(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
July 25, 1991 4 p.m.
KLUNCH Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KIEV LUNCHEON
August 1, 1991

Good afternoon, and thank you for that warm welcome. I'm glad to be here in the home of "Mother Russia" -- and I'm grateful to Chairman Kravchuk and the Ukranian people for welcoming me so warmly through your "Golden Gate."

I want to set the record straight. It's **not** true that I've come to your country to be a contestant on "Field of Miracles -- Capital Show." I've felt very much at home here though -- I don't know whether it's the generous hospitality, or the Big Macs at the Moscow McDonald's.

Barbara and I are delighted -- and moved -- to be here in this ancient city. Kiev still dazzles with the beauty known to Prince Vladimir 1,000 years ago. In a way, he brought to Kiev not only Christianity but also his own perestroika, turning this city from a place of war into a beacon of peace and faith.

But the importance of Kiev isn't just historical. Exciting changes are taking place here now -- as you face challenges and shape your own future. In this courageous work, perhaps you can find strength in Tolstoy's words: "The strongest of all warriors are these two -- Time and Patience." And, we might add: Truth.

The people of the United States hope that you will also find strength in the knowledge that we support democratization and the move toward political pluralism.

We also celebrate our relationship with the people of the

Soviet Union in **all** of its republics. President Franklin Roosevelt wrote more than 50 years ago: "the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace." How true those words still are today. Think of the dramatic world events that have grown out of our nations' partnership -- the creation of a new world order; the coalition in the Gulf; progress in Angola and Central America; and our ongoing efforts for peace in the Middle East.

It's important to keep that spirit of friendship strong. We have come to the Soviet Union to celebrate a historic arms control treaty. We have also come to congratulate President Gorbachev and other leaders on the beginnings of reform. And we have come to look resolutely toward the challenges of the future, including the Soviet Union's quest to create a free market economy and a functioning democracy.

We have come to this lovely, historic city to meet with republic leaders like Chairman Kravchuk, and to remember Hilarion's call to the people of Kiev: "Behold your city, radiant with majesty...adorned with holy icons and fragrant with thyme...beholding all this, rejoice and be of good cheer."

My courageous Ukranian friends -- rejoice and be of good cheer, because our futures hold promise of great excitement. May God bless both our lands.

# # # # #

Adam Smith: quotes re: open borders are better than isolating yourself; the only way to prosper is to open your economy to others

Federalist Nos. 10 and 51: factions; must respect factions/minorities, not neglect them

Any quote on rights of minority; respect, not neglect, minorities

Any color on Ukraine; esp. check into 10th Century, the "Golden Age" of the Ukraine

John Gardner suggests looking into the Monastery of the Caves, in Kiev

Hilarion's call to Kiev → will get copy in mail

CM's secret drawer - NSC Angola, Cent Am.

Mother Russia - statue (Fodor's)

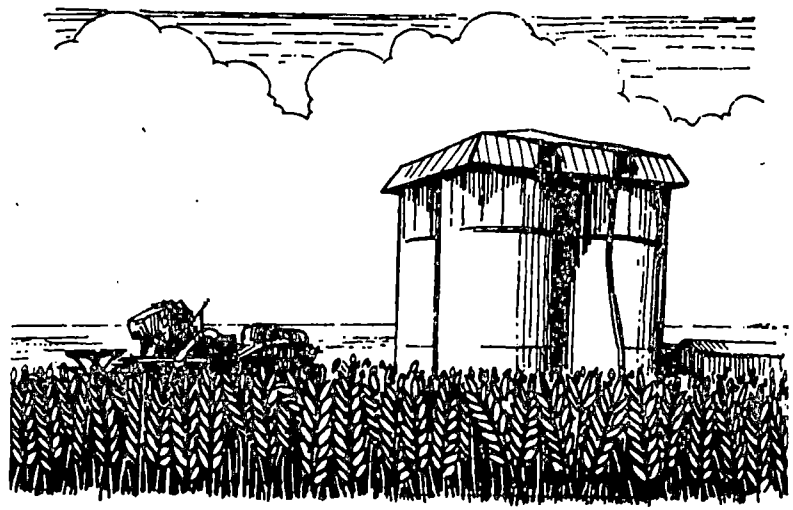
908
~~000~~-480-8683
S

Fodor's 91

Soviet Union

Fodor's Travel Publications, Inc.
New York & London

ISBN 0-679-01967-7



THE UKRAINE AND MOLDAVIA

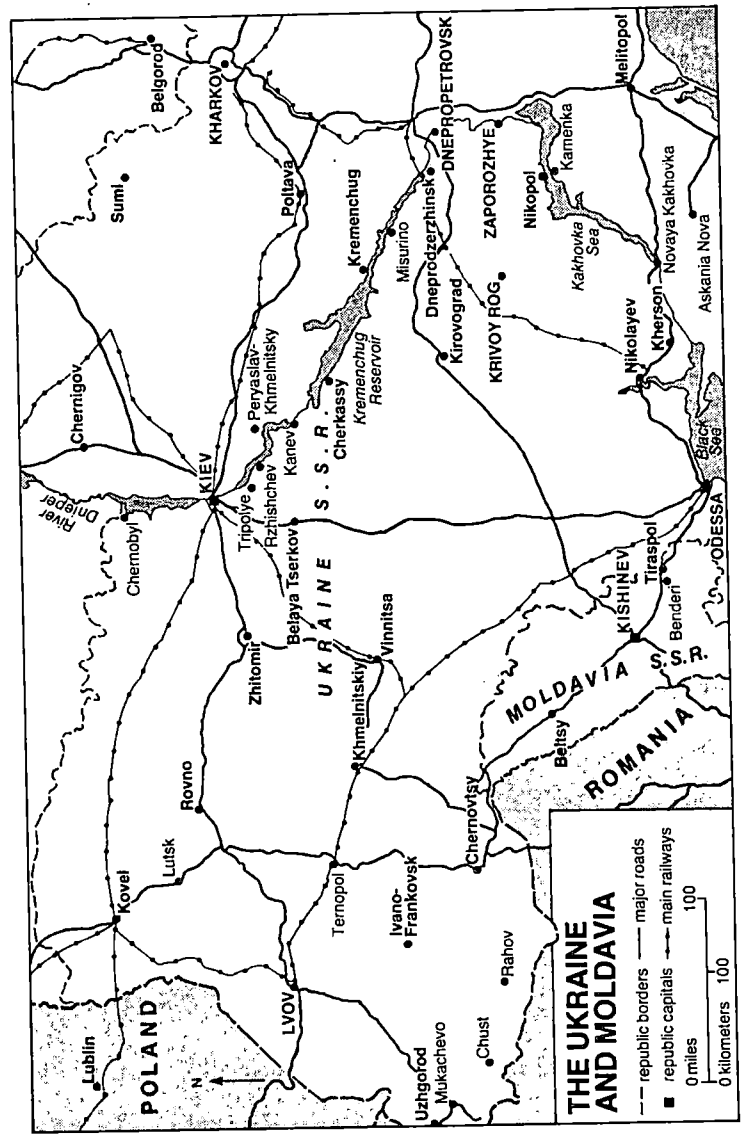
Breadbasket of the U.S.S.R.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic borders on Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and the Byelorussian, Moldavian, and Russian Soviet Republics. The Black Sea forms its southern frontier; the resort area is described in our chapter on the Crimea and Southern Russia.

With an area of 232,046 square miles and a population of more than 50 million in 1983, the Ukraine is the second largest republic in population and the third in size in the U.S.S.R. Forty-six percent of the population is urban; three-quarters are Ukrainian, 21 percent Russians, the remainder Jews, Byelorussians, Moldavians and others. Ethnographically the Ukrainians are Eastern Slavs. They have a strong national consciousness and an independent history. Kiev is the capital.

Ever since the Kievan period of history, the Ukrainian regional dialect has had distinctive features, and Ukrainian is now a separate language—although Russian is also spoken to a greater or lesser extent in all the big cities except Lvov.

It was in Kiev that Christianity first found a foothold in the European part of the present U.S.S.R. (in Armenia and Georgia, Christianity is considerably older), when Prince Vladimir had his people baptized in the river Dnieper in A.D. 988. After the Tatar invasion and the decline of the Kiev Principality (13th and 14th centuries), the Ukraine was held by Poland and Russia, with sovereignty repeatedly changing hands; it was devastated, sometimes completely and sometimes in parts, by the Crimean Tatars. In the mid-17th century the Cossacks, the most militant of the Ukrainian population, led by their Hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitsky, won independence



from Poland and established their own state, occupying the central part of the modern Ukraine. In 1654 the new state was annexed to Muscovy. Ukrainian nationalism, with its demands for autonomy, had a strong revival early in the 20th century. During the Civil War of 1918–22, Germans, white Russians, Communists and various separatist groups struggled for control of the rich Ukrainian agricultural lands. Proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in December 1917 the Ukraine was one of the four original republics to form the Soviet Union in 1922. In 1939 the western part of the Ukraine, together with Lvov, until then a part of Poland, was returned to the republic, followed in 1945 by Transcarpathia, which had belonged to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In 1954 the Crimea was transferred from the Russian Federal Republic and annexed to the Ukraine.

The huge Ukrainian Soviet Republic can be roughly divided into three zones: the forests bordering on Byelorussia in the north; the wooded steppe with oak and beech forests; and the treeless steppe zone with its fertile black soil. The climate is much warmer than that of central Russia. Both industry and agriculture are well-developed; there are also rich deposits of coal, iron ore, natural gas and oil.

The major cities are Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk, Lugansk, Uzhgorod, and Mukachevo.

Kiev

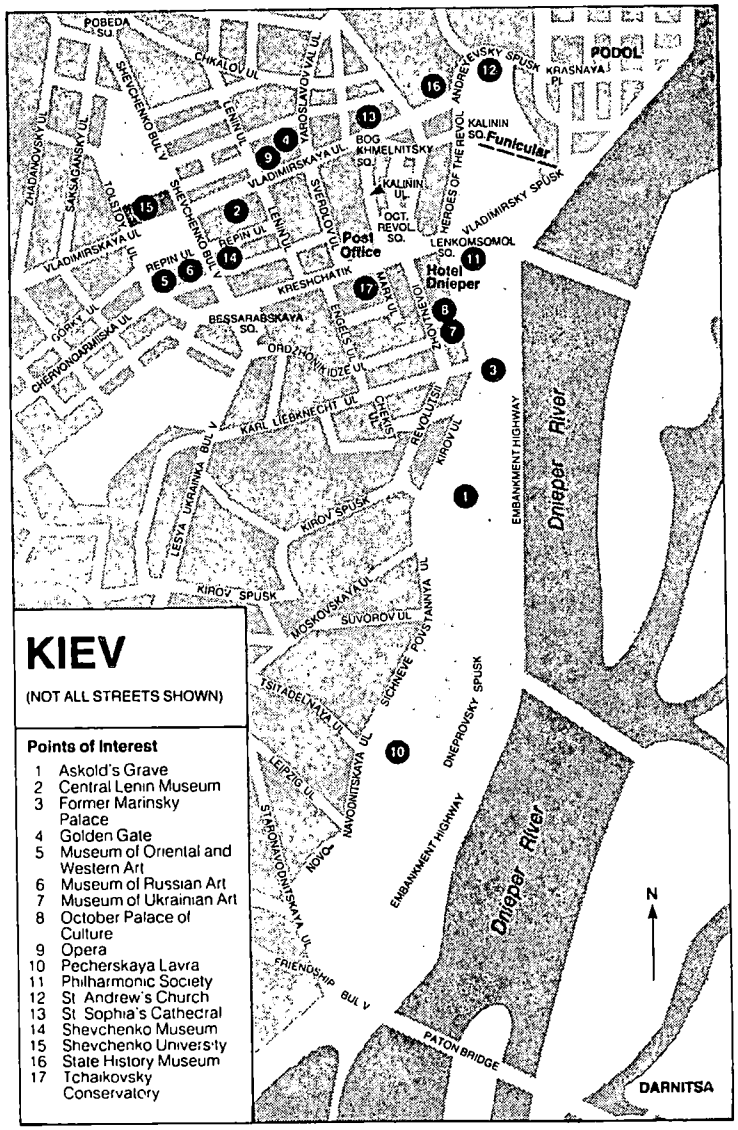
Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R., has a population of over two million and is one of the most important industrial and cultural centers in the Soviet Union. It lies on both sides of the Dnieper River; the right bank (western) is hilly, the left an extensive flat plain.

Kiev has developed rapidly in recent decades, absorbing several suburbs, and on the eastern bank of the river a whole new industrial area, the Darnitsa, has sprung up. Machinery plants are the chief industry, with light industries and chemicals coming second in importance. Kiev is also a major road and rail junction, a great river port and a busy airport; and a traditional cultural center with excellent colleges and universities. It is the seat of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and numerous research institutes. Its museums are richly endowed, and the city abounds in theaters, opera, ballet and other cultural institutions and entertainments. It is one of the most ancient of "Russian" cities, the original settlement probably dating from the late fifth century, in the chronicles it is described as the "Mother of Russian cities."

Kiev suffered severely during World War II; many irreplaceable architectural and art treasures were destroyed and the city center systematically demolished. Extensive restoration and a 1500th anniversary in 1982 put Kiev firmly back on the map. But the city hit the headlines for all the wrong reasons in April 1986 when the nuclear reactor at nearby Chernobyl exploded. Scientists generally accept that the city is now safe for normal-length tourist visits.

First Tour—The Kreshchatik

Exploring Kiev is best done in four installments. The starting point of the first tour is the Hotel Dnieper, where many Intourist groups are lodged. It stands at the eastern end of Kreshchatik, Kiev's main boulevard;



its entrance is on Lenkomsomol Square, a central location from which the main streets branch off like the points of a star. Opposite is the continuation of the Kreshchatik, the Vladimirsky Spusk, leading down to the river bank; the street to the north, named after the Heroes of the Revolution, leads to the famous St. Andrew's Church, and Kirov Street, leading south, also starts from this square. Lenkomsomol Square is an important traffic center and the terminus of several tram, trolley-bus and bus lines. The Kreshchatik subway station is nearby. An underpass with several branches crosses beneath the square. Opposite the Hotel Dnieper, left of the Vladimirsky Spusk, you can see the building of the Philharmonia (1882).

If you are staying at the Hotel Moskva, you can walk down to the Kreshchatik and turn right, and you will soon reach the Hotel Dnieper. From the old Intourist Hotel on Lenin Street you can get to the Dnieper Hotel via Lenin Street; and from the Hotel Ukraine, via Shevchenko Boulevard, walking downhill and then along the Kreshchatik.

The main street of the Ukrainian capital and its busiest thoroughfare are in a valley (there was once a deep ditch along here) and hills rise steeply on the left-hand side.

Clinging to the hill on this side is the 16-story Hotel Moskva; alongside the hotel October Revolution Street (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii in Ukrainian) leads up to the top of the hill where the government buildings are situated. At the beginning of October Revolution Street, already a steep slope, you will find the October Palace of Culture. Constructed in 1838–42 as a finishing school for young ladies of the nobility, it was restored and enlarged in 1953–57; its main hall seats over 2,000 and is chiefly used for concerts.

On the other side, the Kreshchatik broadens into Kalinin Square, once the site of the southeastern gate of the city wall, built by Yaroslav the Wise. House No. 2 was once the Noblemen's Diet; today it is a Teachers' Club. The large and elaborate building on the corner of the square and Kreshchatik is the main Post Office.

On the left of the Kreshchatik, Karl Marx Street leads uphill, with the Tchaikovsky Conservatory on the corner. If you turn into Karl Marx Street and follow it up the hill, you come to Ivan Franko Square. Here stands the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Drama Theater (built in 1898 and named after the great Ukrainian poet), which has followed the ideas and spirit of the Moscow Arts Theater in its presentation of modern Ukrainian plays.

Back down on the Kreshchatik, you will notice that the odd-numbered side has been made into a sort of parkway with trees, flower beds and benches. The buildings on this side are mostly apartment houses, cinemas, restaurants and hotels—while the other side consists mainly of public buildings and offices. The Kreshchatik underground station (center of the public transport network) is on the odd-numbered side; the largest restaurant in Kiev is in the same building. There is an escalator leading to the booking hall of the Metro (it costs five kopeks to use and this also gives you access to the trains). The escalator on the far side travels a much longer distance and takes you to the hill that rises above the river bank and forms Kiev's administrative district.

Continuing along the Kreshchatik, with its uniformly designed facades, you come to the passage which links the Kreshchatik and Zamkovetskaya Street. The entrance is under an arcade between two wings of a huge building. The building on the far side of the Kreshchatik (with the tall antenna) is the Kiev Radio and Television. On the passage side are Kiev's best

shops, among them the Children's Department Store (Nos. 15–17). Sverdlov Street starts on the opposite side; carrying on farther along the Kreshchatik you come to the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and then the tall City Council building. A little farther on is the Central Department Store, at the corner of Lenin Street.

Lenin Street climbs the hill rather steeply. Opposite the Central Department Store is the Pervomaiskaya Hotel. At No. 5 Lenin Street is the Russian Drama Theater, which is named after the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Ukrainka. Next comes the Teatralnaya Hotel, and across the street, on the corner of Pushkin Street, the technical bookshop; No. 26 is the Intourist Hotel.

Returning to the Kreshchatik you will see an impressive stairway leading up the hillside to the Druzhba cinema. Then you come to the vast Central Market (Krity Rinok). You are now in Bessarabskaya Square, one of the most important in Kiev. The avenue on the right is the wide Shevchenko Boulevard, with Lenin's statue at the entrance.

The Kreshchatik continues as Chervonoarmiiska (Red Army) Street, another busy main thoroughfare. No. 12 is a permanent exhibition hall for Ukrainian artists. Passing Saksagansky Street you come to the Operetta Theater and then the massive block of the Central Stadium and Sports Palace. It has a covered swimming pool as well as facilities for ice hockey, handball, tennis, football and athletics. The Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of the Peoples) Boulevard, which starts here, leads to the mile-long Paton Bridge. This bridge links the historical quarters of Kiev with the Darnitsa district on the far side.

Second Tour—Monastery of the Caves

Again using Lenkomsomol Square as a starting point, begin this tour by walking south on Kirov Street. Next to the Hotel Dnieper is the sociology department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The building also houses the Institute for the History of Literature and the ground floor is the Academic Bookshop. Still on Kirov Street, climb the slopes of the hill that rises above the Dnieper. The right side of Kirov Street is built-up, while the left is a series of large, well-kept parks. No. 1 Kirov Street, set in one of these parks, is the Republican Library. On the right-hand side, No. 6 Kirov Street, is the Museum of Ukrainian Art. Built in 1898–1900 on the lines of an ancient Greek temple with huge granite steps and a six-columned portico, the museum has a collection of Ukrainian art of the 15th to 19th centuries and of Soviet artists.

Next you pass the headquarters of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and, a few hundred yards further up, on the left, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine with its entrance in the adjoining square. No. 5 across the street is the former Marinsky Palace designed by Rastrelli and built in 1747 as a local residence for the Czar. The upper wooden story, which burned down in 1819, was reconstructed in 1870 and has survived in its 18th-century Baroque form. Outside the palace stands the memorial to the Civil War, with black marble and red granite decorating the mass grave.

On your left, in a park, is the entrance (No. 3 Kirov Street) to the Dynamo Stadium. The other side of the stadium faces on to the Petrovsky Promenade. A bridge divides the former Petrovsky Park into two parks; the northern part is called Pioneer Park and the lower, southern part, Pervomaisky.

In Karl Liebknecht Street (the sidestreet opposite the Supreme Soviet), you will see the headquarters of the Znaniye Educational Society, and in Rosa Luxemburg Street (Nos. 15–17), the Youth Theater. Chekist Street crosses both these streets further west; here is the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, and the headquarters of the Composers' Union. The writers, too, have their home nearby at No. 2 Ordzhonikidze Street, which runs parallel with Liebknecht Street towards the Kreshchatik. The editorial offices of several literary reviews are also here. Ordzhonikidze Street passes behind the Ukrainian Drama Theater (the Ivan Franko Theater), and you can see a statue of Ivan Franko himself by Suprun (1956) in the square beyond the theater.

Reaching the end of Kirov Street you come to Moskovskaya Street on your right. This leads eventually into Lesya Ukrainka. On your left, at the corner of Kirov Street and Sichneve Povstannya Street, stands the monument to the Arsenal Workers, commemorating their dead in the Civil War. Sichneve Povstannya Street is named after the January 1917 rising in Kiev. Suvorov Street begins on the right; its left side is a large park in memory of the dead of World War II. A street called Dneprovsky Spusk leads downhill on the left from the park. Here stands the monument to the Unknown Soldier.

To the left of Sichneve Povstannya, Tsitadelnaya Street leads to the Pecherskaya Lavra, the Monastery of the Caves. Founded in 1051 by the monks Anthony and Theodosius, Monastery of the Caves comprises a whole series of churches, cathedrals and monuments. Outside the complex of buildings stands the ancient church of the Redeemer of Berestovo, built early in the 12th century by Prince Vladimir Monomakh as a burial place for the princes of Kiev. The founder of Moscow, Yury Dolgoruky, was buried here in 1157. The church is built in characteristic late 11th- and early 12th-century style: a crossdome with six pillars. Its eastern wing, which faces the Dnieper, was added in 1640–44. In 1947 a marble sarcophagus was installed here in memory of Yury Dolgoruky.

The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. They include the Trinity Church, built over the entrance gate (today 21 Sichneve Povstannya Street), which dates from 1108, and has 18th-century wooden iconostases; the walls of the Upper Monastery, built between 1698 and 1701, stretch from this gateway around the compound. Another gateway is topped by the five-domed All Saints' Church (17th century). The main court of the Upper Monastery centers around the ruins of the Assumption Cathedral, built 1073–89 and destroyed by the Nazis in 1941. The majority of the surrounding houses are 18th century. The bell tower, the highest in the U.S.S.R. (316 ft.), was built in 1731–45; it has been completely restored and the dome regilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them—as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night!

Of the various museums in the Monastery, the Historical Museum is particularly interesting. Among its exhibits are 17th to 20th-century fabrics, 16th to 19th-century handicrafts, wood carvings, metal work, ceramics—all examples of Ukrainian folk art. Highlights are the delicately painted *krashenki,* Easter eggs.

The St. Anthony Caves contain 73 tombs and three underground churches. In the St. Theodosius Caves there are 47 tombs and another three churches. The two series of caves are quite separate from each other, and are reached by way of a covered gallery. The belfry of the St. Theodosius or Further Caves was built in the 18th century by the architect Stefan Kovnir. The most famous tomb is that of the chronicler Nestor, who died in 1115. Near the refectory walls are the graves of the Cossack leaders Kochubei and Iskra, executed by Ivan Mazepa in 1708.

If you leave the Lavra and walk along Tsitadelnaya Street you come to Novo-Navodnitskaya Street, which leads to Staro-Navodnitskaya Street and then on to the broad highway of the People's Friendship.

Cross the highway and you will find yourself in the Botanical Garden, which covers some 500 acres and affords beautiful views of the Dnieper and Kiev itself. Here, too, on the bank of the Dnieper, you will see the ruins of the Vydubetsky Monastery which you can also reach by taking trolleybus 15 to "Botanichesky Sad" stop. According to archeologists, there was a river ferry here in earliest times. In 1070–77 Vsevolod Yaroslavich, Prince of Kiev, had a monastery built on this spot; only the western side of a part of it, St. Michael's Cathedral (1070–88), has survived, but there are fine murals. In 1701, following a landslide, St. George's Church, a five-domed masterpiece of Ukrainian architecture, was built in its place. Nearby is the Museum of the Second World War, topped by the gigantic and controversial steel statue of "Mother Russia" which dwarfs the monastery domes on the river bank.

From the Paton Bridge you can return to the hotel by tram or trolleybus. Or you can walk along the quay until you reach the Dneprovsky Spusk, mentioned earlier. This is one of the sloping roads leading along the riverside parks. Askold's Grave, erected in 1809–10, is a rotunda where, according to legend, a Prince of Kiev was buried in 882. This is perhaps the most picturesque spot in Kiev and a favorite promenade.

One of the park roads leading north will take you to the open-air theater; its sloping amphitheater seats 4,000 people and is used for musical and dance shows and rallies. Nearby is the Kukushka open-air restaurant.

Descending to the quay again, you can cross by the footbridge (Peshekhodny Most or Parkovy Most) to the parks on Trukhanov Island and the city's bathing beach. Near the bridge is the monument built by Molensky in 1802–8 to commemorate the charter of the city of Kiev.

You can go back to the Hotel Dnieper by ascending the Vladimirsky Spusk. Nearby is the St. Vladimir Monument. Vladimir holds aloft a cross commemorating the conversion of Kievan Russia to Christianity.

Third Tour—St. Sophia's Cathedral

To explore the northern and western sections of Kiev, start at October Revolution Square (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii). Follow Kalinin Street to the north to reach Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square. Here you'll see the statue of the Cossack Hetman who freed the Ukraine from the Poles and later subjugated it to the Russian state. St. Sophia's Cathedral (Sofisky Sobor) stands in Vladimirskaya Street, behind the statue; like the major part of the Monastery of the Caves, St. Sophia's has also now become a museum (open 10–5, closed Thursday).

The cathedral was dedicted in 1037 by Prince Yaroslav the Wise as a mark of gratitude for the battle he won against the Pechenegs, an invading

tribe from the east. Here the first Russian library was founded and the earliest chronicles were written. St. Sophia is a stylistic combination of the traditional wooden church and the principles of stone building, with interesting mosaics and frescos in the central part and on the main dome. In the northeast part is the marble tomb where Yaroslav the Wise was buried in 1054. The iconostasis dates from the 18th century.

The bell tower (256 feet) was erected between 1744 and 1852. The Zavorovsky Gate is the main entrance to the Metropolitan's residence and is decorated with elaborate stucco ornamentation. The cathedral's surrounding wall was built in the 1740s. The whole complex is now a museum which also displays architectural models of other ancient Ukrainian and Russian towns, and local archeological discoveries. The entire precincts, as an "ancient monument," are maintained under a preservation order.

Leaving St. Sophia's, walk along Streletsky and Polupanov Streets until you reach a small garden containing the Golden Gate, once a part of Kiev's fortifications. The gate consists of two parallel walls built of brick and stone in 1037 by Yaroslav the Wise to guard the main entrance into the city. The arch was topped by the tiny Church of the Annunciation. The Golden Gate was restored for the city's 1,500th anniversary in 1982. You can reach it from the bus terminal by trolleybus 4 or 12, from the railroad station by trolleybus 2, and from the river station by bus 71.

The far side of the square is the continuation of Vladimirskaya Street. Walking southwest along it you come to the Opera House, then, at No. 57, on your left, to the Kiev branch of the Central Lenin Museum.

At the junction with Shevchenko Boulevard, on your left, is Shevchenko Park, where you can see a statue of the great Ukrainian classical writer erected in 1939 on the 125th anniversary of his birth. The large and impressive building opposite the park, on Vladimirskaya Street, is Shevchenko University, founded in 1834.

The far side of Shevchenko Park borders on Repin Street, which runs parallel with Vladimirskaya. Here there are two museums: No. 9 is the Museum of Russian Art and No. 15 the Museum of Oriental and Western Art. The former covers the 12th to the 17th centuries and includes icons of the Novgorod, Moscow and Stroganov schools; the 18th- and 19th-century rooms also have works by outstanding Russian artists. There is a fine collection of 18th–20th-century china, glass and crystal. The Museum of Oriental and Western Art has a collection that includes works by Bellini, Franz Hals, Rubens and Velasquez.

Continue south along Shevchenko Boulevard. Between Repin and Pushkin Streets, at No. 12, you will find the Shevchenko Museum, which is devoted to the life and work of the poet. Turn back to cross Vladimirskaya Street again and walk on further northwest and you come to one of the newer but important monuments in Kiev, the Vladimir Cathedral. Built in the 19th century, designed by Beretti and Bernhardt, it has seven gilded domes, three naves and several striking murals. It is still used for worship.

Further along Shevchenko Boulevard on the left you will see the University Botanical Gardens. Then after a short distance, the boulevard arrives at Peremogi (Victory) Square. Here you can visit the circus, and shop in the Ukraine State Department Store. Here also is the newest Intourist Hotel (Lybed), one of the country's best.

From here on, the Shevchenko Boulevard continues as the Brest-Litovsk Highway. Along it you will find the Kiev Zoo, which can be reached from Victory Square by trolley-buses No. 5, 6 or 7 and trams No. 2, 9 or 47. Close to it is the Medical Faculty of the University and the Dovzhenko Film Studio.

Fourth Tour

For your final walk, start again at Lenkomsomol Square but follow the Street of the Heroes of the Revolution until you reach Kalinin Square. At No. 2 Vladimirskaya Street is the Historical Museum. From there turn northeast, down Andreyevsky Spusk. Here at No. 23 is St. Andrew's Church, designed by Rastrelli and built by the Russian architect Michurin between 1744 and 1753, an important example of Russian Baroque architecture. This is the highest point of Old Kiev, overlooking the Podol district, the river and the plain to the east where, tradition says, the Apostle Andrew, who first preached the Gospel in Kievan Russia, erected a cross.

Built at the command of Elizaveta, the pious daughter of Peter the Great, St. Andrew's Church stands on a terrace at the top of a broad flight of steps. Its proportions are perfect. Today the domes are restored in silver-gilt and the walls painted in turquoise and white. The iconostasis was painted by Antropov and local masters. The church is now a museum, open 10–6 except Thursday.

Behind the church you can descend the Andreyevsky Spusk into the Lower Town, the Podol. At the foot of the hill turn left into Zelinsky Street and a few steps will take you to Krasnaya (Red) Square. The House of Contracts (Kontraktovy Dom), built here in 1817 expressly as a headquarters for the negotiating and signing of agreements, is an interesting example of the early 19th-century Russian classicist style.

The building on the corner of Red Square and Naberezhno-Nikolskaya Street (designed by Sedel and built in 1735) is a branch of the Academic Library. The courtyard wall has Baroque decorations. The building used to be the home of the Kiev Academy, which was founded in 1701 at the command of Peter the Great, to replace the former Kiev College. It had many distinguished graduates in its time.

Also on Red Square are the ruins of the Bratsky Monastery; the old house in the northwestern corner was Peter the Great's headquarters in 1706 when he prepared the attack on the Swedes, who had advanced to within 25 miles of Kiev.

East of the square, at No. 15 Kreshchatik Quay, which curves in from the river, is the former dormitory of the students of the Kiev Academy, the "Bursa." The ground floor was built in 1778; in 1809–11 two stories were added, with a four-columned gate, and the facade was remodeled in the style of the early 19th-century classicism.

Turning along Kreshchatik Quay towards the harbor, you can see Trukhanov Island on the far side. The island has been developed as an aquatic sports center. A wide promenade lines the riverbank where railway lines and warehouses once stood. Behind the harbor is Pochtovaya Square, a traffic center and terminus for the funicular which links the Lower and Upper Cities. Take the funicular to the Upper City terminal and you are back at Kalinin Square.

Excursions around Kiev

The permanent Ukrainian Exhibition of Economic Achievements covers 750 acres on Sorokichya Zhovtnya Prospekt, to the south of the city.

It can be reached by No. 11 trolley-bus directly from Lenkomsomol Square.

Pushcha-Voditsa, about 13 miles from the city center, is one of the finest parks in Kiev's green-belt. Extending over 1,875 acres, the park used to be a hunting preserve and also a refuge from enemies who attacked Kiev. It can be reached by tram No. 25 from the railway station or No. 12 from the Red Square in Podol.

An interesting excursion is to the open-air Folk Architecture Museum on the outskirts of Kiev, near Pirogovka village, which consists of 400 old homes, mills, forges and other structures from all over the Ukraine.

Lvov

Lvov is a regional capital, the traditional economic, transport, cultural and administrative center of the western Ukraine. For six centuries it was the scene of much strife and war between hostile powers, irreconcilable nations and opposing religions. Yet the monuments of the past, their different styles ranging from Ukrainian traditional to Italianate Renaissance, German Baroque and Polish, today form a unique whole. In Ukrainian, the city's name is Lviv.

The statue of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (by Popiel and Farashcuk, 1905) stands in Mickiewicz Square and has come to be a symbol of Lvov. Also in the square is the Intourist hotel, built in 1901, and close by, the shady promenade of the Shevchenko Prospekt to Rosa Luxemburg Square. The most important monument here is the Roman Catholic Cathedral, dating from 1270–1480, but never completed. It is still used today for services. The old Gothic houses in the square burned down in 1527 but their foundations, ground floors and, here and there, parts of their first floors have survived and been incorporated into more modern dwellings. The cathedral has 18th-century frescos and many decorative carvings and statues dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The chapels and the 214-feet-high Gothic tower were added between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Boim Chapel, built 1609–17 in Baroque style, belonged to a family of Hungarian origin, whose ancestor was private secretary to King Stephen Batory of Poland and Transylvania.

No. 2 Rosa Luxemburg Square (with its classicist facade) was built in the 18th century. No. 3 dates from 1630.

You entered Rosa Luxemburg Square from the southwest; now you leave it at its northeastern corner, where it is crossed by Russkaya (Russian) Street, the only street where Russian Orthodox believers were allowed to live at the end of the Middle Ages.

No. 2 Russkaya Street dates from the 16th century and has Gothic details. No. 8 is 18th century; notice the four relief carvings symbolizing the occupant's trade. But the most important landmark is the Church of the Assumption, one of the most beautiful in Lvov. After two previous churches had burned down, the present one was built in 1590–1629. In the courtyard there is a bell tower 226 feet high, dated 1572–78, with a bell called Cyril, cast locally in 1783 and weighing almost five tons. The outside walls of the church are decorated with a sculptured frieze depicting Biblical scenes; the interior contains 18th-century sculptures and 17th- and 18th-century icons. Russian Orthodox services are held here regularly.

Rinok Square

Rinok (Market) Square is like an architectural sampler of the centuries, so we will describe it in some detail. The old City Hall (now the City Soviet) stands in the center, and almost all the buildings around the edges of the square are worth close inspection. Of the 44 houses none is less than 200 years old.

No. 2 is a Gothic one-storied house dating from the 16th century, with a sculpture by Bellon and dolphin-reliefs on its façade. In 1627 this was the home of the first Lvov post office. No. 4, built in 1577 and known as the Black House (Chornaya Kamonica), houses a section of the Historical Museum. (The museum occupies several buildings, including also Nos. 6 and 24 in Market Square.)

No. 6 has also had a varied past. It is called the Korniakt or Sobieski house; it was built at the end of the 16th century by one of Lvov's richest burghers, a Greek merchant, who had special permission to erect a broad facade with six windows instead of the usual narrow frontage. In the 17th century the Polish King Jan Sobieski bought the house. No. 8 was built at the end of the 18th century in Classicist style but its front, stylistically a survival from the 16th century, was later decorated with balconies, wrought-iron railings and reliefs symbolizing shipping and trade.

No. 12 has also acquired Renaissance features during its long life; the ornamentation shows the plump-cheeked faces and bold moustaches of contemporary Polish figures. The portals of No. 14 display a winged lion, the symbol of Venice, denoting that this was once a diplomatic dwelling; Antonio di Massari, the Venetian consul, lived here in 1600.

No. 17, built in Louis Quinze style, is noteworthy for its elegance and air of serene luxury. No. 18 dates from 1523 and was one of the most richly-decorated mansions of its age. Under the balcony of No. 19 there are fantastic, half-human, half-animal masks.

No. 23 is massive, almost oppressive in its effect. The details, and decorative elements, the splendid masks, the stylized lions' and angels' heads belong to the traditions of the Italian Renaissance but their excessive use and the heaviness of the whole ornamentation betrays German and Flemish influences.

