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FUTURE. REFERENCE. PLEASE KEEP ME IN MIND
FOR ANY FUTURE INFORMATION REQUESTS ON
THE SOVIET UNION. Best regards,

Scott Righetti

July 31, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jennifer Grossman -- White House
FROM: Scott Righetti -- USIA/R/SU *SR*
SUBJECT: Request for Information on Men Assassination

This is in response to your July 23 fax request to VOA's Serge Markov for material on the assassination of Orthodox priest Aleksandr Men. The following is based on a series of articles published this May, June, and July in the Communist Party weekly, *Glasnost*.

* * *

Father Aleksandr Men was killed by a blow to the head on September 9, 1990, near the Semkhoz train platform in suburban Moscow (Zagorsk district).

In May 1991, *Glasnost* reported the following: Ivan Leshchenkov heads the Moscow oblast procuracy's investigation of the murder. His detectives have checked out over 500 persons and questioned about 2,000. The investigation has gathered a large quantity of videotapes and documents and is now searching for a specific individual. Several witnesses saw the murder suspect both the day before and on the day of the attack. Unfortunately, not all potential witnesses have come forth with testimony. A fellow named Bobkov confessed to the crime, but he proved to be mentally unbalanced; all his statements were refuted. No motive is yet known for the murder. The priest had enemies. An ethnic Jew, Men was a well-known Orthodox priest who actively championed ecumenism.

Glasnost reported in June: New details have emerged. Two assailants committed the murder. One distracted Men while the other sneaked up from behind and hit the priest with a sharpened blade. Men dropped his glasses and clutched his head, but remained standing. The wound bled profusely. The attackers took Men's briefcase and fled. Men, still bleeding, but not losing consciousness, started walking home. Local residents recognized him and offered help. Had Men immediately been hospitalized, he would have survived. But he refused help, walked another half kilometer, and died at the gate in front of his house -- before an ambulance arrived. *Glasnost* also reported that an unidentified woman called investigators after the May article in the weekly. She said she knew where the murderer was, that he was close to repenting, and that he was ready to give himself up, but was still afraid to do so.

On July 25, 1991, *Glasnost* published the following information: Although the investigators had told the woman caller they were interested in dialogue, she never telephoned back. The murderers are evidently still afraid, but eventually they will come forward. Father Men could have been saved had he immediately been hospitalized, but he refused help and did not identify who attacked him. Men lived at least for 30 minutes after the attack. His was a conscious choice not to accept help; he preferred to bleed. Reports that the murder investigation has reached a dead end are erroneous. Time is working on the side of the investigators.

* * *

[NOTE: This material was published in *Glasnost*, a weekly founded and controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, as such, presumably reflects the interests of the Party.]

Major autumn commemoration at Babi Yar

THE 50th anniversary of the Babi Yar massacre this autumn is to be marked by a major commemoration in the Ukrainian capital Kiev.

An organising committee, set up by the Ukrainian government, is sponsoring a wide range of international events including a conference on the genocide against Jews in Europe during the Second World War, exhibitions, a chess tournament and a film festival.

The results of the all-Union competition for the design of a Babi Yar memorial will also be announced at the commemoration at the end of September.

"Babi Yar became the symbol of Jewish martyrdom," chairman of the Babi Yar Public Centre Alexander Shlayen told the Ukrainian press agency.

"But at the same time it is a huge common grave. The Nazis executed thousands of people of different nationalities. We hope this tragic anniversary will develop into an international action of protest against genocide, racism and fascism," he said.

Babi Yar

Ukrainian authorities have begun work to reconstruct the site at Babi Yar where the Nazis executed thousands of Jews during the Second World War.

"Babi Yar became the symbol of Jewish martyrdom and at the same time a common grave," said Alexander Shlayen, chairman of the memorial centre, which he hopes will develop into an international focus for remembering the crimes of fascism."

SOVIET WEEKLY, JUNE 27, 1991

→ Don't think its serious
problem
→ Engine specs need to
be adjusted
→ Engine belt

→ better not to

→ he was Russian, not Ukrainian
- everything POTUS will say will
be analyzed over exoneratingly

→ make sure not to be taking sides

Luca Hayda, Hans Ullrich ^{Research Inst} ~~Studies~~
Dir

- medical political science

298-8222

B.

1555 Thomas Jefferson

③ Capital Steps, Chelsea, CT 7:30

4800 Wisconsin

② Rebinhood 4:15, 7
Capital Steps

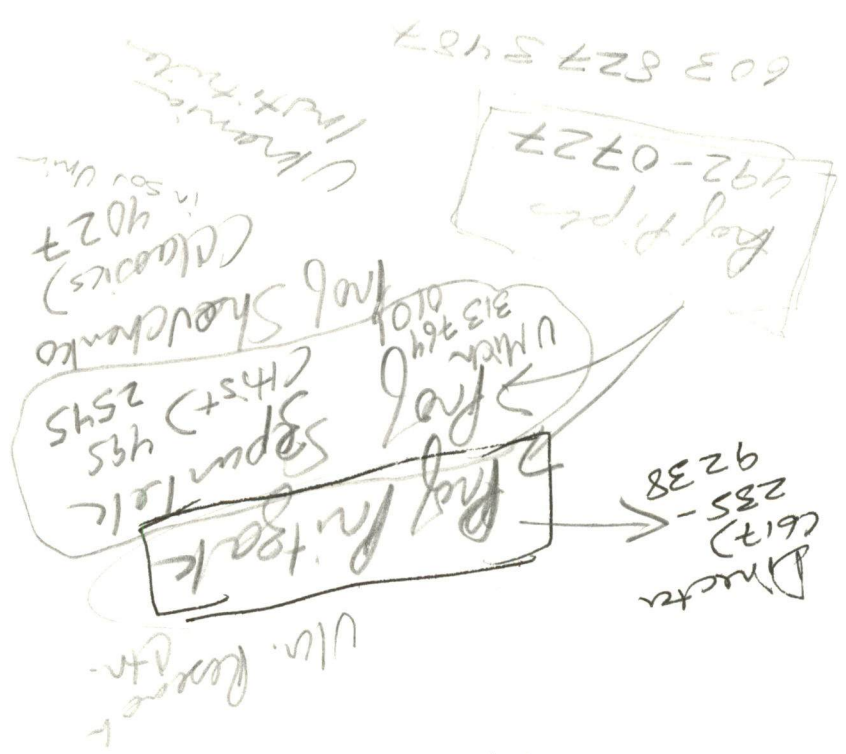
1222 Wisc

5:10, 7:45

① Olyane de Buzare Key Theater

Videos del libro de ser:

- Metropolitan
- some Woody Allen films
- ...



→ U. de Buenos Aires - 495-4053

→ Howard Bailey info 495-1000

International Sculpture
Center - 965-6066

June 27 1964
Leo Mol - sculptor
382-9310 sculpture
Paula Stokely placement
- runs the office -

National Park Service
gen info: 619-7222
22nd & 23rd St. NW
Auth by Act of Congress
on Sep. 13 1960 ~~by~~ Eric by show.
Gen of Am Inc.
14 ft high - excepts of poetry



(c) 1991 TASS, June 15, 1991

THE COAL MINERS' CITY OF DONETSK IS ONLY ONE OF TEN REGIONAL CENTRES OF THE REPUBLIC WHERE THE AMERICAN UKRAINIANS HAVE ALREADY GIVEN OR WILL GIVE CONCERTS.

THE AMERICAN UKRAINIANS WHO CAME TO THE LAND OF THEIR FOREFATHERS TOGETHER WITH THEIR FAMILIES FAMILIARISED THEMSELVES WITH THE PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE INDUSTRIAL CENTRE AND MET ACTIVISTS OF THE REGIONAL BRANCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CULTURE FOUNDATION THAT HAD ARRANGED THEIR ARRIVAL IN DONETSK.

BEFORE THE CONCERT THE PERFORMERS LAID FLOWERS AT THE MONUMENT TO GREAT UKRAINIAN POET TARAS SHEVCHENKO.

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 131 STORIES

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May 24, 1991, Friday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 408 words

HEADLINE: ISRAEL'S AMBASSADOR SEEKS BEN-GURION MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON

BYLINE: By Jim Wolf

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
ISRAEL-USA-MEMORIAL

BODY:

... commemorated in Washington are the Marquis de Lafayette, the French general and statesman who championed the American Revolution; and Taras Shevshenko, the Ukrainian poet.

Ben-Gurion, known for his charismatic personality and fighting spirit, was born in what is now Poland in 1886 and died ...

Vera Von Wiren- Garczynski, Ph.D.
Professor of Slavic & Russian Area Studies
The City College of the City University of New York

President, Slavic American Cultural
Association, Inc.
President, American Russian Heritage
Association
US Delegate, AIHAV/UNESCO
Commissioner, US NC HOLOCAUST COMMISSION

Chairman, Slavic American National
Republican Heritage Council
Recipient, Congressionally sponsored Ellis
Island Medal of Honor for Russian
ancestry on the 100th anniversary
of the Statue of Liberty

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

TO: Jenifer Grossman
FAX NO.: 202 456 6218
DATE: July 30, 91
FROM: Prof. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski
FAX: 516 759 4614
No. of Pages Including Cover Sheet: 1

MESSAGE:

Колм ми діждемося
Вашиingtonа
З новим і праведним законом?
А діждемося таки колмсь!

When shall we get ourselves a Washington, To promulgate his new and righteous law?

When shall we get ourselves
a Washington
To promulgate his new
and righteous law?

Yes, some day, we shall surely find the man!

Yes, someday we shall surely
find the man!

Dear Jenifer:

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: PROVERBS, QUOTES FOR UKRAINE SPEECHES

The following was imparted to me by the retired eminence
grise of Harvard's Ukrainian Studies Institute:

UKRAINIAN PROVERBS

"A man who is already wet is not afraid of the rain."

