-

lies of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mysterious question of language, and nationalities raised by the cunning despots in Europe to murder Liberty, and the smaller States will find security in the principles of federative union, while they will conserve their national freedom by the principles of sovereign self-government; and while larger States abdicating the principles of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation, and a tool to the ambition of wicked men, municipal institutions will insure the development of local particular elements—Freedom, formerly an abstract, political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities, and out of the welfare and contentment of all parts will flow happiness, peace, and security for the whole. That is my confident hope. There will at once subside the fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of Europe, not by melting North Germany into a Southern frame, or the South into a Northern; not by absorbing historical peculiarities, by centralized omnipotence; not by mixing in one State, but by federating several sovereign States into a Union like yours, upon a similar basis, will take place the national regeneration of the Slavonic States, and not upon the sacrilegious idea of Pan Slavism, equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar.

Upon a similar basis will we see fair Italy independent and free. Not Unity, but Union, will and must become the watchword of national bodies, severed into desecrated limbs by provisional rivalries, out of which a flock of despots and common servitude arose. To be sure, it will be a noble joy to this your great Republic, to feel that the moral influence of your glorious example has operated in producing this glorious development in mankind's destiny; and I have not the slightest doubt of the efficacy of your example's influence. But there is one thing indispensable to it, without which there is no hope for this happy issue. This indispensable thing is, that the oppressed nations of Europe become the masters of their future, free to regulate their own domestic concerns, and to secure this nothing is wanted but to have that fair play to all, and for all, which you, Sir, in your toast were pleased to pronounce as a right of my nation, alike sanctioned by the law of nations as by the dictates of eternal justice. Without this fair play there is no hope for Europe—no hope of seeing your principle spread. Yours is a happy country, gentlemen. You had more than fair play. You had active, operative aid from Europe in your struggle for independence, which, once achieved, you so wisely used as to become a prodigy of freedom and welfare, and a Book of Life to nations. But we, in Europe—we, unhappily, have no such fair play with us, against every palpitation of Liberty. All despots are united in a common league, and you may be sure despots will never yield to the moral influence of your great example. They hate the very existence of this example. It is the sorrow of their thoughts and the incubus of their dreams. To

stop its moral influence abroad, and to check its spreading development at home, is what they wish, instead of yielding to its influence. We will have no fair play. The Cossack already rules, by Louis Napoleon's usurpation, to the very borders of the Atlantic Ocean.

One of your great statesmen—now to my sorrow bound to the sick bed of advanced age—alas, that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me—your great statesman told the world thirty years ago that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg. What would he now say, when St. Petersburg is transferred to Paris, and Europe is but an appendix to Russia? Alas! Europe can no longer secure to Europe fair play. Albion only remains. But even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves. Still we will stand our place, sink or swim, live or die. You know the word. It is your own. We will follow it. It will be a bloody path to tread. Despots have conspired against the world. Terror spreads over Europe, and anticipating persecution rules from Paris to Pesh. There is a gloomy silence, like the silence of nature before the terrors of a hurricane. It is a sensible silence, only disturbed by the thousand-fold rattling of muskets by which Napoleon murders the people which gave him a home when he was an exile, and by the groans of new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna and Pesh. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. Well, God's will be done. The heart may break but duty will be done. We will stand in our place, though to us in Europe there be no fair play. But so much I hope, that no just man on earth can charge me with unbecoming arrogance, when here, on this soil of freedom, I kneel down and raise my prayer to God—"Almighty Father of Humanity, will Thy merciful arm not raise a power on earth to protect the law of nations, when there are so many to violate it?" It is a prayer and nothing else. What would remain to the oppressed if they were not permitted to pray? The rest is in the hand of God.

Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you in your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim, and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with devotion, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say, only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European Continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain, but as to your great Republic, as a State, as a power on earth, I stand before the Statesmen, Senators and Legisla-

tors of that Republic, only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of national law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights, and I hoped and hope that in pronouncing their vote, it will be in the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life.

That is all I know and Europe knows—the immense weight of such a pronouncement from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great Republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own security, its own interest. I rather repeatedly and earnestly declared that a war on this account by your country is utterly impossible, and a mere phantom. I always declared that the United States remained masters of their actions, and under every circumstance will act as they judge consistent with the supreme duties to themselves. But I said and say that such a declaring of just principles would insure to the nations of Europe fair play in their struggle for freedom and independence, because the declaration of such a power as your Republic will be respected even where it is not liked; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution, and doubled in strength, to maintain the decision of their American brethren on their own behalf with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours, and when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence, and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principles of international justice pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's collective majority. So much to guard me against misunderstanding.

