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February 9, 1989, Thursday, PM cycle

LENGTH: 257 words

HEADLINE: HONECKER SAYS EAST GERMANY ON RIGHT COURSE, NO CHANGE NEEDED

DATELINE: EAST BERLIN, Feb 9

KEYWORD: EAST-HONECKER

BODY:

East German leader Erich Honecker has reaffirmed his resistance to change, saying his country is on the right course and should not waver.

"If one finds that one has embarked on a course that is right, then one should continue along it," he said in an interview published in most East German dailies on Thursday.

Honecker, who has led East Germany since 1971 with few changes in policy, said it was best not to disturb things that had proved successful but that hindrances to progress should be removed. He did not give any examples of failings.

The Communist Party general secretary and head of state listed the country's achievements since it was founded 40 years ago and said East Germany had every reason to be proud.

East Germany has the strongest economy in Eastern Europe but it is stagnating through labour shortages, insufficient investment and highly-centralised planning.

Honecker also criticised the West for interfering in its affairs and defended the Berlin Wall, built in August 1961.

Western diplomats said Honecker, 76, stuck strictly to known views in the interview, which first appeared in the youth daily Junge Welt on Wednesday.

"It is most striking when you compare it with the kind of critical analysis coming out of the other East bloc countries," said one diplomat. "It ranks alongside (Romanian leader Nicolae) Ceausescu in the self-adulation league."

Romania and East Germany, for different reasons, are the only two of Moscow's East European allies not to have embarked on some form of reform programme.

SUBJECT: POLITICS

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SUBJECT: POLITICS

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Summary of World Broadcasts

January 31, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe; B. INTERNAL AFFAIRS; ROMANIA

PAGE: EE/0372/B/ 1

LENGTH: 1400 words

HEADLINE: PARTY STATE GOVERNMENT BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

SOURCE: Agerpres in English 1630 gmt 26 Jan 89

Text of report EE/0370 B/9

BODY:

A homage-paying letter was addressed from the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the government of the SR of Romania to the RCP General Secretary and President of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu on his birthday and over five and a half decades of revolutionary activity. The letter underscores President Nicolae Ceausescu's great merits in having imparted a profoundly innovative spirit to the entire process of building socialism in Romania. The letter stresses that President Nicolae Ceausescu showed, in an original and comprehensive manner, that the building of the new system presupposes, as a prerequisite, the firm, creative application, by every party, of the fundamental principles of socialism, in accordance with national realities, with the transformations taking place in society. Emphasis is placed on the greatest attention paid to the definition of the place and role of the communist party in society, of its ways and means of asserting itself as the vital centre and the leadidng political force in all economic and social areas.

Unanimously appreciated are the President's conclusions on the evolution of the state in the years of socialist construction. Of exceptional importance for the building of the new system in Romania is your outlook on the building of socialism with the people and for the people, the letter reads, an orientation according to which the consolidation of the socialist state and its enhanced attributes and responsibilities as regards the organisation and management of the socio-economic life organically fall in the general and permanent process of developing the revolutionary worker democracy.

The letter highlights President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the setting up of a broad, original and unitary system of revolutionary worker democracy that has been functioning for twenty years, a system that allows all the working people to directly take part in decision making, in the management of all the areas of the economic and social life. The merits of the RCP General Secretary in the substantiation of the unity between socialism and democracy, in the provisions of conditions for a plenary assertion of the human being in society, for the de facto achievement of fully equal rights for all citizens, for the effective exercise of the basic rights to work, to equal remuneration for egual work, to education, to a direct participation in the management of society.

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Emphasising President Nicolae Ceausescu's merit of having worked out, in a scientific, comprehensive and unitary view, the strategy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, of having stressed that the major questions on which the implementation of a policy for the country's economic progress and the prosperity of the masses depends are the just setting of the ratio between the accumulation and the consumption funds, the harmonisation of the immediate and long-range goals of society, the letter further reads In light of this orientation which relies on the whole people's own effort and dedicated work, our party and state laid and lay special stress on the continuous growth and modernisation of the forces of production, on their harmonious distribution throughout the country's territory, on the setting up of a modern industrial structure apt to most efficiently turn to account the country's material and human resources.

Programmes of intensive growth, of organisation and modernisation of industry and the other branches on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology have been elaborated on your initiative and under your guidance.

The concern of the Romanian party and state leader for the development and modernisation of agriculture as a basic branch of the national economy, the elaboration of the concept of the new agrarian revolution meant to bring about radical, qualitative changes as regards the forces andrelations of production in agriculture, the economic and social development of the Romanian villages, the gradual transformation of agriculture into a variant of industrial work are also praised in the letter.

The document is highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to making science a state policy turning it into a powerful material force of production, of his merit of having conferred new dimensions on the Romanian education, on the complex process of training the young generation for work and life. Stress is also laid on the significance of the Romanian President's theses and concepts regarding the development and improvement of the relations of production, of the management science.

The letter emphasises the fact that Romania's President always places above everything else man -is welfare and happiness as the foremost goal of the party policy. The vast programme for house-building and socio-cultural construction under way in our country, the steps taken to develop and modernise all the homeland's settlements, to secure jobs for all the ci tizens of the country, for the youth in the first place, just as the measures of increasing remunerations and pensions, the working people's real incomes are as many tangible expressions of the care and permanent concern of the party, of you personally for the building of civilised and happy life for our entire people, the document shows.

Next, the letter reads Promoting a unitary outlook on the interests of the Romanian people of all the peoples of the world to develop and co-operate in a lasting climate of international peace and security, you have asserted yourself in the conscience of the whole nation as the great maker and promoter of the Romanian foreign policy a profoundly constructive, dyna mic and realistic policy, permeated by a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people, of the life and peace of all the peoples of the world. Everything you have undertaken in these almost 24 years have imposed you as an outstanding personality of the international political life, as an ardent campaigner for the cause of peace, detente, friendship and co-operation among peoples. The fundamental theses of the Romanian foreign policy, the numerous

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ideas you have formulated during your permanent dialogue with party and state leaders have drawn a great and strong response from international opinion, from the peoples of the world, are espoused and adopted in basic documents of various international forums.

Assessing that the prevention of another world war which would inevitably turn into a devastating atomic war is the fundamental issue of our days, you have declared firmly for a comprehensive disarmament programme which should start from the need for a gradual liquidation of all nuclear weapons, of chemical weapons and the other means of mass destruction, under a strict international control.

In the spirit of the same high sense of responsibility for the destinies of peace, you pay greatest attention to the liquidation of the policy of the use and threat of force, to the extinction of hotbeds of conflict and to the negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues.

Permeated by a profound humanism is your outlook on the eradication of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new order and of new-type relations among states, set on equality and equity, able to ensure the economic and social progress of all peoples, of the less developed ones in the first place.

Highly assessed and unanimously approved by the communists, by all people is your intense activity for the development of the co-operation and solidarity of the RCP with all the communist and workers' parties, with the national liberation movements, with all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for social progress and peace in the world.

Your boundless confidence in man's creative power, in the peoples' capability to attain their aspirations after peace, progress and prosperity, to build a bright future by working in unity, impart to your brilliant foreign policy work the attributes of a profound humanism which characterises your entire life and revolutionary fight, placed with exemplary dedication in the service of the loftiest ideals of the Romanian people, of mankind, of the triumph of socialism, of peace and understanding among all the nations of the world.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

January 31, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe; B. INTERNAL AFFAIRS; ROMANIA

PAGE: EE/0372/B/ 1

LENGTH: 2986 words

HEADLINE: NICOLAE CEAUSESCU REPLIES TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

SOURCE: Agerpres in English 1644 gmt 27 Jan 89 Excerpts from agency text of speech EE/0370 B/9

in English 1702 gmt 28 Jan 89

BODY:

. . .We can take pride in all our achievements of the years of socialist construction, a period within which the Ninth Congress undoubtedly represents a moment of decisive importance for Romania's development of today. Without the Ninth Congress, without the general line set by that Congress and by subsequent Congresses and National Conferences, without the organisational economic and political measures adopted over that interval, Romania could not have boasted today the achievements it does.

We understood ever since then that we must do away with dogmas and cliches, with obsolete, backward outlooks, that we had to reinstate scientific socialism. It was not socialism that led to certain negative states of affairs in one country or another but, rather, the violation of the scientific principles of socialism, the ignoring of the requirements of objective laws, primarily of the need for a continuous development of the forces of production the deciding revolutionary factor of socialist construction, of the development of any social system for that matter.

One cannot speak about the progress and development of a people without the development of the forces of production, to m atch the stage the country or the society is in at a certain moment, without setting this process on the latest gains of science and technology, in all areas. Mankind's entire progress, from the primitive commune to our days, is the process of the revolutionary development of the forces of production, of science, of culture, of knowledge. There can be no progress, in any domain, without a dialectical correlation of all these. And I stress it again, a development which should permanently take into account the interests of the masses of people, of the working people, of the whole nation. We may say that our party has firmly worked and formulated the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, on the basis of objective general laws, of the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism.

That is why, we cannot understand the theses cropping up in a number of countries that once again ease the way to various forms of private capitalist ownership. Should the workers who have become owners of the means of production go back now and hand over their means of production to private owners? Should they once again turn into the wagers in a smaller of larger number of a

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capitalist, be he a resident of the respective country or a foreigner? What does socialism have in common with that?

I must tell you that, as far as I am concerned, I am both preoccupied with and worried over that orien tation, which is apparent in a number of countries, and, thinking back to the be ginning of our working-class movement to the emergence of scientific socialism, to my activity within the revolutionary movement I find it difficult to understand what could justify our going back now. Because, in reality, the working class and the people's handing over the means of production no matter the f orm would be tantamount to the liquidation of the bases of socialism in the de velopment of society.

I intended to discuss this question at a special meeting but, taking advantage of the fact that a large number of basic party and state cadres are here, I will anticipate and refer to them.

We have always stated an d worked according to the thesis that each people and each party should self-reliantly work out its general political line, should apply the general laws and the principles of socialism to the specific realities and conditions in each country. However, we have always stressed and I cannot but repeat it now that all that calls for a clear, consistent stance on revolutionary principles, on the safeguarding of the interests of the working class, which is the force and the leading class of society.

It is true that there are many problems in the world. The economic, political, social, financial crisis is very serious. Adding to it is the general political, military situation, the existence of the weapons of mass destruction, of the nuclear weapons in the first place. But comparing this situation with that in other periods, even with the present-day situation in various countries with differing social systems we may say as we did at the November joint plenary meeting as well that the capitalist system has demonstrated that it is inapt and historically incapable to settle the fundamental issues of society's development. I am not one of those who say that the capitalist socie ty will disappear tomorrow. And, at any rate, it will not disappear without the struggle of the working class, of the peoples in the respective countries. But then I am also not and do now want to be one of those who lose their confidence in the justness of socialism, of the revolutionary conception about world and who do not see the real situation, the prospects of the revolutionary struggle.

After the 1929-33 crisis, capitalism found a way out through fascism and war. Now, sure, the question of a war is more intricate as the arms in existence can destroy either side alike, life itself on our planet. So, a recourse to a world war in order to settle the issues is hardly presumable, although the possibility cannot be ruled out completely as long as the nuclear, chemical and other mass destruction weapons are not destroyed. Mankind has known people that set fire to their own capital as was the case of Rome therefore, such a danger exists and we must be aware of it. That is why we must indeed do everything possible to definitively remove the threat of a nuclear war, of another world war, generally, to definitively liquidate the nuclear and chemical weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, to radically cut on conventional weapons. Romania declared, worked and will most resolutely work, together with other states, in this direction. And we do it setting from the demand to put the conditions in place for the advancement of socialist construction in our country. We are fully confident that it is only socialism that can ensure true equality among people both social and national create conditions for the assertion of human

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responsibility, for every individual to be able to assert, in close collaboration and unity with his fellow humans, his creative abilities in any domain of activity. I am referring to al l these now having in mind the experience of our revolutionary movment, but also of the international revolutionary communist and workers' movement, of social development in general and in consideration of the fact that ten years after the party was created I started working in its ranks, I grew up with the party and I think that only by strengthening the party, its might, its revolutionary spirit will be able to attain our goals.

I began my activity as a worker in the ranks of the working class to which I am still greatly attached. I am one of the millions of the Romanian workers. As a matter of fact, the miners have made me their ''miner of honour''. I am closely linked to the working class and I firmly believe that only to the extent to which it will fulfil its historic mission of building a new, better and more just system, without exploiters, a system in which the working class and all the other working people will remain masters of the means of production will it have a dignified and free future, a future of welfare and happiness together with the entire nation.

Therefo re, we must do our utmost to ensure the development of the forces of production, the strengthening of the working class, the improvement of its level of profess ional, technical, scientific, cultural, ideological knowledge, to have an advanced working class, from all points of view, a working class builder of socialism and communism.

In no way can we contemplate the possibility that our owners of the means of production the workers become proletarians again, deprived of the production means, become again slaves of a capitalist, bigger or smaller. It is not this that is the way of socialism and we must do everything possible to strengthen socialist property, in order to strengthen the role of workers as collective owners, that should ensure the powerful development of our industry, based on the latest gains of science and technology.

Our peasantry has gone a long way in almost 14 years to join the producer co-operative farms. And there are comrades here who know that there is virtually no country where I did not actively participate in the co-operativisation of agriculture.

We have wonderful results in the development of agriculture. The look of our villagers has radically changed. We still have shortfalls, but life itself proves that it is only the big co-operative ownership that released the peasantry's creative energy, provided for the progress of agriculture. You well know former production of 700, 800 kg of wheat, maize and so on across the country, mind you. I am not satisfied with what we produce to this day. We want to produce more and we already have results which prove our great possibilities in agriculture. Today's pr oductions of 10,000 kg of wheat and barley per hectare, of 20,000 kg and even 30,000 kg of maize per hectare are a fact, not dreams. These productions are recorded by many a unit in our country.

Can we possibly contemplate to give up everything we have done in these 40 years, everything we have achieved in the scie ntific organisation of agriculture? It would be a nonsense. For us, the co-operative ownership, the whole peasantry's ownership of land and work means is the only way to ensure both the progress of agriculture and the harmonious development of industry

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responsibility, for every industrialist to be able to assert, in close collaboration and unity with his fellow workmen, his creative spirituality in any domain of activity. I am referring to at least those men working in mind exploration of our resolutions-by communist and workers, movement, but also of the industrial and in consideration of the fact that few workers start the party was created I started working in its ranks, I grew up with the party and I think that only by efficiently the party, its ideas, its resolutions by means of its mass and its influence, its resolutions and its members, its ideas and its principles.

I began my activity as a worker in the ranks of the working class to which I am still grateful. I am one of the millions of the Communist workers. As a matter of fact, the minute I was born, I mean, of course, I'm not a member of the party, but I was born in a family where the ideas of socialism and communism were cherished.

Therefore we must do our utmost to ensure the development of the forces of production, the strengthening of the working class, the improvement of its level of culture, technical, scientific, industrial, ideological knowledge, to have an advanced working class, from all points of view, a working class built on the principles of socialism and communism.

In no way can we contemplate the possibility that our members of the masses of production the workers become proletarians deprived of the production means, become deeply aware of a conflict, riddled of swelling. It is not this that is the way of socialism and we must do everything possible to strengthen socialist property, in order to strengthen the role of workers as collective owners, that should ensure the powerful development of our industry, based on the latest ideas of science and technology.

Our business has done a good way in almost 14 years to join the broadcast co-operative team. And there are comrades here who know that there is virtually no comment when I did not actively participate in the co-operativization of industries.

We have movements result in the development of industries. The look of our television has changed. We still have shortfalls, but like itself business, a creative energy, provided for the progress of industries. You will provide that if is only the big co-operative owners that selected the problems, we have shortfalls in our industries. Today's or operations of 10,000 KD of means and so on across the country. I am not satisfied with them we broadcast to provide more and we strongly have results which prove our large possibilities in industries. Today's or operations of 10,000 KD of means and partly by 20,000 KD of maize by percents or 50,000 KD and every 20,000 KD of maize by percents to a fact, not questions. These broadcasts are recorded by many a unit in our country.

Can we possibly contemplate to give up everything we have done in these 40 years, everything we have achieved in the socio-political orientation of industries? If money be a nonsense. For us, the co-operative owners, the problems and the programmes developments of industry should the progress of industries and the members of our industry.

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and agriculture -s two fundamental economic branches that co ndition each other compulsorily in the general process of socialist and communist construction in Romania. . .

We have many good things. We are proud of what we have achieved. But I must say it again that if we had worked a little better, we would have had even better results. We could have been two or three years ahead if we had worked better. Naturally, we had and have programmes. But we have not seen totheir implementation as we should. We have extensively discussed these problems in the last few months, in first part of January included, so that anyone may draw conclusions on the need to improve our entire activity.

Let us do everything possible to implement the programmes of modernisation and better organisation of the entire activity. It is really possible by fulfilling the programmes of modernisation and better organisation of work to obtain, in the next four to five years, with the current means, an at least 50% increase of the industrial production, with no other investments, no extra raw materials or fuel, through their better management and utilisation.

As for fuel and raw materials , we can reduce three or four times the energy consumption in some domains, not by performing special works, but by applying known technologies, as for some of these concrete solutions exist. Why do I refer to all this? We have great possibilities, we also have a good material base, as well as workers and technicians, engineers, scientists who have the capability to generally settle any issue. But we have to work better, in a higher sense of responsibility. As a matter of fact, these are today the fundamental issues of improving the activity in our country.

The same problems crop up in agriculture and in the other sectors.

We have good organisational, democratic forms. I have wondered could we have made mistakes? I have looked into the Constitution. I have found nothing that we should amend our Constitution with. I have taken the Party Statute I have read the forms of democratic elections, from top to bottom, the system of organisation of the Working People's Councils, the operation of the bodies of democracy. We have a wonderful framework, comrades. There is nowhere in the world today such a democratic framework in which all social categories may participate one way or another in an organised manner in the whole activity of society. The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front practically encompasses the whole nation. In trade unions, in youth organisations, in other organisations scientific, of men of letters and others many other citizens are also included. We also boast a large democratic organisation of people who are not party members and which counts already four million and provides a broad framework for participation in the entire p olitical and organisational life. In all these we can and we must debate exten sively all the problems of our home and foreign policy, decide how to work for the implementation of development programmes. What concerns us is that there should be more initiative, more intense action for the fulfilment of these program mes, that the way how to improve the activity in one sector or another should be debated and discussed, yet starting of course from the principles of scientific socialism, from ensuring our homeland's socialist development. It is not possible and we will not accept anything that should contradict the interests of socialism which represent the interests of the whole nation, the guarantee of the people's welfare, of its independence and sovereignty. . .

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[need to work for nuclear and conventional disarmament]

We must further work for the negotiated settlement alone of the litigious issues, firmly starting from the remunciation of the threat and use of force, of the policy of dictate and interference in other states' affairs. Each people's independence and sovereignty, each nation's right to choose its development path as it wishes, with no outside interference should be unswervingly observed.

There are very difficult economic issues. The developing countries' situation in this decade has grown worse with each passing year. In 1988 . . . the developing countries' debt topped 1,200bn dollars. We know what this heavy debt burden is. In fact, from the Middle Ages at least, the Romanian principalities, then Romania, in one way or another, had to pay money, tribute to this and that in the inter-war period, more than half of our economy was in the hands of foreign monopolies. Our country's debt to the imperialist circles was of such a nature that it was a heavy obstacle in the general development of our country, even in capitalist conditions.