"Your tongue will lead you all the way to Kiev."

"When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from
weakness."

"Before age, silence; before wisdom, attention." (Possib.
self deprec. joke? POTUS: "of course, this doesn't mean you
shouldn't applaud.")

QUOTES

- 1) From Alexander Dovzhenko (d. 1956), famous Ukrainian poet
and filmmaker:

"The city of Kiev is an orchard. Kiev is a poet. Kiev is
an epic. Kiev is history. Kiev is art."

- 2) More from Shevchenko (d. 1861):

"Struggle and you will vanquish, for God is your succor. On
your side is strength. On your side is freedom and holy
truth."

"In your own house there prevails your own truth and
strength and freedom."

- 3) From Ukrainian poet Vasil Simonenko (1935-63):

"Whoever said that all has been discovered? If so, what
reason for our birth in truth? How could we ever then in
simple living find room enough for all our hopes of youth?"

Double check
- from
on road
Sensitivity
w/ guitars
Men

USA
→ all from other
→ State School
596h-619

These lines are from a poem by Taras SHEVCHENKO, The poet of Ukraine. It is from the poem called "YURODYVYJ" or in English "Simple minded." These lines are engraved in stone on the Shevchenko stature in Washington, D.C. What Shevchenko had in mind when he wrote this poem, he expressed the desire to have somebody like George Washington in Ukraine who will be able to built a democracy like George Washington did in United States. What is very a pro pos, that pres. Bush at a Republic meeting gave us all a book called "From George to George" perhaps this can be worked out into the speech as well - he is not a Washington but a Goerge who is visiting Urkaine. this poem, is not controversial and I believe perfect for the occasion.

good luck, let me know if you like it. Vera

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→ The outdoor sculpture of Washington, D.C.

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AMY, I'M AFRAID THE INFORMATION IN
THE OUTDOOR SCULPTURE OF WASHINGTON DC
 IS NOT QUITE WHAT YOU NEED.

JUDGING FROM THE CONTROVERSY GENERATED
 BY ITS INSTALLATION, THE PRESS COVERAGE
 ON OR NEAR 6-27-64 MUST REFER TO
 THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MEMORIAL.

SORRY I CAN'T BE OF GREATER
 ASSISTANCE.

GOOD LUCK!

H-21

Title TARAS SHEVCHENKO
MEMORIAL, 1964
Location P Street between 22nd
and 23rd Streets, NW
Sculptor Leo Mel
Architect Radoslav Zuk
Medium Bronze and granite



Title BUFFALOES and INDIANS

Location Dumbarton
squares Que Street,
Rock Creek
Sculptor Alexander
Proctor (Buffaloes); G
(Indi
Architect Glenn I
Bedf
Medium Bronze (Buff
sandstone (Indi

A happier solution might be found for this triangular park than for the placement of this portrait statue and relief panel. These two sculptures are unrelated in shape or size to the park, and serve to block the view of the avenues and rob the area of spatial grace.

There is a touch of irony, perhaps, about this memorial of a Ukrainian national poet, a Soviet hero chosen by Americans as a symbol of oppressed people. Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) was sentenced to prison for ten years for his ardent patriotic and freedom-minded writings. (The Ukraine was then controlled by Czarist Russians.) He died after four years of confinement. Born a serf, his freedom purchased, Shevchenko is adored in the Soviet Union for his poetry. Although he is not well known in the United States, since there is only one incomplete American edition of his poems, hundreds of towns, collective farms, factories, public buildings, and streets bearing his name are to be found in the Soviet Union today.

The memorial, sponsored by a group of Ukrainian nationalists, was erected amid controversy. The opposition argued: the Ukrainian poet is known to only a few Americans, he is an idol of the Soviet Communist Party, he was anti-Semitic and anti-Polish, and the only reference to American nationalism in his poetry is an overworked quotation expressing the wish that the Ukraine might have a George Washington. Those who favor the memorial insist he was a champion of freedom, inspired by George Washington and the American Revolution, and that his anonymity is due not to lack of genius but the failure of his struggle to achieve freedom.

On June 27, 1964, an estimated 100,000 people jammed the park area for the dedication. President Dwight Eisenhower unveiled the memorial, an immense 24-foot-tall bronze figure and pedestal together with a granite stele showing the martyred Prometheus in bas-relief.



"OUR SOUL SHALL NEVER PERISH,
FREEDOM KNOWS NO DYING.
AND THE GREEDY CANNOT HARVEST
FIELDS WHERE SEAS ARE LYING."

CANNOT BIND THE LIVING SPIRIT
NOR THE LIVING WORD,
CANNOT SMIRCH THE SACRED GLORY
OF TH'ALMIGHTY LORD.

1814-1861

THE CAUCASUS 1845

BARD OF UKRAINE

dedicated to the liberation, freedom
and independence of all captive
nations

150th Anv. of the birth



4-27-91
27.79

STATEMENT
THE GRAND JUNCTION HILTON
743-Horizon Drive
Grand Junction, Colorado 81506
(303) 241-8888

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GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO 81506

- Russia priest
- Refs: Russian Orthodoxy Church has been seen as an imperial church.

Ukrainian
 Greek Catholic
 this okay

~~Russian~~
 Ukr church
 had name
 to Ukrainian
 Orthodox
 Church.
 Some
 confusion
 differences

Notes



(c) 1990 The Independent, September 23, 1990

In 1958, when Alexander Men was ordained, it would have been much safer to keep silent and not to declare his faith. But that would be impossible for a Russian priest. 'What would have happened if Christ's disciples, instead of preaching the Gospel to all creatures, had locked themselves in their houses?' he wrote in his book *The Sources of Religion*. And for 32 years, until the day of his murder, he worked in the churches around Moscow, taking upon himself all the humiliations of the church so ingeniously perpetrated by the communist powers. **

In that relatively mild time known as the 'Khrushchev thaw', censorship of the church was in the hands of the Council for Religious Affairs, specially set up by the Ideology Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. However, this body immediately began to implement its powers. Not a single issue of the *Journal of Moscow Patriarchs*, which Father Alexander wrote for, ever appeared; nor any that had not been cleared in advance with the council. The church was repressed (as it is even now) by extortionate taxation, and whatever means were left to it were strictly controlled. If the roof of a church collapsed, it was forbidden to repair it except with special official permission. For weddings and christenings the priest had to demand the participants' identity papers, and the details were entered in the church register. By checking these books, the authorities could easily discover 'offending' citizens. How many times were young people expelled from university for nothing other than getting married in church! If you were a

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Christian, the State decreed that you could not aspire to higher education.

But the people came to the places of worship none the less - and Russian Orthodoxy stood its ground. Father Alexander interpreted his responsibility as a priest much more widely than was permitted at the time. Educated from childhood in the Christian faith, he knew that it seemed remote and inaccessible to his fellow citizens. Many adults of his generation knew nothing about Christ, except what they read in the compulsory atheistic propaganda: there was no God, it claimed, and science proved this; Christians were at best backward thinkers, at worst deliberate liars and obscurantists.

Alexander Men opened seminaries for adults searching for a way to Christ. These seminaries were immediately popular: they allowed everyone access, but the level was far from primitive. Father Alexander taught biology before he became a theologian, and even to doubters it was clear that his faith was in no sense a consequence of ignorance of the latest scientific achievements. People whom Father Alexander prepared for baptism learnt the principles of Christianity firmly; they knew that if people move away from God they inevitably move towards idols; they had a deep knowledge of the most important thing - love for their Creator. Such people could not be kept down by mocking anti-religious propaganda.



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In 1982 and 1983 the KGB turned its attention to these seminaries. There were searches and interrogations, of Father Alexander and his spiritual children. They threatened the priest that they would falsify criminal charges against him. 'Close the seminaries' was the official command. And the second command: stop publishing in the West, where up to that time he had produced six books. As a rule the sole means by which a Christian author could convey his work to a Soviet readership was to publish his books abroad in Russian, so that they could be brought back into the country. What Soviet publisher would have dared to publish, for instance, a book called Heralds of the Kingdom of God? The title alone would have been enough to make the censor ban the whole book.

Disregarding all these bans and threats, Father Alexander continued both his seminaries and his publishing activities. At the time many people didn't consider his problems exceptionally severe: surely they wouldn't arrest him, like so many other priests? It wouldn't be a camp - just searches and interrogations - and who hadn't had those? Everyone who experienced the uncontrolled authority in the country was under pressure. Those who could not stand it dropped out, the rest took the strain: 'Never mind, we'll be stronger!'

Father Alexander had his critics. They reproached him for his ecumenicalism: he was in sympathy with all Christian sects. He visited Pentecostals and

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Baptists, and prayed with them. He was accused of pretentiousness: how could he accept that some of his flock had left the Orthodox faith for the Baptists? He suffered over this himself, but he understood: they had not gone away from Christ, but moved from one persecuted group to another no less persecuted.

If the authorities allowed the Orthodox Church to exist, albeit with a series of belittling restrictions, groups of Baptists and Pentecostals and so on had no such rights. Under Soviet law, only registered religious groups were permitted, but registration was solely at the discretion of the authorities. Some groups were refused registration, and some decided themselves that they did not want to be registered, feeling that under atheist control they would forfeit the purity of their faith, accepting restrictions and making compromises. These sects existed illegally, gathering for prayer in someone's apartment, often raided by the militia who would break up the meeting and impose fines for 'unlawful' worship.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which numbers millions of believers, received official sanction of its existence only last year. Countless Presbyterians and Pentecostals have been killed or arrested. Sometimes the children of Baptists have been taken into state children's homes: for bringing up their children in their faith, the parents were deprived of their natural rights.