Sir, I must fervently thank you for the acknowledgment that my country has proved worthy to be free. Yes, gentlemen, I feel proud of my nation's character, heroism, love of freedom and vitality, and I bow with reverential awe before the decree of Providence which placed my country in a position that, without its restoration to independence, there is no possibility for freedom and the independence of nations on the European continent. Even what now in France is about to pass, proves the truth of this. Every disappointed hope with which Europe looked towards France, is a degree more added to the importance of Hungary to the world. Upon our plains were fought the decisive battles for Christendom. There will be fought the decisive battle for the independence of nations, for state rights, for international law, and for democratic liberty. We will live free or die like men; but should my people be doomed to die, it will be the first whose death will not be recorded as a suicide, but as a martyrdom for the world; and future ages will mourn over the sad fate of the Magyar race, doomed to perish, not because in the nineteenth century there was nobody to protect the laws of nature and of na-

ture's God. But I look to the future with confidence and with hope. Adversities manifold of a tempest-tossed life, could, of course, not fail to impart a mark of cheerfulness upon my heart, which, if not a source of joy, is at least a guarantee against sanguine illusions. I, for myself, would not want the hope of success for doing what is right to me. The sense of duty would suffice. Therefore, when I hope, it has nothing in common with that desperate instinct of a drowning man, who, half sunk, is still grasping at a straw for help. No; when I hope, there is motive for the hope.

I have a steady faith in principles. I dare say that experience taught me the logic of events, in connection with principles. I have fathomed the entire bottom of this mystery, and was, I perceive, right in my calculations there, about once in my life, I supposed a principle to exist in a certain quarter, where, indeed, no principle proves to exist. It was a horrible mistake, and resulted in a horrible issue. The present condition of Europe is a very consequence of it; but precisely this condition of Europe proves, I did not wantonly suppose a principle to exist there, where I found none would have existed. The consequences could not have failed to arrive as I have contemplated them well. There is a providence in every fact. Without this mistake, the principles of American republicanism would, for a long time yet, find a sterile soil on that continent, where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French school. Now, matters stand thus: That either the Continent of Europe has no future at all, or this future is American Republicanism. And who could believe that three hundred millions of that Continent, which is the mother of civilization, are not to have any future at all? Such a doubt would be almost blasphemy against Providence. But there is a Providence, indeed—a just, a bountiful Providence—I trust, with the piety of my religion in it; I dare say my very humble self was a continual instrument of it. How could I be else in such a condition as I was—born not conspicuous by any prominent abilities? Having nothing in me more than an iron will which nothing can bend, and the consciousness of being right, how could I, under the most arduous circumstances, accomplish many a thing which my sense of honest duty prompted me to understand?

Oh, there is, indeed, a Providence which rules, even in my being here, when four months ago I was yet a prisoner of the league of European despots, in far Asia, and the sympathy which your glorious people honor me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of your Congress, and the honor to be your guest—to be the guest of your great Republic—I, the poor, humble, unpretending exile—is there not a very intelligible manifestation of Providence in it?—the more when I remember that the name of your humble, but thankful guest, is, by the furious rage of the Austrian tyrant, to the gallows nailed. Your generosity is great, and loud your patriotism of republican principles against despotism. I firmly trust to those principles;

and relying upon this very fact of your generosity, I may be permitted to say that that respectable organ of the free press may be mistaken, which announced that I considered my coming hither to be a failure. I confidently trust that the nations of Europe have a future. I am aware that the future is contradicted. Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon. I trust to the future of my native land, because I know that is worthy to have it; and it is necessary to the destinies of humanity. I trust to the principles of republicanism, whatever be my personal fate. So much I know, that my country will remember you and your glorious land with everlasting gratitude.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Jul-1989 16:19 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Condoleezza Rice (RICE)

FROM: Robert L. Hutchings
(HUTCHINGS)

SUBJECT: Captive Nations

Condi: Following is my draft opener for the President's remarks at the July 19 Rose Garden ceremony commemorating Captive Nations Week. The tone, as you will see, is much more upbeat and forward-looking than in the recent past -- and more appropriate to the times and to the President's approach. It may not satisfy some of the firebrands in the audience, but the last thing we need at this point is a ringing call to arms.

The draft is now with the speechwriters, who are reworking it and adding some remarks on "captive nations" outside Europe (whose representatives will be in the audience). They will then FAX it to Demarest and Winston for review. Please show this draft to Bob and be on the lookout for the speechwriters' version. Thanks.