No. 24 is the third section of the Historical Museum; it dates from the 16th century but its front was rebuilt in the 20th. In 1707 Peter the Great received a deputation of the Stavronigy Brotherhood here and granted them a charter to sell their books freely in the Ukraine.

No. 28 is a real architectural anthology: its left side still displays the Gothic arches and flying buttresses of 1510, its Renaissance portico and window frames are 17th century, while its second story dates from the Baroque period. Built by an anonymous architect, it has a particular gracefulness and charm.

No. 29, in Classicist style, was built by peasant rebels captured at the end of the 18th century; as soon as it was finished, they were executed.

Almost the entire northern side of Rinok Square dates from the second half of the 18th century, but some buildings have earlier elements. The decorations are especially interesting, ranging from a laurel-wreathed, bearded head with a lion's body, to the hermit figures supporting the balcony of No. 40, and the grinning stone face with a huge mustache on the façade of No. 41.

Elsewhere in Lvov

Leaving Rinok Square at one of the northern corners, you come next to Armyanskaya (Armenian) Street, which is also filled with historical associations. Its most interesting building is the Armenian Cathedral, founded in 1363, with a bell tower dating from 1571. It includes the house where the Armenian Archbishop lived in the 16th century. A 16th-century column topped by a statue of St. Christopher stands in the courtyard. There are many other interesting buildings in the street, especially No. 23, dating from the 18th century, with a Classical façade bearing the signs of the zodiac and the symbols of the four seasons.

From Armyanskaya Street, turn into Krakovskaya, which crosses it behind the Armenian Cathedral. On your right is Daniel Galitsky Street, named after the founder of Kiev. On the square named after the 300th anniversary of the Russian-Ukrainian union stands the Church of the Virgin of the Snows, once the oldest Catholic church in Lvov. It dates from the end of the 13th century.

Reaching Bogdan Khmelnitsky Street, you will notice the Church of St. Nicholas, constructed between the 13th and 18th centuries. Russian Orthodox services are now held here. At No. 63 in the same street, there is another Orthodox church, the Pyatnitskaya, built in 1645, with a very old iconostasis. No. 34 is the St. Onufri Monastery, with a 17th-century church in which Orthodox services are still held; the bell tower and walls are 17th to 19th century. Ivan Fyodorov, the first Russian printer, is buried here. He died in 1583, having produced his first book in 1563 in Moscow, shortly after which he fled from persecution to continue his work in Lithuania and Poland.

This quarter is called Podzamese (Precincts of the Castle); on Bogdan Khmelnitsky Street there is a railway station of the same name. To get to the castle, turn to the right, uphill.

Zamkovaya Gora (Castle Hill) is the name of the former Prince's Hill where a fortress was built in the second half of the 13th century. Only parts of the southwestern walls remain today. The fortress survived many sieges and occupations; in 1957 Lvov's television mast was erected here in the middle of a park and a playground.

If you have any more time and energy for exploration, you may like to walk down Lenin Prospekt, the most important thoroughfare in Lvov. At No. 15 you can visit the Ethnographical and Handicraft Museum, which has an extremely rich folklore collection. No. 20 the Lenin Museum. At the end of the boulevard, you come to the Lenin statue by Merkurov (1952). Behind it stands the large and impressive Opera House, built between 1897 and 1900.

Another place well worth visiting is the Heroes' Cemetery in Lenin Park (No. 2 tram). Not far from Rinok Square, going eastwards, there is a fine Baroque building, the Church of the Dominican Monastery (1748). Nearby stands the former Royal Arsenal (1630), now used to house the Historical Archives (13 Podvalny Street), and the City Arsenal (5 Podvalny Street) which was built in 1554–56. Another medieval monument is the Gunpowder Tower, opposite the Archives, built in 1554, with walls nine feet thick, now the headquarters of the Architects' Union. All these sights can be reached by trams Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9 or 12.

To the south, on Vechevaya Square, stands the former Benedictine Convent, looking rather like a fortress, and its church, which was built between

1600 and 1630 in Renaissance style by Paolo Romano and Ambrogio. It contains valuable 17th and 18th century artworks.

Greek Catholics also built a cathedral in Lvov, sited on a hill in the southwestern part of the city: the St. George Church, designed in 1743–60 by Bernardo Meretini; it is a rich storehouse of Ukrainian Baroque, with a splendid equestrian statue of St. George on its roof. Its bell tower contains one of the oldest bells in the Ukraine, cast in 1341.

The Museum of Ukrainian Art, with its fine collection of 14th–18th-century icons, is housed at 42 Dragomanov Street, while the Ivan Franko Museum in Franko Street is in the house where the poet spent the last 14 years of his life.

An interesting open-air Museum of Wooden Architecture has been set up in a park in a Lvov suburb (open 11–7, closed Mondays; ask Intourist for directions).

Kharkov

A regional capital with a population of almost one-and-a-half million, Kharkov is an economic and cultural center accessible by rail, road and air. It is characterized by a preponderance of monumental buildings erected in the last few decades, but it has also several important historical and artistic monuments.

The Lopan River cuts through the city from north to south; near the upper city the little Kharkov River runs into it from the east. The Intourist Hotel is at the beginning of Sverdlov Street. Turning left out of the hotel you soon reach the traffic and architectural heart of the city, the huge Dzerzhinsky Square. Part of it is a regular square, opening on to Sumskaya Street, which leads towards Moscow in a northeasterly direction, while the remainder is a circle from which Lenin Prospekt opens.

Among the huge buildings in the square, the Palace of State Industry catches the eye. Built between 1925 and 1928, it was the first skyscraper in the Soviet Union. The building of the Gorky University, dating from the 30s, was almost totally wrecked during the war but was rebuilt with new ceramic decorations. The Party Headquarters stands at the corner of the square and Sumskaya Street. The seven-storied Hotel Kharkov is on the corner of Dzerzhinsky Square and Trinkler Street.

To the northeast of the main square lies another of Kharkov's main squares, the Tevelev, which was designed in the 1890s by the architect Beketov. The City Hall (now the City Soviet) was erected in 1885 on the corner of what is now Moskovsky Prospekt. Here too is the Tsentralny Restaurant, and several shops.

Kharkov's historical buildings are best approached from Tevelev Square. The fortress that formed the nucleus of the city once stood in the triangle formed by this square, Rosa Luxemburg Square and Proletarian Square. Of its 12 cannon, two can still be seen in the courtyard of the Historical Museum. The Pokrovsky Cathedral on the bank of the Lopan River was built in 1689. The Uspensky Cathedral (1777) on Universitetskaya Gorka has also survived. Situated on top of a hill, it can be seen from every part of the city, by virtue of its prominent bell tower (1841), which commemorates the 1812 victory over Napoleon and has a fine carillon.

Kharkov University was established in the 19th century on the former castle hill. It is now surrounded by a park. The Historical Museum illustrating Kharkov's story is at 10 University Street and is served by trolley-

buses Nos. 1, 2 and 4. Kharkov's other great museum is the Fine Arts Museum at 11 Sovnarkomovskaya Street; tram Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, 20 and A will take you there, as will the trolley-buses 1, 2 and 4. It has 19 halls devoted to Russian and Ukrainian pre-revolutionary art, icons of the Novgorod, Pskov and other schools of the 16th century. There is a good collection of paintings by Repin, who was born at nearby Chuguyev, and Soviet artists are well represented.

Poltava

Lying 129 km. (80 miles) to the southwest of Kharkov, this is the administrative center of the Poltava Region of the Ukraine. The city is of ancient origins; its first mention dates back to the late 12th century.

In 1709 Russian troops, led by Peter I and aided by Ukrainian Cossack detachments, routed the invading army of Charles XII of Sweden near the city. The 17th-century Holy Cross Monastery and the Savior Church still stand, and there are some fine examples of 19th-century public building, notably the administrative offices encircling Round Square.

Poltava has an interesting Museum of Local Lore. The largely rebuilt city has several fine parks, theaters and a philharmonic society.

Vinnitsa

Vinnitsa, 241 km. (150 miles) south of Kiev, is the administrative and cultural center of the region of the same name. It lies in an area famous for folk handicrafts: pottery, embroidery, weaving and carpet-making. Beneath Mayakovsky Street are the ruins of a fortress 600 years old. The origins of Vinnitsa, however, go back much earlier—archeological excavations have proved that Slav tribes inhabited the area in very ancient times. During the war of 1648–54, Cossack troops routed Polish royal forces near Vinnitsa. A commemorative obelisk has been erected on the site of the battle.

Although Vinnitsa, like many cities in the Ukraine, suffered terribly during World War II, some remnants of early 17th-century architecture remain. The city is the birthplace of Ukrainian writer M. Kotsiubinsky, (1864–1913), and the house where he was born and lived is now a museum. Modern Vinnitsa has a Museum of Local Lore, a musical drama theater, and a philharmonic society.

Down the Dnieper from Kiev to the Black Sea

The great Dnieper River flows through three Soviet republics—the Russian, the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian—and is the third largest river in Europe (after the Volga and the Danube). Rising to the north of Smolensk, in the Valday Hills, it runs past Smolensk, then continues southwest till it reaches White Russia. Here it flows through the town of Mogilyov; its first great tributary is the Berezina. Later it is swollen by the waters of the Sozh and the Pripyat (Pripet), the latter gathering the waters of the huge Pripet marshes. After that for some 885 km. (550 miles), more than half its length, it traverses Ukrainian territory. This is its widest section and it flows through such important cities as Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye; its waters are exploited to the full for hydroelectricity with immense dams and power plants.

Many tragic and triumphant episodes in Ukrainian history have been connected with this river; Ukrainian poets, painters and composers have devoted innumerable works to its moods and landscapes; not surprisingly, it has become a national symbol.

There are ample facilities for excursions along the huge river and its tributaries. Cruises from Kiev northwards are unlikely to run for some time in the wake of the 1986 disaster at Chernobyl nuclear power station, about 95 km. (60 miles) north of Kiev. The most popular, most interesting cruise covers the 965 km. (600 miles) from the Ukrainian capital to the mouth of the river, to the city of Kherson on the Black Sea. Comfortable fast or slow passenger steamers ply regularly to Kherson; at major points en route there is time for short excursions. Even the express steamers stop for two hours in Dnepropetrovsk and an hour in Zaporozhye, about two-thirds of the way to Kherson.

Leaving Kiev, a boat first starts upstream, then swings south. On the right bank, huge public buildings rise above the parkland, and then you glimpse the domes of the ancient Monastery of the Caves. You pass under the Navodnitsky and Paton bridges—to the left lies the district of Darnitsa—and finally under the railroad bridge, the last landmark of Kiev.

The villages of Osokorki on the left and Korchevatoye on the right are still part of Greater Kiev, but Visenka, on the left, and the vacation settlement of Plyuyi on the right are outside its boundaries. The hills on the right bank begin to rise more steeply. The village of Tripolye takes its name from archeological finds discovered there dating from the Bronze Age to the so-called Tripolye culture of the fourth-to-second millennium B.C.

After Stayki and Kalnoye, you come to the first stop—Rzhishchev. This is the town where in 1654 the envoys of the Czar negotiated the union of Russia and the Ukraine with the Cossack *hetman* (commander), Bogdan Khmelnitsky.

Khodorov, on the right bank, is a small town, founded in 1506; Trakhtimorovo is dominated by the cone-shaped Mount Baturin which rises opposite the harbor of Peryaslav-Khmelnitsky, some eight miles from the river; it was here that on January 8, 1654, the union was approved by a council assembly of Ukrainian nobles.

Grigorovka (another stop) is on the right bank. It was here that, in the autumn of 1943, the Russian troops crossed the Dnieper, in a bitterly contested battle. On the right you will see Kanev, about one mile from the river. This is the home town of the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko; he is buried here and there is a large museum devoted to his life and work.

Prohorovka follows on the left bank; a former mansion where both Shevchenko and Gogol were visitors is now the holiday rest home of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Some 10 km. (six miles) beyond Prohorovka, the river widens into what looks almost like a sea—it is the reservoir of Kremenchug. At the far end is a huge hydroelectric plant. The ship stops on the right, at the mouth of the Olshanka River.

Cherkassy, one of the greenest cities in the Ukraine, is a major administrative and cultural center. Highways and railway lines converge here and there is an airport. The Museum of Local History displays the development of the city since the 16th century, through the Cossack-Tatar wars and later vicissitudes. Since the great reservoir was completed, Cherkassy has become an important river port as well.

Kremenchug is a district capital and a railway junction. Its fortress was built in 1590 against the Tatar marauders and peasant rebels.

The next stop is Misurino, one of the Ukraine's agricultural centers. On the left bank is the port of Perevolochno, where the remnants of the defeated Swedish army tried to cross the Dnieper after the Battle of Poltava (which Peter the Great won). Only King Charles XII and his ally, the Cossack hetman Mazeppa succeeded.

Now the Dnieper reaches the environs of Dneprodzerzhinsk, and traffic on the river becomes much heavier. Dneprodzerzhinsk is a center of the iron and steel industry. It has an interesting Museum of Local History.

Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye and Kherson

Dnepropetrovsk is the next main stop. A regional capital and major railroad junction, it has a large mechanized harbor and an airport. Founded in 1784 by Catherine II and originally called Yekaterinoslav, it has been an industrial town almost since that time. In 1990 Dnepropetrovsk was added to Intourist's list of cities open to foreign visitors; it was formerly only open to tourists on Dnieper cruises.

Its main thoroughfare is the Karl Marx Prospekt, lined with a double row of shady trees. The Shevchenko Park, the favorite recreation area of the city, is on a hill where you can see the poet's statue and the so-called Student Palace, built on the ruins of the former Potemkin Palace (1787–89). The Preobrazhensky Cathedral (1830–35), designed by Zakharov, is also here.

After Dnepropetrovsk, the ship enters Lenin Lake, which covers what used to be dangerous rapids and whirlpools. On the left bank is the Lenin Harbor, close to the great dam of Dneproges, one of the largest hydroelectric installations in the world.

Zaporozhye, a city with a large mechanized port, is the next stop. This, too, is a largely industrial community, built on the site of the former Fort Alexandrovsk. Since 1927 its population has increased tenfold. The Dnieper Power Plant was built next to Khortitsa Island, where the famous Zaporozhskaya Sech, a self-governing Cossack Community, was established in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

In Zaporozhye itself, the main street is the Lenin Prospekt, linking the old and new quarters of the city. There are few historical buildings, but many modern apartment blocks and offices, large parks and gardens.

After Zaporozhye the left bank of the river opens out into a plain crossed by many small streams and dotted with copses and woods. Belenka has a large camping ground for Pioneers (rather like Boy Scouts). After this, the river enters one more huge reservoir, the Kakhovka Sea. The next stop is Kamenka, on the left bank, the center of a large irrigation area. Crossing the reservoir you come to Nikopol on the right bank. Nikopol, a district center, has a Museum of Local History: a settlement on the site was first mentioned in 1530. Between 1638 and 1652 it was the capital of the Zaporozhskaya Sech.

Kherson is your final stop on the Dnieper. Founded as a fortress in 1778, it is both a river and sea port. From here you can visit the new town of Novaya Kakhovka and see the hydraulic power plant, or make an excursion to the steppe preserve at Askania Nova, with its ostriches, bisons, antelopes and wild horses. This is where you leave the Dnieper. From here you can take a hydrofoil to Odessa, which is only two hours' ride.

Transcarpathia

The Transcarpathian Region (Zakarpatskaya Oblast) is part of the Ukraine and was established on January 22, 1945 as an administrative unit. It extends from the basin of the Tisza River to the ridge of the Carpathians; it is surrounded by Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk regions of the Ukrainian Republic. Until 1914 it was a part of Hungary, between 1918 and 1939 of Czechoslovakia. When Hitler carved up the Czechoslovak state, Transcarpathia passed partly to Ruthenian and partly to Hungarian rule. It was occupied by the Soviet Army in the autumn of 1944. Its population is just over a million, and includes Ukrainians, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians and Slovaks. Its capital is Uzhgorod.

The region can be explored by following the valleys of the various rivers from the Tisza basin to the Watershed Range mountains and springs with their many cataracts and falls. The highest peaks do not rise abruptly but unfold slowly as you gradually climb out of the plain. Your tour will take you through a wonderful region of hills, ravines, steep cliffs, wide valleys, and, in the upper parts, mountain lakes.

After the Caucasus, the Black Sea and the Crimea, Transcarpathia is one of the most popular holiday areas in the Soviet Union. Much of it can be reached by car, but in the mountains the best way is to hike or use whatever local transport is available.

Uzhgorod

Uzhgorod is the largest town in Transcarpathia. It is an important rail and road junction and the best base for exploring the region. Situated on either side of the River Uzh, in the midst of a wine-growing region, Uzhgorod is mentioned in chronicles as early as in the eighth century.

Teatralnaya Square with the Intourist (Verkhovina) Hotel and the opera and drama theater is about halfway between Lenin Square and the castle. Nearby is the Philharmonia Concert Hall, a former synagogue. The square also has an Art Gallery where you can buy souvenirs and gifts made by local artists.

Behind the theater is the river Uzh embankment and a foot-bridge. Turn right here towards Lenin Quay. At the next bridge, turn right into Lenin Square. On either side of the huge City Hall there are other public buildings; on the eastern side the Trade Union house, on the corner of Lenin Quay the medical faculty of the University.

Turning back along Kalinin Street, you pass the Central Post Office overlooking Pochtovaya Square, then reach Koryatovich Square, with its colorful local market. Suvorov Street will take you back to Teatralnaya Square and the Verkhovina Hotel.

You can make another excursion in the opposite direction to climb Castle Hill. The castle dates from the ninth century; Slav Prince Laborets lived here until his murder in 903 by invading Hungarians. In 1312 Uzhgorod was presented by the Hungarian Anjou King Charles Robert to an Italian nobleman, whose family held it until 1692, when it passed to a Hungarian count. After that, it changed hands several times in the course of religious and national wars.

The castle as it stands today has a 16th-century facade; it was reconstructed in 1598 and in 1775 was given to the local bishop, after which

it housed a seminary until 1945. A statue of the mythological Hungarian *Turul* bird stands in the garden. The Museum of Local History is at 27 Kremlyovskaya Street, inside the castle.

The slope between the castle and the river is the Gorky Park, with a swimming pool. Turning towards the river bank and walking towards the city center you pass the Botanical Garden and the Pioneer (Children's) Railway, then reach the theater and your hotel.

For your third walk, you might like to climb up the Hill of Glory. Turning into Kladbishchenskaya Street at the corner of Koryatovich Square, near the Hotel Kiev, follow a road that climbs the hill. After passing under a monumental arch, you enter the Cemetery of Heroes, where victims of the last war lie.

There are many long and short excursions and hikes you can take starting from Uzhgorod. The local Intourist office will provide guides, maps and information.

Mukachevo, Khust and Rakhov

Mukachevo is a lively town and is another good base for excursions. Standing on the river Latoritsa, it was first mentioned in history in A.D. 903 when the Hungarians arrived as invaders. After 1919 it became part of Czechoslovakia; it returned to Hungary in 1938, but joined the Soviet Union in 1946.

The most interesting sight is Palanok Castle, on the top of a hill just south of the city. Dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, this 200-foot-high building has served as a prison since 1782. A wooden Russian Orthodox Church stands in Bogomoltsa Street. This was brought from a nearby village in 1927 as an example of early architecture (1777).

Khust (Huszt) is a district center and a busy road junction. The mountain rising above the town is topped by the ruins of a 16th-century castle built to protect the nearby salt mines. The castle was destroyed in 1766 when a bolt of lightning caused gunpowder stored in a tower to explode. The town's Gothic church dates from 1459.

Tyachev is another district center lying on the Tisza River (Theiss) near the frontier with Romania. The road here follows the river through Solotniva, the site of a large salt mine and some interesting caves.

Rakhov is at the heart of the Hutsul region. The Hutsuls are a Slav tribe of great antiquity and colorful folk customs. Rakhov is an industrial and tourist center. The highway and railway lines lead from here along upper reaches of the Tisza towards its source. On the right is Kvasi, a spa known for its mineral waters. Yasina is 549 meters (1,800 feet) up (in a broad valley) on the bank of the Black Tisza. It has a 200-bed hotel, open in the tourist season, and Hutsul folk art (woodcarvings, embroidery) is on sale here. After this rather large village comes the Yablonitsky Pass (822 meters, 2,700 feet), from where the road continues towards Delatin and Kolomiya.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR THE UKRAINE

WHEN TO GO. As we have indicated, the climate of the Ukraine (except for the mountainous Carpathian region) is much milder than that of Russia. The spring

starts earlier and the autumn lasts longer, so April and October are pleasant months for a visit. However, most of the Dnieper river cruises run in the summer months only. There are winter sports facilities in the Carpathians.

GETTING THERE. By train. From the West via Czechoslovakia or Hungary to Uzhgorod and then to Kiev and points east and south. From Moscow and Leningrad to Kiev. From the southwest via Romania. Trains from Eastern Europe to the Ukraine are always full so reservations are advisable, indeed vital if you want sleeping-car accommodation.

By air. Regular connections from Moscow and Leningrad to Kiev.

By car. No. 3 tourist route begins at the Czechoslovak-Soviet frontier and continues via Uzhgorod, Mukachevo to Strij, Rovno, Zhitomir and Kiev. Route No. 7 takes you from Kiev to Kharkov and No. 8 from Moscow directly south to the Black Sea. No. 6 route runs from Kiev to Odessa. (These are the authorized routes for tourists; Intourist will have up-to-date news about changes.)

By boat. Regular sailing to Kiev via Kanev, Cherkassy, Zaporozhye from Kherson and Odessa. Intourist cruises include air travel from London to Kiev and back via Moscow (15 days). Several of these cruises were cancelled in 1990 because the boats were being used as hotels in Moscow. It's best to check with Intourist in advance for the latest details.

TOURS. Intourist organizes tours to Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, and Uzhgorod with various stopovers, either as separate excursions or as part of general tours. It also offers a special river cruise down the Dnieper.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS. A note on Ukrainian food: Ukrainian specialties include soups like *borshch* (beet base) and cutlets of meat fried in egg and breadcrumbs. Chicken Kiev was born here—the white meat of fat hens or capons stuffed with garlic and butter. *Kolbasa,* a long, thick, circular sausage, is always a reliable choice, and ask for *vareniki,* small dumplings filled with sugared sour cream. Ukrainian dishes make lavish but skillful use of garlic, pepper, and vinegar. The wines of Livadia and Massandra are perfectly drinkable, and you may come across a sparkling wine somewhat misleadingly called champagne. Experts also recommend *medivnyk* (spiced honey cake) and *kartoflia solimkoi* (deep-fried matchstick potatoes).

Chernovtsy (formerly Cernauti when part of Romania). *Bukovina,* 141 Lenin Street (tel. 3–8274), five-story, is best, followed by any of following: *Kiev,* 46 Lenin Street; *Radÿanska,* 34 Universitetskaya Street; *Dniester,* Kobylianskaya Street; *Verkhovina,* 7 Central Square. *Motel:* two miles east of city.

Campsite at 3 Novoselitskaya Street; 3 small hotels, restaurant, bathing beach.

Restaurants. Aside from hotels, try *Teatralny,* Kotlyarevskaya Street; *Zatyshok,* 6 Zelyonaya Street.

Kharkov. *Intourist,* 21 Prospekt Lenina (tel. 32–0508), moderate. *Mir,* 27a Prospekt Lenina (tel. 30–5543). *Kharkov,* 2 Trinkler Street. *Motel Druzhba,* 185 Gagarin Prospekt (tel. 52–2091).

Campsite *Lesnaya* at Vysoky Village (tel. 22–5200).

Restaurants. *Tsentralny,* Tevelev Square, and *Teatralnaya* at 2 Sumskaya Street, share top billing. Then either of these: *Lux,* Rosa Luxembourg Street or *Vareniki Café,* 14 Sumskaya Street, specializing in the Ukrainian national dish, a small dumpling with various fillings.

Kiev. *Rus,* 21 Kuibyshev Street (tel. 20–4255/4266). 22-story, 477 rooms. Fairly new. *Lybed,* Victory Square (tel. 74–0063). Reported good, with fair service, in 1990. *Intourist,* 26 Lenin Street. Officially classed as deluxe but we call it first-class. Only 43 rooms at last look.

Of equal rank are: *Dnieper,* Lenkomsomol Square (tel. 91–6569/4829). 200 rooms, very good restaurant (closed Mon.), moderate facilities. *Moskva,* 4 October

Revolution Street. Skyscraper, 370 rooms; adequate. *Slavutich,* 1 Entuziastov Street. *Ukraine,* 5 Shevchenko Boulevard. 319 rooms, relatively modern; moderate restaurant.

Also rans. *Desna,* 46 Milyutinko Street. *Leningradskaya,* 4 Shevchenko Boulevard. *Kiev,* 26/1 Kirov Street. Probably the best hotel restaurant, *Pervomaiskaya,* 1/3 Lenin Street. *Teatralnaya,* 17 Lenin Street.

Camping. At Darnitsa on the far bank of the Dnieper. Follow the arrows carefully from the roundabout on the Kharkov road and you will find it on Chernigov Chaussée. The site has a café, a self-service kitchen, showers and laundry facilities.

Restaurants. Quite a good selection in addition to hotels. *Kiev,* 35 St. Vladimirskaya Street; *Abkhaziya,* 42 Kreshchatik; *Metro,* 19 Kreshchatik; *Record,* 5 Suvorovskaya Street; *Dynamo,* 3 Kirov Street (at the Stadium) reported very good in 1990. *Sport,* 22 Chervonoarmiiska Street; and *Stolichny,* 5 Kreshchatik, next door to the Hotel Dnieper (tel. 229–8180).

Maxim's, 21 Lenin Street (tel. 224–1272), is Kiev's first co-operative restaurant. Dishes are cooked to order.

Also: *Leipzig,* German specialties (what else?), 30 Volodimirska Street; and *Ostrokvo,* at the Economic Achievements Exhibition.

There are several restaurants which open only in summer and are mostly in the open air: *Poplavok,* Naberezhnoye Chaussée; *Priboy,* on the Rechnoi Vokzal wharf; *Chervoni Mak,* 8 Kreshchatik; *Riviera,* Parkovyi Pereulok; *Automat,* 30 Sverdlov Street; *Kukushka,* near the open air theater (bring your own alcohol); and *Snezhinka,* on Kreshchatik, near Tolstoy Square.

Not far from *Kukushka* is the *Kureni,* where you can get private cabins. Food is excellent, and there's open-air dancing to a good band. There are few tourists; the waiters speak only Russian or Ukrainian. Cover charge 8 roubles includes *zakuski* (starters), and a hot dish, but you have to bring your own wine and spirits. Not bad!

On an island in the river (metro station "Gidropark") is the *Mlyn (Watermill) Restaurant.* Turn right out of the station, follow signs for Mlyn about 200 yards through a park. In a converted riverside mill, excellent Ukrainian food. Try *Melnik* Salad first, then *bitki* (meatballs served in a pot). A good local wine is *Perlina Stepu* ("Pearl of the Steppe"). Recommended. Summer only.

Lvov. *Lvov,* 3700th-Anniversary-of-Lvov Street (tel. 79–2270). With 226 rooms, it's best of the older hotels and first class (faded). *Intourist,* 1 Mickiewicz Square (tel. 72–6751, 72–5952). Best of newer (relative). First class, moderate, with 98 rooms. Third choice is the *Dnieper,* 45 Pervomaiskaya Square, adequate.

Also-rans. *Ukraina,* 4 Mickiewicz Square. *Narodnaya,* 1 Kosciusko Street. *Kolkhoznaya,* 14 Vossoyedineniye Square.

Restaurants. Best three are—*Moskva,* 7 Mickiewicz Square. *Leto,* 17 Gorky Street. *Pervomaisky,* 17 Lenin Prospekt.

Poltava. Try the *Kiev,* 2 Leningradskaya Street, or the *Poltava,* 19 Oktyabrskaya Street. *Motel Poltava,* 2 Sovnarkomovskaya Street (tel. 3–0024, 3–5747). Intourist.

Restaurants. Either of these two: *Poltava,* 16 Lenin Street or *Vorskla,* on main road out of town towards Kiev.

Uzhgorod. Best is *Kiev,* 1 Koryatovich Street, which boasts an open-air terrace in summer. Then *Verkhovina,* 5 Teatralnaya Square and *Uzhgorod,* 2 Khmelnitsky Square (tel. 350–65). *Zakarpatye,* (tel. 363–70). First-class with 309 rooms.

Restaurants. In hotels, or *Konditerskaya Café* on Sholokhov Street is a good bet.

Vinnitsa. *Ukraina,* with an Intourist office, on Lenin Street, is first choice. Second choice, *Vinnitsa,* on same street. *Yuzhniy Bug,* Gagarin Square. *Oktyabrskaya,* Yury Gagarin Square.

Restaurants. In the hotels.

Zaporozhye. Best is *Dnepro,* 202 Lenin Prospekt, with Intourist Office. Then *Teatralnaya,* 23 Chekista Street. *Zaporozhye,* 135 Lenin Prospekt (tel. 33–3184), is also an Intourist establishment.

PLACES OF INTEREST. Kharkov. *Historical Museum,* 10 Universitetskaya Street (with another building). Open 10–6, Closed Tues.

Fine Arts Museum, 11 Sovnarkomvskaya Street. Open 11–7, closed Fri.

Kiev. *Historical Museum in the Monastery of the Caves.* Open 9.30–8, closed Tues. *Ukrainian Theater Museum,* in the Monastery. Open 10.30–5, closed Mon. *Museum of Oriental and Western Art,* 15 Repin Street, open 10–5. Closed Fri.

Historical Museum, 2 Vladimirskaya Street, open 10–6, closed Wed.

Museum of Russian Art, 9 Repin Street. Open 10–6, closed Fri. *Museum of Ukrainian Art,* 6 Kirov Street, open 10–5, closed Fri.

Museum of Historical Jewelry. Archeological treasures. In Monastery of the Caves.

Shevchenko Museum, 12 Shevchenko Boulevard, open 10–5, closed Tues. Also: *Shevchenko's House,* 8a Shevchenko Pereulok, open 1–5.30, closed Fri. The great Ukrainian poet lived here for some months in 1846.

Lenin Museum, Lenkomsomol Square, opposite Hotel Dniepr. Open 10–7, closed Mon.

Planetarium, 17 Chelyuskintsev Street. *Ukrainian Economic Exhibition,* Sorokichya Zhovtnya Prospekt.

Folk Architecture Museum, near **Pirogovka** village in the suburbs; ask Intourist for details.

Babi Yar (site of massacre of Jews). Demian Korochenko Street, trolleybus 16 from center.

Park of Eternal Glory, commemorates soldiers who died in Second World War. Trolleybus 20.

Lvov. *Historical Museum,* 4/6 Rynok. Open 11–7, closed Wed. and Sun.

Museum of Ukrainian Art, 42 Dragomanov Street. Open 12–7, closed Mon.

Art Gallery, 3 Stefanik Street. Open 12–7, closed Mon. Large collection includes works by Goya, Rubens, Tintoretto, Titian and many Russian masters.

Lenin Museum, 20 Lenin Prospekt. Open 10–7, closed Mon.

Ethnographical and Handicrafts Museum, 15 Lenin Prospekt. Open 11–6, closed Mon.

Museum of Natural History, 18 Teatralnaya Street. Open 11–5, closed Mon.

Ivan Franko Museum, 152 Franko Street. Open 10–7, closed Tues. Devoted to the life and works of the famous Ukrainian writer.

Yaroslav Galan Museum, 18 Gvardeiskaya Street. Open 12–5, closed Wed, Fri. and Sat. Galan, a publicist and political writer, was murdered in 1949.

Botanical Garden, Shcherbakov Street.

Museum of Wooden Architecture, in a suburb. Ask Intourist for directions.

Mukachevo. *Palanok Castle; Convent; Wooden Orthodox Church,* Bogomoltsa Street.

Uzhgorod. *Local History Museum,* 27 Kremlyovskaya Street, inside the castle. Open 11–7, closed Wed. Sections on natural history and local handicrafts.

There is also an *Art Gallery* inside the castle, open 11–7, closed Mon. Russian and Ukrainian artists.

THEATERS AND CONCERTS. Kharkov. *Lysenko Opera House,* 19 Rymarskaya Street. *Musical Comedy Theater,* 28 Karl Marx Street. *Krupskaya Puppet Theater,* 3 Krasin Street. *Pushkin Russian Drama Theater,* 11 Chernyshevsky Street. *Shevchenko Ukrainian Drama Theater,* 9 Sumskaya Street. *Regional Drama Theater,* 18 Sverdlov Street.

Circus, 17 Krasnogo Militsionera Street.

Philharmonia Concert Hall, 10 Sumskaya Street. *Ukraina Concert Hall,* in the Shevchenko Garden.

Kiev. *Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theater,* 50 Vladimirskaya Street. *Ivan Franko Ukrainian Drama Theater,* 2 Franko Square. *Lesya Ukrainka Russian Drama Theater,* 5 Lenin Street. *Musical Comedy Theater,* 51a Chervonoarmiiska Street. *Puppet Theater,* 13 Rustaveli Street.

Philharmonia Concert Hall, 16 Kirov Street (the former Merchants Hall). *Zhovtnevy (October) Palace of Culture. Circus,* Victory Square. *Cinerama,* 19 Rustaveli Street.

Lvov. *Franko Opera and Ballet Theater,* Torgovaya Square. *Zamkovetskaya Ukrainian Drama Theater,* 1 Ukrainskaya Street. *Russian Drama Theater,* 6 Gorodetskaya Street. *Gorky Youth Theater,* 11 Gorky Street. *Puppet Theater,* Galitsky Street. *Summer Theater,* Khmelnitsky Park, 43 Dzerzhinsky Street.

Concert Hall, 25 Franko Street; the famous Lvov *Trembita* choir performs here.

Mukachevo. *Russian Drama Theater,* Mir Street.

Uzhgorod. *Ukrainian Drama Theater,* Teatralnaya Square. *Philharmonia Concert Hall,* Teatralnaya Square; the home of the Transcarpathian Folk Choir.

SHOPPING. One of the best buys in the Ukraine is the ceramic ware.

Kharkov. *Department Store.* Rosa Luxemburg Street. *Antique and Second-Hand Shops:* 29 Engels Street and 4 Sverdlov Street. *Jewelers:* 16 Trelov Street and 3 Sumskaya Street.

Kiev. Main shopping area is Kreshchatik Street. *Main Department Store,* 2 Lenin Street, at the corner of Kreshchatik. *Podarki* (Gift Shop), 9 Karl Marx Street and at the corner of Kreshchatik and Shevchenko Boulevard. *Perlina Jewelers:* 19 and 53 Kreshchatik. *Porcelain:* 34 Kreshchatik. *Ukrainian Handicrafts: Souvenir* shop on Leo Tolstoy Square. *Dom Knigi* (Bookshop): 30 Kreshchatik. *Bessarabka* (Covered Market), Shevchenko Boulevard.

Kashtan shops are the Ukrainian equivalent of *Beryozkas*—gift shops for tourists. In Kiev they are located at: 27/26 Boulevard Lesya Ukrainka, Monastery of the Caves, Borispol Airport, Prolisok campsite/motel, Hotel Lybed and Hotel Dnieper.

Lvov. *Antique and Second-Hand Shops:* 3 Shevchenko Prospekt (near Intourist Hotel) and 11 Volovaya Street. *Jewelers:* Mickiewicz Square and 29 Lenin Prospekt. *Gift Shop:* 1 Kopernik Street. *Arts and Crafts:* Mickiewicz Square (near Intourist Hotel). *Kashtan Foreign Currency Shop:* 3 Rudenskova Street. *Souvenirs,* Galitskaya Street. *Kolkhoz Market:* 11 Bazaar Street.

Uzhgorod. *Souvenirs, art gallery,* Teatralnaya Square. *Gift Shop,* 10 Suvorov Street. *Jeweler's,* 8 Suvorov Street.

