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# Lutheran Church Gets a Bigger Role

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

Special to The New York Times

EAST BERLIN, Dec. 4 — With the virtual collapse of the East German Communist Party, the leading moral authority in this part of Germany is once again what it has been for most of the time since the Reformation, the Lutheran Church.

So it is that the Lutheran Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Dr. Gottfried Forck, will hold the chair when round-table talks among all the political forces in East Germany sit down on Thursday to try to find a way out of the political crisis — with the Communist Party, the leading social force in the country only a month ago, now just one among many, struggling for its very existence.

The Protestant church in East Germany provided shelter, working space and moral authority to the protest groups that gave birth to the popular revolution that swept the country in September and October. Hundreds of thousands of people, taking to the streets, and fleeing the country by road through neighboring Hungary and Czechoslovakia, forced the Communist rulers to oust the leader who built the Berlin wall, Erich Honecker, and finally to declare the wall and all the country's borders open on Nov. 9.

According to some leading members of the clergy, the church had no political program of its own. Now, they say, its role will be simply to get all parties talking to one another, and let them decide what they will.

"The new Government has expressly encouraged the churches to play an independent role, and recognized the role they played earlier in the process of renewal," said one of the key figures, the Rev. Bernd Albani, one of the three ministers of Gethsemane Church in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg neigh-

## A bishop takes the chair in talks to stem the political crisis.

borhood. In that church members of New Forum, Democratic Awakening and other unofficial political groups gathered daily at the height of the revolutionary movement this fall.

The church became a focal point of the growing popular demand for change, with daily protest meetings, vigils and candles burning outside the iron front gate to symbolize support for political prisoners. The Nikolaikirche in Leipzig and the Kreuzkirche in Dresden played similar roles as magnets there.

"Our secret services kept telling us that the churches here, like Solidarity in Poland, were a tool of Western intelligence," an East German party official said. "That was nonsense. The church didn't create the protest movement. It made itself available to them, gave them meeting places and encouragement."

One leading churchman, the Rev. Werner Krättschell, superintendent of the Lutheran Church's Berlin-Pankow district, traced the origins of the movement to the East-West tensions of 1962, when the United States and the Soviet Union were stationing medium-range missiles in Europe.

### State Infiltrated Meetings

"We had a peace group here that met every Friday," Pastor Krättschell said, sitting in his vicarage across from the brick parish church in Pankow, "and the state always sent about 20 young people in, to pose as participants."

"Their tactic was to try to sabotage the meetings by asking provocative questions," he said. "So the movement had to learn how to exercise control, and self-control, with the 'enemy' right in the room with them. This training bore fruit in the big demonstrations in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden in October and November — the first peaceful revolution on German soil."

Nor did the East German church lack experience in dealing with the "enemy." The Rev. Werner Widrat, pastor of Gethsemane Church, was a member of the Communist Party himself until 1974.

"As I wasn't married at the time," he said. "It was relatively easy to make the decision. I didn't have to worry about anybody else. There were, of course, some discussions at work and in the party — they were looking for the class enemy, the influence from abroad — that had made me turn."

But, Pastor Widrat said, the cause lay within himself.

"My work in automation and computer technology involved armed police units," he said. "I thought about what I saw. I did not want to force people to accept happiness that the party had thought up for them."

Asked to explain why the church became the rallying point for so much of the opposition to Mr. Honecker's re-

gime, Pastor Widrat said: "There was no other social force in the country that had independence both from the state and the party. And we had an understanding of the Christian Gospel as a message with a political content."

The liberation theology of the Latin American church was an influence, he said, as was Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the Protestant minister who bore witness against Nazism.

Pastor Krättschell said he was now counseling a career Communist Party official who was in despair in contemplating what he called the wreckage of his life's work.

"My wife and I," he said, "are trying to help people like him get through this, to see that suicide is not the answer. But the German Communists weren't prepared for the exercise of power. They were always in opposition, and suddenly they were thrust into it."

He referred to the establishment of East Germany by the Soviet authorities in their zone of occupation in 1949.

### Tide of Demands 'No Surprise'

"For someone who's been living here all these years, the tremendous momentum of demands for change in recent weeks is no surprise," Pastor Krättschell said.

He sees echoes of scripture in the events that are changing East Germany now day by day.

"He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts," he said. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away."

When Mikhail S. Gorbachev came to Berlin in early October, the motorcade passed through Pankow, and Pastor

## The main job will be to get all the sides talking to one another.

Krättschell's young son was in the crowd.

"All I could think of then, as the crowd cheered him, was Christ's entry into Jerusalem," he said.

Though this thought has also impelled the Roman Catholic Church to play an active social role in other countries like Poland and those in South America, it remained relatively in the background here, according to clergymen and diplomats. There are estimated to be only one million Catholics in East Germany, who took part in the last year in an ecumenical movement for "peace, justice and preservation of the creation" that has since found an echo in a patriotic appeal signed by the Communist Party leader, Egon Krenz, in a last desperate effort to hold onto power before he was forced to resign on Sunday.

"In this land," Pastor Krättschell said, "there are precious, tender, delicate values — of social solidarity, deep friendship, caring — that could perish in a moment. It would be a shame if they did, but the people of this country right now see only the golden face of capitalism. We've become a city of plastic bags from Western department stores since the wall went down."

"Erich Honecker had begun to see the churches as repositories of cultural strength and continuity that went back hundreds of years," he said. "Now that their power has collapsed, they will perhaps also notice that history did not begin with them, but Goethe, Luther, J. S. Bach and Hegel also all left their imprint on this land, on this part of Germany, which is where they lived and worked."

## Communism, religion, freedom

*The following conversation with Milovan Djilas took place in Belgrade, on 15 December 1988. Lief Hovelsen is a member of the Norwegian Helsinki Committee Council.*

**MILOVAN DJILAS:** Communism can exist only as a totalitarian system. Communism with a human face is not possible. Human rights as we in the free world visualize them are not possible under communism: they are contradictory to the system. Glasnost and perestroika may open up a little more tolerance here and there but in essence communism will remain a monopolistic power. In its ideals communism is very good, but in practice it is the contrary. It is not working.

**LIEF HOVELSEN:** *Where is the flaw, why doesn't communism work?*

**MD:** Communism is contrary to human nature. The Communist party is monopolistic and totalitarian in its structure. Human nature is pluralistic in its being. Human nature is sinful. If human nature was perfect, communism might be possible but that would be a "dead" society. Human nature is evil, and at the same time gentle and good. The constant struggle of different tendencies in us is essential for the existence of humanity. If there was absolute evil or absolute good, it would die. That means that we must fight to be good, seek good ideals, have good aims, but we must know that the evil will be always there.

Capitalism functions better because it is closer to human nature. It permits the human being to express more freedom. Communism has failed and will fail because human nature cannot live without freedom, without choices, without facing alternatives. If man is not creative, if he does not change, does not have ideas, he cannot exist, he cannot be truly alive. This is the difference between human beings and animals. Man is creative, full of ideas, imagination and vision. He cannot be restricted, put under police

control, repressed or put under brutal ideological pressures; or rather he can be restricted for a while, but not for generations. The Communist society of today is decadent really and will become more and more decadent; the alternative is change.

**LH:** *Do you mean to say that man is not only a materialistic creature, but a spiritual being as well?*

**MD:** The essential thing is the spiritual element. It is the foundation. I consider myself an atheist, but I believe in the spiritual dimension of man. This is the reason why freedom of religion is important. Religion and religious feelings are elementary feelings. There is no human being without some faith, some belief. Atheism is also a belief. It is not a religion but it is not much different from one. In some way the human being is born with religion. We do not know the human being without a religion. From early prehistoric man there are drawings and signs indicating some religion. This is because man must explain the world, explain his destiny, his situation, his death.

We now have scientific explanations, not religious ones. But scientific explanations are not absolute. They are restricted, limited to the knowledge of this time. Science cannot completely explain the universe and the situation of man in the universe. Religious explanations are not rational but absolute. Religion is explaining, not rationally, but by faith, using pictures, trying to include man in the universe, in God really.

**LH:** *Man's place in the world, his purpose, his striving towards a human society—from that perspective it is obvious that communism has failed. But doesn't man still need a utopia, a vision of a society he can live and strive for?*

**MD:** Every society is utopian. Even the Western societies are utopian. They

speak of absolute freedom and that is also a utopia. If we read the American Constitution, it says that man is born to be free; that is also utopian. We don't know for what reason man is born. But he must fight to be free and fight for good aims and only in this way may he be free. You may be free in most totalitarian systems if you are fighting for freedom, that means for good aims. When I was last in prison, I was free, free from the Party, from all Marxist-Communist ideas. I was as free as I am now.

Religion becomes dangerous when it is linked to an ideology, national or otherwise. Orthodox anti-communism as an ideology is also dangerous. Man should strive for spiritual freedom. Every human idea may be wrongly used against man. There is no better idea than Christianity, but at times it has been wrongly used—history tells us that. Today we have fanatical Khomeinism; it is really some sort of totalitarianism.

Freedom of religion is important because it opens the way to political freedoms. With freedom of religion, belief is free and thinking is free and this may open the way for political thoughts and beliefs as well. This is the essential reason why communism is against freedom of religion and of the church. For Communists it is nonsense, it is stupid, to believe in God. But I emphasize that this is not dangerous to them; rather free expression of religion and free church organization opens the way to other freedoms. Of course freedom of religion diminishes the ideological influence of monopolistic power. The believers have some other loyalty, outside the Party and the ideology. They are not completely, but partly, free from the totalitarian system; they have something higher than the Party and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Religion in politics is not so good for politics. Politics is a painful job. It cannot be without sin. Even the very best of us are sinful every day. ■

Religion &

Communism

Moral Questions

Where do we go  
from here?

preconditions is still apparent in the current Western rush to provide loans to the Soviet Union, the West has shown some restraint in dealing with the biggest East European debtors, namely Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Western pressure for change in the Soviet bloc has focused on two areas: the centralized economic system and the observance of human rights.

Further, the process of de-Stalinization initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev attempts to change the fossilized Communist ideology, which remains much as it was under Stalin. However, since Stalin's times the realities of the world surrounding the Communist bloc have changed profoundly. Thus the process of de-Stalinization cannot be a simple return to Lenin, as originally envisioned, but must take into account the realities of the modern world. The idea of human rights is one of them. While human rights as an idea has been present on the international scene for decades, it has dominated international politics only lately. In fact, human rights issues have become an inherent part of East-West relations. Communist leaders realize that they cannot escape Western questioning of their human rights performance if they want greater economic cooperation with the West. And they cannot shun such cooperation because Western technology and money are necessary to any possible economic revitalization of Communist systems.

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**In return for concessions in the area of human rights the Party expects more individual initiative, better economic performance, and the renewal of trust between the Party and the rest of society.**

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Still another factor that has influenced the change in human rights policies is the rise to power of young, better-educated leaders. They are more aware of the extent of the crisis faced by the societies they lead and of possible ways out of the crisis. Human rights are now seen as a component of the policy that may turn the unfavorable development around. If, reason the leaders, the violation of human rights has been for decades one of the causes of the current crisis of the Communist system, then perhaps it is time to give the people more freedom.

### **Human rights & the legal state**

The leaders see the change as one that should improve the overall performance of the one party-system. The changed system is seen as a continuous Communist party dictatorship in which, nevertheless, the Communist party cooperates to a certain degree with independent groups and/or other political parties, takes into account the opinions of its citizens, and guarantees constitutional rights. This is to be achieved through the introduction of the "legal state," meaning the state in which justice is guaranteed through a court system truly independent of the will of

the Communist party. It should be a sort of "constitutional communism" in which the Party keeps its leading role, but delegates some of its power to the state or shares it to a degree with other political parties and independent groups. In return for concessions in the area of human rights and other freedoms, including rights of individuals and groups to independent economic practices, the Party expects more individual initiative, better economic performance by enterprises and citizens, and the renewal of trust between the Party and the rest of society.

### **Human rights & communism**

The Communist rulers realize, of course, some of the dangers tied to this new approach to human rights. However, those leaders who really want to improve the performance of the system realize that a major consequence of the continuous violations of human rights is total economic retardation. There is little chance that people can be spurred to exercise initiative in the economy if greater economic freedom is not accompanied by political relaxation and better guarantees for their basic human rights. Thus the acceptance of human rights appears to be a necessary part of the remodeling of the Communist system. Some Communist leaders probably still believe, as did Alexander Dubcek in Czechoslovakia in 1968, that the observance of human rights and other democratic principles can indeed humanize the Communist system—bring about socialism with a human face—and that these ideas are fully compatible with the nature of the system. Is this in fact true? Could Dubcek have been right in 1968? Are other Communist leaders right today?

A close examination of the basic international documents that enumerate internationally recognized human rights—the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Accords, the Human Rights pacts of the mid-70s and the newest Vienna Accords—indicates that a consistent observance of human rights by Communist systems would lead to the transformation if not the disintegration of those systems. While not all of the basic human rights contained in these documents are incompatible with the totalitarian nature of Communist systems, some are clearly "dangerous" to the system.

For example, Yugoslavia has shown that freedom of travel, which is guaranteed by article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, does not significantly threaten the stability of the Communist system. The same is probably true of the presumption of innocence, which is required by article 11 of the Universal Declaration. There is no reason to believe that an end to the "arbitrary interference with one's privacy, family, home or correspondence," which is envisioned in the Soviet Union, will threaten the foundations of the Communist system. More problematic is the implementation of article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which stipulates that "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others." The state monopoly on property in Communist regimes allows for only a limited application of this right. Its full implementation would

amount to the gradual disintegration of the state's ownership in many areas. That, in turn, would lead to the creation of new centers of economic power that could eventually rival the economic power of the state.

The rights stipulated by the Universal Declaration in articles 18-21 contradict the very nature of Communist systems, whether these systems are built on Leninist or Stalinist principles. It is hardly imaginable that Communist regimes could truly accommodate such rights as freedom of thought, conscience, expression, assembly and religion and still be able to control their societies as they do now. The Party's monopoly on ideology and information would be affected. If these rights were combined with the consistent observation of article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives," the distribution of political power would be affected as well. The same article also stipulates that "everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country." Article 23 says that everyone has the right "to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests." Such rights are hardly compatible with a one-party, one-trade union system.

It is obvious that any totalitarian or authoritarian political regime that decides to guarantee all or most of the rights included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (or the Helsinki Accords whose "second basket" basically reconfirms the human rights described by the Universal Declaration) paves the way toward political pluralism. Were the Communist state to guarantee such basic freedoms as freedom of expression, assembly and conscience, or such basic rights as the right to form independent associations or trade unions, it could expect that a growing number of its citizens would demand an end to the one-party system.

### Different countries, different approaches

Only Hungary and Poland seem to have recognized the tendency to create a system of political pluralism that is inherently present in the modern concept of human rights. Its leaders have repeatedly promised the introduction of a multi-party system, starting in 1990. While some Hungarian leaders continue to emphasize that the leading role of the Communist party must be preserved, others have suggested that the Party must "earn it." That is, of course, an invitation to a full-fledged competition for political power. The accords recently signed by the Polish government and the opposition also pave the way toward limited political pluralism. Some Yugoslav leaders have also been leaning toward following the Hungarian road; but so far only Hungary and Poland, among all Communist countries, appear to be able to honor human rights, which are closely tied to the introduction of political pluralism.

In the USSR, the question of political pluralism is still "off-limits," although the Soviet leaders now appear ready to recognize that independent groups other than the Communist party have the right to exist. However, if politi-

cal pluralism is not eventually recognized as one of the goals of reform in the USSR, the observance of human rights there will remain selective. There may be efforts to guarantee freedom of thought, religion, conscience and expression, but the state will place limits on these freedoms wherever they might serve as a basis for organized political or trade unionist opposition. However, even this limited observance of human rights is bound to lead to further tremors in the already destabilized structure of the Communist state.

Finally, while some Communist states will ostensibly follow in the footsteps of the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary, in reality they will try to use the cause of human rights merely for propaganda purposes. This is especially true of Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Romania and Bulgaria do not appear ready to modify their human rights stances at all. However, even attempts to exploit some human rights for propaganda purposes can lead to situations that the Communist regimes may find hard to manage. Citizens will try to take advantage of the regime's gestures of tolerance, originally intended only for Western consumption. Last years' developments in Czechoslovakia may serve as a good example.

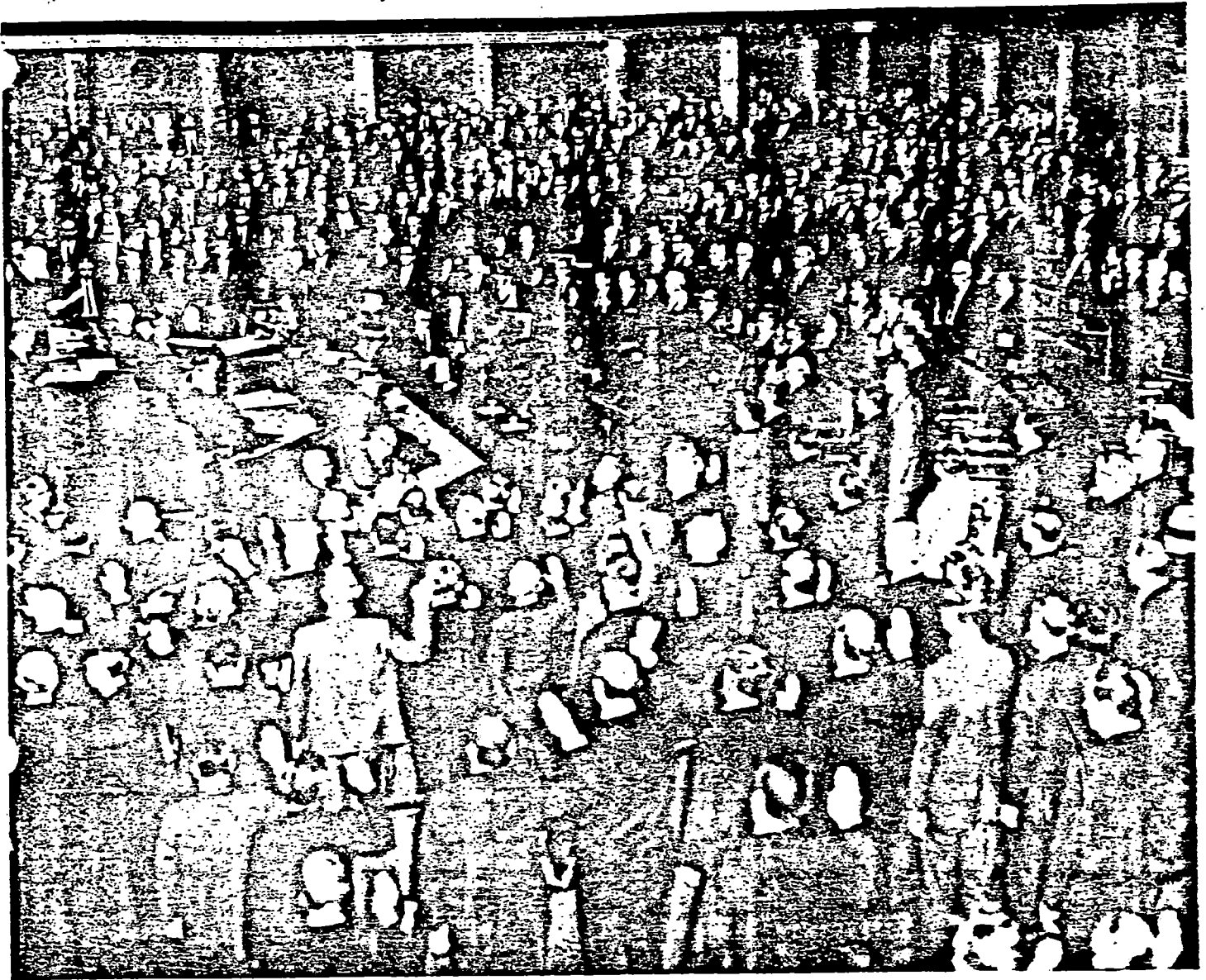
The road that Communist systems take toward guarantees of human rights will be marked by returns to oppression and therefore to the system of political control of society. However, none of the Communist leaderships has many alternatives to the observance of human rights. It is becoming increasingly clear even to Communist leaders that without economic pluralism, a change for the better cannot be expected. In turn, economic pluralism must be accompanied by a degree of political pluralism.

Communist leaders hope that they can guarantee basic human rights and still stop short of threatening one-party rule. That, in the opinion of Communist regimes that now experiment with human rights, should be enough to propel the democratization of the economic system. They see the implementation of human rights, guaranteed by the modernized legal institutions of a one-party state, simply as a possible alternative to political pluralism.

That idea is wrong. Human rights cannot be fully guaranteed within a one-party state, and partial "democratization" cannot propel the development of free market mechanisms within the Communist economy. The idea of human rights is inherently tied to the idea of political pluralism. Any totalitarian or authoritarian system that tries to give its people basic human rights but attempts to separate this process from political pluralism faces an inescapable dilemma. Fearing the growing signs of destabilization, it will either retreat from such a policy and accept growing economic retardation or, fearing economic retardation, it will involuntarily set into motion a process that will ultimately disintegrate the system which the rulers were trying to save. That is the dilemma now facing the Communist world. ■

*Jiri Pehe is a political analyst at Radio Frée Europe, Munich, West Germany.*

WASHINGTON D.C. / FEBRUARY, 1969



SWEARING-IN CEREMONY AT OPENING OF 91ST CONGRESS.

**BUSH reports  
on the action!**

HAIL AND FAREWELL: I was privileged to be selected as one of those to escort former President Johnson down the aisle at the joint session of Congress when he presented his State of the Union message. Those who agreed with his policies and those who disagreed were united in their respect for his long service to this country. I liked his call for unity behind our new President.

On January 20, I gathered with other Members of the 91st Congress in the House Chamber before proceeding to the inaugural platform for the Inauguration of President Nixon. Although it was a very cold day, I had a warm feeling inside as I listened to the prayers that were offered for our country and its new leader and to the President's message.

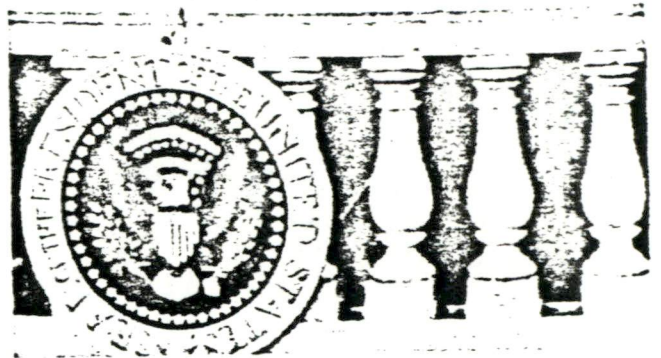
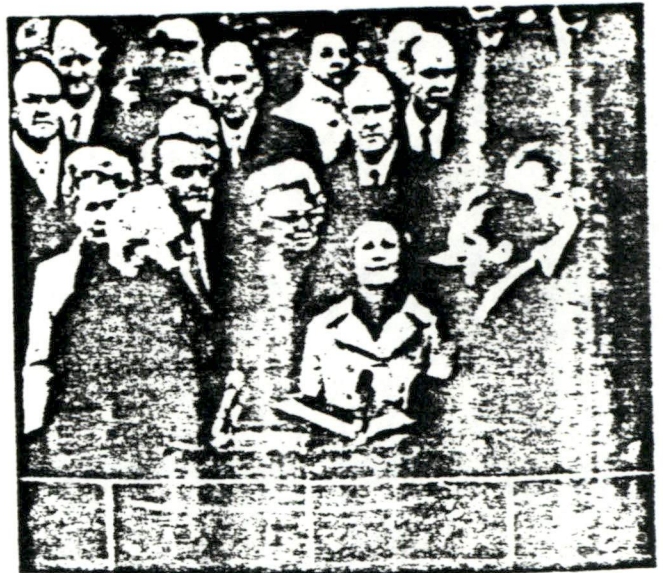
I once again felt a deep sense of gratitude to you who chose me as your Representative in Washington and gave me this opportunity to be a part of these high moments in history. Another highlight was seeing our many friends from the 7th District and other parts of Texas at the open house at our home and at my congressional office before and after the Inaugural Ceremony.

THE 91st CONGRESS: Legislation I have introduced since the opening of the first session of the 91st Congress includes:

A bill calling for Congressional veto of the pay raise of Members of Congress and other top Administration and Judicial officials. I think a good textbook case can be made for the increase, but the overriding point is that other working people are being asked to keep their wage and salary increases down while Congress receives an increase. I don't think it is fair to ask the people to stick with one standard and then to have the Congress given another. Unfortunately, the majority decided they would rather not have this bill taken up and it was left to die in Committee, and the raise took effect.

A bill calling for a Constitutional Amendment that would invalidate any interpretation of the Constitution that would abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building, supported in whole or in part by public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer. I think it is very important that this Congress uphold the people's right to pray in public buildings, schools, homes or at any public gathering. The bill is carefully drawn so as not to force a given religion down anyone's throat. I think we must keep church and state separate, but we must safeguard the right to prayer.

On the opening day of Congress, I reintroduced legislation aimed at removing politics from the Post Office. This legislation, first introduced in March of 1967, would have put the appointments of postmasters and rural carriers on a merit basis and prohibit individuals from seeking political endorsements for such appointments.



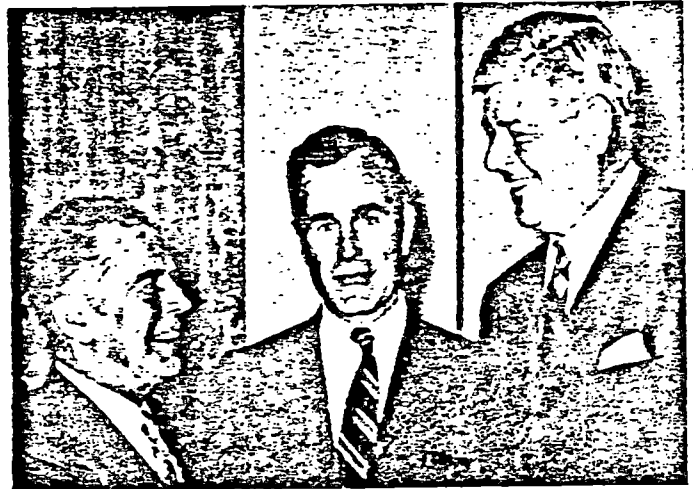
President Nixon taking the oath of office with Mrs. Nixon holding the family Bibles.

I was gratified by the announcement this month of President Nixon and Postmaster General Blount which achieved this result. There is no question in my mind that this will help facilitate a smooth-running and more efficient postal organization. The federal government is responsible for the mail service and I am glad to see that this challenge has been accepted by the new Administration.

I have just introduced a bill proposing the establishment of a Joint Select Committee on Population and Family Planning. I am convinced that we can never come to grips with the problems of poverty and hunger without a really enlightened family planning effort both in this country and abroad. This Committee, to be composed of five Members of the Senate and five Members of the House of Representatives, would conduct a complete investigation and study of the problems of population growth and the need for family planning in both the United States and the world in order to provide the Congress with a comprehensive basis for future scrutiny in this field.

THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE is where the action is in the 91st Congress. We are now in full swing on important tax reform hearings. I strongly favor tax reform, not to raise more revenue but to eliminate some of the inequities.

The hearings on tax-exempt foundations have just ended. They showed many abuses by some foundations. Foundations have done a tremendous amount of good in education and charitable deeds, but regrettably some have used their tax shelter improperly. The taxpayer ends up financing all kinds of non-charitable or non-educational programs. I am convinced the law will be changed to protect all of the taxpayers and to force the foundations to operate only for the purposes approved by the Congress.



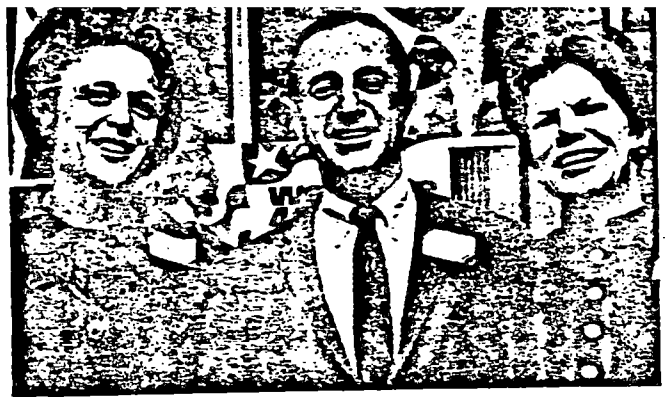
Ranking Minority Member of the Ways & Means Committee, John Byrnes, with Congressman Bush welcoming newly-appointed Committee Member, Congressman Rogers Morton of Maryland.

SCHOOL BUSING: As your Congressman, I have tried at all times to work for fair play in race relations. Recently, I have received a lot of mail on school busing. Last year I voted with the majority of the Congress against using federal funds to achieve racial balance through busing. In my view, Negro and white parents alike oppose busing. They favor the neighborhood school concept and the freedom of choice approach. They want quality neighborhood schools, fair play for all, good teachers, good classrooms and facilities; but, they do not want their children carted miles away from their homes.

In Houston, the matter is now in the Federal Court. The School Board must make its best case to the Court. In Washington, I will continue to battle for good federal programs in education, but I will continue to fight against the use of federal funds for busing. Contrary to the opinion of much of my mail, the Nixon Administration has not come out in favor of busing.

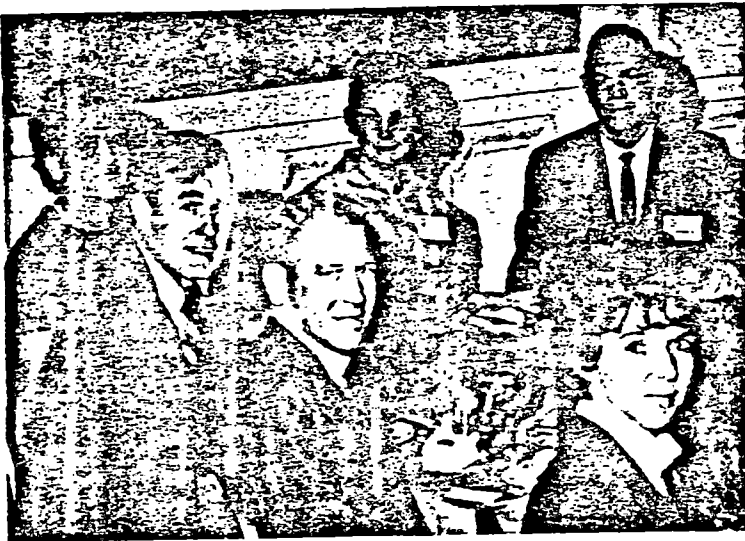
ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS: I have just completed my recommendations for Academy appointments for the July 1, 1969, class. I am now accepting applications from boys interested in competing for appointment to West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, or the Merchant Marine Academy in the class entering July 1, 1970. This year, I plan to stop taking applications at Thanksgiving for the next class.

APPOINTMENT TO NEW COMMITTEE. I was very pleased to be appointed by the Speaker of the House to the 12-man House Delegation on the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group, whose main objective is better understanding between our two countries. The Committee, which alternates on meeting sites, will meet this year in Mexico April 2-9. I feel that my work on this Delegation will be another means of better understanding the problems of our Mexican-American citizens as well as the relations between our two countries. The Mexican delegation is made up of members of the Mexican government comparable to the U. S. Representatives and Senators. During the meeting, we will have the opportunity to meet with the President of Mexico.



Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Johnston with Mrs. Bush, were among the many visitors at the open house in Congressman Bush's office after the Inaugural Ceremony.

SINCE THE FIRST OF THE YEAR, I have had the privilege of speaking in the district at the annual dinner meeting of the Family Service Center, the annual meeting of the Greater Houston Convention and Visitors Council; the annual luncheon meeting of the United Nations Association; a "town meeting" of the First Congregational Church; at SCORE, a counseling organization of retired executives; at Prairie View A&M College's President's Lecture Series; was honored at an appreciation dinner given by some of my Mexican-American friends; and was honored to be the first Member of Congress to speak at a student assembly at Katy High School. I also spoke at the general meeting of the American Association of University Women and the Spring Convention of the Southeast Gulf Coast District of Student Councils at MacArthur Senior High School.



At National Council of Farmer Cooperatives Dinner in Washington; left to right from top of picture: Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Melendy of Houston, Rep. and Mrs. Bush, and Mr. and Mrs. Wesley Nelson of Katy.

During this same time, Barbara has given her program on historic Washington through the use of slides for eighteen schools and other groups. We both get our "batteries recharged" through these meetings at home.

DR. COOLEY COMES TO WASHINGTON: I had the privilege this month of taking Dr. Denton Cooley, Houston's famed heart surgeon who has performed more heart transplants than any surgeon in the world, over to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to meet the new Secretary, Robert Finch.

WHO SAID THERE'S INEFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT? In a recent Newsletter I asked your help in correcting our mailing list. Many of you responded. We carefully sorted the envelopes on which you noted your corrections. Then, a particularly conscientious member of the building cleanup crew removed the box of alphabetized envelopes! So -- one more time -- if there's an error on this mailing, or you're getting more than one newsletter, please note it on the envelope and return it to us. We plan to lock them up in the safe!

*Cy Bush*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT  
NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

The Washington Hilton Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

9:25 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all. Thank you very, very much. Vice President and Mrs. Quayle, and Chuck Grassley, Sam Nunn, and my dear friend, Billy Graham, and Ruth. Jim Baker, that was a very inspiring testament of faith. I also want to salute our very special guests who have travelled far to join us in a prayer for peace and understanding. President Moi of Kenya, President Ershad of Bangladesh. Major Buyoya, the marvelous head of Burundi. President Cristiani, a longtime friend. The Prime Minister Kisekka. And I just express for all of us a very hearty welcome, and to President Ershad, a happy birthday greeting to go with Bev Shea's. (Applause.) We're delighted you're here.

And I want to thank Bev Shea; and Billy, it'll probably read: Prayer Breakfast, Bev Shea; Supporting Cast: Secretary of State; Billy Graham. (Laughter.) A lot of Presidents out here. Senators and Congressmen. He was magnificent. (Laughter.) Magnificent music.

It's often said, in my line of work, that a candidate or a proposal hasn't got a prayer. Well, I'm pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said. (Laughter.) And this breakfast is the result of years of quiet diplomacy -- I wouldn't say secret diplomacy -- quiet diplomacy by an ambassador of faith, Doug Coe. And I salute him. (Applause.)

And I was moved once again by what Sam and Liz told us of members and staffers on the Hill who like to regularly meet to share a few quiet moments of prayer and Bible reading. The values that spring from our faith certainly tell us a lot about our country. And consider that for more than two centuries, Americans have endorsed, and properly so, the separation of church and state. But we've also shown how both religion and government can strengthen a society.

After all, our Founding Father's documents begin with these words: All men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. And Americans are religious people, but a truly religious nation is a tolerant nation. We cherish dissent, we cherish the fact that we have many, many faiths. And we protect even the right to disbelieve.

A truly religious nation is also a giving nation. A close friend of mine sent me a poem recently which eloquently embodies this spirit of giving.

"I sought my soul, but my soul I could not see. I sought my God but my God eluded me. I sought my brother and found all three."

Thousands of Americans are finding their soul, finding their God, by reaching out to their brothers and sisters in need.

MORE

*used every year at NRB*

You've heard me talk about A Thousand Points of Light across the country. Americans are working through their places of worship, through community programs, or on their own to help the hungry of the homeless, to teach the unskilled, to bring the words of men and the word of God to those who cannot even read.

And so I believe that this democracy of ours is once again proving, as it has throughout our history, that when people are free, they use that freedom to serve the greater good and, indeed, a higher truth. As freedom blossoms in Eastern Europe -- and Jim was talking eloquently about that -- I am convinced that the 1990s will be the decade of the rebirth that he so beautifully spoke about. A rebirth of faith and hope.

And one example, I met this week Father Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox minister. Father Calciu had spent 21 of his 64 years in jail. A third of his entire life in prison. And in fact, it was while in prison for opposing the government that he found God. And once released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that, he was imprisoned again and tortured beyond belief.

And yet, Father Calciu had faith and he refused to break. He was sentenced to death. And as he stood in the corner of the prison yard, praying for his wife and son, awaiting death, it was then that something remarkable occurred. His two executioners called to him and surely, he thought, well, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father," -- and that was the first time they had called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." And three weeks later he received permission to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, and when he did, he saw these same two guys -- the same two guards -- approach, and to his astonishment, his would-be executioners got on their knees and joined him in prayer. This is one man's story -- a humble priest.

And today, the times are on the side of peace, because more and more brave men and women are on the side of God. And so that is the end of these few words. That is my prayer, that we will continue to recognize the power of faith. Thank you all and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

9:40 A.M. EST

# Sound of Carols and Bells Ends 40 Years of Silence

By The Associated Press

Millions of Eastern Europeans yesterday celebrated their first Christmas free of Communist domination in four decades: political prisoners rejoined their families, East Germans and Czechoslovaks watched Mass on television and Rumanians listened to carols long banned on state radio.

Pope John Paul II prayed for Rumanians "celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling," mourned the thousands killed overthrowing the hard-line leadership of Nicolae Ceausescu and praised the democratic changes remaking his native Eastern Europe.

## 'Everybody Is So Happy'

Church bells pealed across Czechoslovakia to mark the new freedoms won in a democracy movement that

## For the first time, live broadcasts of a Mass.

toppled Communist leaders, created a freer press and brought promises of free elections.

"I feel like this is a miracle," said Ivan Martin Jirous, who was reunited with his family after being released from prison a month ago. Mr. Jirous, 45 years old, was imprisoned more than eight years for "subversive" acts like unauthorized lecturing and publishing.

"Everybody is so happy, so cheerful," said Dagmar Vogel, 22, who was back in Czechoslovakia for Christmas for the first time since her family fled

their homeland in 1968. "It is euphoric with everybody chatting about the future."

On Prague's 15th-century Charles Bridge, young carolers sang traditional Christmas songs. In previous years, the police chased carolers from the city's broad, cobbled King's Road.

Millions of Czechoslovaks attended Mass or watched a live television broadcast of one at Prague's 13th-century Strahov Monastery. The Mass at the monastery was offered by the Rev. Vaclav Malý, a dissident priest who was banned for 11 years for his human rights activities.

In both parts of Berlin, people mingled freely, attending joint church services for the first time since the Berlin wall went up 28 years ago. East Germany on Sunday began allowing West Germans to enter the country without visas, and thousands used the opportunity to cross to East Berlin to join relatives for a Christmas service.

## Prayers for Rumania

East Germans also watched their first Mass on television, as the Pope delivered his traditional Christmas message in 53 languages from St. Peter's Square in Rome. Many of his remarks were directed at Eastern Europe.

"May this Europe open her doors and her heart to understand and receive the anxieties, the fears and the problems of the nations which seek her help," the Pope said. "May she respond with the strength and the generosity of her Christian roots to this very special moment of history, which the world is now experiencing as if awakened from a nightmare and opened up to a better hope."

"In particular, bless at this hour, O Lord, the noble land of Rumania, which is celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling, with sorrow for the many human lives tragically lost and in the joy of having taken once more

the path of freedom," John Paul said. Amid the sounds of gunfire on the streets of Bucharest were the sounds of Christmas carols broadcast by the Bucharest radio for the first time since December 1947.

Yugoslav and Finnish journalists brought Christmas presents for children in the western Rumanian city of Timisoara, the state press agency Tanjug reported. The gifts had been provided by a candy company in Yugoslavia, it said.

Also for the first time in four decades, Bulgarian radio and television broadcast the speech of Christmas and the New Year by the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Maxim.

## Offices Closed in the Baltics

It was a working day in Bulgaria, the state press agency reported, "but people are wishing merry Christmas to each other, maybe for the first time without fear that they would be accused of being religious."

In the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, which have large populations of Roman Catholics and Protestants, all offices were closed for the first official Dec. 25 holiday in the four decades of Soviet rule there.

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a Roman Catholic political campaigner, Antanas Terleskas, said many people attended church on Christmas Eve. But he said people were not especially happy, because "the freedom of expressing religious beliefs is just an illusion we are permitted to toy with."

Estonians watched religious programs with Christmas carols on television, as well as the Pope's Mass. The Mass was also seen in Latvia, where all television and radio programs were religious-oriented.

Christmas in most of the Soviet Union will be celebrated on Jan. 7, according to the Russian Orthodox calendar.

# Leads an Ode to Freedom



Associated Press

Leonard Bernstein conducting Beethoven's Ninth Symphony yesterday in the Schauspielhaus in East Berlin as part of a three-day festival to celebrate the demise of the Berlin wall.

## The Baltics

# Soviet Party Leaders Debate The Breakaway by Lithuania

MOSCOW, Dec. 25 (Reuters) — Communist Party leaders addressed a Central Committee meeting today devoted to the decision by Communists in the Baltic republic of Lithuania to break with Moscow and form an independent party.

The official Tass press agency gave no details of the meeting other than a list of speakers with both conservative and liberal outlooks, suggesting that discussion had been heated. It said debate would continue Tuesday.

The list was headed by President Mi-

pants certain to have been critical.

Also among the speakers was a representative of the minority of Lithuanian Communists who refused to adhere to the new body and pledged allegiance to the Soviet party.

A statement issued by Tass, before the start of the meeting suggested that the Central Committee would declare the Lithuanian move invalid and against party statutes. It said the Politburo had submitted the matter to a meeting of the national party on a basis that it concerns not only

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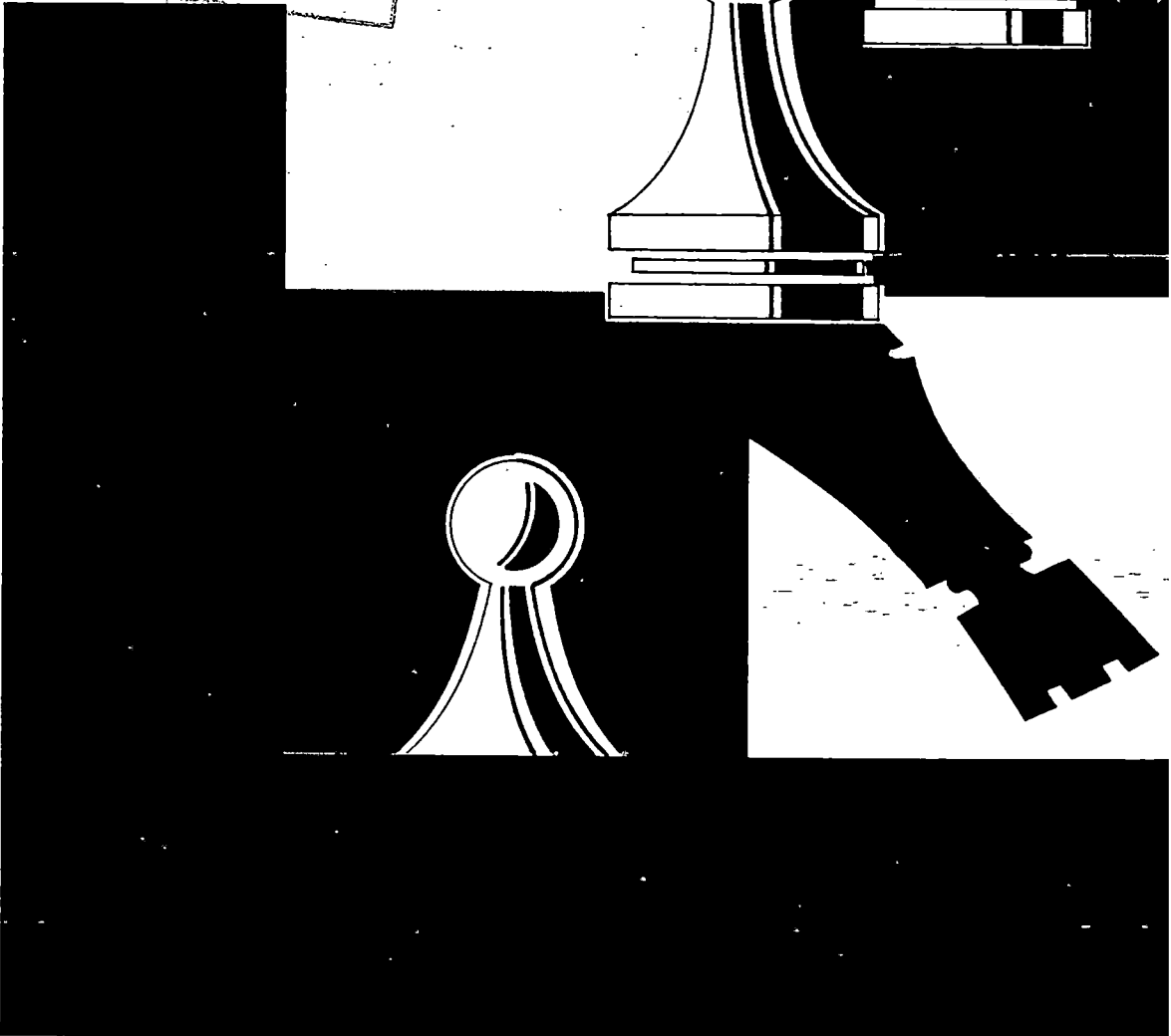
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# Uncaptive Minds

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*Poland/Hungary*

**PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD**

*Bulgaria*

**SPRING APPROACHING**

*Soviet Union*

**FREE VOICES FROM MOSCOW-**

internal and external threats and thus preserve it for future generations.

For all the obvious differences between ancient Athens and today's parallel polis, the ideas of freedom in each are remarkably similar. This similarity underlies Benda's disagreement with Patočka. According to Benda, the identity of the "dissident" community stems not from being more ethical or more devoted to the truth than the rest of society, but rather from its members' concept of freedom. While others around them think of freedom as freedom of volition — which anyone can cultivate in the privacy of his own home — the members of the parallel polis have recovered the Greek idea of freedom, the ideal of freedom as political initiative. They are not non-political, as Patočka maintained. Quite the contrary: denied political expression by the totalitarian state, they have rediscovered politics and free action. They have given priority to the life of the community and have set aside the comforts of private life. As a result, they have seen the benefits that the existence of a genuine public sphere bestows upon individuals as well as the entire community. They also recognize the threat to society, the danger of social paralysis, that stems from the

government's attempts to deny the public sphere its freedom. The decision to enter the parallel polis, then, should not be seen as a retreat from the world: it is a decision to move to the very center of the crisis besetting our country. Individuals take this step because they believe that only through personal initiative and personal participation can they overcome the crisis.

Deciding between Patočka and Benda, I would suggest in conclusion, is ultimately impossible. There is merit in the arguments of each and, more importantly, their positions might be complementary rather than contradictory. Indeed, the debate between Patočka and Benda encapsulates the issues that have confronted the independent community in Czechoslovakia for the past twelve years. I think, however, that the argument is not *about* the independent community: rather, the independent community *is* the argument itself. This argument is the force behind all events, the force behind the nonpolitical politics of the independent community. As the situation changes, one aspect of the independent community will remain constant, namely the motives individuals have for joining. The desire for freedom is, after all, an eternal human desire. □

## The Church: A Growing Threat to the Authorities

*An Interview with Father Václav Malý*

*Father Václav Malý lost his government license to conduct pastoral work in 1979 because of his involvement in Charter 77 and VONS. He continues to be active in these organizations and is also a member of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee. Uncaptive Minds spoke to him in Prague this fall about the situation of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia.*

*Uncaptive Minds: In the spring of 1987, the Catholic Church of Bohemia and Moravia announced a program called "The Decade of Spiritual Renewal" [see Uncaptive Minds, March-April 1989 for an article on the Decade by Václav Benda]. What impact has this initiative had in the year and a half since then?*

**Václav Malý:** When the Church announced this program, the authorities thought it would be only a private matter for individual believers; they are now increasingly nervous because

more and more people are becoming involved in activities associated with the Decade, particularly the mass pilgrimages. As more laymen become active, so too do more clergy. The Decade has not only deepened the faith of believers, but also made them more aware of their duty to society. The Decade of Spiritual Renewal is meant to be a renewal not only of the Catholic faith and Church but of the whole society. It will also, I believe, bring about a deeper national awareness, which is bound to have political consequences. Unlike Poles or Hungarians, we don't really feel like a nation.

*Have believers put more pressure on the authorities to satisfy their demands? For example, have the authorities responded to the demand that bishops be appointed to vacant sees?*

**Malý:** Three new bishops were appointed, but seven dioceses remain empty. An empty diocese is a visible sign of oppression, so the government made the token gesture of filling a few of them in hope of improving its image in the West and appeasing Catholics at home.

The authorities have also allowed female orders to accept a very limited number of new novitiates. All nuns, however, are considered employees of the state-controlled organization Czech Catholic Charities; they can do charity work, but are not allowed to teach or pursue other activities. Lay orders are still forbidden, and laymen cannot perform religious functions publicly. Children cannot receive religious instruction in parish houses. Religious instruction is very limited in school and nonexistent at the university level. In short, the authorities' concessions are really only a very small step. Their aim is simply to give the impression abroad that they are complying with the Helsinki accords and the Vienna document they recently signed.

The authorities have another reason for making token concessions to the Catholics: they are very much afraid of the connection between the Church and the growing independent movements. So their strategy has been to try to satisfy some of the Catholics' demands, such as the nomination of bishops and allowing the Church more freedom for carrying out clearly religious activities. This strategy is designed to isolate believers from independent activities.

*Are believers now allowed to attend pilgrimages abroad?*

Malý: This November, there will be a ceremony in Rome for the beatification of St. Agnes, and over a thousand priests and

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*[The authorities] are very much afraid of the connection between the Church and the growing independent movements. So their strategy has been to try to satisfy some of the Catholics' demands... By this they want to isolate believers from independent activities.*

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believers from Czechoslovakia will be attending the rites officially. Many others are going to Rome privately for the occasion. I don't believe the government will prevent people from going.

*What has happened to the petition for the rights of believers, "The Thirty-One Points"? [see Uncaptive Minds, March-April 1988 for the text of the petition]*

Malý: Over 600,000 people signed it while it was still circulating. Unfortunately, the authorities have addressed virtually none of the demands. In fact, the government continues to slander the petition in the press.

*How active has Cardinal Tomášek been lately?*

Malý: In early August, Cardinal Tomášek wrote to the state authorities urging them not to suppress demonstrations on Au-



*Father Václav Malý*

gust 21. He also said that, given the tension in Czechoslovak society, the only solution is a genuine dialogue between the government and the opposition, and he offered to serve as mediator. This significant step demonstrates that Catholics aren't interested solely in the Church's internal affairs and that they are willing to apply Christian teachings to public life. The Cardinal also appealed to people of good will from inside official structures to start negotiations with representatives of the independent movements. For the first time, he not only offered counsel, but also volunteered to play an active role. This is bound to encourage Catholics to follow his lead and be more active in public life.

The Cardinal's letter was read on the Czech and Slovak broadcasts of several Western radio services, and the next day the deputy prime minister responsible for religious affairs received Cardinal Tomášek. This was clearly an attempt by the government to warn the Church against any political involvement. Generally, the Church's increasing influence has the authorities very worried. As the head of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, the Cardinal has a duty to speak out against injustice and brutality — a duty that has political ramifications, of course. He has taken a carefully balanced position. He has openly recognized that the demands the independent movements have put forward represent the true views of the nation, while at the same time acknowledging that there are individuals within the government who want real change. His position, in short, is that of a Christian who seeks to resolve conflict. □

listed

# From 'Opium of the People' to Savior

■ Religion: The conversion of Mikhail Gorbachev to the virtues of spiritual life may backfire. After all, true belief also seeks true social justice.

By ROBERT BENNE

There's a perhaps apocryphal story of a high-level Soviet official pleading with an American religious society to send Bibles to the Soviet Union. It seems that research on the characteristics of efficient factories had found in them a high percentage of serious Christian workers who were honest, came to work on time, were sober and generally gave a full day's work for their pay. Intrigued by this, the researchers pressed further. These Christians, they found, were guided by a code called "The Ten Commandments," found in the Bible.

Mikhail Gorbachev himself seems to be a recent convert to the social utility of religion. In promising to relax oppressive restrictions on religion, he almost paraphrased our own George Washington's opinion that religion and morality are the twin pillars of healthy national life. Other Communist leaders of the East Bloc are offering similar opinions and making similar moves. The leaders who once condemned religion for being an opiate that diverted the attention of workers from unjust social conditions are now intent on using religion to rescue their societies from calamity.

Will such a strategy work? Or is it an opiate of the leaders themselves, diverting their attention from other, less "socially useful," effects of religion?

There is a great likelihood of major religious renewals in the Eastern Bloc countries. The human spirit's aspiration for transcendent truth has been bottled up for decades by ideological and social practices that have attempted to reduce the human horizon to a drab one-dimensionality. The religious bodies that have resisted this pressure and kept the faith have gained enormous respect from the people and now offer them a liberating alternative to a failed Marxist vision. Catholics in Poland and Hungary, the Eastern Orthodox in Russia and Lutherans in East Germany have remained credible islands of moral and spiritual transcendence in a flat sea of state-enforced materialism. Indeed, it seems as if the non-coerced materialism of the West is far more lethal to religion.

No doubt these revivals will produce more productive citizens. The Soviet "re-

searchers" were right. Religious renewal will strengthen the moral fiber that holds together marriage, family, workplace, voluntary association and, yes, even the nation. But the essence of religion is that it marches to the beat of a different drummer. Authentic religion "obeys no other God." It shapes a morality not in order to be socially useful to the state, though it may in fact be so, but rather to become obedient to God. Further, obedience to God does not end with private, personal morality. It extends, as indeed the prophets extended it, to the public life of the society. The prophetic call for justice is discomforting to every nation.

Among Eastern European peoples, particularly the Poles and the Ukrainians, this prophetic impulse is closely intertwined with aspirations for national self-determination. Religious fervor will intensify the nationalism of those peoples and provide a volatile mixture that should awaken Communist leaders from their drugged illusions about the irenic qualities of religion.

