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PD –

Pete Mackie
USC
803-777-2001

Opening joke:

I promise not to make this too long. For one thing, my limo is parked at a meter, and I'm afraid they'll tow it to Pettigrew.

PD –

Chris Simpson USC
(803) 777-3106

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Columbia, South Carolina)

For Immediate Release May 12, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

11:25 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, President Holderman. Distinguished officials of this wonderful university. My special respects to two great United States Senators, Senators Strom Thurmond, Fritz Hollings, over here. I'm proud to be with them today. (Applause.) And to Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson, with us. Of course, to my dear friend, your Governor, Carroll Campbell, who's a tremendous partner in our national crusade for excellence in education. (Applause.)

I also want to say how pleased I am to be on this stage with Archbishop Iakovos, one of the great church leaders of today. (Applause.)

I know, looking around, that tickets were hard to come by today. It wasn't simply parking. Barbara's here. (Laughter and applause.) Thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree there because it was the only way I could get her a seat in this big place. (Laughter.) But thank you for honoring her.

And she's in great company, as am I, with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is about as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation. (Laughter.) Congratulations to you, sir. (Applause.)

And to Michael Eisner: The success that he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret's simple: just surround yourself with the best and the brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy. (Laughter and applause.) But what you may not know and you should is I salute him, too, for his commitment to this concept of "points of light" -- the best impulse of America -- and Michael Eisner exemplifies it -- one American willing to pitch in and help another. He's a great American. (Applause.)

Now to you all. I've saluted -- hope I have -- your faculty. I should; they're outstanding. The trustees and those who govern this great institution, and to the class who I'm here to help these others honor. You've gone to school for four years -- the last thing you want to hear is a long lecture. But I wanted to use this great university as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations. I've chosen to make each of several commencement speeches this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, down in Texas at Texas A & I, I spoke about technology and the vast frontier of space.

This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe. Now, that's pretty serious business -- (applause) -- but I'm going to ask you to bear with me, but telling you I do remember a graduation at Yale, where the graduation speaker got up -- my alma mater -- Y is for youth. That took 20 minutes. A is for altruism; young people be altruistic. Another 32 minutes. L for

loyalty. Brushed that one off in about 18 minutes. E obviously for excellence. Another 32 minutes. When he left, one student left, praying. And the speaker walked down. "I see you're giving thanks to the Lord." He said, "Yes, sir, I am. I'm giving thanks that I did not go to the University of South Carolina." (Laughter.)

So bear with me, because we are living in exciting times. In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering -- tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily -- what's beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: the deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any challenge to the rule of the state became the enemy of the state. Believers were persecuted, churches and cemeteries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History -- well, it was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes airbrushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it "organized forgetting."

Of course, these nations had laws. They had courts. They had constitutions. All in service to the state. They had -- in name at least -- rights and freedoms. In reality -- the empty shell of liberty.

Not the rule of law -- but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people, but the whim of the party. That's how, in Romania, the law made it illegal for three or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how, in another country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion -- was jailed for six months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule: a breakdown of trust. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." The bond that makes the collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation.

Fortunately. the moral destruction in Eastern Europe, as you all know, was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain an inner strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's wall of lies. They did so, as Vaclav Havel put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

And today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build on the ruins of communist rule; democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms, become a part of a Europe whole and free. Early this year in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an idea -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. And that idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of 1989.

Let me share a story with you about a recent American visitor to Romania who asked the people she met what they needed now, what was most important to them. This simple question produced some unexpected answers. In Timisoara, one woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, containing a bicentennial copy of the United States Constitution. And she held it out to the American visitor. And she said, "What we need is more of these."

And there on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food is in short supply, where homes are without heat and streets dark at night -- there a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is democratic life based on justice and the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons, their Hamiltons, their Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The nation builders who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- the heroes of the Revolutuion of '89. But for Eastern Europe's constitution builders, the work has only now begun. Because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern, but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

And just as the framers of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past. To Europe's example. And, of course, to our own American Constitution. And that's why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government.

Already we're actively engaged with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, with an ongoing series of exchanges bringing jurists and parliamentarians, political leaders here to the United States to meet their American counterparts. And today, I'm pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps that the United States will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, America will continue to act to advance economic freedom. In the past year, we've committed more than $1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. We've extended loans and credits, opened our markets through most-favored-nation status, and promoted American investment. And today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative -- the Export-Import Bank will provide Poland a new line of medium-term export credits and loan guarantees for purchasing machinery, technology and services from American suppliers.

And second, the United States will work to help ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. And next week, we'll send a presidential delegation to observe the elections in Romania; and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on human rights including free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. And I've instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman, head of our delegation, to seek a new consensus on these cornerstones of freedoms, rights and democracy. As I said last week at Oklahoma State University, we must work within the CSCE to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies into this commonwealth of free nations.

Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe, and I am pleased to announce today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. Its first mission: to establish a center and a clearinghouse for American

private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens, the collective stength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good.

America has much to contribute, much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. Systems based on respect for property and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes, not to build towers of gold and greed; but to provide for ourselves, for our families. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties -- the building blocks of a free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law.

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on Earth for millions of men and women. We've learned, through hard experience, that the only alternative to tyranny of man is the rule of law.

That's the essence of our vision for Europe. A Europe where not only are the dictators dethroned, but where the rule of law -- reflecting the will of the people -- ensures the freedoms millions have fought so hard to gain.

There is still work to be done. In the Baltic States where people struggle for the right to determine their own future, we Americans -- so free to chart our own course -- identify with their hopes and aspirations. For, you see, we're committed to self-determination for Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia. And ultimately, the Soviet Union itself, now committed to openness and reform, will benefit from a Europe that's whole and free. Democracy and freedom threaten absolutely no one.

We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph -- and oh, what exciting times we're living in -- that America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea and the unfinished business that awaits the generation that you proudly represent.

It's about a town called Pilsen in Czechoslovakia; a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Pilsen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain and with it, the truth about that day back in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Pilsen had been freed not by your fathers and granddads in the United States Army, but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people -- the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. And now it falls upon you, the graduating class of this great University, to uphold our American ideals; not in times of war, thank God, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom that your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedom millions only dreamed of, until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day

with you, your families and your friends. Thank you, and may God bless this great University and the Class of 1990. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you all.

END 11:40 A.M. EDT

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November 1, 1987, Sunday, Home Edition

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LENGTH: 963 words

HEADLINE: BUSH VOWS HE 'WON'T BE OUT-WORKED, OUT-HUSTLED' IN SWING THROUGH SOUTH

BYLINE: By JOHN BALZAR, Times Political Writer

DATELINE: COLUMBIA, S. C.

BODY:

When the going is good, the wind at your back, the office of vice president can provide an overpowering footing for waging a campaign for the presidency.

On a three-day swing through the Deep South, one of his presumed electoral strongholds and a crucial battleground, Republican George Bush showed off the authority and dazzling resources of his office.

In Tupelo, Miss., school was interrupted Friday so that the town's children, nearly 2,000 strong, could gather and put on an ear-deadening political rally in a high school gymnasium.

Local television carried the event live throughout the morning, even charting the progress of the vice president's limousine as it approached the site.

In Florence, S. C., school buses bearing a band and choir joined a sizable portion of the community's population at an outdoor plantation buffet, known as a "chicken bog." Race car celebrity Cale Yarborough pitched horseshoes with Bush in the picturesque red glow of a Southern sunset. Bush addressed the crowd from an antebellum porch while an army of police added to the atmosphere of the moment.

Again, local television broadcast live from the scene.

In Columbia, on Saturday, Bush, a glass of Bud Light in hand, delighted supporters with a free-beer tailgate party at the football game between the University of South Carolina and North Carolina State. Then he got himself introduced to 60,000 in the grandstand, whisking in and out of the stadium while traffic was held back.

Throughout South Carolina, police officers stood at attention as the vice president's dozen-car motorcade thundered through towns. People got out of their cars to applaud, never mind the inconvenience. Local newspapers played Bush's arrival as Page 1 news.

Voters Ride in Motorcade

Prominent uncommitted voters were invited to ride in the flashing-light motorcade and given private background briefings.

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(c) 1987 Los Angeles Times, November 1, 1987

"People here really appreciate the attention," explained John Wells, a Bush organizer from Elgin.

Unburdened by weighty Washington responsibilities but still commanding government logistic support second only to the President's, Bush is going places where no sitting vice president has ever gone and promising, "I won't be out-worked, out-hustled."

Campaign director Lee Atwater said lavish devotion of time to a state like South Carolina, Atwater's own home, produces immediate results. "Six stops in two days like we're doing and you can move a state like South Carolina," Atwater explained for the trip that ended Saturday.

Rivals concede the point.

"If I have one criticism of my man's campaign, (it) is that he doesn't spend enough time here -- I don't think he is taking it seriously," shrugged Bill Tallon, a retiree in Florence, who is co-chairman of the local campaign for rival presidential candidate Bob Dole, Senate minority leader. Tallon was interviewed as he enjoyed his Friday at a George Bush event.

Targeting South Carolina derives from the timing of its GOP primary -- on Saturday, March 5, 1988. That is three days before the Super Tuesday primaries in the rest of the South.

"This will be the weather vane, the bellwether," Bush said.

He is banking on a strong showing in the South, starting in South Carolina, to bounce him back into contention should he show poorly in opening Iowa and New Hampshire voting, or to sew up the nomination if he crushes his opponents in the early going.

Clearly, part of the reason for the upbeat mood on the vice president's high-powered Southern swing last week was his debate debut in Houston on Wednesday night. His parry of attacks and steady presentation of views was widely viewed as an unexpectedly strong performance.

This mood was easily enhanced on the campaign stump by the peerless logistical capabilities of the White House. As vice president, Bush travels on a variety of military aircraft at his disposal, accompanied by a contingent of Secret Service bodyguards, a White House communications team, a Navy doctor and police escorts to clear the highways at every stop. No other candidate could hope to touch it -- or afford it. While the Bush campaign picks up the tab for political aides and advance workers, much of the cost of the vice president's entourage is paid for by taxpayers.

But vice presidential incumbency is a sword, as they say, with two sharp edges.

"My theory of the incumbency is like the theory of judo -- your weight can work for you or your weight can work against you," Atwater said.

That means, if nothing else, mistakes are more visible, less excusable and long remembered.

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(c) 1987 Los Angeles Times, November 1, 1987

Bush frequently notes that no incumbent vice president has won the presidency since Martin Van Buren in 1836.

But then, he adds, hopefully, "only two have tried." And, he notes, both came close -- Richard M. Nixon in 1960 and Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968.

Still, Bush is often reminded how a vice presidential gaffe tends to be larger and more lasting than one by a congressman or governor, magnified by the very White House trappings and air of acumen that can work to his advantage.

In the midst of his South Carolina barnstorming, for instance, Bush was asked about the Savannah River Plant, a nuclear facility where safety is a growing issue.

Bush gave a long and standard answer about how nuclear power is important to meet U.S. energy demands.

After several minutes, he was informed that the Savannah River Plant, oops, does not produce energy, but plutonium and other materials for nuclear weapons.

Just as the vice president's arrival in town made newspaper headlines, so did his faux pas. He was forced to study up and issue a statement a day later indicating that he was now familiar with the controversy over the plant and felt its continued operation was an "absolute essentiality."

SUBJECT:
BUSH, GEORGE; PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS -- 1988

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TO: Peggy Dooley

FROM: MARK LEVIN

DATE: 5/2/90

NUMBER OF PAGES: 10 INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET

MESSAGE:

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

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Soviet Said to Sentence Popular Hebrew Teacher to a Labor Camp

By SETH MYDANS
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 4 — A Hebrew teacher who had attracted a wide following among Soviet Jews has been sentenced to an 18-month term in a labor camp on a charge of possessing a weapon, his friends say.

The sentencing last Friday of the teacher, Aleksandr Kholmyansky, a 32-year-old computer scientist in the Estonian city of Voru, was the latest in a series of cases authorities have brought against leaders of unofficial Jewish cultural life.

Mr. Kholmyansky was also fined 100 rubles, or about $120, for mailbox tampering, his friends said.

Jewish activists who reported the results of the two-day trial said a pistol and cartridges had been planted in Mr. Kholmyansky's apartment in Moscow during a search. According to the activists, what they called the fabrication of charges against Mr. Kholmyansky followed a pattern seen in other recent cases brought against Hebrew teachers.

Last Dec. 19, Yuli Edelshtein was sentenced to three years in a labor camp on a charge of possession of opium. His wife said the drug had been planted in their apartment.

In Kiev last November, another Hebrew teacher and prominent Jewish activist, Iosif Bernshtein, was sentenced to four years in a camp on a charge of resisting arrest. After his sentencing, his wife said, his face was mutilated and his eyes were badly cut in an unexplained prison incident.

Arrests Reported Increasing

The Jewish activists said that arrests against such people had increased in recent months and that several other cases were awaiting trial. They said searches of the homes of activists had increased, with a wave of 50 searches toward the end of last year and about 15 in January.

"They are trying to frighten us into silence," an activist said. "They have decided to cut the links within the Jewish community."

The Jewish activists expressed concern about the health of Iosif Begun, an activist and Hebrew teacher who has become something of a symbol for the movement and who has repeatedly been brought to trial since 1977.

He was sentenced to seven years in a camp and five in internal exile in October 1983 on a charge of producing and distributing anti-Soviet literature. His friends say that since then, he has spent eight months in an isolation cell and has developed heart trouble.

Mr. Kholmyansky's friends described him as having a wide reputation among Soviet Jews and as a man who had trained several other Hebrew teachers. They said that he used an intensive teaching method and that people traveled from around the country to study with him.

At the time of his arrest, his friends said, he had 10 students from 5 different cities.

Apartment Was Searched

Mr. Kholmyansky was first arrested on charges of tampering with a mailbox and trampling flowers, his friends said. Other friends immediately searched his apartment, they said, in a step Jews sometimes take to assure against confiscation of an arrested man's property.

They said that this search turned up no weapon, but that the authorities said a pistol and cartridges had been found under a dresser in a search they conducted at a later date.

In another development, spokesmen for a group of 44 Jews said they had asked that their names be struck off the register of voters for the election this month of delegates to the Parliament of the Russian Federation of the Soviet Union.

They said they had sent a petition to the Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, stating that they were taking this step because they now considered themselves citizens of Israel.

The signers were among 133 Jews awaiting permission to leave who petitioned the Supreme Soviet in November, renouncing their Soviet citizenship and declaring that they had received certificates of citizenship from Israel.

MAY-1-1990 WED 12:50 NOSJ-IDC P.02

ROM THE
ATIONAL CONFERENCE
N SOVIET JEWRY

NEWSBREAK

AUGUST 17, 1984

YAKIR SENTENCE STIRS PROTEST

After a two-day trial, ALEKSANDR YAKIR was found guilty of "draft evasion" and sentenced to two years, thus eliminating the possibility of repatriation to Israel in the near future for him and his family. It is not presently clear whether Aleksandr's sentence is to be served in a labor camp or in prison.

Dismayed by Yakir's conviction, 34 Jewish and Christian leaders and representatives of civil and human rights organizations cabled Soviet officials, including President Konstantin Chernenko, urging them to rescind the decision and allow the Yakirs to emigrate to Israel. The coalition also telegraphed President Reagan, Walter Mondale and Secretary of State George Shultz, urging their intervention.

According to Rabbi David Saperstein, co-director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation's Religious Action Center, the broad coalition "reflects a sense of urgency regarding the intensified persecution of Jewish refuseniks."

President Reagan called the Yakir trial "part of the Soviet campaign of increased harassment of foreigners and Soviet citizens," and expressed concern that "this may really be intended as a warning to refuseniks to stay away from dissidents and foreigners."

Walter Mondale, in protesting Yakir's "cruel and inhuman treatment," urged the Soviets "to lift the restrictions imposed upon Jews and end the campaign of harassment, intimidation and government-sponsored anti-Semitism."

POSTAL LAWS AMENDED

Five U.S.-initiated changes in postal regulations aimed at halting Soviet disruption of international mail were approved at the Universal Postal Union Congress in Hamburg.

Among other things, the resolutions will require clearer language regarding prohibited materials, description of seized packages and stated reasons for their interception. Also approved were proposals ensuring proper handling of registered mail and advice of delivery forms.

A major problem is the fact that, although the UPU sets international postal law, it has no means of enforcing its own regulations. Dennis Delehanty, a member of the U.S. team in Hamburg, noted that the Soviet signature on the amended postal charter does not guarantee compliance. "They signed the Helsinki accords, but they didn't mean much," he charged.

The move for new regulations followed action by the Congress initiated by Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-NY). The Soviets "condemned" Gilman's activities and counterattacked by charging that the U.S. is "responsible for disrupting normal mail traffic."

NEWSBREAK

PRISONER REPORT

A 100-day round-robin hunger strike on behalf of ZAKHAR ZUNSHAIN, who was sent to a camp near Irkutsk, continues. Meanwhile his wife, TATYANA, has been placed under KGB surveillance. She has protested to the Soviet Ministry of the Interior, claiming the surveillance violates her right to travel freely, but has had no reply. . . .IDA MILGROM, fearing the worst for her son, ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, appealed for help from the West. Her fears stem from a recent visit to Chistopol Prison, where Anatoly is held. She was unable to see her son, but the manager there claimed Anatoly is "responsible" for the latest restrictions placed on him, because he "does not meet his work quota." A doctor claimed Anatoly's health is fine, insisting it is "really a problem of nerves." . . .IOSIF BEGUN, hospitalized in Vsesviatsk, is described as "very thin" following his recent hunger strike. The report of Iosif's condition came from the Perm lawyer who met with him on August 7th, at the request of INNA BEGUN.

ACTIVIST UPDATE

Former prisoner ALEKSEI MURZHENKO, now living in Kiev, is "under supervision," requiring him to contact the police each day and obey an 8:00 p.m. curfew. . . .Refuseniks BORIS and ELENA KLOTZ, of Moscow, recently became the parents of twins, a boy and a girl. The couple has sought emigration to Israel since 1980 and was denied visas on the grounds that Elena's work as a French and German instructor exposed her to "secret information."

HEBREW TEACHER TO FACE TRIAL

Refusenik ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY remains under arrest on alleged charges of "minor hooliganism" and will reportedly go to trial on August 23. Depending on the extremity of the charge, which remains unclear, Kholmiansky faces a maximum sentence ranging from one to five years.

Activists in the Soviet Union and in Israel are planning a hunger stike on behalf of the 34-year-old Muscovite. A Hebrew teacher, Kholmiansky is among the "Hazor Teshuvah," a group of young Soviet Jews who have returned to traditional Judaism. He and his brother, Mikhail, have been waiting over five years to repatriate to Israel.

WEDDING PLANS SHATTERED

Following a search of his home and place of employment, in which authorities confiscated books and postcards from Israel, YAKOV LEVIN was arrested on August 12. Levin, of Odessa, was to be married on August 17 to YUDITH NEPOMNIASHCHY. Levin has been subjected to numerous KGB searches in the past.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT SOUGHT

Testifying before the Republican National Committee in Dallas, Herbert "Buddy" Rosenthal, a member of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry Board of Governors, urged our government to broaden its role on behalf of Soviet Jewry. Rosenthal stressed that the issue is "not just a 'Jewish' or 'Western' issue."

Among the specific problems Rosenthal addressed was the non-delivery of mail to Soviet citizens, citing such action as a "violation of international norms and law" which should be "pursued by the international community."

He was joined by William Keyserling, NCSJ Washington Director, and Marshall Brachman of Ft. Worth, also a member of the NCSJ's Board of Governors.

FROM THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON SOVIET JEWRY

NEWSBREAK

SEPTEMBER 14, 1984

HEBREW TEACHERS VICTIMIZED



A series of KGB searches and actions against Hebrew teachers following ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY's (right) arrest in July indicate Soviet authorities have intensifed their campaign against Jewish culture and education. Kholmiansky, who is being held in a Tallinn prison until his trial on September 25, is charged with alleged "mailbox tampering." As the prosecution's investigation continues, related searches were made of six Moscow and four Odessa homes. On August 29, KGB agents searched the apartment Aleksandr shares with his parents and allegedly "found" a pistol and undeveloped film of two books, one with a Jewish subject. Because searches emanated from both Moscow and Tallinn, Kholmiansky could face a second trial, in Moscow.

On September 8, Aleksandr's brother, MIKHAIL, was mugged and robbed of his internal passport and other official documents, seemingly by "professionals seeking to harass him."

On September 4, YULI EDELSHTEIN was arrested and his home was subsequently searched. KGB agents confiscated items left by foreign visitors, as well as a tin of tobacco and a "box of stones." Although no charges were made, Soviet authorities claimed they found opium in the stones and accused "foreigners of coming and corrupting Jewish youth with medieval and mystical drug rituals." In relation to the allegation, many of Edelshtein's teenaged Hebrew students were questioned and coerced to sign statements that they were required to purchase Hebrew study kits for 15 rubles each. On these grounds authorities claim Edelshtein is "corrupting youth to become illegal profiteers." Edelshtein is being held in Prozna Prison in Moscow.

In Leningrad, YAKOV GORODETSKY was arrested after refusing to inform the KGB of his employment status. Following an administrative proceeding, he was sentenced to two months of "correctional labor." Gorodetsky remains at home, as his sentence will be served in Leningrad.

Meanwhile, in the pending case against YAKOV LEVIN of Odessa, his fiancee YEHUDIT NEPOMNIASHCHY petitioned the General Procurator on his behalf, claiming that "the KGB has carried out its threat to imprison Yakov" because of his refusal to testify against YAKOV MESH last July.

PARITSKY FREE

ALEKSANDR PARITSKY returned to his family in Kharkov after serving a three-year sentence in Stantsi Vydrino labor camp for allegedly "defaming the Soviet state." Paritsky, 46, was arrested after a long campaign of KGB harassment culminated in the search of his home. Prior to his arrest, Paritsky's academic title, Kandidat of Technical Sciences, was rescinded by the Soviets because of his alleged "anti-patriotic activity," marking the first time such action was taken against a scientist for his desire to emigrate to Israel.

onal Conference on Soviet Jewry

NEWSBREAK

83 EXIT

Eighty-three Jews left the Soviet Union in August, continuing the downward trend in emigration for 1984. Only 652 Jews have received exit visas to date in 1984, as compared with 1,066 for the corresponding period in 1983, the year noted as having the worst emigration record in 15 years.

HADASSAH PLEA

The National Board of Hadassah, in San Francisco for the organization's 70th National Convention, appealed to the Soviet Consul-General there on behalf of Soviet Jewry, calling for the Soviets to "grant exit visas to those Jews who want to be reunited with families or repatriated to Israel."

The appeal, which was presented in conjunction with Hadassah's "vigil for Soviet Jewry" opposite the Soviet Consulate, specifically urged the Soviets to permit long-term refusenik IDA NUDEL to join her only surviving relative. "How wonderful it would be if we could announce (at Hadassah's opening plenary session) that Ida is on her way to join her sister in Israel," the statement read.

The vigil and concurrent appeal were led by Frieda S. Lewis, national president of Hadassah. Lewis originally requested a meeting between Hadassah leadership and Soviet Consul-General Anatoly Myshkov, which was denied. Joining her were Dorothy Lane, national Hadassah chairman for Soviet Jewry, and Charlotte Jacobson, a past president of Hadassah who currently chairs the NCSJ's Soviet Jewry Research Bureau and serves as president of the Jewish National Fund.

WHEAT YIELD FALLS SHORT

For the sixth consecutive year, unseasonal extremes in climate are expected to result in another disappointing Soviet grain harvest. The estimated yield is down to 180 million metric tons -- 60 million short of the government target. The U.S. Department of Agriculture projects the shortfall will require the Soviets to purchase about 43 million tons of foreign grain, 10 million more than last year. At least 9 million will come from the U.S. under the terms of a five-year agreement signed in 1983.

PRISONER REPORT

ALEKSANDR YAKIR was transferred to Krasnaya Presnaya prison, a "waiting point jail with conditions reportedly worse than Butyrka," pending his appeal. He has been unable to receive packages or visitors. . . .Noting he has served over half of his three-year sentence and that he suffers from chronic heart and gall bladder ailments, 200 American chemists, organized by the Committee of Concerned Scientists, petitioned the Soviet government for the "early release of YURI TARNOPOLSKY, on humanitarian grounds." . . .A health administrator has notified INNA BEGUN that her husband, IOSIF, has been released from the hospital and is in "good health," although Inna has received no mail from Iosif himself since June 22. . . .In spite of his poor health, MOSHE ABRAMOV was transferred to work in a cement factory.

ACTIVIST ALERT

Long-term refusenik ALEKSANDR LERNER turned 71 on September 7. Lerner's requests to repatriate to Israel have been denied for 13 years on the grounds of his alleged exposure to "state secrets." . . .NADAZHDA FARADKOVA, of Leningrad, is in intensive care, where she reportedly continues her hunger strike. . . .Following searches of their Odessa homes, KGB agents confiscated Hebrew books and Israeli postcards from ALEKSANDR KUSHNIR and LEV PEVZNER, as well as Kushnir's invitation to Israel from his mother.

ROM THE
IATIONAL CONFERENCE
)N SOVIET JEWRY

NEWSBREAK

FEBRUARY 11, 1985
NB 03-85

HEBREW TEACHER SENTENCED IN TALINN; ODESSA APPROVES HARSH SENTENCE

The trial of ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY ended last week with the court passing a "relatively mild" 18-month labor sentence for alleged "illegal possession of ammunition." The more serious charge of "weapons possession" was dropped after the judge determined that a pistol supposedly found in Kholmiansky's home was not properly established as evidence. While the six months he served in prison since his arrest will be deducted, Aleksandr was fined 100 rubles for allegedly "tampering with a mailbox." The judge noted that the mailbox tampering charge was not hooliganism as the prosecution claimed, but rather "taking the law into one's own hands." Pale and gaunt after a four-month hunger strike, Aleksandr was unable to walk without assistance, and was permitted to remain seated during the trial. His parents, GRIGORY and ROZALIA, his brother, MIKHAIL (pictured at right), and his sister-in-law, ILANA, were present throughout the three-day trial.



In his closing statement, Aleksandr maintained his innocence, and declared that "This court is not dependent upon justice, but rather upon the fact that I am a Jew, a teacher of the Hebrew language and the Jewish culture, and that I am committed to aliyah. . .Still, I must believe the time will come when Jews in the Soviet Union will be free, just as I believe the time will come when I will live as a Jew in Israel."

An Odessa court sentenced MARK NEPOMNIASHCHY to the maximum three years in labor camp for allegedly "circulating false materials which defame the Soviet state and social system." The primary witness in the trial, filmed for Soviet television, was a postal official who claimed she had "unwittingly" come across three appeals written by Mark to "Jews in the West," and was "astounded by their anti-Soviet content."