After 23rd August we had debts too. In 1980 these debts were very large. We shall probably have to count what we had to pay compared to what we borrowed and we shall do it to prove how unfair and unjust is the current international financial system. . . We will pay off our foreign debt and we are determined to work in all firmness along that line. However, we consider that in no way should we accept that our country suffer because of that to any extent or, throug h like means, export part of our national income.

We are for broad international collaboration and co-operation and not for isolation. But we are against the policy of spoliation and oppression promoted by monopolies and the financial capital. We want equal economic relations and mutually advantageous co-operation and we shall work in allfirmness along that line. We are resolved to expand collaboration with all states. Naturally, we intend to pay greater attention to collaboration with our neighbours, with the socialist countries. In consideration of Romania's overall development, I think we can commit ourselves in a broader collaboration with the neighbouring socialist countries, with other neighbours and with other countries in Europe and, naturally, commit ourselves to a broad co-operation with the developing countries.

The collaboration and co-operation in production upon the principles of equality, of mutual advantage, are an objective factor, a necessity, and we shall act and develop this collaboration. What we criticise and what we will not allow is an inequitable co-operation conducive to the subordination of the Romanian economy to other states or to various foreign monopolies. . .

We must strengthen the collaboration with communist and workers' parties, strengthen the co-operation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other progressive, democratic parties everywhere, naturally, on the basis of similar positions on various problems and, mostly of the need to work for disarmament, for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, for a world of justice, equality, in which each nation may develop freely and self-reliantly.

We are firmly convinced, and I wish to affirm it here too, that the working class keeps being the decisive force with all peoples. And the recent events in several countries demonstrated what a force the working class is when it acts in unity. Therefore, those who do not trust in the working class are wrong. The

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[NEED TO WORK FOR UNCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT]

WE MUST ENTHUSE MORE FOR THE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ALONG OF THE LIBERALS
ISSUES, TIMELY STATEMENT FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE THREAT AND USE OF FORCE, OF
THE POLICY OF DISCRETE AND INTERVENTION IN OTHER STATES, STATES. EACH PEOPLE,S
INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, EACH NATION,S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS DEVELOPMENT PATH
AS IT MISHES, WITH NO UNDUE INTERFERENCE SHOULD BE UNEQUIVOCALLY OBSERVED.

THERE ARE VERY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AFRICA
IN THIS DECADE HAS GROWN MORE WITH EACH PASSING YEAR. IN 1981 . . . THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, DEPT COPPED 1'/500M DOLLARS. WE KNOW WHAT THIS MEANS DEPT
ONTHEM IS. IN FACT, FROM THE MIDDLE AGES OF JESUS, THE KOMBAIEN PRINCIPALITIES,
THEM KOMBAIE, IN ONE WAY TO ANOTHER, HAD TO PAY MONEY, TRIBUTE TO THIS AND THAT
IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD, MORE THEN HALF OF OUR ECONOMY WAS IN THE HANDS OF
FOREIGN MONOPOLIES. OUR COUNTRY,S DEPT TO THE IMPERIALIST CIRCLES WAS OF SUCH A
NATURE THAT IT WAS A MEGAV OPERATE IN THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY
WAGH IN CAPITALIST CONDITIONS."

AFTER SIRO ANOUSE WE HAD DEPTS TOO. IN 1881 THESE DEPTS WERE VERY TAIDE. WE
SHALL PROPERLY PAYS TO COUNT WHAT WE HAD TO PAY COMPARED TO WHAT WE POTTOWED AND
WE SHALL DO IT TO PROVE HOW NUMERIC AND NWINSE IS THE CONTENT INTERNATIONAL
FINANCIAL SYSTEM. . . WE WILL PAY 71% OUT FOREIGN DEPT AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO
WORK IN ALL TIMNESS ALONG THAT LINE. HOWEVER, WE CONSIDER THAT IN NO WAY SHOULD
WE ACCEPT THAT OUR COUNTRY SUFFER BECAUSE OF THAT TO GUY EXTENT OF, FIFOUR M
LIKE MESSE, EXPORT PART OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME.

WE ARE FOR PLOSH INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION AND CO-OPERATION AND NOT FOR
ISOLATION. BUT WE ARE AGAINST THE POLICY OF SOCIALISATION AND OPPRESSION PROMOTED
BY MONOPOLIES AND THE FINANCIAL CAPITAL. WE MEAN BUMET ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND
MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTSBONDS CO-OPERATION AND WE SHALL WORK IN ALLTIMNESS ALONG THAT
LINE. WE ARE RESOLVED TO EXPAND COLLABORATION WITH ALL STATES. NSTHELLY, WE
INTEND TO USE DIRECTED ATTENTION TO COLLABORATION WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS, WITH THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. IN CONSIDERATION OF KOMBAIE,S OVERALL DEVELOPMENT, I FINK
WE CAN COMMIT OURSELVES IN A PLOSHER COLLABORATION WITH THE NEIGHBOURING
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, WITH OTHER NEIGHBOURS AND WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE
AND, NSTHELLY, COMMIT OURSELVES TO A PLOSH CO-OPERATION WITH THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES.

THE COLLABORATION AND CO-OPERATION IN PRODUCTION NEED THE PRINCIPLES OF
EQUALITY OF MUTUAL BENEFICIARY, AND WE CRITICISE AND MUST WE WILL NOT
SHELL SCF AND DEVELOP THIS COLLABORATION. MUST WE CRITICISE AND MUST WE WILL
BILOM IS AN INDEPENDENT CO-OPERATION CONDUCIVE TO THE EXPLOITATION OF THE
KOMBAIEN ECONOMY TO OTHER STATES OR TO ASTIONS FOREIGN MONOPOLIES. . .

WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE COLLABORATION WITH COMMUNIST AND WORKERS, PARTIES
STRENGTHEN THE CO-OPERATION WITH SOCIALIST AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, WITH
OTHER PROGRESSIVE, DEMOCRATIC PARTIES EVERYWHERE, NSTHELLY, ON THE BASIS OF
SIMILAR POSITIONS ON ASTIONS PROPLEMS AND, MOSTLY OF THE NEED TO WORK FOR
DISARMAMENT, FOR THE ELIMINATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, FOR A WORLD OF
JUSTICE, EQUALITY, IN WHICH EACH NATION MAY DEVELOP FREELY AND SELF-DETERMINATELY.

WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED, AND I WISH TO STRESS IT HERE TOO, THAT THE WORKING
CLASS KEEPS PLAID THE DECISIVE FORCE WITH ALL PEOPLES. AND THE RECENT EVENTS IN
SEVERAL CONFLICTS DEMONSTRATED MUST A FORCE THE WORKING CLASS IS MUCH IF SCFC IN
NWITH. IMPERIALISTS, THOSE WHO DO NOT FUNST IN THE WORKING CLASS ARE MIOWD. THE

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working class was, is and will remain the decisive factor of socio-economic progress, of the victory of the struggle for disarmament, for a better and more just world.

Sure, new forces have appeared. The intelligentsia has become a very important and conscious force, that understands that it must no longer serve the producers of guns and nuclear weapons, and must work together with the other working people for peace, for the progress and independence of the peoples. In unity, the working class, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, the peoples make up the only force that will ensure the triumph of reason, the achievement of peace, the building of a better and more just world on our planet. . .

[Note According to Agerpres (in English 1702 gmt 28 Jan 89)the 28th January issue of 'Scinteia' carried a commentary on President Ceausescu's birthday speech entitled ''A highly humanistic outlook in the service of world peace''.]

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37TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Christian Science Monitor

January 31, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: THE WORLD; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 1104 words

HEADLINE: Personality Cult Thrives in Romania

BYLINE: William Echikson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: PARIS

HIGHLIGHT:

But economy withers under weight of grandiose projects and rush to repay debt.
FROM RICHES TO RUIN

BODY:

IT was not a happy birthday party.

As Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu turned 71, more than 60 emigres and journalists gathered here on Jan. 26 to protest his continuing rule, which has led his communist country to poverty and ruin. Romania has rich agricultural lands and large oil reserves. But today, electricity and gas are strictly rationed despite the winter cold, and supermarket shelves are empty of even the most basic staples. All this while the only officially sanctioned personality cult in the East Bloc revolves around Mr. Ceausescu.

''It's ... totally absurd,'' says Josy Dubie, a Belgian journalist who recently completed an hour-long television show on Romania, which has received widespread publicity in Western Europe. ''There are no lights, no food, even when you arrive at a luxury hotel at 10:30 in the evening, there's nothing to eat in the restaurant.''

Ceausescu's birthday celebrations in Bucharest included a daily two-hour regime of TV broadcasts filled with smiling photos of ''our well-loved guide'' meeting foreign visitors or of children's choruses singing praises. Bookstores are packed only with volumes by the ''Great Conductor.'' Cinemas show films extolling the ''Genius of the Carpathians'' and the ''Danube of Thought.''

During the 1970s, the Romanian leader directed $10 billion in loans to an inefficient petrochemical industry and grandiose projects such as a little-used $2 billion shipping canal. Then in 1981, Ceausescu decreed that the debt be paid back in full at a breakneck pace by exporting everything possible, including food.

By 1990, the debt may be cut to near zero. The cost includes long lines in front of empty butcher shops. Food supplies are so bad that ''hot food - if only of a quality on a par with labor camps - has become a luxury,'' reports a London publication, the Eastern European Newsletter.

Ceausescu has also embarked on a drastic ''redevelopment'' scheme. For the past five years, bulldozers have plowed down churches and other historic

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buildings in central Bucharest, displacing more than 40,000 residents. In their place, a post-modern Boulevard of the Victory of Socialism is rising, complete with a monumental royal palace for the party leader himself.

Late last year, Ceausescu revived an old blueprint to bring his style of urban redevelopment to the countryside. Dubbed ''Sistematizare,'' for ''systemization'' in Romanian, the plan calls for the destruction of up to 8,000 villages by the year 2000, to be replaced by new ''agro-industrial centers.''

The official goal is to open up new land and increase farming efficiency. Agricultural experts say the plan could instead reduce private production of food by up to a half. ''Sistematizare's'' real goal seems to be to eliminate the countryside's rich folk culture, particularly among the large German and Hungarian minorities.

Until recently, only a few villages around Bucharest had been razed. But Mihnea Berindei, vice-president of the Romanian League of Human Rights here in Paris, has received reports that in the past month several villages around other large cities have been razed. In public addresses, and two recent interviews with Western publications, Ceausescu has reaffirmed his determination to proceed.

Protest is being organized from an unexpected quarter, Warsaw Pact ally Hungary. For a year now, Budapest has been describing the plan as a threat to the cultural identity of the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Transylvania. And it has begun accepting thousands of Hungarian refugees fleeing their homeland. Over the summer, Hungarian leader Karoly Grosz met Ceausescu in an effort to call off the plan. Their pleas failed.

''There's been no change,'' says one Hungarian official in Budapest. ''If anything, the situation has gotten worse.''

Western governments also have begun to add their voices to the criticism. Not long ago, the West praised Ceausescu for his independent foreign policy, which included condemning the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Now, both the US and Western Europe have publicly aired criticism of the village plan - and plans are being considered to refuse buying Romanian food products.

Ceausescu in turn has attacked Hungary and the West for ''inadmissible interference'' in Romanian domestic affairs. Angered by calls in the US Congress for withdrawing the Most Favored Nation Trade status, he unilaterally ended the preferential trade concessions. Still emigres here approve of taking a tough line.

''The Western attitude has helped isolate Ceausescu, '' says Ariadna Combes, the daughter of dissident Doina Cornea, who was freed from prison in Cluj after persistent protests here in France. ''My mother's case shows the strength of public opinion.''

The Soviet attitude seems more ambiguous. In the past year, Berindei says Soviet press coverage of Romania has been ''globally positive.'' Romania remains a key food supplier for the Soviet Union and a reliable buyer of Soviet gas and oil. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev criticized Ceausescu when the Romanian visited Moscow last year - but he seems to have no successor in view.

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''What can Gorbachev do, create a crisis when he has no one to take over?,'' Berindei asks. ''For him, it's just much better to let Romania become more and more dependent economically on the Soviet Union.''

Before any real change takes place, Berindei and others say Romanians will have to stand up for their rights. In November 1987, more than 10,000 workers and residents in the industrial city of Brasov rioted, touching off a chain of smaller work stoppages and protests around the country. Massive repression by the feared secret services, the Securitate, soon restored order.

Since then, except for some short scattered strikes, the country has stayed relatively quiet and off the world headlines. In this peasant-dominated country, no deep tradition of political participation or resistance exists. Occupied by the Turks, squeezed by the Russians and the Germans, the Romanian has learned from history to keep his head down.

But this may be changing slowly. A new opposition movement called the ''Respect for the Dignity of the Romanian People'' slowly has taken shape within the last year. Exiles here say it now counts several hundred members, bringing together workers, intellectuals, and even party members.

''When I first went to Romania a year ago, no one would talk to me openly,'' recalls French journalist Gilles Schiller, who returned last week from another visit. ''People now come up to you in the bistro or the trains and complain openly.''

GRAPHIC: Picture, Ceausescu's birthday celebrations included a daily two-hour regime of TV broadcasts filled with smiling photos of ''our well-loved guide'' meeting foreign visitors or of children's choruses singing praises. TORREGANO/SIPA

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44TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 Guardian Publication, Ltd.;
Manchester Guardian Weekly

January 29, 1989

SECTION: Pg. 10

LENGTH: 746 words

HEADLINE: Honecker says Berlin Wall is there to stay

BYLINE: By Guardian Reporters

BODY:

MR ERICH HONECKER, the East German leader who masterminded the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, has hit back at Western critics of the wall, and said that the concrete dividing line between East and West Berlin was there to stay for "another 50 if not 100 years".

The 76-year-old East German President and Communist Party chief, who has tried hard to shelter his socialist state of 17 million from the effects of glasnost and perestroika, accused Western leaders of "hypocrisy and shortsigntedness" when it came to appeals to tear down the wall.

In a speech in East Berlin marking the 500th birthday of Thomas Muentzer, he peasant revolutionary leader, Mr Honecker described the wall as an antifascist protection measure. "It is necessary to shield our republic from robbers," he said.

The concrete frontier, which went up at the height of the Cold War chiefly to stop the exodus of East Germans to the West, became a subject of fierce attack by the United States, Britain, and West Germany at last week's closing session of the European security conference in Vienna.

The outgoing US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, called for the "inhumane structure" to be pulled down. The wall remained a symbol of a divided Europe and in the end must come down, he said. His speech put great stress on progress made towards "a much more open society across the length and breadth of Europe". "Last year, seven million East Germans visited the West, and more than five million West Germans visited the German Democratic Republic," Mr Shultz said. "These were recorded numbers in both directions."

The figures may have prompted the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to say that he saw "a serious prospect" for the all, "this cold war anachronism", to be finally torn down, ideally before the Moscow human rights conference in 1991.

Sir Geoffrey stressed that Britain had left its options open on attending the conference and would only go if the Soviet Union carried out its commitments under the agreements reached by the conference. Britain, he said, was looking for "a change not just of style but of heart. After all, it is hardly progress for a cannibal to use a knife and fork."

Their complaints, as well as those of Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, were rejected by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr

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Eduard Shevardnadze, who said that "every state builds its frontiers as it considers necessary," and asked for East Germany's sovereignty to be respected.

But Sir Geoffrey repeated his conviction that the wall would come down sooner or later, following his meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister: "I do not believe that the Soviet Union wants the wall to survive as a monument at a time when we are moving to open Europe."

Romania's reluctance to comply with the Vianna agreement did not surprise Sir Geoffrey, who described Romania's domestic policies as "a most striking and most disturbing disregard" of the obligations set out in the Vienna document.

In a passage that has added at the last moment on instructions from President Ceausescu, the Romanian Foreign Minister, Mr Ioan Totu, took on the United States for having dared to criticise Romania. Mr Shultz had "distorted" the nature of Romania's perfect socialist order. "I could only wish that the social problems, democratic freedoms and fundamental human rights, including those of minorities, be solved in all countries at least to the same degree as they have been solved in Romania."

Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister was curt where Mr Totu had been long-winded. But the message to Prague's critics was unequivocal: "Doings which are an infringement on legal and public order cannot be tolerated by any governments. This is the way the Czechoslovak authorities proceed."

The West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher, had earlier expressed sharp citicism of "action taken against peaceful demonstrators in Prague and Leipzig". He said that these events "have shown that there is still a difference between pretension and reality, between word and deed, between commitment and fulfilment."

Their unrepentant East German, Czech, and Romanian declarations provided the sharpest possible contrast with the conciliatory cooperative declarations by the Hungarian and Polish Foreign Ministers. It is apparent that the East European camp has come to speak with many voices, and that the Soviet Union is no longer the master of its allies.

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POLAND - NOTES

WARSAW

Belwedere Palace

- Bilaterals with General Jaruzelski
- Official residence of Chairman of Council of Ministers
- Meetings will be in Pompeii Room
- Palace not destroyed during WWII, one of few buildings not destroyed by Nazis
- Jaruzelski does not live here

- Palace built in 1820; architect Jozef Kubicki
- Classical style - "Polish classicism"
- In the 19th century, Poland was partitioned and under Russian occupation
- Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Tsar Nicholas I, lived in the Palace. He was Governor of Poland, and Commander-in-Chief of the local army. Poland was considered the "County of Poland" then. Tsar Nicholas I was "King" of Poland, and was represented by his brother.
- In 1830 there was an uprising against the Russians, the "November Uprising." Belwedere Palace was attacked, and the Grand Duke escaped disguised as a "lady kook." After that, there was much embarrassment, and no other Russian official wanted to live there. It became a military facility, housing generals and other military officials.
- Following World War I, Poland was independent. Belwedere was made the official residence of the President.
- In May 1926 there was a coup d'etat, and Belwedere became the residence of General Pilsudski, the leader of Poland until his death in 1935.
- In 1944, Belwedere, along with many other buildings, were all wired for destruction by the retreating Nazis. The Palace escaped destruction, as did what is now the Soviet embassy across the street.

Radziwill Palace

* see "Information for Visitors" in American Embassy Warsaw folder, last page.

- survived both WWI & WWII
- Warsaw Pact was signed here in 1955
- also called Governor's Palace -- in the 18th century, the Russian Governor lived there
- the Radziwills were a famous Polish aristocratic family

View from window that will be on President's left as he delivers the toast at the State Dinner:

- the statue in front of the Palace is of Jozef Pontiatowski, a Polish patriot and Marshal of France. He was commander of the Polish army that fought under Napoleon; he was also the nephew of the last King of Poland, Stanislaw August. The original monument was blown up by the Germans in 1944; the present one was a gift to the Polish nation from the people of Copenhagen.
- across the street is a palace built by the Pototcki family, another famous aristocratic family. It is now the Palace of Culture & Art (the Ministry of Culture).