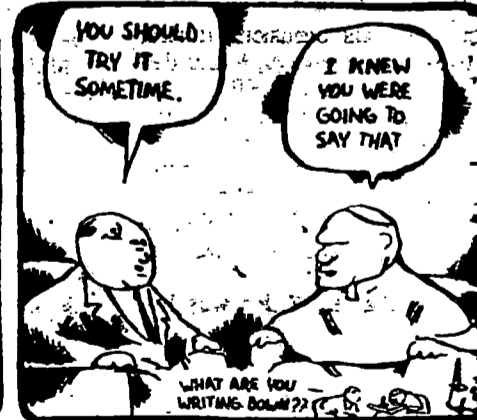
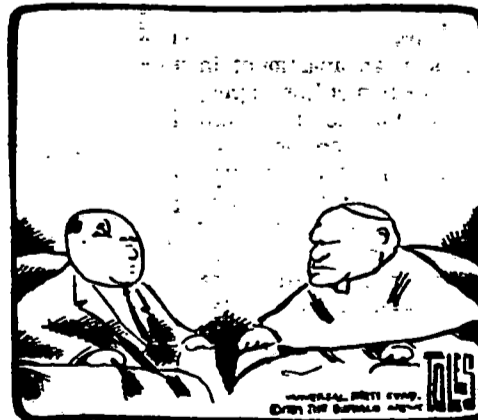
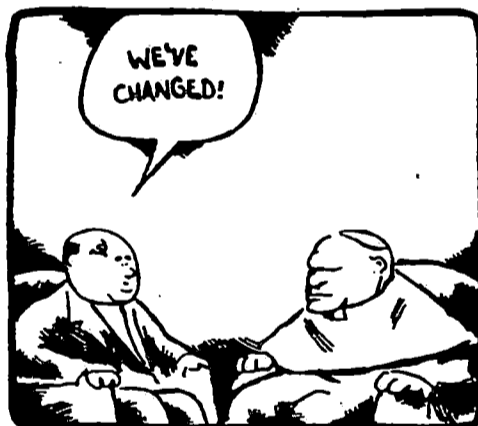
Religion at its best, however, maintains a distance from every national movement or achievement, lest it be reduced to a sacred tool for secular purposes. It presses for justice and peace within nations, as has already been demonstrated by the long-

standing peace movement among East German Christians. The nascent ecological movements in several East Bloc countries are led by Christians. Human-rights activists are likewise drawn heavily from religious communities, particularly Jewish.

Religion is a source of discontent in all societies because it operates from a frame of reference that transcends earthly accomplishment. This has been borne out not only in communist societies but in every society where human possibilities are severely repressed. Witness the role of religion in Central America, the Philippines and the Islamic countries.

All of this should not prompt too much celebration among those of us in the "successful" West. The "victory" of democratic capitalist ideas should be greeted by no more than one cheer. For the moral foundations of the West, which make both democracy and capitalism viable, are eroding. We will need as much religious renewal in the long run as the East Bloc needs right now. We will all need a measure of what the Russians call *dukhovnost*—the spiritual life of the people.

Robert Benne is a professor of religion and director of the Center for Church and Society at Roanoke College in Salem, Va.



# A Bright Moment for Christian Churches

<sup>1994</sup>  
**I**N this Christmas season, 1989, the Christian churches occupy a role in the life of nations unprecedented in recent times.

Pope John Paul receives President Mikhail Gorbachev and the head of the Roman Catholic Church is invited to visit communist Soviet Russia. Mr. Gorbachev promises him greater freedom for religious expression. Reportedly the Soviet leader also gives assurances that he would lift Stalin-era restrictions on the Ukrainian church.

A Roman Catholic layman is installed as prime minister in Poland, culminating the efforts to overturn communist rule in which the church played a leading role.

In East Germany, Lutheran churches are the rallying points for the protest marches and Evangelical Lutheran students are in the forefront of those pressing for reform. Churches have been similar centers of support for reformers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Communist leaders long recognized the threat to their rule of a strong religious faith. They sought to suppress and, where that was not possible, to control the churches. In the Soviet Union many were desecrated or turned into museums. Stalin asked with contempt, "How many divisions has the Pope?" In Eastern Europe, young people were discouraged

from studying for the priesthood or the ministry. In Romania, ancient monasteries have been cut off and isolated with their aging monks and nuns. Yet when the regimes began to collapse, the institutions within society that were most ready to assist in change were the Christian churches. In no country, despite such measures and strong efforts at anti-religious education, were the churches totally suppressed. And in nations such as Poland where the church represented not only the faith but also the nationalism of a people, the communist regime was forced to coexist.

In recent days, in each land, priests and pastors have kept alive a faith through years of suppression and, more recently, have provided spiritual counseling and encouragement and church properties as sanctuaries for those seeking to organize protest movements. In societies where the ruling elite have lost touch with the people, the representatives of the churches maintain that touch. What is less clear is what the role of the churches as institutions will be in the reconstruction of political life in Eastern Europe.

Freedom will bring divisions, within

the church as well as outside. Under less pressure, people will turn to more material objectives. New ideas and new approaches may well question the orthodoxy that often accompanies religion. And in the adversity that will inevitably occur following the collapse of one system and the building of another, some will lose faith in all institutions, including the churches. Already there are reports that more liberal elements in Solidarity in Poland are seeking to diminish the close ties between Solidarity and the church because Catholic leaders are considered too conservative.

In another region, in South Africa, the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, was in the forefront of protests against apartheid earlier this year. As the government in Pretoria shows a more permissive attitude toward the African National Congress, the role of Archbishop Tutu and other activist clergymen may become less central to the political struggle. Less is heard today – at least abroad – of the role of Jaime Sin, the Catholic Cardinal of Manila, who played a major role in the coming to power of President Cory Aquino.



The churches can, in areas of bitter political strife, find themselves both divided and in the middle of the struggle. This has happened to the Catholic Church in Central America where activist priests, close to the poorest of the population, identify with opponents of the traditional governments. The killers of the six Jesuits in El Salvador have still not been brought to light, yet assumptions are probably valid that their concern with the education and welfare of the less advantaged in that country was deeply resented by more conservative elements.

Perhaps Christianity, a religion founded in the crucifixion of Jesus and nurtured in the persecutions of the Roman Empire, thrives on adversity. Nowhere today do people seem as ready to declare and identify with their faith as in the lands where it has been under the greatest pressure. The churches will probably not retain the central role they have played during this period of communist collapse, but millions of this generation in Eastern Europe will long remember the vital role churches played in restoring their freedoms.

■ David D. Newsom, former undersecretary of state, is director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University.

people need spiritual sustenance  
 1946 Stalin ordered Orthodox Church  
 to absorb Ukrainian Catholics

Aleksandr OGORONIK  
 Fr. C. O. Dr. Yakunin

# Bible triumphs over KGB

By Chris Mosey  
LONDON OBSERVER

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — The word of God triumphed over that of Lenin in the battle for the heart and mind of myopic KGB man Vladimir Grigoriev.

Mr. Grigoriev, 30, was sent to the West to penetrate an organization smuggling Bibles and religious cassettes and videos into the Soviet Union, but he became a born-again Christian himself.

He defected to Sweden, where this week he told his strange story.

"During the years I worked for the KGB, I was involved only in lies and dirty tricks," he said. "Now I want to bear witness to the truth. Only that enables human beings to be free."

Mr. Grigoriev, born in a small village near Leningrad, is the son of a former officer in the Soviet navy. When his parents divorced, he was sent to a Communist Party youth camp in Tal-

linn, the capital of the Baltic republic of Estonia.

"In 1976, I made contact with the KGB and offered to work for them," he said. "I thought then the organization was a good thing for Soviet society."

A year later, he received a visit from KGB Capt. Vadim Churbanov, code name "Sergeiev," who in turn introduced him to Maj. Mikhail Il-larionovity, head of a special branch

of the KGB in Tallin concerned with stopping the flow of Christian propaganda into the Soviet Union.

He was given the code name "Hertz" and received instruction on microfilm photography, bugging and taping.

His first job was to collect information on ham radio operators in the Baltics suspected of being in the pay of the CIA. Then, in 1978, he penetrated the underground newspaper Perspektiv.

"My job was to collect evidence against the people running Perspektiv," he said. "This was then used

against them at their trial.

"Unhappily, I helped to put Arkady Tiurkov in a labor camp for five years. His friend Alexander Skobov was sent to a mental hospital, even though he was completely sane."

Mr. Grigoriev said he recruited students from Syria, Sudan, Egypt and various Palestinian organizations to work for the KGB. By 1982, he had done so well he was promoted to lieutenant — but his career was severely hampered by his near-sightedness.

"The KGB told me I should become a member of the free church movement and encouraged me to train as a priest," he said. "They said Christians were a threat to the state, but I never understood that. On the contrary, the Christians I met made an extremely good impression on me. I began in secret to pray to God."

He was sent to Finland this year to penetrate a radio station broadcasting Christian programs to the East bloc, with instructions to send back detailed plans of the building and its computer systems. Instead, he defected to Sweden, where he has been granted political asylum.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard.

# 'Pause, Hear the Silence' in Russia

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**M**IKHAIL GORBACHEV'S scheduled visit with the pope in Rome today will be a test of the extent to which the Soviet Union is abandoning its oppression of religion and religious observance.

Since the revolution of 1917, the church has been relegated to obscurity at the hands of communism in the Soviet Union. Lenin was scathingly critical of religion, and Soviet leaders since him have discouraged its practice, closing down churches and jailing clerics. Citizens who pursued their religious faith have been denied entry to good schools, frozen out of opportunities for advancement, barred from good jobs. For communism's atheistic hard-line purists, there is no God.

Under Mr. Gorbachev things have changed. There is certainly not religious freedom. Religious organizations must be registered and approved by the government. There are restrictions on the publishing of Bibles. Many Soviets are still nervous about public identification with religion. Some sects are singled out for discrimination. There is still harassment of Jews. Followers of Islam are often under official scrutiny.

But churches hitherto closed are now being reopened. More than 8,000 Russian Orthodox churches are open for worship, and though these amount to only some 15 per cent of the Russian Orthodox churches existing prior to the revolution, more are be-

ing opened at an increasing rate.

A new Sunday evening program on national television is bringing to Soviet citizens a cautiously approving view of religion. A Russian Orthodox clergyman urged viewers: "Pause and tear yourself away from the conveyor belt of your factory, from the conveyor belt of our streets . . . hear the silence that carries healing and creative force."

Named "Thoughts on the Eternal: Sunday Moral Sermon," the show is a respite for many from the harsh realities of life in the Soviet Union. The show's producer, Natalya G. Chernyshov told The New York Times: "People cannot live only on negativism." She promises that a Muslim imam, a Jewish rabbi, and other spiritual leaders will soon appear on the show.

Gorbachev's scheduled meeting with the pope is itself a dramatic event. Key to their discussions will be the future of the Roman Catholic Church in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has been outlawed for more than 40 years, placed forcibly under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Just recently some 180,000 Ukrainians staged a massive demonstration against the ban, demanding reinstatement of their outlawed church. This was a striking indication of the continuing influence of their church, even under Soviet repression.

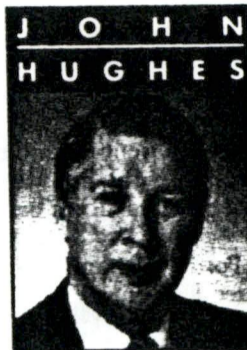
The pope has been pressing for the Ukrainian Catholic Church's reinstatement.

Does the cautious relaxation of curbs against religion in the Soviet Union mean that the Communist Party is undergoing theological change, conceding the possibility that God exists? Is it part of the overall policy of *glasnost*, offering citizens more freedom of thought than they have enjoyed in a long time? Or is the relaxation a safety valve, a way in which citizens frustrated by the economics and politics of Soviet life can find nonviolent escape and solace?

Some observers believe that a bolder Gorbachev is willing to take a chance on careful observance of religion in the Soviet Union on grounds it is relatively harmless and may ac-

tually be helpful to his political cause.

Life for many ordinary Soviet citizens has for years been one of gray, monotonous humdrum, an endless battle with state control, political repression, an awesome bureaucracy, and continuing shortages of food and consumer goods. For many, vodka has provided an escape into alcoholic unconsciousness. Gorbachev has been cracking down on drunkenness, but the tedium and shortages of Soviet life remain. Might it be that he sees religion replacing vodka as a more welcome diversion from the harsh realities of Soviet existence?





BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Women pray over the dead in a cemetery in Timisoara, as the uprising began.

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edge what they already knew from 24 years of life under the Ceausescus.

Their country was different. Its history was marked by cruelty, fascism and violence. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The national history books celebrated Vlad the Impaler, a 15th century nobleman who modern historians believe killed more than 100,000 people by forcing them to sit on sharpened stakes.

Vlad's descendants were the Securitate, Ceausescu's private army of 30,000, who that night began a guerrilla war against the Romanian people. For the next five days, the Securitate terrorized the country like a deranged dragon, breathing fire in Bucharest and other cities, including Timisoara, where the uprising had begun.

### A Window on the West

In Timisoara, a city of 350,000 near the Yugoslav and Hungarian borders, a small demonstration had started on Thursday, Dec. 14 in support of a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes, who was to be deported for preaching pro-democracy sermons. When the demonstrators formed a human cordon around Tokes's house to protect him, the first reaction of the local authorities had been not force but negotiation.

That uncharacteristic reasonableness from the government encouraged others to join the protest. By Saturday night, tens of thousands of citizens were in the streets, chanting anti-Ceausescu slogans.

On Dec. 17, as the crowds headed for city hall, Ceausescu miscalculated and decided to treat the protesters as rabble, or "anti-socialist hooligans."

"Relay my order to all officers," he told party leaders by closed-circuit television. "... Anyone who tries to enter a state institution or party headquarters, or who breaks a shop window, must immediately be shot. I want calm restored in Timisoara in one hour. Call everybody. Give orders and execute them."

The shooting started late that Sunday afternoon and continued through the night. But instead of quelling the violence, it seemed to enrage the people.

All fall, the citizens of Timisoara had been watching Yugoslav and Hungarian television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. They were ready.

Little Timisoara was gripped by a kind of euphoria. "At last, we were doing something," recalled Laszlo Szabo, a chemical engineer who joined the demonstrations Sunday night.

The army did fire on civilians in Timisoara, but not willingly. At least 42 soldiers were executed on the spot during the operation for refusing to fire on the crowd.

### "He Did This Thing to Himself"

By Wednesday, Dec. 20, the soldiers in Timisoara had had enough. When 50,000 workers marched through the streets, headed for the local Communist Party headquarters, the soldiers joined them. That afternoon, the soldiers pulled their tanks into defensive positions around civilian headquarters at the Opera House.

Exactly how many died in the massacre at Timisoara is not yet known, but in the first days the figures were wildly inflated. In a country where information had been rigidly controlled for a quarter century, Romanians were ready to believe anything.

As the revolution gained strength, the lack of real information and exaggerated atrocity stories worked against the regime. "Timisoara" came to mean the massacre of thousands upon thousands of unarmed people. It was the rallying cry for the students who infiltrated Ceausescu's final rally.

Ceausescu's decision to call an official demonstration on Dec. 21 "was the biggest mistake he ever made," said a Bucharest resident. "He was so arrogant he believed he could win the crowd over by speaking to them. He did this thing to himself."

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured by the government the same day they tried to get away. Their capture was announced the next day, along with a promise that they would be given a fair trial.

But as hundreds of civilians were killed by Securitate bullets, and the army post where the Ceausescus were being held came under attack, leaders of the new government concluded they could not quash the Securitate unless they played by the dictator's rules.

The only way to slay the dragon was to cut off its head. On Christmas Day, after a two-hour "trial" that was little more than a shouting match, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were executed by firing squad. Shortly after their bodies were shown on television, the shooting stopped.

— Mary Battiata, Blaine Harden

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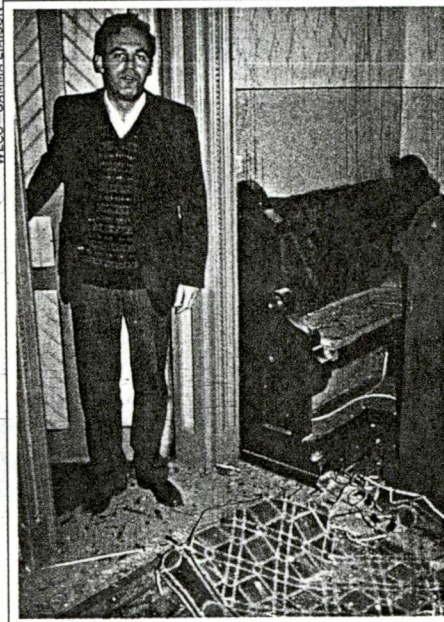
## A Revolution's Unlikely Spark

**A**s pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the Transylvanian city of Timisoara, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes seemed an unlikely figure to spark a revolution. But Tokes, 37, possessed a sharp tongue at a time when that attribute was rare in Rumania. Not only did he lash out against the tyrannical regime in Bucharest, but he even accused Hungarian Reformed Church leaders of collaborating with communist authorities.

No cause aroused Tokes's wrath more than the plight of his fellow 1.7 million ethnic Hungarians, who make up 8% of the Rumanian population and are concentrated in Transylvania, the country's westernmost region. Long a center of ethnic turbulence, Transylvania passed from Hungary to Rumania in 1918, after World War I. The region reverted to Hungary in 1940, and was ceded back to Rumania in 1944. Ethnic Hungarian leaders charge Bucharest with attempting "cultural genocide" by shutting ethnic schools, dissolving Hungarian communities and seizing historical archives. Some 18,000 ethnic Hungarians fled Rumania last year.

Tokes ran afoul of authorities last August in an outspoken interview with Hungarian television. Among other things, he attacked Bucharest's plan to raze up to 8,000 villages and resettle their residents in high-rise apartment complexes. Some 50,000 ethnic Hungarians would be relocated in the program, which has brought denunciations from international human rights groups and strained relations with the Budapest government.

Denied a ration book by the state after the broadcast, Tokes was unable to buy bread, meat or fuel. Parishioners who tried to bring him provisions were confronted by police. The pastor was barred from meeting relatives, and his telephone was shut off. In a surreal form of harassment, authorities occasionally turned on the phone to



Tokes inside his besieged and battered church

deliver threats to Tokes, then billed him for the calls at long-distance rates. To protect his four-year-old son, Tokes sent the boy to live with relatives.

In November four masked thugs broke into the apartment where Tokes lived with his pregnant wife, and they beat and stabbed the minister. Two friends who were visiting Tokes helped fight off the attackers. In a smuggled videotape made last fall, a haggard Tokes showed clear signs of strain. "They've broken our windows every day," he said. "Now they've started breaking them in the church as well. Our friends sleep here now. The nights are terrible."

Threats of violence were just part of Tokes's troubles. Church officials tried to transfer him to a less volatile parish in southern Rumania. When Tokes refused, Bishop Laszlo Papp accused the pastor of "violating the laws of both church and state" and obtained a court order for his eviction. But hundreds of supporters formed a human chain around Tokes's building to protect him, thus triggering the crackdown that helped inspire the nationwide demonstrations that toppled Nicolae Ceausescu.

Tokes and his wife were taken into custody, present whereabouts unknown. After Ceausescu's fall, Rumanian television said Tokes was alive and well and "calling on people not to give up their fight for freedom." The once obscure minister has already joined the ranks of Eastern Europe's foremost fighters for liberty. Wrote Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in an open letter to Tokes last week: "I honestly admire your activity in a country oppressed by dictatorship. Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world."

—By John Greenwald.

Reported by John Borrell/Vienna

down. Party spokesmen claimed that Milea then committed suicide, but it was more likely that he was shot by Securitate men. Next morning an unidentified general appeared on television to say, "I am very sorry that my friend the Minister died. It is a lie that he committed suicide." With his defenses crumbling, Ceausescu fled.

Of all Warsaw Pact party chiefs, only Ceausescu dared to order his security forces to shoot after Gorbachev had made it clear that the Soviet army would not back them up. But then Ceausescu for many years had set himself apart from his East bloc brethren. He was cheered by the West as the "maverick" of the Pact and praised for his refusal to allow Soviet troops on his soil, to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or to support the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

Washington, Paris, London and other capitals chose to overlook Ceausescu's steel Stalinist hand at home, where he enforced a shameless cult of his own personality. He tolerated neither dissent among citizens nor a difference of opinion inside the party. He appointed his wife to the Politburo, his sons to high party and government rank and more than 30 other relatives to official positions. He basked in such honorifics as the Genius of the Carpathians and the Danube of Thought while treating the Rumanian people with extraordinary cruelty.

To repay his \$10 billion foreign debt, he halted imports, exported food, rationed electricity and impoverished the population. He wasted scarce investment funds on giant party office buildings and decided to bulldoze thousands of villages and force farmers into high-rise apartment buildings. His go-it-alone stubbornness in foreign policy was only one more sign of his determination to depend on no power but his own. As it turned out, that was not enough.

Though Ceausescu is out of power, he still casts a black shadow over his country's future. Rumania has no history of democratic government and Ceausescu permitted no institutions to develop outside his control. The Communist Party, if it is not completely discredited in the eyes of the people, will have to enter negotiations with nascent political organizations, if they can take solid shape. With security men still fighting desperately to avert a reckoning with the nation they brutalized, the regular army will play a stabilizing role.

The European Community has already dispatched planeloads of food and medical supplies to Bucharest. Gorbachev and the Soviet parliament have passed a resolution of "support for the just cause of the people of Rumania." In the days ahead, the people of Rumania will need all the help they can garner from both East and West if they are to recover from their bloody rebirth.

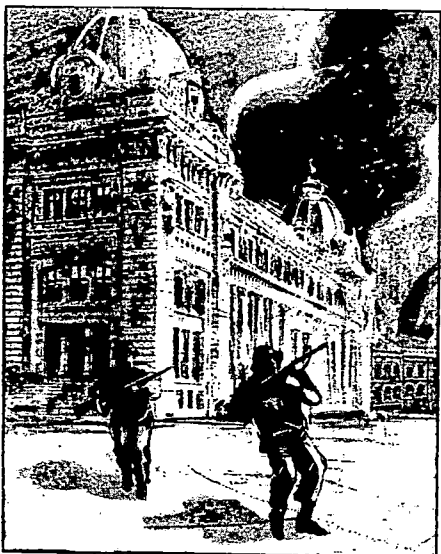
—Reported by John Borrell/Vienna and William Mader/London, with other bureaus

*As the Communist grip on Central and Eastern Europe has weakened, the various churches have, one by one, emerged into the sunlight after their long stay underground. The first stage of the voyage toward freedom reached a climax this Christmas, with formerly banned churches—as in the Baltic nations—celebrating the holiday openly for the first time in nearly fifty years, and ones that have been permitted to operate—as in Poland—celebrating more hopefully than at any time in recent memory. The grimmest celebration, to be sure, was the one witnessed by all the world: Rumania's, which was marked by what one observer called the death of the "Antichrist."*

*Our correspondents report on the celebrations, and on the preparations for the next stage of the battle.*

## Christmas Day in Rumania

RADEK SIKORSKI



Jennifer Lawson

**T**IMISOARA—With its parks and its natural springs gushing from the fountains in a charming Austro-Hungarian square, Timisoara in western Rumania was a minor Ruritanian tourist attraction, best known as the first town in the world to have horse-drawn trams, and the first in Europe to install electric street lights. It would have been happier had it remained in quiet obscurity.

After ten days of fighting, things seemed to be calming down on Christmas Day. Young men with Rumanian tricolor armbands, army belts, and makeshift weapons still stood on every corner checking papers. Streets in the city center were full of litter; shattered shop windows were blocked with boards or wooden cases; many buildings were blackened with soot. Churches were still closed, and the danger from armed *securitate* forces was still great. Thousands of candles burned in front of the Orthodox cathedral on the spot where several civilians had fallen to *securitate* bullets. But life seemed to be getting back to normal: trams were already functioning, people lined up for newspapers and bread, and cleaners were sweeping the sidewalks.

I arrived in a Hungarian Red Cross truck carrying hundreds of loaves of bread and thousands of plastic packets of milk. Several trucks and civilian cars formed a convoy at the Hungarian-Rumanian border. One van had French license plates. Two couples had planned to spend Christmas together. But instead of celebrat-

ing at home they loaded up at a local supermarket and drove to Rumania (where they paid \$50 for a visa at the frontier).

It wasn't safe to travel alone. Only the previous day a truck on the same route had its windshield smashed by a *securitate* sniper. In every village we were stopped by armed checkpoints but after a few words of explanation the guards waved us through with signs of joy and gratitude.

Timisoara's main hotel, the Continental, sported a Christmas tree in the car park and, above the entrance, a huge photograph of Ceausescu, with prison bars added by hand. I came to the reception counter. "Any rooms?" "Yes, plenty." At that moment there was a burst of gunfire outside and the crowd in the hall dispersed in panic. I run out; trams zoom past, people dash for doorways, tires screech and drivers run for cover. Glass shatters as bullets hit the hotel windows. Where are the shots coming from? Soldiers from a nearby barracks run across the road and hide behind trees, lamp posts, and trash bins. Forward, from one doorway to another. Two hundred yards ahead—a square with an abandoned van. A bullet hole in the windshield, keys in the ignition, the radio playing (carols, actually). No sign of the driver—probably he escaped in time.

A few armed civilians take cover in the doorway of a large house. "Come, come, we'll show you"—they motion me upstairs. They are the personnel of the military prosecutor's office defending their workplace. In a large, dark office, a soldier takes aim with a Dragunov sniper rifle. He pulls the trigger; my eardrums almost burst. Did he score? I edge forward and look over the window sill. A hundred yards in front of us runs a railway on a ridge, and beyond it is an industrial expanse of factories and railway branches. But where is the enemy?

I leave the house, run across the street, and follow two soldiers with a crate of ammunition. We get to the railway ridge, where about thirty soldiers are shooting into the factory. A fat major holding a machine gun takes charge. "Hold your fire," he shouts in Rumanian, raising his hand. Silence. Now we can hear the sparse flutter of incoming fire, perhaps two bullets a minute. There cannot be more than a few of the *securi-*

tate. The soldiers reload and fire in concert: a short burst from thirty machine guns at once sounds much more impressive than individual fire. A new command is passed down the line. While two platoons shoot, a third goes over the top. Then another. I tag along with the last.

We must have fired several hundred bullets although nobody has seen the enemy. Soldiers shoot to reassure themselves. In their World War II-style uniforms, with thirty-year-old Kalishnikovs and old-fashioned helmets, amid this industrial wasteland, they remind me of old newsreels of the Red Army's assaults on Berlin. This is in fact a "factory of houses," where Ceausescu's favorite "agro-industrial complexes" were built—concrete collectivist hovels—which were meant to replace Rumania's traditional villages. Very fitting that his last supporters should be defending themselves here.