USEFUL ADDRESSES. Kharkov. *Intourist:* in the Intourist Hotel, 21 Leninsky Prospect (tel. 47–32–93). *Railway Stations:* Yuzhny Vokzal (South), Privokzalnaya Square. (City Ticket office, 7–9 Ufinsky Street.) Trams 1, 9, 11, 14, 17 and 19: trolley-buses 2 and 3. The other two stations are the Vokzal Levada (Sigelnikovsky Street), accessible by trams 13, 14 and 16, and the Vokzal Balashovsky (Pichanovskaya Street) by trams 5, 13, 14, 16. *Bus terminus:* 22 Gagarin Prospekt.

Airport: 13 km. (eight miles) from town. *City terminal:* 2 Rosa Luxemburg Square. Buses start from Kosturensky Street. *Information bureau:* 11 Ufinsky Street. *Central Post Office:* 7 Privokzalnaya Square. Subway system.

Kiev. *Intourist:* 26 Lenin Street (tel. 25–30–51). *Railway Station:* at the end of Komintern Street on Vokzalnaya Square. *City Ticket Office:* Shevchenko Boulevard. Trams 2, 6, 7, 10, 13, 25 and 30 serve the station. *Bus Terminus:* Avtovokzalnaya Square, served by trams 9, 10, 24 and trolley-buses 1, 11, 12.

Boat Terminal: Pochtovaya Square, in front of No. 2 Naberezhno-Kreshchatitskaya Street. Motor ship cruises on the Dneiper, 1-, 2- and 3-berth cabins. Telephone number of River Passenger Transport Agency is 36–1268 or 36–7111. Local boats serving the environs and excursion boats can be taken from the *Prigorodnaya pristan* landing-stage in front of No. 3 Naberezhnoye Road. Trams: 3, 16, 21, 28, 31 and 32.

Airport: Borispol, 18 miles from the city, tel. 26–7243. City terminal: 6 Karl Marx Street. *Zhulyani airport* (local flights), tel. 71–2460; *Central Taxi Bureau,* tel. 082.

Lvov. *Railway Station:* Privokzalnaya Square. (Ticket office: 20 Gorky Street.) Trams. 1, 6, 9 and No. 1 trolley bus. *Autobus terminus:* 5 Yaroslav Mudry Square. *Airport:* about 4 miles from the city. *City terminal:* tickets: 2–5 Pobeda Square. *Information Bureau:* 1 Mir Street. *Main Post Office:* 1 Slovatsky Street.

Spartak Swimming Pool, 49 Instrumentalnaya Street.

Uzhgorod. *Railway Station:* 9 Stantsionnaya Street. *City Ticket Office:* 46 Vossoyedineniye Square. *Bus terminus:* 11 Kirov Street.

Airport: 2 miles from the town, 145 Sovietskaya Street. *City terminal and airport buses:* Koryatovich Square.

MOLDAVIA

The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic lies in the southwestern corner of the Soviet Union, between the Prut and the Dniester rivers, on the left bank of the Dniester. The Prut forms the western boundary of Moldavia and Romania while in the north, east and southeast, Moldavia borders on the Ukraine.

Moldavia is a small republic, extending for some 320 km. (200 miles) from north to south and 160 km. (100 miles) from west to east, with a population of just over 4 million.

In pre-Christian times, the rich pastures and wooded slopes of the Carpathian mountains were inhabited by Thracian, and later, by Slav tribes. The Volokh, ancestors of the Moldavians, later left the mountains for the East Carpathian lowlands, where in 1359 they formed an independent principality. For more than 400 years there were waves of foreign invaders. In the 19th century, the territory between the Dniester and the Prut was annexed to Russia; in 1917 Soviet power was established here.

During World War II, Moldavia suffered considerably from the Nazi invasion and occupation. Today it is an industrial and agricultural republic which has undergone considerable development. Moldavian folk art, especially carpets, has become widely known; so has Moldavian music, especially the dances and songs of the Doina Choir, the Zhok Folk Dance Company, and the Fluierash Orchestra of rare folk instruments, which include the *cimpoi* (bagpipe), *fluier, nai* and *tarogato* (ancient clarinet). The orchards, vineyards and wineries produce excellent fruit and wine.

Kishinev

Kishinev, the capital of Moldavia, straddles the River Bik. Its streets and squares are a striking mixture of Western and Eastern elements. Near the banks of the Bik you can still find the Old City, with its picturesque

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
July 24, 1991 2 p.m.
LUNCH Draft One

OUTLINE FOR KIEV LUNCHEON (5 minutes)

I. INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- --glad to be in city that's home of "Mother Russia"
- --thanks to Chairman Kravchuk and Ukranian people for welcoming me through your "Golden Gate"
- --delight to visit region which is ancestral home of millions of my countrymen
- --this ancient city of Prince Vladimir; dazzling beauty of a city of faith and peace 1,000 years ago: "glistening with the light of holy icons, fragrant with incense, ringing with praise and ... songs."

II. JOKES
- --not true I've come to your country to be a contestant on "Field of Miracles -- Capital Show"
- --just came from Moscow -- McDonald's joke

III. DEMOCRATIZATION
- --1000 years ago, Vladimir brought Christianity; his perestroika, turning from war to peace and faith. Exciting to be here now, when undergoing most important and fundamental change since then
- --unequivocal US support for democratization and political pluralism
- --To give you heart, remember Tolstoy: "The strongest of all warriors are these two: Time and Patience."

IV. U.S.-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
- --FDR: "...the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace."
  - --celebrate partnership (NWO, Gulf, etc.)
- --also friendship among peoples:
  - --in aftermath of Chernobyl, Americans shared the pain and responded with generosity
- --important to us to keep that spirit of friendship

V. FUTURE
- --here after two days of work, signing treaty
- --here in this lovely, historic city, to expand ties with republic leaders -- and to restate support for Gorbachev's attempt to promote reform
- --here to remind of goals and challenges for future:
  - --US support for creation of free market economy
- --here to highlight advantage of evolving, positive US-Soviet

- fee
[illegible] [illegible] Am.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
MARY KATE GRANT
BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: UKRAINE

Kiev can be described as a city of golden domes for the many hilltop churches that dot the city. This should be plainly visible from Air Force One as the President arrives.

Kiev is known as the "mother of Russian cities," predating Moscow by 300 years. Prince Vladimir of Kiev was the first to bring Christianity to Ukraine (and Russia) by his own baptism in 988. Previously a pagan, Vladimir sent emissaries to explore all of the great religions. When they told about their inspirational visit to the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (where the President was last week), Vladimir chose the Orthodox faith. Three years ago, Kiev celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the event. There is a huge statue of Vladimir along the Dnieper River, which runs through the heart of Kiev.

The patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church returned to Kiev last winter, and the patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is now in Lvov. Both positions have been vacant since the Russian Revolution. A simple phrase to begin or end a speech is Slava Ukraini [SLAH-va OO-kra-YEE-nee], which means "Glory to Ukraine."

Another way to end a speech is with the Ukrainian Hymn: Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina [SHTEH NEH VMERR-la OO-kra-EE-na], which means "Ukraine has not died, nor has its glory or fame." This is equivalent to saying "Poland is not lost, while Poles still live," which is the first line of their national anthem.

The two national dishes are pyroha [pee-ROW-ha], a potato dumpling, and of course, borscht, which is beet soup. As in Russia, bread and salt is offered to visitors. Bread is representative of life.

Taras Shevchenko is known as the national poet of Ukraine. Strongly nationalistic, he was a proponent of freedom and admired the U.S. Reflecting on our War of Independence, he wrote:

> When will we have a Washington
> With a new and a righteous law?
> One day we shall have him.

Shevchenko also wrote: "Absorb all cultures but forget not your own."

Dedicating a statue of Shevchenko in Washington in 1964, former President Eisenhower said: "Most of you here today are of Ukrainian descent. All of us, if we go back ... find roots in some other nation.... But today we stand together as Americans, bound by our common devotion to s system of self-government, a system that makes it possible for us to be different and yet united, independent and yet interdependent, diverse and yet inseparable."

There are an estimated 1 million Ukrainian-Americans. Famous ones include: Igor Sikorsky (inventor of helicopter), Rep. Dave Bonier, Jack Palance ("City Slickers"), Roman Popaduik, Mike Ditka, Wayne Gretzky, and Kaye Lani Rae Rafko (Miss America 1988).

the USA and the USSR in social systems, ideologies, and policy principles, it is possible to develop mutually advantageous cooperation between the peoples of both countries, in the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

Both Sides expressed the desire to continue close contact on a number of issues that were under discussion. They agreed that regular consultations on questions of mutual interest, including meetings at the highest level, would be useful.

In expressing his appreciation for the hospitality accorded him in the Soviet Union, President Nixon invited General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman N. V. Podgorny, and Chairman A. N. Kosygin to visit the United States at a mutually convenient time. This invitation was accepted.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on the joint communique and the statement of basic principles (Item 177): the first, by Dr. Kissinger; the second, by Press Secretary Ziegler and Leonid M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS. Dr. Kissinger's news briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 951).

During the President's visit to Moscow Press Secretary Ziegler and Director General Zamyatin held daily news briefings on discussions between United States and Soviet officials. Transcripts of the news briefings were released as follows: one on May 22, two on May 23, and two on May 24.

On May 29, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Kissinger on discussions held during the visit. The transcript is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 956).

On May 30, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Peter G. Peterson, Secretary of Commerce, on the domestic impact of the agreements reached with the Soviet Union.

179 Toast at a Dinner in Kiev. *May* 29, 1972

Mr. Chairman of the Presidium and all of the distinguished guests here this evening:

I first express appreciation for the eloquent remarks of the Chairman and I will respond to those remarks somewhat briefly because I had the opportunity to speak at some length on television last night.

But tonight I would like to address my remarks particularly to this city and particularly to the Ukraine—a city and a republic that has meant so much to the Soviet Union and so much to the world.

We had a very difficult time selecting the cities we would visit on this trip to the Soviet Union. In consulting with Ambassador Dobrynin, he, of course, said that we must spend most of our time in Moscow for our official talks; and then, logically, it was necessary, too, and we welcomed the opportunity, to return to Leningrad, the second city of the Soviet Union.

Then we said to Ambassador Dobrynin, "What should be the third city?" And he answered, "The mother of all Russian cities, Kiev." And so we come here for the first time and we are glad that we came.

We are glad to have enjoyed this wonderful dinner, these fine wines that are the product of this very rich country. We are glad, too, to have the opportunity to know some of the people of the Ukraine—a people who are world famous for their warmth, for their strength, for their courage.

As I think of a way to describe our feelings on this occasion, I noted that in history—and this city is so full of history—in the 11th century a golden gate was erected in the Ukraine, in Kiev. So, in a way, we can say that Kiev is the City of the Golden Gate.

In America we have a city, San Francisco, that is called the City of the Golden Gate. Many of our friends who have visited America believe that San Francisco is our most beautiful city. But at the turn of the century it suffered a great tragedy, a tragedy not of war but of what is next to war—an earthquake followed by fire which virtually destroyed the city.

And the pessimists said this city would never come back. They were wrong, because they failed to recognize the spirit of the people of the City of the Golden Gate on the western coast of California.

Then we think of this city—a city with a much older golden gate. We think of the enormous tragedy that was visited upon it during the war, the destruction of buildings and, of course, even more tragic, the destruction of human life on an unprecedented scale.

I am sure that there were people then who said that the city of Kiev would never come back because of the destruction that was wrought upon it by war.

My friend on my right, who is an engineer, said there were some who said it would take 50 years to rebuild this city. But, again, the pessimists were wrong, because they did not reckon with the spirit, the strength, the courage, the determination of the people of the Ukraine and the people of Kiev.

So, not in 50 years, but in 7 years, the city was rebuilt and the Republic of the Ukraine continues to grow and to prosper.

So, for that reason, on this particular evening, which is the last occasion that we will be having dinner on Soviet soil, we think it is very appropriate that it should be here in this mother of all Russian cities, here in the Ukraine among a people who are so strong and who represent such a great spirit.

So in responding to the toast, the very eloquent toast of the Chairman, I would simply say we should drink tonight to the heroes who fought in war and the heroes who have rebuilt this city in peace and, we trust, to the new leadership to which our two countries, the Soviet Union and the United States, may contribute, by which the world may have a period in which the tragedy of war will never again be visited upon this city or any other city like it in the world.

I would ask you to raise your glasses, then, to the heroes of the Ukraine in war and in peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 p.m. in Mariinsky Palace at a dinner hosted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He spoke from a prepared text.

180 Remarks at the Shahyad Monument in Tehran, Iran. *May 30, 1972*

Your Imperial Majesties, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

Nineteen years ago, Mrs. Nixon and I were welcomed to this great city after a long trip around the world. Now we come again to Tehran, and we see the progress

KIEV ARRIVAL REMARKS

It is a delight to visit a region which is the ancestral home of millions of my countrymen. Decendants of your soil have enriched the history, culture and well-being of the United States.

I am especially excited to be here at a time when Ukraine and the Soviet Union as a whole are undergoing the most important and fundamental changes since Prince Vladimir and his people adopted Christianity on the banks of the Dnieper in 988.

We have taken satisfaction in the growth of contacts with Ukraine in recent years -- a growth symbolized by the recent opening of our Consulate General in this city.

In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, we shared the pain of those people who were hurt. American citizens and private organizations responded with concern and generosity to that sad event.

And now, after two days of productive work in Moscow, which included the signing of an historic treaty that will for the first time reduce nuclear forces, I look forward to seeing the lovely and historic city of Kiev.

I would like to extend my appreciation in advance to Chairman Kravchuk and the Ukrainian people for their hospitality.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520
Bureau of European and
Canadian Affairs

JUL 24 PM 4:40

URGENT!!!

OFFICE OF SOVIET UNION AFFAIRS (EUR/SOV)

FAX COVER SHEET

RETURN FAX NO. (202) 647-3506

DATE: 7/24/91

TO: BOB SIMON 456-7750 CAROL URGENT!!!

FAX NO. 456-6218

FROM: EUR/SOV - RICHARD MILLS 647-6757

SUBJECT: ATTACHED BACKGROUND ON UKRAINE

REMARKS: MR. SIMON--HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE HELPFUL. I HAVE A ONE PAGE CLASSIFIED SHEET, BUT I DON'T THINK IT ADDS MUCH THAT IS NOT IN THE TWO PAGER ATTACHED--GIVEN DIFFICULTY OF FAXING CLASSIFIED TO YOU I WILL NOT SEND UNLESS I HEAR FROM YOU. YOU SHOULD CHECK THE SCENESETTER SENT OVER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT AS WELL, IF YOU CAN GET A COPY. RICK MILLS

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

6/30/91

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Ukrainian Sovereignty

Ukrainian views are sharply divided on the question of whether Ukraine should sign a new union treaty with Moscow. Pro-independence sentiment is strong in Western Ukraine, the bulk of which was joined to the USSR after 1940. The people of this region, numbering about one-fourth of the republic's population, have retained a distinct identity; they are more likely to be Uniate (Catholic) than Orthodox and they are more likely to speak Ukrainian. The opposite end of the spectrum is represented by Crimea, which was transferred from the Russian to the Ukrainian republic in 1953. Ethnic Ukrainians are in a minority there and many Crimean residents have expressed fears that they would not fit into an independent Ukraine.

The populous eastern Ukraine generally opposes separatism. Not only are there many ethnic Russians who live in the area, but much of the Ukrainian population is "Russified." Some large cities, such as Kharkov, are economically dependent on the All-Union market, given the kinds of industry located there.

31.5 million Ukrainians (83 percent of eligible voters) took part in the March 17 Union referendum. 70.5 percent voted in favor of the Union referendum question, and 80 percent supported an additional republic plebiscite question on Ukraine's adhering to a Union of Sovereign States only on the basis of the Ukrainian Sovereignty Declaration of July 1990. Residents of three western provinces voted overwhelmingly in favor of a third plebiscite calling for a fully independent Ukraine.

Prime Minister Vitold Fokin represented Ukraine at the April 23 9-plus-1 talks with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk maintains that he will sign a new union treaty, although he has criticized the current draft union treaty for failing to adequately confirm the principles of republics' sovereignty.

One out of every five Soviets lives in Ukraine. Without the cooperation of that republic as well as Russia, Gorbachev's plans to reconstitute the USSR cannot succeed.

Multiparty Politics

New political parties are multiplying in Ukraine as a result of the increasing political awareness and national consciousness of the republic population. The Ukrainian government has tolerated, if not encouraged, the emergence of political parties since the official recognition of Rukh, the nationalist movement, in September 1989. The legal environment for political parties is fluid, without clearly established guidelines on registration and legalization.

Rukh

Rukh is a nationalist umbrella organization of various political and cultural organizations. Over the past 18 months, Rukh ("movement" in Ukrainian) has emerged as a powerful political force, holding at least one-third of the seats in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, one half in the Kiev City Council, and solid majorities in several key cities in Western Ukraine.

According to Rukh sources, the March 1990 legislative elections were manipulated by the Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP) to impede the nationalists and ensure a communist majority. The communist republic leadership has also taken steps recently to control the opposition forces' influence in the legislature and media and has passed a resolution curtailing public demonstrations.

Economic Reform

The republic leadership supports economic autonomy from the central government and cautious steps toward a market, codified in the legislature's July 1990 resolution on economic sovereignty. It has passed an economic reform program that includes privatization of property, issuance of a national currency, and entry in the IMF, IBRD and other international organizations, but the mechanisms for implementing it are still lacking.

Coal miners in the Donbass region, an important political force in Ukraine, joined other miners in a two-month nationwide coal strike that ended in early May. The miner's rejected Moscow's solutions to their economic problems but also, because their mines require subsidies to function, remain opposed to a true market economy.

Kiev Consulate

The U.S. Consulate General in Kiev began full-time operations in March 1991. Consul General Jon Gundersen and Second Secretary John Stepanchuk are working initially out of three leased apartments. They will be joined later this year by an Administrative Officer and a Press and Cultural Affairs Officer. We presently are negotiating with Kiev city officials for lease of additional temporary office and residential space to house the consulate.

6/1/91

Ukraine

- President: Leonid Kravchuk
- Prime Minister: Vitold Fokin

  Political Complexion: Republic Supreme Soviet is split between communists and "Rukh/Narodna Rada" nationalists, but communists retain majority. The republic government has taken an increasingly nationalist stance, in part to steal Rukh's thunder.

- Opposition: "Rukh" is one of the largest and best organized of the nationalist popular fronts. It controls most of western Ukraine and has about 25 percent of the seats in the Supreme Soviet.

- Key Trends/Issues: Autonomy/independence; economic reform; environmental problems/Chernobyl cleanup.

Uzbekistan

- President: Islam Karimov
- Prime Minister: Islam Karimov

  Political Complexion: Republic government is dominated by old-style CP machine; Karimov abolished Council of Ministers in November 1990 and took direct control over ministries.

- Opposition: The "Birlik" nationalist movement has attracted substantial support but remains in the minority. Islamic fundamentalism on the rise.

- Key Trends/Issues: Autonomy; economic reform; environmental problems; Russian minority's domination; Islamic revival.

-- Violence flared in May between Armenia and Azerbaijan, with Soviet troops apparently taking the side of the Azerbaijanis in shelling Armenian villages and depopulating the area surrounding the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan.

Moldova

o Moldova (formerly known as Moldavia) does not consider itself to be legally part of the USSR as it was annexed from Romania after World War II as part of the peace settlement with Romania, which had backed the Axis cause.

o The Moldovan government has had tense relations with its two largest ethnic minorities -- Russians and Gagauz (Turkic Christians) -- which seek to remain in the USSR and fear the consequences of Moldovan independence.

o Moldova is seeking independence, rather than reunification with Romania, but it is assumed by most observers that it could not survive independently of one of its two large neighbors.

o In recent months, Moldova has taken a less confrontational stance toward Moscow, but it is still refusing to participate in union treaty talks. Moldova has postponed a referendum on secession several times under pressure from both Moscow and its ethnic minorities.

Nine-Plus-One

o Of the nine republics that have agreed to participate in a new union, only Ukraine and Azerbaijan have sizable independence movements at present.

-- In the western provinces of Ukraine, which were transferred from Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia to the USSR after World War II, independence sentiment is very high.

-- Elsewhere in Ukraine, there is substantial support for independence but it appears to be a minority view: approximately two-thirds of Ukrainians voted for a new union in the March 17 national referendum sponsored by Gorbachev.

-- Nonetheless, the future status of Ukraine, and the future attitudes of its people on the question, must be considered uncertain.

Fax # 457 - 6318

U.S. Information Agency
Office of European Affairs

91 JUL 24 P4:44

FAX MESSAGE

FAX No. (202) 619-6821

CAROL DATE: 7/24/91

TO: Bob Simon, White House

FROM: Rosemary DiCarlo, Soviet Desk

SUBJECT: Information on Exchanges

Attached is information on exchanges which the Gorbachev's office and mine have put together for you.

Information on Ukrainians ~~to be~~ included.

U.S.-USSR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Educational Exchanges

Under the General Exchanges Agreement, educational cultural, and academic exchanges have increased dramatically.

Since the academic year 1986-87 there has been an impressive increase in the number of Soviet professors, researchers, teachers and graduate students coming to the U.S. on exchanges. Academic year 1986-87 saw 60 senior Soviet scholars come to the U.S. to research, teach or study. There were neither undergraduates nor high school students participating in exchanges then. By 1991, not only had the number of senior Soviet scholars increased remarkably, but the arrival of undergraduates and high school students was well on its way. There were over 1200 researchers, professors, teachers and graduate students, approximately 250 undergraduates and over 100 high school students who came to the U.S. for stays which lasted from three months up to six years. To this number can be added the 1200 high school students whose stay in the U.S. was of one month's duration.

In the 1991-92 academic year, 75 U.S. and 75 Soviet high schools will exchange approximately 1,200 students and teachers each way; students attend classes together and live with host families for periods of at least a month. The program's goal is to add 25 partnerships in the near future, creating opportunities for 3000 students to participate each year. In addition, programs now exist for American and Soviet students to study in the host country for a full academic year.

For the first time undergraduates are participating in year-long exchange programs in each direction; they are fully integrated into their host university's academic and extracurricular communities. These students are enrolled in the humanities, social and natural sciences, and the arts. The increases resulting from the President's initiative to expand undergraduate exchanges will begin to be felt in the coming academic year when an additional 250 undergraduates from each side will be exchanged.

Programs in business management and market economics have exploded in the past year. Groups of 25 to 40 participants have replaced the random individual management students of the past. The management training, which ranges in duration from two weeks to two years, is in diverse fields including: automotive, hotel, computers, petrochemicals, joint

ventures, finance, and entrepreneurship. George Washington University is sponsoring "The Soviet Executive Program", a two year academic/internship program. Other colleges and universities teaching business management and market economics to Soviets include: American Graduate School of International Management (Glendale, AZ); Carnegie Mellon University (Pittsburgh, PA); Duke University, Fuqua School of Business (Durham, NC); Esalen Institute (San Francisco, CA); Geonomics Institute (Middlebury, VT), Harvard Business School (Boston, MA); University of Michigan, School of Management (Dearborn, MI); and Wharton Advanced Management Program, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, PA).

We welcome opportunities for further expansion of educational exchange programs with the Soviet Union. We are engaged in on-going discussions with the Soviets about organizational and administrative aspects of our exchanges so as to ensure the continued effectiveness and high quality of programs. Recent decisions which have forced Soviet organizations to pay hard currency for their exchange guests, specifically for hotels, internal transportation, etc., have disrupted the non-currency formula on which most exchanges are conducted and threaten to curtail seriously the ability of Soviet organizations to continue exchanges.

People-to-People and Cultural Exchanges

The General Exchanges Agreement has paved the way for the U.S. private sector to become deeply involved in exchanges with the Soviet Union. Over the past few years, people-to-people exchanges have expanded significantly, and broad new categories including youth, management, agriculture and judicial exchanges, have been initiated. Professional exchanges, including the six month internship program at the American Bar Association for 17 Soviet lawyers, have expanded into fields never before thought possible.

The Sister Cities program has grown from six sister city relationships in 1986 to seventy-three official affiliations in 1991. Over 100 American and Soviet mayors will convene at the second U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in September 1991 in Cincinnati. In the past most exchange participants were selected by national organizations and came from Moscow. Sister Cities and other similar programs have fundamentally altered that pattern and opened up exchanges to all parts of the country.

The annual Chautauqua conferences continue to bring together American and Soviet citizens and government officials to discuss topics of concern to both countries. This open forum gives participants an opportunity to confront issues of mutual concern. The next conference will take place in Moscow and Leningrad September 10-23, 1991.

Relationships between American and Soviet museums have weathered the storms of reduced exchange activity in the early 1980's far better than organizations in other areas. Exchanges of exhibits resumed immediately after the Geneva Summit and national exhibitions have toured both countries. Three USIA fine arts exhibitions have been shown in the USSR since 1986 and three more are planned. Discussions continue regarding the establishment of U.S. and Soviet Cultural and Information Centers to be opened in Moscow and Washington, respectively.

A reciprocal exchange of documentary film festivals, supported in part by a USIA grant, has broken new ground in the U.S.-Soviet exchange field. The "Glasnost Film Festival" completed a noteworthy U.S. tour in the spring of 1989 and the "American Documentary Film Showcase" opened its Soviet tour in Moscow in May 1990.

An increasing number of distinguished American performing artists are touring the Soviet Union. The National Symphony Orchestra completed a successful tour of Moscow and Leningrad in February 1990 with the assistance of a grant from USIA. The Joint Soviet-American Youth Symphony conducted its second tour in the Soviet Union, Western Europe and the United States in the summer of 1990. Renowned saxophonist Branford Marsalis performed at the Moscow Jazz Festival in June 1990.

GENERAL AGREEMENT

The U.S. Government signed the first agreement on exchanges in 1959. Exchange agreements were in force until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. After a six-year hiatus, the USG signed the current Agreement at the Geneva summit in November 1985. The agreement, known as the General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation in Scientific, Technical, Educational, Cultural and Other Fields, will expire at the end of 1991.

The USG is now negotiating a new agreement, which will be in force from the end of this year through the year 2000. In addition to citing exchanges in traditional fields of science, culture and education, the new agreement will take into account the changing relationship with the Soviet Union and will also emphasize exchanges in the fields of law, economics and public administration.

The Agreement is the basis for both governmental and private exchanges in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Quotes:

From Middlebury College Magazine, Autumn, '89
Sergei Plyasunov, 22 year old exchange student, who at the time, didn't know whether he would even get credit for the academic year spent at Middlebury College talked about some of the perspectives he gained by being here and being able to access books and information not available to him at home.

> "Some of the things which were a black blot in our history are now clearer, and I see the world more widely now. It used to be narrow. Here you get lots of information, positive and negative. Now I can have a real opinion."

July '90, Samantha Smith Newsletter, Vol 2 #1
Nikita Ryauzov talking about his trip to America and impressions of camp:

> .. "It's hard to judge all Americans from just one family, but the main thing was that they were very friendly towards us and very interested in our country. Our horizons were broadened and Americans were no longer distant and mysterious to us. And I think that they learned something about Soviets that will help them to better understand us. And between us, we can break down the barriers of misunderstanding and mistrust."

ACTR

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF RUSSIAN

TO: Liza Mallott

FROM: Pam Snyder

DATE: July 24, 1991

SUBJ: Participant Quotes

Here are a few comments from evaluation forms completed by Soviet undergraduates who studied for a semester or academic year in the US. Please let me know if these are what you had in mind.

The answers were given in response to the question: "What advice would you give to Soviet students coming to study in the United States?"

"People who go to the US to learn the language, to see the beauty of the country and to find friends, are sure to succeed if they have common sense and an open heart."

"Enjoy what you have and try to realize that you have a unique opportunity to improve your language and get to know a different culture."

" . . . I would advise you to explore every avenue, to educate and amuse yourself. Be inquisitive and you're sure to enjoy it."

"Be open-minded, try to explain everything and clear up all the misconceptions. The more open you are the more people will be willing to understand you."

"To study hard, to travel, to make lots of friends."

"Take every advantage of American education and your stay in the U.S."

RECIPROCAL CULTURAL AND INFORMATION CENTERS

The United States and the Soviet Union have signed an historic agreement to establish reciprocal cultural and information centers in the capitals of the two countries. USIA is the U.S. agency responsible for the implementing the accord.

USIA operates cultural centers in more than 100 countries. The establishment of reciprocal cultural centers is a natural step in the evolution of our bilateral relationship with the USSR. The centers will provide the base for further dramatic expansion of the educational, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges that have burgeoned since formal cultural relations resumed with the signing of a General Agreement on Exchanges at the conclusion of the November 1985 Geneva Summit.

According to the U.S.-USSR agreement, which was signed at the June 1990 Summit, the two centers will engage in a wide range of programs and activities. These will include:

-- operating lending libraries for publications, videos and video equipment;

-- sponsoring seminars, roundtables, exhibitions and film-showings;

-- providing language instruction and student counselling services;

-- and arranging live satellite television dialogues.

In a major innovation, these programs and activities will be carried out by centers which are non-diplomatic in nature. The Soviet center in the U.S., for example, will be organized as a non-profit corporation of the District of Columbia, while the American center will have comparable status in Moscow.

Both centers will have the right to hire local staff. The public will be guaranteed free and unrestricted access.

The U.S. side hopes to open its facility in central Moscow by 1993/1994. Occupancy and exact opening dates are to be determined by mutual agreement on the basis of reciprocity.

The USSR has also signed cultural center agreements with other Western countries, including France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

RECIPROCAL CULTURAL AND INFORMATION CENTERS

The United States and the Soviet Union have signed an historic agreement to establish reciprocal cultural and information centers in the capitals of the two countries. USIA is the U.S. agency responsible for the implementing the accord.

USIA operates cultural centers in more than 100 countries. The establishment of reciprocal cultural centers is a natural step in the evolution of our bilateral relationship with the USSR. The centers will provide the base for further dramatic expansion of the educational, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges that have burgeoned since formal cultural relations resumed with the signing of a General Agreement on Exchanges at the conclusion of the November 1985 Geneva Summit.

According to the U.S.-USSR agreement, which was signed at the June 1990 Summit, the two centers will engage in a wide range of programs and activities. These will include:

-- operating lending libraries for publications, videos and video equipment;

-- sponsoring seminars, roundtables, exhibitions and film-showings;

-- providing language instruction and student counselling services;

-- and arranging live satellite television dialogues.

In a major innovation, these programs and activities will be carried out by centers which are non-diplomatic in nature. The Soviet center in the U.S., for example, will be organized as a non-profit corporation of the District of Columbia, while the American center will have comparable status in Moscow.

Both centers will have the right to hire local staff. The public will be guaranteed free and unrestricted access.

The U.S. side hopes to open its facility in central Moscow by 1993/1994. Occupancy and exact opening dates are to be determined by mutual agreement on the basis of reciprocity.

The USSR has also signed cultural center agreements with other Western countries, including France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

THE "1000-1000" UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE EXCHANGE

The U.S. and Soviet Union have signed a general agreement on expansion of undergraduate exchanges by 1000 Soviet and 1000 U.S. students.

This program, referred to as the "1000-1000" exchange, was originally proposed by President Bush at December 1989 meeting in Malta. An agreement was signed at the June 1990 summit on plans developed on the U.S. side by USIA, in consultation with NSC, State and OMB.

The general agreement calls for a phased increase of exchange levels, beginning in 1991 with 250 students per side to be exchanged in addition to exchanges already in existence (existing exchanges: 250 Soviets; 750 Americans). The target total of 1500 on each side (this total takes into account the current level of exchanges) should be reached in 1996.

Fifteen U.S. educational institutions have been selected by USIA through a public competition to carry out the exchange in academic year 1991-1992. The program will be implemented on the Soviet side by the USSR State Committee on Public Education in conjunction with the individual republics.

Key features of the general agreement include the following:

-- Students on both sides will compete for participation on the basis of academic excellence and knowledge of the language of the receiving side.

-- Courses in any fields of study may be taken, including liberal arts and the natural, technical, economic and other sciences.

-- In particular, students specializing in agriculture will be included.

-- Preferred length of stay for exchange students will be one academic year; however, shorter periods will be considered for some participants.

US-USSR HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM

During the Moscow Summit in June 1988, former President Reagan proposed a large scale, annual exchange of American and Soviet high school students. With General Secretary Gorbachev's concurrence in hand, President Reagan announced the Program during his speech at Moscow State University.

Now in its fourth year (academic year 1991-92) the Partnership Program has paired 75 American and 75 Soviet high schools for annual exchanges of students and accompanying teachers. Visiting students live with host families and study alongside students in the host schools. The program links students, teachers, schools, host families and communities on a long-term basis.

A consortium of private organizations is administering the Partnership Program. The American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) share responsibility for managing the Program.

Seven short months after President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed to the Program, 30 American and 30 Soviet high schools exchanged over 800 students and teachers. In January 1989, approximately 400 Soviet high school students with a command of the English language, enrolled in classes, participated in extracurricular activities and lived with American families for four weeks. In March 1989, a similar number of American students with knowledge of Russian, participated in similar programs in Soviet high schools.

In an effort to decentralize the U.S.-Soviet educational exchange process, the Program strives to enable partnered American and Soviet schools to determine the timing, size, frequency, duration and substance of their exchanges.

The funding comes from three sources. The U.S. Information Agency has contributed funding to the Partnership Program on an annual basis since its inception. Secondly, participating schools, families, community groups and local businesses cover a large portion of the program costs. We will continue to approach corporations and foundations for funds to cover many aspects of the program (curricular support, scholarship funds, computer networks, teacher training programs, orientation programs, etc.)

In addition to the emphasis on student exchanges, the Program will improve and expand the number of Russian language programs offered in American high schools. The Ford Foundation has made a 1.25 million dollar grant to the Partnership Program for Russian language curriculum development and teacher training at the high school level. The W. Alton Jones Foundation has also provided a grant of $200,000.

For further information contact: US-USSR High School Academic Partnership Program, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 328-7309.

USIS PROJECTS IN UKRAINE

E/P - Office of Citizen Exchanges:

1. "The American Legislative Process" - a program jointly sponsored by USIA and Indiana University for 14 members of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. April 3 - 13, 1991.

The program began in Indiana, where it focussed on the state legislative process. While there, the participants met with Gov. Evan Bayh, Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon, Chief Justice Randall Shepard of the Indiana Supreme Court and the legislature leadership.

In Washington, D.C., the program highlighted the federal system of government. Sessions included "The American Constitutional System," "Distinctions Between the Three Branches of Government," and meetings with Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole and Congressman Lee Hamilton.

Participants were drawn from both the majority Communist party and from the opposition RUKH, including Ivan Drach, Chairman of RUKH and Ivan Plyushch, First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Following the visit, Plyushch told the American Consul General in Kiev that the program was "just what the Deputies needed." He further added that "the visit helped strengthen the Deputies' commitment to genuine democratization in the Soviet Union."

2. Business Education - a program jointly sponsored by USIA and the University of Delaware for 40 management students. July 9 - September 7, 1991.

The University of Delaware is conducting a summer international business institute for 40 Soviet business management graduate students, in association with the International Management Institute (IMI) in Kiev. The students are spending 5 weeks on Delaware's campus, attending classes and living in the dormitories. During the last 3 weeks of the program they will have internships with area firms and live with American families. A variety of site visits and short trips are planned for the weekends.

E/V - Office of International Visitors

International Visitor grantees are nominated by overseas posts to participate in individual or group programs, generally 30 days in length. The program emphasizes professional and cultural learning experiences. Grantees meet with U.S. counterparts and gain in-depth exposure to the people, culture and institutions of the United States.

This year the U.S. Embassy in Moscow will invite 75 people to participate in the International Visitor program. Approximately 30% of these will be from Ukraine.