D R A F T R E M A R K S

Captive Nations Week is an occasion of sadness and, yes, of outrage at the fate of nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive by foreign power or totalitarian ideology. But my message to you today is one of hope -- from changes already taking place, of changes yet to come. As I said in my Inaugural Address, "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I have just returned, full of hope, from visits to Poland and Hungary, two nations on the threshold of historic change. Both those great nations are reclaiming their national destinies, redeeming their centuries-old dream of freedom and democracy.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one social and economic model, one definition of their national interests, one future, prescribed by an alien ideology. Now there are new hopes for an alternative future for these nations -- a democratic alternative. There are new possibilities for national

PER NSC WAIVER,
DECLASSIFIED
By IK NARA, Date 06/02/13

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 20, 1989

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Capitol

12:05 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors and friends.

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts, and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. (Applause.)

I've just repeated word-for-word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.

And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to heed and hear your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better.

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.) The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree.

A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through -- into a room called Tomorrow.

MORE

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom.

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity.

The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. (Applause.)

For the first time in this century -- for the first time in perhaps all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No president, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. (Applause.) There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

MORE

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all -- we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people. (Applause.)

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.

We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved.

The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Applause.)

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the federal budget into balance, and we must ensure that America stands before the world united -- strong, at peace and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult.

We need compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Applause.)

To my friends -- and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and, yes, I mean loyal, I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

hand.

And we can't turn back clocks and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon, and hard. But in the end, let us produce.

The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. (Applause.) "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow; we will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; once made, strong and can be used with great effect.

There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

"Great nations like great men must keep their word." When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty, or an agreement, or a vow made on marble steps. (Applause.) We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment. But subtlety, too, is good and has its place.

While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home.

To an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze.

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day; you are part of the life of our great nation. (Applause.)

A president is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek "a window on men's souls." In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it -- this scourge will stop. (Applause.)

MORE

And so there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

And I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling. And sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages -- and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so today a chapter begins -- a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

12:25 P.M. EST

(Smith/Blessey)
July 15, 1989
Draft Two
[Captive]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, but it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement towards democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

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Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology. *? Conf*

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But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery and of conscience: The bravery that inspires the peoples of ^{Latvia} Angola and Afghanistan, ^{Lithuania} Cambodia and ~~Cuba~~, the conscience that teaches that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-rch MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech

Latvia
Lithuania
Estonia

writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. That democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. ~~And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan.~~ In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

The tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. Around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to nations of East Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national destinies, we say: America stands with you.

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom we say: America stands with you. To all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression.

We know that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. Five weeks ago, thousands symbolized that democracy as they

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filled Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to pay homage to the heroes, and the spirit of Hungary's 1956 rebellion. But their presence did more. It honored the spirit of captive peoples everywhere.

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Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

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My friends, ^{Prague (depression)} ^{Vilnius} ^{combr} that wonder is liberty's wonder. In ~~Kabul~~ and Prague, Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ballots, not bullets. And who survive -- who will triumph -- through courage and determination.

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To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. Like them, we must never waver, nor surrender. Instead, let us raise -- together -- what ~~Lajos Kossuth~~ called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can lead us toward the day when all captive peoples know the joy of freedom.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, and God bless America.

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Too much Hungary here.

(Smith/Blessey)
July 17, 1989
Draft Two
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. And to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive Nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to ^{despair} ~~bayonets and barbed wire~~. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

~~Said he: "I trust to the principles of republicanism."~~

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week.

~~His life was a celebration of bravery, and of conscience: The bravery that lifts the peoples of Cuba and Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; the conscience that says that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.~~

When the 19th-Century playwright Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is

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REPLACE

today's Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. It suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

We see it, too -- the light of liberty -- across East and Central Europe. And in changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. In particular, the Baltic States -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- are striving anew to recapture their national destinies. Their insistent calls for freedom -- now heard openly -- cannot long be denied.

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

At the same time other countries are

together -- what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward the day when all captive Nations know the liberty that sets people free.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, thank you coming to the White House, and God bless this beloved land -- the United States of America.

#

593-1352

To: Stephanie
Blessey
Fr: Dr.

Dr. Elmer Bakko
810 Loxford Terrace
Silver Spring, Md. 20901

Abroad in America:

Visitors to the New Nation

1776-1914

Edited and with an Introduction by

*MARC PACTER, Historian
National Portrait Gallery*

Co-edited by

*FRANCES STEVENSON WEIN, Editor
National Portrait Gallery*

Published in association with the

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

by

Addison-Wesley Publishing Company

*Reading, Massachusetts · Menlo Park, California · London ·
Amsterdam · Don Mills, Ontario · Sydney*



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or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the
Smithsonian Institution and the publisher. Printed in the
United States of America. Published simultaneously in Canada.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING IN PUBLICATION DATA

Main entry under title:

Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914.