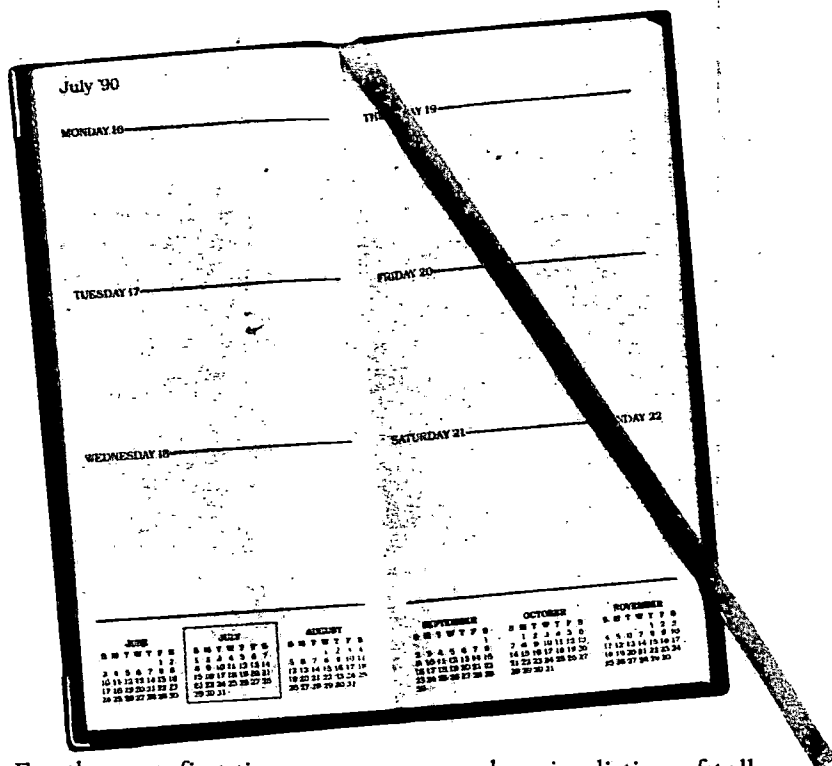
Platoons separate to search and destroy. Suddenly a white flag on a pole rises above a pile of concrete slabs. *Securitate* giving up? No, thirty employees run across the temporary noman's-land and tell the soldiers where "the terrorists" are: one in a small shed, another in the cabin of one of the cranes. Both locations get splashed with a hail of bullets. It's impossible to say whether we killed anybody, and somehow none of the soldiers volunteers to climb up and check. Shots keep coming. Soldiers throw a hand grenade and storm into a factory. It is empty. A large poster on the wall proclaiming the imposition of martial law bears a name at the bottom: President of the Rumanian Socialist Republic—Nicolae Ceausescu. A soldier takes his bayonet and scratches it out.

The operation at the factory ended with the capture of a man: unshaven, in drab clothes, frightened out of his wits, a typical Rumanian peasant. The soldiers suspected him of being a *securitate* sniper, but a search of the shed revealed no weapon. The *securitate* men had the reputation of being able to take on any disguise. Most Rumanians I spoke to were convinced that soldiers who shot at them in the early days of the uprising were really *securitate* men in army getup. This is a convenient myth now that the army is the nation's savior.

Only the next day did I see a real

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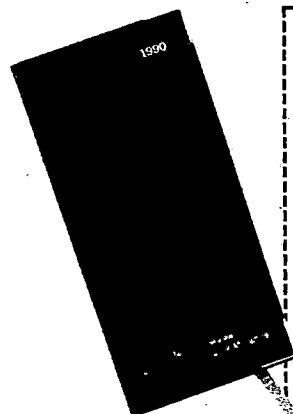
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*securitate* man. Called Dominic Parasciv, he was a hairy, powerful man in his fifties, a chemical engineer who was known as a quiet, nice fellow. Only he spent many weekends away from home, supposedly on business trips. He was captured red-handed on Christmas Eve after he had shot several people and only after he himself got hit in the leg and liver. When he came to, the nurse on duty told me, he said he was sorry—sorry he didn't kill more people. Now, pale and unshaven, mumbling incoherently, he was tied to the bed, looking like a trapped wolf. What training does it take to turn a man into such a beast?

The shooting from the factory was one of the last acts of resistance by the *securitate*. A few hours later a TV announcer, his face beaming, said, "Good news this Christmas Day. The Antichrist is dead." The staff of the Bucharest TV station apologized for not being able to show the tape of Ceausescu's execution, but there were some pockets of resistance on the way and the historic recording could not be risked. It transpired that when Ceausescu was tried and condemned to death an entire army unit volunteered for the firing squad; only three men drew the lucky lots. The man who had called himself "the fairest fir tree of the Carpathians," and who had declared only a few weeks previously that sooner would apple trees bear pears than socialism be endangered in Rumania, was now dead.

I made my pilgrimage to the place where it had all begun 11 days before, the house of a Protestant pastor whose parishioners were willing to die rather than let him be arrested by the *securitate*. "Laszlo Tokesz, we are waiting for you," someone scrawled in white paint on the brick wall. The name of the priest, a Hungarian name, gives part of the reason why the trouble began here in Timisoara. Besides Hungarians there are German, Yugoslav, and Jewish minorities in this town. Very few Rumanians have been allowed out of the country since World War II, but Timisoarans have watched Yugoslav and Hungarian television for years.

Keeping in touch with families abroad, the remaining ones knew only too well how much the official propaganda lied. This plus the tradition of civilized Habsburg rule in this part of Rumania helps to explain why Timi-

soara became the flashpoint. But why did all of Rumania follow Timisoara's lead? "Look," said my Rumanian guide, a shabby, friendly, talkative man of 42. "This was my plan for escaping to Hungary"—he unfolded a tiny, easily digestible piece of paper with a sketch of a border region. "My salary is 3,200 lei per month, but we were taxed 250 lei per month for not having childrens. My wife and I no like making childrens for Ceausescu. This coat is 2,000 lei—you can only buy them on the black market. A kilo of coffee is 1,500 lei. I haven't seen a banana for ten years." In a country where television, heating, and electricity were rationed to two hours a day, reasons for discontent are easy to point out.

But you have to go to Bucharest to appreciate the depths of Ceausescu's depravity. The Avenue of the Victory of Socialism has been built on the ruins of Bucharest's medieval quarter. At the apex of the avenue rises one of this century's prime monuments to megalomania and cruelty. What was to become Ceausescu's presidential palace is set off from the public space by a stern fence which takes over half an hour to walk around. The palace itself expresses perfectly the character of its sponsor. It is as if someone had read *1984*, liked it, and had a fantasy of reproducing the Ministry of Love. One thing is certain. If, in another few months, Ceausescu had moved in, he would never have been dislodged by people power. He would never have had to flee ignominiously by helicopter from the roof. No crowd would

have dared to challenge him from *that* square, in front of *that* fortress. In what was no doubt the intended effect, standing before Ceausescu's palace one feels powerless as if before the temple of an evil god.

**R**UMANIANS paid dearly for their courage. In Timisoara alone I saw a graveyard with twenty corpses, some tortured, their hands and legs bound with wire. The local citizens' committee published a list of one hundred dead. This tallies with estimates by doctors I interviewed at Timisoara's main hospital. When a proper count is made, perhaps the casualty figure will have to be doubled or even trebled. A few hundred died in Bucharest. I would estimate, therefore, that it took the lives of about one thousand people to topple Ceausescu. That is a lot of innocent blood but a far cry from the Western estimates of 12,000 dead in Timisoara and seventy thousand in all of Rumania. As usual in revolutions rumor had a field day.

How will Ceausescu's 24-year rule be remembered a few decades hence? Will some academic Marxist argue that, with all his faults, he nevertheless left Rumania non-aligned and debtless, with plenty of low-income housing (to match the low incomes) and a brand-new subway in Bucharest? It seems unlikely. But Ceausescu does have two paradoxical achievements: a Communist Party so discredited that it will probably disappear altogether, and a people who are proud of having regained their freedom by their own efforts. □

## Christmas Eve in Poland

RADEK SIKORSKI

**W**ARSAW—When I was a child, Christmas Eve had an eternal, unchanging quality. My mother cooked carp for the traditional meatless supper. One was supposed to eat 12 other courses, but by the time of my childhood—the Sixties—this was only a memory. I did, however, always set an extra place at the table, for a guest who always came late: only at the age of ten or 11 did I begin to wonder why the appearance of St. Nicholas was preceded by

the disappearance of my grandfather. He would say he was going to fetch a paper, even though newsstands were closed at that time of night. When I grew older I joined everybody at midnight Mass, and it was solemnly explained to me why in such times the last words of the traditional hymn were changed to "Bring us back, O God, our free fatherland."

This year, at five thousand zloties per kilo, many families could hardly afford the traditional fish. The mood

was somber. Everybody's thoughts were with Rumania where the *securitate* gangs were still running amuck. Memories of previous tragic Decembers lingered: of 1970, when workers were shot in front of Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; of 1981, when General Jaruzelski crushed the Solidarity revolution; of 1979, when Soviet tanks invaded Afghanistan.

The coming year promises Poles

more hardship: inflation is predicted to continue at 40 per cent per month, living standards to decline by a quarter; millions might lose their jobs. Yet, looking over the past decade, my family and friends were proud of what has been achieved. At midnight Mass for the first time in half a century the faithful sang a different version of the ancient hymn: "Our free fatherland protect, O God." □

ing more, and it is impolite to say no. By now, topics of conversation are changing with dizzying speed, but all have to do with the latest developments in Eastern Europe. Thoughts again turn toward Rumania, and how East Germany's "quiet revolution" barely escaped the same kind of crackdown. The theory is that it should have come on October 9, as some seventy thousand people demonstrated in Leipzig. Rumors were rampant that night that the army was on alert, but the protestors' rallying cry was: "Let them shoot, we still march."

The upcoming elections are a sore point. "Democracy sounds fine," says Grandpa. "But wait for some inflation and unemployment and the protestors will hit the streets of Leipzig with a different slogan."

"Maybe it is better if we vote the Communists back in," someone reasons. "At least they're experienced."

The reply is angry. "Yeah, and what then, another thirty-year social experiment?"

That exchange brings up a joke about a lady who walked into the local Party headquarters and asked, "Who created socialism, the scientists or the workers?"

The Party boss answered, "The workers, of course."

"Oh, that makes sense," said the woman. "If it were scientists they would have tried it out on rats first."

"The Beast is feeding on its own offspring," someone says, noting that the former minister of security, Erich Mielke, is now in a cell inside a jail he personally had built to house political prisoners. He has been charged with crimes against the state.

And Grandpa provides yet another piece of political humor—the six miracles of socialism:

—There is no unemployment, but no one works.

—No one works, but everyone gets paid.

—Everyone gets paid, but there's nothing to buy with the money.

—No one can buy anything, but everyone owns everything.

—Everyone owns everything, but no one is satisfied.

—No one is satisfied, but 99 per cent of the people vote for the system.

It is Christmas Eve, after all, and our hosts seem to savor what may be the most important gift of all: the freedom to speak their minds. □

## Speaking Up at Last

BENNETT OWEN



Jennifer Lawson

**E**AST BERLIN—It first appears as a pulsating blob of blue light, somewhere far down the dark, deserted road we are traveling on in the south side of town. As we get closer, the drone of sirens reaches us, and we finally realize that what we are seeing is a literal caravan of ambulances. We count twenty of them as they speed past us. Our taxi driver soon gets the story from his two-way radio—victims of the power struggle in Rumania have been flown into East Berlin and are being rushed to hospitals here. "Blutbad," he whispers. East Berlin on Christmas Eve.

It is unseasonably warm, and a great grey ceiling of clouds drops a silent mist as the family and its American guest follow the quiet side streets from the apartment to a nearby church. It is supposed to be a children's service, but the pastor speaks of urgent matters. He pleads for donations of blood and money to help the victims of the Rumanian massacre. "The joy of our new free-

dom is sadly overshadowed by events in Rumania," he laments. Almost as an afterthought he adds, "Jesus' birth brought holiness to an unholy world." The mood is somber, indeed.

But the true spirit of the season awaits us back at the apartment, and the clinking of glasses in the first toast of the evening signals the start of an old-fashioned Christmas celebration. The tree is simply and beautifully bedecked with red ribbons and candles, and the scent of pine and burning wax mixes with the smell of roasting duck. Underneath the tree lies the most important thing of all, "the package." It's a big box of goodies sent every year by relatives in Hamburg. On past Christmases, "the package" seemed like a treasure chest filled with unimaginable delights from the West. This year, the parents have already been toy shopping in West Berlin, but, still, opening "the package" remains the event of the evening.

Soon, it is coffee time, with schnaps, sherry, beer, cognac, and, yes, even coffee, consumed in staggering quantities. The hosts keep offer-

Mr. Owen is an editor at RIAS-TV in West Berlin.

# Stars Burning Bright

Latvia

JURIS KAZA



Jennifer Lawson

**R**IGA—With the slight background hiss of a distant AM broadcast, the choir sings *Klusa Nakts, Sveta Nakts* (Silent Night, Holy Night) in Latvian on Radio Riga. Playing in the background during a transatlantic call from Stockholm, it amazes and moves my family in the U.S., who never thought this would be possible.

On Christmas Eve, the Lutheran services from the Riga Dom Church are beamed across Latvia on television. In Ludza, a town near the Russian border in the predominantly Catholic province of Latgale, almost all the students from the local high school, and younger children as well, attend midnight Mass; two years ago this would have been unthinkable defiance. At the same time, Latvian television offers a surprise broadcast of midnight Mass from the Vatican, relayed by satellite.

Interspersed with the Christian celebrations and caroling were eerie pre-Christian solstice songs with the ancient refrain, "*kaladu, kaladu*," and the songs of merrymakers roaming around dressed as gypsies, storks, dancing bears, and other animals. A few years ago, the Soviet authorities were even more upset by the Latvian folklore movement than by Christian activism. There was a powerful un-

*Mr. Kaza is a Latvian-American freelance journalist based in Stockholm, who has been banned by the Latvian KGB from visiting Latvia for five years.*

spoken message in reminding people that their culture was one of the oldest and richest in Europe, with an oral tradition of nearly one million folk songs.

For years, Christmas had been celebrated in secrecy and fear, just one week ahead of the official surrogate, New Year's Eve, when decorated trees and *Sala vecis*, the Frost Man (a kind of ersatz Santa Claus), were officially allowed. I celebrated one such New Year's Eve with relatives in Riga, ringing in 1983, a year that proved to be one of the most repressive for Latvia's then-tiny democratic movement. In a sweep on January 6, the Latvian KGB ransacked the homes of up to fifty Latvian families and seized for questioning a Latvian woman from Sweden and her 16-year-old daughter. One man suffered a heart attack during a KGB search, and his body was left more or less where he collapsed until the secret police were through. (The man died.)

A Latvian editor, reached by phone from Stockholm, reports that in the Dom Square—called, until recently, the June 17 Square for the day the

Red Army occupied Latvia in 1940—a Christmas pageant was held. There were lavish Christmas trees set up, apparently at city expense, in the Riga Market.

But another Latvian journalist says she saw "horrible poverty" in shops everywhere before Christmas. "The churches were full, to a large extent because it was the only place you could find peace from the open mockery of the population by the authorities through the standard of living they are able to give us," she said bitterly.

In 1989, Latvians give frank, fearless Christmas Eve man-in-the-street interviews to local television reporters. They say that although they would rather not talk politics at the rebirth of the official Christmas holiday, they feel compelled by Gorbachev's and the Kremlin's latest threats against Lithuania.

As long as the struggle for the restoration of democracy and complete independence has not ended, no formerly suppressed tradition or holiday will ever be free of politics. In many windows all across Latvia, three candles were left burning as symbols of defiance and hope, echoing the three bright stars atop the Latvian Freedom Monument in downtown Riga. □

## No Turning Back

PETER G. KAUFMANN

Lithuania

**V**ILNIUS—Anyone watching the steady stream of people of all ages entering the Vilnius Cathedral on the morning of November 25, 1989, could have assumed that this was an ordinary, everyday occurrence. Even the children scurrying through the door, genuflecting on both knees at the entrance before proceeding to their places, behaved as if this had been the usual practice throughout their lives. In fact, it was a new experience for any Lithuanian under the age of about sixty.

The occasion was the Mass which marked the opening of the congress to re-establish the Catholic Youth Association, Ateitis, in Lithuania, an organization which had been banned since the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940. Its objectives: to foster spiritual, intellectual, social, and fa-

miliar consciousness in young people, based on traditional Christian values. The fact that this event could take place at all has lost much of its dramatic force against the backdrop of the revolutionary movements toward democracy sweeping through Eastern Europe, but opening the churches has accomplished much more than a return to the open practice of religion: it has opened the door to freedom of thought. Most of all, it has provided new hope for a better future.

Today, the Catholic Church in Lithuania recognizes both the difficulties and the importance of its role. Many of its priests were persecuted, and have served time in prison and in exile. The priesthood had been infil-

*Mr. Kaufmann is president of Ateitis in the United States.*

trated by agents of state security, who used the few remaining seminaries for their own purposes, ultimately forcing the establishment of underground seminaries in which priests could be trained, untainted by political indoctrination.

The clergy recognize that many handicaps remain: although a sizable core of Catholics exist, most of the population has only a superficial un-

derstanding of the faith. No one expects miracles, only dedicated and methodical work. In the words of Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius: "Each of us is like a tiny rivulet feeding into a river. Our individual contributions may appear insignificant yet, together, they form a powerful current whose force can shape the world." The Catholic Church and the people know that there is no turning back. □

Christmas this year has been a symbol of rebirth for the Armenian people.

In Moscow there are relatively few Catholics, most of them Poles living here. On December 24 and 25 they gathered, as they customarily do, in St. Ludvik's Cathedral, where they listened attentively to the sermon by the church's rector, Father Stanislav Mozheyko. This Christmas, however, they were joined by a number of Orthodox believers. But even more of the Orthodox went on December 24 to the new Moscow Art Theater, which for the first time staged a Christmas play, organized and financed by the Baptist newspaper *The Protestant*. The initiative came from Nikolay Gubenko, a famous dramatic actor who is now the minister of culture. The play, *Under the Star of Bethlehem*, was specially written for the occasion, and it reached out not only to believers: those in attendance included not simply atheists and Communists, but even People's Deputies, such as Gavriil Popov and Ilya Zaslavsky.

At the end of the play everyone in the audience received a gift that is very precious in the Soviet Union—a Gospel. There are plans to repeat this program in the Moscow Art Theater during the course of the Yuletide season.

There is no more room for Communist idols in the festive light of Christmas. □

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## A Christian Christmas

SERGEI GRIGORYANTS

**M**oscow—In the Soviet Union Christmas normally begins in the Baltics, for it is only there that Catholics and Protestants commemorate the holiday according to the Gregorian Calendar—the so-called "new style." The other churches—the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Gregorian Church, to be sure, but even the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite and Baptists and other Protestants—celebrate Christmas 13 days later, according to the Julian Calendar.

This year, however, it would not suffice to describe only what was happening in the Baltics on December 24 and 25, although there, for the first time in dozens of years, Christmas not only was celebrated nationwide, but was even recognized as a national holiday by the Communist authorities. In Lithuania all 630 Catholic churches summoned believers to Mass by tolling their church bells for the first time since the Soviet takeover in 1940. In Vilnius Cathedral, Archbishop Julianas Stepanavicius celebrated Mass, which was broadcast over the radio and television, to be heard by all Lithuanians. Throughout the republic there were concerts of religious music, and city squares for the first time displayed brightly shimmering Christmas trees.

Estonia, which is primarily Protestant, was almost as colorful this Christmas as its Catholic neighbor, Lithuania. Practically the entire pop-

ulation of this tiny country attended church services. In the Dom Cathedral of Tallinn there was a huge Christmas concert. And a curious event took place right before Christmas: a manifesto appeared in the press announcing the formation of the "Party of Free Democrats of Estonia." Among the scientists and cultural figures who had signed the manifesto, half were former CPSU members.

This year even in Yerevan and in Moscow the commemorations began on the "new style" Christmas Eve. On December 24 Armenian protestors erected a Christmas tree on the tracks of the railroad that brings raw materials to the nitrate plant in Yerevan, which for a long time has been poisoning the city's inhabitants.

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## Keeping the Faith

OLGA S. HRUBY

**I**T IS A principle of Marxist faith that with the progress of Communism religion will wither away. Because in practice this process moved much more slowly than predicted, Communist governments tried to speed it up by various means at their disposal, among which gentle persuasion was the least popular one. Yet it seems that no matter what method they apply, religious convictions are extremely difficult to eradicate. Even in Albania, where Enver Hoxha closed all houses of worship and imprisoned or killed all clergymen, there are strong indications that believers—both Christian and Moslem—have kept their faith alive.

In some Communist-dominated countries—for example, in Poland—believers were able to worship the Lord openly. In other instances they were forced into the underground church, thus risking persecution or worse. In either case they were part of a vast network which provided spiritual guidance, personal contacts, and information mostly unavailable from other sources.

In the post-Stalinist Soviet Union, demands for religious freedom were sparked by the Jewish emigration movement. Many refuseniks were in

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Mrs. Hruby is editor of Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas.

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Mr. Grigoryants is the editor of the independent magazine *Glasnost* and chairman of the Trade Union of Independent Journalists in the Soviet Union. This article was translated by Ludmilla Thorne.

## From Country To Country, Church to Church

**Bulgaria:** Small evangelical churches are active. The Orthodox Church is submissive.

**Czechoslovakia:** Here the Catholic Church, headed by ninety-year-old Cardinal Tomasek of Prague, is outspoken. Some priests and theologians are active in dissident organizations. The officially sponsored Pax in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy collaborates with the government; its members are distrusted by the faithful. The underground church has secretly ordained bishops and priests, and is active mainly in cities. Large pilgrimages to various shrines offer a platform for exchange of information and planning of strategy.

The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren (Presbyterian) seems to have overcome a long period of inertia. A number of its members are involved in Charter 77 and other civic associations, and many were imprisoned. The Hussite Church has been quiescent and is in decline. In Slovakia, the Lutheran Church is coasting along. Its leadership is weak, submis-

sive, and uninspiring, unlike the leadership during World War II.

**Hungary:** Under Janos Kadar, the churches were relatively free, as long as the clergy stayed in line. Hierarchs, particularly Protestant, were accommodating. The Catholic Church worked well within the limits stipulated by the state.

**Poland:** The Catholic Church never lost its authority and prestige. It was most fortunate to have such a dynamic leader as Cardinal Wyszynski during the worst years. Cardinal Glemp commands far less respect and affection because of his cautiousness and accommodating ways.

**USSR:** Major changes in the attitude to religion are of most benefit to the Orthodox Church. In the past it has been controlled and manipulated for the purposes of the government; its patriarch is an ex-prisoner, now ailing, very obedient to the state.

The Catholic Church in Lithuania has openly challenged the government and has a well-organized action group which provided reliable information about numerous clashes and conflicts. The Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church remains unrecognized, although the Uniates are now

openly defying the restrictions on their activities and are reclaiming their churches. This conflict may inflame the population in Western Ukraine.

The Lutheran Church is very influential in Latvia and Estonia. Other Protestant or Evangelical churches are growing fast.

The Church in Armenia and Georgia has always retained a large degree of independence and is keeping the national spirit alive.

Muslims are increasingly assertive.

**Yugoslavia:** Despite its more liberal image, the country is fragmented into national and religious entities. Religious intolerance exacerbates the current crisis. While in Soviet-bloc countries religion was a force for positive change, here it adds to the problems.

**Rumania:** The hierarchy of the Orthodox Church with all its servility failed to save churches and monasteries from destruction by Ceausescu. Local churches provided spiritual support to the faithful, and so did the minority denominations. The Hungarian minority suffered the heaviest losses, and it is ironic that the persecution of its pastor in Timisoara sparked the revolt which toppled the megalomaniac and his clan. —OSH

contact with friends in the West and, thus, received support and information they shared with believers of other faiths. Their struggle was occasionally successful enough to encourage others, particularly members of ethnic groups, to apply for emigration. Again, churches provided the network for strategic planning. This was also the case with the Solidarity movement in Poland, with the demonstrations against the Honecker regime in East Germany, with the resistance in the Baltic states, and to some extent also with Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. It would be difficult to find a dividing line between religious, nationalist, and political protest in many of those instances.

Even some of the churchmen who publicly defended the Marxist policies of their countries would confess their dissatisfaction in private. They spread the word about Western democracies among their friends, smuggled Bibles, forbidden books, and periodicals into

their countries, and secretly aided the persecuted. Others, however, glorified the powers that be in the most servile, unctuous manner. The Holy Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church recently addressed the megalomaniac Ceausescu as "the illustrious and experienced leader of the Rumanian people, an eminent personality of the contemporary world." The same church leader who sang these praises presided on Christmas Day at thanksgiving services for Ceausescu's downfall.

The intensity of believers' determination varies from country to country even in the same denomination [see box]. But the differences in denominational attitudes may be partly explained by the fact that while the Catholics have a strong supporter in the Vatican, the Protestants and the Orthodox could not expect such help from the World Council of Churches and other international religious organizations where the spirit of ap-

peasement has prevailed. Yet even those bodies in many ways advanced the revival of churches in Communist countries by providing a meeting place and a vantage point from which the representatives from the Soviet bloc could gather information, gain experience, and learn how to negotiate.

But among the factors advancing the cause of captive churches, the existence of a multi-lingual Polish Pope should not be underestimated. The persecuted churches have looked up to Pope John Paul II for inspiration in their struggle. He may be criticized in the West, but behind the Iron Curtain he gained many admirers even among Protestants, Orthodox, and agnostics. They know that he shares their sorrows and hopes, and above all, that he is a man of peace. It is gratifying that this spirit prevailed in the revolutions that have swept the Communist-dominated countries from Poland to Bulgaria. □

# Jews Meet in Moscow, First Time Since Czar

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

178/194

MOSCOW, Dec. 19 — The first nationwide gathering of Jewish representatives since the fall of the Czar was convened today, and it underlined the participants' quandary over the future: how to see to the great tide of those who want to emigrate yet still protect the interests of those who stay in hopes of a Jewish renaissance.

Several abusive pickets from Pamyat, a far-right chauvinist organization, stood outside to jeer the arriving delegates to the first Congress of Jewish Committees and Organizations of the Soviet Union, shouting "yids!" and "Jewish prostitutes!"

But the spirit of the occasion carried most delegates ebulliently into the debating hall. There, more than 700 Soviet participants and observers from around the world soon were witnessing lively dispute at a grand convocation of Jews from the western Ukraine to the

## How to help Jews leave, and those who stay?

Far East, from Siberia to the Transcaucasia.

"It is hard to believe this moment has arrived," said Yuly Sterenberg of Lvov, one of the organizers of the congress.

### New Wave of Hatred

"This is the first time in the history of the Soviet Union there was ever anything like this," he said, summarizing 75 years of pogroms, warfare and political persecution. "You have to go back to 1914 and the Czar to find the last broad gatherings of Jews."

In that time, hundreds of thousands of Jews have fled this country and hundreds of thousands more of the estimated two million who remain still want to leave. They are finding the Soviet economic crisis discouraging and the new era of political outspokenness partly alarming for the recrudescence of anti-Semitism in old and new ways, congress delegates said.

In interviews, they said the new wave of hatred has generally not been violent, although, for example, a reviving Jewish community in Kazan recently had its Torah stolen by two thugs who posed as believers.

"There is a paradox to this problem under the greater freedom of glasnost," said Josef Zissels, an organizer of the congress and chairman of the Jewish Culture Society in Chernovtsy in the Ukraine. "In the areas where anti-Semitism historically was strongest — in the Ukraine, Moldavia and Byelorussia — we find less anti-Semitism than in those areas in the depth of Russia where the general explosion of social activities has caused various new feelings to come forward."

### Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

The Ukrainian nationalist movement has made a point of repeatedly condemning anti-Semitism, "and that never happened before," Mr. Zissels said. "But in Russia, anti-Semitism is taking on a particularly irrational, mystical form in the name of Russian nationalism. I think it is part of a campaign by political leaders there to divert the general frustrations of the people from the failures of the Government."

The congress, which has voting delegates from 150 scattered cultural, social and ethnic Jewish organizations in this nation of nations, spent much of its first full debating day on the pressing topic of the moment. This is the turn in emigration in which the United States, in this new era of greater Soviet freedom, has put a quota on its once unlimited acceptance of persecuted Jewish emigrants.

Israel has benefited, with record numbers of Soviet Jews heading there. There were 11,000 in the month of November and predictions are that the flow may average better than 100,000 a year for the next five or six years.

One initial flurry of debate focused on a proposed emigration resolution that used the word "repatriation" to describe any Soviet Jew's migration to Israel.

"Nobody is authorizing us to call Israel the motherland of Kievan Jews," a delegate from Kiev quickly objected from the audience in a downtown movie auditorium, where a hubbub of discussion was under way well beyond the microphone; he said that the term "repatriation" would comfort anti-Semites who propagandize that all Soviet Jews are "temporary" citizens yearning to flee to Israel.

Another speaker identifying himself as a Zionist said he was "insulted" by the suggestion that Israel might not be considered the motherland. "Tell the American Jewish organizations to start providing more aid to Israel," he declared to some applause. "Israel will accept everyone."

A third delegate, identifying himself as Grigory A. Weisberg, pleaded that the congress not overlook the "small villages that remain the heart of the Jewish community in the U.S.S.R." and that are out of the main flow of the urban migration outlets.

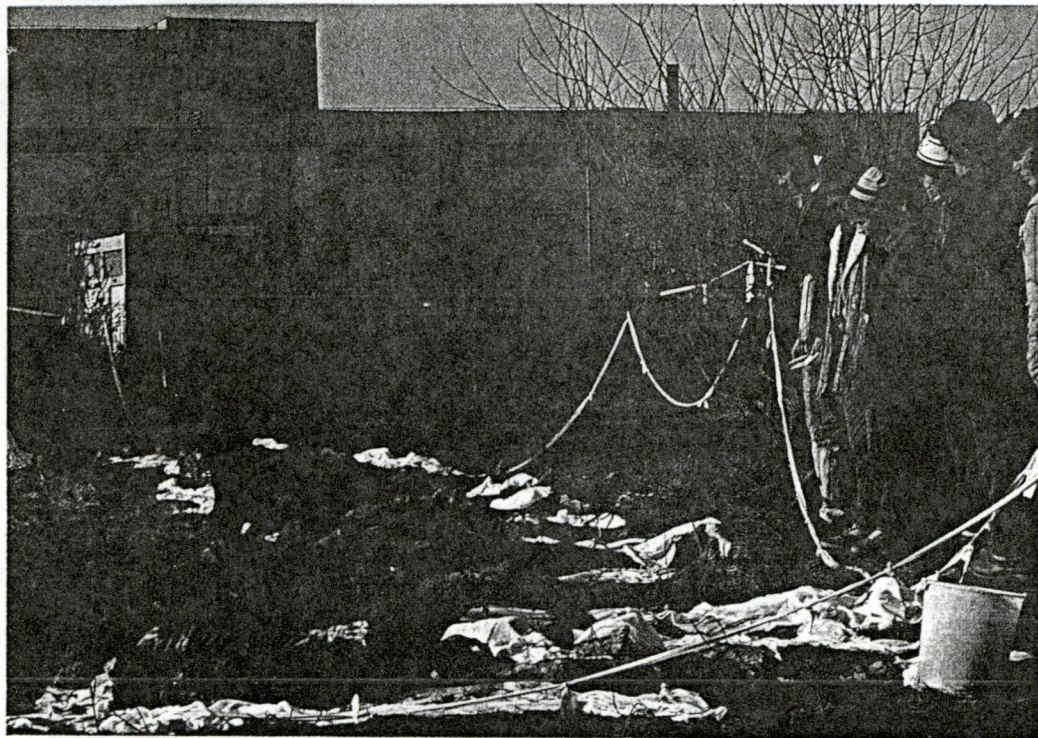
A fourth delegate, Aleksandr S. Borakovski, from the Jewish Cultural Society in Kiev, cautioned: "Remember the Jews who are staying here as their homeland. Every word uttered here and published in the papers tomorrow can cause a lot of harm, or a lot of good, to those Jews who stay."

The Soviet majority at the congress will debate a series of resolutions this week and vote on them Friday, but no time was being wasted as the hall seethed with demands to be heard.

When Israel Singer, a representative of the World Jewish Congress, offered help to the new congress, he was asked, in turn, what his organization's meetings were like. "They are pluralistic and anarchic, like yours," he replied smiling. Then, saluting the moment and promising a wide range of support, he declared: "We have resources but we don't have dreams. We have come here to ask you to dream for us."

Gedaliah Rabinowitz, a Brooklyn-born rabbi from Israel who opened a Moscow yeshiva last February, said the congress was badly needed for a "situation so volatile and changing that there is no way to predict the future."

"How many are leaving?" he asked. "For Israel or America? And how many are staying to help build a Jewish renaissance?"



In Timisoara, among the exhumed corpses, survivors mourned loved ones killed by Ceausescu's forces

SAUSIER—GAMMA LIAISON

newfound sense of common cause showed itself in other ways. Women rushed out to the army tanks rumbling along Timisoara's streets and passed baskets of bread and pails of tea through the hatches. One recalled another legacy of Ceausescu's—the begging of Rumania—when she explained, "We have nothing else to give the soldiers except bread."

Rumor swirled. Everyone had heard about one place or another where Ceausescu followers had suddenly appeared: "Last night we heard that paratroopers loyal to that murderer [Ceausescu] had been dropped outside the town," said Asofei Jorim, 21, a student who had survived the Timisoara massacre and joined the militia guarding the city. "We have even heard that Palestinian students who were being trained as terrorists here are

also supporting the old regime."

Everywhere, relief and triumph mingled with a persistent sense of danger. At Moravita, a sleepy Rumanian frontier post on the edge of the Yugoslav border, customs officials waved their arms high in victory but warned, "Be very careful. There is shooting all the time." In villages along the road to Bucharest, virtually every Rumanian flag had the communist logo scissored out of the center of the blue, yellow and red field; everywhere, signs lauding communism and Ceausescu had been defaced. In Craiova, an industrial city west of Bucharest, jubilation reigned even as fighting between the army and the Securitate was still going on. "We are all in ecstasy over our new freedom," said Eugen Radui, a 19-year-old student who was part of a group guarding a hotel. "I have had no liberty. It is impossible to describe what it was like living here." At the town hall, where a provisional governing committee of 40 people had been installed, the lights were kept dim so snipers could not spot potential targets through the windows.

Even so, nothing could dim the realization that Rumania had entered a new era. "It was the students who lighted the fire, the students in Bucharest and Timisoara," said Emilian Mercan, 36, a former travel agent and member of the Craiova committee. "I never thought this could happen, this revolution." Later, after hearing that Ceausescu and his wife Elena had been executed, Mercan summed up his feelings in what might be close to a nationwide sentiment: "We are like children waking from a nightmare in the middle of the night. All we want is reassurance that it won't happen again."

## A Kaleidoscope of Chaos

*On the road from the border to Bucharest: people ricocheting between agony and elation, fear and hope*

BY JAMES WILDE TIMISOARA



On Christmas Eve in Timisoara, the border city where the uprising against Nicolae Ceausescu first bubbled up, a young woman stood in a field, rocking back and forth, crying softly. "Bloody, oh, how bloody," she crooned over the corpse of an old man. His hands had been cut off, his body disfigured by boiling water and acid. He had been her father.

Nothing could have prepared the mind for Timisoara and the tableau of horrors left by the regime's last and worst spasm of barbarity. In the same muddy field, laid out on white sheets, were two dozen other naked bodies, more victims of a massacre Dec. 16 and 17 by the Securitate, Ceausescu's secret police. These bodies too had been subjected to efforts to render them unrecognizable, an obvious attempt not only to spite those the victims left behind but also to intimidate them. The bodies bore various marks of torture: ankles entwined in barbed wire, stomachs crudely sewn up where they had been slashed open. On the corpse of one woman lay the seven-month fetus that had been ripped from her womb.

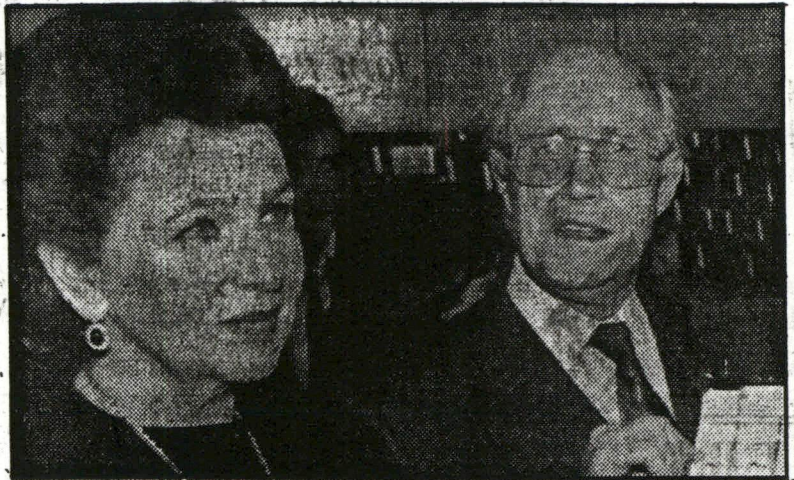
But horror was not the only emotion expressed in Rumania last week. In the village of Denta, near Timisoara, church

bells were pealing. A procession of villagers, many of whom looked like Gulag veterans in their shabby overalls and torn jackets, streamed out of the small Orthodox church and gathered on the village green, singing in thanksgiving joy. A horse-drawn cart clattered by, and its euphoric driver shouted, "Long live the liberation!"

Scenes that were part of an otherworldly mixture of triumph and fear, suspicion and hope: peasants making the V-for-victory sign outside empty shops or beside wells said to have been poisoned by the Securitate. No one confident that those brutal defenders of the old regime were really gone; no one certain what kind of a government was in charge. People ricocheting between agony and elation. And fear everywhere.

More than a week after the rebellion erupted, Securitate snipers were still shooting at anything that moved, armed or unarmed, in the streets of Timisoara. Every intersection had a checkpoint manned by young and visibly frightened rebels. Whenever a car appeared, they flagged it down to search for weapons; even a stooped grandmother might join in the effort.

In a country thick with informers, where the constant fear of betrayal to the Securitate had destroyed people's ability to trust one another and work together, the



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Rostropovich and his wife, Galina Vishnevskaya, in Moscow yesterday.

## *Maestro in Moscow*

### Rostropovich's Bittersweet Return Home

By David Remnick  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Feb. 12—Mstislav Rostropovich knocked on the door of his old apartment today. After 16 years of forced exile, the cellist and conductor had that feeling common to those who return home after a long time gone: The old rooms seemed smaller. "I never imagined I would have returned—here, to our home," said Rostropovich, who is leading the National Symphony Orchestra on a four-concert tour in Moscow and Leningrad this week. In a voice that mixed elation and melancholy, he

recalled how exiled intellectuals of earlier eras asked that after their deaths their bones be brought back to the homeland. "You cannot imagine the feeling" of these exiles, he said. "It is an endless emotional strain."

Since their arrival here Sunday night, Rostropovich and his wife, opera singer Galina Vishnevskaya, have crisscrossed the city, visiting friends and remembering friends lost. From the airport, they drove directly to the grave of composer Dmitri Shostakovich, their lifelong friend. Tuesday night Rostropovich will conduct Shostakovich's

See NSO, D6, Col. 4

2/12/90

# Rostropovich in Moscow

NSO, From D1

Symphony No. 5, Op. 47, at the NSO's first concert, which will be broadcast live on Soviet television. This morning Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya laid flowers on the grave of Andrei Sakharov, whom Rostropovich called "the greatest man of the 20th century." They also visited the grave of Rostropovich's mother.

Vishnevskaya, who seems more bitter than her husband about their exile, said she had originally intended to return home to Washington after the NSO's tour of Japan last week. The Soviet government's decision on Jan. 16 to return their citizenship helped change her mind. "Finally, the Soviet government has recognized their barbarian act as unworthy," Vishnevskaya said.

"When we left here, this country was a great island of lies," Rostropovich told reporters. "Now the Soviet Union is cleansing itself of those lies. Our only wish is that all these wonderful promises that are being discussed are put into action. We all pray to God almighty that all will be well and that there will be no more bloodshed here."

Nikolai Gubenko, a well-known actor at the Taganka Theater and now the country's minister of culture, said that Rostropovich's return was "yet another beautiful instance of justice prevailing." He said he hoped that soon Rostropovich's close friend, novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn, will also get back his citizenship and return to the Soviet Union.

Before leaving for Japan and the Soviet Union, Rostropovich visited Solzhenitsyn at his home in Cavendish, Vt. "We talked day and night," Rostropovich said, "and Solzhenitsyn told me, 'Please tell my people that I will return, but only when every person in the country can get my books, either in the stores or in the library, so they can see what I have done

there and in 16 years abroad. When that happens, I will return to my people.'" Solzhenitsyn's works are now being published in dozens of Soviet journals and magazines.

In the Soviet Union, Rostropovich was famous as a soloist and a conductor. The last piece he conducted in the Soviet Union, Peter Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"), will be a centerpiece of Tuesday's program.

For exiles especially, the recent months of transformation throughout Europe have been an emotional release. Suddenly they are struck with possibilities—freedom, the chance to return—that they never thought would come. Last November, Rostropovich recalled, he was staying at his apartment in Paris, where he had installed a satellite dish on the roof, the better to pull in the Soviet evening news program "Vremya." A friend called Rostropovich and said, "Slava. Slava. Switch on your TV."

"I couldn't comprehend what was happening," Rostropovich said. "There was this wall and there were these people climbing it and standing on it. And then I realized what it was, and I began to weep. I told Ganna, 'I must go there, I must go to Berlin tomorrow.'"

Rostropovich called a wealthy friend who owns a plane and asked for a ride. The next morning, cello in hand, he arrived in Berlin and took a cab to the wall. Rostropovich had to borrow a chair from people living in the nearest house. "And as I played Bach," he said, "there was a young German man listening with his eyes closed. I could see a tear roll down his cheek. And I said to myself, 'This is the greatest reward for understanding in the world.' For me, the Berlin Wall was not only a wall of politics, but a wall between my old friends at home and our new ones. Now that wall is gone."

Rostropovich, 62, said he has every intention of maintaining his contract with the NSO "until I get too old and I can't keep up with the orchestra anymore." Asked if he has any plans to visit Moscow again, at least for longer visits, he said, "Of course. We will come as soon we can to stay for some more time."

Vishnevskaya, for her part, said she was not ready to sing at the Bolshoi Theater, her artistic home for two decades. "When they kicked me out," she said, "that was the last straw. The Bolshoi's leading soloist even went to the Communist Party Central Committee and told the culture minister that Rostropovich must be fired because he is an enemy of the people."

Rostropovich, speaking in Russia for a change rather than in a foreign tongue, said he would "love to see Mikhail Gorbachev if he has time but we know how full his schedule is."

I think highly of Gorbachev. Rostropovich, insisting he was a politician, nevertheless stood before a microphone at the Soviet foreign ministry press center and revealed some of his political thinking. "When people are happy and their stomachs are full, then maybe they will want nothing but music and art," he said. "But now they must stand in line just to try and feed themselves. Also, we have to do away with a system where the ordinary people stand in line and the officials do not. The officials must feel the pain of the people with their own stomachs."

During the day, in between rehearsals and interviews, Rostropovich met with the Soviet Union's best-known composer, Alfred Schnittke. Rostropovich recalled how when he lived here under Brezhnev and Stalin, he was "always told what to play." Modernists and rebels like Schnittke were rarely allowed into the repertoire. "What an abnormal system that someone could tell Shostakovich or Prokofiev what to write," Rostropovich said. "That's one good thing about Gorbachev. He doesn't pretend to give music lessons."

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there and in 16 years abroad. When that happens, I will return to my people.' " Solzhenitsyn's works are now being published in dozens of Soviet journals and magazines.

In the Soviet Union, Rostropovich was famous as a soloist and a conductor. The last piece he conducted in the Soviet Union, Peter Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"), will be a centerpiece of Tuesday's program.

For exiles especially, the recent months of transformation throughout Europe have been an emotional release. Suddenly they are struck with possibilities—freedom, the chance to return—that they never thought would come. Last November, Rostropovich recalled, he was staying at his apartment in Paris, where he had installed a satellite dish on the roof, the better to pull in the Soviet evening news program "Vremya." A friend called Rostropovich and said, "Slava. Slava. Switch on your TV."

"I couldn't comprehend what was happening," Rostropovich said. "There was this wall and there were these people climbing it and standing on it. And then I realized what it was, and I began to weep. I told Galina, 'I must go there, I must go to Berlin tomorrow.'"

Rostropovich called a wealthy friend who owns a plane and asked for a ride. The next morning, cello in hand, he arrived in Berlin and took a cab to the wall. Rostropovich had to borrow a chair from people living in the nearest house. "And as I played Bach," he said, "there was a young German man listening with his eyes closed. I could see a tear roll down his cheek. And I said to myself, 'This is the greatest reward for understanding in the world.' For me, the Berlin Wall was not only a wall of politics, but a wall between my old friends at home and our new ones. Now that wall is gone."

Rostropovich, 62, said he has every intention of maintaining his contract with the NSO "until I get old and I can't keep up with the orchestra anymore." Asked if he has any plans to visit Moscow again, at least for longer visits, he said, "course. We will come as soon we can stay for some more time."

Vishnevskaya, for her part, said she was not ready to sing at the Bolshoi Theater, her artistic home for two decades. "When they kicked me out," she said, "that was the last straw. The Bolshoi's leading soloist even went to the Communist Party Central Committee and told the culture minister that Rostropovich must be fired because he is an enemy of the people."

Rostropovich, speaking in Russian for a change rather than in a foreign tongue, said he would "love to see Mikhail Gorbachev if he has time, but we know how full his schedule is. . . . I think highly of Gorbachev, Rostropovich, insisting he was a politician, nevertheless stood before a microphone at the Soviet foreign ministry press center and revealed some of his political thinking. "When people are happy and their stomachs are full, then maybe they will want nothing but music and art," he said. "But now they must stand in line just to try and feed themselves. Also, we have to do away with a system where the ordinary people stand in line and the officials do not. The officials must feel the pain of the people with their own stomachs."

During the day, in between rehearsals and interviews, Rostropovich met with the Soviet Union's best-known composer, Alfred Schnittke. Rostropovich recalled how when he lived here under Brezhnev and Stalin, he was "always told what to play." Modernists and rebels like Schnittke were rarely allowed into the repertoire. "What an abnormal system that someone could tell Shostakovich or Prokofiev what to write," Rostropovich said. "That's one good thing about Gorbachev. He doesn't pretend to give music lessons."

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SECTION: FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

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HEADLINE: CB  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC  
REGULAR BRIEFING  
BRIEFER: MARLIN FITZWATER

KEYWORD: WHITE HOUSE-07/25/89

## BODY:

MR. FITZWATER: (In progress) -- 500 E Street Southwest, to announce the President's decision. We will simultaneously release the President's statement here at 2:00, and she'll have it there as well.

On travel, the President will travel to Chicago, Illinois, Las Vegas, Nevada, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on Monday, July 31, and Tuesday, August 1st. On Monday the 31st, he will speak at approximately 10:00 a.m. Central Time to the summer meeting of the National Governors' Association in Chicago. The President will then travel to Las Vegas to make a 1:00 p.m. Pacific Time address to the National Convention of the Disabled American Veterans. Overnight will be in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The next morning, Tuesday, August 1st, the President will speak to the National Conference of the Fraternal Order of Police at 10:15 a.m. Central Time. We'll have a late afternoon return on Tuesday. Bruce Zanka will have a tentative schedule in the next day or so, and the press schedule at the end of the week. So --

Q Is there a theme to these speeches?

MR. FITZWATER: The -- basically, these are three commitments the President made to these organizations -- the Governors' Association, Fraternal Order of Police, and the Disabled American Veterans. He is going to these cities to make those speeches. It's not a theme trip. There are no side adventures to theme parks or any of that sort of stuff.

Q Are these commitments made in his presidential campaign?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, not necessarily, but during the last few months -- the Governors' Association.

Q So can you give us some sense of what he'll be talking about in each place?

MR. FITZWATER: I will be able to, although I can't today.

Q No new initiatives, Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Oh, now, every opportunity is a new initiative, you know. Don't rule out anything, although I don't know of any.

Q He wouldn't bet on it. (Laughter). He doesn't know of any.

MR. FITZWATER: I'd stake my life on this possibility. Frank?

Q The President spoke on May 15th to the FOP Conference here in Washington. If that didn't fulfill his commitment -- that's where he first talked about his crime package, which has now been tabled. Is he going to tell them what he's going to do to fix that, or why it's been tabled?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we're going to do it again, and we have some very important things to say about the crime package.

Q So that's what he'll talk about. See!

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Q Are you hyping this? Are you hyping this? It looks like a deadly trip.

MR. FITZWATER: It's a hype job.

Q Do you want to tell us now what he has to say about the crime package?

Q Are you trying to get us to go?

MR. FITZWATER: No, it's going to be good.

Q You'd better make it good if you say that.

MR. FITZWATER: Don't miss it.

Q Do you have any comment on (the crime package?) ?

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. FITZWATER: You'll be on the air every night with this trip. I'm not over -- (inaudible) -- this is a three-day -- a two-day trip. We go to three cities, we make three speeches.

Q Why did you decide not to overnight in Las Vegas?

Q Right!

THE PRESS: Yeah!

MR. FITZWATER: We didn't think we could trust you on the town alone.

Q The speech in Oklahoma City; that's why.

MR. FITZWATER: All right, let's see. What else do we have here? The schedule

--

Q On that, Marlin, will there be filing time in Chicago?

MR. FITZWATER: Filing time everywhere -- all over the place. Hours, days.

Q Alixe says you're getting into trouble, Marlin.

MR. FITZWATER: Listen, I know Steve can file those stories in a minute's time.

Q Yes, but I won't be on the trip, and I'm concerned about my colleague who will. (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: (Laughs.) You benevolent devil you. (Laughter.) All right, let's see. [At] 1:15, the President has a Rose Garden ceremony to name the winners of the Job Training Partnership Participants Awards -- 12 outstanding participants who have completed these programs. All are from economically disadvantaged backgrounds who were in need of basic education and job training and have successfully completed their programs and gone on to -- I mean, gone on to employment and further education. And we'll have a list of the winners right here and background on each one of them, for those of you who want to go into it, with hometowns and everything you need.

All right, let's see. The rest of the afternoon is essentially spent in private meetings -- administrative time, Governor Sununu, et cetera. All right, that's about all I have today.

Q Great.

Q Thank you.

Q The President is following the housing scandals. I mean, why has he taken no stronger stand, some sense of outrage from him? He can be outraged about Bloch, but he can't be outraged about these incredible scandals.

MR. FITZWATER: He has taken a strong stand. He has expressed his outrage that these have occurred. He has talked to Secretary Bloch (sic) on a number of occasions about remedying the situation.

THE PRESS: Secretary who!?

MR. FITZWATER: Secretary Kemp, I'm sorry.

(A chorus of boos.)

MR. FITZWATER: And Felix --

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. FITZWATER: (Laughter.) Felix is still up in New York, I take it.

Q Mr. Mayor. (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: (Laughs.) Can't you see the Bloch motorcade up there going through Chappiqua or wherever it was, by the way? The first half is FBI, the second half is KGB, staff one and two -- (laughter) -- support cars, it's

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great, a great scene.

Q And then the networks.

MR. FITZWATER: And then the networks.

Q Camera one, camera two.

MR. FITZWATER: David?

Q (Inaudible) -- is he doing? I mean, he can pick up a newspaper every day and read about this. You have no sense here that there is any reaction.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I don't know why you say that. We've reacted any number of times. Secretary Kemp has outlined before Congress innumerable changes, he's closed down at least four programs. Steve had given me guidance which I don't have with me today, but we have -- there's at least four or five programs that Secretary Kemp has shut down entirely while this matter is being investigated. He's gone through it on the Hill at great length. And although I'm not prepared here today, I certainly have the material to go into this for hours on end.

Q Where has he been --

Q Well, did he call Thornburgh to tell him to press forward?

MR. FITZWATER: He has, several times, but he -- well, I'll have to go back and get them for you. He's commented on the HUD situation in interviews, in press conferences, many places.

John?

Q Marlin --

Q He has not.

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, he did, I'll get it for you. Q -- there seems to be a question on the Hill about the exuberance of the -- of the Attorney General in going after this, and I know Runkel says that Thornburgh resents that, but has the President called Thornburgh and said, "Let's move forward on prosecutions if it's available"?

MR. FITZWATER: Everything that can be done is being done. This matter is being looked into by all the investigatory authorities, including the Justice Department, the Housing and Urban Development Department, the GAO and others. And the President has spoken out on this issue many times, and I'm sure that --

Q No, he has not.

MR. FITZWATER: -- that all of the issues -- yes, he -- Yes, he has!!

(Laughter.)

Q Tell me where.

MR. FITZWATER: Ann?

Q Does he share the concern of some that Felix Bloch -- because he now does, as you talked about the motorcade -- that he might be spirited out of the country by the Soviets?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I don't really have much I can add on that. I've seen press reports that that's an issue that's being -- that's been considered and watched. But I don't have any individual information. I trust my colleagues in the press on that.

Bill?

Q Marlin, along those lines, we were told out in the driveway that a number of congressmen raised concerns about the Bloch case in the meeting with the President. (Inaudible) -- Congressman Gingrich have told us that they were worried -- worried most about what they viewed as an eroding US counterintelligence capability and that they planned to put things in the defense bill to strengthen that. What's the President's assessment of that, and what sort of things are you all looking for?

MR. FITZWATER: There was one congressman who raised that issue and said he would be looking at various ways to strengthen our intelligence capabilities, strengthen security at embassies and security in the State Department and other places, but he didn't go into any details. And, frankly, I don't know what he

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had in mind in terms of specifics. There really wasn't any other discussion. I'll have to check. I can picture him in my mind, but I don't know who it was.

Q McCollum?

MR. FITZWATER: Who?

Q Was it McCollum?

MR. FITZWATER: McCollum? I think it was.

Q What does the President think about the need? Do we have to strengthen our counterintelligence capabilities? What does he think?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, he certainly is concerned about that, just as he said he's concerned about the -- any allegations of spying or treasonous activity by any member of the government; certainly concerned about security in embassies and by diplomatic personnel. And -- but we don't advocate any specific changes at this point. We're still -- this issue is still under investigation, and it just started in terms of many of the public aspects of it.

Michael?