Appearing pale and thin Nepomniashchy, who is deaf in one ear, was issued a hearing aid for the trial. In his final statement, he protested the false charges, declaring "Guilty are those who, for five years since my family and I asked to repatriate to Israel, have turned my life into hell, who have denied me and my wife the right to work in our professions, and have devised against our daughter in school." Referring to the appeals cited as evidence, he maintained "they have no anti-Soviet quality whatsoever. It was the authorities' disregard for my appeals which forced me to turn to world public opinion, and if this is considered as some offense, it is nothing when compared with the injustice done to me and my family by the authorities."

Since November 1984, six leading Hebrew teachers and religious activists have been sentenced to prison or labor camps. While those charged with criminal activities, such as Kholmiansky and Yuli Edelshtein received reduced sentences, the maximum sentence was given to those charged with "political crimes."

NEWSBREAK

SHAPIRA CHARGED; MORE THREATENED

Arrested on January 22, DAN SHAPIRA of Moscow is charged with allegedly "distributing false materials which defame the Soviet state and social system." His arrest followed a search of his apartment in which Jewish materials and personal photographs were confiscated. Related searches were made at the homes of Shapira's parents; his fiancee, ELLA KHAZANKINA; INNA BRUKHINA and her parents; and IRINA YELINSKAYA. The charges were based on letters he wrote to authorities which allegedly "defame the Soviet regime." The investigator warned Khazankina that Shapira will be placed in a cell with criminals, and that "no one will prevent them from beating him". Yelinskaya's fiance, IGOR KHARAKH, is also implicated and was warned that similar charges against him are "imminent."

HUNDREDS RALLY FOR ACTION ON CAPITOL HILL

Over 550 people joined more than 100 Members of Congress and supporters from the Black and Christian communities, crowding into the Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building on January 30. Participants were responding to a call for "emergency action" sounded by the NCSJ. The day-long program came at a time which NCSJ Chairman Morris B. Abram noted as "particularly bleak, in which we cannot continue doing 'business as usual'."

After viewing "Hirelings and Accomplices," a Soviet television documentary shown in Leningrad, which equates Soviet Jews with anti-Soviet behavior, participants heard from a cross-section of speakers, including Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, Ambassador Meir Rosenne of Israel, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), Representative Dante Fascell (D-FL) and Dr. Christian Anfinsen, Nobel Laureate of Johns Hopkins University.

Representative Wyche Fowler (D-GA) announced the formation of the NCSJ's Congressional Coalition for Soviet Jews (CCSJ), which already counts over 200 Members of Congress among its ranks since its inception. Fowler said he was "pleased with the strong response of Members who recognize Soviet Jewry as a serious issue which demands their attention and support." Together with the Congressional Wives for Soviet Jews, the CCSJ sponsored a symbolic "prisoner lunch," consisting of black bread and potato soup.

Following a well-received program of speakers, meant to motivate as well as reflect broad support, participants were assigned to "action teams" which met with over 50 government and private agencies. The teams raised awareness of Soviet Jewry and promoted action on their behalf by Members of Congress, business, trade and labor unions, education and science organizations, and foreign governments.

FRENCH WRITERS DETAINED IN KIEV

Accused of "belonging to an international Zionist organization," a French Jewish philosopher and a French journalist were placed under "house arrest" in their Kiev hotel on February 3. Philosopher Alain Finkielkraut and Dominique Nora, who works for the French newspaper, Liberation, were held for several days pending investigation for allegedly "subversive" activities. The charges included meeting with a Jewish refusenik and providing him with unspecified written materials. The two were threatened with possible three-year prison sentences or immediate expulsion. Finkielkraut, the author of a half dozen books on Jewish subjects and several philosophical essays, is prominent in French intellectual circles.

• prepared by Nancy Albrecht

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
10 East 40th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU
(212) 679-6122

REFUSENIK PROFILE

NAME: ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY

ADDRESS: Generala Belova 33-19-96
Moscow 115563
RSFSR, USSR

FAMILY BACKGROUND:

Relationship	First Name	Date of Birth	Occupation/Profession
	Aleksandr	1950	Computer Scientist
Wife	Anna		
Daughter	Dora	1987	
Mother	Rozalia		
Father	Grigory		

RELATIVES ABROAD:

VISA APPLICATION HISTORY:

Reason for Refusal:

Date of First Refusal: 1980

CASE HISTORY/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Aleksandr is one of Moscow's leading Jewish activists and unofficial Hebrew teachers. A computer scientist, he worked as a janitor after applying to emigrate to Israel in 1978.

In 1980, Aleksandr was "warned" that his activity as a Hebrew teacher would "bring him trouble." He was advised to end his contacts with foreigners and to leave Moscow for the duration of the Olympic Games.

On July 25, 1984, Aleksandr was arrested on the testimony of a "friend" while on a camping trip in Estonia. Although he was initially sentenced to 10 days detention, he remained in prison for over six months as the prosecution launched an investigation against him.

Under the guise of the investigation, related searches were made of six Moscow and four Odessa homes. On August 29, KGB agents searched the apartment Aleksandr shared with his parents and allegedly "found" a pistol and ammunition, leading to new charges of "illegal weapons possession."

Aleksandr's mother, Rozalia, filed an appeal with the General Procurator charging the KGB with "fabricating a serious criminal charge" against her son because of his application to emigrate to Israel and his study of Hebrew and Jewish history and culture. She maintains that the pistol confiscated from their apartment was "planted" there at the time of the search, and that the search itself violated Soviet regulations because neither she nor her husband, Grigory, was permitted to be present.

- over -

In his closing statement, Aleksandr maintained his innocence, and declared that "this court is not dependent upon justice, but rather upon the fact that I am a Jew, a teacher of the Hebrew language and the Jewish culture, and that I am committed to aliyah... Still, I must believe the time will come when Jews in the Soviet Union will be free, just as I believe the time will come when I will live as a Jew in Israel."

Aleksandr completed his 18-month sentence on Feburary 3, 1986, and returned to Moscow where he married and has one daughter.

D3/061/8/87

10/19/87: Anna and Aleksandr began a hunger strike.

Arrived in Israel 2/88.

National Endowment for Democracy

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

FROM (202) 223-6042
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO: Peggy Dooley

FROM: Margaret Ferrey

DATE: 4/19/90

NUMBER OF PAGES FOLLOWING: 14

ACTION/COMMENT Per our conversation earlier today background on the Endowment & activities in Eastern Europe follows. Mr. Gershman's testimony of 3/22/90 cites some of the examples you were asking about. Please call if you have any questions.

REFERENCE/RECIPIENT FAX NO.: 456-6218

The Endowment

The National Endowment for Democracy is a private nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. Through its worldwide grant program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. In this effort, it seeks to enlist the energies and talents of private citizens and groups in the United States to work in partnership with democrats abroad.

The Endowment's bipartisan Board of Directors represents the profound commitment to democracy of all the people of the United States. Through the Endowment, conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats, representatives of labor and business, and others with long international experience work together to encourage democratic development in a manner consistent with American ideals and the needs of democratic groups abroad.

The Endowment recognizes and is responsive to the great diversity of concerns facing democrats throughout the world. It seeks to bolster democratic political systems where they exist and to help democratic forces rebuild where they have been weakened by repression or exclusion from the political process. It also encourages the transition to democracy through measures that broaden confidence in the democratic process and reinforce groups committed to democratic goals.

The Endowment helps to strengthen such institutions as independent business organizations, free trade unions, a free press and an independent judiciary, even in countries where political democracy can only be a long-term objective. In societies where even these independent institutions are prohibited or severely restricted, the Endowment seeks to enlarge whatever possibilities exist for independent thought, expression, and cultural activity.

The effort to foster democracy will require years of steady, persistent work. But no amount of effort or investment of resources would suffice if democracy were not intrinsically attractive to people throughout the world as the system which best fulfills their hopes for human rights, social justice and peace. The Endowment is founded upon the belief that democracy has enormous appeal and that people everywhere revere and aspire to that ideal. We hope the Endowment's work will not only help them achieve and sustain the blessings of democracy, but will strengthen the bond between them and the people of the United States, a bond based on a common commitment to democracy as a way of life.

Principles

In all of its programs, the Endowment is guided by the following principles:

- that democracy involves the right of the people freely to determine their own destiny;
- that the exercise of this right requires a system that guarantees freedom of expression, belief and association, free and competitive elections, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, free communications media, and the rule of law;
- that a democratic system may take a variety of forms suited to local needs and traditions, and therefore need not follow the U.S. or any other particular model;
- that the existence of autonomous economic, political, social and cultural institutions is the foundation of the democratic process and the best guarantor of individual rights and freedoms;
- that private institutions in free societies can contribute to the development of democracy through assistance to counterparts abroad;
- that such assistance must be responsive to local needs and seek to encourage — but not to control — indigenous efforts to build free and independent institutions; and
- that the partnership envisaged between those who enjoy the benefits of democracy and those who aspire to a democratic future must be based upon mutual respect, shared values, and a common commitment to work together to extend the frontiers of democracy for present and future generations.

Areas of Work

The Endowment is currently funding programs in five substantive areas:

Pluralism. The Endowment encourages the development of strong, independent private-sector organizations, especially trade unions and business associations. It also supports cooperatives, civic and women's organizations, and youth groups, among other organizations. Programs in the areas of labor and business are carried out, respectively, through the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) and the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE).

Democratic Governance and Political Processes. The Endowment seeks to promote strong, stable political parties committed to the democratic process. It also supports programs in election administration and law, as well as programs that promote dialogue among different sectors of society and advance democratic solutions to national problems.

Education, Culture and Communications. The Endowment funds programs that nourish a strong democratic civic culture, including support for publications and other communications media and training programs for journalists; the production and dissemination of books and other materials to strengthen popular understanding and intellectual advocacy of democracy; and programs of democratic education.

Research. A modest portion of Endowment resources is reserved for research, including studies of particular regions or countries where the Endowment has a special interest, and evaluations of previous or existing efforts to promote democracy.

International Cooperation. The Endowment seeks to encourage regional and international cooperation in promoting democracy, including programs that strengthen cohesion among democracies and enhance coordination among democratic forces.

STATEMENT OF CARL GERSHMAN
PRESIDENT
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY
TO THE
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
MARCH 22, 1990

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased to have the opportunity to review with you some of the programs of the National Endowment for Democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the recent past, both before and since the revolutionary events of the past year.

In the brief amount of time I understand we have available this afternoon, it would be impossible to describe all of NED's activities in this critical region of the world. A complete list of Endowment grants for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is attached as an appendix to this statement.

Mr. Chairman, the success of the Central and East European revolutions was due to hundreds of thousands of dedicated individuals who sacrificed their personal safety to achieve freedom and democracy for their countries. The National Endowment for Democracy, in its small way, tried to be a life-line to these brave people

Until the events of this past year, promoting democracy in Eastern Europe meant keeping alive and strengthening the fragile enclaves of civil society in these countries. It meant providing support to groups and individuals who were struggling to maintain democratic values and to sustain an independent existence outside the reach of the totalitarian state.

While the democratic revolution in Eastern Europe can undoubtedly be traced to many factors, no one can question the decisive leadership of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity movement in Poland. During the long and difficult years of underground struggle, the crucial support was provided by the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute, a contribution Walesa graciously acknowledged during his visit in November and especially in his address to the Joint Session of Congress.

Endowment funds were also used:

-- to provide supplies and equipment for independent publishing in Poland;

-- to sustain independent publications, as well as independent cultural, human rights and political organizations in Czechoslovakia;

-- to provide Hungarian dissidents with paper and ink to publish their journals;

-- to support regional initiatives and transnational cooperation among democratic movements through the multiregional Fund for Friendship and Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe; and

-- to provide communications technology and knowledge to the emerging independent publishing and press groups in the Soviet Union.

Even under the most difficult circumstances, such as Romania under Ceausescu, the Endowment was able to extend assistance to oppressed democrats. A leading democratic intellectual told me in Bucharest just two weeks ago that a small Romanian language journal we initiated called Agora was like " air for a drowning man."

In the course of this work, the Endowment and its grantees built up a deep reservoir of trust and a broad range of contacts. In many cases, our grantees and counterparts in these countries were unknown activists, frequently working in illegality and persecuted by their respective governments, or driven into exile. Now many of them are legislators, cabinet ministers, and even heads of state.

Many of these people are now turning to the Endowment for help in this new phase of transition; the Wall has come tumbling down, but the new institutions of democratic governance and civil society have not yet been consolidated. There is still a danger of reverting to chaos and authoritarianism, especially in the countries where the harshness of the system suppressed even the smallest emergence of civil society.

The task before them is immense: to create a pluralist political system with competing parties where before there was a monolithic one-party state; to create efficient market economies where before there were rigid command systems; to create viable institutions of local democracy, where before there were only transmission belts for

orders from above; to establish a free press, where before there were only publicity broadsheets for the ruling elite; to create a judicial system based on the rule of law, where before the law was an adjunct to the instructions of the Party; to create truly independent trade unions, where before there were instruments to control every aspect of the worker's life; to maintain all the elements of civil society including culture, education, and independent interest groups, where before all entities and all education were fashioned to serve the state.

The Endowment and its affiliated core institutes -- the Free Trade Union Institute, the Center for International Private Enterprise, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs -- are acutely aware of the enormity of this task. Having played a unique role in the events that have led to this point in Eastern Europe, NED is poised to support the transition to democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as we have in other areas of the world.

As a result of the SEED bill enacted into law last November and the subsequent supplemental attached to the aid bill for Panama, funds have been made available to support the democratic transition in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Working with its

affiliated institutions as well as other other grantees, the Endowment has developed a number of new initiatives with SEED funding, among them:

-- In Poland, support the Solidarity trade union and for the Citizens' Committee Movement to develop its infrastructure; for the Foundation for Local Democracy to establish a network of regional training centers; for the creation of a fund for Free Press and Publishing, to enable underground publishers to transfer their activities to a legal and above ground operation; for assistance through the Free Trade Union Institute, to the Foundation for Education for Democracy to expand its program of training and seminars in civic education for democracy;

-- In Hungary, a comprehensive program of intensive training developed by the National Democratic and National Republican Institutes and voter education projects organized by the Free Trade Union Institute prior to next week's national elections, as well as the organization of election observers;

-- In Czechoslovakia, organizational infrastructure support for the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, the key organizations in that country's "velvet revolution" of last fall; assistance to Lidove Noviny, the country's premier independent newspaper, to allow it to publish on a daily basis; support for the efforts of democratic worker organizations to build a new, independent trade union movement;

-- In Bulgaria, assistance to the broad democratic coalition called the Union of Democratic Forces, as well as to the labor federation Podkrepa, the democratic student movement, and the independent media, including newsprint for the newspaper Demokratsia;

-- In Romania, training and infrastructure support for fledgling political parties, for emerging independent labor organizations, for free enterprise education, for the democratic student movement, for the principal independent newspaper Romania Libera, as well as the provision of books and other materials about democracy, a critical need felt throughout the region.

Throughout the forthcoming electoral period, the National Democratic and National Republican Institutes for International Affairs, as well as the International Foundation for Electoral Systems and other organizations, will be providing training and assistance to parties, as well as for the organization and administration of the electoral process itself.

Mr. Chairman, I think that all of us can agree that our priority at this stage in the transition to democracy must be to consolidate the gains made by the democratic forces in Eastern Europe. We must broaden their contacts with Westerners, whether they be professionals, businessmen, students, journalists, or other individuals who can share their experiences and ideas. There is indeed a hunger in these countries for knowledge about democracy.

With additional funding, the Endowment, mobilizing the talents of U.S. organizations, would be able to address the needs of democrats abroad looking to develop the following: political parties and citizens committees committed to democratic practices; independent trade unions; organizations committed to the establishment of a market based economy; institutions which promote educational and cultural activities; groups which protect human rights; and centers which can assist in the development of free print and electronic media.

In these endeavors, the Endowment would proceed with sensitivity to questions of national aspiration, promoting democratic arrangements that can protect national and human rights, respect cultural traditions, and maintain political stability.

We would expand our programs of support for cooperation among the countries of the region, recognizing that it is only through democracy that the potentially lethal danger of malignant nationalism can begin to be resolved.

As for the Soviet Union Mr. Chairman, I know that this committee is grappling with the question of whether to support the transition which is taking place in that society and, if so, what form that support should take. The Endowment has and will continue to provide funding for those independent groups which have emerged in recent years, strengthening those embryonic structures promoting cultural, political and economic pluralism. But there are broader issues as

well which can be addressed, related to legal and constitutional reform. One program under consideration is establishment of a democracy center engaging the leading reformers in the Soviet Union with specialists from the United States and elsewhere in a thorough examination of the issue of transition from dictatorship to democracy.

If it is true that the Soviet Union has entered an uncertain period of transition, as I believe it has, then we must work to strengthen groups that are committed to an open society and to share with them ideas, knowledge, skills and resources that can help them chart what promises to be a difficult and complex course toward democracy. This is arguably the most important and formidable challenge facing those who would seek to advance democracy at this unique moment in world history.

DRAFT (pre-publication proof)

A Publication of the National Endowment for Democracy Vol. 3, Spring 1990

IDASA Conference Encourages South African Dialogue

Several hundred black and white South Africans from all walks of life participated in a two-day conference in Cape Town in January on the topic of "Responsible Democracy: Ethics and Accountability in Public Life." The conference was sponsored with Endowment funding by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA) as part of the organization's continuing efforts to encourage South Africans of all races to reject apartheid and discover an alternative that is democratic and non-racial.

IDASA's workshops and information and research programs are designed to create a climate for genuine negotiation toward a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Programs encourage South Africans to accept and work for a post-apartheid society, and provide opportunities on a nationwide basis to find peaceful democratic solutions to South Africa's problems. IDASA's efforts over the last two years have resulted in an ongoing dialogue regarding South Africa's future.

Through workshops, case studies and panel discussions, participants at the Cape Town co addressed a variety of issues o the establishment of values tures which ensure dem count- ability. The compo he Parliament was an impor grappled

Support for the Democratic Transition in Central and East Europe

With the dramatic fall of communist regimes across Central and Eastern Europe, millions of citizens are striving to establish and secure democratic systems based upon the principles of peaceful political competition, the rule of law, a market economy and respect for basic human rights. In the wake of recent events, many of the government bureaucracies throughout the region, especially at the local level, continue to be dominated by forces resistant to change. There is a need to overcome a non-democratic political culture molded by years of totalitarian domination and to move forward with economic restructuring. The Endowment continues to respond to requests for assistance, with programs focusing on the process of building the institutions of civil society and preparing for the first free elections since communist rule was imposed two generations ago. Program activities in the areas of electoral processes and party training, election technology, civic education, and institutional pluralism are underway in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia.

POLAND

Local elections will be held in May 1990 to vote-in at least 110,000 new councilors, who will in turn be responsible for hiring and training more than half a million new people to work in local government. The Endowment is working with two organizations which seek to foster citizens' interest in local democracy and to prepare a framework for reestablishing effective institutions of local government. The Polish American Congress will administer a grant made to the Citizens' Committee Movement to support infrastructure development at the local level and to provide individual committees with the technical resources they need to conduct local-level programs in government, economic development, social help, culture, education and independent media.

- A grant to the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy will support the establishment of a network of regional trainin centers to educate and pr izens for par-

continued on

news media, the judiciary, business and labor. The wide range of speakers included judges, professors and leading members of the Mass Democratic Movement, an umbrella anti-apartheid group.

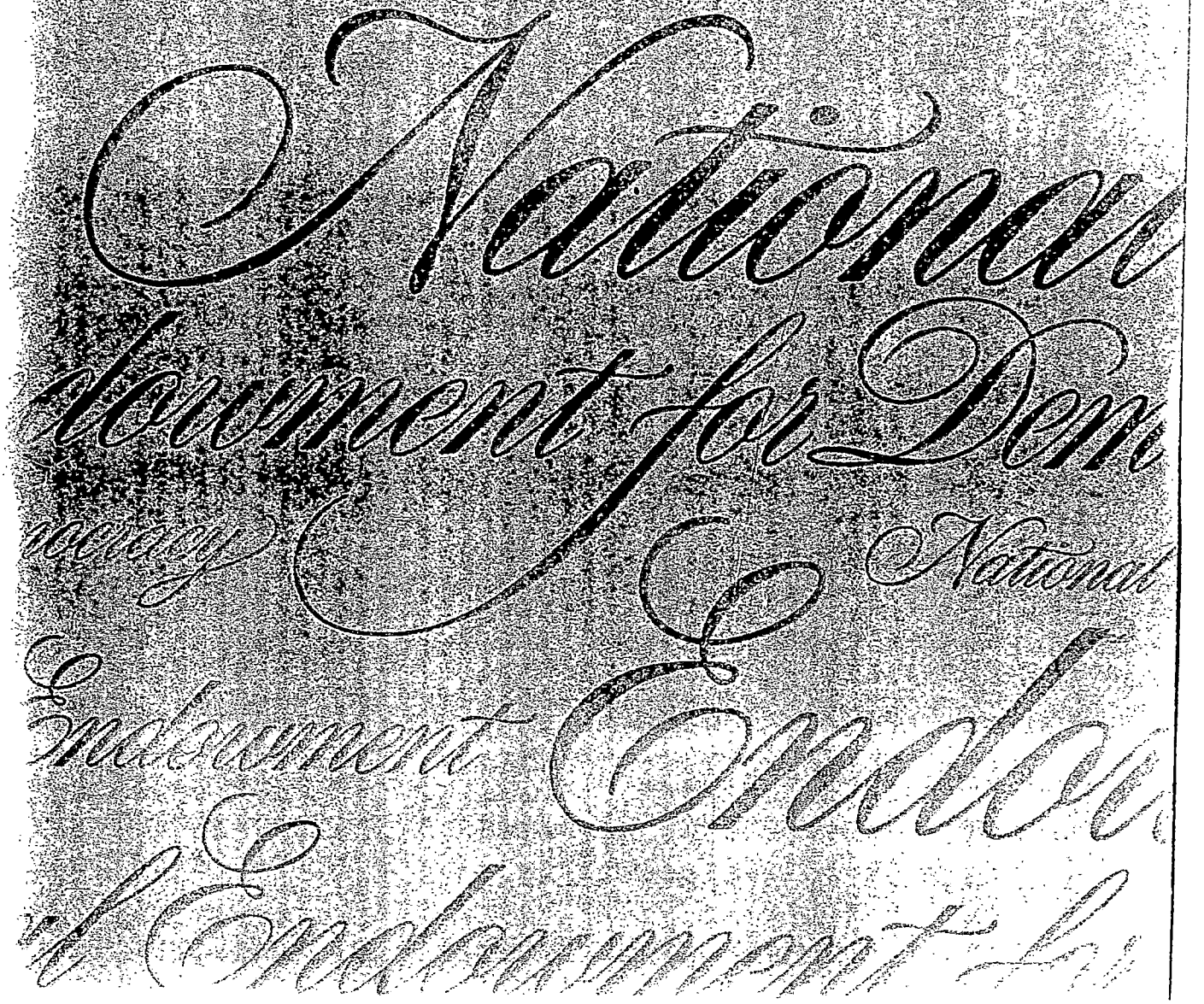
Participants at the Cape Town conference stressed that flexibility on both sides is essential if any progress is to

National Endowment for Democracy

As requested

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National Endowment for Democracy



National Endowment for Democracy

A Publication of the National Endowment for Democracy

Vol. 2, Fall 1989

NDI Delegation Evaluates Procedures for Namibia Elections

An eight member delegation composed of political party leaders, election officials, and academics from six countries recently visited Namibia to study the political environment and evaluate the administrative preparations for the November elections. The delegation was sponsored and organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) with an Endowment grant. Members of the delegation were selected for their experience and expertise in electoral politics and management.

The November election represents a critical step toward the establishment of an independent and democratic state in Namibia. Recognizing the important role which a free and fair election plays in the transition process, the NDI delegation assessed the following areas critical to the success of the November elections:

- the Namibian people's awareness of and confidence in the electoral process;
- the level of intimidation and its potential effect on the electorate;
- the process of consultation between the Administrator General, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), political party officials and civic leaders.

In conducting their evaluation, members of the delegation visited the administrative territories of Ovambo, Kavango, Namaland and Damaraland and the magisterial districts of Mariental and Gobabis. Eighty percent of the population lives in the areas visited.

continued on page 3

Eastern Europe Moves Toward Pluralism

Eastern Europe is undergoing a process of historic change that is breathtaking in its speed and scope. Dramatic transformations toward more pluralist political and economic systems are taking place in Poland and Hungary. The dismantling of the Berlin Wall marks the beginning of a new era of freedom in East Germany. The struggle against repression continues in Czechoslovakia.

As the political situation evolves in the region, the Endowment's programs are responding to changing needs. Only a year ago in Poland, Endowment support flowed to Solidarity and other independent groups that were banned by the regime. The roundtable agreements have led not only to legalization of independent trade unions, but also to a free election in which Solidarity-backed candidates swept virtually all the seats in the new parliament. In Poland and Hungary alike, emerging institutions include independent media, civic organizations, political parties and business associations. The Endowment and its Institutes are working with these groups and others to support the peaceful transition to a pluralist system.

In Poland, the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) will continue to work with Solidarity and to respond to its new needs as Poland privatizes its economy and adjusts to new market conditions. To help achieve these ends, Solidarity has established an Economic Foundation to provide structural, organizational, financial and technical assistance during the difficult

continued on page 2



Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and AFL-CIO President and NED Board member Lane Kirkland at the AFL-CIO's international convention in Washington, D.C. Walesa extended his appreciation to the American labor movement for the vital support provided to Solidarity during the struggle for democracy in Poland. © Marianne Keffer Zweig, Page One Photography



An example of the cooperation encouraged by Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity was an important meeting on the border at Kotlin-Klodzkeij on July 9, 1988, between democratic activists from both countries, including Czech dissident Vaclav Havel and Poland's current Minister of Labor, Jacek Kuron. Pictured above underneath a sign which reads, "Crossing forbidden/state border," are: from the l., standing: Miroslaw Jasinski, Petr Ubl, Jozef Pinior, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski, Mieczyslaw Piotrowski, Jaroslav Sabata, Ivan Lamper, Zbigniew Bujak, Hanna Sabata, Stanislav Devaty, Rev. Vaclav Maly, Jan Ruml. Lower: Zbigniew Janas and Havel. From the l., sitting: Zbigniew Romaszewski, Petr Pospichal, Kuron, Jan Urban, Ladislav Lis, Danuta Winiarska, Jan Carnogorski. Not pictured: Piotr Niemczyk and Sasha Vondra.
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EASTERN EUROPE

from page 1

period of transition. In addition to working with Solidarity, the Endowment is supporting the following initiatives in Poland:

- The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) recently participated in an international conference with members of the Polish parliament to address issues such as legislative leadership, the role of committees, and procedures for floor debates.
- At the local level, the new government's greatest task lies in educating local Polish leaders to do more than transmit orders coming from the top. With Endowment support, the Commission for Local Self-Government has established three regional centers to educate citizens and encourage active public participation and publish and distribute a series of educational papers on local affairs.
- Support to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the daily newspaper which is to be the centerpiece of a broad program of above ground publishing, will be used to help transport a printing press.
- A grant to the Association for Free Speech will help to set up book clubs, reading rooms, and libraries, and to hold meetings with authors to publicize independent works.
- A grant to the Gdansk Video Center (recently renamed Video-TV Solidarnosc, Gdansk) will support production of films and documentaries on important events in Poland's recent past to be aired on Polish television.
- The Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) is working with the Krakow Industrial Society to encourage the formation of new businesses, train aspiring entrepreneurs, lobby for new laws that support private enterprise and develop a body of case law that will help support the development of the business sector.