(c) 1990 The Independent, September 23, 1990

In 1980 a samizdat passed through my hands: a school exercise book with a pink cover and a howl of despair inside. It was written by Martin Yegle, a 13-year-old, who together with his brothers and sisters had been taken away from his parents. The boy had run away from the children's home and in his naivety decided to make his way to Moscow, to the American Embassy. There he would ask for protection for his family: he had already given up hope of help from anyone else. They arrested him on the road. He didn't want to give his name, and so cause his parents harm. But the police beat him until he told them. Then he was returned 'to his place of domicile'.

In conditions unusual within Christianity, a person who moves from one sect to another can hardly be judged straightforwardly.

It is painful for us Orthodox believers that some of our brothers do not find salvation in the bosom of our church, but surely they should not be strangers to us because of that. That is why Father Alexander strove for a close relationship with other churches. He succeeded in founding the Bible Society. This society was set up to spread the Christian faith, achieve confessional unity, promote joint study of holy writings and publish the Bible in Russian.

In recent years, when the communist government began to lose control over the country, pressure on the church started to weaken. But we are not under any

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illusions that things have changed much. For the last three years the believers of Kertsia have been asking for the church of St Joan to be returned to them: it is the oldest Orthodox church on Soviet soil, turned into a museum by the state. They have already appealed to Gorbachev - to no avail. And how many such churches across Russia have already been turned into potato stores, warehouses, even colonies for the young offenders the authorities have managed to accumulate? And for a child's Bible, parents have to pay an average month's salary - at the official price. Even then, it might not be possible to find one: in Moscow they can sometimes be bought on the street, but not in the provinces.

However, new possibilities have materialised, and Father Alexander had already appeared on television to a steadily growing audience. Metropolitan Anthony Surozhsky said of him: 'He attracted people with the directness and truth that was in him, and with his openness to each individual. He was always surrounded by a crowd of people to whom he opened the doors of faith.' *

At Easter this year, several thousand people gathered in the Olympic stadium in Moscow to hear a lecture by Father Alexander. And next week, on 30 September, a Russian Orthodox University was due to be founded - with Alexander Men as its Rector. He could have achieved much else - he was only 55.



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Who killed him and why is still unknown. Four parallel organisations are investigating: the Procurator's office, a parliamentary commission of the Russian Federation, a social commission composed of volunteers, and the KGB. Apparently the time has come in Russia when one cannot hack a priest to death and go free. The killers are in hiding, and they won't get a medal

for it.

But all the same, the killing was possible. Someone orphaned Father Alexander's family and flock. There is still no guarantee for our priests that this killing will be the last. Yet the people crowd into the churches, and find there defenceless rural and urban priests teaching the word of God to the best of their talents and abilities.

The Bible Society will now be headed by Father Alexander Borisov, a friend and follower of Alexander Men. It seems that he has also taken on the parish left without a priest. And the Bibles will be disseminated in Russia. They are needed more than ever: the limited supply available from the Moscow Patriarchy, and from the West, is not enough. Believers will win back the places of worship confiscated by the state - sometimes with hunger strikes, as recently in Ivanovo, sometimes with the help of the Press, as in Optino.

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The religious revival in Russia does not promise to be easy. But the first turning point has already been reached. 'Today more than ever the words of Paul the Apostle, spoken 2,000 years ago, ring out: 'They counted us among the dead, but look - we are alive'. ' That is what Father Alexander Men wrote.-

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Translated by Jan Dalley



LEVEL 1 - 13 OF 131 STORIES

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Gazeta International

July 26, 1990

LENGTH: 2386 words

HEADLINE: A conversation with Czeslaw Milosz A conspiracy of poets

BYLINE: Roma Przybylowska

BODY:

You have spent a month in Poland in rather unusual times. What are your impressions, especially after a six-month absence?

Well, rather mixed. I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to experience with others the extraordinary moment which has always been the communists' nightmare, that is, when doctrinaire people seize power. They seized it without overt enthusiasm, but with sufficient force.

As the poet prophesized: "The Lord shall give strength to His people." Will He also give them wisdom and a sense of purpose at this critical moment?

(c) 1990 Gazeta International, July 26, 1990

I, myself, do not understand everything. There are beautiful things alongside the sad things. On one hand, I see widespread social apathy; on the other, I observe a hurried search for a substitute enemy: the peasant, the intellectual, the non-Pole or Jew. Such nationalistic and xenophobic overtones are not to Poland's credit.

I am told that this is the work of agents provocateurs. This raises the question whether the Polish people, who have studied so many lessons in history, will summon enough wisdom not to drag the old illnesses into new times.

We are all taking difficult exams. What do you think about the conflict currently taking place on the political scene?

I would prefer not to comment. However, I am an observer with the perspective of a person living abroad, and in my mind's eye, I can see their newspaper headlines. I was just thinking about how I am going to explain all this to my American friends. It will not be easy. A monk, who is a friend of mine, made a very telling comment to me after returning from Poland: "I have never seen so many angels and so many devils at one time," he said.

But over there, people sometimes wage even sharper struggles.



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Indeed. But, they have a traditional framework. They have programs, and everything fits into a convention. Whereas here, it is really difficult to tell what is going on. The world responds to Poland with a certain hypersensitivity. Poland's peculiar situation is that its heroes are "saints."

I have seen people who are embarrassed because they had to decide not between programs, but, rather between the people whom they chose to oppose. They respect their leaders and expect them to show respect for their roles, even if they differ basically among themselves. I do not think that, in a country hungering for democracy and peace, an autocratic style in politics would be very appealing.

Coming back to the angels (since it is not proper to ask about devils)-where do you see them?

I have the impression that the angelic feeling in the government is a bit too strong. Naturally, you must rely on public morality, but perhaps not too much. The communist/ system educated people and pressed them into its cogs for so many years that this past is still with them, whereas the state, which is exposed to various evil forces, cannot be left defenseless.

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You are not suggesting rule by the fist, by any chance?

God forbid. There is a big difference between a strong fist and justice and law. I am not calling for the violent settling of accounts, as in Ceausescu's country, nor for a great purge. I was the one who praised Andrzej Drawicz (president of Polish radio and TV/ in the New York Times for his moderation in purging Polish television. But the people have a deep craving for justice, which is still unsatisfied, and often even aggravated.

Often this is just what we want to see because they are not implacable.

It is interesting. I remember Poland as a country which cherishes its memories. I often wondered what would have happened if, in 1945, General Anders had unexpectedly ridden into Poland on his white horse. What would have befallen all those confidantes, collaborators, volksdeutseches, and secret service men? Something has changed. For example, the memory of national betrayal - such a powerful idea, shaped and preserved by literature - has it waned? Sometime ago, after an article published in Tygodnik Powszechny about Oskar Milosz (Czeslaw Milosz's uncle/, the editors received a letter accusing them of betrayal, because in the article he had referred to himself as a Lithuanian.



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The lecture which you gave with Tomas Venclova a Lithuanian poet/ at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow was received enthusiastically. What were the later reactions?

Excellent. I think that these young people - who are so close to me in their way of thinking - are free of certain biases we talked about during a conference of historians in Rome, which was devoted to the difficult patrimony of the Eastern European nations.

From what I know, that conference was attended by Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and Poles. Was it an attempt to broaden the family of European nations?

A few nations were missing, but even in that group, we had things to confess. Perhaps a time will come when we will be able to create a happy family of nations in this part of Europe, if we can purge ourselves of history's tragic complications. I am sure that we have a lot in common, a spiritual heritage and experiences not familiar to other European nations. However, before this happens, we must rid ourselves of a lot of things we hold inside and forgive many things. In this regard, the conference was an important first step.

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We are doomed to reconciliation for thousands of reasons. One is that the world is afraid of a collision with a new wave of nationalisms. The thought that such a thing could happen in this part of Europe is so frightening to Americans that they are willing to accept Moscow in its role as policeman.

Is the presence of a poet at a congress of historians proof that, when it comes to painful issues, a magnifying glass and an eye do not suffice?

Three poets were invited, among them, Iwan Dracz, a Ukrainian poet, with whom I found a common language, speaking in our mother tongues. We also read our poems aloud in their original versions. Venclova was to attend this conference, but for some reason, he could not make it.

But you did meet in Krakow, where Stanislaw Baranczak also turned up. Is this a conspiracy of poets or a time for the "intervention" of poetry?

Well, a crowd of poets does not make poetry, but our chance meeting was nice. We had arranged earlier that Venclova would go to Vilnius with me in June. But, he was refused a visa. So, we met in Krakow.

Your friendship could be a model solution for Polish-Lithuanian relations. How did you arrange it between yourselves, and who owes what to whom?



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It is simple: He is pro-Polish and I am pro-Lithuanian. At least, this is what we are accused of. I was ashamed of the pro-Soviet option chosen by some Poles living in Lithuania, and he admonished Sajudis for its nationalism which pushes Poles into the communists' arms. Years ago, we made spiritual contact, even though we did not know each other personally, by reading each other's works, which were smuggled across the border. I read his book of poetry, A Sign of Language (Znak Mowy), and he, my Native Realm (Rodzinna Europa), which was smuggled out of Poland in letters, page by page. I heard about him for the first time from Josef Brodsky, who used to say, "Litowcy eta samaja charoszaja nacja w imperii," "Lithuania is the best nation of the empire/. When I learned that Venclova had to emigrate because of his work with the Helsinki human rights movement, we invited him to lecture at Berkeley. Soon after, the border was closed behind him, leaving a lot of time for discussions.

In Krakow you had an important dialogue about Vilnius.

Yes, and also about Central Europe - an attempt at visualizing our nations. That was recorded on video for television. I hope it will be broadcast.