Q Do you anticipate charges being filed against Bloch, or the man being arrested? Or is he just going to be, you know, trailed and tailed and --

MR. FITZWATER: We can't speculate. We just have to wait and see.

David?

Q As we were coming in here, the House was starting to vote on a big cut in SDI. Several Republican senators and some of the House as well said that the President should veto the Defense Authorization Bill if the SDI budget is cut. Has the President, in his lobbying on that, raised the possibility of a veto?

MR. FITZWATER: The -- we're a long way from considering a veto. It hasn't even come up in any of the discussions. We're at the initial stages in which the President has had several discussions with members of Congress. He raised this issue again this morning with the GOP leadership, pointing out his commitment to SDI, his commitment to the B-2 and the two-missile program, and how these all add up to the strategic modernization program that he thinks is crucial. So, we are just beginning the process. I think it's -- they may have a floor action today or tomorrow, but there's a lot of debate to go on. We've got two Houses to go through, so this is too early to talk about veto. We're talking now about winning, not about vetoes.

David.

Q A slightly different subject. William Bennett said yesterday, "Crack is worse than PACs." He wants some kind of drug war bonds, some other way to raise the money. It's now almost the beginning of August and his plan will be out in early September. What's the President's view of how we should pay for this drug war, and will the President look kindly on recommendations from Bennett for spending more money?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I think everyone anticipates that there will be more money needed, and more money spent. The sources of that money and so forth in future budgets is a different question. But, clearly, there will be requirements for more money.

As to some of these ideas, the drug czar, Bill Bennett, is looking at any number of ideas. He has been charged, indeed, with coming up with innovative and creative ways to approach this problem. He's due to have a strategy to the President on September 6th, I believe it is, or 7th, something like that. And I think he will have some innovative programs. My guess is there are a lot of these kinds of ideas that he is suggesting. One, to kind of see what the public reaction to them is; two, to flush out any problems that might be on the horizon before they become proposals; and two -- and three, to just kind of get people thinking about what kind of approaches we might be taking. Drug bonds certainly are in that category in the sense that everybody would like to find some new ways of financing, but there are a lot of very practical problems and reasons

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why that probably would be very difficult to do. But I would -- I think you're going to hear a lot of interesting and intriguing new possibilities from the drug czar over the next few weeks, and hopefully they'll result in a very innovative package on September 6th.

John?

Q Marlin, Rostenkowski has delayed the vote on the capital gains issue in the Ways and Means Committee. Does the President sense victory in the House? And has he started lobbying Bentsen and members of the Senate Finance Committee to try to win it on the other side as well?

MR. FITZWATER: No, we sense that we're still struggling with this in the House. We're still working with the Committee, talking with the members about the capital gains provision and other revenue-raising provisions. But it is not resolved at this point. We would not predict victory or defeat. We're still hopeful. But it's not a foregone conclusion either way.

Saul?

Q Yeah, is the President absolutely opposed to raising taxes to fight drugs?

MR. FITZWATER: The President is opposed to raising taxes for any purpose. And we consider --

Q Therefore he's opposed to raising taxes to fight drugs?

MR. FITZWATER: He's opposed to raising taxes for any purpose.

Q Is he opposed to raising taxes to fight drugs?

MR. FITZWATER: He's opposed to raising taxes for any purpose.

Peter.

Q Just to clarify on that drug bond question, Marlin. When you said there are practical problems that would make that difficult to do, were you referring to the bond idea itself?

MR. FITZWATER: Yeah, yeah.

Q Has it been put to the White House?

MR. FITZWATER: Not in any -- not in any official way, no.

Q Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, Saul?

Q To follow up on my question, so that means that Bennett's innovative ideas -- has to come up with ways of financing this short of any kind of tax increase or anything that would increase the deficit or increase the amount of money people have to pay?

MR. FITZWATER: The -- there would -- the financing programs would take the more traditional route of appropriations from Congress, reprogramming of funds from other areas, use of funds and facilities from other government agencies, and so forth. So --

Q The more traditional route is usually taxes pay for what you spend.

MR. FITZWATER: Not since Ronald Reagan. (Laughter).

Johanna?

Q Marlin, on another subject, the Cambodian peace talks, the last in Paris today. I wondered first if you have anything on that, and secondly, if you know whether Baker still plans to go to Paris Saturday?

MR. FITZWATER: The Secretary does still plan to go. The talks were -- you probably know more about this, but the reports just came in that no agreements were reached in those talks. There appears to be a division over power sharing, which I don't have a full description of, but we do believe it's important for the parties to narrow their differences. We'll try to help advance that process during the Paris conference this weekend.

I think you all are familiar with our position on the Cambodian situation, and Secretary Baker's -- I don't know when he leaves for that. (To staff.) Do you know when he leaves, Roman? Okay. But he does plan to head the delegation.

Q Is there any chance that --

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MR. FITZWATER: Nick?

Q -- Baker would meet with the Chinese Foreign Minister who is going to be in Paris at the same time? China also obviously has an interest in Cambodia?

MR. FITZWATER: I'd have to refer you to the State Department on his itinerary. I have no idea who he is meeting with.

Q We did this as a question as to whether there is any lifting or public lifting of the, I guess, embargo against the US --

MR. FITZWATER: Oh, it's a trick question.

Q Huh?

MR. FITZWATER: It's a trick question. (Chuckles.)

Q No.

MR. FITZWATER: The answer is no, Nick.

All right. Paula?

Q What other revenue-raising provisions are you discussing besides the capital gains?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we won't go into details. We're -- most of them are known however, but there's a whole package of --

Q I'm talking specifically about the other provisions that Rostenkowski raised in a \$5.3 billion package.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, yeah, but there's a whole range of them. Again, I don't have those here, but that's not new. I mean they've been published in your publication and everywhere else.

Q But they don't -- they're not -- they don't coincide with all of these suggestions that the administration would like to see in \$5.3 billion --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we're still negotiating, still talking.

Q I'm going to change the subject. On the HUD scandal, a few weeks ago, Director Darman had indicated that he felt this problem might be systemic, and he had issued a memo for all of the agencies, inspector generals particularly, to get back to him and record any problems, and he intends to meet with the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency soon. And I had wondered if the President felt his plan to meet with this group at some point in time to discuss this problem?

MR. FITZWATER: You'll recall that the President called a Cabinet meeting last week, which we discussed here for the purpose of following up on that meeting Darman had with deputy secretaries. And for -- no, it's exactly the same, exactly the same -- and the President urged his Cabinet to follow through on GAO recommendations, to be alert to the kinds of problems that came up with the -- in the HUD situation, to not ignore the signals that apparently were ignored in the HUD case, and to use the reports that were being developed by the group that met with Dick Darman and by the Integrity Council as a mechanism for evaluating the ability of their departments to handle these funds, to conduct their programs in a manner that would ensure these problems don't occur again, and to make sure that these kinds of things don't happen. So the answer -- the short answer is yes, the long answer is the brilliant one I just gave.

Peter.

Q Back to the drug bonds again. What are the practical problems, in your view, that would make it tough for this thing to come about?

MR. FITZWATER: On drug bonds?

Q Yes.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, it's just that it represents a financing mechanism that has a lot of aspects to it that haven't been thought out about it; how would the money be paid back, how would it be collected, interest rates, all those kinds of issues. But, generally speaking, any kind of bond system is a part of the general financing of the government. So, you have Treasury bonds and others, but basically, you're still talking about government borrowing. So, it's

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still a part of the same process.

Helen?

Q The President issued a memo yesterday to the heads of government agencies urging them to encourage adoption of children?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, uh-huh.

Q On what, he wants federal workers to adopt children? Is that --

MR. FITZWATER: No. The President simply feels very strongly in adoption, that it's one of the answers to the abortion problem. And as a part of general concern about family values and about the abortion situation, he simply wants to highlight the adoption option, as it were, and urge that people give more consideration to that situation.

Q And he's willing to give them all kinds of time off from their government jobs and so forth to pursue this?

MR. FITZWATER: There are certain -- I don't know what the exact rules and so forth are, but whatever would be necessary, yeah. (aside) -- Do you -- is there a -- was there a specific rule proposed or something?

Q Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: I read the memo, but I didn't think it proposed a new procedure, did it? No. I think your question goes beyond what the statement --

Q But isn't --

Q No. I think he said -- (inaudible.)

MR. FITZWATER: Get me a copy of it, will you, Steve?

Q Isn't it the case already that there are more people out there willing to adopt children than there are children? I mean, what --

MR. FITZWATER: The problem is the total system. That's true. there is -- there are a number of problems, the time it takes to get chosen, availability of children. Often it is the case that there are more people. But the problem also is that you can't always -- a lot of children aren't adoptable, as they say in the business, for one reason or another. So, you have those kinds of difficulties.

Q Does he want to set up some kind of mechanism to enhance this process?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, let's read this and see what we've got here. Adoption can help address some of our most pressing issues -- teenage pregnancy, foster care, infertility and welfare dependency. Most importantly, adoption provides a home and love to children who may have neither.

And then the President lists a number of facts about the issues that Mick raises about the number of people and children that are available. About 60,000 children are adopted every year. Of these, some 10,000 come from foreign countries. An estimated 15 percent of American couples of reproductive age are infertile and would like to adopt children.

And he says he's instructed the Domestic Policy Council to develop a presidential adoption initiative. And that process is well underway. He is asking that methods for supporting the adoption plans and needs of employees and for promoting adoption among our workforce be developed, and offers a few ideas. So --

Q What does that first idea mean, Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: So, the answer to your question, Helen, in terms of what he -- that he's not proposing rules at this time, but he's saying that the Domestic Policy Council will be looking into it, that we will be considering any numbers of ideas. He says, for example: Use agency resources for employees who are considering adopting, who have adopted children, who have a family member facing a crisis pregnancy. Employee assistance programs may be the most appropriate resource."

So, basically, he's asking the agencies to look into innovative ways to help foster adoption through these methods -- begin planning now for agency-wide

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celebration and observance of National Adoption Week. Ensure that all employees' supervisors are as flexible as possible regarding adoption-related leave needs of the employees. That's why I say I'm not familiar with the exact leave rules, but what he's saying is that supervisors should be liberal in their interpretation of leave policy as it relates to people who need time off to file applications and to meet with social service workers and to go through the interviewing process and all those kinds of questions.

Q Marlin, if White House staff members adopt people will they get to work shorter hours?

MR. FITZWATER: Are you available? (Light laughter).

Q Marlin, what --

MR. FITZWATER: David?

Q On the President's -- (word inaudible) -- proposal on this subject, I mean, what happened to it?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know.

Q Tax breaks?

MR. FITZWATER: Presumably that'll be a part of the DPC consideration.

All right. Do you want to argue over anything else?

Steven?

Q (I'm not arguing. ?)

MR. FITZWATER: How about the flag?

Q There's just no -- (inaudible) -- (laughter, moans from the press).

Q Does the President have any reaction to the -- this reported memo from Exxon saying they're going to stop cleaning up Alaskan oil on a date certain, no matter what anybody says?

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q Has he asked anyone to determine whether or not the reports are accurate about that and if so, to take action?

MR. FITZWATER: I assume that that's being followed by Richard Breeden and Sam Skinner but I have not heard their reaction to it.

Bill?

Q Do you have anything on the reports out of Angola of UNITA rebels shooting down a transport plane with a ground-to-air missile?

MR. FITZWATER: Yeah, I have State Department guidance on that.

Q Oooh.

Q Spare us.

(Off mike talking among press.)

Q Does the President support --

MR. FITZWATER: Support what?

(Mixed voices.)

MR. FITZWATER: At least I think I did. (To staff) Don't I have something here, Roman?

Q That's okay.

(Mixed voices.)

MR. FITZWATER: Stipulated. (Laughter.) Maybe I'll -- maybe I'll refer you to Margaret Tutwiler on that.

Q Tell us what you were going to tell us on the flag.

Q Yeah, let's have the flag.

Q Yeah, what about the flag?

MR. FITZWATER: All right. I thought you'd never ask. Remember how Speakes used to come out in the morning and run through all the issues of the day? Maybe that's what I should do.

Q No.

MR. FITZWATER: Let me tell you what I'd like to talk about. What?

Q We're going to hate ourselves.

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MR. FITZWATER: You're going to love this.

Q Does the White House feel there is diminished interest in an amendment?

MR. FITZWATER: There! Now you're talking. There have been attempts in the last few days to revive a statutory response to the Supreme Court's flag-burning case. Last week, the Department of Justice presented testimony before a House Judiciary subcommittee, setting forth the administration's position concerning protection of the flag of the United States from desecration. The Department demonstrated that any statute enacted to circumvent the Supreme Court's recent decision would be found unconstitutional by the federal courts. That testimony established that the only way to protect the flag is through a constitutional amendment. If Congress is serious about protecting the flag, it will move quickly to send to the states for ratification the bipartisan amendment proposed by Senators Dole and Dixon and Congressmen Michel and Montgomery.

The President is adamant in his support of the public demand to protect the flag. Flag burning is an affront to America's --

Q Excuse me. The President is adamant --

Q Adamant.

MR. FITZWATER: Adamant in his support of the public demand to protect the flag. Flag burning is an affront to America's patriotic values. It should be constitutionally protected.

Q Marlin, if the President is convinced that any statute would be unconstitutional, would he therefore pledge to veto any flag protection statute on the grounds that it'd be unconstitutional?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we'll have to wait and see what it says.

Bob?

Q Marlin, the point has been made that crosses have been burned longer in this country than flags, and despite those burnings, the Christian faith and church have survived without any constitutional amendment to protect it. What do you say to that?

MR. FITZWATER: I say that regardless of that, we still believe flag burning should not be legal and should be constitutionally protected. David?

Q You mentioned in the statement that the President (was in support?) of the public demand --

MR. FITZWATER: Pardon?

Q The Gallup poll shows that there's a majority now that thinks that the Constitution should not be amended. So isn't the President adamant in support of a minority's demand? Isn't it true the majority does not want to amend the Constitution?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we have a far greater number of polls that show people believe flag burning is wrong and should be not legal.

(Cross talk.)

Q That's not the same as a constitutional.

Q Could you produce said poll?

MR. FITZWATER: Sure. Saul?

Q Marlin, on this -- can I go back to my question before it? You said, "Wait and see" about what the law says. But you just said that any law would be unconstitutional according to the Justice Department's analysis. So what are we waiting to see?

MR. FITZWATER: I just meant we don't -- that we don't normally do vetoes in advance. We'll have to wait and see.

Q But would the President sign an unconstitutional law, a law that the Justice Department told him was clearly unconstitutional?

MR. FITZWATER: We think a constitutional amendment is the right way to go for the reasons I laid out here. Saul?

Q If the President is so adamant, could you tell me why he hasn't mentioned it

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in any of his congressional meetings -- (inaudible)?

MR. FITZWATER: He has. He's mentioned it in several of them. He mentioned it at great length this morning.

Q Today was a wide-ranging meeting on a whole lot of things, and he did not mention it.

MR. FITZWATER: He did mention it, yes -- yes, he did. He did. He did, he did, he did -- (scattered laughter).

Q Did he express how adamant he was?

MR. FITZWATER: He did. He went into it at great length. He and Governor Sununu both.

Q When he speaks to the disabled American veterans on Monday, do you expect he'll mention it in his speech at that point?

MR. FITZWATER: I would certainly expect that, yes.

Q Foley said yesterday --

Q Got to give him some softballs.

Q Foley said yesterday at the National Press Club that the President seems to be very quick with constitutional amendments. He says he's put -- more constitutional amendments than any other President. I wonder whether there -- what the reason for this is. Does he believe that the Constitution is so imperfect that it has to be amended for all of these things?

MR. FITZWATER: The -- we take them on an issue-by-issue basis. He believes in the flag amendment. He has long supported an amendment on the abortion issue. [The] balanced budget, school prayer and line item veto, of course, are ones that he has supported, but have been proposed 8 or 10 years ago, so --

Q School prayer he --

MR. FITZWATER: -- school prayer is about 10 years old, I think.

Q As a conservative -- is this the conservative approach to the law, to amend the Constitution that much?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't think you can necessarily make a position statement on amending the Constitution from support for specific amendments.

Q I asked last week or earlier this week whether he had any qualms about the possibility that all these amendments, especially an amendment to the Bill of Rights, has weakened the Bill of Rights?

MR. FITZWATER: Maybe we should put it another way. The President doesn't believe the Constitution should be amended except in those rare cases where it's crucial and extremely important.

Q Right, but we're talking about his -- the President has now proposed about six amendments and there have been only 25 in all of these years. Isn't that a lot?

MR. FITZWATER: The President has proposed one, and supports four, and regardless of whether it's a lot or not is irrelevant. They're all cases he believes in individually.

Q Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Tim.

Q Has the White House asked the FBI to keep track of flag burnings, and have there been any recently?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't think we've made any such requests.

Q Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Bill.

Q Does the President support a tax increase to protect the flag? (Laughter.)

Q What was that?

MR. FITZWATER: (Laughing) Gene?

Q Marlin, if the President believes the flag is sacred and needs to be protected, why did a senior staff member recently drop trow in a staff meeting and reveal himself to be wearing undershorts resembling the American flag?

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MR. FITZWATER: No --

Q That smacks of a certain hypocrisy --

Q Yeah!

THE PRESS: Yeah!

Q Yeah, exactly, Marlin.

MR. FITZWATER: (Chuckles.) I am shocked by that question. The staff -- the staff has always acted appropriately and in good taste at all times.

Chris?

Q Marlin, did we warn the Soviets not to spirit Bloch out of the country?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. I've seen those reports, but I don't know. As near as I can tell, the entire FBI and the Soviet Embassy are living with the guy. I don't think he's going anywhere unnoticed.

Craig?

Q Having based the support for an amendment, at least in part on public opinion, if polls shift and as the Gallop Poll indicates, public opinion shifts away from support for a constitutional amendment, would that weaken the President's support for one?

MR. FITZWATER: No. The President believes strongly in this issue. His lawyers tell him the constitutional amendment is the only way to do it and it doesn't matter where the polls are, that's what he believes in and that's what we're going to pursue.

Q So it doesn't matter what those people think on it -- (laughter and cross talk).

MR. FITZWATER: We know what the people think. We know what the people think.

Q (Inaudible).

MR. FITZWATER: We know what the people think, and so does the Congress and so do you.

Karen?

Q One question on adoption. Is the President promoting this as an employer with trying to encourage his employees to follow what he considers good social policy? Or is he doing it as the President of the United States, using one of the few tools at the federal level to promote adoption?

MR. FITZWATER: All of the above.

David.

Q Marlin, if I could just try Gene's question a different way --

MR. FITZWATER: Don't.

Q Is there any other use or display of the flag besides burning that the President thinks is offensive or inappropriate?

MR. FITZWATER: That's a matter for the courts to decide. The constitutional amendment --

Q No, tell us what the President thinks.

MR. FITZWATER: The President thinks there ought to be a --

Q I mean, you know, whether it's used in advertising, you know, underpants or running shorts or cufflinks.

MR. FITZWATER: The President thinks there ought to --

Q (Off-mike.)

MR. FITZWATER: The President thinks there ought to be a constitutional amendment that provides the legal framework for the courts to decide those kinds of questions. Nick?

Q Well, was it -- didn't he put it on the boots that he gave to Deng Xiaoping?

MR. FITZWATER: Those are all matters for the courts to decide. Nick?

Q Do you think that it's unfortunate or has it hindered the investigation at all, the fact that the Bloch investigation has become public?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have any comment at it. Nick?

Q Is the White House concerned at all about the leaks concerning this Bloch

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case?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have any comment. Peter?

Q A few minutes before the briefing, there was a story on the wire that the fellow that represents the PLO in talks with the US says that the administration has effectively recognized the PLO as a provisional government. Is that true?

MR. FITZWATER: No. We have a dialogue with the PLO, and that's it.

Q So the dialogue is the same, that there's been no change in the status of recognition there or something.

MR. FITZWATER: No change. No.

Q Okay!

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The Christian Science Publishing Society;  
The Christian Science Monitor

August 19, 1988, Friday

SECTION: National; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 931 words

HEADLINE: Believers outnumber church belongers

BYLINE: Curtis J. Sitomer, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: Boston

KEYWORD: Stats; Polls -- Gallup

HIGHLIGHT:

Out-of-pocket religiosity on rise: per capita giving up. THE FAITH GAP

BODY:

The gap between Americans who are church members and nonmembers who hold spiritual values appears to be widening.

This trend runs through several new surveys on religion and its place in public and private life.

For example, the National Council of Churches' (NCC) 'Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, 1988,' which is being released today, reports that the number of church members in the US remained virtually unchanged from 1985 to 1986, while the general population grew at a slower rate during the same period.

The NCC says that new data from 220 church bodies show that 142.9 million Americans belonged to a church, synagogue, or other religious congregation in 1986 - a loss of 127,000 members from 1985.

'The statistics do not show any significant growth in the religious sector,' says Yearbook editor Constant Jacquet.

'Mainline losses continue, but are moderating,' he explains. 'At the same time, the trend toward gains in some conservative churches is also moderating.'

Mr. Jacquet stresses, however, that 'many denominations show an increase of per capita giving well above the rate of inflation. This is also a measure of religiosity.'

The NCC study shows that US religious bodies showing modest membership increases include the Assemblies of God, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Presbyterian Church in America, and Seventh-day Adventists.

A Gallup poll reported in July stressed a continuing lag between commitment to things of the spirit and church attendance.

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'The churches of America have made no headway in narrowing the gap between religious belief and church involvement, between believers and belongers,' says George Gallup Jr., who heads the Princeton Religious Research Center.

This nationwide survey is a follow-up to a similar Gallup poll in 1978. It centers on the 'unchurched American,' indicating that 44 percent of respondents were classified 'unchurched' because they have not attended regular services in six months. Just 40 percent of those polled a decade ago were in this category.

According to Gallup, 61 million US adults did not belong to any church in 1978. This number has increased to 78 million today. This analysis stresses, however, that being 'unchurched' does not necessarily indicate a lack of faith.

The poll showed that 72 percent of those who do not attend church believe in Christ, 77 percent believe in God, 63 percent believe the Bible is 'inspired,' and 25 percent say they have had a 'religious experience.'

Dr. Gallup says that 'the churches have done well to keep slippage at a minimum in view of the continued high mobility among Americans during the last decade, the distractions of modern life, and the apparent growing appeal of cults and nontraditional religious movements.'

A rosier picture of religious commitment surfaced in a Better Homes and Gardens survey of its readers conducted earlier this year.

The magazine interviewed Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, as well as those of other religions and no religion. It found that 96 percent believed in God; 50 percent said that spirituality is gaining influence on family life in the US, and 79 percent indicated that they attended a church, temple, or synagogue regularly.

Some interpreters of religious life in the US say the media have placed the wrong emphasis on church trends.

James Castelli, whose new book analyzes the clash between religion and politics, has said: 'Twenty-five years ago, the media focused primarily on the National Council of Churches, which did not represent the dominant religious view of the country. That was poor coverage. They are doing the same thing today, only they're focusing on a different group, the evangelicals, who are obviously important as are the mainline churches. But they are not the dominant religious force in the country either.'

Meanwhile, church and state issues - including school prayer and government aid to religious institutions - continue to surface in public debate.

But many say they are not as important issues to many Americans as they were a decade ago, or even during the last presidential election.

Of late, a nationwide controversy has arisen over the motion picture, 'The Last Temptation of Christ.'

Most religious groups have condemned the film for distorting the life of Jesus. Some individuals and groups have demanded that it be banned, protesting

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in front of theaters where it is shown.

In response, A. James Rudin, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, now calls for religious leaders and representatives of the film industry to join in a conference aimed at defusing the tensions aroused by this movie.

Rabbi Rudin says that such a meeting 'would not be intended to stifle creative talents, nor to silence the valid concerns of the various religious groups, but to break down the harmful stereotypes and caricatures that have surfaced during this controversy.'

Believing and belonging

Percent of Americans not attending church on a regular basis who:

1978 1988

Believe Jesus Christ to be God or the Son of God 78% 84%

Ever pray to God 76% 77%

Have made a 'commitment to Jesus Christ' 60% 66%

Believe the Bible is the inspired word of God \* 78%

Have had a religious experience 24% 25%

\*Survey question was different in 1978

SOURCE: PRINCETON RELIGIOUS RESEARCH CENTER, GALLUP POLL

GRAPHIC: Picture, Episcopal Church service in Fairfax, Va.: membership remains steady across the US, new surveys say, NEAL MENSCHER - STAFF; CHIllustration, no caption, (see below), LISA REMILLARD - STAFF

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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June 24, 1988, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 624 words

HEADLINE: Public Approves 'Separation' But Not Its Results

BYLINE: By GEORGE W. CORNELL, AP Religion Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: Religion in the News

BODY:

In a curious inconsistency, most Americans approve the slogan "separation of church and state," but not its results.

Most favor public prayers before high school sporting events, a moment of silence in schools for voluntary prayer and inclusion of biblical perspectives about creation in discussions of evolution.

Majorities also say public schools should allow student religious groups to meet in classrooms in off hours and that it's OK to put Christian or Jewish holiday symbols on government property.

These beliefs, along with approval of the "separation" phrase exercised in prohibiting them, emerged from a nationwide survey of 3,017 Americans.

The telephone survey, taken Dec. 1-15, 1987, for the Williamsburg Charter Foundation, a private, non-profit, non-sectarian project in Washington, D.C., gauged attitudes on religion within politics and public affairs. The participants, chosen at random, were 18 and older, and the survey had an error margin of 2.4 percentage points either way.

More than 100 prominent Americans were to join in a reaffirmation of the Constitution's religious-freedom clauses at the "First Liberty Summit" at Williamsburg, Va., on June 25.

The event marks the 200th anniversary of Virginia's call for the First Amendment's Bill of Rights.

The survey findings indicated that in this presidential election year, denominational bias about candidates has dwindled to a remnant, in contrast to what it was 30 years ago.

Only 8 percent of Americans would refuse to vote for a Roman Catholic on the basis of religion, compared to 25 percent in 1958, and only 10 percent would refuse to vote for a Jew, compared to a previous 28 percent.

The Associated Press, June 24, 1988

However, 70 percent say it is important that the president have strong religious beliefs, and more than 60 percent say they wouldn't vote for an atheist or a homosexual.

Only 43 percent, however, say they wouldn't vote for a candidate who "has been having other love affairs."

Public unfamiliarity with the actual grounding of the volatile relationship of religion and government was seen in the survey finding that only a third knew freedom of religion was guaranteed by the Constitution's First Amendment.

The phrase "separation of church and state" appears nowhere in the Constitution, but it is held to be reflected in the Amendment, which actually says:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In the survey, however, 54 percent favor "laws against the practice of Satan worship."

A bigger majority, 67 percent of those familiar with the American Civil Liberties Union, thinks it files "too many lawsuits regarding religion," which often have figured in barring practices most respondents approve.

Sixty-eight percent think religious groups have a right to get involved in politics, but 57 percent would prefer they didn't.

Recent Gallup polls, summarized by the Princeton Religious Research Center, find that 68 percent of the public favor a constitutional amendment allowing prayer in public schools.

Most think only a "small percentage" of people would be offended.

Sixty-two percent think it would be possible to develop school courses on ethics and values that would be acceptable to most residents of their communities.

As for the professions the public trusts, clergymen still top the list.