A noteable program currently taking place concentrates on defense conversion issues. All 6 participants are Ukrainian; 3 are directors of industrial complexes, 1 is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1 is an academic and 1 is a journalist.

The program, which lasts from July 15 - August 3, will enable the participants to examine the principles of a market economy and the progress made by U.S. defense industries in the transition from military production to a more civilian-oriented economy. The group is being given the opportunity to observe and gather information on what some defense industries have done to remain economically viable. Areas for examination include research and development to assist companies to diversify, economic conversion legislation, community assistance programs, response at the state and community level, federal programs, and the ability of the defense industries themselves to seek out innovative ways to offest a diminishing defense budget.

Samantha Smith Memorial Exchange

Support is offered to U.S. institutions for the exchange of youth and undergraduate students between the U.S., Eastern Europe and the USSR. The purpose of the program is to provide participants with an academically rigorous and culturally enriching experience. Students usually take courses in the social sciences and humanities for at least one semester at their host institutions.

1. FY-91 university exchanges with Ukraine:

The University of Cincinnati: The project will exchange 4 U.S. students and 4 Soviet students for a 12 week period. American students will study language and culture at the University of Kharkov. The Soviet students will study English and three other courses of their choice.

2. Youth Exchange Programs:

A. Eastern States Student Exchange Program (ESSEX) of Rotary International - Grants in FY 1990 and 1991 to support one-year exchanges for 10 students (annually) from Lvov and 10 American students to Lvov.

B. Green Fields Country Day School - A grant in Fy 1990 to support an exchange between this Tucson school an Kiev 155 involving 4 US and 4 Ukrainian students for 5-week stays.

C. Samantha Smith Foundation - A large number of the children attending summer camp in th U.S. in 1990 and 1991 are originally from Chernobyl. Some American youth are attending camps in Ukraine.

D. Olympus High School - The exchange in part involves a group of 6 students from Kerch for 3-month to 1-year stays.

US-USSR High School Academic Partnership Program

9 Ukrainian and American schools are paired under this program. The Ukrainian schools are:

Kiev 229
Lvov 76
Kiev 191
Kharkov 62
Kiev 51
Cherkassi 1
Simferopol 7
Yalta 12
Odessa 9

Book Publishing

USIA works with publishers around the world to support translation and reprinting of classic and contemporary works that convey an understanding of American life, institutions and values.

USIS Moscow recently signed its first book contract with a Ukrainian publisher. The publisher, Veselka, will translate and publish David Currie's THE CONSTITUTION: A PRIMER FOR THE PEOPLE, in an initial print run of 50,000 copies.

Book Exhibits

"Fighting For Freedom: The United States in World War II" was displayed in Brest, Byelorussia, Odessa, Ukraine, and Volgograd, RSFSR from September 30 - November 17, 1990. The exhibit, which included 650 books, a photo exhibit and a display of WW II U.S. soldiers' art was a great success. The exhibit guides appeared on local television and radio, spoke at schools and spent hours each day talking to Soviet visitors. 7500 people visited the exhibit in Odessa. Following are some of the comments which were translated from the Visitor's Book:

"The Fighting for Freedom exhibit made a great impression on our class. For us, it was a new look at the history of WW II and it adds to our knowledge. We didn't know much about American participation in the war. We know only that the USA was our ally, but from the materials in this exhibit, we learned of the USA's huge role in the war. We are indepted to the organizers of this exhibit." School No. 119, class 10-V

"Thanks to the organizers of the exhibit for the excellent selection of books on WW II. Americans, as we, suffered from the war and rejoiced from the victory. America and Russia never fought and my belief is they never will. Ideological arguments fell and we see beautiful, truthful people able to stand up for themselves and for democracy and truth in the world. As an officer, I am very pleased to get familiar with the beautiful books -- history of development of aviation and artillery. Noteworthy war atlases. Very interesting photographs. Americans, come more often. We are pleased to meet you."

"When I think about WW II, I think about cooperation -- US and USSR. Now, this cooperation is a very big, important role in the peace of the world. I want to say thank you very much America! America is the dream of liberty."

Exhibits

1. INFORMATION USA was open in Kiev from August 13 - September 12, 1987. 248,200 people attended the exhibit. This was the first cultural exchange exhibit in the Soviet Union since 1979. Its theme was the impact of communication and information technologies on the daily life of Americans.

2. DESIGN USA ran from February 1 - March 4, 1990 in Donetsk. 338,318 people viewed it. Its theme was the far-reaching effect of design in American life. This idea was conveyed through 4 sections: architecture, industrial and product design, graphic design and design in motion.

April 1989

Smithsonian

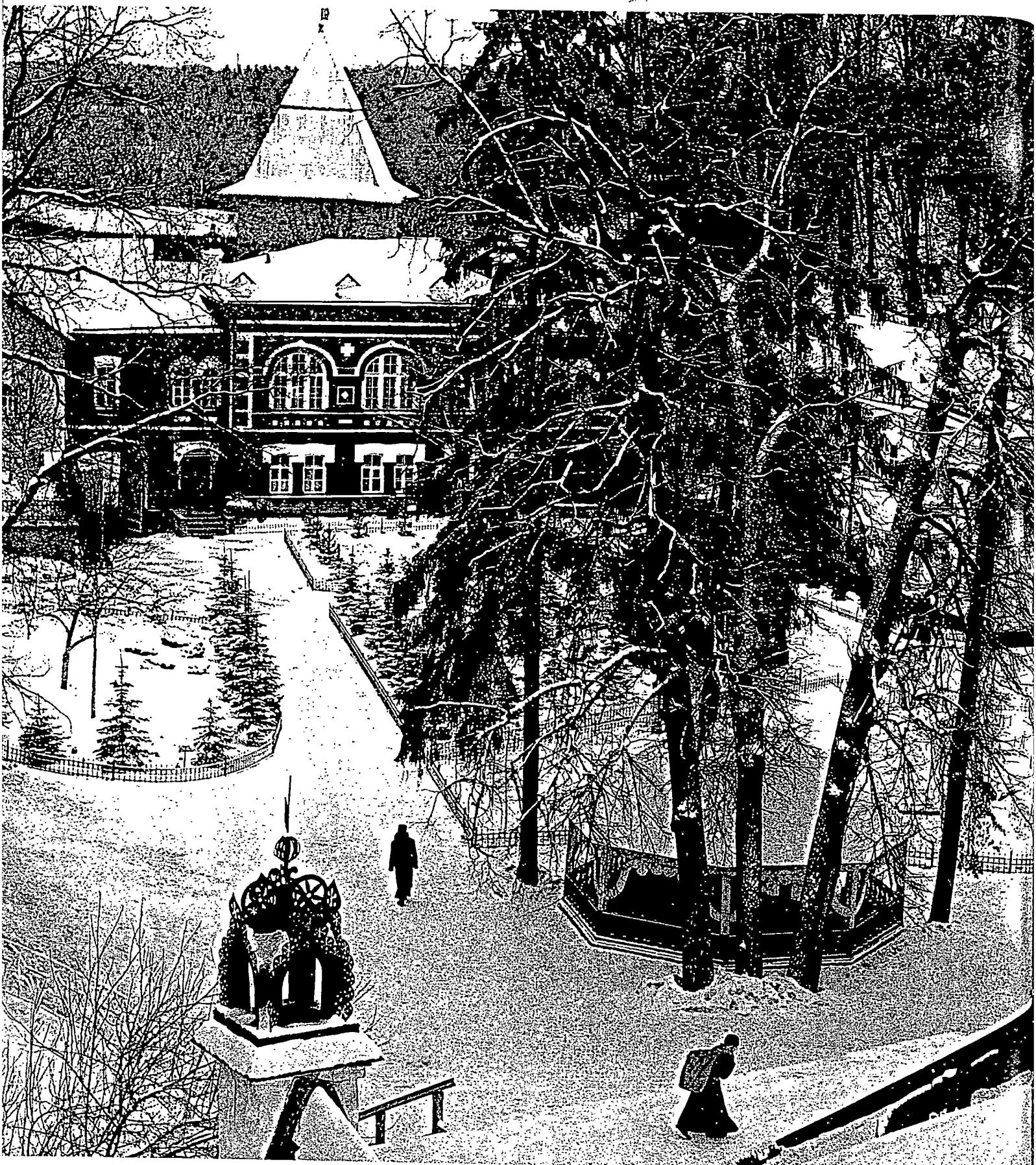
Volume 20, Number 1

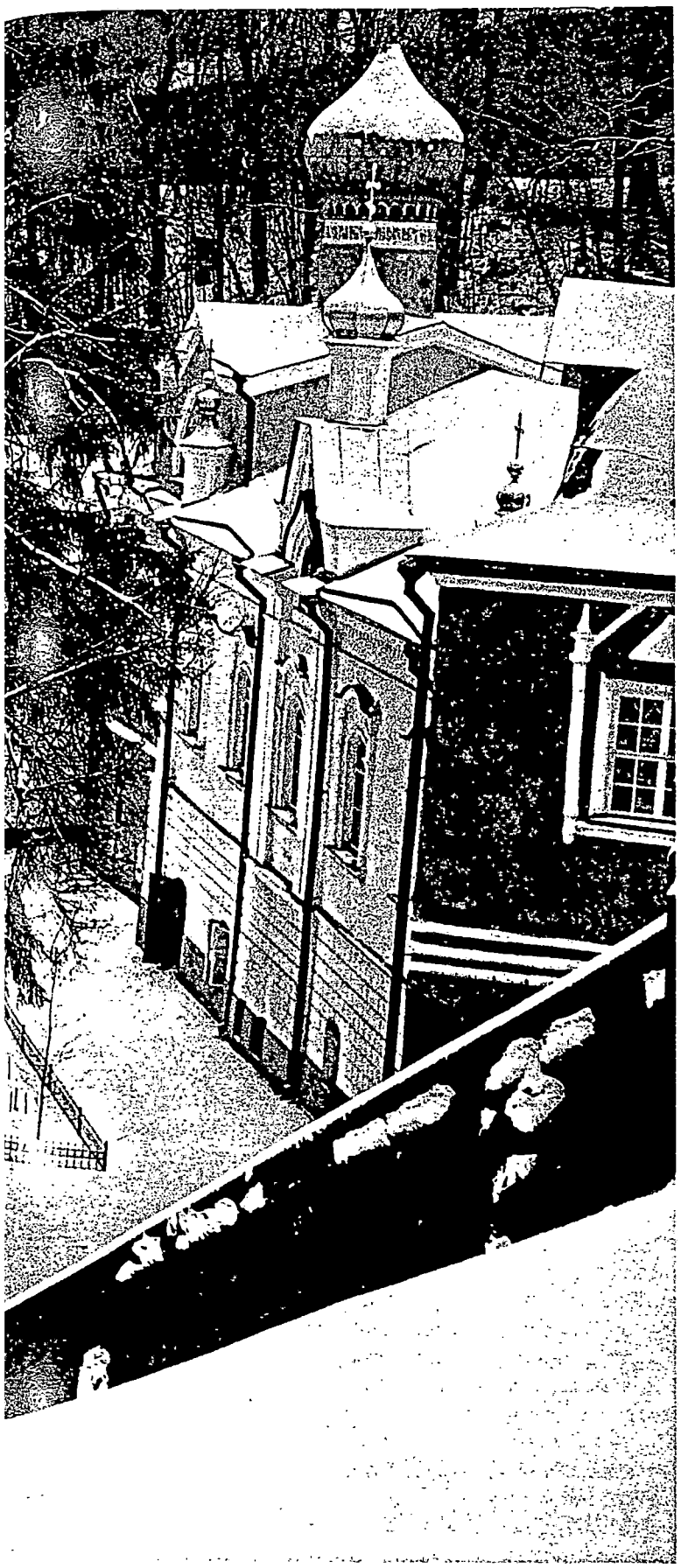
1331

Table of Contents

Smithsonian (ISSN 0037-7333) is published monthly by the Smithsonian Associates, 900 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC 20560.

Subscription price $20 a year in U.S. possessions, $33 elsewhere. 80 percent of dues is designated for magazine subscription. Single copy price, $2.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices.
Editorial offices at 900 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC 20560.
Advertising and circulation offices at 420 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10170.
Members: Please address all subscription correspondence and change of address information to Smithsonian, P.O. Box 55593, Boulder, CO 80322-5593.
Postmaster: Send address changes to Smithsonian, P.O. Box 55593, Boulder, CO 80302-5593.





By James H. Billington

Keeping the faith in the USSR after a thousand years

Lenin and his successors nearly snuffed out the church, but since 1964 the people have fought back with considerable candlepower

During the final months of 1931, Joseph Stalin gave the residents of Moscow a heart-numbing lesson in cultural terrorism. Under his orders, the largest and most richly decorated church in all of Russia—the Church of Christ the Savior, near the Kremlin—was systematically demolished. As Muscovites watched silently, countless holy pictures, 48 marble reliefs and 177 marble tablets were destroyed, and each of its 5 domes blown up including the edifice's 335-foot-high central dome. Stalin planned to erect, in place of the church, the Palace of Soviets; it would be topped with a giant statue of Lenin, symbolizing the victory of atheistic Communism over Orthodox Christianity.

But Stalin's palace was never built, and an atheist victory is no longer proclaimed in the USSR. In fact, a remarkable turnabout has occurred. The most popular celebrations of 1988 were those commemorating not atheism, but 1,000 years of the very Christianity that Stalin sought to destroy. A millennium earlier—in 988—Prince Vladimir of Kiev had introduced Orthodox Christianity into his domain. Last year the people, the priesthood and even government officials made it very clear that, in the Soviet Union, 988 is still a date to remember.

A high point of the Russian Orthodox Church's

At Pechory Monastery in Pskov, monks carry on as they have since 1473; tower, upper left, dates from 1565.

Photographs by Jerry Cooke

Zenon, a 35-year-old monk, paints icons in the Byzantine style of the old Orthodox Church masters. The most celebrated living religious painter in the USSR, he works in a cottage at Pechory Monastery.

millennial celebration was the first public showing of documentary footage of the blowing up of the Church of Christ the Savior. "I felt myself cleansed by making this film," confessed the producer from the state-controlled studio on that occasion. Rediscovering the beauty of the Christian past plays a cleansing role for many in Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia. Restoring the old seems almost to be a kind of moral prerequisite for moving on to something new.

I was fortunate enough to be in the USSR several times during 1987-88, as well as a quarter-century ago in 1964, which was a key year in the emergence of the religious restoration movement. In August 1987, I traveled about 4,000 miles by plane, train, car and boat to museums, monasteries and government offices, talking with artists, restorers, officials and others, to learn as much as I could about the movement.

I knew already that, in order to understand the strength of this resurgence, one had only to look back at the 1,000-year history of Christianity in Russia and the Ukraine, beginning with Prince Vladimir of Kiev. Like Gorbachev in 1988, he was a dynamic leader who rose through a bloody political system (he probably connived in his brother's murder). But Vladimir soon surprised everyone with a *perestroika* of his own: turning the warlike Eastern Slavs away from fighting Christian Byzantium and into adopting its religion and culture. Vladimir's people had been dazzled by the beauty of the churches and liturgy in Christian Constantinople. Vladimir converted, then pitched the pagan idols of Kiev into the Dnepr River, married the sister of the Byzantine co-emperors, and launched Russia's first crash project: transplanting the art and architecture of Constantinople to Kiev.

The first native head of the new Orthodox Church of the Eastern Slavs was soon able to describe Kiev as "a city glistening with the light of holy icons, fragrant with incense, ringing with praise and holy, heavenly songs." Vladimir's successors took these same, ornate

James H. Billington, a historian who specializes in Russian history and culture, is the Librarian of Congress. He is the former director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

churches and services north into the forests and on to the Arctic Ocean.

Christianity in the old Russian empire was the frontier faith of a colonizing people—adopted uncritically from a Byzantine world that claimed to have solved all doctrinal questions. The rugged new converts sought to beautify their churches and worship services rather than to discuss fine points of dogma. So they developed a "theology in pictures" rather than in words—filling their churches with frescoes, icons and candlelight, embellishing them in the northern climate with new, snow-shedding onion domes and tent roofs that differed from the hemispheric domes of the Mediterranean world to the south and the spires of Baltic Europe to the west.

A shift of power to Moscow

After the Mongols sacked Kiev in the mid-13th century, the center of political gravity of the Eastern Slavs moved from what is now the Ukraine to what is now Russia (from "Little" to "Great" Russia). Moscow eventually emerged as the new capital, and the new conveyer of Orthodox faith and art across the Siberian tundra to the Pacific—the Eastern frontier of Christendom. Russian Orthodox missionary activities reached Alaska in the 18th century and continued until the installation of an atheistic state following the Communist Revolution of 1917.

The new Communist rulers were bitterly opposed to a church that had been so closely identified with Czarist rule. They also feared a church that was enjoying an artistic and intellectual revival at the beginning of the 20th century; it had reestablished an independent Patriarch of Moscow, the first in more than 200 years, during the revolutionary upheaval of 1917.

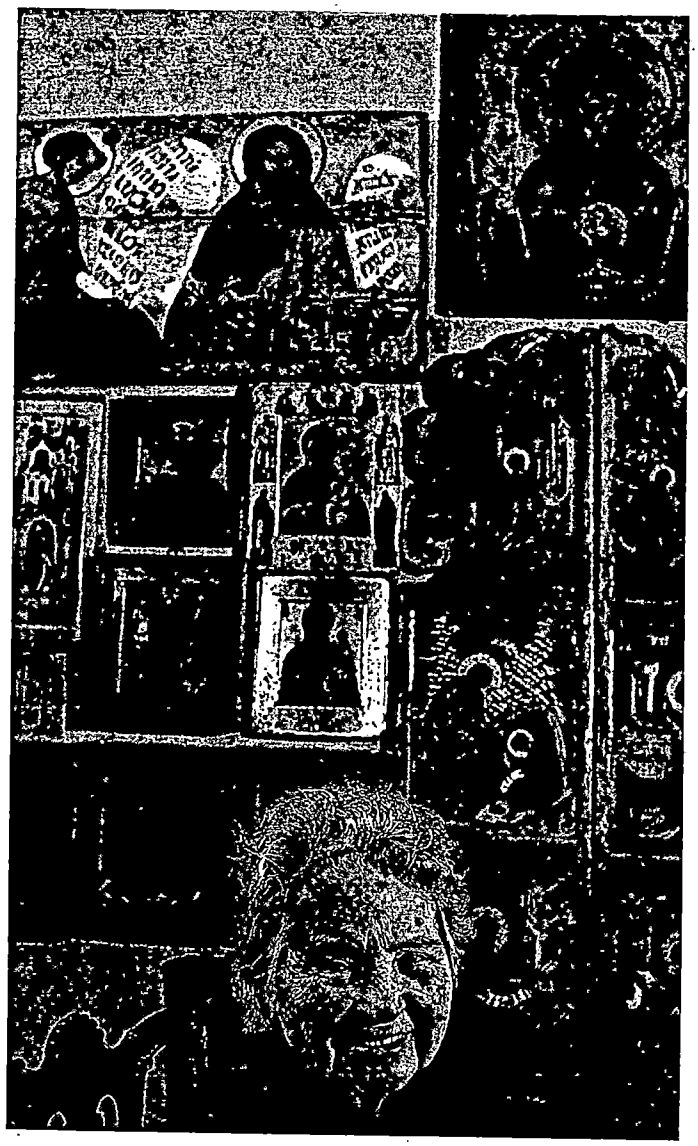
Lenin and his successors tried in a variety of ways to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church (and all other religions). They first created an unsuccessful puppet "Living Church" in the 1920s. Then, in the '30s, Stalin unleashed a frontal attack under the "League of the Militant Godless" with massive murders, deportations and the organized destruction of churches. After a brief respite during and just after World War II, Nikita Khrushchev launched a new wave of persecution in the late 1950s that reduced the number of surviving churches to less than half and subjected the survivors to closer police surveillance.

But, as one early Communist tormentor of the Church noted, "religion is like a nail. The harder you hit it, the deeper it goes into the wood." The old chronicles had described Vladimir's emissaries as not knowing "whether we were in heaven or on Earth" upon first entering a Byzantine church. That same beauty seems to have haunted even many of the young post-Christian Communists sent by Khrushchev to finish the destruction of the churches. Writing in January 1964, in the official party journal, Khrushchev's top ideologist reflected on the failure of persecution. "The church in the provinces still seems to attract people, perhaps by the pomp and beauty of religious ceremonies [and] choir music," he wrote. "Architecture and painting also heighten the emotional effect."

That year, the people finally found their voice. After one of the most beautiful surviving wooden churches in Russia was burned down, the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments sprang into being (SMITHSONIAN, March 1983). Within a year, it had three million members, and it has continued growing into the largest voluntary society in the Soviet Union—with more than 45 million members spread throughout the country.

Also in 1964, a campaign began to recover Russia's scattered and depleted treasury of icons. Some 500 Moscow students scoured outlying regions in search of these sacred pictures, which expressed for a new generation something of the inspiration that they had held

Russian image of Christ, as in this old icon, is closer to humanity than in other traditions, says Zenon.



In her Moscow bedroom, widow of icon painter Pavel Korin sits before religious works her husband collected.

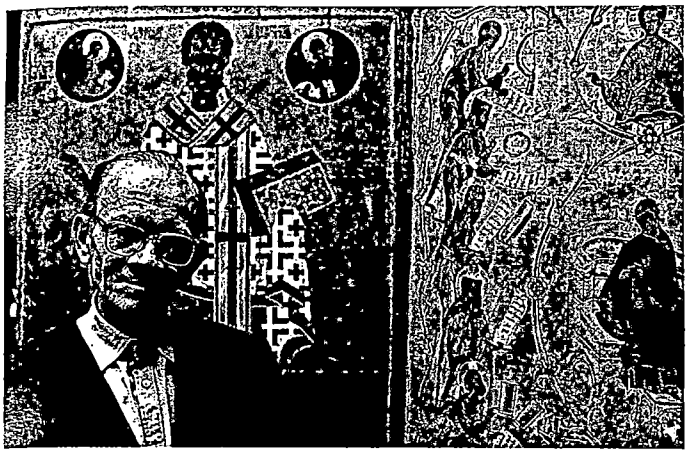
for the older Orthodox culture. And finally, again that year, the trial was held of a small group of "True Orthodox Wanderers," the first of the dissident Christian groups that fed into the broader human rights movement during the long, stagnant reign of Leonid Brezhnev from 1964 to 1983.

Two encounters in Moscow in 1964-65 gave me a sense of the continuing impact of the old religious culture on the new Communist society. A middle-aged graduate student in Russian religious art told me that he had been trained as an engineer but decided to change fields after he had been sent to blow up a church. Overwhelmed by the beauty of the frescoes, he chose to help recover his lost heritage rather than risk further collaboration in its destruction. And Nina Popova, a high and dedicated Communist official, expressed delight that I was working on "real Russian culture" when I explained to her my interest in Russian religion. She arranged for me to visit the state-supported studio of the late Pavel Korin (below). There, icons were displayed in the old manner with candles burning before them. Alongside was hung Korin's own long-labored painting of the last liturgy held in the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin before the Communists shut it down in 1918.

Guarded support from Communist leaders

That was a quarter-century ago; the momentum has continued and recently accelerated. During the millennial year of 1988, Communist leaders' guarded support for the celebrations often seemed to serve as a means of relegitimizing their authority with their own people. It all began with the decision of the now-denigrated Leonid Brezhnev to return the oldest monastic site in Moscow, the Danilov Monastery, to the Russian Church for the millennial observance. Gorbachev gave back several more church properties including the Optina Pustyn', a monastery that had attracted great writers like Gogol, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. He also received Russian Orthodox leaders in the Kremlin for the first meeting between an Orthodox Patriarch and a Communist General Secretary since 1943. And Mrs. Gorbachev and two alternate members of the ruling Politburo took part in the semiofficial commemoration of the millennium in the Bolshoi Theater in June.

Whatever the future legal status and spiritual vitality of Russian Orthodoxy may prove to be, the change in attitude toward that church's artistic and architectural legacy has been far-reaching, perhaps irreversible, and generally welcomed by people of other faiths—and of no faith—throughout the USSR. But how can this religious heritage work its way back to visibility in the USSR, where past destruction and neglect have been so great and where present, pressing



Two 16th-century icons, *Saint Nicholas* and *Praising the Holy Virgin*, are being restored by N. I. Fedyshin.

Once a young Communist who helped raze churches, S. P. Kalashnikov now builds scale models of them.

economic needs tie up almost all resources? The answer lies in people: little people far from the centers of power, working largely with their own hands. In 1987, I visited three such artists at their places of work, far from the big centers of Leningrad and Moscow.

The 35-year-old monk Zenon is the most celebrated living religious painter in the USSR. His studio in western Pskov—like that of Russia's first icon painters in medieval Kiev—is in a monastery built around caves. The Pechory Monastery was established in the 14th century over a catacomb; at that time, it lay on the exposed Western frontier of Orthodox Christendom. Zenon is a far cry from the stereotype of a white-haired, elderly monk half-buried in a cave. He is a sparkling young man working above ground in a brightly lit new cottage, aided by several even-younger apprentices.

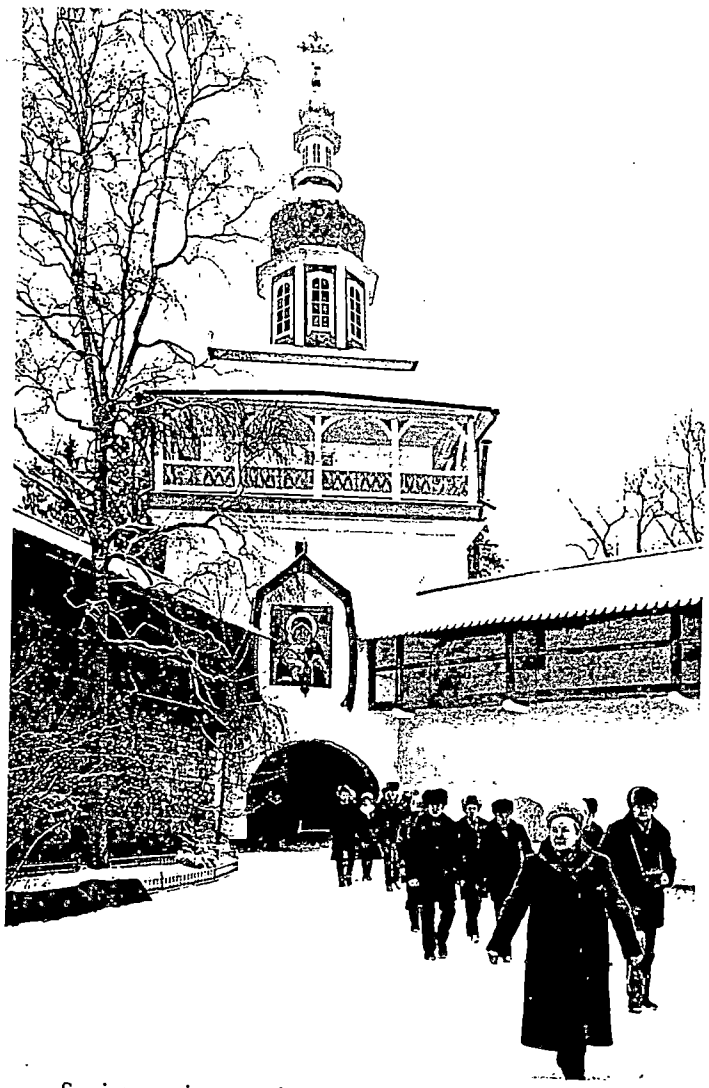
Here Zenon is reviving the old, pure style of icon painting, where the figures are dematerialized ideal forms and the very act of painting them is viewed as a kind of worship. For more than a dozen years, he has created new versions of the old holy pictures for churches in his native Odessa, in the great St. Sergius and the Holy Trinity Monastery in Zagorsk, where he studied for seven years, and in his home monastery in Pskov. Zenon also painted some of the key frescoes in Moscow's refurbished Danilov Monastery, where he met President and Mrs. Reagan at the time of the Moscow summit.

Zenon learned to paint icons by studying reproductions in books and trying his own hand at "sketching, not copying." Then, as he became immersed in the worship life of Orthodoxy, he began to see painting as "a part of prayer." He saw his own creativity being benefited rather than stifled by studying the icons of old masters—just as personal prayer benefits from using "an already prepared text" that distills centuries of inherited spiritual experience. His sources of inspiration are modern as well as ancient; in his studio I saw a photograph of the late Alexander Shmemann, the American Orthodox theologian long featured in Radio Liberty broadcasts to the USSR. There was also a portrait of two long-proscribed Russian Orthodox thinkers from the beginning of this century: Sergius Bulgakov, who fled to Paris, and Pavel Florensky, who was murdered in Stalin's gulag.

Speaking softly, with an infectious, persistent smile, Zenon blended in with the muted gold background and soft colors of his own icons. A particularly striking one depicted Christ holding a Bible open to the passage from Saint Matthew: "Come unto me all you who travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Such icons (p. 133) appear over the "royal doors" in the center of the icon screen of most Russian churches.

One of Zenon's clerical colleagues described him to me as "a pure monk of the kind that is rare in any age." He is more an example than a preacher, but he had a ready response to my question about the most critical problem in the world today. "The absence of love," he said, in a way that did not sound platitudinous at all. He clearly found that love in the figure he was painting during my visit. With a certain quiet pride, he told me that "though each epoch sees a different face of Christ," the image of Christ in Russian art at its best was "softer and closer" to humanity than in most other artistic traditions.

From Pskov I traveled north and east to Vologda to meet Nicholas Fedyshin, an icon restorer at the Vologda Regional Museum of Local Studies. His work, like Zenon's, is an act of devotion. In his charge in the museum's cavernous cellars are 3,500 old religious paintings. Still largely untouched, they were taken from churches that were either deactivated or destroyed



Soviet tourists pass into Ferapontov Monastery through its well-maintained 17th-century tower entrance.

in the early Soviet period; it would take him and his small staff another millennium to restore them all.

Fedyshin's skills were handed down from his father, who worked in Vologda with a small band of craftsmen. Before the revolution, they were one of the groups that developed the modern technique for peeling away the soot encrustation that had obscured the rich original colors of the older icons. Now, Fedyshin's son is already working with him, carrying the tradition forward into a third generation.

Fedyshin has worked continuously since the death of his father in 1941. In 1978, 60 of the restored icons were exhibited, making him the first restorer in the USSR to be permitted a one-man exhibition of his work. Although Fedyshin continues to gain recognition, he still has little help. He is also unwilling to discuss either his past sufferings or his personal faith, perhaps indicating the continuing fear of a return to Stalinist or Khrushchevian repression that might reverse the slow progress of recent years.

Earlier, I mentioned that many of the young Communists sent out to destroy old churches were deeply affected by the beauty that they found. Into this category falls S. P. Kalashnikov, an octogenarian who lives and works in Arctic Arkhangel'sk. A former Young Communist League activist, he has, for ten years, been building huge scale models of old Russian architectural centers that have long since been destroyed. What makes this bizarre is that his careful, often beautiful, reconstructions sometimes depict the very buildings that he himself helped demolish during the antireligious campaigns of the 1930s.

Models of churches that no longer exist

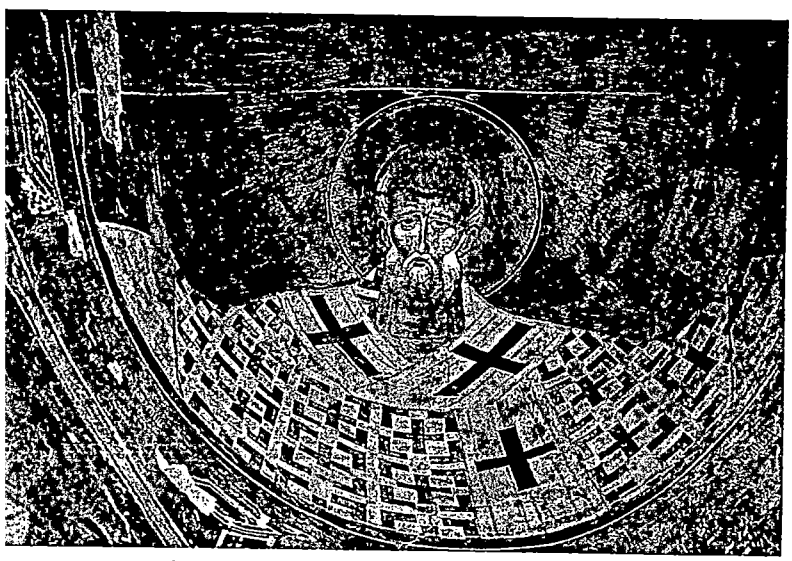
No contrast could be more striking than that between the monotonous, concrete structures of contemporary Arkhangel'sk and the variegated beauty of the old city he has reconstructed—with all its churches that no longer exist. I asked him if he did not regret the demise of the old city. Not at all, he answered, suggesting that he had enjoyed the antireligious desecrations of his youth as much as he was evidently enjoying the reconstructions of his retirement years. (Later, however, in a conversation with our photographer, he described his work as an act of repentance.)

Kalashnikov's enormous scale model of old Arkhangel'sk fills much of the main hall of the Palace of Culture of the Sailors of the North Sea Fleet. Alongside it, he has recently added a new model: it is the former Solovetsk Monastery on the White Sea, which was transformed into one of the worst gulags during the initial Soviet years.

It is a surviving alumnus of that very prison camp at Solovetsk, Dmitry Likhachev, who now leads the effort to recover the Russian past. This 82-year-old, Leningrad-based expert on Old Russian culture has been a lifelong opponent of the destruction of old buildings in the USSR. In the Gorbachev era, he has rapidly risen to become a TV and newspaper commentator on this issue. His star began to rise after Gorbachev answered one of his written complaints with a personal phone call. Then, in 1986, he was elected to be the first chairman of the Cultural Fund, a new nationwide organization for the promotion and preservation of cultural artifacts. Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, became a member of the board of this fund, thereby breaking the precedent of wives of party bosses remaining largely anonymous and out of public view.

Likhachev pulls no punches. He is an outspoken critic of the xenophobic wing of the historic restoration movement, typified by key figures in the Pamyat'

Icon depicting Christ's entry into Jerusalem, 1497, is among treasures of Kirillov Monastery near Vologda.



Church interior at Ferapontov—here, Saint Nicholas—was painted by artist Dionysius and his sons in 1502.

(Memory) organization. He distinguishes patriotism, which he considers positive, from nationalism, which he sees as a negative force invariably directed against someone else. Other recent targets are those who demonstrate what he calls the "Chernobyl syndrome"—attempting first to conceal and then to downplay cultural disasters. There was, for example, the fire in February 1988 in the Leningrad library of the Academy of Science; it destroyed 400,000 volumes and damaged 3 million more. That, says Likhachev, was a case of inadequate protection of the national heritage.

If Likhachev is a kind of high priest of the restoration movement, the glorious frescoes of the Ferapontov Monastery may be its ultimate shrine. There, by a quiet lake in the northern countryside between Vologda and Arkhangel'sk, a team of restorers is huddled over a swirling sea of light blue, lavender, soft yellow and pink images that fills the interior of the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Virgin. These 114 distinct frescoes may come as close to depicting the heavenly world as mortal man can attain (below). They were painted by the artist Dionysius and his three sons in a mere 34 days in the late summer of 1502. To create this masterpiece, the artists superimposed 50 different colors on a special limestone whitewash.

Following in the believer's footsteps

At Ferapontov, I noticed once again that special reverence seemed to mark the restoration work in progress. The curator in charge, Marina Serebriakova, was both reverent and scholarly. As she guided me through the church, she softly recited the *akathistoi*, or hymns to the Virgin, which the main frescoes illustrate; and she controlled our movements in order to approximate those of a believer in the days when the church was still active (it had been confiscated by a state farm in the early Soviet days).