The Sejm

- President of Poland sits on podium, on left (if facing), if he's speaking; in the upper left of gallery if observing
- Polish Coat of Arms behind podium. "Poland's national coat of arms is a white eagle on a red background which dates back to the Middle Ages. Through history it has undergone several modifications; most notably, with the removal and restoration of the eagle's crown. During the Period of Partitions (1772-1918), when the emblem was officially banned, it appeared for the first time with a crownless eagle on the banners of insurrectionists and emigres. With the coming of independence in 1918, the Poles adopted a white eagle with a golden crown. The crownless eagle was officially reinstated following WWII, however, and is now considered symbolic of communist Poland." (from Information for Visitors, American Embassy Warsaw)
- Bas-reliefs on the outside of the building represent symbolic moments in Polish history. General Pilsudski is on one -- this is not remarkable now, but was there throughout the whole Stalin period.
- Sejm built in the 1920s, completed in 1928. Completely destroyed in WWII -- rebuilt as it was and expanded in 1948.

Ambassador's Residence

- for info on art at the residence call State Dept., Art in Embassies
- pictures around residence of the Ambassador with the President, the Pope, and Mother Teresa.

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

- Monument built from the remains of a colonnade that was part of the Suski Palace, which was completely destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. Following WWI the Suski Palace housed the general staff of the Polish Army.
- 1944 Warsaw Uprising -- lasted two months (August and September). USAF dropped food and arms during the uprising.
- The soldier buried in the monument is from a cemetery in what is now Lvov, in Soviet Ukraine. He was killed in skirmishes between Poles and Ukranians, 1919-1920, the first phase of war with the Russians.
- Poles like this because they kicked Russia's ---- in this war.
- Virtuti Militari Cross -- for military bravery. Incorporated into design of the monument. The Cross dates from 1792, one of the last years of Polish independence.
- Urns inside the monument contain soil from actual battlefields of WWI & WWII

Umschlagplatz

- "Along this path of suffering and death over 300,000 Jews were driven in 1942-1943 from the Warsaw Ghetto to the gas chambers of the Nazi extermination camps."
- Loading point for Jews being sent to death camps.
- Dedicated in April 1988, on anniversary of Ghetto Uprising
- Memoirs of the Governor of the Ghetto were published last year by the Institute of Jewish Studies, Warsaw
- Professor Korczak, the "Dr. Spock" of Poland, went of to the camps with the children of the Ghetto, even though he was aware of what would happen to them.

GDANSK

American Embassy contacts in Gdansk:

Ron Czarnetzky
John Boris
Jack Spilsbury

Westerplatte

- "Never Again War" [Nig-dee vien-say voyny]
- Silhouette of monument is that of a broken German bayonette
- South Face (names of battles where Poles fought):
  -- La Manche
  -- Dunkirk

- -- Mediterranean Sea
- -- Atlantic
- -- Narvik (Norway)
- -- Murmansk (in Soviet Union)
- -- Hel. Another peninsula west of Westerplatte, resistance took place the longest there -- for over a month.
- -- Oksyvie (small coastal town nearby)
- -- Westeplatte
- -- Gdansk Post Office. When the Germans attacked in September 1939, a group of armed Polish <u>civilians</u> barricaded themselves in the Gdansk Post Office and held off the Germans for five days (?). When they finally gave up, all were shot on the spot.
- -- Kosynierzy Gdyni [kosh-ee-ni-air-jee gdee-nee] (soldiers with scythes -- originally enlisted peasants)

- o SE overlooking "Never Again War"
- o East Face: "To those at sea." [tim so na morju]
- o North Face, overlooking Baltic/Bay of Gdansk: Kolobrzeg (coastal town near Gdansk); "Praise those who won independence" [chva-wa viz-vo-li-chellom]
- o West Face: Lenino (in Soviet Union); Studzianki (small town where the biggest tank battle took place, on German border)

<u>Solidarity Monument</u>

- o Three workers from the Lenin Shipyard were killed in December 1970, shot by government troops during a strike. In nearby Gdynia, around 300 people were killed.
- o Monument was one of Solidarity's demands in the 1980 Gdansk Accords. These accords also legalized Solidarity.
- o During martial law, the monument was a very emotional meeting place. Each day people would leave flowers and gifts at the monument, and each day the police would take it all away

- o The anchor is the Biblical symbol of hope. On top of the monument are crosses with anchors on them.
- o The symbol for Solidarity is also related to the anchor symbol:

- "He who wrongs the simple man and laughs while he is doing it, don't feel safe, the poet remembers. You can kill him, but there will emerge another. I will list all facts and conversations." Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel prize-winning poet, now lives in the U.S.

Wall behind monument:

- "The Lord gives strength to His people. The Lord gives to His people the blessing of peace." Czeslaw Milosz
- "May your spirit be replaced and circulate on this earth. Amen." Pope John Paul II, 1979 (his first visit to Poland)
- "They gave their lives so that you could live better . . . Honor their memory."

Plaques on wall:

- 1970/1980 - steel mills Katowice
- December 1970
- Job 16:18: "O Earth, don't cover my blood, don't be indifferent to my expressed desires." From the people of Czestochowa [chest-a-hova], home to the most holy Polish shrine
- Worker crew, furniture factory, Zamosc
- Warsaw Mill
- Funded by people's donations, Lichenie [lee-hen-ye], Poland, Konina Church
- "Ostrowca Swientokrzyski" [o-strove-sa svien-tow-kshi-ski] ". . . and there stirred up a wind from the sea."

The entrance to the Lenin Shipyard is just to the right (when facing) of the memorial. Big Solidarity sign. Also big sign that says "Wszyscy Odpowiadamy Za Polske" -- "We are all for/responsible for Poland."

<u>Oliwa Cathedral</u>

- 1178 -- Sambor I, Pomeranian Prince, introduces the Cistercian Order of Monks into Oliwa and endows them with estates. They build a wooden church and cloister.
- 1577 -- build in Gothic style, following plunder by fanatics from Gdansk, due to friendship between Abbey and Polish King Stephen.
- 1755 -- organ, built by John Wulf. Took 25 years to build. John Wulf finally became monk -- Brother Michael, following completion.
- 1925 -- Gdansk becomes a diocese and the church in Oliwa becomes a Cathedral Church.

- 1944 -- WWII causes heavy destruction of the Cathedral and adjoining house.

- Bishop Goclowski [got-swov-ski] -- one of the key mediators at the Magdalenka Group roundtable meetings, (Magdalenka = suburb of Warsaw). He was the Church representative.

# # #

GOODNESS KNOWS WE TRIED TO.....

Elect Joe Bartlett to Congress

6128 Long Meadow Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Miss Peggy Dooley
The White House

Dear Peggy,

Thank you for your very kind note. Believe me, it was a real pleasure for me to meet with you and your friend, Stephenie. I hope your research has progressed satisfactorily. I would like to think we made some contribution.

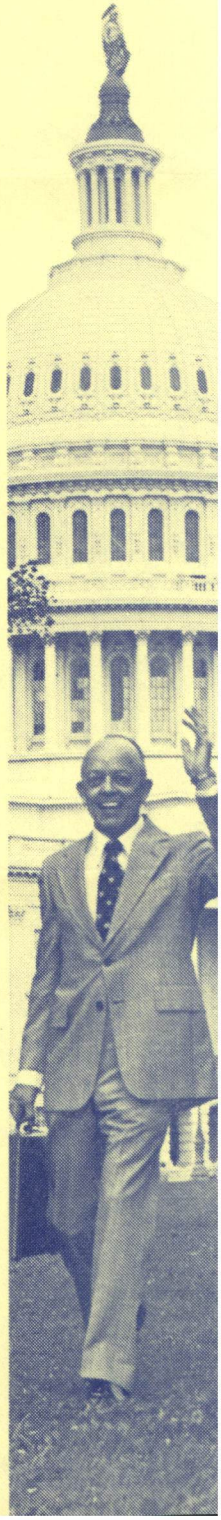
Enclosed is a copy of a talk in which I used the Roosevelt quote. And some other quotes that remain valid.

Events of the last few weeks have been simply overwhelming. No one could have anticipated these events. But the basic problems remain, and the worst thing that could happen to the United States would be to allow these "surface effects" to so disarm us that we would have neither the will nor the way to defend ourselves. And that could happen, Heaven forbid!

I do hope you have had a joyous holiday season, and that the New Year will unfold with happy surprises for you, beyond your fondest dreams.

Truly,

jb Joe



United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 129 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1983 No. 36

WHAT PRICE PEACE?

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1983

● Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Brig. Gen. Joe Bartlett, former minority Clerk of the House of Representatives, called the pacifist movement the real danger to peace in a recent speech to the annual conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution of the District of Columbia.

Joe Bartlett, who recently concluded a 37-year career as a senior minority staff officer of the House, said in his speech titled, "What Price Peace?", that a "firestorm of fear" is sweeping much of the free world.

He challenged the "stewardship" of this generation to live up to its obligations. He said the basic division in the world today is between those who believe that "liberty is God-given", and those who hold to the atheistic, despotic belief that "man is the property of the state."

Mr. Speaker, I commend Joe Bartlett's remarks to the Members of this body.

I see the fortitude of this country being eroded away by a veritable fire-storm of fear, that is sweeping this land, and much of the free world. And while we argue whether or not our enemies are supplying the matches, the incendiary effect is enflaming our institutions, in a most destructive way. And there is no mistaking who will be dancing around the bonfire with delight!

We are—in my opinion—flirting with grave danger. And it is not clear how we are going to respond to it.

As conscientious citizens, and as leaders of this country—and you are leaders of this country, whether you are conscious of it or not—you are, individually and collectively, important to this determination. And I welcome this opportunity to share with you my concerns.

We, as a people, have gotten so weary of the incessant conflicts and wars, and rumors of war. Between nations and tribes and ideologies and races . . . and other excuses. At one moment we view a mortal enemy . . . then next the same is a valued ally and partner. Principle is sacrificed on the altar of expediency. The friends we thought we had bought in this world, refuse to stay bought. Our common purposes are commonly disserved, betrayed.

Small wonder that we find ourselves crying out: "Are there no immutable truths? Is there no purpose worth giving your all?"

We can remind ourselves, in the words of the old hymn, "that though the wrong seems oft so strong, God *is* the Ruler yet" . . . "This *is* my Father's world!"

And we have a stewardship to fulfill, *don't* we?

Let us take a look at this old world of ours, beyond the countless schisms, and contemplate its *basic* division.

It seems to me it is the self-same division that brought our forefathers across the perilous, uncharted seas, in search of a *new* world. And it is the same principle that ultimately forced the colonists—in spite of their natural reluctance—to declare their independence from the British monarchy, and then to fight so courageously to establish it.

And that precious principle—that "immutable verity," if you will—is that man's liberty is *God*-given; not the favor of the crown, nor the property of the state.

That is the essential, fundamental difference that divides this world we share today.

Hundreds of millions of people live under the despicable, despotism that says, "You are the servant of the state . . . The state owns you completely, body, soul and mind . . ."

I don't know what our moral responsibility is to those poor, hapless fellowmen and women who happened to come into this world beyond the pale that divides us, freemen from slaves of the state.

I am not satisfied that their plight is not ourmore conscious concern . . . that we seem to have no plan to offer them any measure of salvation. . . any hope.

But we know what the plans of their despotic rulers are for us, because they have told us unmistakably: they plan to bury us! and it is clear they are preparing to do just that.

A mere thirty years ago we had a monopoly on the most awful weapon man had ever conceived. Had it been our nature, we could have extracted from the rest of the world, any arrangement we might have desired. They would have had no choice but to capitulate. That we did not choose to do such a thing, should stand forever as eloquent testimony to the character of our people.

Let the record show that the threat to world peace today is not of our making!

For the last few decades, our efforts at defense have been devoted almost exclusively to comparatively modest measures of deterrent—in the belief that the "big stick" would discourage war and keep the peace.

A disquieting truth comes from Dionysius, by the way of General Douglas MacArthur in a 1935 address:

"It is a law of nature, common to all mankind, which time shall neither annul nor destroy, that those who have greater strength and power shall bear rule over those who have less."

Superior strength has never even been our goal . . . in keeping with some convoluted rationale, that maintaining a superior defense might antagonize our adversaries!

So, in a monumental distortion of the Constitutional roles of government, Congress virtually abdicated its responsibilities "to provide for the common defense" (in deference to the Executive Branch), and the President now initiates defense recommentions. While the Congress, not surprisingly, giving higher priority to the more politically popular social programs, has regularly—somewhat arbitrarily—cut into the President's requests, leaving a record throughout the recent, crucial decades, of a dangerous decline in our defense capability—by any measure!

In January 1941, in a message to Congress, President Roosevelt very profoundly pointed out:

"It is dangerous to prepare for a little defense . . . !

Roosevelt was citing the danger of giving the people a false sense of security, at the same time your weakness stood as a temptation to your enemies.

There are only two kinds of defense: An adequate defense and an inadequate defense. I don't pretend to know where that line is. We have some highly competent people who have spent their lives gaining knowledge and experience about such matters, but the amateurs seem to overrule them all too often. This I believe: If you whittle away at an adequate defense program, whether for social programs, or budget considerations, or just politics—until you are left with something less than adequate—you would be better off with no program at all! "A little defense is a dangerous thing!"

To those who entertain some silly notion that our restraint in defense expenditures would cause our adversaries to be similarly restrained, let me share with you the testimony of then-Secretary of Defense Harold Brown:

"We have found that when we build weapons, they build; when we stop, they nevertheless continue to build."

The architect of our "deterrent" program during the so-called Detente years, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is a brilliant analyst (no matter what else we may think of him).

Let me share with you how brilliant he was in defining an effective deterrent. There are four elements to it:

First, you must possess the power to enforce the peace, or, to punish with unacceptable penalties, any transgression.

But you could possess this awesome power, and it still would not be a deterrent, if your adversary did not know you possessed it.

So, you must have the power, and secondly, you must let him know very clearly that you have it.

Even so, you have no successful deterrent, if you lack the will to act in defense of your principles. All the power in the world is useless if you are unwilling to bring it to bear.

But the fourth, and most crucial element of this equation, is that your adversary

must not have any misgivings about your willingness to apply your power to your purposes! He must not doubt your resolve! History is filled with disasters that would not have happened if an adversary's willingness to engage had not been misjudged.

Korea is a classic example: Andrei Vishinsky was quoted as saying to our ambassador to the United Nations:

"The United States is very untrustworthy. The United States clearly indicated it had no interest in defending Korea. When the Communists attacked, however, you intervened with a powerful military defense. This proves you cannot be trusted."

The United States' signals cannot be trusted! And tens of thousands of America's finest sons died because of it!

In the recent conflict in the Falklands, Argentina certainly misjudged Great Britain's capability—and probably more significantly, her will—to bring so much to bear for such a remote and paltry prize. And Argentina was resoundly humiliated for the miscalculation. (She was so desperate to claim *something* that when the Brits brought up the remains of the ancient Mary Rose, according to Johnnie Carson, the Argentines claimed to have sunk her!).

In 1961, East Germany was so uncertain about our willingness to defend our proper interests in Berlin, that when they started to build the Berlin Wall, at midnight on Saturday, August 13, they took all the ammunition away from the Vopos—their police—so that if we did resist, they could pull back without precipitating an unwanted fire fight. But they soon learned we lack the will . . . and the wall became a concrete disgrace!

The Bay of Pigs is another tragedy that lacked only the will to succeed! What a sordid, unwritten chapter in American history that was! Profiles in Timidity and Indecision!

General Douglas MacArthur had urged President Kennedy *not* to commit American troops to the continent of Asia, and while he was morally ill at Walter Reed Hospital he implored President Johnson to get our troops out of Vietnam because, in his words:

"* * * the time might be dangerously near when many Americans might not have the will to fight for their country."

What a burden that thought must have been on that old soldier's heart!

The United States has a formidable defense establishment today. It is not as good as it ought to be. It is getting better every day. But I am sure it has the respect of the Kremlin. With our openness, and their deviousness, I am sure they have a far better knowledge of our capabilities than do most Americans.

So, it is not our military strength that worries me. Rather it is our national will, and the influences that would invite a miscalculation of that will. Do we, as a people, have the courage and the commitment—and the will—to stand up for the things we believe? And do the Russians believe that we will?

There are those, you know, who proclaim "Better Red than Dead" . . . and who would capitulate at the first hint of challenge. How many do you suppose feel that way?

They seem to have forgotten the terrible price generations of brave and selfless, and willing forebearers paid to allow us the very freedom to debate our own future.

I cannot believe that God's love, or man's resourcefulness, will ever permit this world to destroy itself in a holocaust. But let me be perfectly honest with you: The horrors of modern nuclear warfare scare the bejabbers out of me! I am absolutely in favor of getting rid of every nuclear weapon on earth, by any plan consistent with our security. I am no jingoist! By disposition, and by reputation, I am a lover, not a fighter! But I took an oath many years ago, declaring my willingness to die for my country, if necessary, and I will reaffirm that declaration to you here this morning.

The nuclear threat is being portrayed in such extravagant melodrama, you would think the agony of dying in combat had just been discovered for the first time. Dying for a cause has never been pleasant. There is no nice way to have your life taken from you. I don't want to lose mine a minute before my time. Death is a very personal thing. But nobody has ever gotton out of this world alive, yet! And I do not expect to be the first.

Indeed, as I have contemplated the many ways one might have to give up his life for his beliefs, I can't think of a more horrible way than being crudely nailed to a timber cross . . . goaded with spears . . . mockingly quenched with bitter vinegar . . . while the scorching sun slowly broiled your life away . . .

There is nothing new about facing death for your beliefs . . . and for your fellowman.

But America, and the free world, is today being stampeded by fear, into believing that we must not do anything to meet the challenge of this atheistic, despotic adversary!

Ironically . . . pitiably . . . shamefully . . . in the vanguard of this cowardly movement, are many who claim to be the disciples of that simple man of peace who died for His cause upon a cross, two thousand years ago.

What does that say about their faith . . . about their commitment? To God . . . or to country?

Are "fear" and "faith" mutually exclusive terms?

Was it not President Kennedy who said we should not "fear to negotiate" but neither should we "negotiate out of fear"?

And now we learn that General Walter has apparently been on a secret mission to appeal to the Pope to try to keep his followers from adding to the pressure building up on the American President, to negotiate out of fear. To negotiate with the very henchmen who so recently sent an assassin to kill the Pope!

What a pathetic state of affairs! Oh, I'm sure their heart is in the right place . . . It just is not functioning with their brain. And I won't question their patriotism . . . They simply know not what they do!

Many of us resent their attempt to polarize this issue, and to simplify it by rhetoric, whereby all who do not take up their Pollyannaish banner are "war mongers" and advocates of nuclear warfare. I have never known such a lunatic . . . and I doubt that you have, either. I contend that those who know the horrors of war best, are the most earnest advocates of peace, through strength!

Don't let anyone tell you that a strong America is a threat to the peace. That just does not square with history!

Speaking of history, I was fascinated to read recently that David Lawrence, the founding editor of U.S. News & World Report, confronted a very similar issue in his Christmas message of 1955, in which he wrote:

"* * * The prophets of old have been silenced. The new prophets urge the advantages of compromise with evil . . . They terrorize the people with a strange fear of death. They regard sacrifice as obsolete. Jesus, they argue in effect, would better have appeased the enemy . . . The motivation to resist tyrannical masters at the risk of death has always been heroic . . . But nowadays we are asked to buy security at any price, even at the price of ideals and moral principle!"