Essays written to accompany the exhibition at
the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Bibliography: p. 303

Includes index.

1. United States—Description and travel—1783-1848—Addresses, essays, lectures.
2. United States—Description and travel—1848-1865—Addresses, essays, lectures.
3. United States—Description and travel—1865-1900—Addresses, essays, lectures.
4. Visitors, Foreign—United States—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Pachter, Marc. II. Wein, Frances. III. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. IV. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

E164.A27

917.3'04'0912

75-39542

ISBN 0-201-00031-9-H
ISBN 0-201-00022-8-P
SCDFQHJK-HA-7887E

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Louis Kossuth

1802-1894

by *Elemer Bako*

Yes, Gentlemen, either America will regenerate the condition of the old world, or it will be degenerated by the condition of the old world.

—*Speech delivered in
Concord, Massachusetts, May 11, 1852*

(
ELEMER BAKO, born in Hungary, is the Finno-Ugric Area Specialist at the Library of Congress. A linguist, bibliographer, and cultural historian, Dr. Bako has taught at the universities of Debrecen (Hungary), Munich, and at Columbia University.
)

125 *Louis Kossuth*

IN A SERMON preached on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1851, the Reverend Joseph P. Thompson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York, issued this greeting:

Thou Noble Magyar!

We welcome thee for thine own sake and thy country's. . . . We know the heroism that for years bore up in thy far banishment, the cause of Hungary before the world and God. We welcome thee to a dominion over free hearts that honor virtue, truth and liberty. . . . In thy own tongue we bid thee welcome. Éljen! Isten Hozta! Kossuth!

The person thus addressed was not present; owing to stormy weather, his ship was still out on the ocean. But his fame had preceded him: the newspapers were already filled with accounts of his heroic efforts to preserve Hungary's first constitutional government against the overwhelming military power of the Austrian and Russian Empires. The bloodbath that had followed the imperial victory earned worldwide contempt for the two emperors. Concerted efforts were made by the United States, England, and France, directed by Secretary of State Daniel Webster and his British counterpart Lord Palmerston, to rescue Louis Kossuth and his compatriots who had taken refuge in Turkey. Deeply grateful, Kossuth, throughout his life, urged the "two Anglo-Saxon nations" to liquidate their historical differences and to join forces against despotism everywhere in the world.

Louis Kossuth (in Hungarian, Kossuth Lajos), a Protestant, was born in 1802 in the northern part of Hungary, to a prominent family. The generation of young reformers who emerged in Hungary in the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the influence of Count István Széchenyi, founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825, soon accepted Louis Kossuth as their leader. After the gross betrayal of Hungary on the part of Metternich's Austria, he rose to national prominence. When others began to hesitate, Kossuth did not, and was soon elected by the embattled representatives of the nation as a "Governor-President" after the House of Hapsburg was dethroned on April 14, 1849.

Kossuth tried to direct the government of his nation toward the American model. His love for America had its roots in his youth. Among his most important guides to American life, history, and institutions were two works: the Hungarian translation of Alexis de Tocqueville's *La démocratie en Amérique*, which followed the publication of the original by just a few years, and an enthusiastic account of a journey to the United States in 1831 and 1832 by Sándor Bölöni Farkas. After Kossuth became President, the United States Government, and particularly Secretary of State Daniel Webster, enthusiastically took up the cause of the "American model at the Lower Danube." A young Transylvanian, Count Samuel Wass, Kossuth's personal emissary, was tacitly permitted to set up "Committees for Hungary" in the summer of 1849 throughout the United States; at one of these meetings, in Springfield, Illinois, a resolution was passed, upon Abraham Lincoln's recommendation, to recognize Hungarian independence.

After the struggle had been lost, Kossuth was finally able to visit the country which had fostered his ideal and then had rescued him from his exile in Turkey. Upon disembarking at Staten Island from the Mississippi frigate which the American government had dispatched to Istanbul, Kossuth expressed his gratitude to his hosts:



Kossuth Attended by the Spirits of Freedom and History and the Guardian Genius of Hungary, with his Own Good Angel Calmly Bearing him through Space to America, by an unidentified artist, wood engraving, from Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, December 27, 1851. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

In December 1851, Kossuth sailed into the New York harbor a hero. Americans, feeling a kinship with the Hungarians in their effort to win freedom and constitutional liberty, hoped to see, in the words of Daniel Webster, an "American model at the Lower Danube."