The long drive to Ferapontov from Vologda had reminded me of the limits of the current Soviet restoration attempts. As the car sped past Kubensky Lake, I could barely make out in the distant mist the island that contained the remains of the oldest of all northern monasteries. Dating from the 12th century, the Monastery of the Savior-in-Stone (Spas-Kamenny) had also, like Ferapontov, been decorated with frescoes by Dionysius. Apparently, little is left but the shell of the old bell tower, a result of deliberate destruction in the mid-1930s and complete neglect since. My inquiries about this church were met with embarrassed silence.

A similar thing happened when I asked to see the restoration of the famous 16th-century frescoes at the Monastery of Sviazhsk near Kazan. My request was turned aside with a variety of sometimes contradictory explanations. I was variously told that the restorations

The scaffolding attests to ongoing restoration of the Ferapontov Monastery near Vologda. At left is the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Virgin, which houses the frescoes of Dionysius. The tent roofs and onion domes of these buildings evolved in northern Russia.

were not complete, that the region was closed to foreigners, that the approaches were too muddy, and that the monastery had been used as a psychiatric hospital and/or prison. The 16th-century frescoes, painted by order of Ivan the Terrible to celebrate his victory over the Tatars in nearby Kazan, are said to have been recovered from under a 19th-century overlay. But neglect and water erosion may have damaged the church building itself, undermining the prospect of recovering this unique monument of a missionary Orthodox culture in the mid-Volga region.

Later in Kazan, however, I was taken by my genial host, the Tatar poet Renat Kharis, to see the historic restoration of the old village of Bulgari. This was the northernmost settlement of the rival Muslim colonizers, who extended their own missionary reach up the Volga during the 13th and 14th centuries. Peter the Great was the first leader to be fascinated with the possibility of reconstructing Bulgari, and there has been modest but steady progress since the opening of a museum there in 1969. A stately minaret and a series of half-ruined, small-scale palaces give the impression of an architecture in some ways closer to the medieval Christian Caucasus or the pre-Gothic medieval West than to the flamboyant majesty of Middle Eastern Islamic architecture. Local Tatar restorers are as proud of this heritage as ethnic Russians are of theirs. And the complaints have been the same: insufficient government attention to the heritage of the past, not just in the Soviet period but since the time of Peter the Great.

The resurgence of national pride among Muslims and other minority peoples of the multiethnic USSR puts even more pressure on those who are searching for roots within the dominant Russian nationality. The leadership of the USSR has never been more purely Russian, both in ethnic origin and in regional career patterns. The ethnic Georgian, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, is the only non-Russian among the top leaders, and an unusually large number of them are from that most fiercely Russian of all regions: Siberia.

The far northeastern frontier of Siberia produced the most spectacular recovery of a forgotten ancient church: the 17th-century wooden Church of the Savior in Zashiversk. It was built some 350 miles northeast of Oymyakon, where the coldest temperature in any permanently inhabited place on Earth was once recorded (96 below in 1964). In 1969, an expedition up the frozen Indigirka River from Yakutsk discovered this church intact; other traces of the surrounding village had vanished, its population wiped out by the black plague in the early 19th century. Modern scientists in the USSR are no less interested than antiquarian humanists in the excavation and study of ancient monuments; the church was later taken apart and transported to the great scientific center of Novosibirsk.

It's not unusual in the USSR for old wooden buildings to be moved from remote northern locations to "museums under open skies" in big cities. Those living amid the concrete sterility of Soviet urban housing thirst for reminders of their more colorful past. The only place today in Arkhangel'sk or its surroundings, for instance, where people can encounter authentic elements of their religious past (other than Kalashnikov's

On a typical Sunday in Moscow, a baby is christened in the Prokrovsky Cathedral of the Old Believers.

models) is the large Museum of Wooden Architecture. There, about 90 buildings, most of them dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, have been assembled in a beautiful natural setting. The decorative scheme on the ceilings of the small chapels contains hints of the pre-Christian paganism that was absorbed into Orthodox Christianity when it was brought north. Known as Nebo or "heaven," this octagonal decoration is ostensibly just another version of Byzantine iconography. Christ is at the center and eight elongated trapezoids containing saints radiate out—just as Christian truth was carried forth to the people from Christ through his faithful followers. But the symbolism also suggests rays from the sun—a central concept of the earlier cult of the Sun God in the cold and dark Russian north. In fact, the gold-gilt onion domes atop Russian churches also suggest the sun, reflecting light down through the dark northern forests from above the trees.

I felt a sense of joy traveling around the USSR visiting old churches and monasteries, meeting talented artists and scholars devoted to the restoration effort. But on return to Moscow, I was brought down to earth again when I interviewed Soviet officials. After discussing the problems of restoration with them in detail, I understood better why so many who are interested in old Russian religious culture continue to feel pessimistic about the prospects for continued progress. Minister of Culture Vasily Zakharov was clearly more interested in "popular culture" in traditional secular terms than in religious culture. The chief administrator of the new Cultural Fund, G. V. Miasnikov, outlined a preservation program that was heavy on recent war memorials and included only one church (and only because Pushkin happened to have been married there).

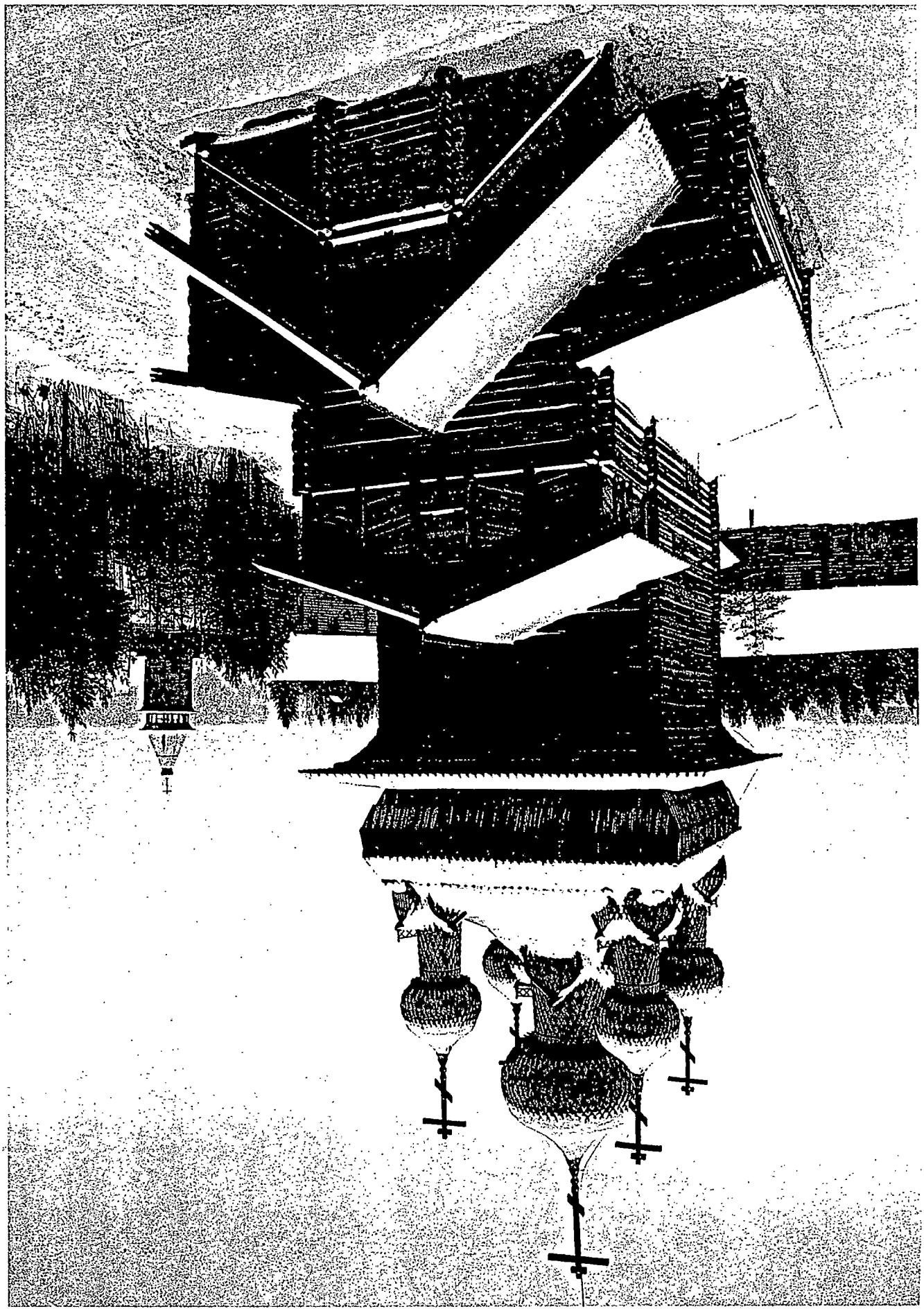
Even more disturbing because of his very sophistication was the semiofficial historian of the restoration movement, Yury Nikolaevich Zhukov, who met with me over tea in his well-furnished apartment near Red Square. He explained the destruction of the Church of Christ the Savior in a way that almost amounted to a justification—the building hadn't technically been old enough to qualify as a historical monument; it had been built in the eclectic, "false Byzantine" style; there were better memorials elsewhere.

What was offensive was not the arguments—each of which was individually defensible—but the evident contempt of this powerful figure for the powerless believers. "Of course, we wouldn't do this today," Zhukov pointed out; but he added that the current tendency of young people to go to church was largely a "form of bravado," and he characterized their demand that the state do more for church restoration as chiefly a way of "criticizing Soviet power." Yet even this deeply cynical foe of the old religious culture seemed anxious to legitimize himself by showing some personal sympathy for the restoration work of today, which, he said, involves "entire complexes rather than individual buildings" and ordinary people anxious to recapture "a more finely colored picture of the past."

For many of these ordinary people, a "finely colored picture of the past" requires extended exposure to old churches and to real icons: the kind that Nicholas Fedyshin and his son are restoring, that the monk Zenon and his pupils are creating anew, that S. P. Kalashnikov with his scale models is celebrating. It does seem that a generalized feeling of contrition over the destructiveness of the past will be a continuing legacy of the millennial celebration of Orthodox Christianity among the Eastern Slavs.

The profoundly antitotalitarian Soviet movie *Repentance*, which was made in the early 1980s but not released until 1986, has had considerable impact. It juxtaposes the crucifixion of a prisoner in the gulag with the blowing up of a church, as if to show that these two aspects of Stalin's crimes were interrelated. The movie begins and ends with complacent Soviet contemporaries eating a cake with little churches built into the icing, but at the very end an old woman appears and asks the way to the church. When she is told that there is no church anymore, she asks, "What is the use of a road if it doesn't lead to a church?"

From the highest onion dome to the lowest serrated eave, snow blankets a 17th-century church at Arkhangel'sk.



The Cambridge Encyclopedia of RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

General Editors

Archie Brown
Lecturer in Soviet Institutions
University of Oxford,
Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

John Fennell
Professor of Russian
University of Oxford,
Fellow of New College, Oxford

Michael Kaser
Reader in Economics
University of Oxford,
Professorial Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

H. T. Willetts
Lecturer in Russian History
University of Oxford,
Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge London New York New Rochelle
Melbourne Sydney

NATIONALITY COMPOSITION OF THE USSR (1979 CENSUS)

Ethnic groups	Population *million*
Russians	137.4
Ukrainians	42.3
Uzbeks	12.5
Belorussians	9.5
Kazakhs	6.6
Tatars	6.3
Azeris	5.5
Armenians	4.2
Georgians	3.6
Moldavians	3.0
Lithuanians	2.9
Tadzhiks	2.9
Turkmen	2.0
Germans	1.9
Kirgiz	1.9
Jews	1.8
Chuvash	1.8
Latvians	1.4
Bashkirs	1.4
Mordvinians	1.2
Poles	1.2
Estonians	1.0
Others	9.8
Total population	262·1

Source: after T. Rakowska-Harmstone, 'The dialectics of nationalism in the USSR', *Problems of Communism*, xxiii, no. 3; data from *Naselenie SSSR*, Moscow, 1980. (The total of 262.1 million falls short of the total population enumerated at the census — 262.4 million. It is thought that the difference represents citizens of foreign states resident in the USSR)

Emigration from the USSR

Émigré* numbers compared to the volume of internal migration are still negligible–since 1960 about 150 000, of whom the majority are Jewish,* have emigrated. During 1968–80 some 250 000 Jews left the USSR, the majority going to Israel. In the same period over 60 000 Soviet Germans emigrated to either West or East Germany and thousands of dissidents left voluntarily or involuntarily. *A.H.*

The Slav peoples: Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians

The Slavonic peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, all of which are Indo-European, can be divided into three branches: the Western Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles), the South Slavs* or Yugoslavs (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Bulgarians) and the Eastern Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians). The 189.2 million Eastern Slavs are by far the most numerous branch–Russians 137.4 million, Ukrainians 42.3 million and Belorussians 9.5 million according to the census of 1979. The Russians and Ukrainians are the largest and second largest nationalities in the USSR, but the Belorussians ceded third place to the Uzbeks (12.5 million) in the 1960s.

Until modern times the term 'Russian' (*Russky, Ruskaya*) was often indiscriminately applied to all Eastern Slavs. Between the 10th and 12th centuries the political, economic and cultural centre of Rus'* was Kiev* and its inhabitants were known as Rusichi. As political conditions came to emphasize their linguistic and cultural divergence, distinctions were made by the Slavs between Little Russians (Ukrainians), Great Russians (Russians) and White Russians (Belorussians).

The Eastern Slavs had settled by the 9th century in the approximate areas they inhabit in modern Europe, and their distribution–with the Ukrainians and Belorussians on the verges of Central Europe and Poland and the Russians to their east–determined their eventual cultural and linguistic differentiation. They absorbed Norsemen (Varangians), Tatars,* Mongols* and Finns, which left linguistic traces but did not alter their Slav identity fundamentally. Political divisions for much of the period before the 19th century stimulated the formation and development of three distinct Eastern Slav languages,* which have, however, remained mutually intelligible. Geopolitical factors determined which of the three peoples

remained territorially static. While the Russians were able to expand eastwards with few constraints other than technology and climate,* the Ukrainians and the Belorussians have continued to comprise compact ethnic units. The present borders of the Ukrainian and Belorussian republics approximate to the national boundaries of the two peoples but neither is nationally homogeneous. Ethnic Ukrainians represented 74.9 per cent of the population of their republic in 1970 and 73.6 per cent in 1979, while Belorussians constituted 81.0 per cent of theirs in 1970 and 79.4 per cent in 1979. There are Belorussian communities in Latvia, Lithuania and the Byałystok district of Poland, while the Ukrainian SSR contains as many as 80 national minorities, including Russians (21 per cent), Belorussians (0.8 per cent) and Moldavians (0.6 per cent). In the inter-war period parts of Belorussia and of the Ukraine were under Polish rule while other areas inhabited by Ukrainians belonged to Czechoslovakia and Romania. These areas passed to the USSR as a result of the Second World War. Six million Ukrainians in Poland, one million in Romania in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia* and 500000 Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia were thus added to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR).

The population density of the vast Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) is much lower than that of the other republics, but 8 of the USSR's 18 cities of more than one million inhabitants (1979 census) are in the RSFSR: Chelyabinsk 1.03, Gorky 1.34, Kuybyshev 1.22, Leningrad 4.59, Moscow 8.01, Novosibirsk 1.31, Omsk 1.01 and Sverdlovsk 1.21. The others are situated in the Ukraine (Dnepropetrovsk 1.07, Donetsk 1.02, Kiev 2.14, Kharkov 1.44 and Odessa 1.05) and Belorussia (Minsk 1.28), while four are located in non-Slav republics (Baku 1.55, Tashkent 1.78, Tbilisi 1.07 and Yerevan 1.02).

Ethnic Russians comprise 82.6 per cent of the population of the RSFSR. A majority still inhabit European Russia, although the colonial expansion* into Siberia, Central Asia, the Far East and Far North has accelerated their over-all numerical increase. In this century the industrialization* of the 1930s and the shift of industries eastwards during the Second World War generated the formation of new population centres. A sizeable majority of Siberia's population inhabit the thin arable belt across central and southern Siberia. Russian migration* to Siberia between 1870 and 1914 almost tripled the population of the area; since then, the development of cities such as Omsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk has accounted for an even greater increase, and a high proportion of the 800 new cities and towns of the USSR are Russian-populated and situated in central and southern Siberia. Caucasia and Central Asia have witnessed an equally dramatic influx of Russians. Since the establishment of the USSR the Slav peoples have increased numerically by over 53 per cent, but it is they who have suffered most fatalities in time of war. *A.F.*

The Baltic peoples: Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Karelians

The Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Karelian peoples are located on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. All four ethno-linguistic groups have been granted official nationality status by Moscow. Over 90 per cent of the 2.8 million Lithuanians, 1.4 million Latvians and 1.0 million Estonians resided within the boundaries of their respective republics at the 1979 census while the remainder are to be found mainly in the towns of the RSFSR, Belorussia and the Ukraine. In contrast, the Karelians, whose national territory was down-graded from a Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) to an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) in 1956, have only half their 138000 total within the Karelian ASSR. Sizeable Karelian communities are also located in Kalinin and Murmansk oblasts, the Leningrad area and in neighbouring Finland.

The national languages* of the Latvians and Lithuanians belong to the Baltic group, an Indo-European sub-group. Although Latvians and Lithuanians are unintelligible to each other, both languages are characterized by a similar lexical development and structure. The more northerly located Estonians and Karelians belong to the Finno-Ugric language group, a branch of the Uralic language family.

In terms of cultural development, the Estonians have more in common with their southern neighbours than with the Karelians. The character of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian languages and cultures owes much to the rise of nationalist* movements in the last quarter of the 19th century and to their parallel literary revivals, continuing through the period of statehood as Baltic republics* (1918–40). The Lutheran* religion in 19th-century Estonia and

Estonians in a cafe in Tallinn

although defeated at the battle of Châlons in 451, invaded Italy. But with the sudden death of their leader, Attila, in 453, the primitive and poorly-organized Hunnic empire quickly disintegrated.

Avars

The Avars were another Turkic/Mongol group from Asia, whose invasion of southern Russia in 558, like that of the Huns, changed the whole political system of east-central Europe. It caused a new wave of migrations of Germanic and Iranian tribes, although on a more limited scale than the general displacement caused by the Huns. The centre of the Avar empire lay in the basin of the middle Danube, and at the height of their power their sway extended to eastern Russia. Control of Russia was lost after about a hundred years, but the Avar state lasted about two and a half centuries, in the course of which it threatened Byzantium and waged wars in the west against the empire of Charlemagne. In the end the Avar state quickly fell to pieces and disappeared virtually without trace, the common fate of politically and culturally weak nomad empires.

Khazars

The next organized power to emerge in Russia dates from the 7th century. This was the state of the Khazars, which covered the region of the lower Volga and the south-eastern Russian steppe. They were yet another Turkish-speaking people from Asia, whose arrival split up a powerful tribal confederation known as Great Bulgaria, which had occupied the region of the lower Volga and north Caucasus since the collapse of the Hunnic empire; one group settled in the Balkans, to be absorbed by the Slavs and give its name to present-day Bulgaria, while another went north-east and eventually established a prosperous trading state on the middle Volga. The Khazar state lay in an even more favourable position across important trade routes, and the Khazars, although originally a nomadic people, built towns, developed commerce and played an important role in the international politics of the period. They fought stubbornly against the Arabs and succeeded in blocking the spread of Islam* into Europe. In the 8th and 9th centuries the ruler and the upper class embraced Judaism*–another curious development in an unusual history. The Khazar state survived until about the year 1000, although it never really recovered from the shattering series of blows dealt it by the Kievan prince Svyatoslav* in 965.

Slavs

The history of the peoples and cultures of southern Russia before the 9th century AD forms an essential background to Kievan* Russia, but the inhabitants of the Kievan state who became known as Russians were not Scythians, Huns or Khazars–they were Slavs.* The first written references to the Slavs occur in early classical writers such as Pliny the Elder, and it is now assumed by many historians that Slavs composed a significant part of the population of southern and central Russia from the time of the Scythians. Surviving the successive invasions and migrations, they make their appearance in the Russian Primary Chronicle,* where at the dawn of Kievan history a number of East Slavonic tribes are shown paying tribute to the Khazars.

D.S.M.W.

The land of Rus'

The Russian Primary Chronicle

The Russian Primary Chronicle (edited in the early 12th century) opens with the intention to reveal 'the origins of the land of Rus' . . . the source from which the land of Rus' had its beginning'. However, faced with a distant and undocumented past, the chronicler had to content himself with a stylized introduction to Russian history, much of which resembles myth or saga. He was not to know that he would thereby kindle a controversy which has yet to run its course.

According to the chronicle, three Scandinavian (Varangian) brothers, Ryurik, Sineus and Truvor, came with their followers to the land of Rus' (*c.*860–2) in answer to an invitation from the local east Slav tribes: 'Our whole land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us.' Whether the brothers came from Denmark or Sweden remains unclear. Even less clear is the meaning of the term Rus', which is applied to them, as well as to their host land. But perhaps the most crucial question which remains unanswered concerns the extent of their influence and that of their successors on the Slavs who allegedly invited them to come.

The chronicle suggests that the land was 'great and rich'. Yet another long-standing controversy relates to the source of this apparent wealth. Were the peoples of Rus' principally engaged in agriculture or in trade? Archaeology tends to provide support for the former; the literary sources give preference to the latter. In either case, the new Varangian overlords undoubtedly imposed order by taxation. They also sought to increase prosperity by extending and safeguarding trade routes. Chief among these (and perhaps the lure which brought them to Rus') was the Dnieper-Black Sea route 'from the Varangians to the Greeks' which linked Scandinavia with the fabled wealth of Constantinople.

The lure of Constantinople

Thus Ryurik's associates Askol'd and Dir seized the township of Kiev (860) and used it as their base for an ambitious attack on Constantinople itself. The assault was not brought to a successful conclusion, but the Byzantines were never to forget it. It forced them to take cognizance of their bellicose northern neighbours and to plan for their containment.

It is not clear whether Askol'd and Dir became Christians before their death at the hands of Ryurik's councillor Oleg (882). But the eventual baptism of the Kievan rulers Ol'ga and Vladimir was undoubtedly consonant with Byzantium's desire to reduce the risk of any further such incursions.

Meanwhile, however, Oleg (882–912) followed Askol'd and Dir to Mikligard (as the Norsemen named the Byzantine capital). His expedition of 907 (if the evidence of the Russian chronicle is to be accepted) was successful enough to result in a favourable Russo-Byzantine treaty (911). Under Ryurik's son Igor' (913–95) two more expeditions were launched against Constantinople (941 and 944), which resulted in a second treaty. Though somewhat less advantageous to the Russians than the first, it still provides evidence of the extent to which the two parties valued each other's trade and collaboration.

The baptism of Igor''s widow Ol'ga (regent 945–64) under the sponsorship of the Byzantine emperor himself indicated the way towards even closer collaboration. In connection with this event she was received by him in Constantinople (957). But her example was followed by few, and certainly not by the Kievan state as a whole.

Ol'ga was widowed as the result of local Slav (Drevlian) resentment at her husband's main alternative source of income, tribute. The Drevlians had been required to pay an exceptionally heavy tribute after an earlier uprising against Igor'. In 945 they rose once more, captured Igor' and executed him. In the chronicle Ol'ga is remembered almost as much for the terrible revenge which she took on the Drevlians – she killed their envoys, burned their town and put 5000 of its inhabitants to death – as for her subsequent conversion to the religion of mercy and peace.

Svyatoslav (962–72)

Askol'd and Dir had captured Kiev from the Khazars,* whose empire lay to the south-east, centred on the Volga basin. Ol'ga's son Svyatoslav was to go further and to undermine the empire itself. He was a brilliant tactician – in the years 963–6 and again 968–9 he moved tirelessly from one victory to another – but he was deficient in strategy: he failed to exploit his dismemberment of Khazaria and moreover failed to compensate for it. In the process a buffer state vanished and Rus' was subjected to endless inroads from nomads who replaced the Khazars – at first the Pechenegs, subsequently the Polovtsy (Cumans). The Pechenegs demonstrated their new strength by killing Svyatoslav himself (971) as he returned from an abortive attempt to extend his power to the Balkans. Earlier, he had intended to make Pereyaslavets on the Danube his capital (967), unabashed by the resulting confrontation with the combined forces of Bulgaria and Byzantium.

Svyatoslav's three sons were left to resolve their differences as to who should rule in Kiev. For Kiev, rather than Novgorod (where Ryurik settled), had by now acquired a pre-eminence which it was to retain, if only in theory, for many years to come. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, it had been designated 'the mother of Russian cities' by Oleg as long ago as 882; the same chronicle contained a legend to the effect that its future site had once been blessed by no less a visitor than the apostle Andrew.

Vladimir I (980–1015)

The would-be successors' struggle for power (unlike many that were to follow) was comparatively brief. Prince Vladimir emerged the sole survivor. In an attempt to unite the Rus' lands he fostered the creation of a pagan pantheon at Kiev. He furthered their stabilization by regulating the collection of tribute from the various provincial capitals, in each of which he placed one of his twelve sons to rule. He also sought to counteract the work of Svyatoslav by building a line of forts to the east as a protection against the Pechenegs. Instead of over-extending his frontiers to the west, he attempted to stabilize them by conquest of the 'Cherven' cities' from Poland (981).

All this provides evidence of an astute mind, though it hardly prepares for that demonstration of statesmanship which was to ensure his lasting fame and bring Rus' firmly within the bounds of the Byzantine 'commonwealth'.

The conversion of Rus'

The creation of an indigenous pantheon could bring few benefits in the field of foreign relations. The Khazars had been converts to Judaism;* the eastern Bulgars were Muslim;* the homeland of the Varangians had recently turned to western Christianity, as had the Poles and Hungarians; to the south and south-west lay the Orthodox* world, in the midst of which Svyatoslav had hoped to settle. The acceptance of any one of the great monotheistic religions would facilitate new alliances and further trade. Vladimir seems to have pondered the options for some time. Ultimately, he chose to follow his grandmother's example in his acceptance of Orthodox Christianity. This choice was diplomatically the more attractive since support for the Byzantine emperor (Basil II) brought him the coveted reward of the emperor's sister in marriage. Vladimir's baptism (about 987–9) was the necessary prelude to such a match.

In the event, the emperor was reluctant to proceed with his part of the bargain: Vladimir needed to capture the Crimean city of Kherson from the Byzantines (989) to prompt the despatch of his bride. He returned to Kiev later that year with the necessary zeal and support to initiate the accelerated (and often forcible) conversion of his subjects. It was a turning-point in Russian history.

The Russian Primary Chronicle paints an excessively laudatory portrait of the Christian Vladimir. But there is no reason to doubt the sincerity with which he accepted the new faith, nor the efficiency with which he established and disseminated it. Kiev was soon graced with

a stone cathedral (990–6), church statutes were elaborated (996/1007–11) and bishoprics were established. However, the new faith was not enough to ensure amity among Vladimir's offspring. His death (1015) immediately provoked or exacerbated the kind of internecine strife which became a depressingly familiar feature of early Russian political life.

Yaroslav the Wise (1036–54)

The Kievan throne was seized by Svyatopolk (1015–19). According to the subsequently elaborated narratives, it was he who immediately ordered the assassination of his rivals Boris, Gleb and Svyatoslav. If only on this account, Yaroslav of Novgorod disputed Svyatopolk's succession. The ensuing war (with Yaroslav supported by Varangians, Svyatopolk by Poles and Pechenegs) ended in victory for Yaroslav (1019).

But Yaroslav did not thereby become sole ruler of the Russian territories. Most important among his remaining rivals was Mstislav of Tmutarakan', whose successful struggle with Yaroslav (1024–6) ended in an agreement to divide the country, using the Dnieper as frontier. Yaroslav retained Novgorod, Kiev and the right (west) bank: Mstislav's territory extended from the left bank to include Chernigov and Pereyaslavl', as well as Tmutarakan'. Only Mstislav's death without issue (1036) reunited these equally significant areas.

Yaroslav's unchallenged reign proved to be an exceptional one. Though remarkable as much for consolidation as for innovation, it was to earn him the sobriquet *mudryy*, 'the wise'. Kiev gained notably in grandeur and prestige. Adam of Bremen (d.1074) went so far as to call it 'the rival of Constantinople's realm, the brightest ornament of the Greek [Orthodox] world'. Under Yaroslav began the construction of its great St Sophia cathedral (1037–46). This was to be the seat of Kiev's metropolitan (the head of the Church), normally the legate of Constantinople. However, at one stage Yaroslav sponsored the election of a native Russian (Ilarion) to this exalted post (1051–2), as if to demonstrate his independence of the Byzantine world. Possibly by way of redress, he arranged the marriage of his son to a Byzantine princess (1052). It was one of many such marriages by which Yaroslav sought to establish or cement good relations with the outside world. His immediate family was linked to the royal families of Sweden, Norway, Poland, Hungary, France and Germany.

Yaroslav's work in the legal sphere was to prove more lasting than his diplomacy. Early in his career (about 1016) he had seen to the codification of Russian law (*Pravda russkaya*); this was revised and amplified two decades later. Although it began life as a local Novgorodian codex, it was to serve Russian law-makers as a source and model for centuries to come.

The troubled succession

Regrettably, Yaroslav probably elaborated no legislation or guidelines concerning the complex succession to his throne. Though some kind of rota system may have been followed by his immediate successors, this would seem to have been the result of their pragmatic decisions rather than of any preconceived plan. Thus the death of Yaroslav presented a challenge to centralized government in the Kievan realm, a challenge which it was ill-prepared to withstand. Only by the mutual agreement of Yaroslav's three most powerful successors–Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod–was fragmentation of the realm delayed. All three ruled successively in Kiev: Izyaslav, the eldest, with two significant interruptions, both caused by the popular discontent which he had provoked (1054–68, 1069–73 and 1077–8). Like Svyatopolk before him, Izyaslav regained his throne with Polish help in 1069. But neither Poles nor Germans were anxious to offer him support in his second exile, from which he returned briefly only on his supplanter's death.

That only one of Yaroslav's sons (Vsevolod) remained to rule in the years 1078–93 by no means ensured stability. Troubles were compounded by the appearance of a new enemy in the steppe. The defeat of the Pechenegs in Yaroslav's time had simply made way for the Polovtsy who from 1061 were to harass the Russian principalities. Worse, they were later to be employed by one principality against another.

The reign of Svyatopolk II (1093–1113) produced no resolution of Russia's political problems, despite the unprecedented attempt to bring them to a conference table (Lyubech, 1097). At first a reconciliation of the various princes and power groups seemed indeed to have been achieved; but the very participants of the conference soon suspected one another of conspiracy, and the treacherous arrest and blinding of Yaroslav's grandson Vasil'ko (1097) revealed the fragility of that same year's agreements.

Vladimir Monomakh (1113–25)

Ironically, it was one of the staunchest defenders of the Lyubech accord who was to deviate from it and thus offer Kievan Rus' the security and stability which had evaded it for so long.

Vladimir Monomakh's reign in Kiev began democratically with an invitation from the Kievan *veche* (city assembly). The riots which preceded and provoked the invitation (as well as those which followed Monomakh's initial refusal to serve) were ended by his promptly effected social and fiscal reforms. His military prowess had already been displayed in his successful campaigns against the Polovtsy–notably in 1111. Such campaigns were to be continued by his son Yaropolk (1116 and 1126). But the authority of Vladimir rested on more than the ability to wage war or conduct diplomacy. It is clear that his personal integrity was a cohesive force of paramount importance. Some indication of its character is provided by the magnificent *Testimony* (*Pouchenie*), incorporated into the Russian Primary Chronicle, which was edited and revised in his reign.

The decline of Kiev

However, the days of Kiev's primacy were numbered. Monomakh's sons Mstislav (1125–32) and Yaropolk (1132–9) were able to follow successfully in their father's footsteps, but the succeeding years saw endless disputes and power struggles involving a prize of ever-decreasing value. Chernigov had long been an alternative centre of power. In the western regions, Galicia and Volynia (to be united in 1199) tended ever more to go their own way. In the north-west, Novgorod had always retained a certain independence; it had its own trade connections via the Baltic with the west, and its mercantile concerns, as well as its distinctive form of government, were to further its separate development. Nowhere was the *veche* and its council to gain such status, nowhere was the prince to become so much its servant.

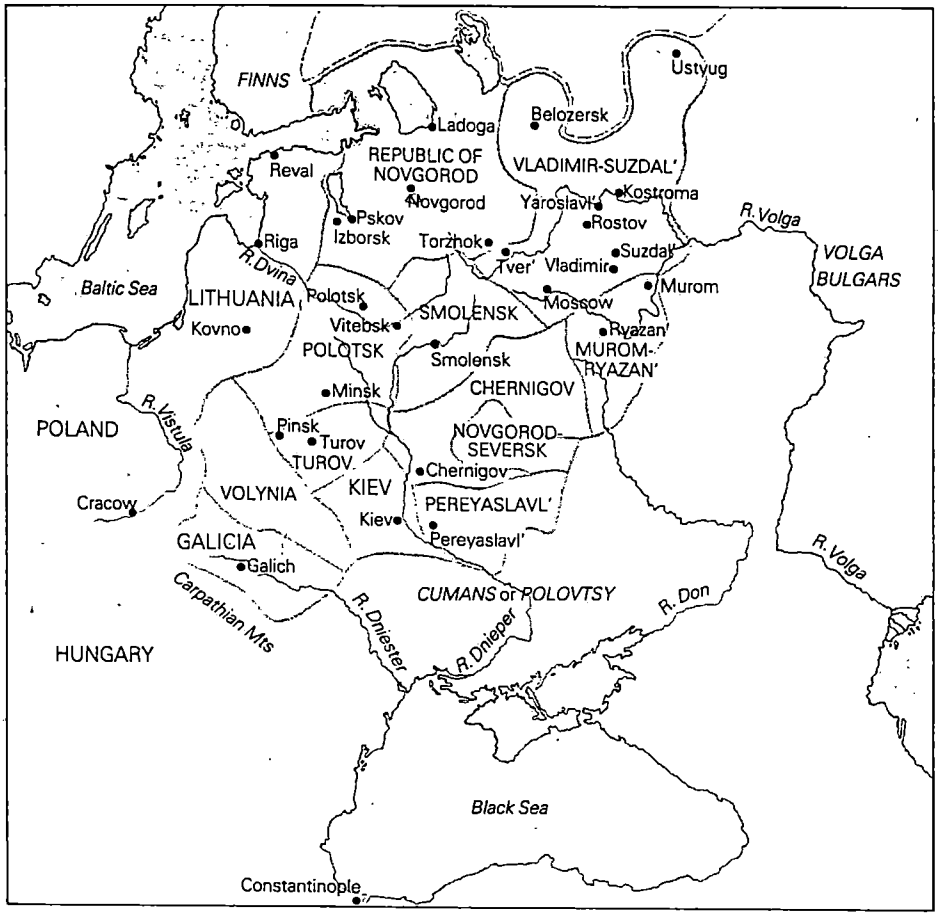
The city of Vladimir

Kiev could no longer hope to influence (let alone control) Novgorod after 1136, and a hitherto comparatively obscure principality of the north-east began to manifest its pretensions in this respect by the mid-12th century. With the accession of the most forceful of Monomakh's grandsons, Andrey, to the throne of Rostov and Suzdal' (1157–74), the centre of gravity was to move to his newly established capital Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma. The succeeding half-century saw Vladimir's embellishment as rival and supplanter of Kiev. Its impressive Cathedral of the Assumption (*Uspenskiy sobor*)* (1158–60/1185–9) still stands as a memorial to Andrey's ambitions, which were fully shared by his successor, Vsevolod III (1176–1212). The decline of Kiev was calculatedly emphasized by Andrey, who captured and sacked the old capital in 1169 but spurned it as his seat.