That was in 1955!

Only recently, in a debate on this subject that has gone on in England, an editorial in the Salisbury Review made the point:

"Just as the Church has traditionally taught that war has moral limits, so it should now be teaching that there are moral limits to peace . . . A desire for world peace should not be allowed to dissolve all other moral commitments . . ."

Now, I yield to no one in my fervent prayer for a world without war!

I have the handsomest little 2-year-old grandson you have ever seen. And since I talked with you last he has gotten a darling little sister—a candidate for your organization in about 18 years!

The thought of any harm coming to Danny or to Jenny Lynn as a result of a war I might have helped to prevent, is an almost unbearable thought. I have layed awake many a restless hour anguishing over that question. And I am sure many of you have done similarly.

And I have come to the conclusion that I cannot keep faith with my stewardship in this life—that I cannot do my duty to Danny and Jenny Lynn—and to all the little Dannys and Jennys around the world—who deserve a chance to grow up in freedom, and peace—except through a strong and resolute United States of America.

For to gain for Danny and Jenny, peace at the price of capitulation, and the possibility of consigning them to some future "Gulag Archipeligo" . . . it tears me apart just to think about it.

"Better Red than dead?" No way!

Those who would wear away the will of this great, peace-loving nation, are, in my opinion, the witless war mongers!

Because it is their message, going to our adversaries, of a nation too weak and too cowardly to defend itself . . . A people who have lost any purpose worth defending . . . Of a people who have lost their will . . . lost their way.

That is the kind of message most likely to get us into trouble . . . To invite a hostile challenge . . . To precipitate a war . . . And, yes, that is the very thing most likely to lead, ultimately, ironically, tragically . . . to the awful nuclear exchange we all want so much to prevent.

Daniel Webster told us that:

"God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are ready to guard and defend it . . ."

And Somerset Maugham vowed that:

"If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will surely lose its freedom . . ."

And he went on to point out that they would lose everything else as well.

But it was Patrick Henry who rallied a revolution against tyranny, with his immortal words:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?"

Almighty God, forbid it!

Amen.●

Elect
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Manchester Guardian Weekly

January 29, 1989

SECTION: Pg. 10

LENGTH: 746 words

HEADLINE: Honecker says Berlin Wall is there to stay

BYLINE: By Guardian Reporters

BODY:

MR ERICH HONECKER, the East German leader who masterminded the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, has hit back at Western critics of the wall, and said that the concrete dividing line between East and West Berlin was there to stay for "another 50 if not 100 years".

The 76-year-old East German President and Communist Party chief, who has tried hard to shelter his socialist state of 17 million from the effects of glasnost and perestroika, accused Western leaders of "hypocrisy and shortsigntedness" when it came to appeals to tear down the wall.

In a speech in East Berlin marking the 500th birthday of Thomas Muentzer, he peasant revolutionary leader, Mr Honecker described the wall as an antifascist protection measure. "It is necessary to shield our republic from robbers," he said.

The concrete frontier, which went up at the height of the Cold War chiefly to stop the exodus of East Germans to the West, became a subject of fierce attack by the United States, Britain, and West Germany at last week's closing session of the European security conference in Vienna.

The outgoing US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, called for the "inhumane structure" to be pulled down. The wall remained a symbol of a divided Europe and in the end must come down, he said. His speech put great stress on progress made towards "a much more open society across the length and breadth of Europe". "Last year, seven million East Germans visited the West, and more than five million West Germans visited the German Democratic Republic," Mr Shultz said. "These were recorded numbers in both directions."

The figures may have prompted the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to say that he saw "a serious prospect" for the all, "this cold war anachronism", to be finally torn down, ideally before the Moscow human rights conference in 1991.

Sir Geoffrey stressed that Britain had left its options open on attending the conference and would only go if the Soviet Union carried out its commitments under the agreements reached by the conference. Britain, he said, was looking for "a change not just of style but of heart. After all, it is hardly progress for a cannibal to use a knife and fork."

Their complaints, as well as those of Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, were rejected by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr

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Eduard Shevardnadze, who said that "every state builds its frontiers as it considers necessary," and asked for East Germany's sovereignty to be respected.

But Sir Geoffrey repeated his conviction that the wall would come down sooner or later, following his meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister: "I do not believe that the Soviet Union wants the wall to survive as a monument at a time when we are moving to open Europe."

Romania's reluctance to comply with the Vianna agreement did not surprise Sir Geoffrey, who described Romania's domestic policies as "a most striking and most disturbing disregard" of the obligations set out in the Vienna document.

In a passage that has added at the last moment on instructions from President Ceausescu, the Romanian Foreign Minister, Mr Ioan Totu, took on the United States for having dared to criticise Romania. Mr Shultz had "distorted" the nature of Romania's perfect socialist order. "I could only wish that the social problems, democratic freedoms and fundamental human rights, including those of minorities, be solved in all countries at least to the same degree as they have been solved in Romania."

Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister was curt where Mr Totu had been long-winded. But the message to Prague's critics was unequivocal: "Doings which are an infringement on legal and public order cannot be tolerated by any governments. This is the way the Czechoslovak authorities proceed."

The West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher, had earlier expressed sharp citicism of "action taken against peaceful demonstrators in Prague and Leipzig". He said that these events "have shown that there is still a difference between pretension and reality, between word and deed, between commitment and fulfilment."

Their unrepentant East German, Czech, and Romanian declarations provided the sharpest possible contrast with the conciliatory cooperative declarations by the Hungarian and Polish Foreign Ministers. It is apparent that the East European camp has come to speak with many voices, and that the Soviet Union is no longer the master of its allies.



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February 5, 1989, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 4; Page 5, Column 2; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 912 words

HEADLINE: THE WORLD;
The East-West Flow of People and Ideas

BYLINE: By JAMES M. MARKHAM

DATELINE: PARIS

BODY:

RATHER like the little Dutch boy with his finger in the dike, East Germany's leader, Erich Honecker, vowed recently that the Berlin wall would remain standing for 50 or 100 years since it was needed ''to protect our Republic from thieves, not to speak of those who are ready to disturb stability and peace in Europe.''

The stern Communist chief seemed rattled that Europe, East and West, is becoming a freewheeling place for people and ideas. On airwaves and airplanes, at frontiers and seminars, cold war taboos are falling so quickly that it is hard to chronicle all the changes.

It is a time when Boris N. Yeltsin, the maverick Soviet politician, gives an interview to Radio Liberty, which Moscow once routinely denounced as an agent of American imperialism. In the Soviet capital, the retired American and Russian statesmen who brought the world to the brink of nuclear war in 1962 gather in a college-reunion atmosphere to replay the Cuban missile crisis. More than a thousand Russians telephone the British Broadcasting Corporation in London to talk live with Paul McCartney.

Ordinary citizens from Eastern Europe are traveling to Western Europe in greater numbers than at any time since terrified millions fled westward from the advancing Red Army at the end of World War II. Poland, Hungary and East Germany have significantly eased travel restrictions, unleashing a stampede of shoppers, family visitors and black-market job seekers. Last year, 242,505 Soviet and Eastern European immigrants claiming German roots flooded into the Federal Republic, prompting some West Germans to ask themselves hard questions about the division of Germany. If the Berlin wall were removed, it would provoke a most unwelcome westward flight of thousands of poor East Germans.

In an almost philosophical address to the United Nations on Dec. 8, Mikhail S. Gorbachev said closed societies were no longer possible. ''Freedom of choice,'' said the Soviet leader, ''is a universal principle. It knows no exceptions.'' The gap between principle and reality is still a yawning one in Communist Europe, but big improvements have taken place in the realm of information. In the last days of 1988, Bulgaria, the last Warsaw Pact state to practice radio jamming, gave it up. In Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia, private satellite dishes are sprouting like mushrooms, receiving Western television. Poland and Hungary have signed contracts for direct links with Western

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European television networks.

Off the ideological leash that bound them for so long, some Soviet diplomatic and cultural envoys to Western Europe are giddily savoring the chance to speak their minds. At a recent news conference at the Soviet Embassy in Paris, Andrei D. Sakharov, the human rights campaigner, and several other Russians vied with each other to voice criticisms of the state of things at home. Russians, Hungarians and Poles are now enthusiatic participants at academic seminars from West Berlin to London. ''Sometimes they are much more vicious in their attacks than we are,'' said Vladimir Kusin, an analyst at Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Trading Information

Slowly, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact are getting to know more about each other without resort to espionage. An agreement reached in 1986 gave birth to military ''confidence-building measures,'' and it is becoming routine for officers from opposing camps to observe each others' military maneuvers. In the last two years, 35 maneuvers have been observed in 12 nations. In March, the 1986 accords are to be strengthened at a new gathering in Vienna. Meanwhile, Soviet and American inspectors are checking the superpowers' agreement to destroy medium-range missiles.

Deftly, Mr. Gorbachev has demonstrated that information also can be a propaganda weapon. Last week, the Warsaw Pact for the first time publicly disclosed figures for what it said was its strength in men and weapons. Not surprisingly, the document found that NATO and the Warsaw Pact had ''approximate parity,'' but the Communist statisticians counted naval forces that the Atlantic alliance leaves out of its calculations.

At negotiations in Geneva, the Soviets have released a figure for their total chemical weapons stocks that some Western experts say is too low. But Soviet negotiatiors have suprised and unsettled the Americans by accepting the principle of highly intrusive ''challenge inspections'' of suspected chemical weapons sites - obliging the United States and its allies to ask how much glasnost their chemical industries are really willing to tolerate.

Yet several Communist states have made brutally plain that transparency has severe limits. In late December, only days after signing an accord in Vienna that committed them to sweeping human rights guarantees, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria staged conspicuous crackdowns on dissidents. For its part, Rumania stated baldly that it did not feel bound by certain provisions of the Vienna agreement, which strengthened the 1975 Helsinki accords on human rights and economic cooperation. In Prague, Vaclav Havel, the Czech playwright, has for the last three weeks languished in jail, accused of ''hooliganism.'' Mr. Havel had joined others in laying a wreath on the site where Jan Palach immolated himself two decades ago to protest the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The freedom of choice so praised by Mr. Gorbachev still knows some glaring exceptions.

GRAPHIC: Photo of officers from NATO and Warsaw Pact nations discussing military maneuvers before a NATO exercise in West Germany (Photoreporters/DPA/Wolfgang Weihs)

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BUILDING BLOCKS

Investment
Competition
Opportunity
Stewardship

Investment/Competition

Family Savings Plan
Capital Gains Tax Cut
R & D
Education Goals
Head Start

Opportunity

Phase II National Drug Control Strategy

Stewardship

Endowment for the Environment

*Control Government Spending
Buy Down Debt
Social Security

ADDITIONAL BUILDING BLOCKS

Investment/Competition

Uruguay Round
Product Liability
Antitrust Policy
Joint Production Ventures

Opportunity

HOPE Proposal
Civil Rights for Disabled and Minorities

Stewardship

Clean Air Act
EPA as Cabinet Department

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Expand federal land acquisitions
(part of this is a reforestation plan -- Legacy '99?)

Provide $1 billion to purchase and improve land and water resources

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: State of the Union Address

I am pleased to provide my comments on the most recent draft of the State of the Union Address. In several senses this draft reflects many of the comments that were made in our session with the President last Tuesday. It is consistent with the notion that he deliver an address that is:

1. Not lengthy (on the order of 22-25 minutes);

2. Thematic rather than programmatic;

3. Optimistic in providing his view of where we are as a country; and

4. Focused on the state of the nation rather than the state of the government.

This latter point suggests an address that devotes attention to fundamental values and what Americans need to do in their individual capacities rather than emphasizing exclusively what changes the President would recommend in government policies.

I am persuaded that the State of the Union provides the potential for conveying two kinds of presidential leadership.

The first is <u>inspirational</u>. Americans look to the President for reassurance and motivation. He can convey those things he believes matter most and can call on them to express those values associated with strong families, with excellence, with quality, and with serving others. He can remind them of the sacrifices and heroism of others as in the James Markwell letter. He can give them reason to hope and to be proud.

The second is <u>directional</u>. Americans look to the President to articulate the direction we must go as a people. He can outline an agenda of work the nation must undertake. Part of this is governmental -- policies and programs. Part of it is what individual Americans must do.

The themes we have discussed for the State of the Union and that were in the outline we reviewed with the President during the first week of January fit a State of the Union that is both

inspirational and directional. Those themes are: Investing in the future; competitiveness; opportunity; stewardship; and leadership.

The current draft of the State of the Union is inspirational full of much good rhetoric and some stories and quotations, such as from the James Markwell letter, that are stirring. These parts of the speech will help Americans feel good and feel proud.

What in my view is needed is more direction, and at the same time, reassurance. Many Americans, despite the remarkable events around the world confirming the yearning for freedom, democratic political institutions, and market-based economic arrangements, feel a sense of unease. Rather than celebrating the victory of ideas we have championed for decades, they are anxious about whether we are number one economically and how we will fare in the future global economic competition.

Polling data from the last several months suggests that Americans now view Japan as the most formidable economic power in the world. Many fear we have become complacent. This polling data also suggests that they are worried about the state of fundamental values in our society -- drugs, crime, the dissolution of the family.

The President appropriately wants to convey a sense of optimism about the future. But there is also a need to convey a sense of urgency. We have a competitiveness challenge to meet and Americans need to sense that he is aware of it and going to lead the crusade that will involve several transformations needed during the coming decade.

We must have a transformation in our savings habits -- expressed in a willingness to reduce public dissaving (reducing the government's budget deficit) and increase private saving (Family Savings Plan and capital gains tax reduction). We must have a transformation of our education system to produce an education renaissance that will yield a skilled workforce as good or better than any in the world.

There is also the need to talk about business and government working together. This is where the Democrats are likely to come at us. We, of course, do not want their kind of industrial policy cum protectionism. Nor are we proposing a competitiveness package in the form of an omnibus piece of legislation.

But, in addition to the three invest in the future themes (saving, R&D, and education), we also support business and government working together to expand markets (Uruguay Round), improve the efficiency of our economic arrangements (product liability), and encourage dynamism (antitrust policy and Joint Production Ventures). This need not take a lot of space in the

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speech, but it is important. These three ideas under the theme of competitiveness can be stated succinctly and follow the portion of the speech dealing with investing in the future.

The opportunity section is designed as the kinder, gentler portion of the speech. At the present time it only mentions drugs, and then doesn't talk about the central elements of enforcement, education, and treatment, which could be done in a single sentence. We could also use at least reference to the HOPE proposal we have made, and civil rights for the disabled and for minorities.

The stewardship section should highlight, as you have suggested our America the Beautiful initiative. But it can also make reference to the Clean Air Act and to making the Environmental Protection Agency a cabinet department. Both these are certain applause lines.

The section on the budget, rather than following the paragraphs dealing with stewardship might appropriately fit in the investing in the future portion of the speech using the argument that we are reducing the budget deficit to eliminate government dissaving and promote job creating investment.

Uruguay Round - Free Trade plug.

Product Liability

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/10/90 - watching ones
the weekend

~~To~~ Council of 100 org of
black Repubs @ Sheraton
Carlton, WDC

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JANUARY 18, 1990, THURSDAY

SECTION: FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

LENGTH: 650 words

HEADLINE: CB
JACK KEMP, SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
ADDRESSES THE EXECUTIVE FORUM
CONSTITUTION HALL
WASHINGTON, DC

KEYWORD: KEMP-01/18/90 EXECUTIVE FORUM

BODY:

SEC. KEMP: I want to thank you all for that sitting ovation. (Laughter.) I do want to report that I have carried out my major pledge to President Bush. I told him when he chose me to be Secretary of HUD that I would take this relatively obscure -- (laughter) -- federal agency from the back pages of America's newspapers right up to the front pages -- (applause) -- and I think I've done a heck of a job! Although this wasn't what we had in mind.

Let me say, with my colleagues, what an honor it is to serve in the Bush-Quayle administration, and to serve with the men and women in this room on this team at the most exciting moment, if not in the history of the world, at least the history since 1776. I heard Nick Brady, Jim Baker talking about carrying the message of democracy and capitalism to the world. And we at HUD have the responsibility to make it work in what I call LDC, less developed communities and less developed neighborhoods, and among less developed families, and among people who have been left behind or left out.

And what a thrill it is to go with the President over to Charles Houston (sp) public housing community in Northern Virginia, in Alexandria, and hear him talk to a group of public housing residents who have never had a president, much less anyone talk about putting some meat behind the words "hope." We spell, in the Bush administration, hope, home ownership, and opportunity, and progress for people everywhere. And it was a thrill to see the reception that this president got carrying message of hope, and tying jobs to housing. How can you talk about affordable housing and not talk about the jobs that are necessary to deliver the wages and the income and the chance to earn that affordable home or house?

And I'm just thrilled to be in this administration at this moment in history, and want to suggest that John Sununu was so correct when he said not only is it going to be a great decade, it's been a great year, but let me remind us all what a great decade it was of the '80s in the Reagan-Bush administration, and what a great decade of global democracy in the Bush-Quayle administration.

And I just want to pause and say I think the most memorable event of the holy season through which we have just gone on Hanukkah and Christmas was to be watching television and listen to a young man stand up in the square in Bucharest, Romania, and he didn't quote Marx or Trotsky or Lenin or Mao; he just said these words, and the crowd yelled his name for five straight minutes. He said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, they're endowed by their creator with inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Isn't it unbelievable that the world is quoting Jefferson and Patrick Henry

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and Dr. Martin Luther King?. They're not quoting -- (applause) -- the socialists or the communists. (Loud, extended applause.) I want to thank John Sununu for suspending the two-minute rule so that Jack Kemp could -- (laughter) --

MR. SUNUNU: Consider it a two-minute warning. (Laughs.) (Laughter.)

SEC. KEMP: -- end his speech. Right. (Laughter.) As an old quarterback, I know exactly what you mean.

I just want you to know that it would be hollow, indeed, to tell Poland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the Baltic and China and South Africa and Nicaragua and El Salvador that democracy is not only the most preferable social and economic and political development system on the Earth and the most natural for the freedom of free men and women, it is hollow, indeed, to tell the world that democracy will work for them if we're not making it work right here in our own backyard among those people who feel left out. (Applause.) Let's make this war on poverty this time for -- (inaudible due to applause). God bless America. (Applause.)

MR. SUNUNU: Thank you, Jack.

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SEC. KEMP: I want to thank you all for that sitting ovation. (Laughter.) I do want to report that I have carried out my major pledge to President Bush. I told him when he chose me to be Secretary of HUD that I would take this relatively obscure -- (laughter) -- federal agency from the back pages of America's newspapers right up to the front pages -- (applause) -- and I think I've done a heck of a job! Although this wasn't what we had in mind.

Let me say, with my colleagues, what an honor it is to serve in the Bush-Quayle administration, and to serve with the men and women in this room on this team at the most exciting moment, if not in the history of the world, at least the history since 1776. I heard Nick Brady, Jim Baker talking about carrying the message of democracy and capitalism to the world. And we at HUD have the responsibility to make it work in what I call LDC, less developed communities and less developed neighborhoods, and among less developed families, and among people who have been left behind or left out.