In descending order below, come these groups:

Druggists, doctors, dentists, college teachers, engineers, policemen, bankers, TV reporters, funeral directors, newspaper reporters, lawyers, stockbrokers, business executives, senators, building contractors, local officeholders, Congress members, realtors, state officeholders, insurance salesmen, labor union leaders and car salesmen.

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 14, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A40

LENGTH: 1408 words

HEADLINE: Romania;  
A Balkan Dictator Seals His Own Doom

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Mary Battiata, Blaine Harden

DATELINE: BUCHAREST, December 1989, 1990

BODY:

The dictator stood on the balcony, shouting and sawing the air with his hands. In the square below, a sullen crowd of workers, rounded up at the dictator's command, emitted the customary lifeless hurrahs.

Everything was as usual in the realm of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu. But on that morning, Dec. 21, as Ceausescu raged against the uprising underway in the western city of Timisoara, things were about to careen out of control. And the "Conductor" himself would provide the opening.

In the back of what was to be Romania's last pro-Ceausescu rally, people began shouting "Freedom!" and "Democracy!"

On the balcony above the gray Palace Square, Ceausescu first looked puzzled, then annoyed. He closed his mouth. His hands slowed, and his eyes darted back and forth, searching the crowd. He stepped back.

Live television coverage of the speech was interrupted before Ceausescu left the balcony, but the damage had been done. That tiny retreat -- a public showing that Ceausescu, for the first time in 24 years, seemed stunned, vulnerable and did not have the situation in hand -- was a crucial turning point in the Romanian uprising.

That afternoon, citizens flooded the streets, shouting "Down with Ceausescu" and "Killers!" -- a reference to the reported massacre of thousands of civilians in Timisoara the weekend before.

At 10:30 p.m., Bucharest's own massacre began. Ceausescu's secret police, the Securitate, opened fire on the crowds, killing hundreds. That night, tanks crushed people in the streets.

The next morning, Gen. Vasile Milea, the defense minister, was executed for refusing Ceausescu's order to have the army open fire on civilian demonstrators in Timisoara. The execution was another critical mistake by Ceausescu.

"Why didn't you give them ammunition?" an angry Ceausescu had demanded of the general, according to a stenographer's transcript of their confrontation published in January in the newspaper Romania Libera. "If you don't give them

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ammunition, you might as well keep them at home! What kind of defense minister are you? . . . A few hooligans want to destroy socialism and you make it child's play for them!" "The Army Is With Us!"

On the morning of Dec. 22, Bucharest radio, still under Ceausescu's control, announced that Milea had committed suicide. Soon afterward, the army sided with the people against the Romanian leader and his secret police.

In the streets, the sense of relief was almost overwhelming. Students pushed Christmas trees into the barrels of tank cannons. Demonstrators and soldiers embraced. After a night of gunfire, the Securitate scurried from the streets like rats caught in sunlight.

At the Central Committee building, a small white helicopter lifted Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu off the roof as angry crowds burst through the doors downstairs.

Revenge would have to wait, but the city was finally free for celebration. Even the weather was glorious, warmer than usual, with a blazing blue sky.

Throughout the afternoon and into the early evening that Friday, Romanians mimicked behavior they had heard about in shortwave radio reports from Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria, where upheavals already had unseated other longtime Communist bosses.

In Palace Square, in front of the Central Committee, people sang, waved flags and chanted "The Army Is With Us!" But the celebrations were premature.

Ceausescu's Securitate -- better trained, better equipped and more fanatically loyal than any armed force proved to be in Eastern Europe in 1989 -- had not given up. They had simply regrouped.

At 7 p.m. Friday, the Securitate began sniping from windows around the Palace Square. People in the streets refused to believe it was happening. As the Army returned fire, first with rifles and then with tank cannon, thousands of people remained on the square, chanting, "We Will Die, But We Won't Go Away."

They hoped to keep the army there, too. It was a pep rally in the middle of a firefight.

In the course of that surreal evening, as celebrations gave way to sniper and tank fire, Romanians were forced to acknowledge what they already knew from 24 years of life under the Ceausescus.

Their country was different. Its history was marked by cruelty, fascism and violence. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The national history books celebrated Vlad the Impaler, a 15th century nobleman who modern historians believe killed more than 100,000 people by forcing them to sit on sharpened stakes.

Vlad's descendants were the Securitate, Ceausescu's private army of 30,000, who that night began a guerrilla war against the Romanian people. For the next five days, the Securitate terrorized the country like a deranged dragon, breathing fire in Bucharest and other cities, including Timisoara, where the uprising had begun. A Window on the West

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In Timisoara, a city of 350,000 near the Yugoslav and Hungarian borders, a small demonstration had started on Thursday, Dec. 14 in support of a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes, who was to be deported for preaching pro-democracy sermons. When the demonstrators formed a human cordon around Tokes's house to protect him, the first reaction of the local authorities had been not force but negotiation.

That uncharacteristic reasonableness from the government encouraged others to join the protest. By Saturday night, tens of thousands of citizens were in the streets, chanting anti-Ceausescu slogans.

On Dec. 17, as the crowds headed for city hall, Ceausescu miscalculated and decided to treat the protesters as rabble, or "anti-socialist hooligans."

"Relay my order to all officers," he told party leaders by closed-circuit television. ". . . Anyone who tries to enter a state institution or party headquarters, or who breaks a shop window, must immediately be shot. I want calm restored in Timisoara in one hour. Call everybody. Give orders and execute them."

The shooting started late that Sunday afternoon and continued through the night. But instead of quelling the violence, it seemed to enrage the people.

All fall, the citizens of Timisoara had been watching Yugoslav and Hungarian television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. They were ready.

Little Timisoara was gripped by a kind of euphoria. "At last, we were doing something," recalled Laszlo Szabo, a chemical engineer who joined the demonstrations Sunday night.

The army did fire on civilians in Timisoara, but not willingly. At least 42 soldiers were executed on the spot during the operation for refusing to fire on the crowd. "He Did This Thing to Himself"

By Wednesday, Dec. 20, the soldiers in Timisoara had had enough. When 50,000 workers marched through the streets, headed for the local Communist Party headquarters, the soldiers joined them. That afternoon, the soldiers pulled their tanks into defensive positions around civilian headquarters at the Opera House.

Exactly how many died in the massacre at Timisoara is not yet known, but in the first days the figures were wildly inflated. In a country where information had been rigidly controlled for a quarter century, Romanians were ready to believe anything.

As the revolution gained strength, the lack of real information and exaggerated atrocity stories worked against the regime. "Timisoara" came to mean the massacre of thousands upon thousands of unarmed people. It was the rallying cry for the students who infiltrated Ceausescu's final rally.

Ceausescu's decision to call an official demonstration on Dec. 21 "was the biggest mistake he ever made," said a Bucharest resident. "He was so arrogant he believed he could win the crowd over by speaking to them. He did this thing to himself."

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Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured by the government the same day they tried to get away. Their capture was announced the next day, along with a promise that they would be given a fair trial.

But as hundreds of civilians were killed by Securitate bullets, and the army post where the Ceausescus were being held came under attack, leaders of the new government concluded they could not quash the Securitate unless they played by the dictator's rules.

The only way to slay the dragon was to cut off its head. On Christmas Day, after a two-hour "trial" that was little more than a shouting match, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were executed by firing squad. Shortly after their bodies were shown on television, the shooting stopped.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, FIRST TO FALL: WOMEN PRAY OVER THE DEAD IN A CEMETERY IN TIMISOARA, WHERE THE ROMANIAN UPRISING BEGAN. FRANK JOHNSTON

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS; SPECIAL WARFARE (EG, GUERILLA WARFARE); ROMANIA; DEMONSTRATIONS; ARMED FORCES

NAMED-PERSONS: NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

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19TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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January 1, 1990

SECTION: WORLD; Eastern Europe; Pg. 60

LENGTH: 1479 words

HEADLINE: A horrible crackdown

BYLINE: JOHN BIERMAN with PETER LEWIS in Brussels, SUE MASTERMAN in Vienna and correspondents' reports

HIGHLIGHT:

The last hard-liner lashes out at a revolt

BODY:

Day by day last week, the ugly details seeped out of Romania from behind its sealed-off borders. Faced with a spontaneous public outburst against his ironfisted regime, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu had unleashed the full weight of his security forces on the western Transylvania city of Timisoara (population 350,000). Witnesses said that hundreds -- perhaps thousands -- of unarmed civilians were shot, bayoneted or crushed to death by tanks. The 71-year-old Ceausescu then flew to Iran for a three-day state visit, leaving his strong-willed wife, Elena, 70, to continue the crackdown. Hundreds more Romanians were arrested and may have been summarily executed. As the bloodbath continued, Romania's most famous expatriate, the playwright Eugene Ionesco, delivered a pungent condemnation of Eastern Europe's last hard-line Communist regime. From his home in Paris, Ionesco declared: "Ceausescu is a madman. His wife, thirsty for power, is also mad. And it is these people who are being allowed freely to torture 23 million people."

At midweek, the Ceausescu government declared a state of emergency in the western district, but the protests spread. Chanting demonstrators disrupted a pro-government rally in Bucharest, the Romanian capital. They even shouted down Ceausescu, who was addressing the rally after returning from Iran. According to the Soviet news agency TASS, police tried but failed to prevent more demonstrators from joining the crowd. Finally, they used tear gas to try to disperse the demonstrators. Then, TASS said, "automatic-rifle fire was heard. People in panic were hiding in doorways and courtyards." Reported the official Yugoslavian news agency, Tanjug: "Police began firing on the trapped mass of people. Eyewitnesses said many were wounded and probably killed."

Ceausescu's decision to apply the so-called China Solution, a reference to last June's massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, contradicted the liberalizing current sweeping through the rest of what used to be called the Soviet Bloc. In a five-hour speech to his Communist party congress in November, Ceausescu had issued a warning that, unlike the leadership in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, he would not yield to demands for reform. And after a relatively minor incident in which police tried to evict a dissident Calvinist minister, Ceausescu acted in a manner that has characterized his 24-year dictatorial rule.

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The events that led to the Timisoara massacre began in part last March, when two members of a freelance Canadian television team slipped into Romania as tourists. Former Quebec cabinet minister Michel Clair and television journalist Rejean Roy wanted to report on the problems of a 1.7-million-strong ethnic Hungarian community, located mainly in the western region of Transylvania. They taped a lengthy interview with one of the community's most outspoken leaders, 37-year-old minister Laszlo Tokes, at his church in Timisoara. And when they failed to find an outlet for their report in Canada, Clair said, they passed it on to Hungarian state television, which screened the documentary in late July. It was seen across the border in Transylvania, where Hungarian TV has a wide audience.

In the interview, Tokes criticized human rights abuses in general and discrimination against the Hungarian minority in particular. That clearly angered the leadership. The minister had already been blacklisted as a dangerous dissident, and the secret police attempted to frighten him into quitting the congregation. First, according to Tokes's brother Istvan, who lives in Montreal, they sent masked men to attack him and his family in their apartment last month. The minister and two friends fought the attackers off, and Tokes, with his pregnant wife, Edit, and son Mate, remained inside his barricaded home. Then, in mid-December, uniformed police arrived to evict the Tokeses, but they found about 200 parishioners protecting the family. The police sent for reinforcements -- and, eventually, the incident escalated out of control.

The confrontation turned into a mass anti-government demonstration by thousands of people of all ethnic groups. They chanted "Freedom" and "Romanians arise," and police responded by firing indiscriminately. A doctor who was visiting the city later told the Austrian news agency APA: "The first three rows of protesters collapsed dead or injured. Blood and torn clothing lay everywhere." The next day, the government ordered in tanks and helicopters. "It was horrible, horrible," said a Yugoslav medical student who witnessed the scene.

Radislav Dencic, another Yugoslav, said that he saw people being machine-gunned from the air. "Hundreds of people were falling on the pavement before my eyes," said Dencic. After the initial massacre, security forces fanned out to try to prevent additional uprisings. According to an Austrian witness, Gerard Beckmann, downtown Timisoara was in ruins, and the city was without water, electricity and food. He said that the security forces then began rounding up ethnic Hungarians and others suspected of having taken part in the demonstrations. "People are being dragged out of their houses," he said. "Families are being separated. It has turned into a pogrom." Other observers described the government actions as genocide. By midweek, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, estimated that up to 2,000 people had been killed and hundreds more wounded, many of whom would likely die because of the lack of medical supplies. Other estimates ranged as high as 4,000 dead.

Clair, a former transport minister in the Parti Quebecois government of premier Rene Levesque, said that Tokes was eager to see the interview aired. He added: "Of course, I never imagined it would result in this. But Tokes insisted that the interview should be broadcast. He knew it would be dangerous, but he said, 'Somebody must do it.' He is one of the most impressive men I have ever met." Tokes's brother Istvan, known as Steve, an engineer who emigrated from Romania to Canada 20 years ago, said he had learned that his brother and his

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sister-in-law were taken away by police during the crushing of the demonstration. "I am very much alarmed," he said, "not only for Laszlo, but for my other brothers and sisters -- seven in all -- who are also in Transylvania." Later, Istvan received word from his parents in Romania that his brother was alive and being held in a small village.

Meanwhile, John Macpherson, manager of communications for CANDU reactor operations of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., said that a team of 22 Canadians are overseeing work in Romania on a pair of AECL-designed nuclear power plants. The Canadians are split between Bucharest and Cernavoda, about 150 km to the west. Macpherson said that many of them had already left the country for the holiday when the trouble started. As for the others, he said, "we have a contingency plan to evacuate them, if necessary. But our people there did not feel that it was necessary, so they are continuing to work."

In the rest of Eastern Europe last week, the momentous wave of change continued relatively peacefully. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Dresden, where he and reformist East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow discussed wide-ranging financial aid for the failing East German economy. Modrow says that he opposes reunification with the West, but thousands of the Dresden citizens who greeted Kohl chanted "Germany, a single fatherland." After Kohl left, Modrow announced that he will open Berlin's historic Brandenburg Gate to east-west pedestrian traffic by Christmas, an action that symbolizes the strengthening ties between the two Germanys.

Meanwhile, in Brussels, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduward Shevardnadze made an unprecedented visit to NATO headquarters. There, he had what he called "a very necessary, very good and very useful" discussion with NATO Secretary General Manfred Worner of West Germany. But Worner apparently turned down a recommendation by Shevardnadze that the two alliances establish formal relations. Still, both men said that they expected 1990 to bring East-West agreement on conventional-force reductions and a treaty cutting long-range strategic weapons by 50 per cent.

Before he left NATO headquarters, reporters asked Shevardnadze about the crackdown in Romania. Only sketchy reports were then available, but Shevardnadze said that if they were true, he could only express his "very profound regrets." The language was diplomatic, but the message was unmistakable. A senior Soviet minister criticizing a Warsaw Pact ally while on premises that, until recently, had been vilified as a hotbed of anti-Communist aggression was another remarkable moment in a year of astonishing change.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Bucharest peasant and Tokes: civilians were crushed to death by tanks, SCHROEDER-SENNEPORT/SIPA; Picture 2, Bucharest peasant and Tokes: civilians were crushed to death by tanks, MICHEL CLAIR; Picture 3, Typical working-class home in Bucharest: using the so-called China Solution, SCHROEDER-SENNEPORT/SIPA; Picture 4, Ceausescu: the full weight of his forces, DELAHAYE/SIPA

DATE: JANUARY 25, 1990

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61ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1982

October 25, 1982, Monday, PM cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 461 words

BYLINE: By SANDRA HILL

DATELINE: BERLIN

KEYWORD: Graham

BODY:

Evangelist Billy Graham said today his trip to Eastern Europe doesn't mean he supports the Communist government there any more than a visit to the White House means he's a Republican.

Graham said at an East Berlin news conference at the end of an 11-day tour of East Germany his meetings with government officials were not intended as a political statement.

'No one has asked me to be converted to Marxism, but I listened to them,' he said.

'I once spent a whole evening with President Reagan. That doesn't mean I support his policies. I'm a Democrat.'

Graham, who preached to about 25,000 people in seven churches in six East German cities, was scheduled to travel to Prague Friday for a 6-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

Graham described his trip to East Germany as 'one of the most memorable experiences of my life.'

Over the weekend, Graham told church and government officials, that 'people here have more opportunity to practice religion than in some other socialist and non-socialist states.'

The U.S. evangelist did not specify which countries he was referring to. Graham, 63, stirred up a storm of controversy during a May 7-13 visit to the Soviet Union when he said that he found freedom of religion there.

In Moscow, Graham visited a Russian Orthodox church and commented that the service had been 'jammed to capacity. You'd never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina (his hometown).'

He said the church in East Germany put much thought into its survival in an officially atheist country. 'The Church doesn't want to be ideologically a socialist Church, but it does want to live in a socialist society,' he said.

A spokesman for Graham said some 25,000 people, mostly young, had thronged to see the preacher on the tour that took him to Wittenberg, Rostock and Dresden as well as East Berlin.

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Proprietary to the United Press International, October 25, 1982

'One of the things that has greatly impressed me is the number of young people who've come to listen to me here,' Graham said Sunday.

The preacher, who was invited to East Germany by a coalition of evangelical and baptist churches, made the need for peace the main theme of his sermons and talks with government official.

'The majority of Americans want peace,' he said. 'But our government changes every four years and by the time it sorts out its foreign policy it's time for another election.'

'Humans need to be changed before we can really see peace,' he said. 'Wars are started in the human heart.'

Graham said he did not call for unilateral disarmament but said East and West should start negotiations for what he called 'SALT 10' - the destruction of all nuclear weapons.

'I hoped my visit would make a contribution to understanding and peace,' he said. 'Only time will tell if this will become a reality.'

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Facts on File World News Digest

December 31, 1989

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAGE: Pg. 957 A1

LENGTH: 3368 words

HEADLINE: Romania's Ceausescu Toppled, Executed in Uprising; Interim Government Takes Power, Vows Democracy; Army Subdues Security Forces

BODY:

Romania's president and Communist Party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, was executed by a military firing squad December 25 following a secret trial. His wife and second in command, Elena, died along with him. They were the most prominent of thousands of casualties in a popular uprising that had overthrown the Ceausescu regime December 22.

President Ceausescu, 71, had been the longest-serving leader in Eastern Europe and the last to exercise absolute power. His wife had wielded more power than any woman in the Soviet bloc. [See pp. 958A1, 895G2, 243F2]

Unlike the rest of the Soviet bloc, where Communist rulers in 1989 had relinquished power under relatively peaceful circumstances, the Romanians fought a virtual civil war December 15-31. The conflict featured the fiercest street fighting in Europe since World War II.

By December 26, a provisional government, calling itself the National Salvation Front, had assumed control in Romania with the aid of the army and was promising broad democratic reforms.

Massacre in Timisoara -- The revolt against the Ceausescu regime began December 15 in Timisoara, a city of 350,000 located in the Transylvania region about 300 miles (500 km) northwest of Bucharest.

According to sketchy initial accounts, a crowd of demonstrators prevented the arrest and deportation to Hungary of Reverend Laszlo Tokes, a popular Protestant minister who had been active in promoting the rights of ethnic Hungarians. Tokes, himself an ethnic Hungarian, had been stabbed by masked assailants -- suspected of being members of the secret police -- November 2 and had taken refuge in his church, where the local populace had protected him.

The Tokes protest was reported to have blossomed into full-scale pro-democracy rallies in Timisoara December 16, the largest show of anti-Ceausescu sentiment since the 1987 riots in the city of Brasov. [See 1987, p. 883G2]

Army and Securitate (internal-security) troops, employing tanks and helicopters, moved into the city in force the same day and began clashing with the demonstrators.



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Witnesses said that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of unarmed men, women and children were slain December 17, when the troops fired on a mass demonstration in central Timisoara. At least 500 others were arrested, and there were accounts of widespread looting in the city. Most of the bodies of those slain were taken away by the authorities.

The killings were believed to have been carried out mainly by the Securitate -- the heavily armed paramilitary troops and secret police fiercely loyal to Ceausescu. One Western estimate placed the number of Securitate personnel at 30,000.

Romania's state-controlled media were silent about the Timisoara incident, but reports of the massacre reached the outside world, mainly through Romanians who had fled into Hungary and Yugoslavia. (The city was near the border of the three countries.)

The U.S. December 18 protested the violent crackdown. Great Britain and Poland followed suit December 19. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze December 19 expressed "very, very profound regret" over the development. [See p. 958C2]

Antigovernment protests spread to Cluj and Oradea, two other Transylvania cities, December 19.

President Ceausescu returned to Romania December 20 after a two-day official visit to Iran. He blamed "fascists" and "terrorists" for stirring up unrest in the country and declared a state of emergency in Transylvania.

Meanwhile, up to 50,000 people had staged a march in Timisoara December 20 demanding the return of the bodies of their slain loved ones and an accounting of hundreds of others who were missing. Foreign news services, citing eyewitnesses, December 20 estimated that as many as 4,000 people had been killed in city. [See below]

Rebellion in Capital -- Anti-Ceausescu feelings erupted in Bucharest December 21, when the president gave what was to be his last speech.

Ceausescu was addressing a pro-government noontime rally from a balcony of the Royal Palace when thousands of people, many of them students, began to chant pro-democracy slogans. Romanian television coverage captured a stunned look on Ceausescu's face as his speech -- promising more food and fuel for the populace -- was drowned out by jeers. (It was apparently the first time a Ceausescu address had been interrupted other than by orchestrated adulation.)

A Securitate armored car crushed two youths when the security forces attempted to break up the crowd. Securitate troops opened fire on the protesters, driving them from Palace Square (where the CP and government buildings were located) to nearby University Square, where up to 30,000 people skirmished with the security forces into the night. As many as 40 people were killed.

In Cluj December 21, Securitate forces killed more than 30 protesters. There were more reports of continued unrest in Timisoara and reports of protests in at least five other Romanian cities the same day.

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Also, there were reports that army units around the country had refused to join the Securitate forces in attacks on demonstrators.

Army Revolts, New Regime Set -- Early December 22, as many as 150,000 protesters massed in University Square and began battling the Securitate troops, who retreated into Palace Square.

The army, which had many thousands of soldiers in the capital, did not aid the Securitate troops and a short while later actively helped the insurgents drive the security forces out of Palace Square.

On the morning of December 22, Radio Bucharest announced the suicide of Romania's defense minister, Colonel General Vasile Milea. Diplomatic sources later contended that Milea had been executed by the Securitate for refusing to order the army to fire on demonstrators.

Leading senior military officers, including the chief of the general staff, General Stefan Gusa, lined up against Ceausescu upon Milea's death.

(The military -- poorly trained, poorly equipped and poorly paid -- had apparently harbored a deep resentment of the Securitate, which had enjoyed a favored status under Ceausescu.)

Military units parceled out automatic weapons to civilians and joined the rebels in heavy fighting in and around Palace Square. Several hundred people were killed, according to witnesses, but the Securitate forces were eventually dispersed. The Royal Palace (presidential headquarters), the CP Central Committee building, Radio Bucharest and the state television station were all in the hands of the insurgents by nightfall. Joyous insurgents ransacked and burned the Royal Palace.

In the early evening, Radio Bucharest announced that a coalition of Communist former officials, intellectuals, students, dissidents and senior military officers had formed an interim ruling committee, the National Salvation Front. The provisional government made its headquarters at the state TV station.

The front's announced members included General Gusa; Timisoara's Reverend Tokes; Doina Cornea, a leading dissident; Ion Iliescu, a former Central Committee member; Corneliu Manescu, a former foreign minister, and Silviu Brucan, a former ambassador to the U.S. [See p. 243A3, E3; 1971, p. 684C1]

(Romania's exiled King Michael, in Geneva, December 22 indicated that he was ready to head a constitutional monarchy in Romania "if the people want me to come back." He had left the country in 1948. [See 1948, p. 3H])

Fighting continued near Palace Square as Securitate members, singly and in groups, fired at army units. In turn, the army blasted buildings harboring the snipers with cannon fire from tanks and with heavy machine guns.

Meanwhile, a "People's Militia" of ill-armed rebels took control of central Timisoara December 22. The insurgents found the naked corpses of hundreds of people, including children, who had been murdered by the Securitate and dumped into shallow mass graves. Many of the victims were bound by barbed wire and bore the marks of torture.

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Foreign Reaction -- The reaction of foreign leaders to President Ceausescu's overthrow was swift and virtually uniform.

U.S. President Bush's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, December 22 said "a terrible burden" had been lifted from the Romanian people and pledged U.S. assistance if Romania moved "along the path of democratic reform."

In Moscow, members of the Soviet parliament applauded December 22 when Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev announced the fall of the Romanian leader and welcomed the provisional government.

Senior officials in both Eastern and Western Europe expressed strong support for the new government, although many regretted the loss of life that had attended its creation.

French and Dutch officials December 23 conveyed to Soviet counterparts their governments' tacit approval should the Soviet Union decide to intervene militarily on the side of the anti-Ceausescu forces in Romania. But Soviet authorities that day made clear they had no intention of imposing a military solution.

However, U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker 3rd December 24 said the U.S. would support Soviet military action. Observers believed it was the first time since World War II that U.S. officials had even accepted the possibility of military involvement by the Soviet Union outside its own borders.

The U.S. December 25 established diplomatic relations with the National Salvation Front government. The same day, the Soviet Union formally recognized the provisional government.

Several other countries December 26 recognized the new Romanian government, including two of the Ceausescu regime's closest international supporters, China and Iran. Iran also announced the dismissal of its ambassador to Romania for his failure to inform the Iranian government of the domestic opposition to Ceausescu prior to the Romanian leader's visit to Teheran at the start of the uprising. [See pp. 957B2, 895E3]

Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn December 26 pledged his government's support for the new authorities in Romania. Horn also announced that hostilities between the two countries, which had concerned ethnic rights and political change, had ended. [See p. 52DF2]

The Washington Post reported December 31 that Horn had visited Bucharest to underscore his earlier pronouncement. He was said to have assured Romania that Hungary would not press for a return of Romania's Transylvania region, where the majority of inhabitants were ethnic Hungarians.

Ceausescu Captured, Slain -- President Ceausescu, his wife, two senior CP officials (Emil Bobu and Manea Manescu) and a contingent of Securitate bodyguards fled by helicopter from the roof of the Central Committee building at around mid-morning December 22.

Their intended destination was a special military airfield near the city of Tirgoviste, about 45 miles (70 km) northwest of Bucharest. But the president was reported to have become fearful that the helicopter had been spotted on radar

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and would be shot down by the rebellious military, and he apparently ordered it to land on a road near the town of Boteni. There, they commandeered a passing car at gunpoint.

The group was captured that evening by armed insurgents at an impromptu checkpoint outside of Tirgoviste. The rebels handed them over to the military.

The Ceausescus were driven around in a military armored car for three days in order to prevent Securitate loyalists from locating them.

The couple was tried and convicted by an "extraordinary military tribunal" at an unidentified site December 25. They were charged with genocide, abuse of power, undermining the economy and theft of government funds. (The prosecution claimed that 60,000 people had died in the uprising, and that the Ceausescu family had \$1 billion hidden in Swiss bank accounts.)

A videotape of the trial was broadcast on Romanian television December 26, a day after the executions were announced. The couple, shown seated at a table and wearing their overcoats, repeatedly insisted the trial was illegal. They defiantly responded to questions from an off-camera prosecutor.