You said somewhere that no one has absolved poetry of its duty to evaluate and warn. So poets must continue to fulfill the role of bards. What is the source of your anxiety today?

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We are probably in for a great paradox. Polish culture, despite its misadventures under the communists, despite the bondage of many minds, by some miracle managed to save its patrimony and preserve its continuity. Today, now that it has at last regained its independence, its continuity is threatened. At least for the artists, who saved the identity of this nation, very hard times are coming. The sharp process of selection, imposed by the rules of the market, will eliminate many, and those who survive will not necessarily be the best. The role of the state at this moment cannot be overestimated.

The Ministry of Culture and Arts should not feel released from its obligation just because it does not have money. There are ways to facilitate the formation of foundations, and, as is the custom in other countries, funds spent on culture should be tax-free. What I hear is absurd, that money donated to foundations is double-taxed, and visual artists are told to pay rents for their studios, which equal the rent for a laundromat.

We also hear that, first, we must overcome the economic crisis.

Well, you can build a dazzling civilization, but live in an internal landscape that resembles ruins. Western civilization's cultural shabbiness is little recognized. The wealthier it is, the more nihilistic it becomes. We also do not know where it is heading and whether art, which expresses fundamental



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values, will defend itself. Perhaps the only thing that remains is some "apparel," a few fine clothes and some despair. A symptom of the disintegration of the human subject is best seen in the poetry where extreme subjectivism and detachment from reality lead to superficial impressions and loss.

Although it may sound immodest, perhaps it is the art of the unhappy nations, subjected to the pressures of history and inhumane doctrines, which preserved the categories of good and evil. Today, they should remind the world of universal values, and even infuse a new sense of purpose into post-industrial and post-ideological civilization.

We speak of the "Polish school" in poetry, recognizing such names as Herbert, Wat, Rozewicz, Szymborska, Baranczak, Zagajewski. They have been gaining more readers, which is due to the fact that they, with their moral tension, strike at the hunger for values. It is not the worst way to be present in the world. That is why, when opening up itself to technology and the achievements of science, Polish culture should guard its sovereignty, even if that is not easy.

Translated by Katarzyna Gorska



LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 131 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Globe Newspaper Company;
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March 31, 1991, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: BOOKS; Pg. 75

LENGTH: 633 words

HEADLINE: BOOKMAKING;
BOOKMAKING

BYLINE: By Robert Taylor, Special to the Globe

KEYWORD: BOOK

BODY:

... Martin Nolan.

These are a few calendar highlights of a crowded week. Tomorrow night at 8, a leading Ukrainian poet, Bohdan Boychuk, will read with an accompanying English translation by poets David Ignatow and Mark Rudman at ...

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 131 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Chicago Tribune Company;
Chicago Tribune

March 1, 1991, Friday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: CHICAGOLAND; Pg. 8; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 767 words

HEADLINE: Religious press wary of Soviets

BYLINE: By P. Davis Szymczak

... might find themselves at odds not only with Communists but also with the Russian Orthodox Church, said Mizenko, a Ukrainian poet who describes himself as a "free Protestant."

In April, Morgulis, Deyneka and his wife will travel to the Soviet Union to ...

TERMS: SUBURB; BUSINESS; MEDIA; RELIGION; SOVIET UNION; AGREEMENT; TRADE; ISSUE; CHANGE



LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 131 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Washington Post
January 27, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: BOOK WORLD; PAGE X4

LENGTH: 1273 words

HEADLINE: Letters to the Editor, Soviet Style

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Abraham Brumberg

BODY:

... country's most audacious and widely read magazine soon after Gorbachev's rise to power, when its editorship was taken over by the Ukrainian poet and writer, Vitaly Korotich. In the past, Ogonyok, like many other Soviet publications, would occasionally run some letters, ...

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 131 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1990 The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union;
TASS

November 22, 1990, Thursday

LENGTH: 384 words

HEADLINE: ELECTIONS BEGIN IN THE DNIESTER REPUBLIC

BYLINE: TASS CORRESPONDENTS ANATOLY GOLYA AND ALEXANDER TANAS

DATELINE: KISHINEV, NOVEMBER 22

BODY:

... COMMANDERS IN THE DNIESTER REPUBLIC, HE SECURED THEIR AGREEMENT TO REFRAIN FROM TAKING PART IN ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE DNIESTER REPUBLIC.

UKRAINIAN POET BORIS OLEINIK, WHO IS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES OF THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT, IS VISITING UKRAINIAN VILLAGES IN THE DNIESTER REPUBLIC ...



(c) 1990 The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, October 31, 1990

Deputy B. Oleinik, a well-known Ukrainian poet, also expressed his viewpoint on A. I. Solzhenitsyn's article that day. Everyone who is in favor of a fundamental revolutionary ...

(c) 1990 The Toronto Star, October 6, 1990

if he reads from his fifth novel, The Knight Has Died. A.B. Yehoshua is an Israeli writer with an international reputation as a novelist, short story writer and essayist. He reads on Oct. 14.

Australia has more than its fair share of fine writers and David Malouf is one of them. His 1989 novel, The Great World is based on Australia's involvement in other countries' wars. From Japan, the festival has invited Michiko Yamamoto (Oct. 14), a writer who articulates the struggles of Japanese women in her fiction and poetry. And from South Korea, journalist and novelist Ahn Junghyo (Oct. 14) will read from his fiction about life in that often troubled country.

Three writers come from countries that have been the focus of the news this year. Samira Al-Mana, an Iraqi writer who has lived in England for the last 20 years, unable to return home because of her outspoken views, reads on Oct. 12. Romanian poet Marin Sorescu (Oct. 19) has had to work around the authorities on more than one occasion. Last year he was unable to attend the festival after being detained by the Ceausescu government. Ihor Kalynets (Oct. 12) is a Ukrainian poet. Kalynets and his wife were both interned in the Soviet Union in 1972, but in the glasnost era his poetry will presumably enjoy the circulation it deserves.

New and newish talent will also be heard from at this year's festival.



LEVEL 1 - 12 OF 131 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1990 Newspaper Publishing PLC
The Independent

September 23, 1990, Sunday

SECTION: THE SUNDAY REVIEW PAGE; Page 3

LENGTH: 1937 words

HEADLINE: Who killed the faithful Father?; Father Men is the latest of countless victims since Lenin declared war on the church. But, a celebrated dissident poet writes, there is no shortage of people

BYLINE: By IRINA RATUSHINSKAYA

BODY:

IF THERE were a list of all the Russian priests murdered in the twentieth century, how many names would it have on it? But there is no such list, and we are left to pray for all the many thousands of innocent victims. Ever since Lenin, as soon as he came to power, declared 'war without mercy' on the Russian Orthodox Church, a series of killings began, and Tikhon, Patriarch of All Russia, was the first victim. But then their sweep grew wider, and they

(c) 1990 The Independent, September 23, 1990

hardly bothered to keep track of the 'liquidated undesirable elements'. In Mordovksaya, to the east of Moscow, they killed 6,000 people in a single monastery: priests, monks and novices.

Six thousand - and the birch trees stood witness -

Gunned down and taken away in the night . . .

Of the young nuns' holy tears

You, the forest soil, must tell the story!

- so wrote a Ukrainian poet in a Mordovian camp. That camp, built on the bones of the murder victims, stands there to this day, and to this day the forest soil tells its story: when they are digging the foundations for new prison buildings they find crosses and all the other remains of that slaughter.

The church was barely able to survive first Stalin, then Hitler, then Stalin again, this time with the applause and encouragement of the West, and all those opposed to it. The church held out, but at the cost of losing the finest of its children.



Date: 7/30/91

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

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Prayers of Shevchenko

Страшно впасти у кайдани,
Умирати в неволі,
А ще гірше — спати, спати,
І спати на волі,

Strashno vpasty u kaidany,
Umirat' v nevoli
A shche hirshe — spaty, spaty
I spaty u nevoli.

Pray, heed me:

In your house, your own, you'll find them—
Truth and strength and freedom.

А ви Україну ховайте:
Не дайте матери, не дайте
В руках у ката пропадати!

A vi Ukraïnu khovaiťe:
Ne daiťe matery, ne daiťe
V rukakh u kata propadat'.

Свою Україну любіть,
Любіть її!... Во время люте,
В останню, тяжкую минуту
За неї Господа моїть!

Svoiu Ukraïnu liubit'
Liubit' ii!... Vo vremena lute,
V ostanniu, tiazhkuu minutu
Za nei Hospoda moit'.

Love your dear Ukraine, adore her,
Love her... in fierce times of evil,
In the last dread hour of struggle,
Fervently beseech God for her.

В своїй хаті — своя правда
І сила і воля!
V svoiï khati — svoia pravda
I syla i volia.

Find them —
In your house, your own, you will
find truth and strength and freedom.

VOICE OF AMERICA
USSR DIVISION
330 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE 30 July 91

TO JENNIFER GROSSMAN

456 621-8

FROM SERGE M-ARKOV

VOA USSR RESEARCH UNIT

NO. OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET 6

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Basic Ukrainian Cultural Facts

Language

Written in a form of the Cyrillic alphabet the Ukrainian language is closely related to Russian and Belorussian, from which it was undistinguishable until the 12th or 13th century. Modern literary Ukrainian emerged at the end of the 18th century.

Americans of Ukrainian descent prefer calling the country in English Ukraine rather than The Ukraine.

Ukrainian Diaspora

A great number of Ukrainians emigrated to the US and Canada (there are now about 2 million persons of Ukrainian descent in North America) and western Europe between 1880 and 1914 and again after World War II.

History

Ukraine was not widely called Ukraine until the 19th century.

In the 9th century Kiev became eastern Europe's major political and cultural center. Byzantine Christianity was adopted in 988 and in the 11th century Kievan Rus reached the height of its power. The Mongol conquest in the mid-13th century marked the end of Kievan power.