In Hungary, the Endowment is providing assistance to a broad range of emerging opposition groups, working with them to strengthen their internal structures and outreach capacity as well as to develop education programs. NDI recently sponsored a three-day seminar on campaign techniques for emerging political parties and movements as they prepare for the first free elections in forty years. A cooperative effort of NDI and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRI) will provide support to emerging political parties for infrastructure, to purchase printing and communications equipment, and to conduct seminars and lectures on democracy. Groups receiving assistance include, among others, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats. In addition, NDI and NRI will sponsor observer delegations for the upcoming elections.

The following initiatives are also being carried out with Endowment support:

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The **National Endowment for Democracy** is a private nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. Through its worldwide grant program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. The Endowment is a tax-exempt organization as defined in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Chinese Student Leader Speaks on Pro-Democracy Movement

Following are excerpts from a breakfast discussion held at the Endowment on August 2 with Wuer Kaixi, Chinese student leader who dramatically escaped to the west and has become a spokesperson for the Chinese pro-democracy movement. His remarks include reflections on the massacre in Tiananmen Square and what it means for future efforts in the fight for democracy in the People's Republic of China.

During the past few decades, the Chinese people have been engaged in a struggle for freedom and democracy, and many have made tremendous sacrifices for this cause. The pro-democracy student movement of 1989 grew out of that struggle, and erupted over the summer.

It is difficult to imagine that China, with its population of 1.1 billion and a history which spans 5,000 years, will ever achieve true democracy. But that is why the student movement must be considered a victory, even though it has been suppressed. It is a victory because for the first time, the Chinese people have faced the government directly and called for the leaders to step down. The people have called for freedom and for an end to corruption.

The price paid was great – in the course of the movement, many of my fellow students, and others from all walks of life, perished in Tiananmen Square. There was great shock around the world, and everyone cried out with one voice, condemning the actions of the Chinese government.

What is needed now is an understanding of what was really being asked for in Tiananmen Square, so that we may carry forward with those tasks left unfinished. What are we demanding? The response is simple – freedom, democracy, and basic human rights for all people.

Although in name China is called the "People's Republic," in fact it is not this but rather a series of dynasties and imperialist rulers which have denied the fundamental human rights of the people. The political system in China has always been a one party dictatorship – this is an insult to the Chinese people and to the concepts of democracy and human rights.

The Chinese government has failed to put an end to its atrocities and has in fact intensified its dictatorial rule. Up to now more than 120,000 people have been arrested, and at least 100 have been executed. This represents an attempt to destroy in one stroke the basis for any pro-democracy movement in China.

So we who are free while the people of China are deprived of their freedom must continue to act on their behalf. We who cherish peace, freedom and democracy must without hesitation stand on the side of the Chinese people and show support of the pro-democracy movement in China.

NAMIBIA, from page 1

Delegates met with the leadership of the central and local committees of two major contending political parties – the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) – and with leaders of other smaller parties. The delegation also sought to determine the role and capabilities of others involved in the electoral process such as the press, churches, human rights groups, tribal chieftans, union organizers, students and police officials.

At the conclusion of their visit, members of the delegation briefed UN Special Representative Martii Ahtisaari and Administrator General Louis Pienaar and presented several recommendations, particularly with regard to the problem of intimidation and the cumbersome process devised for administering election systems. Delegates stressed that the unique role of the UN is critical to the success of the transition process and recommended that UNTAG excercise its authority in a more aggressive manner.

While a free and fair election in November is an important step ... it is only the first step in the transition to democracy.

Delegates concluded that the level of intimidation poses a direct threat to the election process and if allowed to continue will undermine voters' ability to cast a free ballot. It was their view that the seriousness of the intimidation problem, particularly in the north, required concrete action by UNTAG.

The delegation made the following recommendations on actions which should be taken to streamline the existing processes for registration, balloting and vote counting: subdivide the existing 23 electoral districts; devise an absentee ballot process;verify voter identification at the polling station; design a balloting system to assure voters that they will be casting a secret ballot; count ballots at district election centers; and make results available within 48 hours after the elections.

The delegation also pressed for guarantees that political parties be permitted to organize meetings and rallies, and be provided equal access to the government-controlled radio and television. It was further noted that the media should contribute to an open and fair campaign by adhering to the principles of balance, objectivity and accuracy in news coverage.

Based on their observations, members of the delegation returned convinced that Namibians seek the establishment of a democratic state where meaningful elections are held periodically and human and political rights are respected. The delegation urged the international community to recognize that while a free and fair election in November is an important step for obtaining independence, it is only the first step in the transition to democracy.

on Democracy

Tribute to Sidney Hook

Dr. Sidney Hook, philosopher, author and social critic, died on July 12 at the age of 86. Best known for his defense of political and academic freedoms and his consistent anti-totalitarian stance, he was a participant in many of the principal intellectual and political debates of this century.

A memorial service honoring Dr. Hook was held in September at New York University, where he was a professor of philosophy for nearly forty years. The service, which was attended by several hundred people, was co-sponsored by NYU, Freedom House and University Centers for Rational Alternatives. The program included remarks by some twenty friends and colleagues who paid tribute to Dr. Hook's many years of indefatigable struggle for truth, freedom and genuine human dignity. Following are excerpts from remarks given by Carl Gershman at the memorial service.

Sidney Hook was not only the most important democratic thinker of our time; he was also the most courageous democratic fighter. He lived during an era when the enemies of democracy paraded under its banner, and so he was forced to do battle over the very definition of a democratic society. With the weapon of a pen and the method of reason, he systematically exposed all the wretched lies of totalitarianism and patiently explained the meaning of democracy. He fought for most of this century, unto his very last days. And while Sidney, were he with us, would surely recoil at the thought that perhaps he had won, today in his memory, with the ideological wastage of a tabescent communism lying all about, let us savor his historic triumph.

When asked once to define a Social Democrat, which he called himself, Sidney said that it is someone for whom "democracy is not merely a political concept but a moral one," someone for whom democracy, meaning a society whose basic institutions are animated by an equality of concern for all human beings, is "a way of life."

Sidney was a passionate democrat, but he celebrated democracy's suspicion of heroes and saviours. He believed that democracy depends on the willingness of its citizens to fight for it, yet he found the heroic virtues of antiquity unsuited to the modern democratic temper. He believed that democracy should use great men even as it girds itself against them, relying for its strength on the mechanism of its democratic institutions and on the education and morale of its citizenry.

Democracy, Sidney wrote, should honor its leaders, but it should honor its teachers more. They are the real heroes of democracy, "the men of ideas, of social vision, of scientific achievement and artistic power," for it is they "who mould the intellectual ideals and social attitudes of the citizens, who without knowledge, quickened perception, and educated taste cannot realize the promise of democracy." He included among them "the Jeffersons, Holmeses, Deweys, Whitmans, and all others who have given the people vision, method, and knowledge."

At the risk of offending Sidney, who was modest to a fault, I would suggest that his name be added to this pantheon of democratic heroes.

Human Rights Activist Shot Near Home

Doan Van Toai, founder of the Institute for Democracy in Vietnam and an Endowment grantee, was shot three times by unidentified assailants on August 19 while walking through his neighborhood in Fresno, California. Toai is a human rights activist and a consistent advocate of democracy and independence in Vietnam. The author of *The Vietnamese Gulag*, which vividly portrays his experiences in communist prison camps, Toai has been an advocate for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam. The Institute for Democracy's quarterly magazine *Vietnam Moi* supports human rights groups and democratic reform inside Vietnam.

The Endowment condemns such acts of violence and terrorism against those who are working peacefully for the cause of democracy, and extends best wishes to Mr. Toai during the period of his recovery.

Nicaraguans Prepare for February Elections

The February 25, 1990 election in Nicaragua is a unique democratic moment in that country's history. The election represents an historic opportunity to break Nicaragua's cycle of repression, violence and economic decline and open the way toward a new period of democracy and development.

Whether or not this opportunity will be seized will depend not only on the credibility and outcome of the electoral process itself, but also upon the extent to which the political space which is now opening can be secured and continually enlarged upon, even after the election is concluded. The election provides an opportunity for the Endowment to support the development of a strong democratic infrastructure in Nicaragua. For this to occur, the democratic opposition in Nicaragua must develop the expertise, confidence and strength that will enable it to become an enduring force in Nicaraguan society and the guarantor of pluralism in the years ahead.

Congress recently approved the reallocation of $9 million in Agency for International Development funds to support Nicaraguans prior to the February election, a portion of which will be allocated by AID to the Endowment to provide support for the electoral process.

At its September 15 meeting, the Board of Directors of the Endowment agreed that should such funds become available, the Endowment would be prepared to provide non-campaign assistance for the purpose of strengthening democratic institutions, processes and participation.

Funding may be used to support programs such as infrastructure training and development for UNO, the fourteen-party alliance of the opposition, civic education programs, get-out-the-vote drives, poll watchers and democratic education programs of independent labor groups. As with all NED programs, support will be given openly, for specific purposes outlined in a grant agreement.

Five representatives of UNO were present at the Endowment's September 15 meeting to describe their participation in the upcoming elections and to respond to questions from members of the Board. Members of the delegation included Alfredo Cesar, Adan Fletes, Silviano Matamoros, Guillermo Potoy, and Luis Sanchez. They stated with great pride that in spite of the fact that the Sandinistas have tried to break them up, efforts to drive a wedge between the various elements of the opposition have failed. Having achieved this unity, the opposition now faces the task of preparing for the election and of overcoming the challenges and obstacles posed by a devastated economy in which the majority of resources are owned and controlled by the state. Among the obstacles cited were limitations on access to media, phone lines, vehicles and other items necessary for the opposition to fully participate in the political process.

Having agreed to a platform and a candidate, the opposition regards the prevention of fraud as a key priority. They need to train, organize and mobilize 20,000 volunteers to oversee the electoral process. In that context they stressed the importance of the presence of international observers throughout the process in helping to assure that the elections are free and fair.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Sanchez stated that for Nicaraguans, the opportunity is now or never. "Thanks to great unity and consistent international support," said Sanchez, "and to changes taking place in China, Poland and elsewhere, the Nicaraguan people have great faith and a sense that never again will there be such an opportunity within their reach."

EASTERN EUROPE

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- FTUI is supporting a multi-faceted program with the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (FSZDL) to help unions acquire basic infrastructure and to develop information and education programs.
- Through the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, the Association of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) will receive support for an extensive publishing program, including a bi-weekly paper, and education programs in democratic youth culture.
- CIPE will sponsor a course at the Karl Marx University in Budapest in an attempt to revitalize the entrepreneurial spirit and educate the public about the free enterprise system. CIPE is also helping the Association for Private Enterprise in Hungary (VOSZ) to conduct courses for private businessmen.

The Endowment is also providing support to New Coalition and Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity, two Warsaw-based organizations that are working to promote the spread of democratic values and foster trans-border cooperation among the peoples and nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe. New Coalition has established close ties with the democratic movements in Lithuania and the Ukraine, while Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity is working to increase cooperation between the democratic movement in Poland and such Czechoslovakian organizations as Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS). A recent conference held November 3-5 in Wroclaw in western Poland was attended by more than 1,000 young people from Czechoslovakia and represents an important step in establishing ties between the democratic movements in those two countries.

NEWS & NOTES NEWS & NOTES NEWS & NOTES

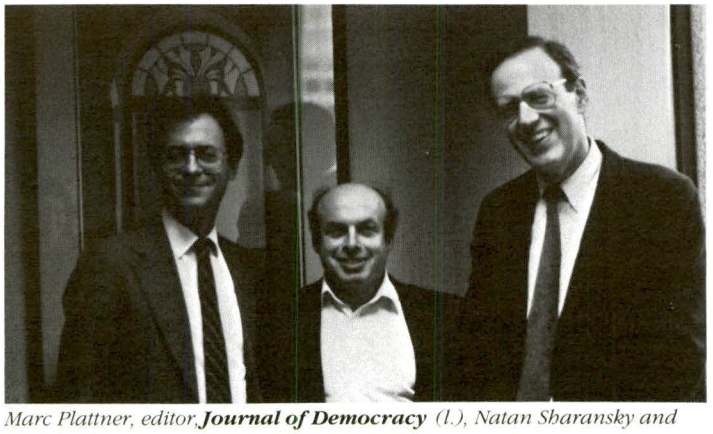
NDI Presents Fifth Annual Harriman Awards • Natan Sharansky Visits NED • Agreement between Solidarity and SEIU • NED Conference Book Available

Agreement Links Solidarity and Service Employees International Union

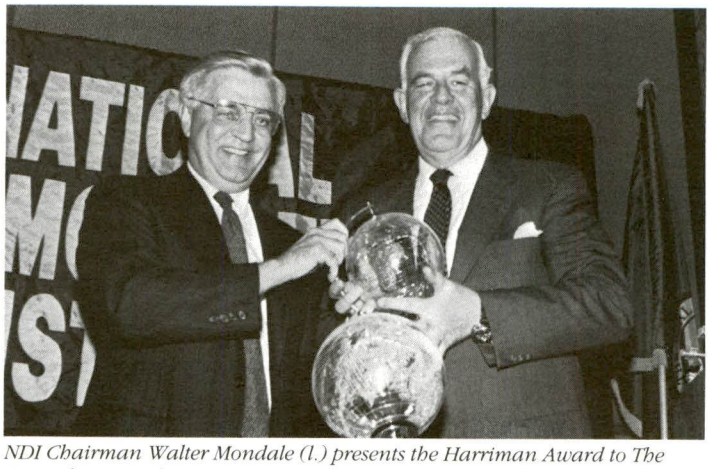
Solidarity's health care section recently signed the first "union-to-union" cooperative agreement with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). The agreement provides for exchange of information, programs and technical assistance and training in union functions and will serve as a model for similar programs with other unions. Solidarity is expected to play a significant role in the reconstruction of the health care system in Poland, where most workers are denied adequate access to health care services and lack occupational health and safety protection. Funding for the SEIU-Solidarity program will come largely from a $3 million fund appropriated by Congress through NED. The agreement was signed by SEIU President, John Sweeney, and Dr. Zofia Kuratowska, executive board member of the health care section of Solidarity and member of the Polish Senate.

Natan Sharansky Visits NED

Internationally-acclaimed Soviet dissident Natan Sharansky visited the Endowment on September 22. Sharansky became a spokesman for Moscow dissidents in the mid-1970s, including Jewish "refusniks" seeking to emigrate to Israel. Arrested in 1977 on a capital charge of treason, he spent the next nine years as a KGB prisoner. His years in prison, including solitary confinement and over 200 days of hunger strikes, are detailed in his recent book, *Fear No Evil*. Since his release, he has continued to work tirelessly for the causes of freedom and human rights.



*Marc Plattner, editor, **Journal of Democracy** (l.), Natan Sharansky and Carl Gershman.*



NDI Chairman Walter Mondale (l.) presents the Harriman Award to The Hon. Thomas Foley.

NDI Presents Awards to Bhutto and Foley

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) presented its fifth annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Awards to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan and The Hon. Thomas S. Foley, Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, at a dinner ceremony on October 4. The Harriman Awards are presented annually to individuals who exemplify NDI's commitment to democracy and human rights. In recognizing this year's recipients, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale cited Bhutto's vital role in the restoration of a democratic government in Pakistan and Foley's contributions to the American democratic system.

NED Conference Book Published

Proceedings on the Endowment's conference on "The Democratic Revolution" held last May have been compiled in a book which will be available in early December. The 120-page publication includes text of all speeches from the regional panel sessions on Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the Idea of Democracy panel, luncheon sessions and other events. Conference participants will be mailed a copy of the book; others interested in receiving the publication should write to the Endowment's Public Information Office.

HIGHLIGHTS OF RECENT GRANTS AWARDED

Through its worldwide grants program, the Endowment encourages the development of vigorous, independent private sector organizations which strengthen the institutional and intellectual infrastructure of democracy. Highlights of recent Endowment grants follow.

AFRICA

❑ The Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) received a grant to support a *collaborative project which will bring together private and public sector leaders from Kenya, Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania and Zimbabwe* to help define the private sector's role in economic reform in the region and to set an agenda for reform by developing specific structural adjustment programs. The Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry will establish a secretariat to staff the project, and CIPE will provide guidance and technical assistance.

❑ During its four years of publication, the *Sudan Times* newspaper sought to stimulate open discussion of the political and economic problems of the Sudan, and to promote unity under a democratic system of representative government. When a military junta overthrew the government of the Sudan in June of this year, all independent newspapers were banned. With Endowment support, Bona Malwal, editor of the *Sudan Times*, will publish a weekly newsletter in exile which will be circulated to 3,000 readers inside and outside the Sudan to help keep the democratic voice alive. The Joint Center for Political Studies will administer the grant.

ASIA

❑ *China Perspective Inc.* seeks to encourage the evolution of China toward an open society and aims to support the free flow of ideas between China and the outside world. An Endowment grant will support continued publication and expanded distribution of *The Chinese Intellectual* magazine, which provides a forum for discussion of issues relating to reform in China.

❑ The *Leslie Sawhny Programme* in Bombay, India aims to prepare Indian citizens for positions of leadership and to educate citizens about the values of a free and democratic society. An Endowment grant administered by the James S. Byrne International Center of the University of South Carolina will enable the Programme to continue training in the process of participatory democracy.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION

❑ *Atheneum*, a Russian language publisher in Paris, received a grant to help lauch a joint venture in uncensored publishing and historical research with four official Soviet partners. This represents the first legal outlet for publications on scholarly research into Soviet and Russian history. Edited and typeset in Paris and printed in Moscow in editions of 10-20,000, the publications will be distributed through the establishment of a special bookstore which eventually will provide an outlet for the sale of works from other Russian language publishers in the West. The grant will be administered by the American Friends of Free Speech Abroad.

❑ In the area of Soviet nationalities, a five-part program will support *democratic groups and movements in the Ukranian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Armenian republics*. Support will include technical assistance to independent press and publications which promote freedom of expression and provide information on western values and institutions such as political freedom and pluralism.

❑ The private sector in Poland faces unique challenges during the current transition to a pluralist system. With support from CIPE, the *Krakow Industrial Society* will work to encourage new business formation, to train aspiring entrepreneurs, build case law supporting private initiative and advocate changes in laws and regulations affecting private enterprise.

❑ The *Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe* received a grant to continue its projects in Hungary in independent publication, education and cultural programs in cooperation with several independent groups which are becoming increasingly active during this period of rapid political change.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

❑ *Libro Libre*, a regional publishing program in Central America dedicated to fostering democratic thought, received a grant to support publication of 18 new titles during the coming year and to conduct a series of seminars and lectures which encourage development of democratic ideas. In addition, *Libro Libre* will continue to develop its current library of 1500 books and 60 journals and magazines which is open to outside researchers interested in problems and perspectives of freedom and democracy. Freedom House will administer the grant.

❑ *Conciencia Peru*, the nonpartisan Peruvian women's organization established in 1987 to provide civic education and promote citizen participation in the democratic process, will continue its civic education program, strengthen its internal structure, and create two additional chapters, in preparation for municipal elections in November 1989 and national elections in April 1990. Capacitas International will administer the grant.

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

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Journal of Democracy To Appear in January

The inaugural issue of the *Journal of Democracy*, a new quarterly publication of the Endowment, will appear in January. Devoted to the monitoring and analysis of democratic developments worldwide, the *Journal* will address the growing international demand for an exchange of ideas and experiences regarding democracy. In addition to timely information, thoughtful analysis and the latest scholarship on democracy, each issue of the *Journal* will feature book reviews, reports on elections abroad and briefings on behind-the-scenes developments worldwide. Contributors will include leaders of democratic movements abroad as well as distinguished intellectuals, journalists and political scientists from around the world. Editors of the *Journal* are Larry Diamond, Senior Research Fellow, Stanford University's Hoover Institution, and Marc F. Plattner, NED Counselor and former Director of Program.

The premiere issue will include an array of perspectives on the monumental political changes making headlines today. In a series of articles, China's pro-democracy movement is examined by Chinese student leader Wuer Kaixi (see related article, page 3), human rights dissident Fang Lizhi, and China scholars Merle Goldman and Tom Gold. Another series based on presentations at the Endowment's May 1989 conference will explore the impact of democratic movements in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as seen by Solidarity advisor and Poland's Minister of Labor Jacek Kuron, Hungarian opposition leader Janos Kis, exiled Czech historian Vilem Precan, and Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

Other articles in the premiere issue include: exiled Panamanian newspaper editor Roberto Eisenmann on the struggle against Noriega; Leszek Kolakowski on future threats to democracy; Juan Linz on presidential systems in the Third World; Carlos Waisman on the impact of economic crisis on the survival of democracy in Argentina; and Dette Pascual on how civic organizations are helping to develop democratic values in the Philippines.

The *Journal* is funded by private contributions. Special subscription rates are available to those who receive the Endowment's newsletter – please see the adjoining order form for details on how to subscribe.

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BUILDING DEMOCRACY THROUGH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The Center For International Private Enterprise

1984 - 1988

PREFACE

1989 marks the fifth anniversary of the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE). Over those first five years, CIPE has compiled an impressive record of achievement throughout the developing world in support of private enterprise, the entrepreneur, democratic institutions and the private sector.

The success that CIPE has achieved in a short span of time is a result of the commitment and energy of our grantees around the world and of CIPE's pragmatic approach to developing projects based on realistic goals. We have had some disappointments and failures along the way, but these failures have increased our understanding of the dynamics involved in supporting positive change. Over the years CIPE has learned some very valuable lessons.

In early 1989 CIPE conducted an internal evaluation of its first five years and first 100 projects. The evaluation determined which of the 76 completed projects succeeded and which failed and identified reasons why. It also examined the success rate of CIPE projects by geographic region, by the objective of each project and by the extent of counterpart funding.

Following completion of the evaluation, the staff took time out to get together away from the office to take a straightforward and honest look at the results and consider what was accomplished in five years and what was learned from our mistakes. We considered the changes that have taken place in the world since the CIPE strategy was written two years ago and what can be expected in the future. The results of the evaluation and planning meeting were presented to the CIPE Board of Directors in May 1989. Their enthusiastic response led to the publication of this report.

CIPE is still a very young organization, with less than 100 completed projects, but it has assembled a solid record of achievement. This report describes CIPE's programming approach and summarizes the results of the self evaluation. We are very pleased and proud of the work that has been accomplished with our grantees. Ultimately, this review has confirmed the effectiveness of the CIPE program and given us great confidence as we look to the future and the next stage of CIPE's development.

William T. Archey, Vice President and Executive Director

INTRODUCTION

During the 1980s the dual movements toward democracy and market economics have created perhaps the greatest opportunity in recent history for lasting advances in world stability and prosperity. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's decision to create the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) was part of a national effort to engage the private sector in efforts to strengthen the "infrastructure of democracy" throughout the world. This infrastructure is the network of voluntary associations and institutions that are necessary for free and democratic societies. As the business representative in the National Endowment for Democracy, CIPE's mandate is to strengthen democratic institutions and private enterprise systems abroad as part of an overall strategy of democratic development.

From the ouster of Stroessner in Paraguay and the victory of the "no" vote in Chile, to the dismantling of the wall between Austria and Hungary and the upheavals in China, the world today is experiencing shock waves of change. People everywhere are demanding, and often achieving, more political and economic freedom than was thought possible even a few years ago. While these are dramatic and heartening events, we cannot forget that the ultimate success of any transition to democracy rests on economic development. Nations where individual entrepreneurs have the freedom and incentive to form and expand businesses, create jobs and generate wealth stand the greatest chance of building the economic foundation necessary to support the transition to democracy.

Parallel and crucial to the resurgence of democracy is the movement toward market-oriented economies. During much of the 1980s the developing world struggled under the debt crisis, hyper-inflation and capital flight. The inability to solve these problems confirmed the failure of state-centered approaches to economic development. As a result, more and more countries are turning to market-oriented strategies to stimulate entrepreneurship and generate economic growth. Within this movement, CIPE is uniquely positioned to contribute to the achievement of economic and political freedom around the world.

CIPE works directly with indigenous business organizations, think tanks and other business-oriented private sector organizations to encourage the growth of private enterprise principles and contribute to democratic development. Only by working with indigenous groups and sharing our experience and successes in developing countries, as well as in the United States, can innovative solutions be found for the often daunting problems facing the nations of the developing world. It is clear that the "American model" of economic growth and private sector participation in government policy formation cannot be imposed on other countries.

CIPE's strategy is to concentrate on countries that show at least some characteristics of a democracy, where CIPE's assistance can help the move towards political and economic stability. Within these countries in transition, CIPE focuses on projects that identify and address problems that impede the transition. In the first half of the report that follows, the approach and achieve-

CIPE Goals and Objectives

CIPE's goal is to encourage the growth of private enterprise principles and organizations that contribute to democratic development. Democracy requires the development of institutions based on individual freedom, incentive, initiative, opportunity, responsibility and voluntary association.

Private enterprise systems both benefit from and provide support for these same principles. By building business institutions committed to the values of private enterprise and democracy, CIPE plays a key role in encouraging and sustaining democratic transitions throughout the developing world.

In pursuing this goal, CIPE provides grants to support programs that aim for some or all of the following objectives:

- o Support a growing interest in market economics and private enterprise among government leaders and society in general.
- o Promote the participation of the private sector in democratic political and policy processes.
- o Increase the base of business talent in the developing world.
- o Encourage interest in privatizing state owned firms and deregulating statist economic systems.
- o Increase public understanding and appreciation of the role of the entrepreneur in economic growth.
- o Build independent business organizations.

ments of CIPE within the specific conditions and challenges of each region of the world are reviewed.

Latin America -- Over the past decade there has been a remarkable resurgence of democratically elected governments in Latin America. However, most democracies in the region remain fragile and real economic reform has not evolved.

From 1983 to 1988 53 percent of CIPE's funds were granted to projects in Latin America. The result is a broad and varied CIPE program that includes projects that advocate market-oriented economic policies, train business organization managers and educate the public on the advantages of private enterprise.

Asia -- The democratic experience and economic strategies of the countries of Asia have been varied. East Asia leads the world in economic growth, but in many cases this is due to well-planned government direction of the private sector. In South Asia economic reform has had only a marginal impact and faces opposition from powerful industrial interests that rely on government protection.

CIPE projects in the region have concentrated on the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand. Fifteen percent of CIPE's funds have supported projects in these countries and in China. CIPE grants have focused on building voluntary business organizations with an emphasis on public policy advocacy.

Africa -- There are very few democratic countries in Africa. The economic, political and social problems facing the countries of the region are enormous. Despite some economic reforms in recent years, the debt crisis, general economic mismanagement and political instability, among other factors,

have precipitated crisis conditions in most African states.