At one point, Ceausescu spat out, "I am the president of Romania and the commander in chief of the Romanian army. I am the president of the people. I will not speak with you provocateurs anymore, and I will not speak with the organizers of the putsch."

The prosecutor said at the close of the proceeding, "On the basis of the actions of the members of the Ceausescu family, we condemn the two of you to death. We confiscate all your property."

The dual execution December 25 was also videotaped, but that part was not aired. However, the broadcast December 26 did show the president's body lying in a courtyard in a pool of blood. (A similar scene of Elena Ceausescu's corpse was broadcast December 28. Just before she was shot, she was reported to have said to the firing squad, "I was like a mother to you.")

The executions elated Ceausescu's enemies. The world community -- while not condemning the executions -- expressed regret that the trial had not been public.

The military did not reveal what was done with the corpses of the Ceausescus.

Ruling Front Names Leaders -- The National Salvation Front December 26 named Romania's interim leaders and vowed to hold free elections in April 1990.

Ion Iliescu, 59, was named interim president. Iliescu, a former party official, had been expelled from the Central Committee in the early 1980s. Dumitru Mazilu, a 60-year-old career diplomat, was named interim vice president.

Petre Roman, 43, was chosen interim premier. He was a hydroelectrical engineer and had never before held a government post.

General Nicolae Militaru, 65, was named interim defense minister. Militaru had been dismissed from the military by Ceausescu in 1986. He had assumed operational command of the military forces fighting the Securitate.

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A 27-member interim cabinet was unveiled December 30. About half of the ministers had been members of the Communist Party when the uprising erupted. But Corneliu Bogdan, a deputy foreign minister in the cabinet, December 30 assured reporters: "The Communist Party is dead."

Among some of its first actions, the ruling front December 27 abolished limits on the amount of food Romanians could buy and announced the legalization of birth control and abortion, both of which had been banned under Ceausescu.

On December 31, the new government abolished the death penalty and a host of public-order laws. The front also said new political parties would have five days to register to run candidates in the 1990 elections.

Securitate Defeated -- Securitate die-hards battled the military and civilian rebels in Bucharest, Timisoara and other cities through December 28, a date set by the provisional government for Ceausescu loyalists to surrender or face summary execution.

By December 30, rebel forces were in control nationwide. Several thousand members of the security forces had been rounded up or had gone into hiding, and the fighting was limited to isolated skirmishes.

The fighting had peaked around the Christmas holiday, which Romanians celebrated openly for the first time since Ceausescu came to power. Securitate forces in Bucharest staged attacks on the main railroad station and three hotels December 25.

During the turmoil, the rebels discovered a huge complex of tunnels and residences under Palace Square linking key government and CP buildings. The complex had apparently been constructed for the specific use of the Securitate's Fifth Directorate, an elite unit that had been the president's personal bodyguard.

In a related development, rumors sprang up during the conflict that foreigners (labeled "mercenaries" by the rebels) were fighting alongside the Securitate troops. Unconfirmed reports variously identified them as Palestinians, Iranians, Libyans, Syrians and North Koreans. [See below]

Arabs, North Koreans Deny Role -- Libya's official news agency December 23 denied that some of its country's agents were participating in the fighting in Romania on the side of the Securitate forces. Syrian and Palestine Liberation Organization officials December 24 issued similar denials.

Rumors of the involvement of some Arabs were given currency December 26 by Czechoslovak consular officials, who reported the presence of Libyans, Syrians and Palestinians among 2,000 foreigners purportedly fighting at the side of the Ceausescu loyalists.

Officials of the Arab League December 26 urged the new Romanian authorities to protect Arab residents from potential attacks provoked by the rumors.

North Korea December 27 recognized the National Salvation Front government and denied that any North Koreans had been among the pro-Ceausescu forces.

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Son Snared, Brother Ends Life -- Nicu Ceausescu, a 39-year-old son of the president, was captured by insurgents December 22 outside Bucharest. He was reported to have been hiding in the rear seat of a car driven by an unidentified woman. [See 1987, p. 849E3]

Nicu, a much-despised figure in Romania, had the reputation of a playboy and wastrel. He was the CP boss of the city of Sibiu.

One of President Ceausescu's four brothers, Marin, 73, was found hanged in the basement of the Romanian trade mission in Vienna December 28. He had headed the mission for 16 years. Austrian police considered his death a suicide.

The Romanian provisional government December 31 contended that Marin Ceausescu had been an intelligence operative.

Riches Discovered -- A tour of the abandoned Ceausescu family villa in Bucharest revealed that the president's lifestyle had been far above that of ordinary Romanians, it was reported December 28.

The residence was decorated with expensive works of art, silk tapestries and porcelain sculptures. One set of dinnerware was pure gold, and one bathtub had solid gold faucets. There were tennis courts and an indoor swimming pool. The basement contained a sophisticated medical facility and a lead-lined bomb shelter.

In another development reported December 28, the insurgents began opening vast warehouses of foods that had either been reserved for the CP and government elite or had been scheduled for export. Such goods as beef, coffee, chocolate and oranges had been regarded as luxuries by the general populace.

Facts on Ceausescu -- Nicolae Ceausescu was born into a large peasant family on January 26, 1918 in the town of Oltenia. He joined the Communist Party youth arm in 1933 and was jailed for his political "agitation" prior to World War II. After the war, Ceausescu rose rapidly in the ruling Communist power structure. He became a full member of the Central Committee in 1952. By 1957, he was second only to party leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

Upon the death of Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965, Ceausescu became the party's first secretary. He took over as Romania's head of state (president) in 1968. He moved his relatives into important government and party positions, and made himself the center of a cult of personality perhaps rivaled in Eastern Europe only by that of the late Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. [See 1965, p. 112E3]

Ceausescu declined to follow the Soviet Union's lead on foreign policy. Among other things, Romania did not break relations with Israel in 1967, did not participate in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia and did not join the East-bloc boycott of the 1984 Summer Olympics. Ceausescu's maverick stance irritated the Kremlin, but gained him favor among both Western and developing nations. [See 1988, p. 937C3; 1984, p. 437E3; 1975, p. 583D2; 1968, p. 353F2; 1967, p. 207C3]

While the president was feted abroad, many Romanians regarded him as a ruthless tyrant. As the country's economy faltered in the 1980s, Ceausescu pressed ahead with grandiose, disastrous schemes. He created severe shortages at home with the wholesale export of food and fuel to pay off Romania's foreign

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debt. And he destroyed many rural villages, and forcibly displaced their populations, to make way for agri-industrial complexes that were never built. [See p. 291E3; 1988, p. 937A3]

To the end, Ceausescu opposed any form of political or economic liberalization. He was the last Soviet-bloc leader to do so.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at a Meeting With Amish and Mennonite Leaders in  
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 398

March 22, 1989

LENGTH: 4451 words

The President. Let me say in the beginning I appreciate you all taking time from your busy day. And one of the reasons I want to come here, accompanied by our Attorney General and former Secretary of Education, who has been charged with the whole program on fighting drugs, Bill Bennett, is to salute you, because as we look at a national drug problem, we find that in communities such as yours, because of your adherence to family values and faith, the problem appears to be close to nonexistent, hopefully nonexistent. And I have been over at the school talking there, and met with some kids where regrettably it isn't nonexistent. And I said in my comments there that these values of neighborhood and family and faith -- somehow they come back to me, anyway, if we engage in this national crusade, to be fundamentally important. So, I wanted to start by saying that, though this is an antinarcotics swing, this stop is to maybe hear from you all as to how your community managers to stave off the scourge of drugs. And anyway, that was one of the things. I don't know who wants to take the lead here, but we're very pleased to be with you.

Mennonite leader. We thank you for coming here. First of all, we wish the Lord to bless our meeting here. And we are happy to have you here, but we are also somewhat saddened that it takes the drug issue and alcohol to bring you here.

My wife and I have eight children, two of which are married. And two are with a youth group. Three are going to school here. Our 18-year-old son was driving with a man one time, and he said, "Do you mind if I smoke pot?"

The President. Your kid was driving with -- yes.

Mennonite leader. In a pickup, he was driving along with the pickup -- and "Do you mind if I smoke pot? Will you tell the boss?" He said, "I sure will."

So, it makes me almost quiver in my boots when I think that that youth could have been tempted to do that because he was exposed to it. And it's by the grace of God that we have what we have what we have as values, that you were just talking about, handed down to us from our fathers. When they came to this country, it was the Indians and the bears that they feared for life. Now it's the highway with alcohol and the drug influence. When we drive down the road, we don't know what shape that man is that's coming towards us.

And we are concerned. What could we do as Christians to maintain that value? We do not want to uphold ourselves that we have something that we worked for and that we deserve, but it is by the grace of God that we have been giving it through our parents and have withstood -- took their stand to this day. And we would like to ask you what we could do as Christians to help to stop that flow from Lancaster County.

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The President. Well, in terms of the interdiction of the flow, I would think that that would largely be the responsibility, to some degree, of local law enforcement, because I'm told that even in a marvelous rural community, some of the fields are used for illicit drops. And you know, they signal the plane, and the plane goes on. So, in that area, encouraging your local law enforcement people would be very important.

We realize that we have -- the three of us and Senator Specter here and our Chief of Staff, John Sununu -- a disproportionate responsibility in the interdiction. I say "we," the Federal Government, because we're talking about at the borders. And Dick Thornburgh is just back from meeting with various heads of government in Central America, where a lot of the crops, as you know, are grown.

But I guess what I'd say -- and then I'd like to ask Bill Bennett, who, as you know, was formerly our Secretary of Education, to say a word -- but I guess what I'd say is: keeping moral underpinnings with your community and then, hopefully, having others see that as an example. I don't want to argue with you because you're too good a host, but I think it is important I'm here because it gives us a chance to have a conversation like this and to understand a little better why it is -- and you've already touched on it -- faith -- why it is that you all have been able to withstand the pressure when others have not.

Mennonite leader. My concern is how can we maintain that? We have a preschool son, four-year-old. When he is 18 and the problem is exploding, so to speak --

The President. Exactly. Well, that's what our whole new -- I don't want to say the word "crusade," that's a little like a cliché -- but I view it as that in terms of both the demand and the supply side. You mentioned interdiction, and that's the supply. But the whole demand side -- I have gotten to use the White House as a bully pulpit to argue and to encourage people all across the country on the demand side.

Mennonite leader. We appreciate your concern.

The President. We met with some kids -- we've got to do it.

But, Bill, now, you've fought this in the education role and now as our drug czar. Why don't you add some to that?

Secretary Bennett. Well, I just --

The President. That was a very good question you raised.

Secretary Bennett. -- wonder what your children say or your grandchildren say about this. Is it their sense that -- as they report to you -- that things are better, worse, or more temptation to do this out there, or less? What are the kinds of things that they report on this? As you see this threat -- I think we all take it very seriously -- but for me, a lot of the way I see the threat is through the eyes of young people. They are really there on the line.

Mennonite leader. They're concerned.

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Secretary Bennett. And I wonder what they are telling you in terms of things. Are things better than they were 5 years ago? Are they worse than they are?

Mennonite leader. In my opinion, it would be worse, because our two oldest sons work at public places and they both were exposed to drugs and had opportunity to buy. Now, what I'm concerned about is, like I said, the four-year-old. By the time he comes of age, will he be able to say no?

Secretary Bennett. Yes.

Mennonite leader. Will he continue to maintain that value that we are trying to plant into our children that was implanted into us, as President Bush just said about values. This is what we uphold more than money. I don't want to take much of your time, but we want to teach our children there's more of a greater value to go to bed with a clear conscience than to make money on drugs or to get high on it.

Secretary Bennett. Well, we have found in all the drug studies that the best community, the best protection for a young person, is what one of the people writing has called the internal compass in the sense of high aspiration: deeply rooted values, faith, and a closeness to family. These are the things, if you wanted to design a system which would protect the children.

And I don't know, whatever kind of drug we see, whatever kind of onslaught you see, that those rules will change. It seems to me that has been the case throughout history in terms of the best things we can do for our young people. One of the things that we see is a very strong affirmation on the part of young people who have experimented with drugs, in many cases, have almost been destroyed -- they come back and reaffirm what we've seen. They tell us, having gone through the trial, having gone through the fire, that what was missing in their lives was this.

The President. May I tell you one other additional -- this gets a little bit off, but it gives you an idea of how we're looking at this. I don't want to see Federal legislation that diminishes the family. We've got a big, new thing on child care now. And I think the Federal Government does have some responsible role in child care. But our approach is to give the families the choice, to give the families -- well, put it this way, some religious institutions are new day-care services, I don't want to see the Federal law defined so narrowly by the bureaucracy in Washington that it erodes out the community, religious institutions, or family from child care. And yet I do think the Federal Government has a role in helping the private sector, helping the States in the question of child care.

So, philosophically, you say, What does this have to do with drugs? Because I think you are a shining example of what family and faith can do. Where we have responsibilities at the Federal level, we must see that inadvertently we don't weaken the role of family or weaken the role of, I'd say, faith in our country. I believe in separation of church and state; but I don't want to see the church people get together in a church community and take care of the other guy's kids -- work from whatever it is, and then have them denied that because of Federal money serving as a magnet that has to go into some federally certified, rubber-stamped institution down the street. So, we will be working at the Federal level to see that we don't impose on communities legislation

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that, even though it isn't intended that way, would diminish and weaken the family. And it isn't easy, but there are other areas, I think, where we're going to be able to -- Dick, you want to say something?

The Attorney General. Well, I, as you know, am in the law enforcement side of the effort to deal with drugs. President Bush -- I'm sure you've heard it said -- has established a goal of providing a kinder and gentler America. And I think that's one that we support to a man or woman throughout this country. But a kinder, gentler America is not one where drugs are abused and where drug traffickers rule the streets of some of our communities. I've told the President that if we're going to have a kinder, gentler America, we're going to have to be rougher and tougher with some Americans: those who are drug traffickers, those who are the urban terrorists that have captured so many of our communities. And that's a job for law enforcement. The President's supporting tougher laws. He's supporting more resources for our police and prosecutors, and supporting a tougher attitude toward those countries in the international community where these substances are grown and produced. And we'll do our share in helping to interrupt the flow of drugs into your community.

But for my two cents' worth, I just want to underscore what the President has said: even from a law enforcement view, how important it is for the types of values that you've enunciated and practiced in your communities to gain currency in every community across the United States so that the appetite for drugs and the consumption of drugs, the demand for drugs, is diminished to a point where we don't have this problem.

But we're very grateful for the opportunity to visit with you, learn from you, and carry the message that's exemplified by your communities elsewhere. Thank you.

Mennonite leader. We're very happy for your concern and what you're doing for the sake of the young people of the U.S. And I think the fact that we have no trouble with drug addiction is because of the close family ties; and the children are taught obedience at a very young age and self-denial, that they don't have everything they wish as they're growing up; and because they are taught of God, and urged to pray, and in school have prayer and Bible reading. And as they grow up, they have a sense of value that they're not just out seeking thrills and drugs or any other. We appreciate it much for the warnings on the tobacco ads: harmful to the body -- wish it were on the alcoholic drinks. And we surely appreciate your efforts.

Another thing that I think why we have no drug problem is for things we do not do. We do not have television, radio; and as I understand, almost -- coming into the homes of sexual things and robbers, and children growing up in that atmosphere. It's just that they're at a disadvantage, I think.

You read in the Bible of the people who do not seek after God, and that God is not in all their thoughts. I think that is why the young people of America are going astray with drugs. We wish God would be more in their thoughts, and you respond to a higher power.

Mennonite leader. I also welcome President Bush. We feel kind of honored to be here. And as for us, as a people, as we are -- it's one advantage that we have strived for, and that is like Aaron there said, that we don't have

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television and recorded music. We feel sorry that our Constitution or our courts have taken the prayer and Bible reading out of schools. Then, after that has left, we also have this rock music. And those things just enter into the mind, that the child will do things that they had not intended to do, and then they are turned to drugs. It leads to that.

Now, if our moral fiber -- not ruin it through removing the prayer and Bible, we'd have a stronger America today. But that is the thing. This is why we feel what we have is because we try to avoid this recorded music, rock music, and those things that the child has control -- the spirit can be -- rather than it being entertained by the music of the world and some of the -- as you all know, that hard music is -- well, you know all about it. And that's where we shy away strongly, because it just does something to a person. And that's from our stand of viewpoint. That's where we feel we have some advantage with our children, because they are not exposed to that point, that they have more self-control.

The President. You know, it's interesting on the music. I think of the action that Susan Baker, who is the wife of our Secretary of State, and Tipper Gore, who is the wife of a man who ran for President last year, and a United States Senator -- they got outraged by just some of the really bad lyrics in this music. And they took their fight -- aware of the right of people to speak out and the freedom of speech amendment -- but they took this fight to the public, and indeed they were ridiculed for this is a lot of high, sophisticated quarters, even though the lyrics were so bad and so awful that they would challenge any family. And they went through a real tough time, but they have not let up on it. And they've got the most sophisticated, liberal communities -- get all over them, thinking that they're violating somebody's right to speak. And I was quite supportive in talking to them and know what they're doing.

I think we have an obligation as President -- you do have to be careful of violating somebody's freedom of speech. But I think there are some certain excesses that have cropped in now that we've come to condone, that under the same Constitution would have been condemned years ago.

So, I think these are interesting warnings you're putting out here. I want to preserve freedom of speech and freedom of expression. But I think it's fine when citizens are up in arms about it and try to express their viewpoint. Maybe we've gone too far in some things. I mean, I don't like seeing the American flag down on the floor, either. I know how this President looks at it. But maybe that's a little reactionary, but that's exactly the way I feel about it. And so, we'll see.

Mennonite leader. President Bush, of course, we don't want you to leave here feeling we are making demands or telling the bad side. We also wanted to express appreciation for what you and former Presidents have done for us in the past. We want you to realize that we do feel grateful for what has been done for us. I thought maybe we could just relate a thought that seemed to be some of our teaching, that the hand that rocks the cradle, it rules the Nation. Not only speaking to the young people, maybe the parents, if they could somehow -- that parents could plant this in their children at a younger age -- would often go a far way.

Mennonite leader. We are not so politically involved as some groups are, but we spiritually support our country, and we pray for them at every church service. We pray for our government and thank God for the freedom we have in

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religion and so forth. And I'm afraid we do not appreciate this as much in our thoughts or in our actions as far as confessing to be Christians in our way of looking at things.

Secretary Bennett. If I may, I know you wouldn't say it -- I think that we could all take pride -- I'm not sure there's ever been a President or a First Lady who were better parents to teach by their example what it means to be parents and grandparents. And I think this is a lesson in all these areas, whether you're talking about drugs or alcohol or anything else. I know I learned at the Department of Education -- not every teacher is a parent, but every parent is a teacher, a child's first teacher. So I think we have a special blessing that this President and this First Lady are as splendid parents, very splendid teachers, as well -- if you'll allow me, Mr. President.

The President. These things are important, and you have to find the balance, I mean, in the Presidency or in the responsibility as an Attorney General. And now we don't want to be disrespectful of people's right to differ and people's right, as I say -- a freedom of expression. But I know, I am absolutely certain, that family values and community faith -- where those abound, the problems that we're talking about over in that school, or fighting narcotics, the fight is easier and the problem less big.

No one's immune. You mentioned the kid of yours, driving along with the pressure. Who know's who's going to succumb, no matter how strong their faith. And this is what -- I mean, everybody's waxing philosophical here, but when you see kids born into this world with really one-part family with very little love and very little hope -- I mean, it's tough for a child. Then off in the school system, and it's very, very tough. I'm not suggesting that it's easy and that everybody that is not blessed with the faith of your community should automatically be perfect. But somehow, we have got to find ways to strengthen the American concept of family and faith. And it can't be legislated. Once we start legislating, there's a threat to you in that kind of thing, threat to your kind of community. But somehow we've got to find ways to point out our nation's historic reliance on these things.

Did I interrupt? You were going to say something.

Amish leader. No.

The President. No? Anybody else?

Amish leader. I think perhaps the public should be urged, as well as ourselves, to probably get back to the Bible.

Amish leader. I'm about worn out. I'm 90 years old. But I thank you for coming to Pennsylvania, Lancaster County. The President visits Lancaster County -- I thank you.

The President. Don't sound worn out at all.

Mennonite leader. He can't understand much.

The President. Really? That's loud and clear. There's something about the Presidency -- leave out the fact that George Bush is President -- that when you go around in that big automobile and you see people who may vote for you or

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may have not voted for you turning out to salute the Presidency, it is a very emotional experience, and it's a wonderful thing. I remember as a young guy, rushing out to see Presidents of another party. It has nothing to do with party. It has to do with the respect for the institution or an emotional commitment to the institution of the Presidency.

So, when we see those kids and those signs -- we were talking about that coming over with the Senator and the Governor and the Secretary and John Sununu -- it's very emotional. You almost get tears in your eyes. But it always has to be that. It always has to be -- we fight in these elections and when we come together as a country. And as you mentioned coming here, sir -- but it's a great pleasure for us to be here.

Amish leader. That's my father.

The President. Is that your dad? Ninety years old. Well, my mother is 87. She's going pretty strong, not quite as strong, as you are, though.

Mennonite leader. I think the fact -- going across the U.S. -- that you're against drugs will help a lot. Just that fact. We just hope the people will stand to you. Years ago, Israel had a good King Solomon -- the Lord spoke to the people: "My people that are called by my name, humble themselves and pray and seek my face and confess -- and turn away from their sins, then I will hear from in Heaven and heal their name." I think a great responsibility is in the families to help you along in your wonderful work.

The President. You know, I'll share with you something. We're getting philosophical near the end of our visit here. But Barbara and I went to China as your emissary -- not ambassador then, because we didn't have, as you remember, full relations with China. And we went there in 1974, and then I was there in '75. And we had wondered about the family in China -- Communist country, totalitarian -- and the common perception was that there had been an erosion of the strength of family. We knew that there had been a banning -- almost entire banning on practicing and teaching Christianity. That was a given. But I wondered more fundamentally about family.

Then we got there. And then you'd see on their festival days -- you'd see the granddad and the grandson and the sons and daughters all together -- strong. And finally, when they dared talk to you -- and they didn't do much then because this was right after the Cultural Revolution -- they kept separating out from Westerners -- but when you did, when you'd get a little glimpse of it through sports or through somebody -- my language teacher -- it was family. My son is sick; we care about that. My husband is in the hospital. I mean, it was a family thing.

And we'd go to a little church service there. Indeed, our daughter was christened in a church service where there was maybe 10 or 12 Westerners and 5 or 6 faithful Chinese who were permitted in what used to be the YMCA to have this Sunday service, mainly for diplomats, you see. Now, that was in 1975 that she was christened there. In 1989 I went back there as President of the United States. The church had moved even. Now it was in what they call ahutongs, an alley. But it moved into an even bigger building. There was close to 1,000 people in it. The choir had vestments. They were able to have hymn books. And the Bible was read from. And the message that I got from all of this is not that there's freedom of worship in China yet -- there's not -- but that it is

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moving. The family has never been weakened in China; it's always been strong. A totalitarian state can't stamp that out, and that faith can't be crushed by a state doctrine. It can't be crushed by it.

And you're beginning to see more expressions of worship there. And I am absolutely convinced it's going to continue. And you see it in the Soviet Union.

So, what molds you together in the community, your family and your faith, is something that transcends -- my point is: It transcends liberal-conservative, Republican-Democrat, American-Soviet. I mean, it is there, and it is strong. And maybe it's what you said, sir: We've got to keep talking about values, and hopefully, that will help the enforcement end and the education end and the interdiction and all these kinds of things that we have to continue to do on the drug fight.

But that China thing -- every family has experienced something that sticks in their hearts. And this one is something that -- I tell you, when I got up to speak there, I was all choked up. They welcomed me back, and they said, How is our sister, Dorothy, who had been -- that's our daughter who was baptized in that faith. And it was a great lesson for me: the strength of faith. Somehow it just keeps coming up.

Amish leader. We appreciate that feeling for our leader of the country.

The President. Well, thank you all.

The Attorney General. Mr. President, my fellow Pennsylvanians and I have a sentiment that I think they would permit me to share with you during your visit. Astan un freund in Pennsylvania.

The President. I understand that. I studied German I, II in school. But "You have a friend in Pennsylvania." [Laughter]

Amish leader. A lot of friends in Pennsylvania.

The President. Thank you all for taking the time.

Mennonite leader. Say "hello" to the Fletcher family. They came -- my parents -- one that's the head of the shuttle.

The President. Oh, Jim Fletcher.

Amish leader. Make a greeting to Mrs. Bush.

The President. Well, she is working hard, and she's into -- works a lot with Secretary on literacy. Learned a lot from him, and now she is continuing her interest in literacy because, again, it gets down to how you appreciate these things. When you can't read, it's pretty hard to --

Mennonite leader. We want to appreciate our government more than we ever did because of your interest.

The President. Well, we want to give you something to be proud of. We want to set examples where we can. We've talked about some of the problem areas,

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but we're living in tough fiscal times and all of that. I think we're in optimistic times in terms of peace. If we can keep ourselves vigilant, I think we have a good chance now, with the changes in the Pacific, but in the Soviet Union -- that if we find a way to move properly, I think we could ensure the kid you were talking about and the other seven a more peaceful future. And that, of course, a President has to be thinking about.

Mennonite leader. God bless you, those in the family. The family that prays together stays together.

The President. That's right.

Mennonite leader. We want to keep that theme, "In God We Trust," which is stamped on our money.

The President. It's staying there. Nobody can knock that off. And I very openly advocated the fact of prayer in the schools. And it's got to be voluntary so some minority kid doesn't feel discriminated against. It's got to be obviously nondictated by the state. But I am not going to change my mind about it. I'm absolutely convinced that it is right. It drives political opponents right up the wall. They just don't understand it. But I feel strongly about it. Each of speech. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the meeting room at Penn Johns Elementary School. In his opening remarks, he referred to Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

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HEADLINE: REPORTS ON ETHNIC MINORITIES;  
Pastor Laszlo Toekes on future of minorities

SOURCE: Excerpt from Vienna report on 'exclusive' interview

Austrian TV 2100 gmt 16 Jan 90


BODY:

[55] . . .Concerning his own future, Laszlo Toekes states

[Toekes recording] I have told the new government in Bucharest that I do not want to become a professional politician. First of all, I am a minister of God. However, if a situation should arise in which I am really needed in politics, I will do what I can. There is no contradiction between our belief and politics. As a matter of fact, politics is everywhere in life. In any case, there is enough work. Thus, I could stand as a candidate for parliament which has to be newly elected, or I could participate in drafting the new minority laws. It would be possible for me to help develop the minorities at the local level. Many former members of the old apparatus are still in office at the local level and are against the reconciliation between the Romanians and the minorities.

As far as the future of the minorities is concerned, I think that they should stay in the country. A joint future of Romanians and Hungarians has become possible now. We must jointly build the new society of our country. There were hostilities and animosities between Romanians and Hungarians, which can be traced back to the past. The Ceausescu regime fanned distrust according to the principle Divide and rule. Thus, a solution to the minority problem has become so difficult. However, this problem must be solved first and as soon as possible. This can be the key of the Romanian democracy and of its development in the future.




  
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