In the 14th century Lithuania annexed most of the Ukrainian lands except for the Galicia, which passed to Poland; southern Ukraine remained under Mongol control.

The "Union" of Brest-Litovsk in 1596 created the eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholic Church and resulted in the division of the Ukrainian into Catholic and Orthodox faithful. After the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Ukraine was transferred from Lithuania to Poland.

From their stronghold on the lower Dniepr in 1648 the Zaporozhian Cossacks led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky rose against the Poles and formed a quasi-independent if short-lived state. Needing help against the Poles Khmelnitsky signed an agreement with the Muscovite tsar in 1654, which was considered an act of submission by the Muscovites. Ukrainian lands east of the Dniepr came under the Russian Empire's control and the Cossack Hetmanate was gradually absorbed into the Russian Empire.

In the 18th-century partitions of Poland, the Russian Empire obtained the Ukrainian lands west of the Dniepr, except from Galicia which went to Austria.

A Ukrainian national movement developed in the 19th century. In the Russian Empire the movement faced political repression and restrictions against the Ukrainian language. In Austria-Hungary conditions were more favorable. By World War I Ukrainians in Galicia had set up a network of cultural, political, and religious institutions.

After the the Russian Revolution of February 1917 a Ukrainian Central Rada (council) was formed in Kiev, and after the Bolshevik Revolution in October the Russian communist government set up Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kharkov. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a Western Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in Lviv in November 1, 1918, which united with the Ukrainian National Republic of Symon Petlura in January 1919. Several governments struggled for control of Ukraine during 1917-21, when the Soviet government emerged victorious. In 1924 the Ukrainian SSR became one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union.

In the interwar period the Soviet government carried out a policy of rapid industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization met with peasant resistance and an artificially created famine in the early 30's took an estimated five million lives. Political repression increased and the policy of introducing the Ukrainian language into all aspects of the republic's life ended.

The **Molotov-Ribbentrop** pact of 1939 brought the Polish territories of eastern Galicia and western Volhynia into the Ukrainian SSR. The German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 led to rapid conquest of the Ukraine. After the **Germans' defeat** all the ethnically Ukrainian lands became part of the Soviet Union. In the western Ukraine collectivization in the late 1940's and the abolition of the Ukrainian (Eastern-rite) Catholic church (1946) caused dissatisfaction and prolonged the wartime guerilla resistance.

Controls were relaxed after Stalin's death in 1953 but government policy continued to emphasize ties to Russia. During Gorbachev's era of *perestroika* and *glasnost* Ukraine has made progress toward greater autonomy and, more recently, pro-independence sentiments have been growing spurred in part by the Chernobyl disaster. In March 1990, for the first time in 70 years, relatively free elections to republican and local legislatures were held. As a result the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (parliament) has a strong opposition, which constituted itself under the name *Narodna rada* (People's Council). In Western Ukraine political forces opposed to the communist party and aiming for the full independence of Ukraine have captured majorities in regional and local legislatures. Last year the *Rukh* opposition movement declared as its ultimate goal a fully independent Ukraine and on July 16, 1990 the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet adopted a declaration of sovereignty, stating the same ultimate goal (Last June July 16 was proclaimed Ukrainian Independence Day). Last July 8 Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Kravchuk said Ukraine would not sign the Union Treaty in its present draft form and last week the Ukrainian parliament postponed debate on the treaty for at least two months.

In the spiritual realm a dramatic development was the legalization in 1990 of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, after decades of persecution.

American -Ukrainian Exchanges

A noteworthy development in the past year was the

proliferation of American-Ukrainian exchanges within the framework of overall US/Soviet Exchange Programs. Now there are regular visits of leading representatives of Ukraine in the field of political, economic, cultural, scientific and civic activities taking place. These exchanges, which, after the advent of perestroika began as a mere trickle, during past year turned into a virtual stream. VOA's Ukrainian Branch on a regular basis interviews visiting Peoples Deputies. Among those interviewed recently were two Vice-chairmen of the Supreme Soviet of Ukrainian SSR, as well as economists, writers, artists, composers, movie directors, actors, scientists and leaders of official and unofficial civic organizations. For the first time in the history of Ukrainian Branch of VOA government officials, including two cabinet ministers and the Permanent Representative of Ukrainian SSR at UN willingly gave interviews to ~~our~~ VOA staffers.

American Culture in Ukraine: basically the same as for Russia

American consumer culture:

Jeans, Mickey Mouse, MTV, Top 20, Rambo, skateborads, Velcro, T-shirts with slogans, Keds, Rock, and now Rap Music.

Michael Jackson, Madonna, Schwartzernegger, Stalone, Bruce Lee, Jhoon Rhee, Dustin Hoffman, Robert Redford, Jack Nicholson

Shown on Central TV during America Week (week of July 1): Dallas, Little House on the Prairie, Love Boat, Beverly Hills, 90210, The Jetsons, The Flintstones, Barnaby Jones. Dallas was maybe the most watched

Also on Central TV: Disney Presents, Adam Smith's Money World, Phil Donahue, Muppet show, Geraldo, MTV in general, CNN clips on TSN late night newscast

On pirated videocassettes: Tango and Cash, Total Recall, Police Academy, Rambo, among many others

In movie theaters: Gone with the Wind

American Literature in Translation:

Fenimore Cooper, Jack London, Hemingway, Salinger, Anderson,
Tennessee Williams etc

Ukrainian Proverbs

The neighbor's garden is always greener

A day's work on land in the Summer feeds you all Winter

Basic Slogans Now

Down with the Communist Party!

No to the Union Treaty!

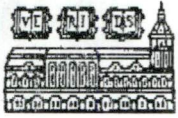
Give the Ukrainian Sovereignty Declaration Real Meaning!

Save Our Land from Ecological Disaster!

The Ukraine -- Home to All the Nationalities Living There!

National Unity or Slavery!

*oh, how
diplomatic!*



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91 JUL 30 10:48

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Taras Shevchenko, National Poet of Ukraine

UKRAINIAN:

Нема на світі України,
Немає другого Дніпра

Nema na sviti Ukrajinu
Nemaje druhoho Dnipra

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION (FOR THE PRESIDENT TO READ [if so desired]):

Neh-má na sveé-tee Oo-kra-yeé-neh

Neh-má-yeh droó-ho-ho Dnee-prá

FREE TRANSLATION:

There is nothing [quite so beautiful] on Earth like Ukraine,
There is nothing quite to compare with the Dnieper

From the poem *My Loving Epistle to My Dead, and Living, and As Yet Unborn Countrymen in Ukraine and Outside Ukraine*

Whatever else the President might choose to quote or allude to, a quotation from Shevchenko would be exceedingly important and well-received. Because this quote is short, the President might wish to add that he would go on, but that he is still working on his Ukrainian.

About Shevchenko:

National poet of Ukraine (1814-1861) [Opera house, University, one of the main boulevards and many, many other institutions in Kiev and throughout Ukraine are named for him] Washington, D.C. has a monument to Shevchenko. The Dante of Ukraine.

OTHER MATERIAL

At the close of his speech it would be good for the President to say:

Многая літа! [Mnó-ha-ya lee-ta]

which means "Long life" and evokes great feelings of comradeship and goodwill among Ukrainians.

No. 1: Hamilton

AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficacy of the subsisting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis at which we are arrived may with propriety be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism, to heighten the solicitude which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be directed by a judicious estimate of our true interests, unperplexed and unbiassed by considerations not connected with the public good. But this is a thing more ardently to be wished than seriously to be expected. The plan offered to our deliberations affects too many particular interests, innovates upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects foreign to its merits, and of views, passions, and prejudices little favorable to the discovery of truth.

Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new Constitution will have to encounter may readily be distinguished the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every State to resist all changes which may

felicity open themselves to view, we behold them with a mixture of regret, arising from the reflection that the pleasing scenes before us are soon to be overwhelmed by the tempestuous waves of sedition and party rage. If momentary rays of glory break forth from the gloom, while they dazzle us with a transient and fleeting brilliancy, they at the same time admonish us to lament that the vices of government should pervert the direction and tarnish the luster of those bright talents and exalted endowments for which the favored soils that produced them have been so justly celebrated.

From the disorders that disfigure the annals of those republics the advocates of despotism have drawn arguments, not only against the forms of republican government, but against the very principles of civil liberty. They have decried all free government as inconsistent with the order of society, and have indulged themselves in malicious exultation over its friends and partisans. Happily for mankind, stupendous fabrics reared on the basis of liberty, which have flourished for ages, have, in a few glorious instances, refuted their gloomy sophisms. And, I trust, America will be the broad and solid foundation of other edifices, not less magnificent, which will be equally permanent monuments of their errors.

But it is not to be denied that the portraits they have sketched of republican government were too just copies of the originals from which they were taken. If it had been found impracticable to have devised models of a more perfect structure, the enlightened friends to liberty would have been obliged to abandon the cause of that species of government as indefensible. The science of politics, however, like most other sciences, has received great improvement. The efficacy of various principles is now well understood, which were either not known at all, or imperfectly known to the ancients. The regular distribution of power into distinct departments; the introduction of legislative balances and checks; the institution of courts composed of judges holding their offices during good behavior; the representation of the people in the legislature by deputies of their own election; these are wholly new discoveries, or have made their principal progress towards perfection in modern times. They are means, and powerful means, by which the ex-

cellencies of republican government may be retained and its imperfections lessened or avoided. To this catalogue of circumstances that tend to the amelioration of popular systems of civil government, I shall venture, however novel it may appear to some, to add one more, on a principle which has been made the foundation of an objection to the new Constitution; I mean the ENLARGEMENT of the ORBIT within which such systems are to revolve, either in respect to the dimensions of a single State, or to the consolidation of several smaller States into one great Confederacy. The latter is that which immediately concerns the object under consideration. It will, however, be of use to examine the principle in its application to a single State, which shall be attended to in another place.