The United States of America . . . declared by this unparalleled act their resolve to become the protectors of human rights. . . . Others spoke, you acted, and I was free! . . . At this act of yours tyrants trembled, humanity shouted with joy, the Magyar nation, crushed but not broken, raised its head with resolution and with hope, and the brilliancy of your stars was greeted by Europe's oppressed millions as the morning star of liberty.

Kossuth had his official welcome two days later when he was escorted by a deputation of prominent New Yorkers aboard the steamer *Vanderbilt*, amidst the salvos of the nearby forts and the cheers of the throngs on nearby ships. Castle Garden was filled with thousands of people, waiting for the procession which formed at the Battery. As the procession moved up Broadway, Kossuth, standing up in an open carriage, his feathered Hungarian hat (soon very fashionable wear for many thousands of liberal Americans, and called a "Kossuth hat") in his right hand, escorted by some of his Hun-

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 20, 1989

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Capitol

12:05 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors and friends.

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts, and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. (Applause.)

I've just repeated word-for-word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.

And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to heed and hear your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better.

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.) The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree.

A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through -- into a room called Tomorrow.

MORE

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom.

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The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

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For the first time in this century -- for the first time in perhaps all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves.

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But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No president, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. (Applause.) There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all -- we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people. (Applause.)

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.

We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved.

The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Applause.)

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the federal budget into balance, and we must ensure that America stands before the world united -- strong, at peace and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult.

We need compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Applause.)

To my friends -- and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and, yes, I mean loyal, I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

hand.

And we can't turn back clocks and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon, and hard. But in the end, let us produce.

The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. (Applause.) "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow; we will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; once made, strong and can be used with great effect.

There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

"Great nations like great men must keep their word." When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty, or an agreement, or a vow made on marble steps. (Applause.) We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment. But subtlety, too, is good and has its place.

While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home.

To an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze.

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day; you are part of the life of our great nation. (Applause.)

A president is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek "a window on men's souls." In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it -- this scourge will stop. (Applause.)

MORE

And so there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

And I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling. And sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages -- and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so today a chapter begins -- a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

12:25 P.M. EST

Bulgaria - repressing Turks
outlawed Turkish lang. & names
protests - violence
mass deportation - forced expulsion
130,000 crossed the border

PO Lee + a
DAIS PARTICIPANTS FOR CAPTIVE NATIONS CEREMONY
day

POLITA GRAU de AGUERO: (polita grauw de AH-gwer-row)
Niece of former Cuban President Ramon Grau-San Martin. A political prisoner from 1965 to 1979, she was arrested by the Castro government and charged with "conspiracy against state powers" for allegedly helping Cuban families to send their children abroad without official government exit permits. She was detained at numerous prisons. She has since become a very respected and loved member of the Cuban-American community.

DR. GETACHEW HAILE: (get-AH-chew HIGH-lee)
Left Ethiopia after being shot by Communist government soldiers which resulted in his partial paralysis. Since arriving in the U.S. in 1976 he has done research at St. John's University in Minnesota. Dr. Getachew won the MacArthur Award for his work in Ethiopian languages and literature.

NEEME JARVI: (NAME-a YARR-vee)
Left Estonia in 1980 and has gone on to become a renowned conductor in the United States. He has performed with the Boston Symphony, Los Angeles Philharmonic, National Symphony, and many other orchestras and operas. He also has an award winning album out on the Columbia label.

KARCH KIRALY: (carch key-RYE)
Two-time Olympic gold medalist in volleyball for the United States. Voted the world's greatest volleyball player by the International Volleyball Federation. His father, Laszlo Kiraly, was a Hungarian freedom fighter and left Hungary in the 50's. Laz has been attributed with helping Karch become such a success; teaching and playing volleyball with his son from the time he was a tyke to the beginning of his college career.

HAING NGOR: (hang gnaw)
Fled Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge holocaust and the resulting occupation of his country by Vietnamese Communists. Once in the United States, this first-time actor proceeded to win an Academy Award for his role in The Killing Fields in 1984. He was the first Asian American to receive such an honor.

TUE NGUYEN: (two-EE new-EN)
Since leaving Vietnam nine years ago, Tue has received seven Ph.D's in Physics from M.I.T. at only 27 years of age.

ANTONIO YBARRA-ROJAS: (antonio ee-bar-ah-ROW-haas)
Professor of Sociology at the University of Dubuque, Iowa. Born in Nicaragua in 1949, he holds a M.A. in development studies from the Catholic University of Louvain and a Ph.D from Iowa State University. From 1975-1979, he directed the Social Studies Center at the Central Bank of Nicaragua. In June of 1989, he acted as an on-site observer of Nicaraguan electoral process. He was expelled from Nicaragua on July 7, 1989 by the Sandinista government.