From 1984 to 1988 six percent of CIPE's funds supported projects in Africa and a high proportion of projects in the region failed to reach their goals. Recently, however, new projects have been initiated that show promise of long term positive impact in several key countries.

* * *

Following the regional reports is a series of new initiatives and strategies for shaping CIPE's future. These are based on the assessment of past performance and staff recommendations of how we can expand and enhance CIPE's program. These new approaches include enlarging CIPE's direct advocacy role, developing regional programs to generate support for market oriented reforms, and developing a worldwide program every two years.

A summary of the self-evaluation of CIPE's completed projects is appended to the report. The five-year evaluation assessed each of the 76 completed projects in terms of the degree to which they 1) addressed the purposes and objectives of CIPE, 2) addressed a clearly identified, explicit problem or obstacle to the growth of private enterprise, 3) produced specific, identifiable results and 4) had lasting effects on the development of private enterprise and democracy.

The evaluation results show that close to forty percent of the completed projects were judged to have had a great impact, fifty percent achieved measurable impact and ten percent minimal impact.

From the beginning, an essential part of CIPE's success has been its flexibility and responsiveness to different cultures and changing world conditions. Continuing this approach requires the clear vision and judgement that comes only with experience and understanding of both project successes and failures. The purpose of this review of CIPE's first five years was the achievement of that understanding - to consider CIPE's past performance with an eye toward the future. The results will serve as a guide to both the staff and the Board in future program and policy decisions.

OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVING CIPE's GOALS

CIPE has encountered some very fundamental obstacles to the development of democracy and the movement toward private enterprise. These apply in varying degrees to all of the regions of the world in which CIPE works. Obstacles include the following:

o The word "capitalism" is anathema in much of the developing world. Recently there has been a quiet revolution in economic thinking among the leaders of the world who have begun to appreciate and favor private initiative in economic growth and development. Yet in the minds of many, capitalism is equated with cronyism, mercantilism and oligopoly. As a result, CIPE simply uses terms such as private enterprise, market economics and entrepreneurial initiatives.

o Private enterprise principles are not understood in many countries. School systems often teach Marxism or socialism while ignoring private enterprise and market economics.

o Media coverage of economics is often biased against market-oriented economic reforms. Journalists are not prepared to report on business and economic issues from a private enterprise perspective.

o In many parts of the world private business organizations do not exist, or membership in chambers of commerce is mandatory, making them extensions of the government. Even when private business organizations do exist, businessmen often do not know how to advocate policy change.

o Perhaps most important for us to realize is that frequently opposition to economic reform comes from some established businessmen who are benefitting from government favors. Their investment in the *status quo* precludes any support for change that would threaten their position.

o Legislatures in some countries lack professional staffs to analyze or draft economic legislation. As a result, writing and execution of laws are the responsibility of bureaucrats.

o Government employees resist change because they do not know how to implement reforms and fear any challenge to their vested interests.

o In many countries, there is a thriving entrepreneurial group excluded from the formal business community. They are known as the "informal sector," and are a vital and potentially productive element of the economy, as yet untapped.

REGIONAL REPORTS

CIPE Projects 1984-1988
All Regions

Number of Projects:	97
Number of Countries:	32
Total Program Funds:	$8,530,337

CIPE's regional strategy concentrates on those countries where democratic development has already begun. In general, CIPE projects are initiated in countries that meet the following criteria:

- the country shows at least some characteristics of a political democracy;
- the economic base is sufficient to support a private sector business community; and
- the government is inclined toward or at least tolerant of pragmatic economic policies and private sector growth.

CIPE's efforts to promote democratic and economic development in these transition countries focus on overcoming the impediments to a private enterprise system, particularly those that affect the development of democratically oriented business institutions.

CIPE programs cannot solve all of the impediments to democratic development and economic growth. However, CIPE programs can make a significant contribution by providing the stimulus for change and supporting the transitions to democracy occurring in many parts of the world.

The regional reports that follow describe the specific conditions and approaches CIPE followed in each region and includes examples of projects.

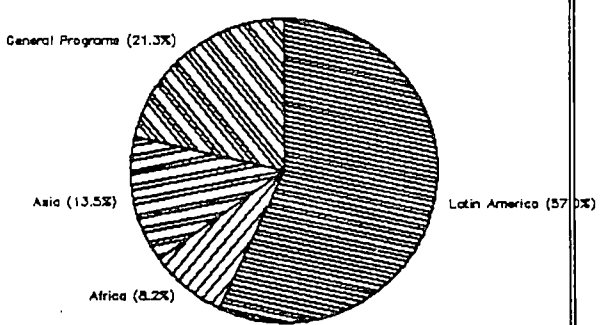
LATIN AMERICA/CARIBBEAN

CIPE Projects 1984-1988
Latin America and Caribbean

Number of Projects:	52
Number of Countries:	19
Total Program Funds:	$3,792,474

From the first days of operation, the greatest number of CIPE projects have been in Latin America and the Caribbean. Over half of CIPE's funds have been spent in the region, which is where we have seen the greatest progress toward our goals.

The reasons Latin American projects represent the major portion of the CIPE program are twofold. First, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

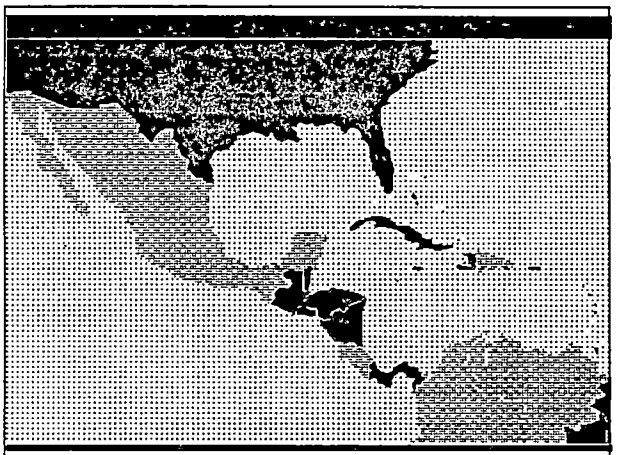


1984 - 1988 Regional Distribution

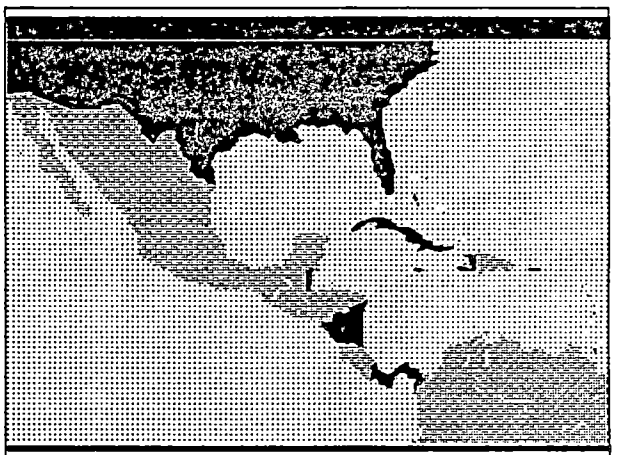
was involved in the hemisphere long before the creation of CIPE. The prestige that came with affiliation with the Chamber gave CIPE a degree of credibility that facilitated entry into that region. Second, and just as important, the intellectual underpinnings on which CIPE was founded have struck a responsive chord with business leaders virtually everywhere in Latin America, thus providing a receptive area in which to develop programs.

Democracy in Latin America

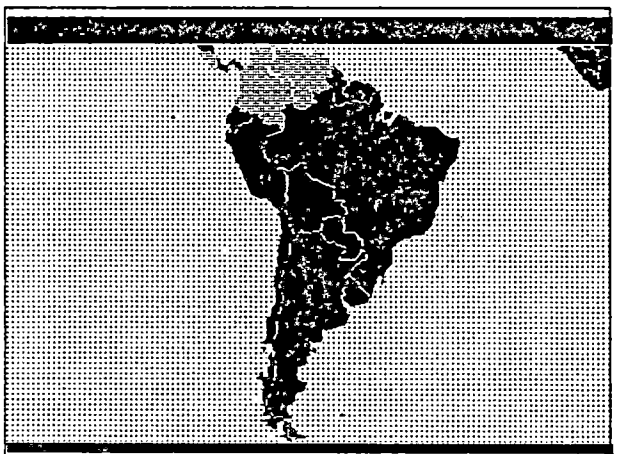
The nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced profound changes over the past decade. In contrast to ten years ago when military regimes were predominant, today elected civilian administrations govern most countries in the region. A decade ago less than 35 percent of the region's 350 million people lived under democracy. Today, we see almost a reverse of that situation, with over 95 percent of the region's 400 million people living under some degree of democracy.



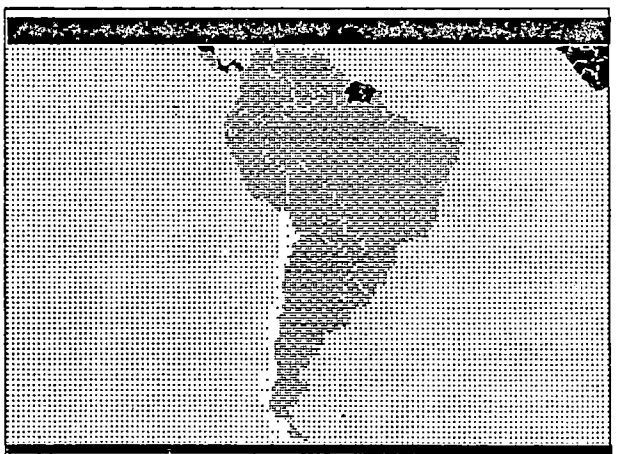
Central American Democracies
1979



Central American Democries
1989



South American Democracies
1979



South American Democracies
1989

CHALLENGES IN LATIN AMERICA

* BUSINESS COMMUNITIES ARE POLARIZED INTO FORMAL AND INFORMAL ECONOMIES THAT EXIST SIDE BY SIDE IN CONFLICT WITH EACH OTHER.

* PROCESSES OF POLICY DEBATE AND FORMATION ARE NOT OPEN TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION. "CRONYISM," FEAR OF RETRIBUTION FOR CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT AND LACK OF "KNOW-HOW" INHIBIT PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT.

* THE PUBLIC SECTOR DOES NOT ADEQUATELY UNDERSTAND MARKET ECONOMICS: NEITHER THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM NOR THE INHERITED LATIN VALUE SYSTEM ACKNOWLEDGES THE BENEFITS OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE.

* CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT AND STATIST ECONOMIC POLICIES, INHERITED FROM THE COLONIAL TRADITION, HANDICAP EFFORTS TO EFFECT CHANGE.

* STRONG LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGIES EXIST IN CONFLICT. BOTH EXTREMES LOOK TO THE STATE AS THE PRIMARY GENERATOR OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

* SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS STRAINS THE INFRASTRUCTURE; WITH THE CRIPPLING DEBT AND THE SLUGGISH PACE OF REFORMS, A PERMANENT STATE OF DEMOCRACY WILL BE SLOW TO ARRIVE.

Despite the inspiring proliferation of competitive electoral systems in the region, the transition to, and permanence of, democracy is neither complete nor guaranteed. Without the infrastructure of independent private sector organizations and values necessary to sustain stable, democratic political processes, the achievement of open and pluralistic democratic systems remains an open question. There is not yet a feeling of permanence in the democracies that exist; one or two electoral successions in a country does not mean that full pluralistic, participatory democracies exist, or, if they do exist, that they will endure.

From 1988 to 1990, the outcome of elections scheduled in virtually every country of the region will be one signal of the appeal of democracy. If civilian governments can succeed one another, avoid violence and economic collapse and open up their political and economic systems to greater freedom of voter and consumer choice, then democracy will have proven its value.

EXAMPLES OF CIPE PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA

PROBLEM: Peru is characterized by a "mercantalist" economic system that favors and protects a few business elites who monopolize the political and economic rights of Peruvians. This system has led to the polarization of the business community into two business sectors: the formal and informal.

The informal sector is made up of entrepreneurs who operate outside the official legal systems because of excessive and ever-changing rules, licenses, permits and bribes required by the government. From 1948-1985 Peruvian lawmakers created over 25,000 rules each year without public participation or accountability. As a result, 48 percent of Peru's workforce has been pushed into the informal sector. These conditions have created an inefficient and unstable dual economy (in 1988 Peru's gross national product fell by 23 percent) and a volatile political environment threatened by a militant guerrilla movement.

PROGRAM: CIPE's grantee, the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD), a private sector think tank established in Lima in 1980, has begun a campaign to dismantle the mercantalistic and bureaucratic barriers to legitimate entrepreneurial activity and make the lawmaking process accountable to the public. ILD began by conducting unprecedented research that documented the size and causes of the informal sector. With support from CIPE, the ILD has made significant progress in advocating property rights, credit and legal guarantees for informal entrepreneurs.

Specifically, with CIPE funds ILD has:

- Analyzed key economic regulations and legislation in terms of cost benefit, publicized the findings and advocated new cost effective policies. Major results include:

  * passage of legislation that will grant formal title to property held by an estimated 231,000 informals that can now be used as collateral for a potential $111 million in small business loans;

  * passage of an administrative simplification law that will streamline the process of establishing and registering formal businesses;

  * adjudicating on behalf of about 50,000 Peruvian in 21 class action suits promoting individual property rights.

- Publicized and broadly distributed the results of its research on the informal sector and the ramifications of their findings. This has been done principally in connection with publication of the book, *El otro sendero* (The Other Path), which was published in Spanish and English and was a best-seller throughout Latin America;

- Assisted other groups in Latin America and worldwide to replicate both the ILD's research and their approach to effecting change in the legislative and regulatory processes.

ILD has identified the informal sector as a constituency for a more open, growth-oriented economy and is peacefully guiding Peru toward a participatory democracy and free market economy.

PROBLEM: In many countries lawmakers lack the knowledge and experience to make informed decisions on economic policy. In addition there are often no resources for research and advice to lawmakers, nor are there mechanisms for public participation in economic policy debates.

PROGRAM: The Dominican Republic's Center for Economic Orientation's (COE), economic advisory service, known as "Assistance to Congress in Economic Policy Analysis," provided elected officials with analysis and guidance on economic and business issues. COE's goal was to build a more coherent legal framework for private enterprise.

During the second year of CIPE support to the project, COE produced and distributed 450 copies each of 24 analyses of proposed economic legislation. The analyses were distributed to Dominican legislators, congressional staff, the media, business and professional associations, labor unions, universities and government agencies.

At the conclusion of the second year, COE reported that of the

24 legislative issues analyzed, COE recommended approval of 16 bills, some of which contained modifications. Nine of these bills were approved by the Dominican Congress, several of which reflected COE's suggested revisions. The other seven were still under consideration at the time of this report. Due to the success of the first two grants, CIPE awarded a third and final year of support to COE, after which it is anticipated the program will become self sufficient.

PROBLEM: Business organizations which represent the private sector and advocate market economic policies have had limited success in affecting national policies because of a lack of organization management skills.

PROGRAM: Beginning in 1984, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Center for Leadership Development (CLD), in cooperation with CIPE, established the Latin American Institute for Organization Management. The Institute conducts an annual training program in organization management that is held in Costa Rica for close to 100 staff executives from business organizations throughout Latin America.

This program, which was adapted from a similar, well established U.S. program, provides intensive training in management skills, developing chamber of commerce and trade association programs and building national business federations and regional cooperation. The result is that a number of private sector business organizations have begun to exert a more effective role in the economic and political processes in Latin America.

During the start up years of 1984-1988, executives from 90 organizations in 18 countries participated in the program. The Institute has now become an independent regional effort run by an organization formed by graduates of the program.

PROBLEM: In general, the principles of private enterprise, the characteristics and role of the entrepreneur in a national economy and the advantages of a market-oriented economy have not been taught in schools in Latin America. As a result, neither government officials nor the public understand all of the options available for economic recovery nor do they see business as an attractive career goal; both groups are subject to misinformation regarding economic policy

PROGRAM: With CIPE support the Mexican Employers' Confederation (COPARMEX) has been offering the EMPRESA economic education course to approximately 60,000 students and workers each year through the Mexican national vocational school system. EMPRESA teaches the basics of private enterprise, focusing on the role of enterprise in society and how aspiring entrepreneurs can start their own businesses. COPARMEX estimates that in the first two years of offering the course, 2,000 of their students have started their own businesses.

ASIA

CIPE Projects 1984-1988
Asia:

Number of Projects:	11
Number of Countries:	4
Total Program Funds:	$754,989

Although the U.S. Chamber has had ties to many of the countries of Asia through its American Chambers of Commerce, when CIPE began operations there were very few links with indigenous institutions. In addition, there was very little information available about private sector organizations. Since 1984, close to 15 percent of CIPE's funds have been programmed in Asia. Within the region, CIPE has placed highest priority on Pakistan, the Philippines, the Peoples Republic of China and Thailand, but has also worked to develop projects in India, Bangladesh, Indonesia and several other developing countries.

With a collective population of approximately 2.5 billion, which is nearly half of the world's people, Asia is host to a variety of cultures, ethnic groups and religious traditions and contains an equally diverse array of political and economic systems. Within this mosaic, the region encompasses some of the world's richest and fastest growing nations along with the poorest: Japan boasts an annual *per capita* income of $24,000, while that of Burma and Bangladesh is $200 or less. CIPE works with the developing countries in the region to generate economic growth and build democratic institutions.



Asian Democracies

Democracy in Asia

Many of the countries of Asia have experimented with democracy and incorporated at least some democratic institutions and practices into their political systems. Several Asian countries, including the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand and Pakistan have recently undergone significant democratic reforms. On the other hand, countries such as Kampuchea, North Korea and Vietnam are among the most controlled, non-democratic countries in the world.

In recent years the dramatic economic successes of East Asian countries based on market economic strategies have fueled a growing demand for economic growth, modernization and democracy in other countries of the region. The economic success of the 'Asian Tigers'- such as South Korea - is also driving citizens to demand far reaching democratic reforms and human rights. An expanding, educated, prosperous business sector, aware of the potential of democracy, can be the vanguard of political activism.

CHALLENGES IN ASIA

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* SECURITY THREATS AND INTERNAL INSTABILITY IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA PRESENT A REAL OBSTACLE TO DEMOCRATIC REFORM.

* INDUSTRIAL LEADERS IN THE REGION FREQUENTLY LOOK TO PERSONAL OR FAMILY CONNECTIONS TO EFFECT CHANGE, RATHER THAN TO PRIVATE SECTOR INSTITUTIONS.

* LARGE VESTED BUSINESS INTERESTS ARE RESISTANT TO ECONOMIC REFORM, PREFERRING TO PROTECT THE *STATUS QUO*.

* EXCESSIVE REGULATION OF BUSINESS DISCOURAGES ENTREPRENEURS AND CRIPPLES ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

* THE RIGID SOCIAL SYSTEM RESTRICTS GROWTH AND SELF-IMPROVELENT AND PERPETUATES A LARGE POOR POPULATION.

* THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE ELITE OFFERS NO OPPORTUNITY FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN POLICY MAKING.

* NUMEROUS CONFLICTS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ETHNIC POPULATIONS, SOME OF THEM VIOLENT, FOSTER INSTABILITY.

* SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS CONTROL MANY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA.

* GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE DEEPLY ENTRENCHED AND DOMINATE THE ECONOMIC POLICY PROCESS.

* THERE IS A LACK OF ECONOMIC SOPHISTICATION IN THE PRESS, AND AN ABSENCE OF A CADRE OF JOURNALISTS WHO UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC ISSUES.

EXAMPLES OF CIPE PROGRAMS IN ASIA

PROBLEM: Few businessmen outside the urban centers have opportunities to effectively voice their positions on national economic policies. In general, industrial leaders in the urban centers are the only businessmen who have the influence to effect change in Asia. However, they do not depend on institutions such as chambers of commerce to represent their points of view, but rather rely on personal connections with government leaders to achieve their ends.

PROGRAMS: In Thailand, by training professional staffs and volunteer businessmen and by assisting in the development of programs of real value to members, the Institute for Management Education in Thailand (IMET) has built a network of 73 provincial chambers of commerce. These chambers have become active advocates of business issues at the local, provincial and national levels. For example:

* The Tak provincial chamber has advocated revised government trading and banking policies for trading on the Thai-Burma border where trade has increased following the Burmese government's move to open the country to free trade.

* The provincial chambers of Phisanuloke, Khon Kaen and Nakornrajsima, before the last general elections, organized public meetings with candidates for the House of Representatives to create public awareness of the election and the issues.

* Several chambers, including those in Nakornrajsima and Tak provinces, have advocated measures to improve public transportation

including enlarged and improved highways and airports.

This project has given businessmen in outlying areas their first opportunity to influence government policies.

PROBLEM: There is a lack of qualified journalists familiar with basic economic issues and the impact of policy decisions. Without a cadre of professional and knowledgeable journalists to interpret the issues for their readers, critical and informed reporting on economic reform will either not happen or be misrepresented resulting in the failure of the public to understand the issues.

PROGRAM: A training program for 26 economic and business journalists in Pakistan was successfully adapted from a similar CIPE program in Mexico. This program was designed to improve the quality of reporting on business and economic issues in Pakistan and to make the journalists aware of the importance of the private sector in economic growth. With a qualified press to report the business point of view, the issues have a better chance of being fairly represented.

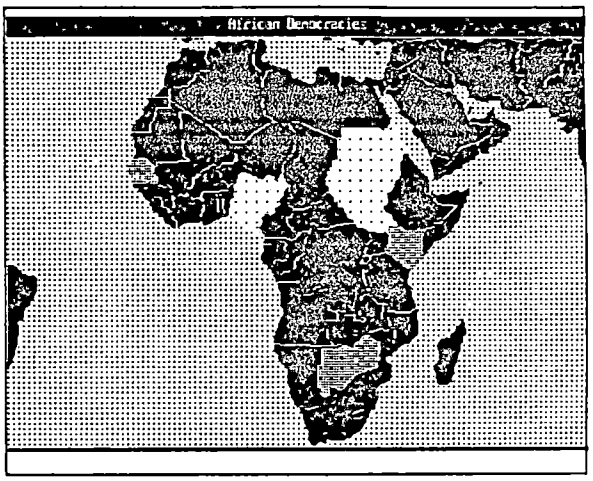
AFRICA

CIPE Projects 1984-1988
Africa:

Number of Projects:	9
Number of Countries:	6
Total Program Funds:	$489,264

Developing good projects in sub-Saharan Africa has been a slow process for CIPE. When CIPE began there were very few linkages between organizations in the region and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, such as those found in Latin America. Further, private sector organizations are few and far between in Africa.

Over the last five years African projects have accounted for less than six percent of CIPE funds. Four of the projects in the region to date have been in the 1988-89 fiscal years.



Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa

Most African nations did not attain independence until the late 1950s or early 1960s. In many instances they are handicapped by inexperienced leaders with an immediate need to interact with a highly complex world economic community. On gaining independence, most African countries were set up as democracies, but in 42 out of 46 countries, democratic governments have been replaced by one-party authoritarian states or military regimes.

As can be seen from the map of African democracies, few countries on the continent today approach the western definition of democracy. Only three out of 46 sub-Saharan African nations are generally considered to be relatively stable

democracies: these are Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius. Another three countries (Kenya, Senegal and Zimbabwe), have — preserved some features of democratic systems, though it should be noted that recent trends in both Kenya and Zimbabwe seem to be leading to authoritarianism. Finally, Nigeria and Sudan might be called "episodic democracies." These two countries have repeatedly gone through transitions to democracy only to have the military return to power when civilian politicians have proved incapable of governing.

CIPE PROGRAMS IN AFRICA

PROBLEM: Throughout Africa there is a lack of private business organizations (such as chambers of commerce) that are willing and capable of working to influence economic policy-making.

PROGRAMS: Under a grant from CIPE, the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI), is developing into a leading advocate for private enterprise in Kenya and a role model for other East African business groups. CIPE provided financial and technical support to the KNCCI to improve the resources and capability of the organization to analyze economic issues and advocate policy reforms. The project is succeeding in three specific areas:

1) The KNCCI, at the request of the Ministry of Local Government, has begun an overhaul of the existing inequitable tax policies of local governments and will offer recommendations for a revised tax system.

2) The KNCCI's annual "Economic Paper to the Minister of Finance on the General Economy," distributed to members of Parliament, will draw upon the Chamber's newly established economic department, computerized research data and private sector committees to make a more compelling argument for market-oriented reforms. The KNCCI has also used the same resources to begin publishing periodic position papers on economic legislation.

3) A national membership campaign has increased membership by over 30 percent and broadened the chamber's base of support and influence.

CHALLENGES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

* LACK OF EFFECTIVE PRIVATE BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS (SUCH AS CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE) THROUGH WHICH BUSINESS CAN AFFECT POLICY-MAKING.

* POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS ARE RESTRICTED.

* THE PRESS AND MEDIA ARE LIMITED BY SEVERE GOVERNMENT CONTROLS.

* A REAL SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY HAS NOT EMERGED FROM THE COUNTRIES PATCHED TOGETHER BY COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS OUT OF DISPARATE TRIBAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS.

* ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE AMONG THE MOST SEVERE IN THE WORLD:
  - COUNTRIES BURDENED BY DEBT CRISIS
  - A LACK OF EXTERNAL INVESTMENT
  - DECLINING PER CAPITA GNP.

* STRONG ANTI-BUSINESS BIAS.

* EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS THAT DO NOT CONVEY BUSINESS SKILLS.

* STATIST ECONOMIC POLICY AND CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT PLANNING.

* SMALL MARKETS THAT LIMIT EXPANSION IN MOST COUNTRIES.

* ADVERSE PUBLIC HEALTH CONDITIONS, INCLUDING AIDS.

PROBLEM: Journalists do not fully understand the private enterprise system and therefore do not report comprehensively or accurately on economic conditions and reforms. As a result, government officials and the public do not fully understand or support economic reforms, and public debate on economic matters is limited.

PROGRAMS: The Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) has responded to the lack of accurate reporting of the current government trend toward seeking private sector solutions to economic problems by organizing two seminars for journalists in conjunction with the Press Foundation of Nigeria. Forty journalists will be exposed to such topics as: "Institutions of the Free Enterprise System: Their Strengths and Weaknesses," "Political Stability and Economic Growth," and "The Significance and Impact of Business Associations on Economic Policy."

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The challenges and opportunities for supporting private enterprise and democratic development around the world are both formidable and exciting. The experiences and lessons of the past five years have taught us a great deal about encouraging private enterprise systems and advocating market-oriented economic reforms. The following series of recommendations for enhancing the basic strategy and specific ideas for new program initiatives sets the agenda for the future.

New Strategies

1. Enhance CIPE's direct advocacy role.

For the last several years CIPE has operated as a funding agency. This approach has worked well in building a worldwide program; however, the time has come to apply CIPE's experience and knowledge more directly by adding a formal advocacy strategy to complement the funding strategy. This process has already begun with the "Informal Sector" and "Market-Oriented Reform" conferences. Essentially, it's time to become more aggressive in the area of economic reform. Three specific ideas have been identified to get the message out:

* Speaking opportunities for the Board and staff must be sought. Using the in-house talent and taking advantage of the Board and staff's good ideas are a viable avenue to increase CIPE's worldwide visibility.