And what a thrill it is to go with the President over to Charles Houston (sp) public housing community in Northern Virginia, in Alexandria, and hear him talk to a group of public housing residents who have never had a president, much less anyone talk about putting some meat behind the words "hope." We spell, in the Bush administration, hope, home ownership, and opportunity, and progress for people everywhere. And it was a thrill to see the reception that this president got carrying message of hope, and tying jobs to housing. How can you talk about affordable housing and not talk about the jobs that are necessary to deliver the wages and the income and the chance to earn that affordable home or house?

And I'm just thrilled to be in this administration at this moment in history, and want to suggest that John Sununu was so correct when he said not only is it going to be a great decade, it's been a great year, but let me remind us all what a great decade it was of the '80s in the Reagan-Bush administration, and what a great decade of global democracy in the Bush-Quayle administration.

And I just want to pause and say I think the most memorable event of the holy season through which we have just gone on Hanukkah and Christmas was to be watching television and listen to a young man stand up in the square in Bucharest, Romania, and he didn't quote Marx or Trotsky or Lenin or Mao; he just said these words, and the crowd yelled his name for five straight minutes. He said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, they're endowed by their creator with inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Isn't it unbelievable that the world is quoting Jefferson and Patrick Henry

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-20-90 (C.David)

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Dave Demarest cc John S.

Re: Speeches -

Dick Jackman, my close friend, spoke at a Cabinet get together here and againin at the White house when I had all the 4-stars to dinner there. He is a humorist and inspirational speaker. When has was here- last fall- he asked if he could send al ong some peeech ideas. The attached is what he just sent it.

I like it very much, Odd ly enough it fits with what we tal;ked abotu fopr ther State of the Union.

Two thoughts:

a. check it for possible partial plagiarsm for Sate of Union... some good language and I do feel comfortable with it.

ALso will soem of it work for Spectator.

GB

Mr. President--

An A+ on Malta.

An A+ on Panama.

Superior rating on keeping the media off balance.

It's quite a report card. Congratulations! I'm never surprised at your achievements, but I delight in watching others arrive at the same level of admiration that I've had right along.

A while back I mentioned that I might be sending along a few speech thoughts. Put them on a shelf and perhaps an occasion will come along one day when a phrase or two will be helpful. (Forgive the typing---I still work from a standard Royal.)

My best wishes to you and Barbara for a wonderful 1990. No one deserves it more.

Dick Jackman

"FINDING THINGS THAT AREN'T LOST"

Exploring some values that
have served America well....
....and calling upon them
to help guide us through the
final 10 years of this century.

The calendar offers each of us convenient launch points for a fresh start. Sometimes it's a new day, a new year. Now, it's a new decade.

The beginning of the '90s invites America to clearly put its signature on the 20th Century----to write the next chapter in a book of spectacular achievements in freedom, economics, human advancement and world leadership.

We enter this decade with a special momentum. The cadence is upbeat, and there are certain fundamental beliefs that we carry with us.

--We believe in America not because it is perfect, but because it is a model for liberty in a world that is imperfect.

--We believe in democracy not because it is flawless, but because for two centuries no other form of government has surpassed it.

--We believe in our future not because it is free of problems, but because it is abundant with possibilities.

--We believe in the value of human harmony, not because it is easy to achieve, but because it is essential to our pursuit of justice and equality.

I fully recognize that there are those who wring their hands about this nation's future. They say we have lost our technological leadership, our educational excellence, our willingness to work and compete. That we were once a great country, but that now we are out-of-breath. They see a future filled with decay and disappointment.

I suggest that they have a great talent for surrender.

Some people worry about the pace of change. They forget that change has been our constant companion from the beginnings of this country. We seek it. We encourage it. We thrive on it.

Some people worry about a global economy, that our neighbors around the world have vastly improved their economic positions in relation to ours. They forget that just because others are up, it doesn't mean that we're down. This is not the superbowl. We don't have to whittle the teams down to one winner and a string of losers. We are not threatened by the good fortune of others.

And there are some people who worry about our ability to achieve racial and ethnic cooperation in a nation with such a diverse population. They forget that this country was founded by a lot of people nobody else wanted. As a nation we have jumped over a lot of barbed wire fences in our history, and yes, sometimes we have left a piece of our pants behind, but we have learned from each experience that America works best when it works together.

Those who see a tomorrow clouded by doubts are free to do so. I respect their opinion, but I retain my own. I welcome the '90s with optimism.

I believe this to be an ideal time to renew our vows and our values. Time to look beyond the next paycheck and the next personal problem. Time instead to look to the next generation.

A. Spectator

I'm optimistic about our future for one compelling reason. To succeed we need not acquire any new qualities. We simply have to remind ourselves to find some things we haven't really lost.

--The first thing we haven't lost is our curiosity. Curiosity made Thomas Edison give up his paper route and go into the laboratory. Curiosity sparked an amazing 20th Century---the automobile, airplane, television, the computer. Curiosity took us on the most ambitious trip of them all ---a 12-year journey by Voyager 2 producing close-up pictures of a planet three billion miles away.

--The second thing we haven't lost is our compassion. For those who think we've forgotten how to care about each other let's replay some recent reminders. Ask the survivors of Hurricane Hugo and the California earthquake how human beings reacted in time of need.

Ask the survivors of that plane crash how they were treated in Sioux City, Iowa. Ask them about neighbors and strangers reaching out to help. Ask those who benefit from the 100-plus billion dollars a year donated to charity each year by Americans, the most generous people in the world.

--The third thing we haven't lost is our courage. That special courage to stand tall when others waver. If you want courage Americans supply a plentiful amount. Check out the brave men and women who drew the duty in Panama. Follow our police and firefighters in towns and cities all over the country---follow them as they put their lives on the line every day. And look at the hundreds of thousands of citizens who volunteer their time and talent to help improve the lives of the less fortunate. That, too, is a kind of courage.

--Finally, the fourth thing we haven't lost is our commitment. We know how to work. We know how to win. The United States proudly produces a quarter of the world's goods and services with only 5 percent of the world's people and 6 percent of the land. We've created more new jobs in the last 10 years than the rest of the free world combined. Eleven

of the top fifteen most profitable companies of the world are American. We're in good shape and we're going to get better.

The future is exciting because we have some resources to turn to. Some special resources.

We'll draw on our proven entrepreneurial and managerial talents to stay economically competitive.

We'll rely on our fascination for innovation to maintain and enhance our technological leadership.

We'll call upon our belief that a fair chance in life begins with a good education and we'll keep that as a national priority.

We'll shape our social agenda so that we screen people into the good life, never screen them out.

The opportunities for us in the '90s will not be automatically nor exclusively ours. No directions will be printed on the box. Batteries are not included. There's no magic involved. If we want to pull a rabbit out of the hat, first we have to make sure the rabbit is in the hat before we begin.

That means work. Hard work.

And for those who aspire to be the best at their work, don't learn the tricks of the trade---learn the trade. Go to work every morning like you're ready to plant the flag on Iwo Jima. No nation ever drowned of sweat.

For those who aspire to a life of public service or those who volunteer to help others in need, I suggest you will learn a most rewarding lesson---that what we do for ourselves dies with us....what we do for others remains.

And for those who aspire to be leaders, please acquire that special ability to absorb the hits and keep on going. Look at the people whose lives you influence and give them something to do; give them something to be proud of; give them something to hope for. We need confidence in the '90s. We need enthusiasm. Luck does not go around looking for a loser.

It is sometimes popular for people to say they represent no special interests. I hope that's not true. I hope you have very special interests in your family, your community, your country and your future.

Most of all let's keep a special interest in our freedom. It is freedom that created the miracle of America. The freedom to dream, to think, to compete, to invent---that's the American adventure.

I can't wait to get on with the next chapter. There are exciting things out there waiting to happen. It is not America's nature to <u>wait</u> for them to happen. Our style is to <u>make</u> them happen. Let's get on with it.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MARLIN FITZWATER

January 18, 1990

The Briefing Room

9:50 A.M. EST

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10:11 A.M. EST

#152-01/18

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MARLIN FITZWATER

January 18, 1990

The Briefing Room

9:50 A.M. EST

MR. FITZWATER: Housing starts fell by eight percent in December -- not good news. Total housing starts -- an annual rate of 1.24 million units -- well below market expectations. The December decline was particularly sharp in the Northeast where cold winter may have been a factor. While housing starts remain low, mortgage interest rates continue to decline and sales of single-family homes rose during November.

One other economic issue is -- the CPI is out this morning, which is good news. Consumer Price Index for all items rose only .4 percent in December. This was below the market expectations. Over the 12 months of 1989 the inflation rate was 4.6 percent, so we now have a year-end figure for inflation. This was below our 1989 forecast of 4.9 percent -- indicates that inflation is low and under control.

Q It's the highest in eight years, isn't it?

MR. FITZWATER: Let's see here --

Q What a thing to bring up. (Laughter.)

Q Don't you have any manners? How utterly rude.

MR. FITZWATER: What a discouraging -- rude is the right word for that. (Laughter.) I don't have the eight-year analysis here, Terry.

Q Marlin, as for housing starts --

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, housing starts -- go ahead.

Q The lowest since '82, the annual rate for 1989 --

Q November '82?

Q Is President Bush going to tell us -- about the need for lower interest rates?

MR. FITZWATER: We're going to tell them that interest rates are going down and we hope that they will be translated into increased market sales, and that we have always favored lower interest rates and we still do.

Q Marlin, with CPI where it is now, with housing starts where it is now and the growth of the economy as sluggish as it is, there are some economists who are warning that we are on the verge, if not actually in, of approaching a recession. Is that where this administration sees things?

MR. FITZWATER: There are always economists on all sides of these issues and they see things through some pretty interesting

glasses. We think the economy is sound and is growing steadily. Inflation, as this indicator points out today, is low and remaining steady at a relatively low level and certainly below our forecast. There is some concern about the drop in retail sales last month; there are some indicators that, as you said, the economy is growing at a slow pace. And we want to be every vigilant to the need for continued growth, but we don't see any dramatic problem in the immediate future.

Q Marlin, since Boskin only comes out here when there's good news to announce, I assume he concurs with the things you've just said and is telling the President that -- that there's going to be -- that housing starts are a blip and that the interest rates are going to return them to higher levels?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, that's the best indicator we have. Housing starts are more responsive to interest rates than anything else, and interest rates appear to be going in the right direction. We had a recent drop in the prime. That hasn't been totally passed through, but we, nevertheless, remain hopeful that it will be. But we do think the inflation number is a good one because it does show a low level and that's important to the bond markets and others who have set short-term interest rates. So we are hopeful that this news in toto will continue to hold interest rates down.

Q Marlin, 30-year interest rates have gone up about a half a point in the last several weeks. And there's a story in The Wall Street Journal this morning quoting several Fed governors suggesting that they won't lower interest rates in the near future because they're concerned about inflation. How can you say that you see interest rates going down?

MR. FITZWATER: We're hopeful that they will take a look at this morning's indicators and understand that these numbers are low and indicate inflation has remained very steady over the last seven or eight years, and that lower interest rates are justified.

Q When was the last time the President spoke with Greenspan?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know the last time, but, frankly, he has spoken to him so often, I'm not sure that's relevant. But he speaks to Greenspan frequently.

Q Marlin, one more on the economy. As you know, the auto industry and other sectors related to it have announced -- including the computer industry, which is not directly related -- but all of these have announced pending layoffs, white collar, blue collar alike. Are there storm clouds out there and do you anticipate that there are ripples from these things that are going to exacerbate this slow economic performance?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, there are always industry dislocations, and we've seen --

Q These are more than just minor dislocations.

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I don't know that they are. The total unemployment rate is still the lowest in 15 years. It's something like 5.3 or 5.4 percent. All the indicators seem to indicate that, nationally, the economy is moving on a fairly sound basis. Leading indicators continue to be on a positive side.

So again, there are industry dislocations. We do have an auto sales problem at the present time. But we don't see the long-term kinds of red flags that would give us real concern.

The President's schedule for the day is: He departs at 11:05 a.m. to address Executive Branch appointees at the Constitution Hall. The President's speech will talk about the accomplishments of

the first year and some indication of his agenda for the next year. That's open coverage.

And then at 12:00 noon, he meets with Turkish President Ozal in the Oval Office. We'll have open photo, writing pool coverage at the beginning of the meeting. He has a working lunch with President Ozal at 12:30 p.m. And we'll provide a written readout after that.

Q Departure statements?

MR. FITZWATER: Who are these guys? (Laughter.)

Q I guess you're not included, Marlin.

Q What is this, with the big exit?

MR. FITZWATER: They're scheduling events around me again.

Q Is that an interview of the President?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I don't know. I didn't see who all went out.

Q Newsweek, AP --

Q Two AP and two Newsweek.

Q And photographers.

MR. FITZWATER: There may be an interview among them, but they're not all an interview that I know about. (Laughter.) Whatever that means.

Photo opportunities. Let's see. The President has a brief meeting with Bo Schembechler this afternoon, and with J. Dennis Huston, who is the National Professor of the Year. And we'll have wire photo on both of those.

Q What about a text of that speech?

MR. FITZWATER: No advance text, but again, it's early this morning. It will be about 11:30 a.m.

Q Departure statements?

MR. FITZWATER: No, this is a private visit, so there's no -- we will do a written readout. I don't know whether he'll go to stakeout or not. I just don't know that.

And tonight, the President and Mrs. Bush leave for the Washington Hilton Hotel for an RNC reception. And this is the Bush-Quayle reunion function. The President does have remarks and it is open coverage.

Q Is that going to be the same type of remarks we hear this morning?

MR. FITZWATER: No, they're very funny. Quite humorous.

Q Marlin, in the meeting with the Republicans, is there a concern in the White House that the party in this election year may be on the wrong side of not only the abortion issue, but also Social Security?

MR. FITZWATER: On abortion, first of all, the President feels very strongly about his position, personally taken and personally held. We feel that there's room in the Republican Party for a variety of positions on that issue and the President does not

intend to alter his position in any way.

On Social Security, you all noticed this morning Senator Hollings proposal for a value-added tax increase. You'll recall my prophetic words of a few days ago that the Moynihan proposal was a wolf in sheep's clothing. First we had the tax cut, now we have the tax increase. Can cuts in benefits be far behind? Look out, older Americans.

Q Marlin, has the President been on the phone or otherwise thanked Senator Hollings for his proposal? (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: No, no.

Let's see. Before we go on, John -- I want to congratulate John on a new grandson. (Applause.) I know he's hardly old enough for that, but nevertheless.

Q Are you saying that the administration is not concerned about the flurry of suggestions concerning Social Security and the budget?

Q What is the question?

MR. FITZWATER: Helen asked if we're concerned, and I said we are opposed and we think that, when people have a chance to look at the tax increase and the benefit cut implications down the road of that proposal, that it won't enjoy much support.

Q You're suggesting that Moynihan and Hollings are involved in some big conspiracy to do this. Is that what you want to leave the impression that --

MR. FITZWATER: No, I want --

Q "Can cuts in benefits be far behind?" -- that certainly wasn't mentioned by --

MR. FITZWATER: I want to leave the impression that they're all part of the same party that has this interest in this proposal and -- but it's been clear from the beginning that if you cut the Social Security taxes, at some point you've got to raise taxes to get the money back or you've got to cut benefits. We don't want to be associated with either one of those outcomes.

Q But the Republicans are also signed on to this Moynihan plan. You can't just lay this off on Democrats.

MR. FITZWATER: Not the Bush administration.

Q Does your criticism extend to the Chamber of Commerence and the Heritage Foundation?

MR. FITZWATER: Not the Bush administration.

Q Marlin, why are Latin American countries so glaringly absent from the Vice President's upcoming Latin American fence-mending trip?

MR. FITZWATER: The Vice President has announced yesterday that he's going to a number of countries to discuss foreign relations --

Q Two --

MR. FITZWATER: I thought it was --

Q Jamaica -- Latin American country.

MR. FITZWATER: Chile, Brazil -- I thought there were

five or six, weren't there?

Q Chile and Brazil -- they were scheduled. Honduras was scheduled. Jamaica's the only add-on.

MR. FITZWATER: And at the inaugural events, I'm sure he'll talk to the leaders of a number of other countries. So in the course of trips that he announced yesterday, I'm sure that he'll have an opportunity to give our message to Latin America, which is that we want good strong relations there. And he'll be able to make the points that we want to make. Some of the trips that -- may have to be scheduled for a later time, but we'll continue to work on that.

Q Has there been a resistance among Latin American countries to see a high-level U.S. emissary at this time?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I would just say that when you're scheduling these kinds of things that some can be scheduled earlier than others. (Laughter.) And we're making the first trips as soon as we can and others will come later.

Q Marlin, how many countries recognize the Endara government at this point? And how concerned are you about that?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have a final list, but I'm sure that in time they will all recognize the Endara government.

Q Well, in time. How long can this go on do you think?

MR. FITZWATER: Forever.

Q Marlin, why didn't the administration consult with the Latin leaders before the President announced Quayle's trip to see if they -- this was an opportune time?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, because the important issue was that the President wanted to make it public, in a very visible way, that he wants good relations with Central America; that he is sending his Vice President there to send that message and we want to make it clear what our attitude is. And the question of when the meetings take place and so forth is not nearly as important to us as simply that the message is delivered. And it has been and will be.

Q So you're saying that the fact that he goes isn't important; what's important is the fact that the President announced he wanted to go?

MR. FITZWATER: It's the message, not the medium -- to paraphrase Marshall McCluhan.

Q It's the message, not the trip?

MR. FITZWATER: Not the medium. The trip's important, an important vehicle for doing this. But what's important is that the United States convey its message to Central America.

Q Inasmuch as the President said he viewed the trip as very, very important diplomacy, what is the Vice President's diplomatic objective in Jamaica? Never mind that it's not Latin America -- but what is the objective, Marlin?

MR. FITZWATER: Jamaica is a very important country, certainly influential in the Caribbean and it's important that we be able to reassure them, as we are with Latin American countries, of our interest in the Carribean and in Central America.

Q Have a good golf course?

Q When is Endara expected to come here? And what's

the status of the deliberations on the Panama aid package now?

MR. FITZWATER: I haven't heard any plans for an Endara trip here. The AID package is -- that question is under review. We have had a report submitted by Secretaries Eagleburger and Robson and it is being considered by the administration. We don't have final decisions at this point, but it is under consideration.

Q When do you think you will have the announcement of the package itself?

MR. FITZWATER: Can't say exactly when. But it could be anytime.

Q Marlin, do you expect that as a separate thing or as part of the budget -- just come out as part of the budget?

MR. FITZWATER: Probably separate -- would be my guess.

Q Price tag on that? Do you have any ballpark figures?

MR. FITZWATER: Not that I can talk about. That's part of the debate.

Okay, see you at Constitutional Hall.

Q Wait, wait, wait.

Q Could you tell us about the President's travel arrangements on Friday from Miami?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know all the details. I am told that he intends to fly from Miami to Hagerstown on a small plane. I know that several of you have raised concerns about that, and I have promised to pass those along to the staff, which I will do later today. I think Johanna is providing me with a note on that on behalf of the Correspondence Association.

Q Is any press going to be on the Gulf Stream that goes to Hagerstown?

MR. FITZWATER: I do not anticipate any press being on the plane.

Q Why?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, it's a seven, eight passenger plane. It's very small. It's just not able --

Q One person doesn't take up a lot of space.