The end of Kievan Rus'

In due course Vladimir itself suffered depredations and decline. Six years before the death of Vsevolod III, a 'supreme emperor' had been proclaimed in the Far East: in Mongolian his title read 'Chingis [or Genghis] Khan'. By 1223 his advance battalions entered Polovtsian territory from the south on a victorious reconnaissance for the main

THE FRAGMENTATION OF KIEVAN RUSSIA, 1054–1238



KEY

The twelve principalities of Russia in 1100

Source: M. Gilbert, *Russian History Atlas*, London, 1972

Mongol* army. A combined force of Russians and Polovtsy was defeated by them on the Kalka river (1223). The Mongols' subsequent withdrawal should have engendered no complacency for they were to return in full force (1237). Ultimately only a few western cities were to escape the broadcast destruction which established Mongol suzerainty and ushered in a new age. *S.H.*

The Mongol conquest

In the autumn of 1237 a Mongol army led by Batu, grandson of Genghis Khan, swooped down upon the Russian city of Ryazan'. This was the beginning of the Mongol invasion of the 'western lands', the final stage in a programme of conquest planned by an assembly of Mongol chieftains in 1206. Batu's army then proceeded methodically through north-eastern Russia, capturing and sacking many cities, including Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, which fell in February 1238. By the time the Mongols (or Tatars* as they are more commonly known in the Russian sources) arrived there Prince Yury Vsevolodovich, grand prince of Vladimir, had left the town (trusting that its strong walls would protect it) and retreated northwards with his army. He hoped that a long march of pursuit would weaken the invaders; but he underestimated the toughness and endurance of the Mongol horsemen, who could spend long hours in the saddle with little need for food or rest. When Batu's army caught up with Yury on the banks of the river Sit' the Russians were defeated and Yury himself was killed. Batu then turned west, towards the wealthy commercial city of Novgorod. However Novgorod was saved by a change in the weather: in 1238 the spring thaw came unusually early, making the ground too swampy for Batu's mounted troops to advance.

Mounted Mongol archers crossing a frozen river (from a Persian illuminated manuscript, *c.* 1300)

During the year 1239 Batu undertook no major campaigns; then in the summer of 1240 he struck again, this time in a south-westerly direction. The cities of Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' were captured and sacked, and finally Kiev itself, in December 1240. This completed the conquest of Russia and inaugurated the period of Mongol overlordship described in Russian chronicles as the 'Tatar yoke', which was to last for nearly two and a half centuries. At the same time as the Russians faced the Mongol onslaught they were also threatened from the west, by the armies of Sweden and the Teutonic Knights, who attacked Novgorod in 1240 and Pskov in 1242. Both attacks were repulsed by the prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevsky (so called for his victory over the Swedes on the Neva River, 1240) his second victory being the famous Battle of the Ice on Lake Peipus. The scale of this engagement has probably been exaggerated, but this has not lessened Alexander Nevsky's importance as a warrior hero and cult figure.

The Russian Orthodox Church

The beginnings of Russian Christianity may be traced back to the 9th century, but the evidence is fragmentary. A 'Russian' diocese seems to have been established by the Byzantines in 867, though its location is not certain. In 944 there were Russian Christians among the signatories of a Byzantine-Russian treaty; by the middle of the 10th century (*c.*955) the regent of Kiev,* Princess Ol'ga (*c.*890–969) was herself baptized. However, her own baptism was not the prelude to an immediate conversion of her people. On the contrary, the Kievan realm was to experience something of a pagan revival under her son Svyatoslav* (942–72) and, even more markedly, under the young Vladimir* (d.1015), her grandson. Under Vladimir, indeed, there was an attempt to create a new Nordic pantheon, with Perun (the god of thunder) at its head. It was the same Vladimir who was to demolish its monuments and desecrate its shrines in the last decade of the century. For the new pantheon proved to be an anachronism.

Conversion

The principality of Kiev was surrounded by powerful neighbours, each of whom had accepted one of the great monotheistic religions in the course of the preceding century. Vladimir must have perceived that his country's political and economic–not to mention spiritual–welfare depended on conversion to one or another of these faiths, whether Judaism,* Islam* or Christianity. His investigations persuaded him that Byzantine Christianity had most to offer.

Negotiations with Constantinople led to Vladimir's marriage to the emperor's sister (989) and to its necessary precondition, his baptism (988). It was a baptism which was to determine the religion of the Russian people for centuries to come.

At the outset 'conversion' was the policy of an élite, which showed no hesitation in promoting it by force. Although the new religion spread with remarkable speed and Rus'* was soon able to display all the marks of a flourishing Christian civilization, paganism was to linger for many a century, however covertly, especially in the rural areas.

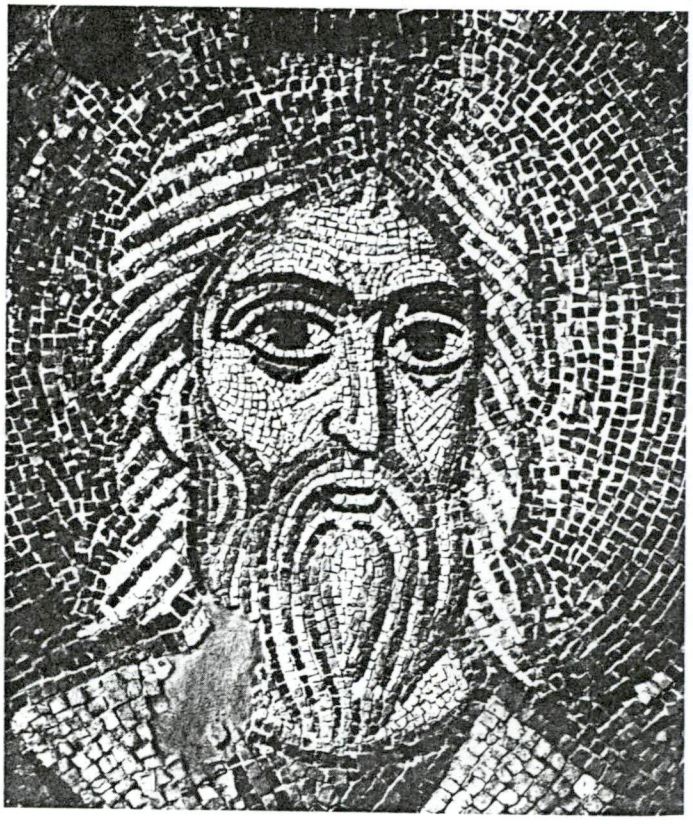
Rus' inherited a fully-developed Christian tradition from the Byzantine world. The converts were not expected to engage in any major theological controversies (the age of the great Ecumenical Councils had come to an end with the Council of 787). Nor were they required to devise new liturgical forms. For their worship and instruction the Byzantines provided them even with a corpus of Slavonic translations. The new faith was communicated in a language which was accessible to the local population, an important factor in its diffusion and acceptance.

Organization

It remains unclear which diocese of the new Church had precedence until 1037. The matter is complicated by the existence of several

The baptism of the Russians, from *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*

Eleventh-century mosaic of Aaron, St Sophia Cathedral, Kiev



missionary centres prior to the conversion of the Kievan realm. But although there were briefly to be metropolitans in Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' even in the second half of the 11th century, the appointment of a metropolitan of Kiev (Feopempt) in 1037 determined the location of the primatial see throughout the pre-Mongol period and its designation for some time after. Under Kiev at least seven other dioceses were soon established; their number was to rise to 15 by the time of the Mongol conquest.* The first metropolitan was a Greek, as were most of his successors for some time to come. An exception, such as the Russian Metropolitan Ilarion, was not likely to gain the approval of Constantinople. Ilarion remained in office for barely a year (1051–2). Not until the 15th century did the Russian Church begin to take decisions in such matters entirely for itself: formally, it remained a province of the patriarchate of Constantinople until at least 1448.

As members of that patriarchate the Russians were party to Constantinople's ever-increasing estrangement from Rome, of which the Schism of 1054 was but one expression. The 'missionary' inroads of the Swedes (1240) and the Baltic Teutonic Knights (1242), successfully resisted by Alexander Nevsky* (*c.*1220–63), were to confirm their worst suspicions of the heretical West.

Early monasteries and first saints

The Kievan Monastery of the Caves (1051) grew up around two saintly figures, Antony (d.1072/3) and Feodosy (d.1074). If not the first, it was certainly the most important of the early monastic foundations. These were to number 68 by the time of the Mongol invasion. Almost all had an urban location and a commitment to their secular environment. They were valued for their educational, artistic and philanthropic work, as well as for their spiritual life.

The growing maturity of the Church was demonstrated by the canonization of several saints. First among these were the princes Boris and Gleb (d.1015); their feast was celebrated three times a year. Feodosy, who attended the translation of their relics in 1072, was soon to follow them into the ranks of saints (1108). Vladimir himself was not to be canonized until 1240, the very year in which his old capital was sacked by the Mongols. Thus began a new and sombre period.

Mongol toleration

The devastation which accompanied the Mongol invasion affected the Church no less than any other institution. But the toleration of the Mongol rulers for all religions (which was to outlive their subsequent conversion to Islam) led them to safeguard, even to enhance the position of the Church. Its beliefs and practices were to be respected; moreover it was to be exempt from all taxation. The tolerance of one khan even led to the establishment of a new see at the Mongol capital of Saray (1261).

Kiev-Vladimir-Moscow

The sack and consequent decline of Kiev persuaded Metropolitan Maksim (d.1305) to transfer his residence to the city of Vladimir. For less obvious reasons, his successor Petr (d.1326) moved to the as yet unimportant township of Moscow (1325). In due course the alienation of Kiev (it fell under Polish-Lithuanian dominion) provided yet one more reason for the metropolitan to change his title to that of 'Moscow and all Rus'' (1458). A separate metropolitanate of Kiev was established, first under Roman auspices (1458), then under Constantinople (1470).

Monastic revival

The most significant church figure of the 14th century was not a metropolitan but a humble monk, Sergy of Radonezh (1314–92). Around his hermitage in the wilds 70 km north-east of Moscow (at the place subsequently named after him Sergiev Posad, now Zagorsk) was to develop one of the greatest of Russian monasteries, dedicated to the Holy Trinity (and eventually also to its saintly founder). Sergy's work provided the stimulus for a revival of monastic life. New foundations proliferated, by contrast with the pre-Mongol period, in areas which were hardly populated, even unexplored. In Sergy's lifetime there were perhaps 50 new monastic houses; the number was to be trebled within a century of his demise.

The monastic colonizers often acted as missionaries. None made such an impact as the great missionary of the Zyrian (Komi*) people, Stefan of Perm' (1340–96), who translated the Scriptures and the liturgy into the local language and created a Zyrian alphabet for the purpose. He followed in the footsteps of SS Cyril and Methodius (the 9th-century apostles of the Slavs,* creators of a Slavonic alphabet) and paved the way for the missionary translators of later centuries, particularly the 19th. Unlike many a later Russian missionary, however, St Stefan resolutely refused to have his work exploited in the interests of the Russian state.

Rome-Constantinople-Moscow

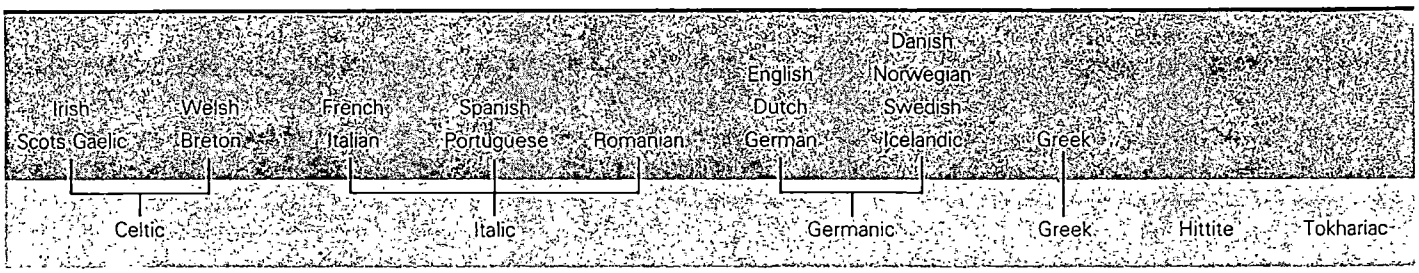
The independence of the Muscovite Church was hastened, though it was not determined by the formal (and short-lived) reunion of Rome and Constantinople—the Catholic and Orthodox Churches—brought about at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–9). Metropolitan Isidor of Moscow had been a member of the Council and party to its decisions. But Moscow would have none of them. On his return to Moscow Isidor was at first imprisoned by the grand prince (1441), then allowed to flee the country. Isidor, while residing as cardinal in Rome, remained nominally metropolitan of Moscow until his death (1463). But his replacement had been chosen long before, and by the Russian Church alone—without even a token preliminary reference to Constantinople. Metropolitan Iona (d.1461), the new metropolitan in Moscow, became head of an

Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian languages

Russian (R), Ukrainian (UK) and Belorussian (BR) together form the East Slavonic (ES) group of the Slavonic branch of the Indo-European family of languages, the other groups being West Slavonic (WS) (Czech (CZ), Slovak, Polish (POL) and Lusatian) and South Slavonic (SS) (Slovene (SN), Serbo-Croat (SCT), Bulgarian, Macedonian and Old Church Slavonic (OCS)). The accompanying tabulation of dates summarizes linguistic development. Long before their earliest recorded history the East Slavonic dialects had developed some of the main characteristics which distinguish them from West and South Slavonic. The acquisition of literacy came with the conversion to Christianity* in 988; early literature confined to religious themes was written in Old Church Slavonic, with an admixture of East Slavonic dialectal features. Secular documents made use of the local vernaculars, which, up to the 14th century, were close enough to be dubbed either simply East Slavonic or Old Russian (OR), in the wide sense of ancestors of the three modern languages, containing in embryo their divergent characteristics, with the exception of accretions, chiefly lexical, from outside sources. Among the most important dialects were those of the Ilmen' Slovenes and Krivichi (North Great Russian), the Radimichi, Vyatichi and Severyane (South Great Russian), the Polyanians and Volynians (Ukrainian) and the Dregovichi (Belorussian). From the 10th century until its sack by the Tatars* in 1240 Kiev was the chief East Slavonic cultural centre; after that date there was a westward shift of power and influence to Galicia and Volynia which heralded the emergence of Old Ukrainian (14th to 16th centuries). From the 13th century divergent tendencies may be observed in Great Russian (for example, confusion of hiss and hush sibilants–*ts/ch*, *s/sh*, *z/zh* in Pskov) but disintegration was forestalled by the growth of Moscow,* through the annexation of minor principalities and the suppression of the independent republics of Novgorod and Pskov, to become the undisputed political and cultural centre of Great Russia. The language which took shape in Moscow admitted elements from both North and South Great Russian, a happy blend which is reflected in the modern standard pronunciation with plosive *g* from the former and reduction of unstressed vowels (*akan'e*) from the latter.

Polish and Lithuanian domination of western areas encouraged the development of Old Belorussian and Old Ukrainian, at this stage (14th to 16th centuries) so close to each other as to be given the common name of Ruthenian by some scholars. First confined to legal documents, by the 16th century these dialects had become an adequate medium for contemporary literary genres such as Orthodox religious polemical* tracts, vivid personal reminiscence and syllabic verse on the Polish and Latin pattern. The most striking feature of the

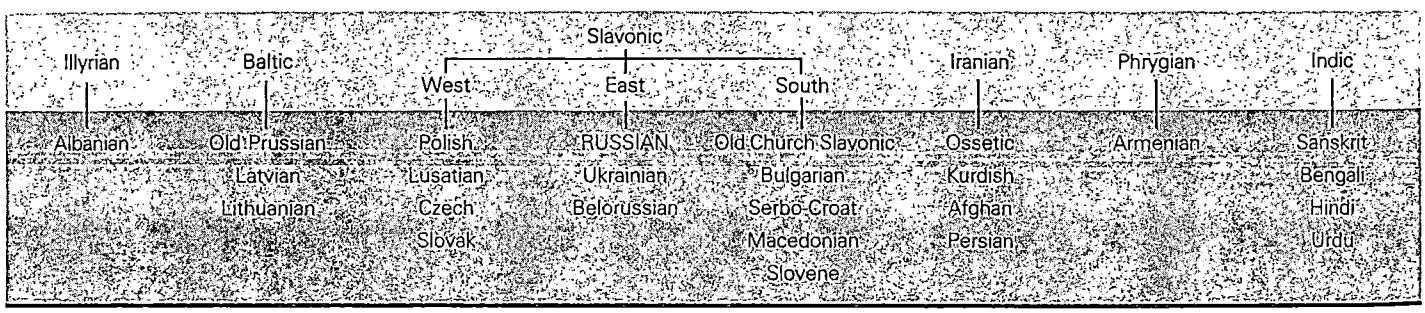
THE RELATIONSHIP OF RUSSIAN, BELORUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN TO OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES



'Centum' dialects

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

'Satəm' dialects



Russian folk-lore

Folk-lore is the traditional culture of the Russians, passed down from generation to generation. Originally much of it was connected with East Slavonic paganism, but after the introduction of Christianity* in the 10th century, it increasingly became the sole form of secular popular entertainment. Ritual folk-lore, often given Christian overtones, accompanied every event of significance in daily life, while non-ritualistic folk-lore, particularly the more artistic forms, was brought to the people by travelling minstrels or mummers, called *skomorokhi*. The Church fulminated against them, but they were not suppressed till the mid-17th century. Then they disappeared into the countryside to pass on their skills to talented peasants. Thanks to Russia's economic and social backwardness, folk literature was a rich and vital tradition right up to the Revolution, and even now is not defunct.

One of the most ancient and prolific folk genres is the tale. The Russians possess variants of well-known fairy tales such as Snow White or Cinderella, as well as many original subjects, each in countless different versions. Folk tales are of three kinds: fairy tales, animal tales and tales of everyday life. Best known are the fairy tales, perhaps originally connected with the primitive shamanistic beliefs of the Ural-Altaic peoples, attributing power over good and evil to the tribal priest-doctor. Their hero is either a prince or a low-born fool, Ivanushka Durak, who ultimately marries the princess. Fairy tales all centre on a dangerous quest, during which the hero encounters the famous figures of peasant folk-lore, such as the witch Baba Yaga, who lives in a house on chicken legs, and the dragon Koshchey the Immortal who can only be killed if the egg that contains his death can be discovered. To enable him to combat evil, the hero receives help usually either from magical animals or from objects like the comb that can turn into a forest or the purse that never empties. Animal tales, probably connected once to animistic beliefs, describe comic encounters between animals, who, as in the Brer Rabbit stories, are given a distinguishing human characteristic. Thus the most popular character, the Fox Lizaveta or Lisa Patrikeevna (*lisa* means fox) specializes in sweet words and flattery. Fearsome animals are turned into figures of fun: Mishka or Mikhail Ivanych, the Bear, though known for his strength as 'the uprooter of trees', is slow and clumsy. Even more stupid is the 'grey fool', the Wolf, who is constantly outwitted. Full of lively dialogue, rhymes and snatches of song, animal tales are still popular with Russian children.* The tales of everyday life are generally of more recent origin. They are based on the motif of the triumph of the underdog: the fool over the clever man. Their comic and satiric touches (the priest and the landlord are figures of fun) and their lively colloquial style ensure their popularity.

Rich and varied though folk tales are, they are less striking than the epic songs of Russia, the *byliny*. Preserved in the far north of Russia until relatively recent years, *byliny* were sung–or rather intoned–by peasant *skaziteli* (singers), who were famed for their narrative skill, poetic sensibility and, not least, their memory. Most *byliny* were composed before the 16th century. A few with superhuman heroes such as Svyatogor the giant, or Volkh Vseslavich who can turn himself into an animal, probably go back to pre-Christian times. Most others were composed either during the period of Kievan greatness (11th and 12th centuries), or after the Tatar* invasion. It is hard to tell, for the heroes–the *bogatyri* Il'ya of Murom, Alesha Popovich, Dobrynya Nikitich–are the same, and precise historical details are few. Whatever the period of composition, events are related back to an idealized heroic Kievan age. Other *byliny* are set in Novgorod. Unlike the Kievan *bylina* cycle which is usually concerned with heroic battles or love, the Novgorod *byliny* are altogether more prosaic: Vasily Buslaevich, the 'hero' of some, is little more than a drunken braggart. *Byliny* depend for their effect upon the skill of the singer, who must compose his text from memory with the aid of stock poetic formulas and situations; thus the description of saddling a horse is always the same, hands are always white, a maiden always fair. Epic features include threefold epic retardation and hyperbole–a *bogatyr'* wields his weapon with such force that he clears a roadway through the ranks of the enemy.

With time, *byliny* gave way to historical songs and ballads. Sung in the same tonic (accentual) metre as *byliny*, but shorter and lacking the heroic tone and stock situations, historical songs present popular, sometimes spurious accounts of historical episodes or personages. Ballads, on the other hand, have no obvious connection with history. Mainly composed between the 13th and early 18th centuries in a slightly freer tonic verse than *byliny*, ballads are dramatic tales of the fates of individuals such as the wife who murders her husband, or the wife slandered by her mother-in-law and killed by her husband.

Folk-songs* are not all narrative. Large numbers of lyric songs exist which were, and are, sung not by special singers but by ordinary people, usually women. The majority of songs describe peasant life, mainly its sadder sides: perhaps the most persistent theme is that of unhappy love and marriage. Other groups of songs centre round soldiers, bandits or barge-hauliers. The poetics of lyric songs depend to a great extent on a range of beautiful traditional nature symbols. Apart from these songs expressing personal feeling, Russian folk-lore possesses a wide range of ritual songs connected with festivals and ceremonies such as weddings. Even now in the north the age-old tradition of funeral laments is not entirely defunct. Using folk poetic expressions, the singer expresses her own and the family's profound grief by improvising a lament, which reflects the character and occupation of the deceased. Christian themes are also found in the *dukhovnye pesni*, spiritual songs, which present popular versions of biblical and hagiographical stories.

Some forms of folk-lore such as drama were less well-developed than in Western Europe. Modern times have produced their own forms, notably the *chastushka*, a four-line verse, often comic, satiric or bawdy in character, in fact something like the limerick. But though most of the traditional forms are in decline, not all have yet disappeared. They and the pithy sayings and proverbs that are part of colloquial speech are reminders that the average Russian today is still in touch with the traditional oral culture of his people. *F.C.M.K.*

Literary genres, 11th to 17th centuries

Russian literature developed as a consequence of the conversion of the people to Christianity by the prince of Kiev, Vladimir I,* in 988. In adopting the Eastern Orthodox* form of Christianity from Byzantium rather than from Rome, the Russians received a liturgy in a Slavonic language, Old Church Slavonic, which in spite of its Greek syntax and specialized vocabulary was readily comprehensible. This facilitated the appearance of a literature in a language close to the vernacular within a mere half-century of the introduction of writing. In western Europe where the lingua franca was Latin, vernacular literatures evolved more slowly. Ultimately, the Russians were the losers, for they were isolated from intellectual movements in western Europe. The Renaissance and Reformation scarcely affected them, and Russian literature continued along medieval lines until the 17th century–far later than in western Europe.

Since literature followed upon conversion, much of it was naturally of an ecclesiastical nature–sermons, lives of saints and edifying works of various kinds. Even where it was secular it was still didactic; chronicles recorded events of significance, satirical and polemical works attacked abuses or proposed change, military tales told of great victories or defeats. The early Russian writer, who until the 16th century was usually a monk, saw himself as a medium for the conveying of information. He therefore was not interested in making up fictitious plots or inventing new literary forms. Indeed, the more a work conformed to the conventions of a given genre, the more it would be worthy of respect. But though didactic and traditional, Russian literature did not lack entertainment value: vivid stories, dramatic scenes, even wit and humour are present, but are always subordinated to tendentious aims. Similar attitudes are evident in the use of source materials: anything that served the purpose of a work could be included, and information that conflicted might be omitted with impunity.

Because of the fairly low literacy rate, early Russian literature was generally intended for reading aloud, in church, monastery or court, and, later, in houses of the wealthy. Ecclesiastical literature which had to convey ethical concepts and abstract arguments took account of this fact by employing rhetoric; repetition and euphony of the most varied kinds helped to make the work more pleasing to the ear. By contrast, secular literature, which tended to be more narrative, at least until the 16th century inclined towards simple syntax which made it easy to follow. *F.C.M.K.*

Kievan literature, 11th and 12th centuries

The literature of this period is usually termed Kievan though works may actually have been written in one of the lesser principalities. At this stage regional differences are minimal.

The chronicles

Perhaps the most impressive of the literary works of the period is the Russian Primary Chronicle,* or the *Tale of Bygone Years*, which covers the period up to 1118. As in Byzantine annals, material is placed under the heading of a given year. Since no annalist of the early 12th century could be expected to remember precise dates for more than a few years, it is obvious that the Chronicle is a compilation. It was mainly written by monks of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves, among them Nestor, its first redactor or editor. Aptly termed a literary mosaic, the Chronicle includes folk legends, accounts of battles, lives of saints and a will, each written in the style appropriate to the subject matter. Subsequently it was imitated all over Russia. Local chronicles reflect regional tastes and preoccupations, and those from rival towns often provide fascinatingly varied views of the same events. They also often incorporate complete literary works such as the *Instruction of Vladimir Monomakh** found in the *Tale of Bygone Years*. This unusual document, composed by one of Russia's most energetic and talented princes, consists of series of precepts for his sons followed by an amazingly long list of his campaigns. The advice contained in the first section, which is largely culled from Byzantine sources, is particularly valuable for its picture of the ideal Kievan prince.

Sermons

Through translation the Russians received many of the best examples of the Byzantine art of homily. That they were appreciated is evident from native Russian sermons, which, though not original in their theology, reveal remarkable skill with argument and its expression. The most impressive is Metropolitan Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace* (1037–51) intended as a stimulus to the canonization of Vladimir I.* Ilarion opens with a succession of beautifully balanced antitheses between Grace, the gift of Christ, and the Law of the Old

Testament. Grace, he argues, is superior to Law not least in its availability to all peoples, the Russians included. And so he turns to the specific theme of the conversion* of Russia, and as he does, he skilfully raises the emotional tone of the work until it culminates in a superb lyrical eulogy of Vladimir and his son, the ruling prince of Kiev, Yaroslav.* By contrast, the sermons written by the 12th-century bishop from Turov, Kirill, lack both Ilarion's patriotic tone and his skill with logical argument. Instead Kirill employs an ornate style to paint charming symbolic pictures of nature in which each detail reflects an aspect of the Church festival on which the sermon was to be pronounced.

Hagiography

Lives of saints were very popular in Kievan times, perhaps partly because the Byzantine model for rhetorical biography had been imperfectly absorbed, thus permitting realistic character portrayal and episodes inconsistent with traditional concepts of sanctity. Thus, of the versions of the deaths of the young princes Boris and Gleb, cruelly butchered by their elder brother Svyatopolk in 1015, only *The Lection on the Blessed Martyrs Boris and Gleb* written *c.* 1078 by Nestor, conforms to Byzantine canons. Logically structured and carefully written, it presents an idealized portrait of the young princes, but is much less enjoyable than the more popular *Tale of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*. Though the *Tale* is an awkward fusion of conflicting legends, it contains dramatic episodes and vivid portraits of the two brothers, especially of Gleb as he begs for mercy from his murderers. Even Nestor's *Life of St Feodosy of the Monastery of the Caves* ignores convention with its superb portrayal of Feodosy's possessive bullying mother, who goes to all ends to thwart her son's monastic calling. Kievan literature also boasts its own patericon, a collection of edifying stories about monks. The *Patericon of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves*, begun in the early 13th century, recounted episodes from the lives of former monks of the monastery. Simply told, and often fantastic in character, some, such as the tale of Moisey Ugrin who virtuously resisted the blandishments of a Polish beauty, are well-developed narratives.

The Tale of Igor''s Campaign

One of the most famous works in all Russian literature, the *Tale of Igor''s Campaign*, was apparently composed about 1187 by a court bard. It tells of the disastrous expedition led by Igor', Prince of Novgorod-Seversk against the nomadic Polovtsians. The work is such a unique combination of folk poetry and literary traditions that doubts have frequently been cast on its authenticity, especially as the sole manuscript was destroyed in the great fire of Moscow in 1812. Written in a highly poetic prose full of nature imagery and symbol, the *Tale* gives an impressionistic description of the battle and defeat. Then follows the grand prince of Kiev's ominous dream and an exhortation to the powerful princes of Rus' to unite against the common foe. In the last section of the work, Igor''s wife Yaroslavna laments the loss of her husband, but Nature responds to her grief by facilitating Igor''s escape and return home. The work ends on a note of muted happiness. Although the *Tale's* authenticity may never be established completely, it nonetheless remains a work of undisputed genius.

F.C.M.K.

The Tatar period

The main theme of the *Tale of Igor''s Campaign*, the need for unity in the face of danger, appears frequently from the 12th century on. It evidently was the subject of the tantalizing fragment, the *Tale of the Destruction of the Russian Land*, a poetic lament for past glory. After the crushing Tatar* invasion of 1237–40, princely strife no longer seemed an adequate explanation of the current state of affairs. As Serapion of Vladimir (d. 1275) declared in his *Sermon on the Merciless Heathen*, the defeat of the Russians was Divine punishment for their sins. In a period of isolation and national decline, it is not surprising that literature draws little from Byzantium, concentrating rather on those familiar literary genres that reflected current preoccupations – the recording of events in the chronicles and particularly of battles, some in independent military tales. The *Tale of the Capture of Ryazan' by Baty* describes the first encounter between the main Tatar army and the Russians in 1237. It provides a good example of a compilatory work: a basic story to which dramatic episodes and emotional colouring have been added over a period of time, in this case up to the second half of the 15th century. The defeat of the Ryazan' army and the sack of Ryazan' by Baty are part of the original story, but into this framework touching or dramatic scenes, often of dubious veracity, have been placed. Thus Prince Oleg the Fair, who refuses to be converted to Baty's 'false faith' and is chopped into pieces with knives, actually did not die until 1258. This and other epic stories – such as the tale of Yevpaty Kolovrat, who dies a glorious death after valiantly attempting to avenge the Ryazan' army against hopeless odds – were drawn from epic folk-songs. The author's aim is to increase the sense of patriotic grief for Ryazan'.

A period which valued military prowess was not likely to appreciate so well saintly virtues. It is not surprising that hagiography languishes at the expense of a hybrid genre, the secular biography of princes, which combined hagiographical and annalistic motifs and techniques. The *Life of Alexander Nevsky*, for example, which was written in the early 1280s, paints an idealized portrait of Alexander as warrior, statesman and Defender of the Orthodox Faith. To do so, the author was obliged to alter or ignore his less noble exploits. Thus both his battles, against the Swedes at the mouth of the Neva and

reorganized hagiographical literature, ensuring where necessary the writing and rewriting of saints' lives in florid rhetorical style. The heavy weight of officialdom, secular and ecclesiastical, hung over literature.

Seventeenth-century literature

The great social upheavals of the Time of Troubles* (1598–1613) did much to dissipate the oppressive social atmosphere, but it had little effect on literature. Works of the period still employ heavy Muscovite rhetoric, though a new interest in rhyme is evident. But as time went on, it was clear that the conventions that had held Russian literature together for so long were breaking down. The reading public had expanded, creating a market for entertaining stories. Most were still heavily didactic, like the *Tale of Savva Grudtsyn* in which a young man is seduced by a married woman, falls into the clutches of the Devil but eventually seeks salvation in a monastery. The exception is the *Tale of Frol Skobeev*, where lively narrative is not burdened by any kind of moral: Frol is a rogue, who seduces a rich man's daughter and by cunning succeeds eventually in gaining his father-in-law's blessing. A further innovation is the deliberate use of folk-lore as a literary source, as in the *Tale of Woe-Misfortune* about a Prodigal Son who comes to grief through drink. The tonic (accentual) verse and many of the motifs and expressions are drawn from folk poetry.

The masterpiece of the 17th century came not from the secularization of culture but from the religious reaction to it, the Schism in the Russian Church of the 1650s and 1660s. The leader of the Old Believers* (as the Schismatics came to be called), the Archpriest Avvakum (*c.*1620–82), composed his autobiography between 1672 and 1675 while in a subterranean prison in the cold Far North of Russia. Though termed a Life, this differs from others of the genre, being a detailed autobiography which presents a vivid picture of the indomitable Avvakum and his forbearing wife and children as they endure years of appalling privation in Siberia. Writing in a pithy crude style close to the vernacular, Avvakum heaps abuse on his enemies, portrays his friends and family with tender affection and himself emerges as the first rounded portrait in Russian literature.

Avvakum's desire for a return to old Russian piety was partly a reaction to the growth of Western influence in Russia. Those scholars who, after the annexation of the Ukraine in 1654, moved from Kiev to Moscow brought with them new literary forms, the poetry and drama of the Baroque. Though there had been various attempts at verse in the first half of the century, it was Simeon Polotsky (1629–80), a product of the Kievan Academy, who really established literary verse. Written in rhyming lines with a regular number of syllables, Simeon's verse is notable for its amazing verbal effects and lack of serious content. Western influence also accounted for the emergence of secular court drama in the 1660s. Though the plays of this period, including those by Simeon Polotsky, lack dramatic qualities, they helped set Russian literature upon a Western path of development. After 1700, the old forms of literature either died away or disappeared from the forefront of literary development to form a sub-culture among the broad mass of the people. *F.C.M.K.*

Kantemir, Trediakovsky, Lomonosov, Sumarokov

The gulf separating Russian literature from the literatures of Western Europe at the beginning of the 18th century was wide. Verse-writing and drama had made only a scant first appearance in the last third of the 17th century, and in 1700 there were effectively no authors, no reading public, no secular press, no theatre. The reign of Peter the Great* produced no significant literature, but the Western cultural orientation provided by his reforms led to the emergence of a sophisticated, europeanized literature from the 1730s. The period 1730–1800 saw a rapid development of literary culture from the crude beginnings in the works of Kantemir and Trediakovsky to the compositions of N. M. Karamzin* and V. A. Zhukovsky*, who could stand comparison with their Western contemporaries.

This rapid progress owed much to the fact that Russia began its literary apprenticeship in the age of classicism, which provided a comprehensive genre system and a wealth of models to follow. Two other important factors in the development of a modern literature were the creation of a balanced literary language,* which exploited the resources of Russian and Church Slavonic, and the adoption of the syllabo-tonic (or syllabic-accentual) system of versification in place of the purely syllabic system inherited from the 17th century.

The first 'modern' Russian writer was A. D. Kantemir (1708–44), a product of the Petrine age and a man of broad European culture. He is known principally for his nine verse satires (1729–39), unpublished in his lifetime, which were written in defence of enlightenment and contain many lively portraits of its enemies. He was the last author of note to use syllabic verse, on which he wrote a treatise.

Three authors dominated Russian literature until 1760: Trediakovsky, Lomonosov, and Sumarokov. All occupied positions in institutions of the state, which reflected the restricted, 'official' scope of literary activity at the time. In the theory and practice of literature, however, they achieved much and laid solid foundations for its further development.

V. K. Trediakovsky (1703–69), after studying in Holland and France, was employed in the Academy of Sciences.* More a scholar than an artist, he wrote on literary history and theory, on prosody (notably, his pioneering treatise on the syllabo-tonic system, 1735) and on language.* His original compositions were lifeless and cumbrously written, and his principal achievements were in the field

Retardation under serfdom

During the millennium that elapsed between the emergence of Russia as a political entity in the ninth century and the abolition of serfdom in 1861 the country witnessed vast territorial expansion, a rise to imperial* status and fundamental changes outside its borders in the economies and societies of Western Europe under the impact of the Industrial Revolution. Throughout, Russia's economy remained backward compared to Western Europe, the bulk of its income and wealth deriving from traditional low-yielding agriculture* and artisan industry pursued to an overwhelming extent on a subsistence basis.