* International organizations must be targeted. It's time to generate some changes in the way groups like the International Chamber of Commerce, the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, the International Organization of Employers and other international organizations go about the business of economic development. Just as the grantees impact on their national governments, CIPE must take a look at those international groups, start lobbying them and, in effect, change their approach.

* Occasional papers should be published to report on the lessons learned, and some of the materials and results of the grants should be distributed. Again, this strategy is designed to raise CIPE's visibility as a source of ideas.

NEW STRATEGIES

* ENHANCE CIPE'S DIRECT ADVOCACY ROLE.

* DEVELOP A FOCUSED WORLDWIDE PROGRAM EVERY TWO YEARS.

* RESPOND TO LIBERALIZATION TRENDS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND OTHER COMMAND ECONOMIES AS THEY OCCUR.

* DEVELOP REGIONAL PROGRAMS TO GENERATE SUPPORT FOR EXPANDED MARKETS AND MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC REFORM.

* TARGET QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN COUNTRIES WITH WEAK PRIVATE SECTOR GROUPS.

* SEEK FUNDING FROM PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SOURCES.

2. Develop a focused worldwide program every two years.

CIPE must begin to consider whether projects that have been successful in one particular setting have a more universal application and begin a more systematic effort to replicate successful projects and approaches. To do so, CIPE will initiate a worldwide effort every two years to identify the concepts and adapt the techniques of successful projects to other cultural and economic contexts.

As a first global project CIPE has focussed on the informal sector phenomenon. CIPE must build on work in the informal sector to really see if that work can be replicated throughout and outside Latin America. CIPE should target a representative group of African and Asian countries as well as continue to build on the programs in Latin America. Once the results are in, CIPE would then be in a position to aggressively promote the idea of the informal sector as a model for generating change in a variety of countries around the world.

3. Respond to liberalization trends in Eastern Europe and other command economies as they occur.

CIPE needs to take a fresh look at the changes that are occurring in the Communist world. The collapse of communism or Marxism as an ideology and the bankruptcy of Soviet-type economies are the most significant, sweeping and inescapable changes in the world today. Two countries in particular - Poland and Hungary - have been moving relatively quickly down the road of liberalization. Recent changes are probably irreversible, at least without the use of military force, which is unlikely at this point.

However, our understanding of these changes is limited. One way to throw light on the situation would be to replicate the CIPE conference on market reform, focussing on the command economies. In this way, information could be generated and a more immediate strategy for reforms of command economies could be developed. Ideally, this conference would be held on site, in Eastern Europe.

4. Develop regional programs to generate support for expanded markets and market-oriented economic reform.

As several of the regional reports noted, in many parts of the developing world one of the main barriers to economic growth is the very small size of the markets. In order to build up these markets and support the trend toward common markets or economic units, the CIPE market reform conferences could be tailored to specific regions. Not only would this serve an advocacy function of getting the message out, it would also stimulate both business and government to develop their own regional program ideas.

5. Target quasi-governmental organizations in countries with weak private sector groups.

Working with some quasi-governmental organizations is in keeping with the regional program initiative. In many parts of the developing world, especially Africa, the private sector is simply too weak to carry out projects on its own. CIPE is looking at the idea of working with some of these quasi-independent organizations, in conjunction with the emerging private sector groups, in areas like entrepreneurial development and policy research.

6. Seek funding from private and public sources.

In order for CIPE to expand its operations significantly, additional funds are needed. As the Chairman recommended and the Board has approved, a development committee has been established to guide CIPE's search for other sources of support.

New Program Initiatives

These program initiatives were identified by the staff at the planning meeting. They represent program approaches that would further CIPE's success in achieving its objectives, but either have not been addressed, or need to be significantly expanded. Each of these initiatives responds to one of CIPE's stated objectives.

Objective: Support the growing interest in market economics and private enterprise among government leaders and society in general.

Initiatives: Create "how to" programs for government officials; provide a blueprint on how to sequence reforms; develop new enterprise education programs.

It is clear that in order for economic reforms to function, mid-level and senior government officials must understand and support economic policies and their effects. However, it is apparent that in much of the developing world, government officials have not had the opportunity to gain such an understanding. In order to buttress the effort for policy changes with respect to the private sector these officials must be educated on the advantages of market reform. The objective of "how-to" programs is to build support for market-oriented reforms, and an understanding of the mechanics of implementing reforms.

An essential component of the "how to" programs is a blueprint on how to sequence economic reforms. One of the conclusions of the recent CIPE conference on economic reforms is that there is a sequence or pattern of reforms that will enhance the likelihood of success. The process of identifying that sequence and developing the blueprint has already begun. Following the conference on economic reforms in early 1989, CIPE initiated a study of reforms in 48 countries that will lead to the development of such a blueprint.

Society in general, and the potential entrepreneur in particular, must also understand the market economic system. In many countries, there is a lack of exposure to the basic principles of economics and a common belief that free markets cannot work. Basic education in these areas could have considerable impact. In light of the many obstacles to reform and the long term nature of the development process, indigenous education at a basic level on private enterprise and economics is vital.

One of the leading CIPE projects conducted in many Latin American countries is the EMPRESA (Enterprise) program. The training kit, which includes transparencies and workbooks, teaches high school and college students the elements of the free market system. Often, the audience has never before been exposed to alternatives to the statist model. This program should be adapted and expanded for other regions of the world.

Objective: Encourage interest in privatizing state-owned firms and deregulating economic systems.

Initiative: Support new financial institutions and policies to increase capital mobilization.

—

The dynamism of the private sector depends on access to credit and capital in order to finance new enterprises. Privatization must be preceded by other reforms, especially deregulation, removal of exchange and price controls and other stabilization measures. Too often reform programs are judged by the success of efforts to privatize state owned firms. However, unless the elements of the policy environment have been reformed, and adequate financing mechanisms are created, the efforts to sell off state owned firms may not succeed.

Objective: Promote business participation in democratic political and policy processes.

Initiatives: Replicate legislative advisory services; replicate provincial association development programs.

Chambers of commerce, small business organizations, think tanks and other private sector organizations must be encouraged to advocate market-oriented policies and the development of pluralism. One of the most effective projects addressing this objective is the legislative advisory services carried out in several Latin American countries.

These projects respond to the lack of information and analysis of proposed economic legislation available to lawmakers in many countries. The analyses provide information and a platform for arguing for market-oriented economic legislation, and their broad distribution helps to make elected officials aware that interested constituencies will hold them accountable for the effectiveness of their economic policy making. It is clear that similar conditions exist in other parts of the world; this activity should be replicated in other regions.

Much of the advocacy that is conducted in the developing world takes place in the urban centers among the more sophisticated businessmen. CIPE's efforts to initiate provincial association development highlights a more grassroots approach to advocacy. Most projects tend to focus on urban areas, despite the fact that a substantial proportion of production and population are still rural. Provincial chambers of commerce can help give rural businessmen a say in the policy process for the first time.

Objective: Increase the base of business talent in the developing world.

Initiatives: Support entrepreneur training centers; expand programs for women entrepreneurs.

One of the lessons of the research on the informal sector is the realization that a vast number of individuals in the developing world make a living as small entrepreneurs. However, they very often do not consider themselves a part of the business community. Small entrepreneurs, both informal and formal, must be encouraged and supported. The need for training programs for a variety of audiences should be met and the success of small entrepreneurs enhanced via training in effective management.

In addition, more effort should be directed to developing projects that will encourage the funding of women entrepreneurs. A large percentage of entrepreneurs in the informal sector are women. Similarly, a large percentage of

these entrepreneurs are the head of single parent families with a strong motivation to succeed in business and obtain better opportunities for their children.

NEW PROGRAM INITIATIVES

* PROVIDE A BLUEPRINT ON HOW TO INTRODUCE THE NEEDED SEQUENCE OF MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS.

* CREATE PROGRAMS THAT TEACH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HOW TO IMPLEMENT MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS.

* SUPPORT NEW FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES TO INCREASE CAPITAL MOBILIZATION.

* REPLICATE THE SUCCESSFUL LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY PROGRAMS BEGUN IN LATIN AMERICA.

* SUPPORT ENTREPRENEUR TRAINING CENTERS.

* EXPAND PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS.

* REPLICATE SUCCESSFUL PROVINCIAL (LOCAL) ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

* DEVELOP NEW ENTERPRISE EDUCATION PROGRAMS.

As this report has demonstrated, CIPE has compiled an impressive track record over the last five years. The failures as well as the successes serve to increase the understanding of the dynamics involved in supporting positive change. Developing new initiatives and strategies has made the lessons learned from experience a crucial part of the process of shaping CIPE's future.

FIVE YEAR EVALUATION

After five years of programs to build private enterprise and private sector business organizations, it was clear that an overall evaluation of the success and failure rate of CIPE's projects was needed. Previously, CIPE's internal evaluation consisted of case studies of individual projects as each was completed. Never before had the cumulative results for all projects been tallied -- in essence a score card of results.

This evaluation is based only on the results of projects completed prior to 1989. The completed projects represent just over 60 percent of all funds allocated for the period. The other 40 percent of the funds includes projects that were not completed at the time of the evaluation and several in-house projects, such as CIPE's project monitoring, evaluation and development activities, that were not included in this study.

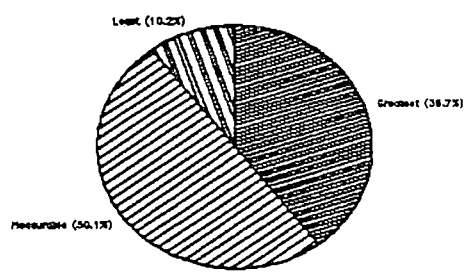
CIPE Projects 1984-1988
All regions

	All Projects	Completed Projects
Funds:	$8,530,337	$5,187,684
Projects:	97	76
Countries:	32	24

The evaluation was based on four criteria. Each project was evaluated on the degree to which they:

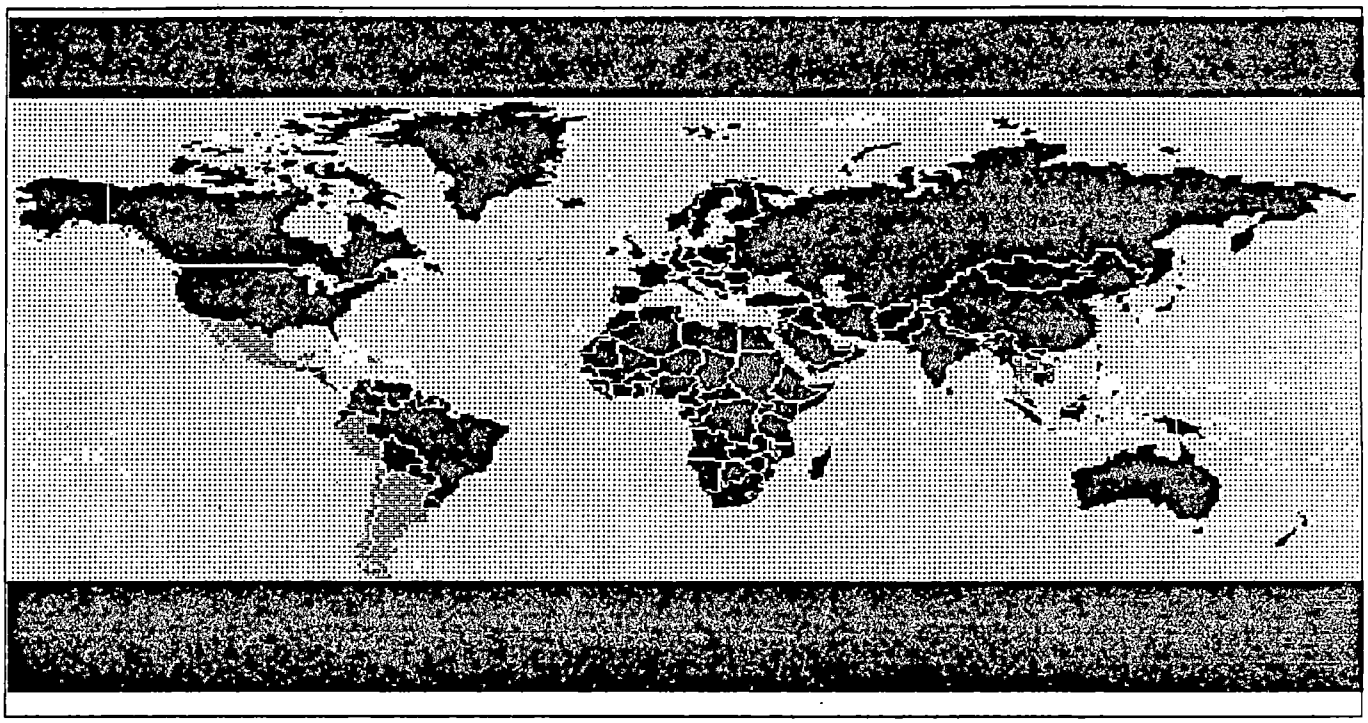
1. addressed the purposes and objectives of CIPE.
2. addressed a clearly identified, explicit problem or obstacle to the growth of private enterprise.
3. produced specific, identifiable results.
4. have lasting effects on the development of private enterprise and democracy.

In conducting the evaluation, the activities and results of each project were analyzed based on all information available. This included the final report written by the grantee, the written assessment from the responsible CIPE staff member and any analyses prepared by project consultants. In conformance with CIPE's emphasis on results and impact rather than process and activities, each project was then rated as of "Greatest Impact," "Measurable Impact" and "Least Impact." The overall results of the ratings are shown in the following pie chart.



Overall Ratings

PROJECTS OF GREATEST IMPACT



19 Projects in 6 countries plus multicountry projects
Grant funds: $2,270,949 - 39.7% of all funds for completed projects ($5,187,684)
Average grant: $119,523
Regional Distribution:
62% Latin America * 0% Africa * 5% Asia * 0% Europe * 33% Multicountry

Projects judged to have achieved greatest impact met all the evaluative criteria, including having strong evidence that the results made a lasting change or advancement in the development of private enterprise or democracy. These changes may be reflected several ways. For example:

1. **Passage of specific market-oriented legislation as a result of a grantee's advocacy efforts.**

The changes in existing laws and regulations and the passage of new legislation that grantees such as the Institute for Liberty and Democracy in Peru and the Center for Economic Orientation in the Dominican Republic achieved, as described on pages 9 and 10, made long lasting advances in the growth of private enterprise in these countries.

2. **Institutionalization of mechanisms that ensure the business community's continued participation in economic policy debates.**

The network of provincial chambers of commerce created by the Institute for Managment Education in Thailand not only gave provincial businessmen their first opportunity to participate in economic policy debates, but created an organization that will continue to give the business community a voice in local and national debates beyond the period of CIPE support.

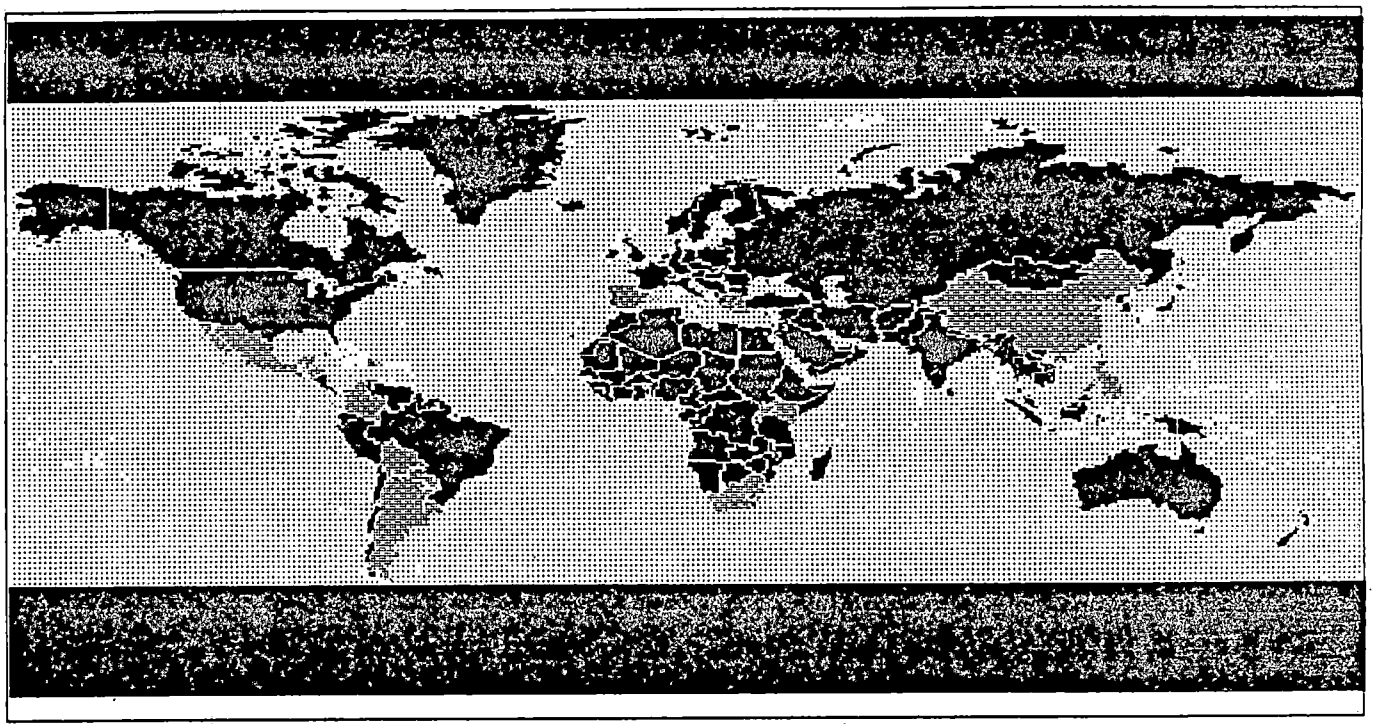
3. Significant increases in the understanding and support of private enterprise, either by a large segment of the population or a significant group of opinion leaders.

The Center for Studies on Economics and Education in Mexico trained 39 journalists in economic theory and its day-to-day application in a Mexican context. These journalists, with a new and better understanding of market economics, reach a combined potential daily readership of over three million Mexicans.

One characteristic of the most successful projects has confirmed the value of CIPE's strategy: the countries targetted have some characteristics of a democracy, a private business sector and a government tolerant of private sector growth. Those countries where these criteria are strongest are where CIPE has had the greatest success.

In Latin America, the dramatic move to democracy and the failure of alternatives to market-based economic policies has created a receptive environment for CIPE projects. This explains in part the degree of success CIPE has had in the region.

— PROJECTS OF MEASURABLE IMPACT



38 Projects in 16 countries - plus multicountry projects
Grant funds: $2,869,734 - 50.2 % of all funds for completed projects ($5,187,684)
Average Grant Size: $75,520
Regional Distribution:
33% Latin America * 4% Africa * 12% Europe * 48% Multicountry

The projects rated as having measurable impact were successful to a degree, but did not fully meet all of the four criteria. In general most of the projects in this category fell short of meeting the fourth criteria -- long term changes in the areas targeted by CIPE.

Obviously, by basing the evaluation on the impact achieved within a short time after completion of the project we may miss some results that are slow to develop. It is the nature of many of CIPE's projects that the real impact will occur over the long run and may be missed by this evaluation.

For example a foundation in South Africa opened an office for making small business loans and encouraging black business development in Durban. The project was interrupted in mid-period to restructure the loan-making process and relatively few loans were made. The return on investment ($1 in loans for every $3 of grant funds), indicated that the office had not had much of an impact by the end of the grant. However, once the office gets going, the impact could prove to be greater than it now appears.

The impact of projects in this category has been limited by several

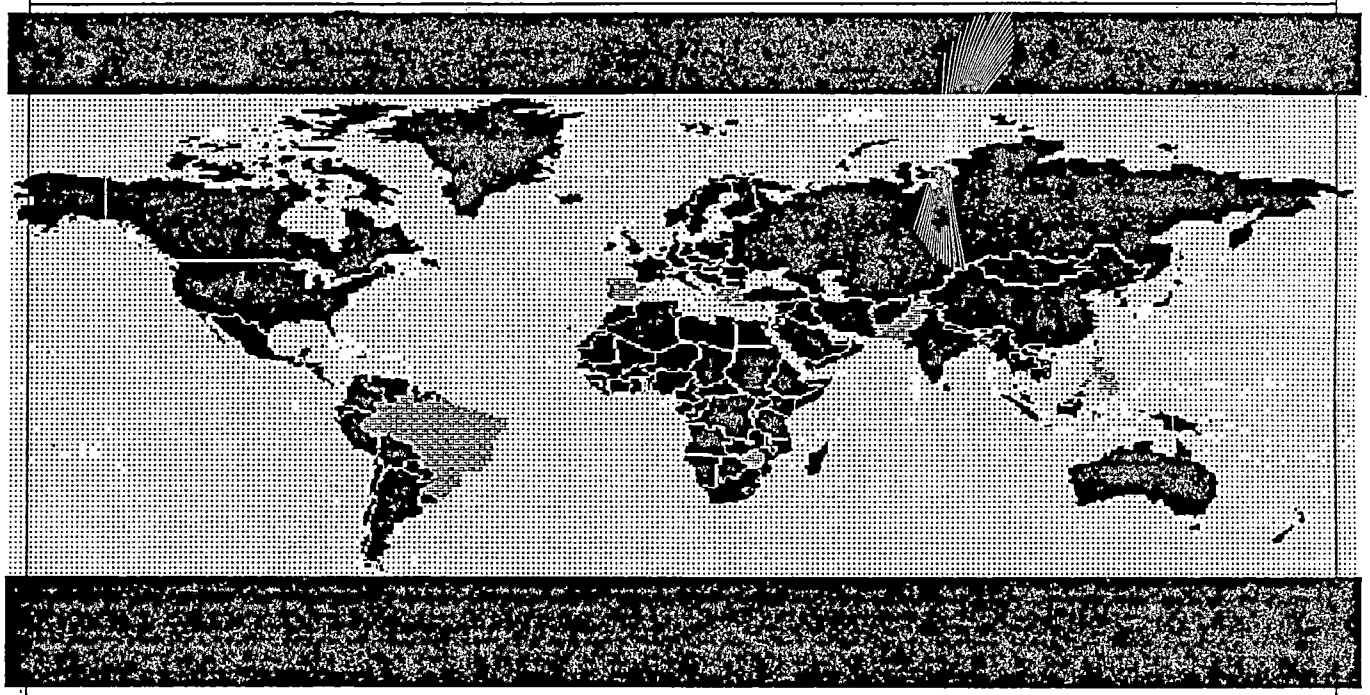
factors. In some cases projects have not focussed on discrete problems or identified specific initiatives. CIPE's basic programming approach emphasizes projects that target specific problems. However, where programming has not been rigorous in this regard, the results have been diffused.

For example, a project in Argentina produced data on the size and impact of the informal sector; however, the project was not specific in identifying initiatives to change conditions that created the informal economy. The project did not result in any of the specific actions or successes that some other informal sector projects have had.

Other projects did not achieve the greatest impact because of a failure to follow through on work successfully begun. This is particularly true of research, conferences and training projects. Without agressive follow-up advocacy of the policy recommendations resulting from conferences, projects in several countries failed to acheive long-term impact.

There are a number of reasons why grantees have failed to follow-through. Business associations sometimes do not view themselves as advocates for change and are content merely to disseminate information. In other cases grantees simply lack the know how. CIPE has been increasingly insistent that follow-through advocacy be carefully planned and resources budgeted for these activities.

PROJECTS OF LEAST IMPACT



18 Projects in 10 countries - plus multicountry projects
Grant funds: $581,531 - 10.2% of all funds for completed projects ($5,187,684)
Average Grant Size: $32,307
Regional Distribution:
20% Latin America * 42% Africa * 21% Asia * 15% Europe * 2% Multicountry

The ten percent of projects that were judged of least impact failed in at least two of the evaluative criteria. In some cases the projects were not completed (or even begun), in others CIPE had to terminate the projects for non-performance and in some cases, where the work was at least attempted, there may have been a degree of impact, but it was minimal.

The evaluation identified several key factors that contribute to project failure.

* Unreceptive political and economic environment. Just as the opportunity for success is high in receptive environments, the chance of failure is heightened in unreceptive environments. The opportunities for CIPE projects presented by a viable private business sector, and a government open to private sector growth are essential. This in large measure underlies the difference in success rate between projects in Latin America and Africa.

CIPE must begin to concentrate on what can be done to foster an environment more receptive to the growth of the private sector and private enterprise.

* Projects conceived and designed outside of the project country. Projects that are conceived and designed by foreign sources are seldom successful. Only local organizations have the intimate knowledge of conditions that will produce meaningful results. For example, a training project for Pakistani chamber executives that was conceived and carried out in the U.S. failed to produce any material usable in Pakistan.

On the other hand, sharing ideas and adapting successful project designs to specific conditions can result in new perspectives on old problems and inspire indigenous groups to attempt solutions.

* Lack of grantee resources. Good ideas do not automatically result in good projects. Lack of experience and resources undermine even the best ideas. One of several reasons why a membership development project in Zimbabwe failed was that they simply did not have the capacity to carry out a nationwide series of training seminars. In terms of financial resources, many organizations are unable to raise local funds for CIPE projects because these projects challange the *status quo*.

This factor directly addresses the very reason CIPE exists. CIPE provides technical assistance, helps to develop expertise and provides funds to carry out projects. Failure can result when CIPE overestimates the resources and capability of the grantee.

* Lack of support from the local business constituency.

In some countries the greatest opposition to the kind of change CIPE is trying to effect comes from the segment of the established business sector with the greatest vested interest in the *status quo*. To be successful grantees must identify the business constituency that is open to change and advancement.

In Greece CIPE sponsored projects by two business

associations, one a council of small and medium sized businesses and the other an association of large industries. The council organized two conferences with moderate success. The project of the association did not have the support of its membership and did not complete the project.

National Endowment for Democracy

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The National Endowment for Democracy, a private organization incorporated in the District of Columbia, was created in 1983 and has received an annual appropriation from the U.S. Congress. Governed by a bipartisan Board of Directors, the Endowment is a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation as defined in Section 501 (c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

— February 1990

The Endowment

The National Endowment for Democracy is a private nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. Through its worldwide grant program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. In this effort, it seeks to enlist the energies and talents of private citizens and groups in the United States to work in partnership with democrats abroad.

The Endowment's bipartisan Board of Directors represents the profound commitment to democracy of all the people of the United States. Through the Endowment, conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats, representatives of labor and business, and others with long international experience work together to encourage democratic development in a manner consistent with American ideals and the needs of democratic groups abroad.