MR. FITZWATER: You don't take up much room? I'll consider it.

Q What's the reason that he's taking the Gulf Stream?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, he's going directly to Camp David and it cuts off on flight time. The plane is already there, and he just felt it would be easier to fly directly to Hagerstown.

Q Does it save about a half hour or so?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes.

Q How much extra money does it cost to fly the Gulf Stream down to Florida?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, it's already there. It goes as a backup plane on every trip anyway, so there is no extra cost involved

there.

Q The Gulf Stream goes on every trip?

Q But you're going to have to fly Air Force One is --

MR. FITZWATER: The reason is it's got the same kind of communications that Air Force One has.

Q What's the outlook for a speech?

Q But Air Force One is going to have to fly back empty to Andrews anyhow, right?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we'll put the pool on there and we'll have staff on there.

Q On Air Force One?

Q Without the President?

MR. FITZWATER: On the 707. You don't have to do it if you don't want to, but it's there.

Q Is it going to leave earlier?

Q Can we sit in the President's chair? (Laughter.)

Q Is Air Force One going to leave earlier? Earlier than the press charter?

Q What's the outlook for a text tomorrow morning?

MR. FITZWATER: We'll try and have advance texted if we can.

Q Party on Air Force One.

Q What's he going to talk about?

Q Does the President intend to explain his Panama policy to the new President of Brazil next week here in the White House? He's coming on the 26th, no?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes. I don't know about that. I'll have to get you a briefing on it or something.

Q How badly do you expect to lose the China students bill with veto override vote? (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: I beg your pardon? (Laughter.) Rude is the word of the day here. We expect to win.

Q Why do you expect to win? Has there been some turn-around in your vote counting? (Laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: We will use all the powers of our persuasion and hope for the best.

Q I'd like to go back to something you said earlier, actually, on interest rates. You were talking about the Fed and you hope that they will see that lower interest rates are justified. Aren't you violating one of your long-standing rules that you don't signal to the Fed, at least from the podium here, as to which direction you wanted to see these things go?

MR. FITZWATER: We aren't trying to tell the Fed what to do, but we have always said we like lower interest rates. The President has said that a number of times, and that's still the case.

Q You lumped the Fed in with that statement, that they will see --

MR. FITZWATER: This is not a new message, but it's important occasionally to point out that lower interest rates are normally good for the economy.

Q Did Mexico and Venezuela let us know that they weren't ready to host Quayle at this time? And were there any other countries that conveyed that message?

MR. FITZWATER: I'm not aware of any specific messages along those lines.

Q Any other countries?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know -- there were reasons why some of these countries weren't scheduled now. Whether it will be later or not, I don't know. But I don't know about specific directions from them, what their interests were.

Q What about Ozal? Are you going to have statements?

MR. FITZWATER: We'll have a written readout.

Q Marlin, coming back to the President's comment here so early when he dispatched Quayle -- or said he was dispatching Quayle to Latin America, isn't the response of these countries a snub right at -- directly at George Bush? He said he wanted Quayle to go down there and take on this mission, and they said, no, thank you, not at this time.

MR. FITZWATER: No, we don't consider that. We think it's important to send our message there. The reason it's important, frankly, is because obviously there were concerns in Latin America following the Panama situation; obviously there were reasons why the President felt it was necessary to reiterate our support and our interest in working with them. And that's an important message to put out, no matter how many countries the Vice President goes to.

Q As of now, he's only going to Jamaica and Honduras, right?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have the list. I thought there were five or six. China and Brazil -- I don't know who else.

Q China?

MR. FITZWATER: I mean Chile. (Laughter.)

Q Where's Scowcroft? (Laughter.)

Q Where's Scowcroft today? Is he here?

MR. FITZWATER: It starts with a C.

Q Do you expect any Eastern European leaders to visit the President in the next month?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know that any are scheduled. Am I wrong there? Do we have any scheduled? Nothing scheduled.

Q When is the MFN for Romania going to be announced?

MR. FITZWATER: Romania? Czechoslovakia you mean. It's under consideration, but no final decision yet.

Q Is it the same for Romania?

MR. FITZWATER: Scowcroft is here. I talked to him a few

minutes ago.

Q Is it the same for Romania -- it's under consideration?

MR. FITZWATER: I'd have to check on Romania.

Q Is Gates coming directly back to the U.S. from the Philippines?

MR. FITZWATER: Roman, I'm going to have to ask you to take over so I can skip out.

Q Where are you going, Marlin?

Q He's going to see Scowcroft off.

MR. FITZWATER: I have a meeting with the President.

Q About what?

Q Is this the interview that was being given?

Q Is it about the Gulf Stream? Is that --

MR. FITZWATER: I protect all my press sources. Never comment on interviews.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 10:11 A.M. EST

#01/18-#152

Lincoln & dome - before cannon balls

quote
1st to lie in state beneath dome

Dumas Malone, Jefferson

Bush in Hse -

John Burns

1990 = 100th Annie / Sherman Anti-Trust
ID, + WY
creation of Yosemite
Ike born
Depression organized

Bartlett
6128 Long Meadow Rd.
McLean, VA 22101

"If the people see the Capitol going on, it is a sign that we intend the Union shall go on."

p. 17 - 8th ed.
The Capitol
1861:
John Eaton, OH -
justify cont. bldg
of cap, esp dome

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The Christian Science Monitor

August 10, 1987, Monday

SECTION: Ideas; BOOKS; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 789 words

HEADLINE: Asking the right questions: the voice of a Czech dissident; Vaclav Havel: Or Living in Truth, edited by Jan Vladislav. London and Boston: Faber & Faber. 315 pp. $22.50.

BYLINE: William Echikson; Monitor correspondent William Echikson, based in Paris, writes frequently about Eastern Europe.

BODY:

Can communism reform itself? Just as Westerners are getting excited about the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, this timely book has appeared to administer a healthy dose of skepticism.

''Vaclav Havel: Or Living in Truth'' consists of six essays by Czechoslovakia's best-known dissident, along with 16 short tributes to him by friends such as playwright Arthur Miller and novelist Heinrich Boll.

The essays are not ordinary political analyses. They are poetic, philosophical meditations. Although Havel was a founding member of the Charter 77 human rights group, he considers himself first a playwright. Contemporary events interest him little. Imagine this: Nowhere in his essays does he write about any of the present leaders of Czechoslovakia.

Nor does Havel describe his personal tribulations as a dissident. Since the 1968 Soviet invasion, he has endured constant harassment by the secret police and spent more than four years in jail. Although theaters in major Western cities - New York, London, Paris, Vienna - have staged his plays, his writings, including this book, are banned in his homeland.

Instead, Havel's focus is the seemingly ordinary. In an essay called ''Thriller,'' he spends six pages discussing one day's news, using singer Michael Jackson's rock video as a metaphor for alienation in modern, technological society. He spends more pages dissecting the suppression of a Czech rock group named the Plastic People - ''unknown young people who wanted no more than to be able to live within the truth, to play the music they enjoyed.''

Behind this eclectic choice of topics lies a powerful logic. Havel is interested in how power is wielded, and for Westerners, his conclusions are startling. Communist governments don't beat their populations into submission through brute force, he says. They stymie them through an intricate web of lies. When military occupation is described as ''fraternal assistance,'' when shelves full of books are published in the name of progress only to rewrite history, ''the main pillar of the system is living a lie.''

Some of the most moving passages in the book concern just how lies have destroyed individuals in his country.

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''In 1974 when I was employed in a brewery, my immediate superior was a certain S, a person well versed in the art of making beer,'' Havel writes. ''He was proud of his profession and he wanted our brewery to brew good beer. He spent almost all his time at work, continually thinking up improvements and he frequently made the rest of us feel uncomfortable because he assumed that we loved brewing as much as he did.''

Unfortunately, ''the brewery itself was managed by people who understood their work less.'' They felt threatened by S and his suggestions. S was described as a ''political saboteur,'' and was ''thrown out of the brewery and shifted to another one where he was given a job requiring no skill.''

Real change in communist countries, Havel says, can only come when the S's of the East bloc are not frustrated from properly doing their jobs, no matter how menial. Will Mr. Gorbachev let them?

Gorbachev realizes that economic improvement cannot be accomplished without political improvement. Through glasnost, he proposes new candor in the press, greater tolerance of public debate, and even multi-candidate elections.

Havel does not doubt Gorbachev's reforming zeal. Although most of these essays were written before the new reform drive in Moscow, he told this correspondent in a recent interview in Prague that he hoped the Soviet leader can ''give us some open space.''

Still, he remained skeptical. What the Soviet leader is proposing, he explained, is contradictory. True pluralism and openness would let the S's succeed - and threaten East-bloc leaders' own power base. It is no accident that Czechoslovakia's aging leaders seem reluctant to follow Gorbachev's proposals despite the verbal support they give them.

What then can be done? Although Havel says that more of his fellow citizens must copy S and stand up for what they believe true, he gives no convincing answer of how to make them do so. He offers no plan of action, no political program.

The true value of his book is in posing the right questions. When Havel is asked, as he has time and time again, about the strength of Charter 77 opposition, or about the debate on nuclear missiles on either side of the Iron Curtain, he replies that these questions are not relevant. What should be asked is how communism affects people's ordinary lives, how it forces them to retreat into living a lie.

That is a pertinent lesson, both for Gorbachev as he moves ahead with his reforms, and for Westerners as they try to understand what he is up against.

Except from 'The Power of the Powerless'

If 'dissidents' have any kind of authority at all and if they have not been exterminated long ago like exotic insects that have appeared where they have no business being, then this is not because government holds this exclusive group and their exclusive ideas in such awe, but because it is perfectly aware of the potential political power of 'living within the truth' rooted in the hidden sphere, and well aware too of the kind of world 'dissent' grows out of and the world it addresses: the everyday human world, and the world of daily tension

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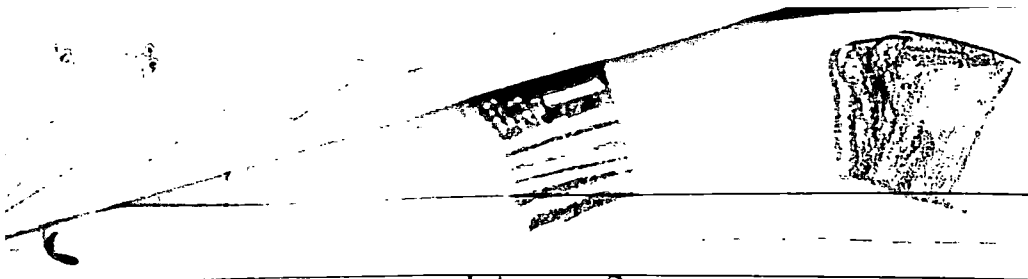
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between the aims of life and the aims of the system.

GRAPHIC: Picture, no caption

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Dec 5, 19

Dear Mr. Bush,

I am glad that you had a chance to meet with Mr. Gorbachev. I hope that you were able to talk about the futur

There are many things I think about. Some are: to see peace in the world, the world working together to stop the drug problem and to try to help the poor by giving food and clothing.

I hope that your meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was the first step in solving these problems.

Keep up the good work, Mr. President.

Sincerely,
Jeffrey Isola

December 5, 198

Dear President Bush,

I know you are a good grandfather to your grandchildren. I hope you will remember them, me and all the children in the world when you talk to the leaders of Russia and other countries. Our lives and happines depend on you. Please make sure there is peace for us.

I think it is great how the Berlin wall is coming down. Now there is freedom for East Berlin.

Sincerely,
Carolyn Lee

Dear President George Bush,

What are your plans about drug abuse? What will you do about it? I know a boy who knows a drug dealer near his house. How will it stop?

Is Mikhail Gorbachev a nice man? When will the Berlin wall come down? When will East Berlin have freedom? Do children there get to play baseball? I heard there is not a lot of food in east Germany. How can we help?

What did you think of the earthquake damage in San Francisco? We didn't have damage to our house but it scared us pretty good. Have a nice Christmas.

Sincerely,
Danny Summers

1590 Bellaire
Clovis ca 936
Dec. 18, 1889.

Dear President Bush and Mrs. Bush.

My name is AMy Daniels and I'm a girl. I go to Miramote. I Like It very much and It is fun. I Live on Buckingham Street. I Live in a twostory house. It is whitelsh, Peach, and blue out Linei I Love my house and my room of course. I am 8 years old. My family names are Peggy, Chad, Kym, Josh, and me, that's Amy, you Rnow already. I Love my family, and do you have any children. I'm just curious. And I would like to live with you to see what Kind of world you have. In the next ten years I want the world to change and make it pretty and beautiful.

Sencerely Amy

958 Maple Drive
Lake Odessa, MI 48849
January 5, 1990

Dear Mr. President,

I think I'm really lucky to live in a free country. I can't really imagine what it would be like not to be free. I guess it's kind of like being grounded. You can't go where you want to when you want to. You are really mad at whoever told you that you couldn't. I feel really sorry for people who don't have their freedom.

To me a word that describes democracy is freedom. When we are eighteen or older, we can vote for who we want to run our country. A lot of countries are just told who will be the leaders of their countries. By choosing someone we want to be our country's leaders, we'll vote for someone who has the same ideas we do about our government.

In Communist countries you have to be in the Communist party to run for office. In Monarchy ruled countries, you have to be in the royal family to acquire power. In a dictatorship, you have to take over the country with military force. In a democratic country andy United States citizen is eligible to run for office. This includes any Caucasion or minority groups.

As United States citizens we shouldn't take democracy and freedom for granted. Democracy isn't cheap. A lot of brave Americans have given their lives for our country. United States citizens have the constitutional right to vote, so why do only thirty percent of eligible voters actually vote? I'm not old enought to vote, but when I am, I will. We should follow all the laws that our government makes. We should help the homeless and do anything we can to help people who are less fortunate than we are. I helped raise money for the community Christmas baskets and helped deliver them. That's just one of the things we can do for the people in our community and country.

Sincerely,

Darci L. Coppess

Darci Coppess

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

Millionaires need not apply. To muzzle Democratic charges that he cares only for the rich, President George Bush will put an income ceiling on his plan to encourage individual savings. His budget, due on January 29, proposes that taxpayers earning up to a specified amount—$60,000 per person is a working figure—be allowed a new, tax-free savings account. Each individual could put away up to $2,500 in after-tax income annually for 10 years. Withdrawals would be tax-free. Designed to encourage young adults to save, the proposal is a counterweight to Bush's call for a capital-gains-tax cut, attacked by Democrats as a giveaway to the rich.

Lost in the Baltics. *Mikhail Gorbachev is not the only world leader unsure about how to cope with the independence-minded Baltic republics of the Soviet Union. While the U.S. has never recognized Stalin's forcible annexation in 1940 of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the Bush administration does not want to say it favors their independence—for fear of adding heat to an already explosive situation. But how would the U.S. respond if the Soviets used violence to crush separatism? One senior administration official says that the U.S. would "have a strong protest." Other officials use "self-determination" to describe U.S. policy toward the Baltics but concede that the term leaves unclear whether it means independence and whether it might apply to other Soviet republics as well. Says one U.S. official: "Nobody knows what our policy is."*

"Reproductive McCarthyism." The abortion fight may have moved to state legislatures, but liberals looking for a hot issue in this year's elections hope to shift it right back onto George Bush. People for the American Way, the liberal lobby group that spent $1.5 million in the anti-Bork campaign, will soon issue a blistering report accusing the administration of "reproductive McCarthyism." It charges that the abortion issue "has served as a wedge enabling the far right to exert tremendous influence on Bush-administration decisions." Challenging White House denials that abortion is a litmus test for key appointments, the report says anti-abortion activists have taken over the Department of Health and Human Services and influence policy on issues far beyond abortion, such as sex education, AIDS and homosexuality. The report is likely to rekindle emotional debates on Capitol Hill and in next fall's congressional campaign.

And now, help for the not-so-rich

The Democrats' new antidrug strategy

A Watergate scandal rocks Hungary

Shy no more. *Congressional Democrats believe they have figured out how to disagree with Bush's war on drugs without appearing to be soft on crime. The Democrats, who last year shied away from confrontation with the White House after it sent up its first battle plan in the drug war, will argue that the crackdown on casual users promoted by the President and drug czar William Bennett wastes resources. The Democrats will contend that new funds should be used to expand treatment*



Senator Joe Biden
Help for the hard-core

and enforcement programs for hard-core addicts. "Unless we take immediate steps to combat the crisis of hard-core users," says Democrat Joe Biden, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "all of our other efforts will be wasted."

Playing peacemaker. Ken Duberstein, Ronald Reagan's last White House chief of staff, has been asked to head off another flare-up of the blustery feud between Ed Rollins, cochairman of the GOP Congressional Committee, and Newt Gingrich, the House minority whip. Duberstein, now a private consultant in Washington, will direct a GOP strategy council that will try to induce harmony in this fall's House elections campaign and among Hill Republicans, especially where Rollins and Gingrich are involved. The two not only dislike each other but clash on strategy. While Rollins wants Republicans to stress the district-by-district building of grass-roots organizations, Gingrich favors a national approach playing up themes such as congressional reform and portraying the Democrats as in power on the Hill too long. The GOP needs a net gain of 42 seats to win control of the House for the first time since 1953.

State of the union: Short, sweet. *White House insiders predict that Bush's state-of-the-union address will be one of the briefest in recent times. Administration researchers say the average such message has been 50 minutes long. Bush's will be under 30 minutes and will focus on his successes abroad, such as the Panama invasion. On domestic issues, Bush will highlight the "unfinished agenda" of 1989: His proposals to revise the Clean Air Act and to fight drugs and crime. They are languishing on Capitol Hill. However, the President is not expected to bash Congress but to return to the "offered hand" theme of his inaugural speech.*

Danubian Watergate. Democracy has produced Eastern Europe's first election scandal. In Hungary, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the League of Young Democrats, two opposition groups contending in the elections scheduled for March, have produced evidence that the Interior Ministry's state-security section, controlled by the renamed Communist Party, was tapping their phones and opening their mail as recently as last month. The scandal has provoked a split between Premier Miklos Nemeth and presidential candidate Imre Pozsgay, both reformed Communists. Nemeth disassociated himself from the secret police and agreed with the opposition's call for an investigation. But Pozsgay charged a smear campaign. "What is surprising is not the fact that the security service was tapping our phones and opening our mail," says Balint Magyar of the Alliance of Free Democrats. "What is surprising is that we can prove it."

Edited by Charles Fenyvesi

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

82 – (1st) A New Beginning

85 – 2nd Am Rev

86 – family of freedom/
family of free nations

throughout: freedom is on
the march

RR SOUs

Chris Hill
Poland Desk
647-1070

Elijah

1 Kings 19:11

... and then arose a mighty wind from the sea —

1 Kings: 18:34
(contest on Mt.

Martha — Seymour Ferch

- "He who wrongs the simple man and laughs while he is doing it, don't feel safe, the poet remembers. You can kill him, but there will emerge another. I will list all facts and conversations." Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel prize-winning poet, now lives in the U.S.

Wall behind monument:

- "The Lord gives strength to His people. The Lord gives to His people the blessing of peace." Czeslaw Milosz
- "May your spirit be replaced and circulate on this earth. Amen." Pope John Paul II, 1979 (his first visit to Poland)
- "They gave their lives so that you could live better . . . Honor their memory."