The utility of a Confederacy, as well to suppress faction and to guard the internal tranquillity of States as to increase their external force and security, is in reality not a new idea. It has been practised upon in different countries and ages, and has received the sanction of the most applauded writers on the subjects of politics. The opponents of the PLAN proposed have, with great assiduity, cited and circulated the observations of Montesquieu on the necessity of a contracted territory for a republican government. But they seem not to have been apprised of the sentiments of that great man expressed in another part of his work, nor to have adverted to the consequences of the principle to which they subscribe with such ready acquiescence.

When Montesquieu recommends a small extent for republics, the standards he had in view were of dimensions far short of the limits of almost every one of these States. Neither Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, nor Georgia can by any means be compared with the models from which he reasoned and to which the terms of his description apply. If we therefore take his ideas on this point as the criterion of truth, we shall be driven to the alternative either of taking refuge at once in the arms of monarchy, or of splitting ourselves into an infinity of little, jealous, clashing, tumultuous commonwealths, the wretched nurseries of unceasing discord and the miserable objects of universal pity or contempt. Some of the writers who

sentiments render them superior to local prejudices and to schemes of injustice? It will not be denied that the representation of the Union will be most likely to possess these requisite endowments. Does it consist in the greater security afforded by a greater variety of parties, against the event of any one party being able to outnumber and oppress the rest? In an equal degree does the increased variety of parties comprised within the Union increase this security. Does it, in fine, consist in the greater obstacles opposed to the concert and accomplishment of the secret wishes of an unjust and interested majority? Here again the extent of the Union gives it the most palpable advantage.

The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States. A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils against any danger from that source. A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it, in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district than an entire State.

In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government. And according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being republicans ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit and supporting the character of federalists.

PUBLIUS

No. 11: Hamilton

THE importance of the Union, in a commercial light, is one of those points about which there is least room to entertain a difference of opinion, and which has, in fact, commanded the most general assent of men who have any acquaintance with the subject. This applies as well to our intercourse with foreign countries as with each other.

There are appearances to authorize a supposition that the adventurous spirit, which distinguishes the commercial character of America, has already excited uneasy sensations in several of the maritime powers of Europe. They seem to be apprehensive of our too great interference in that carrying trade, which is the support of their navigation and the foundation of their naval strength. Those of them which have colonies in America look forward to what this country is capable of becoming with painful solicitude. They foresee the dangers that may threaten their American dominions from the neighborhood of States, which have all the dispositions and would possess all the means requisite to the creation of a powerful marine. Impressions of this kind will naturally indicate the policy of fostering divisions among us and of depriving us, as far as possible, of an ACTIVE COMMERCE in our own bottoms. This would answer the threefold purpose of preventing our interference in their navigation, of monopolizing the profits of our trade, and of clipping the wings by which we might soar to a dangerous greatness. Did not prudence forbid the detail, it would not be difficult to trace, by facts, the workings of this policy to the cabinets of ministers.

If we continue united, we may counteract a policy so unfriendly to our prosperity in a variety of ways. By prohibitory regulations, extending at the same time throughout the States, we may oblige foreign countries to bid against each other for the privileges of our markets. This assertion will not appear chimerical to those who are able to appreciate the importance to any manufacturing nation of the markets of three millions of people—increasing in rapid progression, for the most part exclusively addicted to agriculture, and likely from local circumstances to remain in this disposition; and the immense difference there would be to the trade and navigation of such a nation, between a direct communication in its own ships and an indirect conveyance of its products and returns, to and from America, in the ships of another country. Suppose, for instance, we had a government in America capable of excluding Great Britain (with whom we have at present no treaty of commerce) from all our ports; what would be the probable operation of this step upon her politics? Would it not enable us to negotiate, with the fairest prospect of suc-

cess, for commercial privileges of the most valuable and extensive kind in the dominions of that kingdom? When these questions have been asked upon other occasions, they have received a plausible, but not a solid or satisfactory answer. It has been said that prohibitions on our part would produce no change in the system of Britain, because she could prosecute her trade with us through the medium of the Dutch, who would be her immediate customers and paymasters for those articles which were wanted for the supply of our markets. But would not her navigation be materially injured by the loss of the important advantage of being her own carrier in that trade? Would not the principal part of its profits be intercepted by the Dutch as a compensation for their agency and risk? Would not the mere circumstance of freight occasion a considerable deduction? Would not so circuitous an intercourse facilitate the competitions of other nations, by enhancing the price of British commodities in our markets and by transferring to other hands the management of this interesting branch of the British commerce?

A mature consideration of the objects suggested by these questions will justify a belief that the real disadvantages to Great Britain from such a state of things, conspiring with the prepossessions of a great part of the nation in favor of the American trade and with the importunities of the West India islands, would produce a relaxation in her present system and would let us into the enjoyment of privileges in the markets of those islands and elsewhere, from which our trade would derive the most substantial benefits. Such a point gained from the British government, and which could not be expected without an equivalent in exemptions and immunities in our markets, would be likely to have a correspondent effect on the conduct of other nations, who would not be inclined to see themselves altogether supplanted in our trade.

A further resource for influencing the conduct of European nations towards us, in this respect, would arise from the establishment of a federal navy. There can be no doubt that the continuance of the Union under an efficient government would put it in our power, at a period not very distant, to create a navy which, if it could not vie with those of the great maritime powers, would

at least be of respectable weight if thrown into the scale of either of two contending parties. This would be more particularly the case in relation to operations in the West Indies. A few ships of the line, sent opportunely to the reinforcement of either side, would often be sufficient to decide the fate of a campaign on the event of which interests of the greatest magnitude were suspended. Our position is in this respect a very commanding one. And if to this consideration we add that of the usefulness of supplies from this country, in the prosecution of military operations in the West Indies, it will readily be perceived that a situation so favorable would enable us to bargain with great advantage for commercial privileges. A price would be set not only upon our friendship, but upon our neutrality. By a steady adherence to the Union, we may hope, ere long, to become the arbiter of Europe in America, and to be able to incline the balance of European competitions in this part of the world as our interest may dictate.

But in the reverse of this eligible situation, we shall discover that the rivalships of the parts would make them checks upon each other and would frustrate all the tempting advantages which nature has kindly placed within our reach. In a state so insignificant our commerce would be a prey to the wanton intermeddlings of all nations at war with each other, who, having nothing to fear from us, would with little scruple or remorse supply their wants by depredations on our property as often as it fell in their way. The rights of neutrality will only be respected when they are defended by an adequate power. A nation, despicable by its weakness, forfeits even the privilege of being neutral.

Under a vigorous national government, the natural strength and resources of the country, directed to a common interest, would baffle all the combinations of European jealousy to restrain our growth. This situation would even take away the motive to such combinations by inducing an impracticability of success. An active commerce, an extensive navigation, a flourishing marine would then be the inevitable offspring of moral and physical necessity. We might defy the little arts of little politicians to control or vary the irresistible and unchangeable course of nature.

But in a state of disunion, these combinations might exist and might operate with success. It would be in the power of the maritime nations, availing themselves of our universal impotence, to prescribe the conditions of our political existence; and as they have a common interest in being our carriers, and still more in preventing our being theirs, they would in all probability combine to embarrass our navigation in such a manner as would in effect destroy it and confine us to a PASSIVE COMMERCE. We should thus be compelled to content ourselves with the first price of our commodities and to see the profits of our trade snatched from us to enrich our enemies and persecutors. That unequalled spirit of enterprise, which signalizes the genius of the American merchants and navigators and which is in itself an inexhaustible mine of national wealth, would be stifled and lost, and poverty and disgrace would overspread a country which with wisdom might make herself the admiration and envy of the world.

There are rights of great moment to the trade of America which are rights of the Union—I allude to the fisheries, to the navigation of the lakes, and to that of the Mississippi. The dissolution of the Confederacy would give room for delicate questions concerning the future existence of these rights, which the interest of more powerful partners would hardly fail to solve to our disadvantage. The disposition of Spain with regard to the Mississippi needs no comment. France and Britain are concerned with us in the fisheries, and view them as of the utmost moment to their navigation. They, of course, would hardly remain long indifferent to that decided mastery of which experience has shown us to be possessed in this valuable branch of traffic and by which we are able to undersell those nations in their own markets. What more natural than that they should be disposed to exclude from the lists such dangerous competitors?

This branch of trade ought not to be considered as a partial benefit. All the navigating States may, in different degrees, advantageously participate in it, and under circumstances of a greater extension of mercantile capital would not be unlikely to do it. As a nursery of seamen, it now is, or, when time shall have more nearly assim-

lated the principles of navigation in the several States, will become a universal resource. To the establishment of a navy it must be indispensable.

To this great national object, a NAVY, union will contribute in various ways. Every institution will grow and flourish in proportion to the quantity and extent of the means concentrated towards its formation and support. A navy of the United States, as it would embrace the resources of all, is an object far less remote than a navy of any single State or partial confederacy, which would only embrace the resources of a part. It happens, indeed, that different portions of confederated America possess each some peculiar advantage for this essential establishment. The more southern States furnish in greater abundance certain kinds of naval stores—tar, pitch, and turpentine. Their wood for the construction of ships is also of a more solid and lasting texture. The difference in the duration of the ships of which the navy might be composed, if chiefly constructed of Southern wood, would be of signal importance, either in the view of naval strength or of national economy. Some of the Southern and of the Middle States yield a greater plenty of iron, and of better quality. Seamen must chiefly be drawn from the Northern hive. The necessity of naval protection to external or maritime commerce, and the conduciveness of that species of commerce to the prosperity of a navy, are points too manifest to require a particular elucidation. They, by a kind of reaction, mutually beneficial, promote each other.