The Endowment recognizes and is responsive to the great diversity of concerns facing democrats throughout the world. It seeks to bolster democratic political systems where they exist and to help democratic forces rebuild where they have been weakened by repression or exclusion from the political process. It also encourages the transition to democracy through measures that broaden confidence in the democratic process and reinforce groups committed to democratic goals.

The Endowment helps to strengthen such institutions as independent business organizations, free trade unions, a free press and an independent judiciary, even in countries where political democracy can only be a long-term objective. In societies where even these independent institutions are prohibited or severely restricted, the Endowment seeks to enlarge whatever possibilities exist for independent thought, expression, and cultural activity.

The effort to foster democracy will require years of steady, persistent work. But no amount of effort or investment of resources would suffice if democracy were not intrinsically attractive to people throughout the world as the system which best fulfills their hopes for human rights, social justice and peace. The Endowment is founded upon the belief that democracy has enormous appeal and that people everywhere revere and aspire to that ideal. We hope the Endowment's work will not only help them achieve and sustain the blessings of democracy, but will strengthen the bond between them and the people of the United States, a bond based on a common commitment to democracy as a way of life.

strengthen popular understanding and intellectual advocacy of democracy; and programs of democratic education.

Research. A modest portion of Endowment resources is reserved for research, including studies of particular regions or countries where the Endowment has a special interest, and evaluations of previous or existing efforts to promote democracy.

International Cooperation. The Endowment seeks to encourage regional and international cooperation in promoting democracy, including programs that strengthen cohesion among democracies and enhance coordination among democratic forces.

Grant Guidelines

The Endowment is a grantmaking organization. Funding decisions are made by the Board of Directors on the basis of established selection criteria. In addition to evaluating how a program fits within the Endowment's overall priorities, the Board considers factors such as the urgency of a program, its relevance to specific needs and conditions in a particular country, and the democratic commitment and experience of the applicant. The Endowment is especially interested in proposals that originate with indigenous democratic groups. It is also interested in nonpartisan programs seeking to strengthen democratic values among all sectors of the democratic political spectrum.

In order to be considered for an award, all proposed projects must be consistent with the Endowment's general purposes. Grant applications must also contain the following information:

- A one-page summary of the proposed program;
- Organizational background and biographical information on staff and directors in the U.S. and abroad;
- A complete project description, including a statement of objectives, a project calendar, and a description of anticipated results;
- A statement describing how the project relates to the Endowment's purposes;
- A description of the methods to be used to evaluate the project in relation to its objectives;
- A detailed budget, including an explanation of all anticipated expenses;
- A description of any counterpart support anticipated by the applicant, whether monetary or in-kind, domestic or foreign;
- The names and addresses of all other funding organizations to which the proposal has been submitted or will be submitted.

The Endowment staff is happy to discuss proposal ideas and welcomes preliminary letters of inquiry prior to submission of a formal proposal.

Principles

In all of its programs, the Endowment is guided by the following principles:

- that democracy involves the right of the people freely to determine their own destiny;
- that the exercise of this right requires a system that guarantees freedom of expression, belief and association, free and competitive elections, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, free communications media, and the rule of law;
- that a democratic system may take a variety of forms suited to local needs and traditions, and therefore need not follow the U.S. or any other particular model;
- that the existence of autonomous economic, political, social and cultural institutions is the foundation of the democratic process and the best guarantor of individual rights and freedoms;
- that private institutions in free societies can contribute to the development of democracy through assistance to counterparts abroad;
- that such assistance must be responsive to local needs and seek to encourage — but not to control — indigenous efforts to build free and independent institutions; and
- that the partnership envisaged between those who enjoy the benefits of democracy and those who aspire to a democratic future must be based upon mutual respect, shared values, and a common commitment to work together to extend the frontiers of democracy for present and future generations.

Areas of Work

The Endowment is currently funding programs in five substantive areas:

Pluralism. The Endowment encourages the development of strong, independent private-sector organizations, especially trade unions and business associations. It also supports cooperatives, civic and women's organizations, and youth groups, among other organizations. Programs in the areas of labor and business are carried out, respectively, through the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) and the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE).

Democratic Governance and Political Processes. The Endowment seeks to promote strong, stable political parties committed to the democratic process. It also supports programs in election administration and law, as well as programs that promote dialogue among different sectors of society and advance democratic solutions to national problems.

Education, Culture and Communications. The Endowment funds programs that nourish a strong democratic civic culture, including support for publications and other communications media and training programs for

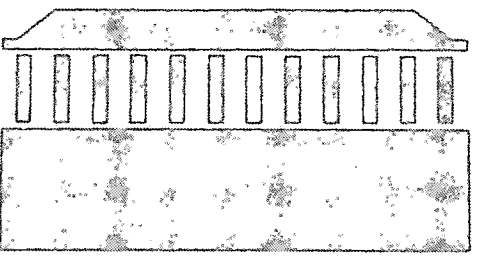


Carolina Coliseum and Columbia, South Carolina

The Right Combination!

Popcorn
and Movies
Diamonds
and Mink . . .

Your Event
and
Carolina Coliseum
in
Columbia,
South Carolina



Some things just complement each other perfectly. And that's the effect you'll get when you pair our facility and city with your next concert, trade show, convention or meeting.



University of South Carolina
College of Business Administration

Before deciding on a location for your next event, consider Carolina Coliseum in Columbia, South Carolina. Our facility and city may be the perfect complement to your activity for some very good reasons — like Columbia's central location and the Coliseum's versatility and statewide ticket outlet system.

Located six blocks from uptown Columbia and immediately adjacent to the 25,000-student University of South Carolina campus, Carolina Coliseum is a multi-purpose, air conditioned facility capable of handling a variety of entertainment and meeting needs.

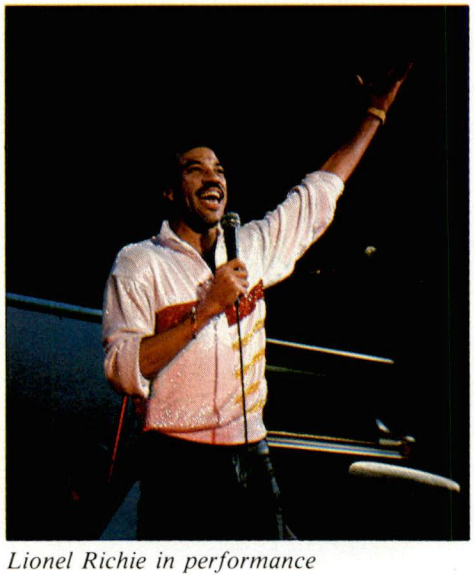
The 13,500-seat Coliseum Arena can be converted into a 4,500 seat proscenium theater or a 20,000-square-foot exhibit hall, thereby accommodating activities ranging from rock concerts to symphonies; University of South Carolina basketball to trade shows and large convention meetings; closed circuit telecasts to banquets.

Lionel Richie, the Chicago Symphony, Israel Ballet, Great Southern Computer Show, Alabama, Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus, Duran, Duran, Ice Capades and The Gap Band are just some of the attractions featured in the Coliseum Arena in recent years.

The 30,000-square-foot Concourse that surrounds the arena also can be set up for meeting space or as an exhibit area, either in combination with activities in the Arena or on its own. The Elephant Room, a 20,000-square-foot exhibit hall off the Arena, is available for smaller trade shows, large parties or convention breakout rooms, giving Carolina Coliseum a total of 70,000 square feet of rental space. The Arena, Concourse and Elephant Room can be rented separately or in combination, and we also offer two additional meeting rooms for gatherings of up to 150 people.

Add in our competitive prices, the strong Columbia market and parking for 1,500 cars and you see why we think Carolina Coliseum may be the perfect place for your next event. Call us at (803) 777-5113 or 777-2555 for more information.





Lionel Richie in performance

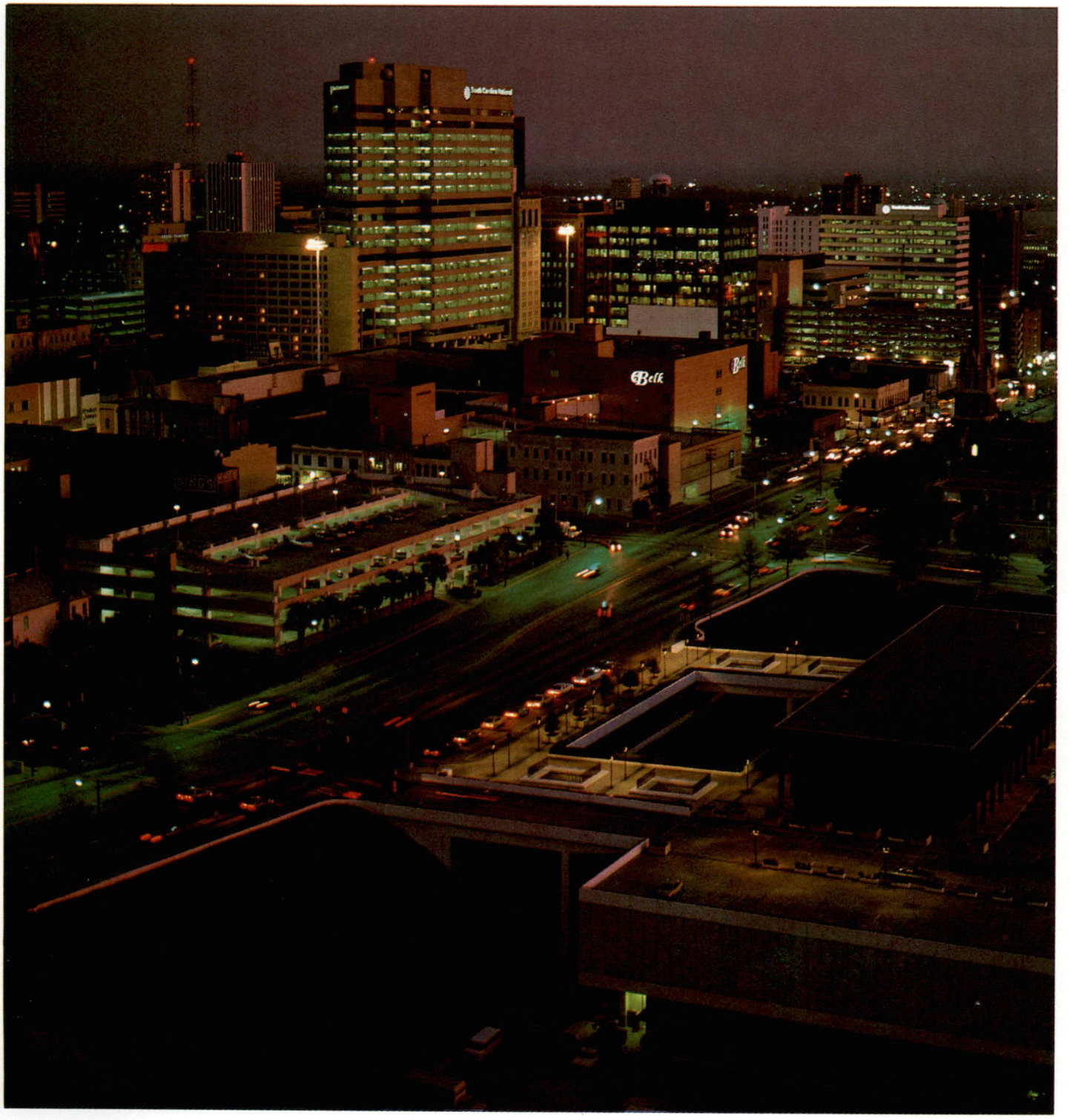
When the crowd is your concern — whether it's an audience for a major entertainment attraction or several thousand conventioneers — think Carolina Coliseum in Columbia, South Carolina. Columbia is a great place to sell a show because the city offers a large, affluent and youthful market. And it's a terrific site for a meeting or convention with plenty of things for visitors to do and see, reasonable hotel and meal prices, and a central location that makes travel easy.

More than 410,000 people reside in the Columbia area, the 98th largest market and one of the 20 fastest growing cities in the United States. About 30 percent of Columbia's households boast annual incomes in excess of $25,000, and more than 50 percent of the area's population is under the age of 25, including most of the 25,000 students attending the University of South Carolina. This affluence coupled with the large number of young people (the prime buyers of entertainment) explain why Columbia is an ideal market for concerts and public events ranging from trade shows to tennis exhibitions.

Of course, you also can market to the entire 4 million people living in South Carolina and nearby metropolitan areas in North Carolina and Georgia. Columbia's central location combined with Carolina Coliseum's statewide ticket outlet system make it easy.

Columbia's central location also means it's simple for conventioneers to get to our city. Three interstate highways meet at Columbia, which also is serviced by four airlines and major bus and rail carriers. After an easy commute, guests will be pleased to discover they can find both a $2 breakfast and a gourmet dinner in this city. They'll also uncover a lot to do and see in and around Columbia — like visiting historical homes, boating and fishing on Lake Murray or the Congaree River, or golfing at one of the area's many fine courses.

With its accessibility, reasonable prices and more than 3,300 first class sleeping rooms, Columbia is well equipped to host many conventions and meetings. And you won't have to worry about a site for large assemblies with Carolina Coliseum available to meet your needs. For more information on meeting and convention opportunities in Columbia, contact the Greater Columbia Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1527 Senate St., Columbia, S.C. 29201; (803) 254-0479.


Belk

Frank McGuire Arena

For concerts . . . ice shows . . . circuses . . . trade or public shows . . . closed circuit telecasts . . . basketball . . . banquets . . . convention meetings.



Useable Space: 20,000 square feet

Seating: 13,500 maximum (12,500 permanent, 1,000 portable); Park Street stage — 12,800; Blossom Street Stage — 7,000; In-the-round — 13,000; proscenium — 4,000.

Floor Load: Unlimited

Ceiling Height: 75 feet

Freight Entrance: 11 ft. 3 in. wide x 14 ft. 2 in. high

Stage and Lighting: Full theater stage 48 ft. wide x 80 ft. long with a variety of set-ups available including complete proscenium; 32 sets of lines; full theater lighting on dimmers; 10 Super Troupers; 20 ft. x 20 ft. hanging screen.

Sound: 24-input mixer with E. O. on each input; 1,000 Watt RMS Power on output; two speaker clusters (one state, one arena); Wenger Acoustical Shell.



Coliseum Concourse

For large trade shows . . . meetings . . . alone or in combination with the arena.

Useable Space: 30,000 square feet; corner space available for smaller meetings.

Floor Load: Unlimited

Ceiling Height: 16 feet

Freight Entrance: 12 ft. 8 in. wide x 11 ft. 6 in. high

Sound and Lighting: Public Address System, 50-foot candle

Restrooms: 12 (handicapped accessible)

Concession Stands: Eight

Ticket Booth and First Aid Station

Elephant Room

For smaller trade shows or exhibits . . . big parties . . . meetings.

Useable Space: 20,000 square feet (can be subdivided to fit your needs)

Floor Load: Unlimited

Ceiling Height: 9 ft. 6 in.

Freight Entrance: 12 ft. 8 in. wide x 11 ft. 6 in. high

Sound and Lighting: Public Address System; 75-foot candle

Restrooms: Two

Column Diameter: Three feet

Private Entrance with sign



Meeting Rooms:

COCKPIT — Small lectures, parties, meetings up to 200 people.

GRAND BAR — Meetings, parties up to 250. Equipped to serve as press room with telephone and telecopier capabilities.



More Information

Electricity: 120 or 208 volt, A.C. single phase, 60 cycle; 208 or 480 volt, A.C. three phase, 60 cycle

Box Office: Full Service located on Greene Street side of Carolina Coliseum; 25 additional outlets located around the state of South Carolina

Concessions/Catering: Eight concession stands located on the Coliseum concourse; Beer and Wine permits; In-house catering service

Advertising: In-house agency

Security: In-house service

Other Services: Table/chair rentals; compressed air and water available; drayage, telecommunications capacity; capacity and hookups to add a satellite antenna

Full accessibility and facilities for the handicapped

For more information or to discuss a booking at Carolina Coliseum, write Robert B. Horning, Director, Carolina Coliseum, P.O. Box 11515, Capitol Station, Columbia, SC 29211; or call (803) 777-5113 or 777-2555.



Thurmond's daughter - freshman

Strom Thurmond

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Auditoriums @ Law Sch. 1982 Nancy Moore

Ann

masters - USC alumni:

Masters - Atwater →

Masters arts + journalism

Library of Cong.

Senators,

yes? Gov. Campbell??

Patterson - VSC grad. sch - no degree

Spence - yes BS + JD

Lat Am as dramatic as EE

Nic election
Panama w/elected govt

auto → in

And I salute him for his commitment to our "Points of Light" concept -- the best impulse of America: one American willing to pitch in to help another.

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In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering -- tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily -- what's beneath the surface, but no less real -- is **the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.**

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. **Religion, morality, right and wrong** -- any challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became **the enemy of the State. //** Believers were persecuted, churches and cemetaries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the

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Not the rule of law -- but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people, but the **whim of the Party.** That's how, in Romania, **the law** made it **illegal** for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how, in another country, a man whose so-called **"crime"** was teaching others about religion -- was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. // We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- **the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule: a breakdown of trust.** // From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community -- into a nation.**

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner

strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's **wall of lies.** They did so, as Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build on the ruins of **communist rule** democratic systems **based on trust.**

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms -- become a part of a Europe **whole and free.** Early this year, in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

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Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun. **Because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.**

And just as the Framers **of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history** -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past. To Europe's example. And of course, to our own American Constitution. That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government. //

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Fourth and finally, **we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe -- and I am pleased to announce today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps.** Its first mission: to establish a center and clearing-house for American private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens -- the collective strength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy **where it can do the most good.**

America has much to contribute -- much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our families. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. // And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've

learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- **that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law.** //

That's the essence of a **Europe whole and free.** A Europe where -- East and West -- not only are the dictators dethroned. But where **the rule of law -- reflecting the will of the people -- ensures the freedoms millions have fought so hard to gain.** //

We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph, America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

It's about a town called Pilsen in Czechoslovakia -- a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Pilsen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Pilsen had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

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Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- not in time of war, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley
May 10, 1990
2:30 pm
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
MAY 12, 1990
10:00 A.M.

Thank you. President Holderman. Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson. Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in our national crusade for excellence in education. //

And let me mention one USC alumnus who can't be here today. A good friend and a real fighter: Lee Atwater. Lee got his master's degree here. He tells me he's going to finish his Ph.D. -- and one day, he'd like to come back to his alma mater to join the faculty and teach here.

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat.]]

[[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Webber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And **Michael Eisner:** The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]]



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Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. **Religion, morality, right and wrong** -- any challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became **the enemy of the State. //** Believers were persecuted, churches and cemetaries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it "organized forgetting." //

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In one country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are not unique. We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

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McGroarty/Dooley
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5:00 pm
[USC]

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COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
MAY 12, 1990
10:00 A.M.

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But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- not in time of war, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Reuter Library Report

March 18, 1990, Sunday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 694 words

HEADLINE: EX-DISSIDENTS BRUSH UP THEIR ACT AS POWER BECKONS

BYLINE: By David Lewis

DATELINE: SZOMBATHELY, Hungary, March 18

KEYWORD:
HUNGARY-KIS

BODY:

Janos Kis, dissident philosopher turned potential prime minister, reaches for his necktie.

It is not habitual garb for him, and he still wears his baggy corduroy trousers and training shoes.

But he is soon to address a weekend election rally in Szombathely, 230 km (145 miles) west of Budapest, as leader of the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats.

Alliance campaign manager Tibor Vidos has urged Kis and other leaders of the party to look a little more like serious politicians. Many electors, however unjustly, prefer their rulers with neat haircuts, jackets and ties.

The Alliance could well win elections on March 25 and April 8 which will seal Hungary's return to Western-style democracy after four decades of Communist rule.

Two recent opinion polls showed it leading a field of 28 parties with just over 20 per cent of popular support. It overtook the Hungarian Democratic Forum, a right-of-centre national party of Christian democratic hue led by Jozsef Antall, a 57-year-old museum director.

Kis, 46, is a modest linguist of Jewish extraction whose wife Judit works as a legal adviser in a mental hospital. They have a 12-year-old son.

He is not seeking a place in parliament but admits to being one of three Alliance candidates for premier.

If the Alliance formed a coalition without the Forum but with, for example, the Smallholders' Party, the Alliance of Young Democrats and the Social Democratic Party, 33-year-old lawyer Peter Tolgyessy would be premier.

If the Forum were in the coalition, then Kis or economist Ivan Peto would take the job, Kis told Reuters.

Such a change of fortune would be like that of Vaclav Havel, a dissident playwright in Czechoslovakia until the "Velvet Revolution" made him head of

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(c) 1990 Reuters; March 18, 1990

state late last year.

Kis was sacked from a state institute in 1973 after publishing a book suggesting flaws in the theories of Karl Marx. Since then he has scratched a living as a freelance translator in English, French, German and Russian.

In the mid-1970s, with such friends as fellow philosopher Gaspar Miklos Tamas and writer Miklos Haraszti, he founded the country's illegal Democratic Opposition.

From then until the collapse of Communism in Hungary, the movement kept democratic ideas alive through underground magazines and the " Flying University" .

The Alliance candidate in Szombathely, lawyer Miklos Hanko, is a graduate of the "university", which offered informal lectures in private apartments.

In May 1988, without the permission officially necessary, the opposition formed the Network of Free Initiatives which six months later became the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Now boasting 27,000 members, the Alliance registered as a party after parliament broke the Communist monopoly in October.

Kis, who said his thinking about human rights has turned him "from a revisionist Marxist into a liberal", placed the Free Democrats midway politically between American liberals and social democratic parties in Western Europe.

Always the brains behind the dissident opposition, which did not like the idea of having leaders, Kis became "interim president" of the Alliance this year only after public pressure for an identifiable leader.

The Free Democrats have gained popularity steadily since then, spearheading a referendum campaign last November which blocked government plans to hold elections for the country's head of state before free parliamentary polls.

Without that victory, Kis said, State Minister Imre Pozsgay would be president of Hungary and his Socialist Party, founded to succeed the Communist Party in October, would have far more support than the 10 per cent opinion polls currently give it.

Boosted by a popular TV advertisement which uses a Tom and Jerry cartoon to illustrate the defeat of the Communist cat, the Free Democratic mice could be on the verge of victory.

Kis said he did not feel part of the establishment and noted how the Hungarian media treat Antall, but not himself, as the country's next prime minister.

"But now I think it may become inevitable to join a government. I think he who refuses a priori to take government responsibilities should not go into politics at all."

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(c) 1990 Reuters; March 18, 1990

TYPE:
PROFILE

SUBJECT:
POLITICS

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15TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 19, 1989, Saturday, Final Edition

NAME:
TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A14

LENGTH: 547 words

HEADLINE: Mazowiecki: From Prison to Premier;
Solidarity Editor, Rights Activist Said to Have Cool Judgment

BYLINE: A.D. Horne, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: WARSAW, Aug. 18, 1989

BODY:

After martial law was declared in Poland in December 1981, a Mass was celebrated in Paris's Notre Dame Cathedral in memory of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who was rumored to have died after being taken into custody with numerous other dissidents.

But Mazowiecki, a veteran Catholic activist for human rights who became one of Lech Walesa's key advisers in the founding of Solidarity in 1980, emerged from a Baltic internment camp in December 1982. Today, at 62, he is about to become Poland's first non-Communist prime minister since the end of World War II.

As the founder and chief editor of an independent Catholic monthly called Wiez, or Link, Mazowiecki established close ties with Archbishop Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, who became Pope John Paul II in 1978. He also wrote the first Polish book on Catholic-Marxist dialogue, a subject that may prove useful in presiding over a cabinet with two Communist ministers.

Born in 1927, the son of a physician in Plock, a small city northwest of Warsaw, Mazowiecki lost a brother in a Nazi concentration camp in World War II.

Widowed twice, in the 1950s and in 1970, he raised three young sons after his second wife's death. Even his opponents on political and religious issues, who at times included the late cardinal Stefan Wyszinski, are said to respect him.

Stefan Frankewicz, who worked for Mazowiecki at Wiez in the 1970s and now edits the magazine, described him in an interview as a man of unusually cool judgment, a born politician with a talent for conciliation.

Yet after being elected to the national legislature as a Catholic independent in 1961, he was barred from reelection for investigating the police massacre of protesting workers in Gdansk in December 1970, and he used Don Quixote charging at windmills as a symbol of his often heavily censored magazine.

Barred from traveling abroad because of his protest activities, Mazowiecki helped organize a series of unauthorized seminars held in members' apartments and known as " flying universities. "

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(c) 1989 The Washington Post, August 19, 1989

When Gdansk shipyard workers launched their sit-in strike in August 1980, Mazowiecki organized a group of 64 intellectuals to help Walesa negotiate the agreement that brought Solidarity into existence as the Communist world's first independent labor union.

Last year, when the Gdansk shipyard workers went on strike twice to demand the reinstatement of Solidarity, Mazowiecki returned to their side as an adviser.

But after helping negotiate the April "round-table" agreement that restored Solidarity's legal status, he objected to the way Walesa and his circle picked candidates for the June elections and instead of running for parliament chose to revive Solidarity's weekly newspaper, Tygodnik Solidarnosc.

At Wiez, which he edited from 1958 to 1981, he attracted Poland's leading writers, including many non-Catholics. Mazowiecki's was one of the first Polish publications to air and debate the issue of the Holocaust and antisemitism among Poles.

The publication was also a pioneer in trying to build better relations between Poland and West Germany, well before the 1960s government of Wladyslaw Gomulka endorsed such efforts.

When Wiez celebrated its 200th issue, Frankewicz said, a guest noted that one bomb could have wiped out Poland's literary culture.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI, CHOSEN TO BE POLAND'S FIRST NON-COMMUNIST PREMIER SINCE WORLD WAR II, TALKS TO REPORTERS. REUTER

TYPE:
FOREIGN NEWS, BIOGRAPHY

SUBJECT:
POLAND; FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS; FOREIGN HEADS OF STATE

NAMED-PERSONS:
TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI

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Herb Atherton
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, May 12, you will address the University of South Carolina commencement at 10:00 a.m. You will be awarded an honorary doctorate of economics degree before you speak. Governor Campbell will introduce you. President Holderman and Provost Arthur Smith will read the degree, and the Secretary of the Board of Trustees Thomas Stepp will hood you. You will then begin the remarks.

Mrs. Bush, composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, and Disney CEO Michael Eisner are also receiving honorary degrees.

On stage with you will be the Board of Trustees, the Academic Deans, President Holderman, Andrew Lloyd Webber, Michael Eisner, Governor Campbell, and Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Several Congressmen are expected, but will be sitting in the audience.

II. DISCUSSION

The speech (20 min./teleprompter) discusses the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, emphasizing that -- along with greater freedom and economic reform -- there is also a need to develop the **rule of law.**

Four new initiatives are announced in the speech: 1) extending a new line of credit to Eastern Europe from the Export/Import Bank; 2) sending a delegation of election observers to Romania and Bulgaria; 3) working to broaden the mandate of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and 4) creating a Democracy Corps to send to Eastern Europe.