Plaques on wall:

- 1970/1980 - steel mills Katowice
- December 1970
- Job 16:18: "O Earth, don't cover my blood, don't be indifferent to my expressed desires." From the people of Czestochowa [chest-a-hova], home to the most holy Polish shrine
- Worker crew, furniture factory, Zamosc
- Warsaw Mill
- Funded by people's donations, Lichenie [lee-hen-ye], Poland, Konina Church
- "Ostrowca Swientokrzyski" [o-strove-sa svien-tow-kshi-ski] ". . . and there stirred up a wind from the sea."

The entrance to the Lenin Shipyard is just to the right (when facing) of the memorial. Big Solidarity sign. Also big sign that says "Wszyscy Odpowiadamy Za Polske" -- "We are all for/responsible for Poland."

Oliwa Cathedral

- 1178 -- Sambor I, Pomeranian Prince, introduces the Cistercian Order of Monks into Oliwa and endows them with estates. They build a wooden church and cloister.
- 1577 -- build in Gothic style, following plunder by fanatics from Gdansk, due to friendship between Abbey and Polish King Stephen.
- 1755 -- organ, built by John Wulf. Took 25 years to build. John Wulf finally became monk -- Brother Michael, following completion.
- 1925 -- Gdansk becomes a diocese and the church in Oliwa becomes a Cathedral Church.

17 R The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the company of Abi'-ram. 37:38; Num. 16:32
18 And a fire was kindled in their company; the flame burned up the wicked.
19 R They made a calf in Horeb, and worshiped the molten image. Ex. 32:4
20 Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass.
21 They R forgat God their saviour, which had done great things in Egypt; 78:11
22 R wondrous works in the land of Ham, *and* terrible things by the Red Sea. 105:27
23 R Therefore he said that he would destroy them, had not Moses his chosen R stood before him in the breach, to turn away his wrath, lest he should destroy *them*. Ex. 32:10; Deut. 9:19 • Ezek. 22:30
24 Yea, they despised the pleasant land, they believed not his word:
25 but murmured in their tents, *and* hearkened not unto the voice of the LORD.
26 R Therefore he lifted up his hand against them, to overthrow them in the wilderness: 95:11; Num. 14:28-35; Ezek. 20:15
27 R to overthrow their seed also among the nations, and to R scatter them in the lands. Lev. 26:33; Deut. 4:27 • 44:11
28 R They joined themselves also unto Ba'-al—pe'-or, and ate the R sacrifices of the dead. Num. 25:3; Deut. 4:3 • Num. 25:2
29 Thus they R provoked *him* to anger with their T inventions: and the R plague brake in upon them. Num. 25:4 • *doings* • Lev. 26:21
30 R Then stood up R Phin'-ehas, and executed judgment: and *so* the R plague was T stayed. Ex. 6:25 • Num. 25:7 • Num. 25:8 • *checked*
31 And that was counted unto him R for righteousness unto all generations for evermore. Num. 25:11
32 R They angered *him* also at the waters of strife, so that it R went ill with Moses for their sakes: 81:7, 95:9; Num. 20:2-13 • Num. 20:12
33 R because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips. 78:40; 107:11; Num. 20:3, 10
34 R They did not destroy the nations, R concerning whom the LORD commanded them: Judg. 1:21, 27-36 • Deut. 7:2, 16
35 but were mingled among the T heathen, and learned their works. *nations*
36 And R they served their idols: which were a snare unto them. Deut. 7:16; Judg. 2:12
37 Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto T devils, *evil spirits*
38 and shed R innocent blood, *even* the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and R the land was polluted with blood. 94:21 • Num. 35:33; Is. 24:5
39 Thus were they defiled T with their own works, and went a whoring with their T own inventions. *unclean* • *own ideas*
40 Therefore was the wrath of the LORD kindled against his people, insomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance.
41 And R he gave them into the hand of the heathen; and they that hated them ruled over them. Judg. 2:14; Neh. 9:27
42 Their enemies also R oppressed them, and they were brought into subjection under their hand. Ex. 1:14; Judg. 4:3; 10:12
43 R Many times did he deliver them; but they provoked *him* with their R counsel, and were R brought low for their iniquity. Judg. 2:16-18 • 81:12 • Judg. 6:6
44 Nevertheless he regarded their affliction, when R he heard their cry: Judg. 10:16
45 R and he remembered for them his covenant, and R repented according to the multitude of his mercies. 105:8 • Judg. 2:18
46 He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives.
47 R Save us, O LORD our God, and R gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto thy holy name, *and* R to triumph in thy praise. 1 Chr. 16:35 • 147:2 • 47:1
48 R Blessed *be* the LORD God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen. T Praise ye the LORD. 41:13; 72:18; 89:52 • *Hallelujah*

BOOK V—The Deuteronomy Book
Concerning God and His Word

PSALM 107

God's wonderful works to the children of men

O R GIVE R thanks unto the LORD, R for *he is* good: R for his mercy *endureth* for ever. 106:1 • 1 Chr. 16:8 • Deut. 30:3 • 68:19
2 Let R the redeemed of the LORD say *so*, whom he hath R redeemed from the hand of the enemy; Is. 35:9, 10; 62:12 • 78:42; 106:10
3 and R gathered them out of the lands, from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south. 106:47; Deut. 30:3
4 They R wandered in R the wilderness in a solitary way; they found no R city to dwell in. Num. 14:33 • Deut. 32:10 • *vv.* 7, 36
5 R Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them. 77:3; Ex. 2:23; Num. 21:4; Deut. 28:48
6 R Then they cried unto the LORD in their trouble, *and* he delivered them out of their distresses. *vv.* 13, 19, 28; 50:15
7 And he led them forth by the R right way, that they might go to a R city of habitation. 5:8; Ezra 8:21; Jer. 31:9 • 107:4, 36
8 R Oh that *men* would praise the LORD *for* his goodness, and *for* his wonderful works to the children of men! *vv.* 15, 21, 31
9 For he satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness.
10 Such as R sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, *being* R bound T in affliction and iron; 143:3; Is. 42:7 • 102:20 • *prisoners*

Therefore was the wrath of the Lo
ed against his people, insomuch th
bhorred his own inheritance.
And [R]he gave them into the hand
eathen; and they that hated th
over them. Judg. 2:14; Neh. 9:
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d iron; 143:3; Is. 42:7 • 102:20 • *prisoners*

11 because they [R]rebelled against the words of God, and contemned [R]the counsel of the Most High: Lam. 3:42 • 73:24
12 therefore he brought down their heart with labor; they fell down, and *there was* none to help. 22:11; 72:12; Is. 41:28
13 Then they [R]cried unto the LORD in their trouble, *and* he [R]saved them out of their distresses. *v.* 6; Ex. 2:23 • 27:1
14 He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and [T]brake their bands in sunder. *set them free*
15 Oh that *men* would [R]praise the LORD *for* his goodness, and *for* his wonderful works to the children of men! 9:11 • 25:8
16 For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder.
17 Fools, because of their transgression, and [R]because of their iniquities, are afflicted. Is. 65:6, 7; Jer. 30:14, 15; Ezek. 24:23
18 [R]Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they [R]draw near unto the [R]gates of death. 102:4; Job 33:20 • 88:3 • 9:13; Job 38:17
19 Then they [R]cry unto the LORD in their trouble, *and* [R]he saveth them out of their distresses. Ex. 2:23 • Ex. 3:7
20 [R]He sent his word, and [R]healed them, and [R]delivered *them* from their destructions. 147:15, 18; Matt. 8:8 • 30:2 • 30:3; 49:15
21 Oh that *men* would [R]praise the LORD *for* his goodness, and *for* his wonderful works to the children of men! 9:11 • 25:8
22 And [R]let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and [R]declare his works with [T]rejoicing. 50:14; 116:17 • 9:11 • *singing*
23 They that go [R]down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; Is. 42:10
24 these see the [R]works of the LORD, and his wonders in the [T]deep. 8:3 • *ocean*
25 For he [R]commandeth, and [R]raiseth the stormy wind, which [R]lifteth up the waves thereof. 105:31 • Jonah 1:4 • 93:3, 4
26 They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: [R]their soul is melted because of trouble. 22:14; 119:28
27 They reel to and fro, and [R]stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end. Job 12:25; Is. 24:20
28 [R]Then they cry unto the LORD in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. Jonah 1:14
29 He [R]maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. 65:7; 89:9
30 Then are they glad because they be quiet; so [R]he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Acts 27:44
31 [R]Oh that *men* would praise the LORD *for* his goodness, and *for* his wonderful works to the children of men! *vv.* 8, 15, 21
32 [R]Let them exalt him also [R]in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders. 29:2 • 145:5
33 He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the watersprings into dry ground;
34 a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.
35 [R]He turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into watersprings. 114:8; Is. 35:6, 7; 41:18
36 And there he maketh the hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a [R]city for habitation; *vv.* 4, 7
37 and sow the fields, and plant vineyards, which may yield fruits of increase.
38 He blesseth them also, so that they are multiplied greatly; and [R]suffereth not their cattle to decrease. Deut. 7:14
39 Again, they are [R]minished and [R]brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow. Ezek. 5:11; 29:15 • 38:6
40 He poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the [T]wilderness, *where there is* no way. *void place*
41 [R]Yet setteth he the poor on high from affliction, and [R]maketh *him* families like a flock. 113:7, 8 • 113:9; Job 21:11
42 [R]The righteous shall see *it,* and rejoice: and all [R]iniquity shall stop her mouth. 52:6; Job 22:19 • 63:11; Job 5:16
43 Whoso *is* wise, and will observe these *things,* even they shall understand the loving-kindness of the LORD.

PSALM 108

Israel looks to God for help

A song *or* psalm of David

O GOD, my heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise, even with my glory.
2 [R]Awake, [T]psaltery and harp: I *myself* will awake early. 57:8-11 • *Be alert*
3 I will [R]praise thee, O LORD, among the people: and I will sing praises unto thee among the nations. 2 Chr. 5:13
4 For thy [R]mercy *is* great [R]above the heavens: and thy truth *reacheth* unto the [T]clouds. 119:64; Deut. 4:31 • 113:4 • *skies*
5 Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens: and thy glory above all the earth;
6 that thy beloved may be delivered: save *with* thy right hand, and answer me.
7 God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoice, I will divide Shechem, and [T]mete out the valley of Succoth. *measure*
8 Gil'-e-ad *is* mine; Ma-nas'-seh *is* mine; E'-phra-im also *is* the strength of mine head; [R]Judah *is* my lawgiver; Gen. 49:10
9 [R]Moab *is* my washpot; over E'-dom will I cast out my shoe; over Philis'-ti-a [R]will I triumph. Num. 26:3 • 59:13
10 [R]Who will bring me into the strong city? Who will lead me into E'-dom? 60:9
11 [R]*Wilt* not *thou,* O God, *who* hast cast us off? And wilt not thou, O God, go forth with our hosts? 44:9; Deut. 8:2

'We All Want Change'

Impatient for democratic reform, Chinese students take to the streets

It was an astounding loss of face for China's leaders. As they drove up to the Great Hall of the People in Beijing for the funeral of former Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang last Saturday, they were confronted by tens of thousands of student protesters jeering and waving banners calling for democracy. As they climbed the steps, many leaders turned to stare in disbelief at the students, who shouted slogans such as "Down with bureaucracy, down with corruption!" As the funeral began, a hush suddenly fell upon the crowd. Students sat down outside the hall, facing a three-deep line of police, who sat down in turn. After the funeral ended, thousands of students lingered in Tiananmen Square for hours, demanding to talk with Prime Minister Li Peng. Li never complied, and some of the students, exhausted by an overnight vigil in the square, began to weep in frustration. Others vowed they would continue the protest.

When students take to the streets in China, trouble follows. Anti-Maoist demonstrations mourning the death of Zhou Enlai in 1976 touched off a major violent riot in Tiananmen Square. Student unrest and demands for political reform in 1986 and 1987 led to the downfall of Hu Yaobang, who was forced to resign for being too lenient with the protesters. After Hu died two weeks ago at the age of 73, thousands of university students poured into central Beijing to pay homage to the man they considered their champion. By day and by night, braving downpours and occasional beatings by police, more than 100,000 demonstrators shouted "Down with dictatorship!" and "Long live democracy!" The students even marched on Zhongnanhai, the headquarters of China's leadership, and staged sit-ins outside its walled compound. "This is the greatest challenge the government has faced in more than a decade," said a Beijing sociologist. "There is a leadership crisis here."

Although the protest movement spread to other major cities, including Shanghai, Nanjing and Tianjin, the government seemed eager this time to defuse the crisis by restraint rather than crush it by force—at least for the moment. Authorities declared the demonstrations illegal and warned that violators would be "dealt with severely according to the law." But the government allowed the gatherings to continue, even when they blocked all traffic along the capital's main thoroughfare, and ordered Beijing police to avoid roughhouse tactics that might only stir up more trouble. All the same, some heads did get cracked. During the second night of demonstrations, police armed with truncheons and electric prods charged a group of protesters when they refused to board a bus sent to take them home. The police beat and kicked some of them, pulling their hair and twisting arms. "It was terrifying," said one student. "There were bloodstains all over the bus."

Gathering momentum: The wave of protests began spontaneously and somewhat lightheartedly early last week as a march from Beijing University to Tiananmen Square, a distance of about 10 miles. When the students got there, they chanted a few slogans and unfurled a large banner proclaiming the late Hu Yaobang to be "the soul of China." But the mourning for Hu was really an excuse for an antigovernment rally that gathered momentum and adherents by the hour. The students demanded more "democracy"—more freedom of expression, a more unfettered press and an end to corruption in high places. "We have struggled for decades, and we still have no democracy," one Tiananmen protester shouted.

That message seemed to resonate for many Chinese. Soon, tens of thousands of office workers, laborers and business people crowded the square, partly to gawk, but also to lend silent support. "We all want political change," one middle-aged office worker explained. "We all are fed up with the government's mistakes." With each succeeding night the student movement seemed to broaden into a widely supported airing of pent-up grievances. "I am just an average worker," one young man told the students in the square, "but we workers support you. We all want democracy."



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

'Down with dictatorship': *Student protesters demonstrating in Tiananmen Square*



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

An astounding loss of face for the leadership: *Deng Xiaoping was one target of marchers who hung a monument with Hu's portrait*



JOHN GIANNINI—AFP

"Long live the proletariat!" the students shouted in response.

Many disaffected Chinese are also fed up with the aging Communist Party mandarins who have ruled the country for so long. Even Deng Xiaoping, 84, the symbol of post-Mao China's efforts to catch up with the 20th century, seems to many of his countrymen to be too old to lead the country. Students on some campuses have begun to lampoon him. In spoken Chinese, the name Xiaoping is a homonym of the words for "small bottle." After the death of Mao Zedong, when Deng emerged from political disgrace, people showed support for him by surreptitiously placing small bottles in public places. Now they have begun to scatter broken bottles.

Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang and Prime Minister Li are unpopular with students too. As prime minister from 1980 to 1987, Zhao pushed for rapid economic growth and daring reforms, including a degree of private ownership. Some regions boomed, but the whole country suffered the consequences of uncontrollable prices. Some party conservatives, academics and even ordinary Chinese blame Zhao for soaring inflation that has pushed the country to the brink of economic disaster. Li, Zhou Enlai's adopted son, is particularly disliked by Chinese students. When he headed the state education commission before becoming prime minister, he emerged as a rigid disciplinarian who demanded that students spend more time and energy studying Marxist ideology.

But the students seem to be aiming their protests at the system itself as much as at any particular leader. They made a series of demands, including public disclosure of the leaders' incomes, the right to demonstrate, more funding for education and an accurate account of their own activities in the official press. "We've been under a communist system for 40 years, and we're still living in hell!" shouted one angry student. "Why can they have democracy in America, and we can't have it here?"

Western ideas: When party hard-liners forced Hu's ouster as secretary-general in 1987, they accused him of failing to combat "bourgeois liberalism"—meaning Western democratic ideas—with sufficient vigor. Last week, however, the authorities felt it prudent to praise Hu. In his 10-minute eulogy, Zhao did not mention Hu's ouster, saying only that his dead colleague had been "brave enough to admit his mistakes and to insist upon what he thought was right."

The immediate question was how long the latest wave of student protest would last—and how long the leadership would continue to tolerate it. A harsh crackdown could damage China's image at a particularly inopportune moment, just as Beijing is preparing to receive Mikhail Gorbachev on May 15 for the first Sino-Soviet summit in 30 years. The authorities may gamble that the protest will soon run out of momentum. But students do not lack pretexts for further demonstrations. May Day, the traditional communist holiday, is one. Another is May 4, the 70th anniversary of a major student-protest movement. Acknowledging that their demands had been rejected, some students said after Hu's funeral that they would stop large-scale protests and devote themselves to meetings and discussion groups. But another warned: "This is only the beginning of our revolution." If masses of students take to the streets again, the government will have to meet them with either concessions—or old-fashioned repression.

ANGUS DEMING *with* DORINDA ELLIOTT *and* LENORE MAGIDA *in Beijing*

solved without Draconian measures that American society seems unwilling to impose.

"There's been a real explosion of drug use in prison," said Dr. Harry Wexler of Narcotics and Drug Research Inc., a nonprofit firm that does considerable research with Federal grants. "The explanation is simple: There's been a real explosion of drug users going to prison." William Flower, a spokesman for the Connecticut Department of Correction, added: "What you have on the street is what you have on the inside."

More than three dozen states are operating under some kind of court order controlling overcrowding, and tough enforcement of drug laws has worsened that problem as more men and women have been convicted of drug violations. Estimates of the prisoners personally involved with drugs now range from 40 to 90 percent.

Thousands of new cells are planned or under construction, costing billions of dollars. President Bush's new anti-drug program contains an 85 percent increase in Federal funds for prison construction.

Never in the nation's history have so many of its citizens been imprisoned. As of June 30, state and Federal

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Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's newly elected President, reviewing troops yesterday in Prague. Associated Press

Havel Chosen President; Prague Crowd Celebrates

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Dec. 29 — Vaclav Havel, the Czechoslovak writer whose insistence on speaking the truth about repression in his country repeatedly cost him his freedom over the last 21 years, was elected President by Parliament today in an event celebrated by the throng outside the chamber as the redemption of their freedom.

In a speech formally nominating the 53-year-old playwright, the country's Communist Prime Minister, Marian Calfa, praised Mr. Havel.

"He has won the respect of all," Mr. Calfa told the legislators assembled in the medieval Hradcany Castle high above the city. "He never accepted the suggestions of friends or foes that he go into exile, and bore the humiliation of a man oppressed and relegated by those in power to the margins of society. Your vote for Vaclav Havel will be a vote for insuring the human rights of every citizen of our country."

Mr. Calfa said Mr. Havel had insisted on free parliamentary elections next year as a condition for accepting the mostly symbolic post and would serve only until a new Parliament could be elected to choose a new President for a regular five-year term.

Alexander Dubcek, the country's Communist leader during the liberalizing Prague Spring of 1968 and now rehabilitated as the chairman of Parliament, called for other nominations. But there were none; Mr. Havel's election had been agreed to beforehand by the Communist leadership and the opposition Civic Forum.

Completing the formality, all 323 deputies in the heavily Communist legislature voted for Mr. Havel.