An unrestrained intercourse between the States themselves will advance the trade of each by an interchange of their respective productions, not only for the supply of reciprocal wants at home, but for exportation to foreign markets. The veins of commerce in every part will be replenished and will acquire additional motion and vigor from a free circulation of the commodities of every part. Commercial enterprise will have much greater scope from the diversity in the productions of different States. When the staple of one fails from a bad harvest or unproductive crop, it can call to its aid the staple of another. The variety, not less than the value, of products for exportation contributes to the activity of foreign commerce. It can be conducted upon much better terms

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with a large number of materials of a given value than with a small number of materials of the same value, arising from the competitions of trade and from the fluctuations of markets. Particular articles may be in great demand at certain periods and unsalable at others; but if there be a variety of articles, it can scarcely happen that they should all be at one time in the latter predicament, and on this account the operations of the merchant would be less liable to any considerable obstruction or stagnation. The speculative trader will at once perceive the force of these observations, and will acknowledge that the aggregate balance of the commerce of the United States would bid fair to be much more favorable than that of the thirteen States without union or with partial unions.

It may perhaps be replied to this that whether the States are united or disunited there would still be an intimate intercourse between them which would answer the same ends; but this intercourse would be fettered, interrupted, and narrowed by a multiplicity of causes, which in the course of these papers have been amply detailed. A unity of commercial, as well as political, interests can only result from a unity of government.

There are other points of view in which this subject might be placed, of a striking and animating kind. But they would lead us too far into the regions of futurity, and would involve topics not proper for a newspaper discussion. I shall briefly observe that our situation invites and our interests prompt us to aim at an ascendant in the system of American affairs. The world may politically, as well as geographically, be divided into four parts, each having a distinct set of interests. Unhappily for the other three, Europe, by her arms and by her negotiations, by force and by fraud, has in different degrees extended her dominion over them all. Africa, Asia, and America have successively felt her domination. The superiority she has long maintained has tempted her to plume herself as the mistress of the world, and to consider the rest of mankind as created for her benefit. Men admired as profound philosophers have in direct terms attributed to her inhabitants a physical superiority and have gravely asserted that all animals, and with them the human species, degenerate in America—that

even dogs cease to bark after having breathed awhile in our atmosphere.* Facts have too long supported these arrogant pretensions of the European. It belongs to us to vindicate the honor of the human race, and to teach that assuming brother moderation. Union will enable us to do it. Disunion will add another victim to his triumphs. 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!

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No. 12: Hamilton

THE effects of Union upon the commercial prosperity of the States have been sufficiently delineated. Its tendency to promote the interests of revenue will be the subject of our present inquiry.

The prosperity of commerce is now perceived and acknowledged by all enlightened statesmen to be the most useful as well as the most productive source of national wealth, and has accordingly become a primary object of their political cares. By multiplying the means of gratification, by promoting the introduction and circulation of the precious metals, those darling objects of human avarice and enterprise, it serves to vivify and invigorate all the channels of industry and to make them flow with greater activity and copiousness. The assiduous merchant, the laborious husbandman, the active mechanic, and the industrious manufacturer—all orders of men look forward with eager expectation and growing alacrity to this pleasing reward of their toils. The often-agitated question between agriculture and commerce has from indubitable experience received a decision which has silenced the rivalry that once subsisted between them, and has proved, to the entire satisfaction of their friends, that their interests are intimately blended and inter-

* "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains."

woven. It has been found in various countries that in proportion as commerce has flourished land has risen in value. And how could it have happened otherwise? Could that which procures a freer vent for the products of the earth, which furnishes new incitements to the cultivators of land, which is the most powerful instrument in increasing the quantity of money in a state—could that, in fine, which is the faithful handmaid of labor and industry in every shape fail to augment the value of that article, which is the prolific parent of far the greatest part of the objects upon which they are exerted? It is astonishing that so simple a truth should ever have had an adversary; and it is one among a multitude of proofs how apt a spirit of ill-informed jealousy, or of too great abstraction and refinement, is to lead men astray from the plainest paths of reason and conviction.

The ability of a country to pay taxes must always be proportioned in a great degree to the quantity of money in circulation and to the celerity with which it circulates. Commerce, contributing to both these objects, must of necessity render the payment of taxes easier and facilitate the requisite supplies to the treasury. The hereditary dominions of the Emperor of Germany contain a great extent of fertile, cultivated, and populous territory, a large proportion of which is situated in mild and luxuriant climates. In some parts of this territory are to be found the best gold and silver mines in Europe. And yet from the want of the fostering influence of commerce that monarch can boast but slender revenues. He has several times been compelled to owe obligations to the pecuniary succors of other nations for the preservation of his essential interests, and is unable, upon the strength of his own resources, to sustain a long or continued war.

But it is not in this aspect of the subject alone that Union will be seen to conduce to the purposes of revenue. There are other points of view in which its influence will appear more immediate and decisive. It is evident from the state of the country, from the habits of the people, from the experience we have had on the point itself that it is impracticable to raise any very considerable sums by direct taxation. Tax laws have in vain been multiplied; new methods to enforce the collection have in vain been tried; the public expectation has been

uniformly disappointed, and the treasuries of the States have remained empty. The popular system of administration inherent in the nature of popular government, coinciding with the real scarcity of money incident to a languid and mutilated state of trade, has hitherto defeated every experiment for extensive collections, and has at length taught the different legislatures the folly of attempting them.

No person acquainted with what happens in other countries will be surprised at this circumstance. In so opulent a nation as that of Britain, where direct taxes from superior wealth must be much more tolerable, and from the vigor of the government, much more practicable than in America, far the greatest part of the national revenue is derived from taxes of the indirect kind, from imposts and from excises. Duties on imported articles form a large branch of this latter description.

In America it is evident that we must a long time depend for the means of revenue chiefly on such duties. In most parts of it excises must be confined within a narrow compass. The genius of the people will ill brook the inquisitive and peremptory spirit of excise laws. The pockets of the farmers, on the other hand, will reluctantly yield but scanty supplies in the unwelcome shape of impositions on their houses and lands; and personal property is too precarious and invisible a fund to be laid hold of in any other way than by the imperceptible agency of taxes on consumption.

If these remarks have any foundation, that state of things which will best enable us to improve and extend so valuable a resource must be the best adapted to our political welfare. And it cannot admit of a serious doubt that this state of things must rest on the basis of a general Union. As far as this would be conducive to the interests of commerce, so far it must tend to the extension of the revenue to be drawn from that source. As far as it would contribute to rendering regulations for the collection of the duties more simple and efficacious, so far it must serve to answer the purposes of making the same rate of duties more productive and of putting it into the power of the government to increase the rate without prejudice to trade.

The relative situation of these States; the number of

the morals, and to the health of the society. There is, perhaps, nothing so much a subject of national extravagance as this very article.

What will be the consequence if we are not able to avail ourselves of the resource in question in its full extent? A nation cannot long exist without revenue. Destitute of this essential support, it must resign its independence and sink into the degraded condition of a province. This is an extremity to which no government will of choice accede. Revenue, therefore, must be had at all events. In this country if the principal part be not drawn from commerce, it must fall with oppressive weight upon land. It has been already intimated that excises in their true signification are too little in unison with the feelings of the people to admit of great use being made of that mode of taxation; nor, indeed, in the States where almost the sole employment is agriculture are the objects proper for excise sufficiently numerous to permit very ample collections in that way. Personal estate (as has been before remarked), from the difficulty of tracing it, cannot be subjected to large contributions by any other means than by taxes on consumption. In populous cities it may be enough the subject of conjecture to occasion the oppression of individuals, without much aggregate benefit to the State; but beyond these circles it must, in a great measure, escape the eye and the hand of the tax-gatherer. As the necessities of the State, nevertheless, must be satisfied in some mode or other, the defect of other resources must throw the principal weight of the public burdens on the possessors of land. And as on the other hand the wants of the government can never obtain an adequate supply, unless all the sources of revenue are open to its demands, the finances of the community, under such embarrassments, cannot be put into a situation consistent with its respectability or its security. Thus we shall not even have the consolations of a full treasury to atone for the oppression of that valuable class of the citizens who are employed in the cultivation of the soil. But public and private distress will keep pace with each other in gloomy concert and unite in deploring the infatuation of those counsels which led to disunion.

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AS CONNECTED with the subject of revenue, we may with propriety consider that of economy. The money saved from one object may be usefully applied to another, and there will be so much the less to be drawn from the pockets of the people. If the States are united under one government, there will be but one national civil list to support; if they are divided into several confederacies, there will be as many different national civil lists to be provided for—and each of them, as to the principal departments, coextensive with that which would be necessary for a government of the whole. The entire separation of the States into thirteen unconnected sovereignties is a project too extravagant and too replete with danger to have many advocates. The ideas of men who speculate upon the dismemberment of the empire seem generally turned towards three confederacies—one consisting of the four Northern, another of the four Middle, and a third of the five Southern States. There is little probability that there would be a greater number. According to this distribution each confederacy would comprise an extent of territory larger than that of the kingdom of Great Britain. No well-informed man will suppose that the affairs of such a confederacy can be properly regulated by a government less comprehensive in its origins or institutions than that which has been proposed by the convention. When the dimensions of a State attain to a certain magnitude, it requires the same energy of government and the same forms of administration which are requisite in one of much greater extent. This idea admits not of precise demonstration, because there is no rule by which we can measure the momentum of civil power necessary to the government of any given number of individuals; but when we consider that the island of Britain, nearly commensurate with each of the supposed confederacies, contains about eight millions of people, and when we reflect upon the degree of authority required to direct the passions of so large a society to the public good, we shall see no reason to doubt

the world. Observations confined to the mere prospect of internal attacks can deserve no weight; though even these will admit of no satisfactory calculation; but if we mean to be a commercial people, it must form a part of our policy to be able one day to defend that commerce. The support of a navy and of naval wars would involve contingencies that must baffle all the efforts of political arithmetic.