Andy Card and Air Force Military Aide Major Bruce Caughman are both University of South Carolina graduates, and will be at the speech with you.

(3)

McGroarty/Dooley
May 8, 1990
6:30 pm
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
MAY 12, 1990
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. Senators Strom Thurmond and Fritz Hollings. Congressman Floyd Spence. And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Webber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner.** The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring **a reflection on democratic change.** Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and

the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- **the new frontier of freedom taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //**

Over the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard about the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is **the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.**

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. **Religion, morality, right and wrong** -- any external challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became **the enemy of the State. //** Believers were persecuted, churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street. // Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history -- a practice Czech author Milan Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts. // All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name

at least -- rights, freedoms. It was called People's Democracy. An empty shell of liberty -- **that fooled no one.**

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created by the regime, for the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailers -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion, was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- **the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule.** //

For any society, the most serious result of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust.** From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the **link between the law and trust.** In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- an agreement between citizens, an "agreement across generations." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community -- into a nation.**

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of

lies -- survive the climate of fear that raised walls between each and every citizen. They did so, as President Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple, individual act of "living in truth." By building an authentic "civil society" -- a society of free men and women -- beyond the reach of the ruling establishment. They created "flying universities" where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and human rights monitoring groups.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. United in courage and conviction, they have begun to build on the ruins of communist rule democratic systems **based on trust**.

Today, **I want to focus on how America can help these nations become stable democratic states -- full participants in a Europe whole and free.** // Early this year, in my State of the Union address, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. / That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara,

July 1987

pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

Rick Beeker Rom. desk

There, on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy ~~would~~ could very well be arrested on the spot. // What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is **democratic life based on the rule of law.**

Tony Arias E.E. 647-

And this means more than **free elections alone.** The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected. **The fate of freedom depends not on the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.**

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the Framers **of our own Constitution looked to history,** Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past -- and to the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law. //

Already, we're actively engaged with the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges, sponsored by our State Department Bureau for Human Rights, bringing Soviet jurists here to the U.S. to meet with America's legal experts. And today, I am pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps the U.S. will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, **America will continue to act to advance economic freedom.** In the past year, the U.S. has committed more than $1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. Today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative: the **Export Import Bank** will provide Poland a new line of export credits ~~grants~~ and loan ~~credits~~ guarantees for purchasing machinery, ~~and~~ technology and services from American suppliers.

(State)

medium term

Second, **the U.S. will work to ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe.** Next week, we will send a U.S. delegation [[headed by -----]] to observe the elections in Romania -- and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, **America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE -- the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.** Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on **free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law.** I have instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman -- head of our delegation -- to seek a new consensus within the CSCE recognizing these key cornerstones of freedom, rights and democracy. //

[[Fourth and finally, **we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society -- through the creation of a Citizen's Democracy Corps for Eastern Europe.** Its mission: to ~~establish a center and clearing-house for~~ American private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real source and strength of our democracy is our private sector -- and the collective strength of individual Americans. Through this new Democracy Corps, we're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good.]] ///

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to

provide for ourselves, for our families. To enable us to protect and pass on to our children the fruits of our labor. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society.

We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. // And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- **that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law**. //

In the aftermath of the great triumph of freedom we've witnessed this past year, we sometimes hear that America's work in the world is done. Let me close today with a story -- a story that illustrates the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

You may have heard about a celebration last week in a Czechoslovakian town called Pilsen -- a celebration of the day 45 years ago when that town was liberated by American army troops. Of course, within a few short years, that dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation of Czech schoolchildren grew up

being taught that they had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- Pilsen invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- to help the nations of Eastern Europe and all the world secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms you've enjoyed. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

(1)

McGroarty/Dooley
May 4, 1990
3:00 pm
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
MAY 12, 1990
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. [Introductory acknowledgements.] And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

President Holderman has done a masterful job in bringing this bi-partisan group together on stage. [[Democrat and Republican -- side by side -- in an election year. This hasn't happened since political parties were first formed in South Carolina. / I know because Strom Thurmond told me. // And he was there.]]

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Weber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner.** The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide.

His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

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Over the past year, one nation after another in Eastern Europe has pulled itself out from under communism, and onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard by now about the extent of the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is **the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.**

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. **Religion, morality, right and wrong** -- any external challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became **the enemy of the State.**

Believers were persecuted, churches razed + cemeteries -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one

Bungalo

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Ukraine - priests of the forest

another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street.

Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history books -- a practice Czech author Milan ~~Kindera~~ Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts. // All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name, at least -- rights, freedoms. People's Democracy. An empty shell of liberty -- **that fooled no one.**

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created and changed by the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailors -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose real crime in the eyes of the State was teaching others about his religion, was jailed for 6 months. The charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- **the landscape of moral destruction. The principle product of four decades of communist rule in Eastern Europe.** //

David Burgess State Dept 647-2113 1485-spp & secret sega. promulgate

David Burgess State 647-2113

Rebecca Rosenblum Saperia 94 Phil HIAS 212/886-94 Ellen Witmas / Mark Talisman Comm 547-0020 David Harris Am Jew Committee 265-2000 out of

Union of Councils for Jewry

secret work w/ ice cream refrig devices

For any society, the most serious consequence of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust.** From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the **link between the law and trust**. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- an agreement between citizens, an agreement across generations. The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community -- into a nation.**

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of lies. To survive the climate of fear -- a climate that raised walls between each and every citizen. And today, they are beginning to build a system **based on trust.**

We know about the tremendous challenges these new democracies now face -- the period of reconstruction and reform they've entered. Most have begun the move toward free markets -- and many have held, or will soon hold, free elections. Today, I want to focus on the **next step** towards true democracy -- on how America can help these nations build free socieities on the ruins of the communist system.

Early this year, in my State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere.

That idea was without doubt a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

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There, on the streets of ~~Bucharest~~ Timisoara -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot.

What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe must develop for themselves -- is the rule of law.

For true democracy, free elections are essential. But free elections alone are not enough. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- they deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected. The fate of their freedom depends **not on the character**

of the people who govern -- but whether they are themselves governed by the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Madisons? Their Hamiltons and Jeffersons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of democracy and self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the ~~F~~framers **of our own Constitution looked to history** -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. To the traditions of the common law and the civil code. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law.

And that is why -- less than a month from now -- as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States will take part in a conference on **free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law.** I have instructed the chief of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador Max Kampelman -- Chairman of the human rights

organization, Freedom House -- to make our goal at the Copenhagen Conference expanding the mandate of the CSCE. Broadening its scope, so that the human rights and fundamental freedoms it seeks to preserve include free elections, pluralism -- and the rule of law. Concepts that are the **very bone and marrow of democracy.**

[[NSC INSERT TO COME]]

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

o Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must.

o Sytems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our family. To enable every parent to protect and pass on to their children the fruits of their labor.

o We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve the freedoms we enjoy;

o And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race, whatever their ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- **that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law**. //

[[CONCLUDING ANECDOTE TO COME]]

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- **and the Class of 1990.**

# # #

(2)

McGroarty/Dooley
May 8, 1990
11:00 am
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
MAY 12, 1990
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. Senators Strom Thurmond and Fritz Hollings. Congressman Floyd Spence. And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

President Holderman has done a masterful job in bringing this bi-partisan group together on stage. [[Democrat and Republican -- side by side -- in an election year. This hasn't happened since political parties were first formed in South Carolina. / I know because Strom Thurmond told me. // And he was there.]]

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Weber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner.** The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide.

His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring **a reflection on democratic change.** Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, at the University of South Carolina, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- **the new frontier of freedom taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //**

Over the past year, one nation after another in Eastern Europe has pulled itself out from under communism, and onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard by now about the extent of the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is **the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.**

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. **Religion, morality, right and wrong** -- any external challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became **the enemy of the State.**

Believers were persecuted, churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one

another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street.

Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history books -- a practice Czech author Milan Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts. // All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name at least -- rights, freedoms. People's Democracy. An empty shell of liberty -- **that fooled no one.**

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created and changed by the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailers -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose real crime in the eyes of the State was teaching others about his religion, was jailed for 6 months. The trumped up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- **the landscape of moral destruction. The principal product of four decades of communist rule in Eastern Europe.** //

For any society, the most serious consequence of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust.** From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the **link between the law and trust.** In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- in the words of Edmund Burke, an agreement between citizens, an agreement across generations. The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community -- into a nation.**

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of lies. To survive the climate of fear -- a climate that raised walls between each and every citizen. And today, they are beginning to build a system **based on trust.**

We know about the tremendous challenges these new democracies now face -- the period of reconstruction and reform they've entered. Most have begun the move toward free markets -- and many have held, or will soon hold, free elections. Today, I want to focus on the **next step** towards true democracy -- on how America can help these nations build free societies on the ruins of the communist system.

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America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere.

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[[SCHIFTER INSERT]]

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In the aftermath of the great triumph for freedom we've witnessed this past year, we sometimes hear that America's work in the world is done. / I want to close today with a story -- a story that illustrates the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits you and the generation you represent.

You may have heard about a celebration last week in a Czechoslovakian town called Pilsen. A celebration of the day 45 years ago, May 6th, 1945, when American army troops liberated the town. Of course, within a few short years, that dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation of Czech schoolchildren grew up being taught that they had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- Pilsen invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those American

soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs -- my generation -- were your age in 1945. Today, it falls to all of you to uphold our American ideals -- to help the nations of Eastern Europe and all the world secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms you've enjoyed. The freedoms millions could only dream of -- until today. ///

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- **and the Class of 1990.**

# # #

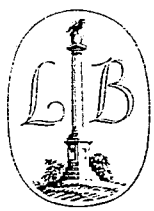
Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

1 [To a young diplomat] Don't be eager![1]
From CHARLES AUGUSTIN SAINTE-BEUVE, *Portraits de Femmes [1858]. Madame de Staël*

2 War is much too serious a matter to be entrusted to the military.[2]
Attributed. Quoted by Briand to Lloyd George during World War I. Also attributed to Clemenceau

Benjamin Waterhouse
1754–1846

3 Tobacco is a filthy weed,
That from the devil does proceed;
It drains your purse, it burns your clothes,
And makes a chimney of your nose.
From OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES *[1809–1894], who was vaccinated by Dr. Waterhouse*

Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac
1755–1841

4 The tree of liberty only grows when watered by the blood of tyrants.[3]
Speech in the National Convention [January 16, 1793]

5 It is only the dead who do not return.
Speech [1794]

Anthelme Brillat-Savarin
1755–1826

6 Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are.[4]
La Physiologie du Goût [The Physiology of Taste, 1825], ch. 4

7 A dessert without cheese is like a beautiful woman with only one eye. *Ib. 14*

8 A meal without wine is like a day without sunshine. *Ib.*

Nathan Hale
1755–1776

9 I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.[5]
Last words, before being hanged by the British as a spy [September 22, 1776]

[1] Pas de zèle!
[2] La guerre! C'est une chose trop grave pour la confier à des militaires. Sometimes quoted as: War is much too serious to leave to the generals.
[3] See Tertullian, 126:3, and Jefferson, 388:7.
[4] See Ruskin, 573:5.
[5] See Addison, 326:1.

Alexander Hamilton
1755–1804

10 A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing.[6]
Letter to Robert Morris [April 30, 1781]

11 I believe the British government forms the best model the world ever produced. . . . This government has for its object public strength and individual security.
Debates of the Federal Convention [May 14–September 17, 1787].[7] *June 18, 1787*

12 All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and wellborn, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. *Ib.*

13 We are now forming a republican government. Real liberty is neither found in despotism or the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments.
Ib. June 26, 1787

14 Let Americans disdain to be the instruments of European greatness. Let the thirteen States, bound together in a strict and indissoluble Union, concur in erecting one great American system, superior to the control of all transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the old and the new world!
The Federalist [1787–1788], no. 11

15 Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience. *Ib. 15*

16 Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint. *Ib.*

17 Every power vested in a government is in its nature sovereign, and includes by force of

[6] At the time we were funding our national debt, we heard much about "a public debt being a public blessing." —THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Letter to John W. Epps* [November 6, 1813]
See Webster, 450:12.
[7] At which the Constitution was written.

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Christian Science Monitor

August 15, 1984, Wednesday

SECTION: Ideas; Books; Pg. 21

LENGTH: 1341 words

HEADLINE: Warding off cultural amnesia with a pen

BYLINE: By Kenneth Harper; Kenneth Harper teaches writing at the University of Wisconsin, Parkside campus.

BODY:

Milan Kundera is a writer with a curious background for the latest Western ''cultural hero,'' but the French have lionized him, the BBC recently aired two programs on him, and Radio Canada has broadcast several interviews with him. Kundera's latest novel, ''The Unbearable Lightness of Being,'' was published this year with virtually unanimous critical acclaim here and in Europe. Most recently Kundera, who emigrated from Czechoslovakia to France in 1968, has been proclaimed the heir apparent to Alexander Solzhenitsyn's laurels as ''the most important writer from behind the Iron Curtain.'' It is doubtful Kundera himself would agree.

Kundera's stature as a writer is unquestionable, but the comparison with the Nobel Prize-winning Russian, like much about the Czech author, is misleading. He has exercised his readers to acknowledge what the rest of the West has all too blithely forgotten since Yalta: Central Europe is not by its cultural legacy an ''Eastern'' region. In fact, Kundera has repeatedly argued, as he did in an article in The New York Review of Books (Jan. 22, 1981), that much of what has made the West modern - ''Viennese psycho-an-aly-sis, the structuralism of Prague, the new aesthetics of the novel through the works of Kafka, Musil, and Broch, the dodecaphonia of Vienna, and the music of Bartok, and, at last, the absurd theater of Witkiewicz'' - had its origins in Central Europe.

Kundera also argues against the proposition that he is a political writer. He does not rage at the crimes of the Soviet-installed, post-Dubcek regimes, except as they have impinged upon Czech cultural freedom, which is, Kundera notes, the true lifeblood of his country: ''Forgetting is a form of death ever present within life...,'' he said in an interview with Philip Roth (reprinted in the afterword of ''The Book of Laughter and Forgetting''). ''When a big power wants to deprive a small country of its national consciousness, it uses the method of organized forgetting. This is what is currently happening in Bohemia. Contemporary Czech literature, insofar as it has any value at all, has not been printed (since 1968); 200 Czech writers have been proscribed, including the dead Franz Kafka, 145 Czech historians have been dismissed from their posts, history has been rewritten, monuments demolished. A nation that loses its awareness of its past gradually loses its self.''

In ''Writers Against Rulers,'' Czech journalist Dusan Hamsik relates the comically stubborn strategy Kundera employed against the Czech national censor over the idiocy of censoring the publication of a speech Kundera had given to the Writers' Union in 1967 - a speech attacking censorship. Not long after, Kundera's books were taken off the shelves of libraries and bookstores in

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Czechoslovakia, and he was removed from his university teaching position. He and his wife subsequently left the country.

Yet Kundera insists that the vagaries of totalitarianism are merely backdrops for his fiction, and that he would trade all of Brecht for one work of Ionesco. But each of Kundera's novels is laced with direct and obvious references to conditions in contemporary Czechoslovakia. In a recent Sunday Times (London) interview with Philip Roth (reprinted in the Village Voice), Kundera acknowledged that a passage in ''The Unbearable Lightness of Being'' was intended as a small greeting to a dead friend,'' the late Jan Prochazka, a writer whose casual conversations were recorded by the secret police, then edited, and later replayed over Czech radio to smear his character.

It is not surprising that ''Life is Elsewhere,'' the first novel Kundera published in the West after his hegira, savaged the life of a would-be Czech poet, party member, lover, and proletarian hero. The book might be read as Kundera's autobiographical apology, for he, like the character of ''The Poet,'' joined the party at an early age, seduced by its utopian promises. Kundera was also known by the sobriquet of his main character. In the novel, the erotic elements and the young man's urgent desire to ''act in the real world'' lead to his corruption, both personal and poetic. Author is distinguished from character, however, by the former's subsequent disavowal of narcissism. Kundera stated in an interview with Antonin Liehm, translated in ''The Politics of Culture'' (Random House, 1968), that maturity comes only when ''a person ... leaves his 'lyrical age' behind.''

Harsh bits of experienced history act as counterpoints to the recurrent Don Juan theme in Kundera's writing - a theme that is, at times, misread so that Kundera comes off as a lambent Henry Miller. Liehm, however, a Czech political journalist and film critic, quotes Kundera's rejoinder: ''In a world in which everything is permitted, in the world of sexual revolution, Don Juan the great conqueror has turned into a great collector of women. ... There is a profound difference. Don Juan once transgressed the law and demolished conventions. A great collector, however, conforms to laws and conventions....'' Kundera feels that today's Don Juans ''have been cheated of their tragic dimension, their debauchery is no longer a challenge, a provocation, their adventures are comic.'' Such sentiments are voiced by the character Havel in Kundera's book of short stories, ''Laughable Loves.''

Something else: Sexuality as a form of cultural resistance has been a motif used by 20th-century Czech writers, first to spoof their German oppressors, and then to satirize the Soviets and the Communist Party's institutionalization of prim social realism. Kundera differs from his predecessors, however, by turning sexuality into a quandary reflecting his belief that the complexities and entrapments of love reflect those of politics - specifically, those of power. If there is a single mood characteristic of Kundera's fiction, it is summed up in the untranslatable word litost, which serves as a, if not the, theme of ''The Book of Laughter and Forgetting.'' Kundera provides contexts for understanding the term: ''Litost is a state of torment caused by sudden insight into one's own miserable self. '' Litost can occur in affairs of state, in high cultural places, anywhere.

In Czech politics, litost characterized the 1968 invasion when Russian tanks ended the idyll that Czech culture could influence Czech society as it always had, regardless of the face the party had to put on to please the large, heavy

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Soviet body to the east. But how to overcome litost? To laugh and forget? That is for children who, Kundera points out, are the hope of the world only so long as they do not have a past.

It is in part to keep the cultural past alive in the present that Kundera continues to write - but without pretensions of the ''sacralization'' of any duties he has as a writer. Quoting the Polish writer Witold Gombrowicz, about whom he taught a course in Paris this year, Kundera remarks: ''Great works are always amusing.'' But beware: Kundera's amusement ranges from the sole complaint he noted lodged by the American Embassy during the Russian occupation of Prague in August 1968 - Soviet soldiers were picking pears from the embassy garden without permission - to the lack of tragedy surrounding the West's ceding Central Europe to the Soviets. The latter is a concession Kundera dates, again, from August 1968, as the beginning of the end for all of Europe: consent to give away the past on which the culture of the present builds.

By no means, however, is Kundera a fatalist. In character, he lives with the hope of skepticism, which ''doesn't annihilate the world; it only turns it into questions,'' he told Antonin Liehm (interview translated in ''Politics of Culture''). ''That's why skepticism is the most fruitful attitude I know of. It is precisely the kind of constructive skepticism that can change our unfavorable situation into an advantage.'' What else to expect from a man born on April first, that day which, Kundera remarks, ''has its metaphysical significance''?

GRAPHIC: Drawing, MILAN KUNDERA, GENE LANGLEY -- STAFF

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 18, 1982, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section C; Page 13, Column 1; Cultural Desk

LENGTH: 1595 words

HEADLINE: MILAN KUNDERA: A MAN WHO CANNOT FORGET

BYLINE: By MICHIKO KAKUTANI

BODY:

IT was during the Stalinist era of the late 40's, when he was a student in Czechoslovakia, that Milan Kundera says he first learned the value of humor. He learned he could recognize a person who was not a Stalinist by his laughter - the ability to laugh was a sign that someone could be trusted, for it signified irreverence, a refusal to take history and its policemen seriously. Ever since then, he says, he has been ''terrified by a world that is losing its sense of humor.''

Mr. Kundera, who has been living as an emigre in France for the last six years, has learned that humor can have sobering consequences as well. Since the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, his books - which refuse to dignify either the authorities or their solemnity - have been removed from Czechoslovak libraries and his plays banned from theaters. When his most recent novel, ''The Book of Laughter and Forgetting,'' was published in France in 1979, the Czechoslovak Government tried to erase the last vestiges of his nationality: it revoked his citizenship.

If he is persona non grata in his native country, however, Mr. Kundera, at the age of 52, has won international recognition. His books have been translated into some 20 languages, he has won such awards as the Prix Medicis in France, and he recently came to New York to accept the $11,000 Common Wealth Award for Distinguished Service in Literature.

More Erotic Than Political

By turns amusing and grave, introspective and exuberant, Mr. Kundera speaks in Czech and French with a few sentences of recently learned English thrown in for good measure; his wife, Vera, serves as his English translator. As Mr. Kundera is quick to point out, he does not see himself as a dissident writer, and his books, for all the controversy they have elicited, tend to focus more directly on erotic and psychological matters than on matters of political import. They are regarded as ''subversive,'' he says, only insofar as they raise questions of moral and social ambiguity - something that is not encouraged by the Czechoslovak authorities.

In another sense, of course, nearly all of Mr. Kundera's work is animated by a concern with politics - that is, politics as manifested in the ironic, even absurd, conditions of life in a totalitarian regime. In ''The Book of Laughter and Forgetting,'' a man named Clementis lends his hat to a party leader, as they stand posing for a picture; years later, having fallen out of official favor, Clementis is airbrushed out of the photograph; al l that remains of him is his

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hat, sitting on another's head. And in a shor t story in ''Laughable Loves,'' a young man feigns religious fervor in order to seduce a pious girl, only to find himself in trouble w ith the state's atheistic leaders.

Mixing History With Fantasy

Playfully mixing history with philosophy and fantasy, Mr. Kundera creates a world in which routine expectations are undercut, ideals and reason mocked. It is a world similar in many respects to Kafka's - a world, as Mr. Kundera notes, seen from the point of view of a small country that has been a victim of history.

''Small countries like Czechoslovakia could never adore the cult of history,'' Mr. Kundera explains. ''One cannot imagine Hegel, for instance, coming from Prague. On the other hand, in Russia both the authorities and the dissidents regard history as something comprehensible, and they take it very seriously. They are convinced they are part of a grand, positive evolution; or they are convinced they live in a great tragedy - either way, they are convinced they are to live in greatness. The point of view of Central Europe is quite opposite. For us, there is no historical mission; rather, one sees the grotesque side of history. Our obsession isn't with a grand future, but with the possibility of our end and the end of Europe.''

In terms of culture, Mr. Kundera points out, Czechoslovakia has never been part of Russian-dominated Eastern Europe, but belongs instead to Central Europe, with its legacy of Freud's psychoanalysis, Schonberg's dodecaphony and the novels of Kafka and Hasek. The occupation of Czechoslovakia, he believes, is as much a cultural tragedy as it is a political one: By proscribing Czechoslovak writers and inhibiting artistic expression, the Soviet Union is trying to implement what he calls '' organized forgetting' ' - they are intent on eras ing Cz echoslovak traditions and replacing them with their own.

'Maximum Nonconformity'

Clearly Mr. Kundera's own work represents an attempt to preserve his own past and his memories of a country he will probably never return to. The son of a well-known pianist, Mr. Kundera was born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, and in the wake of World War II he enlisted in the Communist Party, which represented for him, as it did for so many of the bright young people of the day, ''the expression of maximum nonconformity.'' ''All the Czech avant-garde were Communists,'' he has said, ''all the people I admired, the painters and writers. There was a certain beauty and poetry to the revolution.''

He was quickly disabused of these ideals, however. Expelled from the party in 1948, he spent several years working as a laborer and jazz musician, and eventually ended up teaching at the Prague Institute for Advanced Cinematographic Studies. Although it seemed, for a while, that a new era of ''socialism with a human face'' might be possible in Czechoslovakia - ''The Joke,'' Mr. Kundera's satirical novel about life under Stalinism, was published during a period of increased freedom in 1967 - these hopes quickly expired with events of the following year.

Although his novels have resulted in the revoking of his Czechoslovak citizenship, they have made him something of an intellectual celebrity in the West, where he has even been featured in Vogue magazine. It is an irony that

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is not lost on Mr. Kundera. In the West, he notes, where artists can become rich and famous, art is often taken for granted as entertainment; in the East, where art remains ''the one domain where you can express yourself with relative liberty,'' it carries ''a social importance that is much greater.''

''There is another thing I've become persuaded of as well,'' he continues. ''I am convinced that a great novel is always linked with historical events that throw man into situations which de-mask him. And I think that today on our planet there are two such places - Central Europe and Latin America. I find a lot of significance in the fact that these are also two regions where the novel is extremely alive. Unexpected and new political situations enable us to pose all sorts of metaphysical and anthropological questions.''

'Very Sad to Leave'

In his own case, Mr. Kundera says, Czechoslovakia's recent history has compelled him to re-examine his relationship with his former country and its relationship with the rest of Europe. ''It was naturally very sad to leave,'' he says. ''Whenever you leave something and know you cannot go back, it is sad, and when the town you leave is as beautiful as Prague is, it is especially sad. On the other hand, the Prague which was once a cosmopolitan city no longer exists. Europe no longer exists in Prague, and I, who live in Paris, am perhaps less of an emigre from the real Prague than the people who remain behind.''

After several years in Rennes and several years in Paris, Mr. Kundera now considers France his home. He has made a new life for himself in the Paris intellectual community, and says he has no plans to return to Czechoslovakia - ''even if one day it becomes absolutely free.'' France, after all, has given him a sp ecial vantage point from which to view his former home: its tradi tion of classicism provides a fitting counterpoint to the Baroqu e traditions of Prague; and its language, he says, has enriched his n ative tongue.

Prague, 'an Imaginary Country'

And yet Mr. Kundera remains a man who cannot forget. Although he writes essays and letters in French, he continues to write all his fiction in Czech and to set all his stories in the city where he grew up. ''I always write of Prague, but Prague has become for me a kind of imaginary country,'' he says. ''To write a novel, you must be true to your obsessions, your ideas and your imagination, and these are things with roots in your childhood. It is the images from your childhood and youth which form the imaginary country of your novels, and this imaginary country, in my case, is named Prague.''

Since finishing ''The Book of Laughter and Forgetting,'' Mr. Kundera has started another novel - tentatively concerned with Goethe and focused on ''the confrontation of Prague and the world.'' The book, he says half in jest, will be his last.

''I believe you must write each book as though it were the last,'' he says. ''You must never put anything aside for the next book. I have always had the impression that the book I am working on will be my epilogue, that I will write no more. But I cannot stop -I am condemned to go on.''

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photo of Milan Kundera

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TYPE:
Review

SUBJECT:
D18-21-45; BOOKS A; D LITERATURE (SPECIFIC); WRITING AND ; RITERS

GEOGRAPHIC:
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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November 30, 1980, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 7; Page 7, Column 2; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 3100 words

HEADLINE: THE MOST ORIGINAL BOOK OF THE SEASON

BYLINE: By PHILIP ROTH; Philip Roth's most recent book is ''A Philip Roth Reader.'' His novel ''Zuckerman Unbound'' will be published in the spring.