Mr. Dubcek and Mr. Calfa left the 16th-century hall to fetch the new President, somber in a dark blue suit, and swear him in with an oath revised by Parliament on Thursday to delete a promise of loyalty to the cause of socialism.

After a 20-gun salute and a military parade, he addressed the joyous crowd that thronged the castle courtyard.

"Dear friends," he said, "I promise you I will not betray your confidence. I

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the recent proliferation of
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Associated Press

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Parable

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Mr. Havel spent October 1979 to February 1983 in prison, the longest of his terms. During those years he wrote letters to his wife, Olga, whom he had married in 1965. (They have no children.) The missives were published later to much acclaim as "Letters to Olga."

Royalties and a Mercedes-Benz

Because of his dissident activities, Mr. Havel was forced to perform [illegible] although

Czechoslovakia

Havel Chosen President; Prague Rejoices

Continued From Page 1

will lead this country to free elections. This must be done in an honest and calm way, so that the clean face of our revolution is not soiled. That is the task for all of us. Thank you."

After his short speech, Mr. Havel went into St. Vitus Cathedral, within the castle walls for a Te Deum Mass presided over by 90-year-old Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, the country's Roman Catholic Primate and Archbishop of Prague. The Gothic cathedral was jammed with people of every age. The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra and choir performed Dvorak's "Te Deum."

Cardinal Tomasek, who celebrated the Mass, said "We have come today to the cathedral to thank God for the great hope that has opened up for us in the last few days."

This evening, tens of thousands of people streamed into the center of Prague's Old Town in what amounted to a street celebration of Mr. Havel's election. He appeared along with the visiting Portuguese President, Mário Soares, and greeted them.

Students' Intellectual Hero

Mr. Havel, son of an upper-class civil engineer, was not allowed to go to university by the Communist Government after he finished his compulsory schooling in 1951, because of his class background. Today the students of Prague, many of them children of the Communist ruling class, have made Mr. Havel their intellectual hero, and they have been on strike since demonstrations on Nov. 17 sparked the peaceful revolution that overthrew the long repression.

"Havel is the only guarantee that the changes here will be of a permanent character," said one of them, Ludek Vasta, 21, an economics student.

The student strike was expected to end today with his election.

President Havel, whose most recent prison term was for participating in a demonstration last January in memory of a student who immolated himself in protest against the crushing of the Prague Spring of 1968, is expected to address the nation by television on New Year's Day. Meanwhile, he has told friends, he will not move into the splendid presidential residence in the castle as his retired predecessor, Gustav Husak did, but will remain in the flat in the center of town where he and his wife, Olga, have lived for years, and commute to work in his car.

Making Moral Judgments

He is a man who wrote, in a 1984 acceptance speech for a French university award that the Czechoslovak au-

Czechoslovakia's Seven Weeks of Drama

Nov. 12: Amid the political turmoil sweeping Eastern Europe, Milos Jakes, the Communist Party General Secretary, tells a Communist youth conference that the party will not tolerate street protests or relax control of the country.

Nov. 17: In the largest anti-Government rally since 1968, tens of thousands of demonstrators take to the streets of Prague. The protest is crushed by the police.

Nov. 19: Tens of thousands of Prague protesters denounce police brutality. Opposition groups, including some Communist allies, coalesce into the new Civic Forum and demand the resignation of the Communist leaders responsible for the 1968 invasion.

Nov. 20: Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in Prague demand free elections and the resignations of the hard-line Communist leaders. Protests also break out in other cities.

Nov. 24: The Communist leadership, headed by Mr. Jakes, resigns and Karel Urbanek, a little-known party official, replaces him as General Secretary. Alexander Dubcek, the party leader during the 1968 Prague Spring, returns triumphantly to the capital and addresses a huge crowd in Wenceslas Square.

Nov. 27: Millions of people walk off their jobs and into the streets at midday, bringing Prague and the rest of the country to a standstill.

Nov. 29: Responding to opposition demands, a member of the Communist Politburo says free elections could be held within a year. A few hours later, Parliament carries out a Government promise to the opposition to strip the Constitution of language giving the Communist Party the dominant role in society.

Dec. 1: The new Politburo of the Communist Party declares that the Soviet-led invasion that ended the Prague Spring of 1968 was wrong. President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union acknowledges that the Czechoslovak liberalization movement of 1968 resulted from a yearning for democracy.

Dec. 3: A new Cabinet that includes non-Communists for the first time in 21 years is named but is rejected by the opposition.

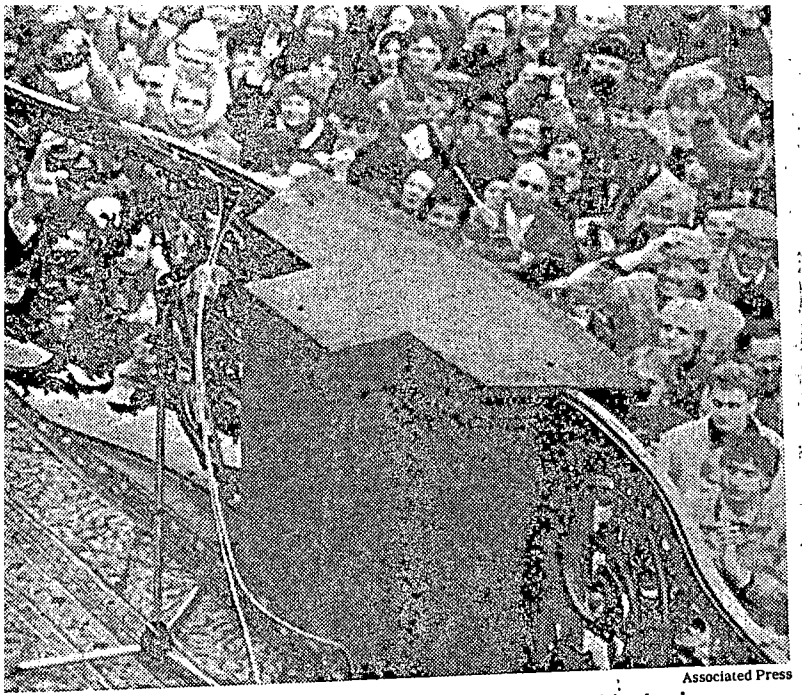
Dec. 7: Ladislav Adamec resigns as Prime Minister and is replaced by his relatively unknown 43-year-old deputy, Marian Calfa.

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Associated Press

Cheering while Vaclav Havel read the names of the new cabinet.



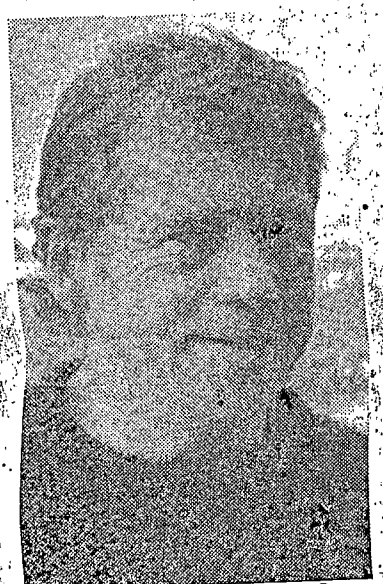
Associated Press

ent of Czechoslovakia, waving to the crowd yesterday after his election.

Master of the Parable

Vaclav Havel

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Reuters

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Royalties and a Mercedes-Benz

Because of his dissident activities, Mr. Havel was forced to perform menial work in a brewery. Although his plays were banned, the Government allowed him to collect foreign royalties in hard currency and to spend the money in special stores full of luxuries unavailable to ordinary Czechoslovaks. Mr. Havel even purchased a Mercedes-Benz, which he drove to work.

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Making Moral Judgments

He is a man who wrote, in a 1984 acceptance speech for a French university award that the Czechoslovak authorities would not allow him to pick up, "The slogan 'better Red than dead' does not irritate me as an expression of surrender to the Soviet Union, but it terrifies me as an expression of the renunciation by Western people of any claim to a meaningful life and of their acceptance of impersonal power as

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Associated Press

Cheering while Vaclav Havel read the names of the new cabinet.

Dec. 14: The new Foreign Minister, Jiri Dienstbier, a former leading dissident, declares that the agreement under which Soviet troops are stationed in Czechoslovakia is invalid because it was concluded under duress.

Dec. 28: Mr. Dubcek is elected chairman of Parliament.

Dec. 29: Parliament elects Vaclav Havel, the playwright and

...commodities unavailable to ordinary Czechoslovaks. Mr. Havel even purchased a Mercedes-Benz, which he drove to work.

...S:

The Government often pressured Mr. Havel to emigrate, but he refused, even declining to go abroad to accept international drama prizes in the Netherlands and Sweden out of fear he would not be allowed back into his native country. In the spring of 1968, Mr. Havel made his only visit to the United States, to see his play "The Memorandum" performed at Joseph Papp's Public Theater.

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Mr. Havel was most recently imprisoned early this year, for trying to lay a wreath at the grave of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death during the 1968 invasion. The playwright was released after four months. In October, he was dragged from his sickbed and detained on the eve of anticipated protests. Then came the rapid sequence of events that has led him to the Presidency.

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"I am Czech," Mr. Havel said in an interview in 1988. "This was not my choice, it was fate. I've lived my whole life in this country. This is my language, this is my home. I live here like everyone else. I don't feel myself to be patriotic, because I don't feel that to be Czech is to be something more than French, or English, or European, or anybody else.

"God — I don't know why — wanted me to be a Czech. It was not my choice. But I accept it, and I try to do something for my country because I live here."

...surrender to the Soviet Union, but it terrifies me as an expression of the renunciation by Western people of any claim to a meaningful life and of their acceptance of impersonal power as such. For what the slogan really says is that nothing is worth giving one's life for."

Through much of Mr. Havel's work runs the thread of what he calls "the absolute horizon" — the moral and philosophical judgments that give human life its meaning. He repeatedly warned his persecutors that by their repression of human freedom they were ultimately undercutting their own existence as well.

When the Soviet-led invasion began in August 1968, Mr. Havel took part in Free Czechoslovak Radio broadcasts. A year later, he signed a declaration condemning the post-Dubcek policy of "normalization." His published works were withdrawn from public libraries, and his new works were banned.

In April 1975, he sent a letter to the man he has now succeeded as President, Mr. Husak, warning that ultimately a repressed people would demand a price for "the permanent humiliation of their human dignity."

'The Lava of Life'

"I fear the price we are all bound to pay for the drastic suppression of history, the cruel and needless banishment of life into the underground of society and the depths of the human soul, the new compulsory 'deferral' of every opportunity for society to live in anything like a natural way," he wrote then, more than a decade before the facade crumbled in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

"No wonder, then, that when the crust cracks and the lava of life rolls out, there appear not only well-considered attempts to rectify old wrongs, not only searchings for truth and for reforms matching life's needs, but also symptoms of bilious hatred, vengeful wrath and a kind of feverish desire for immediate compensation for all the endured degradation," he wrote.

For writing that letter, and for organizing the Charter 77 human rights movement at the beginning of January 1977, Mr. Havel was arrested and charged with "subversion of the republic." Convicted that October, his 14-month sentence was conditionally deferred, but he was in and out of jail again until arrested in May 1979 for supporting the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted. With Jiri Dienstbier, now Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, and four other defendants, he was tried again for subversion that October and sentenced to four-and-one-half years in prison, but he was released for health reasons in February 1983.

His refusal to break with the Charter 77 movement led to other brief periods of detention in jail. But in January of this year, defying police orders to stay away from a demonstration in memory of Jan Palach, the young man who burned himself alive in protest after the 1968 invasion, cost him four months' imprisonment.

After his release, Mr. Havel called for restraint in commemorating the invasion's 21st anniversary in August, but he had to hide from the police anyway to keep from being arrested. He and three associates organized a petition, called "A Few Words," which soon gathered tens of thousands of signatures, calling for the release of all political prisoners and an end to discrimination on religious and other grounds.

The presidency of independent Czechoslovakia was first held by Tomas G. Masaryk, from 1918 to 1935. Eduard Benes, his successor, resigned in 1938 when the Western Allies signed Czechoslovakia over to Nazi Germany in the Munich Pact, but served again from 1946 to 1948. After that all presidents had to be members of the Communist Party, and they were until President Husak resigned on Dec. 10.

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Dec. 29: Parliament elects Vaclav Havel, the playwright and opposition leader, President of Czechoslovakia.

...ght to Use the Muslim Names They Were Forced to Change

The first Muslim birth certificate in 10 years is issued.

The ferment in Bulgaria in recent weeks has led to ...yast rallies and to promises by the governing Communists to open Bulgarian society, hold free elections and remove the Communist Party's guaranteed leading role from the Constitution. Today, about ...,000 journalists rallied in front of the ...arty headquarters demanding free...lom of the press.

At that rally, a Muslim speaker said he first birth certificate with a Muslim ...ame in the last 10 years, that of one-...onth-old Osman Bajram Husseinov, ...ad just been issued by the municipal ...egistrar's office.

The forced name changes and increasing curbs on ethnic and religious rights of the 1.5 million Turkish minority prompted more than 300,000 to leave for Turkey earlier this year after the Bulgarian authorities issued passports. Many of the Bulgarian Turks left their ancestral homes for squalid squatters' encampments in northwestern Turkey.

The hastily convened meeting of the Central Committee was also planning to discuss "high-level cadre changes" in the party and state hierarchy, officials close to the Communist leadership said.

Thousands of People Rally

On Thursday, about 10,000 people rallied in a city park to hear leaders of an independent trade union demand a faster pace for reform than what was promised after the hard-line Communist leader, Todor I. Zhivkov, was ousted last month.

At a second rally, thousands of ethnic Turks and other Muslims demonstrated against Government persecution and demanded more democracy. The gatherings came one day after the ruling Communist Party Politburo agreed to talks with the opposition, beginning on Wednesday.

"Political pluralism, access to the media and ethnic problems are among some of the topics we will raise with the authorities" at the talks, said Konstantin Trenchev, the head of the Podkrepa opposition group.

Podkrepa is one of several groups that have functioned publicly since Mr. Zhivkov was forced from power. The new Communist leadership has agreed to pursue reform, but dissidents say the changes have been slow.

Police Broke Up Demonstration

The reform movement gained impetus after the police violently broke up an Oct. 26 demonstration called by the environmental group Eco-Glasnost. On Nov. 10, Mr. Zhivkov was driven from power by more reform-oriented Communists.

An Eco-Glasnost spokesman, Deyan Kyuranov, said at the rally that he was convinced that pressure from opposition groups helped bring about the ouster on Wednesday of Interior Minister Georgi Tanev. Mr. Tanev was fired for ordering the police to attack demonstrators.

Mr. Kyuranov described the scheduling of talks as "a significant victory."

"Despite the fact that the Government was inclined to eventually stage such a discussion, the threat of a general strike by the Podkrepa independent trade union forced their hand," he said.

The unofficial trade union had plans for a general strike on Thursday but called it off "to respect the Government's good will" after the authorities said they would hold talks.

...Evidence Is Seen as Linking

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January 1, 1990, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 25, Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 757 words

HEADLINE: ESSAY;
The Opposition Stirs

BYLINE: By William Safire

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

''For myself, as a Democrat, respectfully,'' quietly begins the best public speaker in American politics today, ''I think we have given an appropriate period of deference to the newly victorious President.''

First he thanks Mr. Bush for ''candidly rejecting his predecessor's narrow view of life in America.'' He warns that if kinder, gentler talk is not backed up with resources, ''then he will be revealed as an unconverted, conservative Republican who has simply earned himself some cheap grace by reciting a little Democratic poetry.''

After this jab, some serious punching: ''In the campaign,'' he reminds the President, ''you said there was no money for housing or child care or education programs. Remember?

''Now, suddenly, you've come up with $166 billion for savings and loans . . . You said you didn't have it. Where did you get it? Is it there for banks but not for babies?''

He zings that point home with specifics: ''Do we have $166 billion to fight fiscal problems but not $16 billion to fight drugs? One hundred sixty-six billion dollars to protect investors but not $20 billion to educate kids and teach them the fundamental values that could save a generation? It's there, Mr. President . . . if you want to do it.''

Finally, the peroration that pulls partisans out of their seats: ''If the Administration says that we have the will but not the wallet; the desire but not the ability; the intention but not the imagination, that the country has run out of resources, that we have run out of steam - then we will know the flag they've been waving so furiously is a flag of surrender! And the American people will never accept that!''

That ringing oratory is delivered with passion by the Governor of New York, Mario Cuomo.

Nobody is listening yet; you don't see those words on television or even quoted in a newspaper. It's too soon, the fun is in foreign affairs, and the public is readier to quell than cavil.

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This weekend, as the President's supremely confident staff is passing around drafts of the State of the Union message, New York's hungry Governor puts the finishing flourishes on his State of the State address. The two speeches are the opening guns of the 1992 Presidential campaign.

What makes me think Mario is going for it this time? (That's pronounced marry-o; mah-rio on non-Italian lips is a subtle ethnic slur.) Little signals count: for the first time since he became Governor, he granted no executive clemencies at the end of the year. Somebody remembers Willie Horton.

A bigger signal is the Presidential focus of his interests. When members of a delegation from Solidarity visited him, Mr. Cuomo discovered they were unfamiliar with the writings of Abraham Lincoln. Forty top scholars assembled by Prof. Gabor Boritt of Gettysburg College are now choosing those works of Lincoln to be translated into Polish that will best help the new Government learn democracy.

Seeking to capture Lincoln for his party just as candidate Reagan captured F.D.R., the Governor thinks big about the peace dividend: ''Use it to bring down the deficit and interest rates,'' he tells me, ''and to answer national interests, like drugs and education - you can't get away with that 'goals' stuff; and to help Eastern Europe make it with a market economy.''

That's a national candidate at work, honing his themes. Practical question: Should he run for re-election this year? Reagan's route was to leave the governorship and concentrate on running for President; Gov. Dukakis held on to his post and was putting out home fires throughout his campaign.

That suggests it makes more sense these days to leave the state house first. But if he left Albany, would Mario control the New York delegation at the Democratic Convention? He is a loner, and if succeeded by a Democrat in office - Robert Abrams, Liz Holtzman, Andrew Stein, Felix Rohatyn or Arthur Liman - he could count on no automatic deliverance of delegates.

Forget the old favorite-son approach. The former Governor would win the New York delegation in a primary. Besides, a Republican would probably become New York governor in time for the next recession. Rudolph Giuliani and Chief Judge Sol Wachtler would slug it out in a primary, unless Jack Kemp decided to return. (Mario observes innocently, ''But Jack's no longer a resident.'') I like Mario. (I like Nixon too; what does that say?) With George Bush's popularity peaking, Democratic White House stock is at an all-time low. Good time to buy. Mario Cuomo knows that; listen to his speeches.

TYPE: OP-ED

SUBJECT: Terms not available

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MEMORANDUM

TO: McClure/Demarest

FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: State of the Union Address

DATE: ~~January 30, 1990 — Tuesday~~ ~~January 23, 1990 - Tuesday~~ ~~January 25, 1990 - Thu~~ January 30, 1990 - Tues

TIME: 9:00 p.m.

DURATION: ~~TBD~~ 45 minutes

LOCATION: United States Capitol

ATTIRE: Business suit

REMARKS REQUIRED: Speech

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open Press

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: Yes

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