One period (roughly 9th-13th century) does not fully conform to this pattern. The basis of wealth creation in Kievan* Russia was not agriculture, which was largely primitive, but trade with Byzantium, western Europe and the Orient. Successive nomadic* invasions put an end to this trade, and the devastation following the Mongol* invasion of 1240 completed the displacement of the Russian people to the relative safety of the forests of the north-east, the cradle of future Muscovy.* The Mongol onslaught and the two and a half centuries of occupation constituted the first major crisis to affect the economy and society of Russia. The low-yielding agricultural economy allowed for little accumulation, while the tribute imposed by the Mongols and their repeated raids and punitive expeditions meant a continuous drain of resources. However, the Mongol fiscal organization based on censuses of households was to be a useful means of resource mobilization in the hands of Moscow rulers, although it is uncertain whether the peasant commune (*mir*), which was to be such a significant feature of Russia's agrarian structure at least until 1906, had its origins here. The *mir* periodically redistributed land among households and regulated agricultural use of common land.

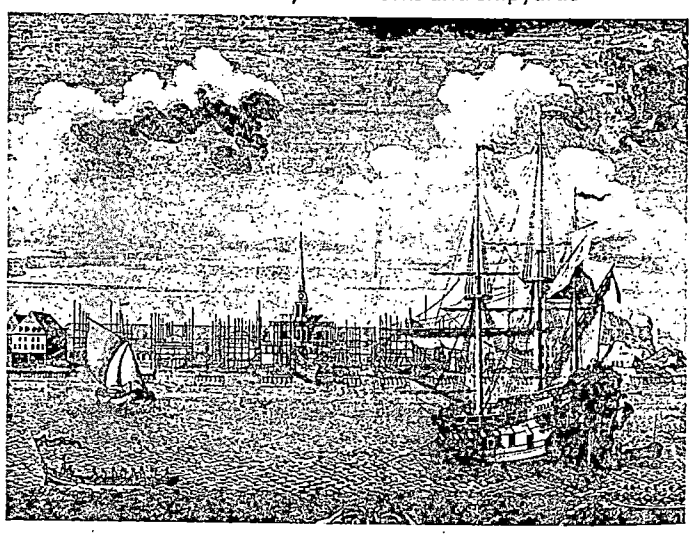
The second major crisis occurred in the 16th and early 17th century and was associated with the despotic policies of Ivan IV,* the Livonian War, the civil war and foreign intervention following the extinction of the dynasty. Several consecutive famines depopulated central areas through flight or death, economic activity declined and serfdom began to be imposed. However, this period also saw positive developments: the exploration* of the White Sea route, the temporary gain of a foothold on the Baltic, the conquest of Siberia, the freeing of the Volga route from the Tatars*–all elements in the growth of trading potential.

The 17th century marked the beginnings of a business economy. English and, above all, Dutch merchants activated Russia's internal and foreign trade and turned increasingly to industrial activities with the encouragement of the Russian government. Native businessmen appeared less enterprising: they lacked the resources and experience of their foreign counterparts and were taxed more heavily than the latter. Russian and foreign merchants alike suffered from the ruler's right of pre-emption on the most lucrative goods.

The commercial and industrial advances of the 16th and 17th centuries were insufficient to meet fully the demands of Peter the Great's* military effort in prising open access to the Baltic. While Peter's economic achievements were largely a function of his military ambitions and involved massive state intervention in the provision of capital, markets and labour, in the long run private initiative and autonomous growth were released; the 17th century 'manufactory' was the transmitter of technology, skills and entrepreneurship. During the 18th century Russia became the single largest exporter of iron and had a virtual monopoly on exports of products such as flax, hemp and tar. The development of ports, canals and roads* quickened the pace of internal commerce, as did to some extent the abolition of internal tariffs, the beginning of organized banking, and initially the issue of paper money under Catherine II.*

Victory over the Turks gained for Russia access to the Black Sea, opening foreign markets to grain export. However, as price differentials suggest, the isolation of individual regions remained, probably because of transportation difficulties and inadequacies in commercial organization. Private industrial entrepreneurship, no longer foreign only, appeared among serfs, noblemen and merchants, and operated in areas of consumer rather than state demand. But whereas the Industrial Revolution had had its effect in most of Western Europe and above all in Britain by the end of the Napoleonic wars, relative retardation made Russia assume the role of supplier of foodstuffs and primary products to those industrializing and urbanizing countries. Russia's increased agricultural output (first the fortuitous outcome of Peter the Great's Poll Tax, and after 1775 consequent upon price rises) was due to area extension rather than to

Peter the Great's Admiralty iron-works and shipyards



The expansion of tsarist Russia

Muscovy became an independent state in 1480 when the Tatar* yoke was thrown off by Ivan III* who, after his marriage in 1472 to Sofia, the only niece of the last Byzantine emperor, also initiated Muscovy's claim to be Byzantium's successor as leader of the Orthodox* world ('Moscow is the Third Rome'). Ivan III also asserted Moscow's claim to the former lands of Kievan* Russia, acquired by Lithuania, and gained access to the Baltic. Modest diplomatic contacts with many Western states were started. Muscovite control of northern Russia was completed by Vasily III.* Under Ivan IV (the Terrible),* first to be crowned 'Tsar of All the Russias' (the Russian principates now assembled under Muscovite rule), Muscovy conquered the Tatar khanates of Kazan' (1552) and Astrakhan' (1556), and expanded into western Siberia (1583). The Crimean Tatars, however, remained a great menace, and in the Livonian War (1558–83) against Poland-Lithuania (fully united in 1569) and Sweden, Ivan failed to acquire the lands of the Teutonic Order and lost Muscovy's narrow Baltic coastline. A difficult sea route to the west via Archangel was, however, opened by the English in 1553. Under Fedor I,* an independent Russian Orthodox patriarchate was established (1588). Following the death of Boris Godunov,* violent dynastic and social conflicts erupted, and during the Time of Troubles* Muscovite power was eclipsed. Polish intervention in 1609–12 and the Polish king's ambition to promote Catholicism* provoked a successful national rising, and Mikhail Romanov* was elected tsar in 1613. Under him Muscovy still remained on the defensive. Novgorod was recovered from Sweden (1617), but relations with Poland proved complex; in 1634 Władysław IV of Poland renounced his claim to the Muscovite throne but retained Smolensk. In 1648, however, a Ukrainian Cossack rising against Polish rule, and the Ukraine's incorporation in 1654 by Tsar Alexis,* precipitated a major Russo-Polish war which resulted in the partition of the Ukraine along the Dnieper (1667). A war with Sweden (1656–8) was inconclusive. An 'eternal peace' with Poland (1686) brought the permanent acquisition of Kiev and membership, with Poland, Austria and Venice, of the Holy League against Turkey, but with little success for Russia. A treaty with China excluded Russia from the Amur basin (1689).

The birth of the Russian Empire

By 1696, when Peter I* acquired sole power, Muscovy was no longer isolated and was open to Western cultural and technological ideas. Peter accelerated this process and during the Great Northern War (1700–21) against Sweden altered the balance of power in northern and eastern Europe. Humiliatingly defeated at Narva (November 1700), Peter consolidated his forces while Charles XII of Sweden pursued Peter's ally, Augustus II of Poland and Saxony. Peter conquered Ingria and founded St Petersburg* (May 1703) but failed to secure peace in 1707 and had to face a Swedish invasion from Poland in 1709. Peter's decisive victory at Poltava (July 1709) did not immediately end the war, but Russia's access to the Baltic was now assured. However, Peter fared badly against Turkey, where Charles XII took refuge. An invasion of Turkey (1711) during which Russia, for the first time, sought Balkan Christian support, ended disastrously, and Peter had to relinquish Azov (captured in 1696) and to promise not to interfere in Poland. Despite this promise, Peter restored Augustus II, and in 1716–17 re-established Russian influence in Poland.

The Swedish war was vigorously pursued in Germany, Denmark and Finland; the new Russian fleet defeated the Swedes at Hangö (July 1714), and in July 1719 Russian forces landed in Sweden proper. By the peace treaty of Nystad (August 1721) Russia acquired Ingria, Estonia and Swedish Livonia with Riga. The victorious Peter assumed the title of emperor. Dynastic links with Courland, Mecklenburg and Holstein-Gottorp were also established. However, there was growing concern in England, Germany and elsewhere at the rise of the new northern colossus. In 1722–3 Russia won the south shore of the Caspian from Persia, and although it failed to establish diplomatic and trading relations with China the subjugation of Kamchatka continued.

Although none of Peter I's immediate successors possessed his formidable qualities, Russia's growing international importance was maintained. During 1725–40 Russian foreign policy was largely guided by A. I. Ostermann (1687–1747), who opposed French influence and supported Austria. During the War of the Polish Succession (1733–5) Empress Anne* fought the French-sponsored candidate Leszczyński and helped to install the Saxon Augustus III. In 1732 Peter I's Persian conquests were surrendered, but another Turkish war (1735–9) brought Russia Azov though not the right to enter the Black Sea. Sweden declared war in 1741 only to lose south-eastern Finland in 1743.

In the Seven Years War (1756–62) Russia adhered to the Franco-Austrian alliance (January 1757), fought successfully against Prussia, and in 1760 occupied Berlin. However, the accession of Peter III* brought about an instantaneous reconciliation and an alliance with Prussia which continued under Catherine II* until 1788.

Conquests of Catherine the Great

Under Catherine II Russia's international influence and prestige received a new impetus. Catherine secured the election of Stanisław Poniatowski as king of Poland (1764) but opposed constitutional reform there, and in 1768 imposed a formal Russian protectorate over Poland. An uprising in Poland won Franco-Austrian assistance, and brought Turkey into open war against Russia (1769). The ensuing

VOLUME 16

Jefferson to Latin

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

ristian Democratic Union
tion to the West German
here he gave his full sup-
rad Adenauer. In 1958 he
minister-president of the
nberg and in 1962 was el-
many's upper house, the

Ludwig Erhard, Adenau-
leader, lost the confidence
r, the Free Democratic
)U recalled Kiesinger to
urden of his Nazi past, he
coalition" with Willy
Democratic party (SPD),
opposition. On Dec. 1,
ad of the coalition, was
he Bundestag.
nger cultivated relations
States and France while
ente with the USSR. At
oved. In the election of
did well, but Brandt and
new coalition with the
ellorship. Kiesinger re-
ler until 1971, when he
hairman. He remained
ver, until his retirement
ingen on March 10, 1988.
FORK, *Purdue University*

erick John (1896–1965),
tect and designer, who
utions to stage design as
tecture. He was born in
. 22, 1896, attended the
s there, and began his
and housing projects.
Kiesler began designing
duced projected motion
d scenery as backdrops
f Karel Čapek's *R.U.R.*
n of Eugene O'Neill's
troduced what he called
"continuous motion of
th acting, speech, and
lirector of the Interna-
Festival in Vienna, he
bly the first theater-in-

nited States in 1926, on
heatrical organizations,
theater techniques for
Hall in New York City.
on for his design of a
heater in Woodstock,
e was director of scene
hool of Music in New
he also directed a lab-
tion in the school of
University.
unusual concepts was
eroid structure with as
which he described as
no end, like the hu-
ever was built, but a
ited at the Museum of
ity in 1960. His book
ppeared in 1966.
rs, and stage sets, he
vs. His last major ar-
nctuary for the Dead
1959. Kiesler died in
. 1965.

Kiev's principal street, the Kreshchatik, was rebuilt and its width was doubled after it and the buildings that lined it had been largely destroyed in World War II.

TASS FROM SOVFOTO

KIEV, kē′ef, the third-largest city in the USSR, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the administrative center of the Kiev oblast. The city, which is about 1,500 years old, is situated on the high west bank and low east bank of the navigable Dnieper River at the crossing of a railroad trunk line between Moscow and the Balkans. It is the political, cultural, and educational center of the Ukraine and one of the leading manufacturing cities of the Soviet Union, with a wide range of machine-building, metal-fabricating, chemical, food-processing, and consumer-goods industries. The summers are warm and sunny, and the winters moderately cold and snowy.

LAYOUT OF CITY AND ENVIRONS

The historical core of Kiev is situated on bluffs rising some 300 feet (100 meters) above the west bank of the Dnieper River, just south of its junction with the Desna River, one of its left-bank tributaries. Valleys dissecting the west bank divide the city core into three distinct sections: the Upper Town, Pechersk, and Podol. The high-lying Upper Town, in the center, is the historical heart of the city, where the modern central business district and the major civic buildings are located. Pechersk, to the southeast, is dominated by an ancient cave monastery, the Pecherskaya Lavra. Podol, adjoining the Upper Town on the north and situated on lower ground next to the river, is the old commercial quarter. In modern times, industry and residential areas have spread across the Dnieper to the low east-bank section known as Darnitsa. The Kiev subway system, put in operation in 1960, necessitated the building of a new bridge (1965) across the river. It was constructed on the site of the first Dnieper bridge, which dated from 1853 and was destroyed in World War II. The river also is crossed by two other road bridges and two rail bridges, and a pedestrian bridge connects the city center with beach areas on Trukhanov Island in the Dnieper.

PLACES OF INTEREST

From its ancient gold-domed churches to the buildings of polished granite and marble along the Kreshchatik, the city's broad central thoroughfare, Kiev is filled with landmarks. Some of the oldest sights, dating from the 11th century, are in the Upper Town on Vladimirskaya Street. They include the ruins of the Golden Gate, once the principal gate of Kiev, which is said to have consisted of gilded bronze. All that is left of this monumental structure are fragments, in a public garden, of two parallel walls. Nearby is St. Sophia's Cathedral, now a museum. A five-naved church with foundations laid in 1037, it was used for the enthronement of the early princes of Kiev and the reception of West European sovereigns. Its walls are decorated with highly prized frescoes and mosaics. The marble sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise, an early Kiev ruler, has been preserved. The cathedral draws about 2 million visitors a year.

Near the foot of Vladimirskaya Street, on the bluff overlooking the Dnieper, stands a monument (unveiled in 1853) of Prince Vladimir holding a large cross in his right hand and the dynastic crown in his left. Vladimir adopted Christianity as the state religion about 988, and a bas-relief on the pedestal shows the baptism of the Kievan people.

Farther south, in the area of the Botanical Gardens, where Vladimirskaya Street crosses Taras Shevchenko Boulevard, stands the University of Kiev, whose main, dark red building dates from 1837–1842. Originally named Vladimir University, it was renamed in 1939 for Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national writer. Nearby is St. Vladimir Cathedral, a church that continues to function as Kiev's main house of worship. Crowned by seven gilded domes, it was consecrated in 1896.

East of the Kreshchatik, in a park overlooking the Dnieper, is the 18th century Mariinsky Palace, which was used by the czars on their visits to Kiev and served as the residence of the local governors before the 1917 Revolution. It was restored after its destruction in World War II and now is used for official receptions and other governmental functions.

One of the more unusual sights in Kiev is the cave monastery (the Pecherskaya Lavra), which is south of the Upper Town along the high bank overlooking the Dnieper. Consisting of a group of buildings within a walled enclosure and underlain by a network of ancient catacombs, the monastery is believed to date from the begin-

nings of Christianity in Kiev. It was converted into a historical-cultural museum in 1926. The monastery's oldest structure, the Cathedral of the Assumption (Uspenski Sobor), was first built in the 11th century and was repeatedly ruined and restored. It was again demolished in World War II, and only ruins remain. The 12th century Trinity Church over the main gateway into the Lavra and an 18th century belfry, 317 feet (97 meters) high, are among the structures that have been preserved.

Among the more recent memorials in Kiev is the Babi Yar monument, marking the mass executions of some 100,000 Kiev residents, mainly Jews, during the German occupation of the city in World War II. The monument, consisting of 11 bronze figures arrested in motion, was inaugurated in 1976 on the site of the ravine known as Babi Yar, now a park in the Syrets residential district on the northwest outskirts of Kiev.

ECONOMY

One of the Soviet Union's principal manufacturing centers, Kiev specializes in the production of complex machinery and precision equipment using steel products from the Ukrainian iron and steel mills of the Dnieper Bend (along the river's lower course) and the Donets Basin (Donbass). Among the principal industrial enterprises are the old Arsenal arms plant, halfway between Kreshchatik and the Lavra; the Bolshevik plant, in the western part of the city, a producer of chemical equipment; the Leninskaya Kuznitsa river shipyard; and the Gorky automated machine-tool plant. Electrical precision instruments manufactured by the Tochelektropribor factory are well known in the Soviet Union. Other industrial products turned out in the city include aircraft, motorcycles, photographic equipment, cable, and rubber goods. Some of the new industrial enterprises, including an artificial fiber mill, are situated in Kiev's east-bank section called Darnitsa.

The city has major rail and highway links with the rest of the country and is served by an airport at Borispol, 20 miles (33 miles) to the east. A smaller airport at Zhulyany, on the southwest outskirts, is used for local flights.

HISTORY

Legend has it that the name Kiev is derived from the name of Kii, one of three brothers who are said to have founded the town, but the origins of the name remain in dispute. The founding of Kiev has been placed in the second half of the 5th century, and the Soviet government celebrated the city's 1,500th anniversary in May 1982. Kiev was evidently an early center of trade in such products as furs, wax, and honey and is reputed to have attracted Scandinavian merchant-adventurers, known as Varangians, in the 9th century. Two Varangian chieftains, Askold and Dir, are said to have established themselves in Kiev in 862, and a site identified as Askold's grave is marked by a rotunda on the bluffs overlooking the Dnieper.

After a 20-year rule, Askold and Dir were dislodged by another Varangian leader, Oleg, who founded a dynasty that ruled Kiev for three centuries. During this period Kiev emerged as the leader of a group of East Slavic principalities. The coalition of principalities is known to historians as Kievan Rus, and Kiev itself was referred to by Nestor, its early chronicler, as the "mother of Russian cities." Under its principal rulers, the princes Vladimir (reigned about 978–1015), Yaroslav the Wise (reigned 1019–1054), and Vladimir II Monomakh (reigned 1113–1125), Kiev was one of the flourishing capitals of eastern Europe.

In the 12th century, Kiev began to suffer a decline, which is attributed generally to dissension among the principalities of Kievan Rus, to attacks by successive waves of nomadic peoples driving through the steppe from the south, and to the emergence of new Russian power centers in the more sheltered northern forest. Kiev was leveled in 1240 by the Mongol forces of Batu, the grandson of Genghis Khan, as they swept west into Europe. The great early traveler Carpini, who visited Kiev in 1246, reported that 200 houses were left in the commercial Podol district and that the people of Kiev had been enslaved by the Mongols. After a century of Mongol domination, Kiev fell in the early 1360's to the expanding Lithuanian state, and continued to fend off raids from the steppe nomads. In 1482 it was once again razed, by the Tatars of the Crimea.

Gradually commercial life in the Podol district revived in the 16th century, and Poles replaced the Lithuanian overlords after the Polish-Lithuanian federation in the Union of Lublin (1569). A Ukrainian insurgency in the mid-17th century, abetted by the Russian czars, weakened the Polish hold, and in 1667, Kiev passed to Russia under the Treaty of Andrusovo, together with the Ukraine east of the Dnieper River. The city began to revive as a Russian garrison town on the Polish border, but acquired renewed significance as a regional center only after the Russians acquired the west bank Ukraine in the second partition of Poland in 1793.

With the coming of the first railroad in 1869, industry began to develop. Economic prosperity raised the city's population sevenfold, from some 35,000 in 1800 to 250,000 in 1900. The growth and economic development of Kiev accelerated in the years before World War I, and by 1913 the city had 594,000 residents.

A new period of upheaval set in after the overthrow of the czar in the February Revolution of 1917 as czarist forces, Bolshevik revolutionaries, Ukrainian nationalists, and German and Polish forces contested the city. It finally passed to Soviet control in June 1920 (although the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic remained formally independent until the USSR was created in 1922 and the constitution that declared it a union republic was ratified in 1923). The seat of the Ukrainian government, initially established in Kharkov, was moved to Kiev in 1934.

After further industrial growth and an expansion of population to 847,000 by 1939, the city was once again devastated in World War II. German forces sweeping into the USSR occupied Kiev in September 1941 and held the city until November 1943. Following the war the city was fully rebuilt from its wartime ruins. Population: (1979) of the city, 2,144,000; of the oblast without city, 1,924,000.

THEODORE SHABAD
Editor of "Soviet Geography" Magazine

KIEVAN RUS, a medieval Russian state that was composed of several principalities of which Kiev was the most senior. See KIEV; RUSSIA.

KIFT. See QIFT.

KIGALI, kē-gä′lē, the c
central Africa. Situate
country only 150 mil
equator, Kigali has a n
elevation at 5,053 feet
level.

Kigali is a trade ce
coffee, and foodstuffs
agricultural area nearb
panies have their hea
cotton textiles are m
highway connections w
tal of Burundi, and an i
the city and the Rwand
cal college was opened

Kigali became the
the nation gained its
Previously Rwanda an
Burundi, were admini
gium as a trust territ
provincial administrati
dence the Rwanda gov
sive program to attract
tal to Kigali. Populatio

KIKUYU, kē-kōō′yōō, a
living in the highlands
They occupy an area
miles (81,000 sq km) a
They are the largest gro
tu and are closely relat
and Kamba of Kenya.

Kikuyu society is bui
ika, which form lifelon
their members and whic
the regiments of each c
belong to one of 10 clans
their social relations aro
(*mbari*). Kikuyu recogni
but have no regular wors
elders organize rituals
rain. Many Kikuyu are

The Kikuyu began to
homeland in the 17th ce
(today central Kenya), a n
until the mid-19th centu
lages and homesteads, ea
cil of elders (*kiama*).
even true chieftancy is u
ety, although the eldest
a position of first among

The Kikuyu were the
nationalist politics in Ke
occupation of the fertile
European settlers and th
tianity, which brought E
sion to the Kikuyu. Ke
tered on the figure of Jo
who obtained advanced
and who in 1944 founde
Union to agitate for Afri
Mau" uprising of 1952–
kuyu affair, leading to the
yatta and other Kikuyu le

By 1960, Kenyatta ha
head of the Kenya Afr
KANU), led Kenya to i
Kenyatta became the first
country. Since independ
dominated Kenya's politi
even though the Kenyan p
Kikuyu after Kenyatta's d

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MACROPÆDIA
Volume 10

Knowledge in Depth

FOUNDED 1768
15 TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

Værker, rev. and ed. by PETER P. ROHDE, 20 vol. (1962–64). The miscellaneous *Papirer* were published from 1909.

Selections: Selections from the Writings of Kierkegaard, trans. by L.M. HOLLANDER (1923); ROBERT BRETALL (ed.), *A Kierkegaard Anthology* (1946); W.H. AUDEN, *The Living Thoughts of Kierkegaard* (1952); PETER P. ROHDE, *The Diary of Søren Kierkegaard*, trans. by GERDA M. ANDERSEN (1953).

Biography and criticism: E.L. ALLEN, *Kierkegaard: His Life and Thoughts* (1935), a general introduction; TORSTEN B. BOHLIN, *Kierkegaard's dogmatische Anschauung in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange* (1927), a penetrating analysis by a Swedish theologian; T.H. CROXALL, *Kierkegaard Studies, with Special Reference to (a) the Bible, (b) Our Own Age* (1948 and 1956); LEV SHESTOV, *Kierkegaard and the Existential Philosophy* (1970; orig. pub. in Russian, 1939), the first work to underline the Existentialist point of view; HERMANN DIEM, *Die Existenzdialektik* (1950), an important contribution to Existentialist thought; EDUARD GEISMAR, *Lectures on the Religious Thought of Søren Kierkegaard*, 2nd ed. (1938), a clear account of Kierkegaard's thought by one of his leading students; THEODOR HAECKER, *Sören Kierkegaard* (1913; Eng. trans., 1937), a study of a leading German Kierkegaard ideologist; JOHANNES HOHLENBERG, *Søren Kierkegaard* (1949; Eng. trans., 1954), a sober, reliable account; WALTER LOWRIE, *Kierkegaard* (1938), a study by a man who translated most of Kierkegaard's works and whose books bear evidence of an intimate familiarity with the texts; PETER P. ROHDE, *Søren Kierkegaard, et geni i en købstad* (1962; Eng. trans., *Søren Kierkegaard: An Introduction to His Life and Philosophy*, 1963), for the common reader; CHRISTOPH SCHREMPF, *Søren Kierkegaard: Eine Biographie*, 2 vol. (1927–28), a fine, scholarly work, now slightly outdated; ADI SHMUELI, *Kierkegaard and Consciousness* (1971), a penetrating account of Kierkegaard's thought from a new angle.

(P.P.R.)

Kiev

The capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a port on the Dnepr River, and a large railroad junction, Kiev is one of the largest and most important cities of the Soviet Union. It was the home of some 2,013,000 people in 1976, thus ranking as the third largest Soviet city and first among cities of the Ukraine. Kiev has an ancient and proud history. As the centre of Kievan Rus, the first Russian state, 1,000 years ago, it acquired the title "Mother of Russian Cities." It suffered severe damage during World War II, but by the mid-1950s it was fully restored and by the 1970s had become a thriving, modern capital, with a well-developed economic and cultural life.

The city stands on the Dnepr River just below its confluence with the Desna and 591 miles (952 kilometres) from its mouth in the Black Sea. The original location was on the high and steep right bank, which rises above the river in an imposing line of bluffs, culminating in Batyyeva Hill, 330 feet (100 metres) above mean river level. This precipitous and wooded bank, topped by the golden domes and spires of churches and bell towers and by modern high-rise apartment buildings, makes the city an attractive and impressive sight from across the Dnepr. Since World War II, Kiev has extended on to the wide, low, and flat floodplain on the left bank.

Climate

Kiev has a moderately continental climate. The average January temperature is 21.6° F (−5.8° C), and winter days with temperatures above freezing are not uncommon; in cold spells with a northerly or northeasterly airstream, temperatures may drop sharply, and an absolute minimum of −27.4° F (−33° C) has been recorded. Snow cover lies usually from mid-November to the end of March; on average, the frost-free period lasts 180 days but in some years surpasses 200 days. Summers are warm, with a July average of 67.1° F (19.5° C) and a recorded maximum of 102.2° F (39° C). The mean annual rainfall is 24.5 inches (622 millimetres), with maximum precipitation in June and July. (For information on related subjects, see RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, HISTORY OF: *Kiev*; and UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.)

HISTORY

Origins and foundation. Kiev has a long, rich, and often stormy history. Its beginnings are lost in antiquity. Archaeological findings of stone and bone implements, the remains of primitive dwellings built of wood and skins, and large accumulations of mammoths' bones indicate that the first settlements in the vicinity date from the Late Paleolithic Period (some 15,000 to 40,000 years ago). As early as 3000 BC in the Neolithic Period and subsequently at the time of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture at the end of the Neolithic, tribes engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry lived on the site of modern Kiev. Excavations continue to uncover many artifacts from settlements dating from the Copper, Bronze, and Iron ages. The tribes of the area traded with the nomadic peoples of the steppe to the south, Scythians, Sarmatians, and later Khazars, and also with the ancient Greek colonies that were located on the Black Sea coast.

According to the 12th-century chronicle *Povest vremennykh let* ("Tales of Bygone Years," also known as *The Russian Primary Chronicle*), Kiev was founded by three brothers, Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv, leaders of the Polyane tribe of the East Slavs. Each established his own settlement on a hill, and these became the town of Kiev, named for the eldest brother, Kiy; a small stream nearby was named for their sister Lybed. Although the chronicle account is legendary, there are contemporary references to Kiev in the writings of Byzantine, German, and Arab historians and geographers. Archaeological evidence suggests that Kiev was founded in the 6th or 7th century AD.

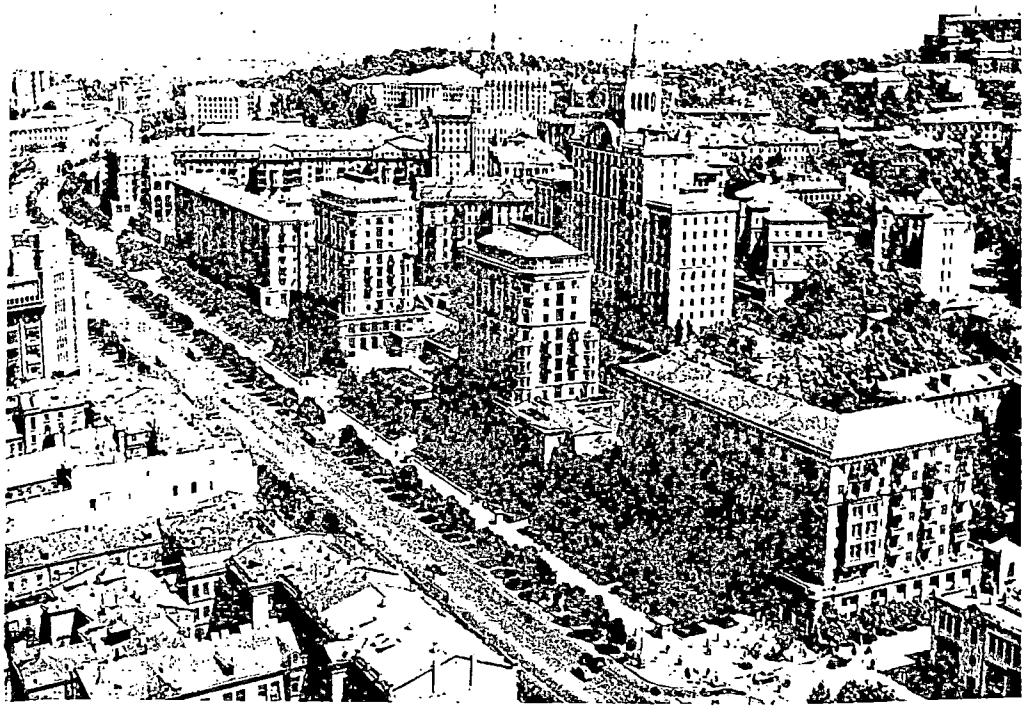
The first Russian capital. Less legendary is the chronicle account of the Varangians, who seized Kiev in the mid-9th century. As in Novgorod to the north, a Russo-Varangian ruling elite developed. Kiev, with its good defensive site on the high river bluff and as the centre of a rich agricultural area and a group of early Russian towns, began to gain importance. In about 882 Oleg (Ukrainian Oleh), the ruler of Novgorod, captured Kiev and made it his capital, centre of the first Russian state, Kievan (or Kiev) Rus. The town flourished, chiefly through trade along the Dnepr, going south to Byzantium and north over portages to the rivers flowing to the Baltic, the so-called "road from the Varangians to the Greeks," or "water road." Trade also went to the Caspian Sea and Central Asia.

Christianization

In 988 the introduction of Orthodox Christianity to Kiev enhanced its significance as the spiritual centre of Rus. By the 12th century, according to the chronicles, the city's wealth and religious importance was attested to by its more than 400 churches. The Cathedral of St. Sophia, parts of the monastery known as the Pecherskaya Lavra, and the ruins of the Golden Gate remain today as witnesses to Kiev at the height of its splendour. The town was famed for its art, the mosaics and frescoes of its churches, its craftsmanship in silver, and the quality of many of its manufactures. One of Europe's major cities, Kiev established diplomatic relations with Byzantium, England, France, Sweden, and other countries. Travellers wrote of its population as numbering tens of thousands.

Throughout the period of Kievan Rus, however, the city was engaged in a succession of wars against the nomadic warrior peoples who inhabited the steppes to the south, in turn the Khazars, Pechenegs, and Polovtsy (Kipchaks). These conflicts weakened the city, but even greater harm was done by the endless, complex internecine struggles of the Russian princedoms into which Rus was divided. In 1169 Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky of Rostov-Suzdal captured and sacked Kiev. Thus by the late 12th century the power of the city had declined, and in the following century it was unable to resist the rising and formidable power of the Mongols. In 1238 a Mongol army under Batu, grandson of Genghis Khan, invaded Rus and, having sacked the towns of central Russia, in 1240 besieged and stormed Kiev. Much of the city was destroyed and most of its population killed. The Italian traveller Giovanni da Pian del Carpini six years later reported only 200 houses surviving in Kiev.

Kiev under Lithuania and Poland. In the 14th century, what was left of Kiev and its surrounding area came under the control of the powerful and expanding Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which captured it in 1362. For a long time thereafter Kiev had little function save as a fortress and minor market on the vaguely defined frontier be-



Kreshchatik, the central thoroughfare of Kiev, with apartment houses in the centre and the Palace of Culture for Oktyabrsky District in centre background.
Novosti Press Agency

tween Lithuania and the steppe Tatars, based in the Crimea. It frequently came under attack from the Tatars; in 1482 the Crimean khan, Mengli Giray, took and sacked the town. Almost the only survival of Kiev's former greatness was its role as the seat of an Orthodox metropolitan. A step forward came in 1516, when the grand duke Sigismund I granted Kiev a charter of autonomy, thereby much stimulating trade.

In 1569 the Union of Lublin between Lithuania and Poland gave Kiev and the Ukrainian lands to Poland. Kiev became one of the centres of Orthodox opposition to the expansion of Polish Roman Catholic influence, spearheaded by vigorous proselytization by the Jesuits. In the 17th century a religious Ukrainian brotherhood was established in Kiev, as in other Ukrainian towns, to further this opposition and encourage Ukrainian nationalism. Peter Mogila (Ukrainian Mohyla), major theologian and metropolitan of Kiev from 1633 to 1646, founded in the town the Collegium (later the Academy of Kiev), which became a major focus of the struggle with Roman Catholicism.

The 17th century also saw increasing unrest among the Zaporozhian Cossacks of the Dnepr downstream of Kiev and an ever-growing struggle between them and the Polish crown. This culminated in the revolt of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who, assisted by the Crimean Tatars, entered Kiev with his insurgent Cossacks in 1648. Under heavy pressure from the Polish forces, in 1654 Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks offered their allegiance to Moscow (the Pereyaslav Agreement); this was followed by a prolonged and confused period of strife and destruction, leading in 1667 to the Treaty of Andrusovo, by which Kiev and the Dnepr left bank part of the Ukraine became an autonomous Cossack state under the suzerainty and protection of Moscow. Thereafter further struggle ensued against the Turks, with the Cossacks constantly changing sides and engaging in internecine disputes. In 1686 Kiev was finally yielded to Russia by Poland and stood as the sole Russian outpost on the right bank of the Dnepr.

Kiev under the tsars. The Second Partition of Poland in 1793, under Catherine the Great, brought the right bank Ukraine into Russia, and Kiev, assisted by the abolition in 1754 of the tariff barriers between Russia and the Ukrainian lands, began to grow in commercial importance. Catherine's reign saw the abolition of the old administrative system and of the post of Cossack hetman and the division of the Ukraine into new administrative provinces, for one of which Kiev became the centre. Subsequently it became centre of a governor generalship, covering three provinces.

In the first half of the 19th century, Kiev developed as a major focus of Ukrainian nationalism, although severe persecution from the tsarist government forced the movement to shift the brunt of its activities to Lvov in the Austrian Ukraine. In Kiev as in other Russian cities there was clandestine revolutionary activity (beginning with the Dekabrists in the early 19th century) that culminated in a series of strikes and demonstrations leading up to the revolution of 1905. An important role in this revolutionary movement was taken by students of the University of Kiev (now Kiev T.G. Shevchenko State University), which had been established in 1834.