BODY:

HIS interview is condensed from two conversations I had with Milan Kundera after reading a translated manuscript of his ''Book of Laughter and Forgetting'' - one conversation while he was visiting London for the first time, the other when he was on his first visit to the United States. He took these trips from France; since 1975 he and his wife have been living there as emigres, in Rennes where he taught at the University, and now in Paris. During our conversations, Kundera spoke sporadically in French, but mostly in Czech, and his wife Vera served as his translator and mine. A final Czech text was translated into English by Peter Kussi.

PR: Do you think the destruction of the world is coming soon? MK: That depends on what you mean by the word ''soon.''

PR: Tomorrow or the day after.

MK: The fee ling that the world is rushing to ruin is an ancient one.

PR: So then we have nothing to worry about.

MK: On the contrary. If a fear has been present in the human mind for ages, there must be something to it.

PR: In any event, it seems to me that this concern is the background against which all the stories in your latest book take place, even those that are of a decidedly humorous nature.

MK: If someone had told me as a boy: One day you will see your nation vanish from the world, I would have considered it nonsense, something I couldn't possibly imagine. A man knows he is mortal, but he takes it for granted that his nation possesses a kind of eternal life. But after the Russian invasion of 1968, every Czech was confronted with the thought that his nation could be quietly erased from Europe, just as over the past five decades 40 million Ukrainians have been quietly vanishing from the world without the world paying any heed. Or Lithuanians. Do you know that in the 17th century Lithuania was a powerful European nation? Today the Russians keep Lithuanians on their reservation like a half-extinct tribe; they are sealed off from visitors to prevent knowledge about their existence from reaching the outside. I don't know what the future holds for my own nation. It is certain that the Russians will do everything they can to dissolve it gradually into their own civilization. Nobody knows whether they will succeed. But the possibility is here. And the sudden realization that

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such a possibility exists is enough to change one's whole sense of life. Nowadays I even see Europe as fragile, mortal.

PR: And yet, are not the fates of Eastern E urope and Western Europeradically different matters? MK: As a concept of cultural history, Easte rn Europe is Russia, with its quite specific history anchored in t he Byzantine world. Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, just like Austria h ave never been part of Eastern Europe. From the very beginning they have taken part in the great adventure of Western civilization, with its Gothic, its Renaissance, its Reformation - a movement which has its cradle precisely in this region. It was here, in Central Europe, that modernculture found its greatest impulses: psychoanalysis, structuralism, dodecaphony, Bartok's music, Kafka's and Musil's new esthetics of the novel. The postwar annexation of Central Europe (or at least its major part) by Russian civilization caused Western culture to lose its vital center of gravity. It is the most significant event in the history of the West in our century, and we cannot dismiss the possibility that the end of Central Europe marked the beginning of the end for Europe as a whole.

PR: During the Prague Spring, your novel ''The Joke'' and your stories ''Laughable Loves'' were published in editions of 150,000. After the Russian invasion you were dismissed from your teaching post at the film academy and all your books were removed from the shelves of public libraries. Seven years later you and your wife tossed a few books and some clothes in the back of your car and drove off to France, where you've become one of the most widely read of foreign authors. How do you feel as an emigre?

MK: For a writer, the experience of living in a number of countries is an enormous boon. You can only understand the world if you see it from several sides. My latest book, which came into being in France, unfolds in a special geographic space: Those events which take place in Prague are seen through West European eyes, while what happens in France is seen through the eyes of Prague. It is an encounter of two worlds. On one side, my native country: In the course of a mere half-century, it experienced democracy, fascism, revolution, Stalinist terror as well as the disintegration of Stalinism, German and Russian occupation, mass deportations, the death of the West in its own land. It is thus sinking under the weight of history, and looks at the world with immense skepticism. On the other side, France: For centuries it was the center of the world and nowadays it is suffering from the lack of great historic events. This is why it revels in radical ideologic postures. It is the lyrical, neurotic expectation of some great deed of its own which however is not coming, and will never come.

PR: Are you living in France as a stranger or do you feel culturally at home? MK: I am enormously fond of French culture and I am greatly indebted to it. Especially to the older literature. Rabelais is dearest to me of all writers. And Diderot. I love his ''Jacques le fataliste'' as much as I do Laurence Sterne. Those were the greatest experimenters of all time in the form of the novel. And their experiments were, so to say, amusing, full of happiness and joy, which have by now vanished from French literature and without which everything in art loses its significance. Sterne and Diderot understood th e novel as a great game. They discovered the humor of the novelisti c form. When I hear learned arguments that the novel hasexhausted its possibilities, I have precisely the opposite feeling: In the course of its history the novel missed many of its possibilities . For example, impulses for the development of the novelhidden in Ste rne and Diderot have not been picked up by any successors.

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PR: Your latest book is not called a novel, and yet in the text you declare: This book is a novel in the form of variations. So then - is it a novel or not?

MK: As far as my own quite personal esthetic judgment goes, it really is a novel, but I have no wish to force this opinion on anyone. There is enormous freedom latent within the novelistic form. It is a mistake to regard a certain stereotyped structure as the inviolable essence of the novel.

PR: Yet surely there is something which makes a novel a novel, and which limits this freedom.

MK: A novel is a long piece of synthetic prose based on play with invented characters. These are the only limits. By the term synthetic I have in mind the novelist's desire to grasp his subject from all sides and in the fullest possible completeness. Ironic essay, novelistic narrative, autobiographical fragment, historic fact, flight of fantasy: The synthetic power of the novel is capable of combining everything into a unified whole like the voices of polyphonic music. The unity of a book need not stem from the plot, but can be provided by the theme. In my latest book, there are two such themes: laughter and forgetting.

PR: Laughter has always been close to you. Your books provoke laughter through humor or irony. When your ch aracters come to grief it is because they bump against a world that has lost its sense of humor.

MK: I learned the value of humor during the time of Stalinist terror. I was 20 then. I could always recognize a person who was not a Stalinist, a person whom I needn't fear, by the way he smiled. A sense of humor was a trustworthy sign of recognition. Ever since, I have been terrified by a world that is losing its sense of humor.

PR: In your last book, though, something else is involved. In a little parable you compare the laughter of angels with the laughter of the devil. The devil laughs because God's world seems senseless to him; the angel laughs with joy because everything in God's world has its meaning.

MK: Yes, man uses the same physiologic manifestation -laughter - to express two different metaphysical attitudes. Someone's hat drops on the coffin in a freshly dug grave, the funeral loses its meaning and laughter is born. Two lovers race through the meadow, holding hands, laughing. Their laughter has nothing to do with jokes or humor, it is the serious laughter of angels expressing their joy of being. Both kinds of laughter belong among life's pleasures, but when it is carried to extremes it also denotes a dual apocalypse: the enthusiastic laughter of angel-fanatics, who are so convinced of their world's significance that they are ready to hang anyone not sharing their joy. And the other laughter, sounding from the opposite side, which proclaims that everything has become meaningless, that even funerals are ridiculous and group sex a mere comical pantomime. Human life is bounded by two chasms: fanaticism on one side, absolute skepticism on the other.

PR: What you now call the laughter of angels is a new term for the ''lyrical attitude to life'' of your previous novels. In one of your books you characterize the era of Stalinist terror as the reign of the hangman and the poet.

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MK: Totalitarianism is not only hell, but also the dream of paradise - the age-old dream of a world where everybody would live in harmony, united by a single common will and faith, without secrets from one another. Andre Breton, too, dreamed of this paradise when he talked about the glass house in which he longed to live. If totalitarianism did not exploit these archetypes, which are deep inside us all and rooted deep in all religions, it could never attract so many people, especially during the early phases of its existence. Once the dream of paradise starts to turn into reality, however, here and there people begin to crop up who stand in its way, and so the rulers of paradise must build a little gulag on the side of Eden. In the course of time this gulag grows ever bigger and more perfect, while the adjoining paradise gets ever smaller and poorer.

PR: In your book, the great French poet Eluard soars over paradise and gulag, singing. Is this bit of history which you mention in the book authentic?

MK: After the war, Paul Eluard abandoned surrealism and became the greatest exponent of what I might call the ''poesy of totalitarianism.'' He sang for brotherhood, peace, justice, better tomorrows, he sang for comradeship and against isolation, for joy and against gloom, for innocence and against cynicism. When in 1950 the rulers of paradise sentenced Elu ard's Prague friend, the surrealist Zavis Kalandr a, to death by hanging, Eluard suppressed his personal feelings of friendship for the sake of supra-personal ideals, and publicly declared his approval of his comrade's execution. The hangman killed while the poet sang.

And not just the poet. The whole period of Stalinist terror was a period of collective lyrical delirium. This has by now been completely forgotten but it is the crux of the matter. People like to say: Revolution is beautiful, it is only the terror arising from it which is evil. But this is not true. The evil is already present in the beautiful, hell is already contained in the dream of paradise and if we wish to understand the essence of hell we must examine the essence of the paradise from which it originated. It is extremely easy to condemn gulags, but to reject the totalitarian poesy which leads to the gulag by way of paradise is as difficult as ever. Nowadays, people all over the world unequivocally reject the idea of gulags, yet they are still willing to let themselves be hypnotized by totalitarian poesy and to march to new gulags to the tune of the same lyrical song piped by Eluard when he soared over Prague like the great archangel of the lyre, while the smoke of Kalandra's body rose to the sky from the crematory chimney.

PR: What is so characteristic of your prose is the constant confrontation of the private and the public. But not in the sense that private stories take place against a political backdrop, nor that political events encroach on private lives. Rather, you continually show that political events are governed by the same laws as private happenings, so that your prose is a kind of psychoanalysis of politics.

MK: The metaphysics of man is the same in the private sphere as in the public one. Take the other theme of the book, forgetting. This is the great private problem of man: death as the loss of the self. But what is this self? It is the sum of everything we remember. Thus, what terrifies us about death is not the loss of the future but the loss of the past. Forgetting is a form of death ever present within life. This is the problem of my heroine, in desperately trying to preserve the vanishing memories of her beloved dead husband. But forgetting is also the great problem of politics. When a big power wants to deprive a small

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country of its national consciousness it uses the method of organized forgetting. This is what is currently happening in Bohemia. Contemporary Czech literature, insofar as it has any value at all, has not been printed for 12 years; 200 Czech writers have been proscribed, including the dead Franz Kafka; 145 Czech historians have been dismissed from their posts, history has been rewritten, monuments demolished. A nation which loses awareness of its past gradually loses its self. And so the political situation has brutally illuminated the ordinary metaphysical problem of forgetting that we face all the time, every day, without paying any attention. Politics unmasks the metaphysics of private life, private life unmasks the metaphysics of politics.

PR: In the sixth part of your book of variations the main heroine, Tamina, reaches an island where there are only children. In the end they hound her to death. Is this a dream, a fairy tale, an allegory?

MK: Nothing is more foreign to me than allegory, a story invented by the author in order to illustrate some thesis. Events, whether realistic or imaginary, must be significant in themselves, and the reader is meant to be naively seduced by their power and poetry. I have always been haunted by this image, and during one period of my life it kept recurring in my dreams: A person finds himself in a world of children, from which he cannot escape. And suddenly childhood, which we all lyricize and adore, reveals itself as pure horror. As a trap. This story is not allegory. But my book is a polyphony in which various stories mutually explain, illumine, complement each other. The basic event of the book is the story of totalitarianism, which deprives people of memory and thus retools them into a nation of children. All totalitarianisms do this. And perhaps our entire technical age does this, with its cult of the future, its cult of youth and childhood, its indifference to the past and mistrust of thought. In the midst of a relentlessly juvenile society, an adult equipped with memory and irony feels like Tamina on the isle of children.

PR: Almost all your novels, in fact all the individual parts of your latest book, find their denouement in great scenes of coitus. Even that part which goes by the innocent name of ''Mother'' is but one long scene of three-way sex, with a prologue and epilogue. What does sex mean to you as a novelist?

MK: These days, when sexuality is no longer taboo, mere description, mere sexual confession, has become noticeably boring. How dated Lawrence seems, or even Henry Miller with his lyricism of obscenity! And yet certain erotic passages of George Bataille have made a lasting impression on me. Perhaps it is because they are not lyrical but philosophic. You are right that with me everything ends in great erotic scenes. I have the feeling that a scene of physical love generates an extremely sharp light which suddenly reveals the essence of characters and sums up their life situation. Hugo makes love to Tamina while she is desperately trying to think about lost vacations with her dead husband. The erotic scene is the focus where all the themes of the story converge and where its deepest secrets are located.

PR: The last part, the seventh, actually deals with nothing but sexuality. Why does this part close the book rather than another, such as the much more dramatic sixth part in which the heroine dies?

MK: Tamina dies, metaphorically speaking, amid the laughter of angels. Through the last section of the book, on the other hand, resounds the contrary kind of laugh, the kind heard when things lose their meaning. There is a

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certain imaginary dividing line beyond which things appear senseless and ridiculous. A person asks himself: Isn't it nonsensical for me to get up in the morning? to go to work? to strive for anything? to belong to a nation just because I was born that way? Man lives in close proximity to this boundary, and can easily find himself on the other side. That boundary exists everywhere, in all areas of human life and even in the deepest, most biological of all: sexuality. And precisely because it is the deepest region of life the question posed to sexuality is the deepest question. This is why my book of variations can end with no variation but this.

PR: Is this, then, the furthest point you have reached in your pessimism?
MK: I am wary of the words pessimism and optimism. A novel does not assert anything; a novel searches and poses questions. I don't know whether my nation will perish and I don't know which of my characters is right. I invent stories, confront one with another, and by this means I ask questions. The stupidity of people comes from having an answer for everything. The wisdom of the novel comes from having a question for everything. When Don Quixote went out into the world, that world turned into a mystery before his eyes. That is the legacy of the first European novel to the entire subsequent history of the novel. The novelist teaches the reader to comprehend the world as a question. There is wisdom and tolerance in th at attitude. In a world built on sacrosanct certainties the novel is dead. The totalitarian world, whether founded on Marx, Islam or anything else, is a world of answers rather than questions. There, the novel has no place. In any case, it seems to me that all over the world people nowadays prefer to judge rather than to understand, to answer rather than ask, so that the voice of the novel can hardly be heard over the noisy foolishness of human certainties.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: drawing photo of Milan Kundera

TYPE:
interview

SUBJECT:
BOOKS AND LITERATURE; WRITING AND WRITERS

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law of land used to suppress people

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nat Conference on Soviet

Jewry: 898-2500

1980 - warned

Mark Levin

Aleksandr
Kholmiansky

private Hebrew Teacher
in USSR. hooliganism j-walking
arrested for "walking
on public flower beds"
held for minimum of mailbox tampering
6 mor.

July 84 → Jan 85...

immigrated June 88 to Israel

arrested, tort. of Pruind while on vacation in Estonia
criminals - drug-used, illegal weapon

NED - legal institutes? legal programs? anything planned?

~~Mgt. Ferry~~ Linda Rotblatt
293-9072

Sept 84 Edelstein
tin of tobacco, box of stones - left by foreigners
"illegal profiteers" -
Gordetsky, Yakar

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DATE April 27, 1990 TIME 12:20

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Stephanie Blessey
FROM: Christopher Simpson
SUBJECT: Jokes

Here are some ideas on jokes with local flavor. Give me a call should you need any clarification, since they are local in nature. Everyone who is the brunt of the jokes is going to be on the platform with the President.

It is a pleasure to be here at the University of South Carolina, the true home of Southern hospitality.

When you say kindlier, gentler, you really mean it.

Barbara and I have each been to the University before, and it has always been a pleasure.

Your president, Jim Holderman, deserves a lot of credit for making this university such a welcome place to visit.

You can tell how welcome he makes everyone feel by the diverse group of people assembled on this stage. He even brought together Republicans and Democrats, side by side, and in an election year.

That hasn't happened so smoothly since political parties were developed. I know, because Strom Thurmond told me.

And he was there.

I hope there was not too much trouble made over my visit, and I know the University did everything possible to make sure you and your families could share in your great achievement. I am delighted that Barbara is also going to receive an honorary degree. Especially since I had already given out my five commencement tickets and it was the only way she could get her into the coliseum.

I do hope no one was greatly inconvenienced by our visit. Those who clamored the loudest over the ticket allocation surely have never before heard me speak. As a matter of fact, being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is the closest I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.

And speaking of dramatic presentations, Michael Eisner deserves a great deal of credit for revitalizing Walt Disney into such a vibrant, thriving company. The success he has achieved at Disney is the envy of every CEO worldwide. He has surrounded himself with the best and the brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo and Goofey.

Many of you here may not realize it but as a young man I used to visit your beautiful state. My grandfather owned Duncannon Plantation near Barnwell, and I would come here with my familty to hunt. How I would love to return to those beautiful hills and woods to hunt -- but, and I mean no disrespect, not with you Governor Campbell. (Stephanie: Gov. Campbell was quail hunting last year in SC and accidently shot his guide. It was very minor, the guide was not hurt, but it has been the brunt of myriad jokes since then. Campbell himself often uses it in jokes.) ... And I do appreciate your invitation to join you on a ski trip, but no thanks. (Campbell broke his arm in three places skiing this year in Colorado.)

Mr. Walker hunted quail took train

Wienges

I also want to express my profound thanks to President Holderman for his invitation and gracious hospitality. We were talking a few minutes before graduation began and he said, "you know Mr. President, 20 years from now when our graduates reflect upon our commecement speakers in the '80s and '90s the first one they will remember is the day they were addressed by one of the world's most beloved, most respected and most admired figures." I told him, "Jim, I appreciate those kind words very much." He looked at me with kind of a bewildered glance and said, "No Mr. President, I meant Bill Cosby." (Cosby was our commencement speaker several years back and was a tremenous success.)

April 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DAN MCGROARTY
PEGGY DOOLEY

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

SUBJECT: USC COMMENCEMENT REMARKS

The following is information gathered from the pre-advance trip to Columbia, South Carolina.

Joke Material:

- When Louie, Louie is played at game upper decks of Coliseum rock. They say, "If it ain't swaying, we ain't playing." (USC fixed the upper decks, but they still say it.)
- Parking is impossible.
- A pretty girl at Clemson is a visitor.
- 144 Clemson students are gross ignorance.
- All dirt roads lead to Clemson.
- The USC versus Southern California
- Jokes written by USC attached.

Special Places:

- The Horseshoe is the center of campus.
- Russell House is central activity center.
- Thomas Cooper Library is underground. Students have to "go down" to study.
- throwing frisbee on the horseshoe, eating at Russell House"
- grabbing a sandwich at Andy's deli
- eating at Yesterday's
- going out in 5 points
- Late night eats: IHOP and Capital Cafe

Familiars:

- As freshmen, taking University 101
- As seniors, trying to sell back your books
- In between, reading the personals in The Gamecock
- Song: 'Carolina on my Mind'
- University Tree Lighting on Horseshoe after Community Service week.

Famous Alumni

School groups:

- NAACP
- Carolina Cares - community service
- CPU - Carolina Program Union

Famous teachers:

- Ambassador Walker (to South Korea)
- James Dickey - poet in residence

Trivia:

Mascot: Cocky the Gamecock
Colors: Garnet and black
12 schools in the University

Sports:

- Football is big sport, but they lost every game this year.
- Athletic director - King Dickson
- Football coach - Sparky Woods
- Together - The King and Sparky Show
- Cockfest is the homecoming pep rally.
- Play theme of 2001 at football games.
- Todd Ellis (q-back) and Harold Green were drafted for NFL.
- DO NOT mention George Rogers, the Heisman Trophy winner.
- Joe Morrison, the football coach, died last year; team was the "black magic" of Joe Morrison.

Famous Visitors:

- The Pope in '87. He said, "It's good to be young and a student at U.S.C." (Seniors were sophomores.)

- Henry Kissinger
- President Reagan
- Sicily Tyson

Volunteers:

- Huricane Hugo - hundreds of students started by packing supplies to be sent to the coast, and they continued their efforts through the year -- travelling from Camden to Sumner helping others get their lives back together.
- Classes would go help together.
-From Sister Care to Literacy programs to soup kitchens and shelters.

Attachments:

Yearbook
Binder of background including jokes

To _____

Date _____ Time _____

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COMMENTS: Pursuant to your request, the Following are Dr. Holderman's remarks to the 1986 Freshman Class at the University of South Carolina. If you have any questions please call me at 803/777-2001

Freshman Welcome

Congratulations --

In thinking about what I could say to you today, I was reminded that only one week ago in this very building, we held our summer commencement ceremony. We all associate commencement with with graduation. Completing college. Well today, in a very literal sense, is a commencement. A beginning for you all here at the University of South Carolina.

Your college career will speed by. It will last for most of you only 1,357 days. In that amount of time, you, hopefully, will be back in this same building in a cap and gown. 1,357 days is not a long time.

Looking in in my rear view mirror of all the great people I have heard share their wisdom with graduates, I thought this evening I would share with you those outstanding special messages that have remained with me. Therefore, what I have to offer to you is the collected

wisdom of my extensive experience in the phenomenon of commencement; not an end, but a beginning. I share with you the thoughts, advice and encouragements of dear friends. The debate was whether to choose something from each of the couple of hundred speeches I've heard or to try and gleen what I remember best.

In 1982, we had a very special gentleman address our graduating seniors and their families. He is a brilliant man. A graduate from Harvard with honors, the recipient of a White House Fellowship, a graduate of Oxford University, again, with honors. All of his accomplishments were impressive by any standard. When you view those accomplishments in light of the fact that this gentleman it totally blind and epileptic, however, you find a renewed sense of admiration. His name is Hal Krentz. His life was the subject of the book and movie, To Race the Wind, and the movie "Butterflies are Free." Of all the messages you might think he would like to convey to graduates, the one they

heard was most ironic. From a man who had been dealt the cruel blow of a complete loss of vision at an age so early that he knows nothing of faces and color as we take them for granted, he urged our graduates to have a sense of humor. To have a sense of humor. He wanted people to be able to laugh at themselves like he himself was able to.

For example, he told our graduates that he enjoyed playing basketball. When asked how he did that, he responded simply,

"Not well."

To be a happy person is a tall order, but one which makes life's seemingly insurmountable tragedies much more bearable. As Hal Krentz puts it,

"Of all of the five senses, none is more important than the sixth ... that is a sense of humor."

This year on two of our system campuses, we were honored to have two individuals, a man and a woman, whose messages were similar, yet powerfully inspiring. The woman, an award

winning newscaster on a Columbia television station, was paralyzed from the waist down in an automobile accident in 1974. Confined to a wheelchair she persevered, however, and is now a respected leader in broadcasting, a devoted wife, a loving mother and a bright prospect in her profession. The gentleman, a wonderfully good humored man, was the bright young press secretary of Ronald Reagan in 1981.

He was shot in the tragic attempt on the President's life, and as a result, suffered what was believed to be irreparable brain damage. He is now working some, working more and more and talking a great deal.

Against odds that were stacked heavily against them, Susan Aude Fisher and James Brady told our graduates that with courage, nothing is unattainable. With courage and persistence, there is nothing you will be unable to accomplish. Nothing.

James Brady spoke only a few minutes to our graduates, but his message is one I'm certain they will long remember.

He told them,

"No matter how hard or how much it hurts, get back in that batter's cage and hit some more."

"I didn't remember my commencement speaker," he went on to say, "but I know you will remember yours, because I am the Bear, and thumbs up, I'm going to make it."

His brilliant testimony to courage is an example we all can truly apply to our lives.

Last year, during our spring commencement at the Columbia campus, we honored two people whose message is perhaps the most fundamental and most important of all. I dare say that when college seniors heard they would have Fred Rogers, better known to most of you as Mr. Rogers, as a commencement speaker, they were perhaps embarrassed. Some students in fact created a Committee for a Dignified Commencement. But when he stood in front of 15 thousand graduates, family members and guests and sang, "It's You I Like," people were not only dumbfounded and literally speech-

less, they were deeply moved. The simple song concluded,

"It's you I like
It's you yourself
The way you are right now
Your skin, your eyes, your feelings
Every part of you, whether old or new
It's you I like
It's you."

This gentle man, you've seen him frequently clad in sneakers and a cardigan sweater, moved cynical people into quiet admiration with the most powerful of all emotions; love. They knew he really did love them, and in a wonderfully simple way, he told them that their love for others could be just as powerful.

Fred Rogers was followed by a remarkable woman whose message was equally as simple, and just as powerful; made

strong by her excellent example. Terry Dozier, a native Vietnamese who was adopted by an American family after losing her Vietnamese mother and being sold by her Nazi father, had persevered and worked her way to be honored as the National Teacher of the Year for 1985. The entirety of her life is devoted to giving others what has become most precious, most endeared her. Education. And as she told our graduates, "the greatest joy in life is serving others." Her love for her students has impacted our society far more than perhaps any of us realize, for her students will in turn teach other. Love.

A very warm friend of the University of South Carolina, Miss Helen Hayes, shared her special wisdom with our graduates over seven years ago, in 1979 when she was nearly 80.

The most celebrated figure, ever, in American theatre, after over seven decades of acting, told us that she was worried about being excellent.

"I am still reaching for excellence, and only have come close to touching it once or twice. It is a mirage, a thirst that is never quenched," she said.

Finally, I would like to tell you of a message I hope stays with you long after this evening We were fortunate, two years ago, to have three astronauts from the space program with us at commencement. All were natives of South Carolina. When the last of them arose to speak, he did so without a single prepared remark.

Ronald McNair, a member of the Space Shuttle Challenger crew, spoke to our seniors about perseverance. I quote.

"To go around the world 128 times at 17,500 miles per hour in the Rolls Royce of space flight is one experience. But to come home to warmth and appreciation is an experience of equal magnitude. I shall be eternally grateful for this recognition.

"I'm sure Charles Bolden and Charles Duke will agree with me in telling you that the road between South Carolina

and space flight is not a very simple one nor is it one filled with guarantees.

"In fact, the only guarantees to be found are those that reside in the unchallenged depths of one's own determination. The true courage of space flight is not strapping into one's seat prior to life off. It is not sitting aboard 6 million pounds of fire and thunder as one rockets himself away from this planet.

"But the true courage comes in enduring, and as Colonel Bolden says, persevering; the preparation and believing in oneself."

He concluded by saying,

"This is the message I would like to leave in South Carolina this afternoon. You're better than good enough.

"You may not come from well to do financial background, you may not come from affluent social background, you may not have glided through the University of South Carolina with the greatest of ease. But if you're willing to work hard,

sacrifice and struggle, then I proclaim today that you're better than good enough.

"Don't let the world's adversity stifle your enthusiasm or blind your vision. The struggle toward excellence must ever be conducted on the high planes of self confidence, a sense of purpose and positive thought."

A sense of humor.

Perseverance.

Excellence.

Love.

Self Confidence

You cannot fail if you keep those qualities in ~~fact~~ heart. It is not easy, but it can be done.

So as Bill Cosby told our graduates this past May, "Go forth." (But make sure you know where the hell forth is. Forth ~~not~~ being ~~back home, but~~ out there, in the classroom, in student organizations, in the library and then into life. I have every confidence you will distinguish yourself

in a way befitting of the excellent example that I know has been shown you by your parents and Rose Sue have gone before.

Good luck and God speed.