Admitting that we ought to try the novel and absurd experiment in politics of tying up the hands of government from offensive war founded upon reasons of state, yet certainly we ought not to disable it from guarding the community against the ambition or enmity of other nations. A cloud has been for some time hanging over the European world. If it should break forth into a storm, who can insure us that in its progress a part of its fury would not be spent upon us? No reasonable man would hastily pronounce that we are entirely out of its reach. Or if the combustible materials that now seem to be collecting should be dissipated without coming to maturity, or if a flame should be kindled without extending to us, what security can we have that our tranquillity will long remain undisturbed from some other cause or from some other quarter? Let us recollect that peace or war will not always be left to our option; that however moderate or unambitious we may be, we cannot count upon the moderation, or hope to extinguish the ambition of others. Who could have imagined at the conclusion of the last war that France and Britain, wearied and exhausted as they both were, would so soon have looked with so hostile an aspect upon each other? To judge from the history of mankind, we shall be compelled to conclude that the fiery and destructive passions of war reign in the human breast with much more powerful sway than the mild and beneficent sentiments of peace; and that to model our political systems upon speculations of lasting tranquillity would be to calculate on the weaker springs of the human character.

What are the chief sources of expense in every government? What has occasioned that enormous accumulation of debts with which several of the European nations are oppressed? The answer plainly is, wars and rebellions; the support of those institutions which are ne-

cessary to guard the body politic against these two most mortal diseases of society. The expenses arising from those institutions which are relative to the mere domestic police of a state, to the support of its legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, with their different appendages, and to the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures (which will comprehend almost all the subjects of state expenditures) are insignificant in comparison with those which relate to the national defense.

In the kingdom of Great Britain, where all the ostentatious apparatus of monarchy is to be provided for, not above a fifteenth part of the annual income of the nation is appropriated to the class of expenses last mentioned; the other fourteen fifteenths are absorbed in the payment of the interest of debts contracted for carrying on the wars in which that country has been engaged, and in the maintenance of fleets and armies. If, on the one hand, it should be observed that the expenses incurred in the prosecution of the ambitious enterprises and vainglorious pursuits of a monarchy are not a proper standard by which to judge of those which might be necessary in a republic, it ought, on the other hand, to be remarked that there should be as great a disproportion between the profusion and extravagance of a wealthy kingdom in its domestic administration, and the frugality and economy which in that particular become the modest simplicity of republican government. If we balance a proper deduction from one side against that which it is supposed ought to be made from the other, the proportion may still be considered as holding good.

But let us take a view of the large debt which we have ourselves contracted in a single war, and let us only calculate on a common share of the events which disturb the peace of nations, and we shall instantly perceive, without the aid of any elaborate illustration, that there must always be an immense disproportion between the objects of federal and state expenditure. It is true that several of the States, separately, are encumbered with considerable debts, which are an excrescence of the late war. But this cannot happen again, if the proposed system be adopted; and when these debts are discharged, the only call for revenue of any consequence which the

There are persons who imagine that it can never be the case; since the higher they are, the more it is alleged they will tend to discourage an extravagant consumption to produce a favorable balance of trade and to promote domestic manufactures. But all extremes are pernicious in various ways. Exorbitant duties on imported articles would serve to beget a general spirit of smuggling; which is always prejudicial to the fair trader, and eventually to the revenue itself: they tend to render other classes of the community tributary in an improper degree to the manufacturing classes, to whom they give a premature monopoly of the markets; they sometimes force industry out of its more natural channels into others in which it flows with less advantage; and in the last place, they oppress the merchant, who is often obliged to pay them himself without any retribution from the consumer. When the demand is equal to the quantity of goods at market, the consumer generally pays the duty; but when the markets happen to be overstocked, a great proportion falls upon the merchant, and sometimes not only exhausts his profits, but breaks in upon his capital. I am apt to think that a division of the duty, between the seller and the buyer, more often happens than is commonly imagined. It is not always possible to raise the price of a commodity in exact proportion to every additional imposition laid upon it. The merchant especially, in a country of small commercial capital, is often under a necessity of keeping prices down in order to make a more expeditious sale.

The maxim that the consumer is the payer is so much oftener true than the reverse of the proposition, that it is far more equitable that the duties on imports should go into a common stock than that they should redound to the exclusive benefit of the importing States. But it is not so generally true as to render it equitable that those duties should form the only national fund. When they are paid by the merchant they operate as an additional tax upon the importing State, whose citizens pay their proportion of them in the character of consumers. In this view they are productive of inequality among the States; which inequality would be increased with the increased extent of the duties. The confinement of the national revenues to this species of imposts would be

attended with inequality, from a different cause, between the manufacturing and the non-manufacturing States. The States which can go furthest towards the supply of their own wants by their own manufactures will not, according to their numbers or wealth, consume so great a proportion of imported articles as those States which are not in the same favorable situation. They would not, therefore, in this mode alone contribute to the public treasury in a ratio to their abilities. To make them do this it is necessary that recourse be had to excises, the proper objects of which are particular kinds of manufactures. New York is more deeply interested in these considerations than such of her citizens as contend for limiting the power of the Union to external taxation may be aware of. New York is an importing State, and from a greater disproportion between her population and territory is less likely, than some other States, speedily to become in any considerable degree a manufacturing State. She would, of course, suffer in a double light from restraining the jurisdiction of the Union to commercial imposts.

So far as these observations tend to inculcate a danger of the import duties being extended to an injurious extreme it may be observed, conformably to a remark made in another part of these papers, that the interest of the revenue itself would be a sufficient guard against such an extreme. I readily admit that this would be the case as long as other resources were open; but if the avenues to them were closed, HOPE, stimulated by necessity, might beget experiments, fortified by rigorous precautions and additional penalties, which, for a time, might have the intended effect, till there had been leisure to contrive expedients to elude these new precautions. The first success would be apt to inspire false opinions, which it might require a long course of subsequent experience to correct. Necessity, especially in politics, often occasions false hopes, false reasonings, and a system of measures correspondingly erroneous. But even if this supposed excess should not be a consequence of the limitation of the federal power of taxation, the inequalities spoken of would still ensue, though not in the same degree, from the other causes that have been noticed. Let us now return to the examination of objections.

One which, if we may judge from the frequency of its

stance. The representatives of each State will not only bring with them a considerable knowledge of its laws, and a local knowledge of their respective districts, but will probably in all cases have been members, and may even at the very time be members, of the State legislature, where all the local information and interests of the State are assembled, and from whence they may easily be conveyed by a very few hands into the legislature of the United States.

With regard to the regulation of the militia, there are scarcely any circumstances in reference to which local knowledge can be said to be necessary. The general face of the country, whether mountainous or level, most fit for the operations of infantry or cavalry, is almost the only consideration of this nature that can occur. The art of war teaches general principles of organization, movement, and discipline, which apply universally.

The attentive reader will discern that the reasoning here used to prove the sufficiency of a moderate number of representatives does not in any respect contradict what was urged on another occasion with regard to the extensive information which the representatives ought to possess, and the time that might be necessary for acquiring it. This information, so far as it may relate to local objects, is rendered necessary and difficult, not by a difference of laws and local circumstances within a single State, but of those among different States. Taking each State by itself, its laws are the same, and its interests but little diversified. A few men, therefore, will possess all the knowledge requisite for a proper representation of them. Were the interests and affairs of each individual State perfectly simple and uniform, a knowledge of them in one part would involve a knowledge of them in every other, and the whole State might be competently represented by a single member taken from any part of it. On a comparison of the different States together, we find a great dissimilarity in their laws, and in many other circumstances connected with the objects of federal legislation, with all of which the federal representatives ought to have some acquaintance. Whilst a few representatives, therefore, from each State may bring with them a due knowledge of their own State, every representative will have much information to acquire concerning all the

other States. The changes of time, as was formerly remarked, on the comparative situation of the different States, will have an assimilating effect. The effect of time on the internal affairs of the States, taken singly, will be just the contrary. At present some of the States are little more than a society of husbandmen. Few of them have made much progress in those branches of industry which give a variety and complexity to the affairs of a nation. These, however, will in all of them be the fruits of a more advanced population; and will require, on the part of each State, a fuller representation. The foresight of the convention has accordingly taken care that the progress of population may be accompanied with a proper increase of the representative branch of the government.

The experience of Great Britain, which presents to mankind so many political lessons, both of the monitory and exemplary kind, and which has been frequently consulted in the course of these inquiries, corroborates the result of the reflections which we have just made. The number of inhabitants in the two kingdoms of England and Scotland cannot be stated at less than eight millions. The representatives of these eight millions in the House of Commons amount to five hundred and fifty-eight. Of this number, one ninth are elected by three hundred and sixty-four persons, and one half, by five thousand seven hundred and twenty-three persons.* It cannot be supposed that the half thus elected, and who do not even reside among the people at large, can add anything either to the security of the people against the government, or to the knowledge of their circumstances and interests in the legislative councils. On the contrary, it is notorious that they are more frequently the representatives and instruments of the executive magistrate than the guardians and advocates of the popular rights. They might therefore, with great propriety, be considered as something more than a mere deduction from the real representatives of the nation. We will, however, consider them in this light alone, and will not extend the deduction to a considerable number of others who do not reside among their constituents, are very faintly connected with them, and have very little particular knowledge of their affairs.

* *Burgh's Political Disquisitions.*