In the 19th century the expanding economic importance of the Ukraine, and especially the growing export of grain, brought further commercial development to Kiev. Modern factory industry appeared; to the Arsenal, set up as early as the 18th century, were added timber working and the building of river craft. The town had significant industries processing agricultural products of the Ukraine —leather, tobacco, distilling, brewing, and textiles. In the late 1860s Kiev was connected by rail to both Moscow and the Black Sea port of Odessa, further enhancing its role as a centre of industry, commerce, and administration. By the outbreak of World War I, the city had a population of some 350,000.

Kiev in the revolutionary period. With the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917, a revolutionary soviet, the Central Rada (*rada*, "council"), was elected by the city workers, consisting primarily of Menshevik and Social Revolutionary members, with strong support from Ukrainian nationalist groups. In January 1918, the Rada proclaimed an independent Ukrainian state with Kiev as its capital. Minor uprisings by Bolshevik workers, who were mostly concentrated in the Arsenal works, were suppressed, but Red Army troops came to their aid and on February 8, 1918, entered Kiev.

By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3) between the Bolshevik government and the Germans, however, the new Soviet government recognized the independence of the Ukraine, which was promptly occupied by German troops. A puppet Ukrainian government was set up in

Kiev by the Germans, but it collapsed with the German surrender to the Allies in November 1918 and the subsequent withdrawal of German troops. Once more an independent Ukraine was declared in Kiev, under the leadership of Semen Petlyura, but its brief and stormy history was a series of struggles between Ukrainian nationalist, White, and Red forces. In November 1919 Kiev was briefly taken by the White armies under Gen. A.I. Denikin before being finally occupied by the Red Army. Peace was still denied the city, with the outbreak of the Russo-Polish War. In May 1920 the Poles captured Kiev but were driven out in a counterattack.

Petlyura government

Kiev in the Soviet period. Kiev's role as the centre for Ukrainian nationalists caused the Soviet government to transfer the capital of the new Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to Kharkov, and it was not until 1934 that Kiev once more resumed its capital status. Meanwhile the restoration of the city's shattered economy was undertaken. During the first Five-Year Plans, between 1928 and 1940, new machine tool, electrical, and chemical industries were established. By 1939 the population of Kiev had reached 846,724. The German invasion in 1941 once again brought severe suffering and destruction to the city. After a fierce 80-day battle for the town, German forces entered it on September 21, 1941. Many of the inhabitants were deported for forced labour and to concentration camps, including almost all the large prewar Jewish segment of the population. In 1943 the advancing Soviet troops forced the Dnepr and, after bitter fighting, liberated Kiev on November 6. The city itself had suffered great destruction, including more than 40 percent of its buildings and some 800 of its industrial enterprises.

For its role in the war Kiev was later honoured by the Soviet government with the Order of Lenin, the title of Hero-City, and the Gold Star medal. In the first postwar Five-Year Plan, rapid reconstruction was undertaken. Since then Kiev has continued to grow and to strengthen its industrial base. Its population passed the million mark in the later 1950s, reaching 1,109,840 in the census of 1959 (within the present city limits) and 1,631,908 in the census of 1970.

THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

The layout of the city. The city limits enclose an area of 300 square miles (707 square kilometres) on both banks of the Dnepr. It is divided into 10 administrative wards: Darnitsky, Dneprovsky, Leninsky, Moskovsky, Pechersky, Podolsky, Radyansky, Shevchenkovsky, Zaliznichny, and Zhovtnevy.

The Upper Town

The focus of Kiev is the area of the ancient Upper Town, crowning the high bluff of the Dnepr. Although very largely of postwar construction, this central area retains its old street pattern, and here are most of the surviving historical and architectural monuments. First among these is the Cathedral of St. Sophia, now a museum. Founded in the 11th century, it remains, despite certain Baroque modifications in the 18th century, one of the finest and most beautiful examples of early Russo-Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture. It has a nave and four aisles, and it is crowned by five domes. The interior is magnificently decorated with frescoes and mosaics; it contains the tomb of Yaroslav, during whose reign the cathedral was built.

Close by is the Baroque Church of St. Andrew (Andreyevskaya), designed by Bartolomeo Rastrelli and built in the mid-18th century; its site on the crest of the steep slope to the river makes it a striking landmark. Other relics of the past in the central area include the ruins of the Golden Gate, also built in the 11th century in the reign of Yaroslav; the Zaborovsky Gate, built in 1746–48; and the five-domed Desyatinnaya church, built in 1828–42 on the site of a church founded by St. Vladimir in the 10th century.

Within and immediately adjacent to the area of the former Old Town are many of the city's museums, theatres, and public buildings as well as the principal shops, including the central department store and the covered market. The axis of the centre is the street known as Kreshchatik, which runs along the bottom of a small valley the sides of which have in part been landscaped with terrace gardens interspersed with tall, modern office and apartment buildings. The greenery of the gardens, the trees lining the street, the squares which it intersects—all combine with the variegated colours of brick, red and gray granites, and decorative ceramic tiles to give Kreshchatik an attractive and colourful aspect, much admired by Kiev's inhabitants. Among important buildings on the street is that of the City Council, where the 800 elected deputies hold their meetings.

Intersecting Kreshchatik at right angles is the wide, poplar-lined Boulevard of Taras Shevchenko, on which stands the university with its eye-catching red-washed walls. Here too is the Cathedral of St. Vladimir (still in use as a church), built in 1850–96 in Byzantine style and containing impressive paintings by Viktor Vasnetsov and other Russian artists. Notable among the many statues in central Kiev are those that commemorate the Cossack leader Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

North of the old centre is the former trading and Jewish quarter, Podol, with a rectangular pattern of streets and the old merchants' trading exchange, the House of Contracts, built in 1817. Here too is the river port. South of the centre is the Pechersky district, along the top of the river bank. This district contains many of the principal buildings of the Ukrainian republican government, including the glass-domed palace of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., built in 1936–39, and the 10-story block that houses the Council of Ministers. Nearby is the attractive Mariinsky Palace, built in 1752–55 for the tsaritsa Elizabeth and reconstructed in 1870; it is now used for receptions by the Ukrainian government.

Pechersk district

At the southern end of this district is the Pecherskaya Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), one of the most famous and important monasteries in Russian history, founded in the early 11th century. It was at the *lavra* that the monk Nestor wrote the earliest surviving Russian chronicle. Although the Cathedral of the Assumption (inside the walls of the monastery) was blown up by the Germans in 1941, Trinity Church, of the same period, survives. Also within the walls are the 17th-century Church of All Saints and an impressive 18th-century bell tower, rising up 315 feet. A major feature of the monastery is the system of catacombs beneath it in which are the mummified bodies of early monks and saints, including that of Nestor. Although a museum, open to the public, the Pecherskaya Lavra is still in use as a monastery.

South from the *lavra* is yet another monastery, the Vydubetsky, dating from the 11th century; it too suffered severe damage in World War II.

All along the steep river bank, fronting the Upper Town and Pechersky district, an attractively landscaped park has been laid out overlooking the Dnepr. With the views it affords, the park forms one of the most striking features of the city. It contains an open-air theatre, sports stadium, and restaurant, and a funicular railway climbs the 300-foot slope. Within the park are also many memorials; dominating the northern end is the statue of Prince Vladimir, bringer of Christianity to Russia, which marks the place where in 988 the people of Kiev were baptized en masse. The southern end, called the Park of Glory, has an 85-foot granite obelisk rising above the grave of the Unknown Soldier and a memorial garden. Also located in the park are the grave of Gen. Nikolay Vatutin, commander of the Soviet forces that liberated Kiev in 1943, and a rotunda marking the supposed grave of the early Varangian chief Askold.

Around these central districts of Kiev stretch extensive suburbs of factories and residential neighbourhoods. The low priority given to housing during the Stalin period means that the greater part of these suburbs has been built since 1956. The neighbourhood units, known as micro-regions, consist of groupings of apartment buildings housing 2,500 to 5,000 people, together with basic services, local shops, a health centre, cinema, and primary school. Since the late 1960s the apartment buildings have usually been of 12 to 20 stories and of prefabricated construction. Most apartments have only two or

three rooms, and population densities are therefore high, in the new residential developments as much as in the older central areas. The growing ownership of private cars was beginning by the late 1970s to pose problems in the provision of garage space in these new districts. A feature of development since World War II has been the rapid spread of the city on the low left bank of the Dnepr, previously almost devoid of settlement. The left bank is linked to the main part of Kiev by a railway bridge and by the imposing Ye.O. Paton road bridge, which is 4,920 feet (1,500 metres) long and named after its designer.

Between the neighbourhood units are substantial areas of park and green space. These include the very large botanical gardens of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the smaller university botanical gardens (established in the mid-19th century), and in the southwestern suburbs the extensive permanent exhibition of the Ukrainian economy. On the city outskirts are several areas of forest, which are much used for recreation. In the south is the Goloseyevsky Forest Park, dominated by deciduous trees, and to the north are nearly 10,000 acres (4,000 hectares) of the Pushche-Voditsa Forest Park, mainly covered by coniferous species.

Soviet cities on the whole tend to a certain monotony of appearance. A number of factors combine to make Kiev an exception to this rule and one of the most attractive urban places in the Soviet Union—the site, with its sharply contrasted relief and wide views across the Dnepr, the abundance of greenery in and around the city, and the many buildings of historic interest and beauty.

Economic life. Kiev, as capital of the Ukraine, has major administrative functions, with considerable employment in the offices of ministries responsible for the republic's economy. The city is also an important industrial centre, possessing a wide range of manufactures. In the early 1970s some 350,000 persons were engaged in industry, about two-fifths of the total number employed. Factories are found in all quarters of the city, with major concentrations to the west of the city centre and on the Dnepr left bank.

Engineering industries, based on metal from the iron and steel plants of the Dnepr bend region and the Donbass coalfield, take pride of place and include the production of complex machinery and precision tools and instruments. The Bolshevik plant makes equipment for chemical works, such as conveyor lines for vulcanized rubber, linoleum, and fertilizer factories; the Gorky works produce metal-cutting machines. Other engineering products are aircraft, hydraulic elevators, electrical instruments, armatures, river- and seagoing craft, motorcycles, and cinematograph apparatus.

Chemical industry

Another important sector is the chemical industry, making resin products, fertilizers, plastics and chemical fibres, the last at the Darnitsa viscose rayon plant on the left bank. Timber working and the making of bricks and reinforced concrete items are also well developed. Consumer goods manufactured include cameras, thermos flasks, knitwear, footwear, a range of foodstuffs, and, in a plant built in the 1970s, watches. Kiev is a large publishing centre, with 14 printing houses.

Power for the many enterprises is supplied by natural gas, piped from Dashava in the western Ukraine, and by electricity from the Kiev hydroelectric station on the Dnepr. This station, completed in 1968, is at Vyshgorod, just upstream of the city; its 20 turbines have a total capacity of 370,000 kilowatts. The reservoir created by the station's dam is 60 miles (97 kilometres) long. Twenty-five miles southeast of Kiev is the still more powerful Tripolye thermal electric station, with a capacity of 1,800,000 kilowatts.

Transportation for the industries and for the city as a whole is provided by a good communications network. Trunk railways and all-weather roads link Kiev to Moscow, to Kharkov and the Donets Basin (Donbass), to the southern Ukraine and the port of Odessa, and to the western Ukraine and Poland. The navigability of the Dnepr has been improved by a series of barrages and reservoirs. Borispol airport operates direct flights to most major Soviet cities and to many Ukrainian towns, as well as some international connections to Romania and Bulgaria. Within Kiev itself there is efficient bus, streetcar, and trolleybus service, moving more than 2,000,000 persons daily. Construction of an underground railway began in 1960. Transportation accounts for a tenth of the total number of persons employed in Kiev.

Social and cultural life. Kiev's ancient tradition as a cultural centre is still vigorously alive. The Kiev State University, with some 20,000 students, heads an array of 20 institutions of higher education, notable among which are the Polytechnic (founded in 1898), the Agricultural Academy, and the medical, art, and architectural institutes.

There are about 300 general secondary schools, 80 evening schools for adults, and a number of specialist technical schools. A range of research establishments is headed by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., established in 1919, which also maintains the largest of the city's many libraries. Kiev is particularly noted in the Soviet Union for medical and cybernetic research. The emphasis on applied research is illustrated by the academy's Ye.O. Paton Institute of Electrical Welding.

There are a number of theatres, notably the Shevchenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet. Plays are presented at the Lesya Ukrainka and Ivan Franko theatres, which specialize in Russian and Ukrainian drama, respectively; drama is also frequently staged in the 4,000-seat auditorium of the Palace of Culture and in the Palace of Sport, which can seat 12,000 people. In addition there are youth, open-air, and musical comedy theatres. Kiev has a circus and more than 130 cinemas; films are made in a studio in the city. Concerts are regularly given at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory. The most important of the city's many museums are the Kiev State Historical Museum, the Kiev State Museum of Russian Art, and the Kiev State Museum of Ukrainian Art.

Sports

Kiev has good facilities for sports; the largest of its 15 stadiums, the Central Stadium, can accommodate 100,000 people. Aquatic sports take place on the reservoir of the Kiev dam at Vyshgorod and also on Trukhanov Island in the Dnepr opposite the city centre, where there is a fine beach and water sports centre. The city is well provided with health facilities, including general and specialized hospitals and local polyclinics, the latter serving residential neighbourhoods. Since the majority of women are employed, a number of nursery schools and crèches care for children below school age. Around the outskirts of Kiev are a number of health resorts, sanatoriums, and children's holiday camps. (R.A.F.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY. О.К. Касименко (ed.), *Історія Києва*, 2 vol. (1959–60), a thorough historical study based on archaeological evidence as well as documentary sources; І.П. Старовойтенко, *Соціалістичний Київ* (1958), covers changes in economic, social, and cultural life during the Soviet period; LEONID DAEN, PAVEL POZNYAK, and MARK CHERP, *Kiev: Travel Guide* (1970), a well-documented guide in English, and *Kiev Travel Guide*, published by the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, is also in English.

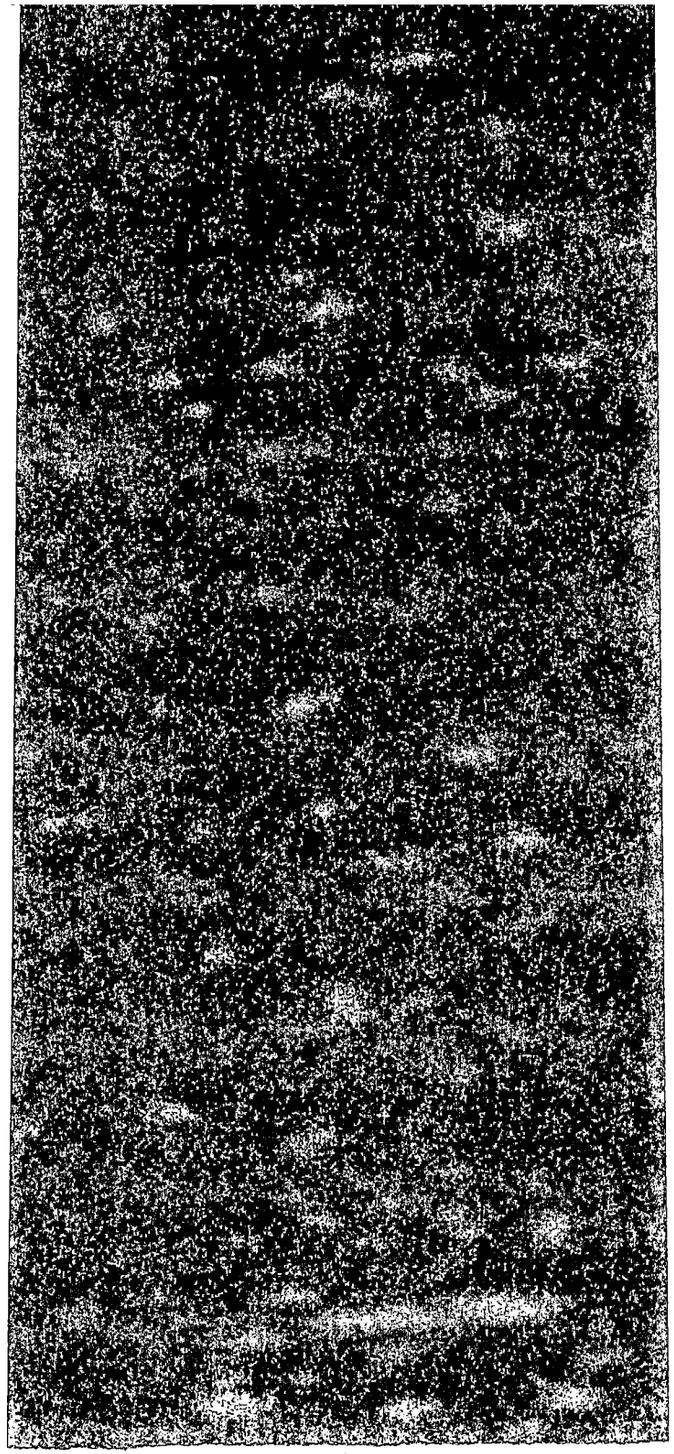
King, Martin Luther, Jr.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was an eloquent black Baptist minister who, from the middle 1950s until his assassination in April 1968, led the first mass civil rights movement in United States history. He achieved worldwide recognition when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964 for his application of the principle of nonviolent resistance—patterned after India's Mahatma Gandhi—in the struggle for racial equality in America.

Early years. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929, King came from a family steeped in the tradition of the Southern Negro ministry: both his father and maternal grandfather were Baptist preachers. At the age of 15 he entered Morehouse College, Atlanta, under a special program for gifted students, receiving his B.A. in 1948. As an undergraduate his earlier interests in medicine and law were eclipsed by a decision in his senior year to enter the ministry, as his father had urged. Spending the next three years at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester,

Fodor's 91

Soviet Union



Fodor's Travel Publications, Inc.
New York & London

51695
0 78067 9 019671
ISBN 0-679-01967-7

from Poland and established their own state, occupying the central part of the modern Ukraine. In 1654 the new state was annexed to Muscovy. Ukrainian nationalism, with its demands for autonomy, had a strong revival early in the 20th century. During the Civil War of 1918–22, Germans, white Russians, Communists and various separatist groups struggled for control of the rich Ukrainian agricultural lands. Proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in December 1917 the Ukraine was one of the four original republics to form the Soviet Union in 1922. In 1939 the western part of the Ukraine, together with Lvov, until then a part of Poland, was returned to the republic, followed in 1945 by Transcarpathia, which had belonged to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In 1954 the Crimea was transferred from the Russian Federal Republic and annexed to the Ukraine.

The huge Ukrainian Soviet Republic can be roughly divided into three zones: the forests bordering on Byelorussia in the north; the wooded steppe with oak and beech forests; and the treeless steppe zone with its fertile black soil. The climate is much warmer than that of central Russia. Both industry and agriculture are well-developed; there are also rich deposits of coal, iron ore, natural gas and oil.

The major cities are Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk, Lugansk, Uzhgorod, and Mukachevo.

Kiev

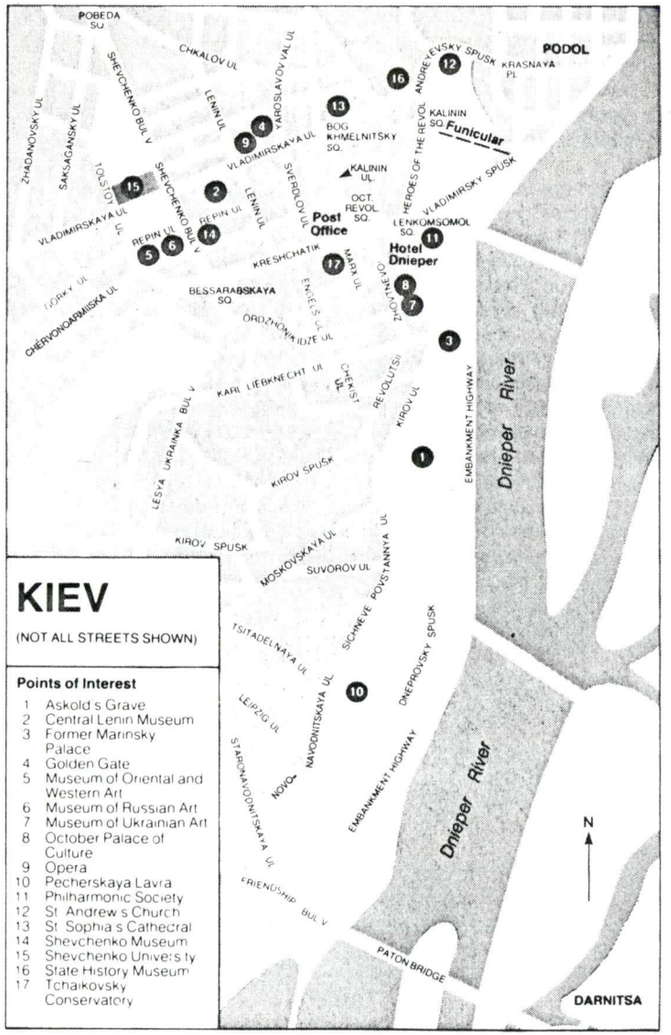
Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R., has a population of over two million and is one of the most important industrial and cultural centers in the Soviet Union. It lies on both sides of the Dnieper River; the right bank (western) is hilly, the left an extensive flat plain.

Kiev has developed rapidly in recent decades, absorbing several suburbs, and on the eastern bank of the river a whole new industrial area, the Darnitsa, has sprung up. Machinery plants are the chief industry, with light industries and chemicals coming second in importance. Kiev is also a major road and rail junction, a great river port and a busy airport; and a traditional cultural center with excellent colleges and universities. It is the seat of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and numerous research institutes. Its museums are richly endowed, and the city abounds in theaters, opera, ballet and other cultural institutions and entertainments. It is one of the most ancient of "Russian" cities, the original settlement probably dating from the late fifth century, in the chronicles it is described as the "Mother of Russian cities."

Kiev suffered severely during World War II; many irreplaceable architectural and art treasures were destroyed and the city center systematically demolished. Extensive restoration and a 1500th anniversary in 1982 put Kiev firmly back on the map. But the city hit the headlines for all the wrong reasons in April 1986 when the nuclear reactor at nearby Chernobyl exploded. Scientists generally accept that the city is now safe for normal-length tourist visits.

First Tour—The Kreshchatik

Exploring Kiev is best done in four installments. The starting point of the first tour is the Hotel Dnieper, where many Intourist groups are lodged. It stands at the eastern end of Kreshchatik, Kiev's main boulevard;



its entrance is on Lenkomsomol Square, a central location from which the main streets branch off like the points of a star. Opposite is the continuation of the Kreshchatik, the Vladimirsky Spusk, leading down to the river bank; the street to the north, named after the Heroes of the Revolution, leads to the famous St. Andrew's Church, and Kirov Street, leading south, also starts from this square. Lenkomsomol Square is an important traffic center and the terminus of several tram, trolley-bus and bus lines. The Kreshchatik subway station is nearby. An underpass with several branches crosses beneath the square. Opposite the Hotel Dnieper, left of the Vladimirsky Spusk, you can see the building of the Philharmonia (1882).

If you are staying at the Hotel Moskva, you can walk down to the Kreshchatik and turn right, and you will soon reach the Hotel Dnieper. From the old Intourist Hotel on Lenin Street you can get to the Dnieper Hotel via Lenin Street; and from the Hotel Ukraine, via Shevchenko Boulevard, walking downhill and then along the Kreshchatik.

The main street of the Ukrainian capital and its busiest thoroughfare are in a valley (there was once a deep ditch along here) and hills rise steeply on the left-hand side.

Clinging to the hill on this side is the 16-story Hotel Moskva; alongside the hotel October Revolution Street (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii in Ukrainian) leads up to the top of the hill where the government buildings are situated. At the beginning of October Revolution Street, already a steep slope, you will find the October Palace of Culture. Constructed in 1838–42 as a finishing school for young ladies of the nobility, it was restored and enlarged in 1953–57; its main hall seats over 2,000 and is chiefly used for concerts.

On the other side, the Kreshchatik broadens into Kalinin Square, once the site of the southeastern gate of the city wall, built by Yaroslav the Wise. House No. 2 was once the Noblemen's Diet; today it is a Teachers' Club. The large and elaborate building on the corner of the square and Kreshchatik is the main Post Office.

On the left of the Kreshchatik, Karl Marx Street leads uphill, with the Tchaikovsky Conservatory on the corner. If you turn into Karl Marx Street and follow it up the hill, you come to Ivan Franko Square. Here stands the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Drama Theater (built in 1898 and named after the great Ukrainian poet), which has followed the ideas and spirit of the Moscow Arts Theater in its presentation of modern Ukrainian plays.

Back down on the Kreshchatik, you will notice that the odd-numbered side has been made into a sort of parkway with trees, flower beds and benches. The buildings on this side are mostly apartment houses, cinemas, restaurants and hotels—while the other side consists mainly of public buildings and offices. The Kreshchatik underground station (center of the public transport network) is on the odd-numbered side; the largest restaurant in Kiev is in the same building. There is an escalator leading to the booking hall of the Metro (it costs five kopeks to use and this also gives you access to the trains). The escalator on the far side travels a much longer distance and takes you to the hill that rises above the river bank and forms Kiev's administrative district.

Continuing along the Kreshchatik, with its uniformly designed facades, you come to the passage which links the Kreshchatik and Zamkovetskaya Street. The entrance is under an arcade between two wings of a huge building. The building on the far side of the Kreshchatik (with the tall antenna) is the Kiev Radio and Television. On the passage side are Kiev's best

shops, among them the Children's Department Store (Nos. 15–17). Sverdlov Street starts on the opposite side; carrying on farther along the Kreshchatik you come to the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and then the tall City Council building. A little farther on is the Central Department Store, at the corner of Lenin Street.

Lenin Street climbs the hill rather steeply. Opposite the Central Department Store is the Pervomaiskaya Hotel. At No. 5 Lenin Street is the Russian Drama Theater, which is named after the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Ukrainka. Next comes the Teatralnaya Hotel, and across the street, on the corner of Pushkin Street, the technical bookshop; No. 26 is the Intourist Hotel.

Returning to the Kreshchatik you will see an impressive stairway leading up the hillside to the Druzhba cinema. Then you come to the vast Central Market (Krity Rinok). You are now in Bessarabskaya Square, one of the most important in Kiev. The avenue on the right is the wide Shevchenko Boulevard, with Lenin's statue at the entrance.

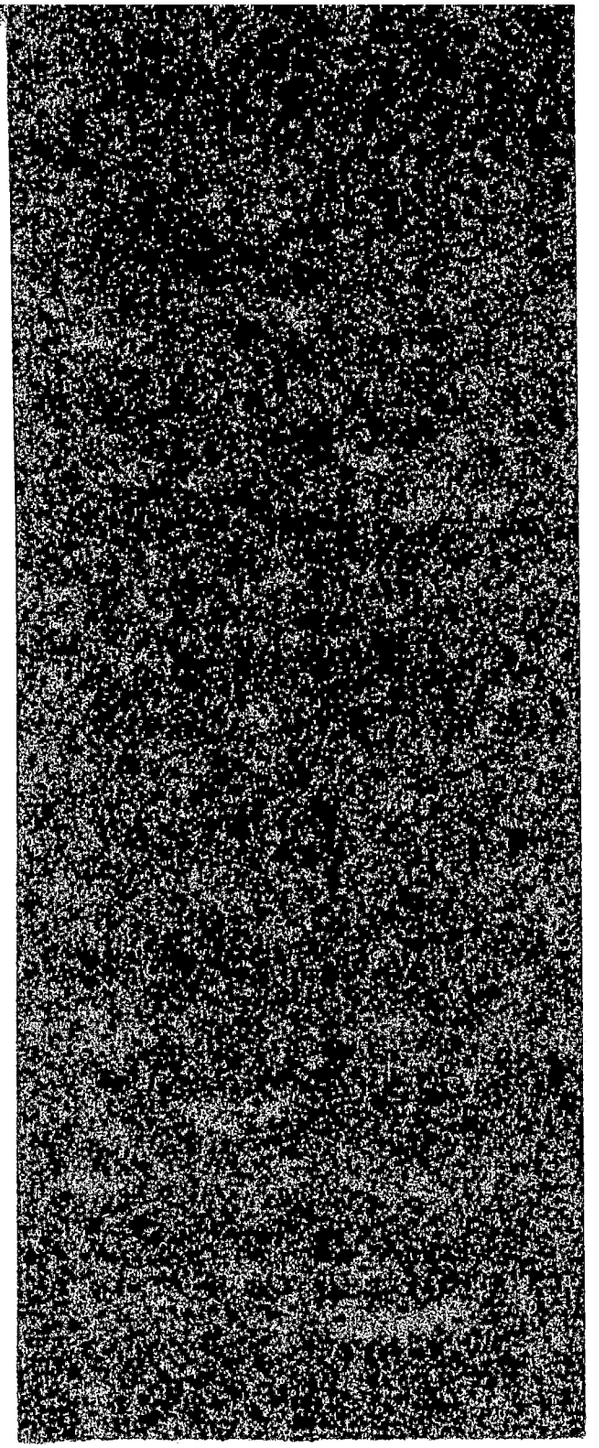
The Kreshchatik continues as Chervonoarmiiska (Red Army) Street, another busy main thoroughfare. No. 12 is a permanent exhibition hall for Ukrainian artists. Passing Saksagansky Street you come to the Operetta Theater and then the massive block of the Central Stadium and Sports Palace. It has a covered swimming pool as well as facilities for ice hockey, handball, tennis, football and athletics. The Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of the Peoples) Boulevard, which starts here, leads to the mile-long Paton Bridge. This bridge links the historical quarters of Kiev with the Darnitsa district on the far side.

Second Tour—Monastery of the Caves

Again using Lenkomsomol Square as a starting point, begin this tour by walking south on Kirov Street. Next to the Hotel Dnieper is the sociology department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The building also houses the Institute for the History of Literature and the ground floor is the Academic Bookshop. Still on Kirov Street, climb the slopes of the hill that rises above the Dnieper. The right side of Kirov Street is built-up, while the left is a series of large, well-kept parks. No. 1 Kirov Street, set in one of these parks, is the Republican Library. On the right-hand side, No. 6 Kirov Street, is the Museum of Ukrainian Art. Built in 1898–1900 on the lines of an ancient Greek temple with huge granite steps and a six-columned portico, the museum has a collection of Ukrainian art of the 15th to 19th centuries and of Soviet artists.

Next you pass the headquarters of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and, a few hundred yards further up, on the left, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine with its entrance in the adjoining square. No. 5 across the street is the former Marinsky Palace designed by Rastrelli and built in 1747 as a local residence for the Czar. The upper wooden story, which burned down in 1819, was reconstructed in 1870 and has survived in its 18th-century Baroque form. Outside the palace stands the memorial to the Civil War, with black marble and red granite decorating the mass grave.

On your left, in a park, is the entrance (No. 3 Kirov Street) to the Dynamo Stadium. The other side of the stadium faces on to the Petrovsky Promenade. A bridge divides the former Petrovsky Park into two parks; the northern part is called Pioneer Park and the lower, southern part, Pervomaisky.



In Karl Liebknecht Street (the sidestreet opposite the Supreme Soviet), you will see the headquarters of the Znaniye Educational Society, and in Rosa Luxemburg Street (Nos. 15–17), the Youth Theater. Chekist Street crosses both these streets further west; here is the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, and the headquarters of the Composers' Union. The writers, too, have their home nearby at No. 2 Ordzhonikidze Street, which runs parallel with Liebknecht Street towards the Kreshchatik. The editorial offices of several literary reviews are also here. Ordzhonikidze Street passes behind the Ukrainian Drama Theater (the Ivan Franko Theater), and you can see a statue of Ivan Franko himself by Suprun (1956) in the square beyond the theater.

Reaching the end of Kirov Street you come to Moskovskaya Street on your right. This leads eventually into Lesya Ukrainka. On your left, at the corner of Kirov Street and Sichneve Povstannya Street, stands the monument to the Arsenal Workers, commemorating their dead in the Civil War. Sichneve Povstannya Street is named after the January 1917 rising in Kiev. Suvorov Street begins on the right; its left side is a large park in memory of the dead of World War II. A street called Dneprovsky Spusk leads downhill on the left from the park. Here stands the monument to the Unknown Soldier.

To the left of Sichneve Povstannya, Tsitadelnaya Street leads to the Pecherskaya Lavra, the Monastery of the Caves. Founded in 1051 by the monks Anthony and Theodosius, Monastery of the Caves comprises a whole series of churches, cathedrals and monuments. Outside the complex of buildings stands the ancient church of the Redeemer of Berestovo, built early in the 12th century by Prince Vladimir Monomakh as a burial place for the princes of Kiev. The founder of Moscow, Yury Dolgoruky, was buried here in 1157. The church is built in characteristic late 11th- and early 12th-century style: a crossdome with six pillars. Its eastern wing, which faces the Dnieper, was added in 1640–44. In 1947 a marble sarcophagus was installed here in memory of Yury Dolgoruky.

The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. They include the Trinity Church, built over the entrance gate (today 21 Sichneve Povstannya Street), which dates from 1108, and has 18th-century wooden iconostases; the walls of the Upper Monastery, built between 1698 and 1701, stretch from this gateway around the compound. Another gateway is topped by the five-domed All Saints' Church (17th century). The main court of the Upper Monastery centers around the ruins of the Assumption Cathedral, built 1073–89 and destroyed by the Nazis in 1941. The majority of the surrounding houses are 18th century. The bell tower, the highest in the U.S.S.R. (316 ft.), was built in 1731–45; it has been completely restored and the dome regilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them—as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night!

Of the various museums in the Monastery, the Historical Museum is particularly interesting. Among its exhibits are 17th to 20th-century fabrics, 16th to 19th-century handicrafts, wood carvings, metal work, ceramics—all examples of Ukrainian folk art. Highlights are the delicately painted *krashenki,* Easter eggs.

The St. Anthony Caves contain 73 tombs and three underground churches. In the St. Theodosius Caves there are 47 tombs and another three churches. The two series of caves are quite separate from each other, and are reached by way of a covered gallery. The belfry of the St. Theodosius or Further Caves was built in the 18th century by the architect Stefan Kovnir. The most famous tomb is that of the chronicler Nestor, who died in 1115. Near the refectory walls are the graves of the Cossack leaders Kochubei and Iskra, executed by Ivan Mazepa in 1708.

If you leave the Lavra and walk along Tsitadelnaya Street you come to Novo-Navodnitskaya Street, which leads to Staro-Navodnitskaya Street and then on to the broad highway of the People's Friendship.

Cross the highway and you will find yourself in the Botanical Garden, which covers some 500 acres and affords beautiful views of the Dnieper and Kiev itself. Here, too, on the bank of the Dnieper, you will see the ruins of the Vydubetsky Monastery which you can also reach by taking trolleybus 15 to "Botanichesky Sad" stop. According to archeologists, there was a river ferry here in earliest times. In 1070–77 Vsevolod Yaroslavich, Prince of Kiev, had a monastery built on this spot; only the western side of a part of it, St. Michael's Cathedral (1070–88), has survived, but there are fine murals. In 1701, following a landslide, St. George's Church, a five-domed masterpiece of Ukrainian architecture, was built in its place. Nearby is the Museum of the Second World War, topped by the gigantic and controversial steel statue of "Mother Russia" which dwarfs the monastery domes on the river bank.

From the Paton Bridge you can return to the hotel by tram or trolleybus. Or you can walk along the quay until you reach the Dneprovsky Spusk, mentioned earlier. This is one of the sloping roads leading along the riverside parks. Askold's Grave, erected in 1809–10, is a rotunda where, according to legend, a Prince of Kiev was buried in 882. This is perhaps the most picturesque spot in Kiev and a favorite promenade.

One of the park roads leading north will take you to the open-air theater; its sloping amphitheater seats 4,000 people and is used for musical and dance shows and rallies. Nearby is the Kukushka open-air restaurant.

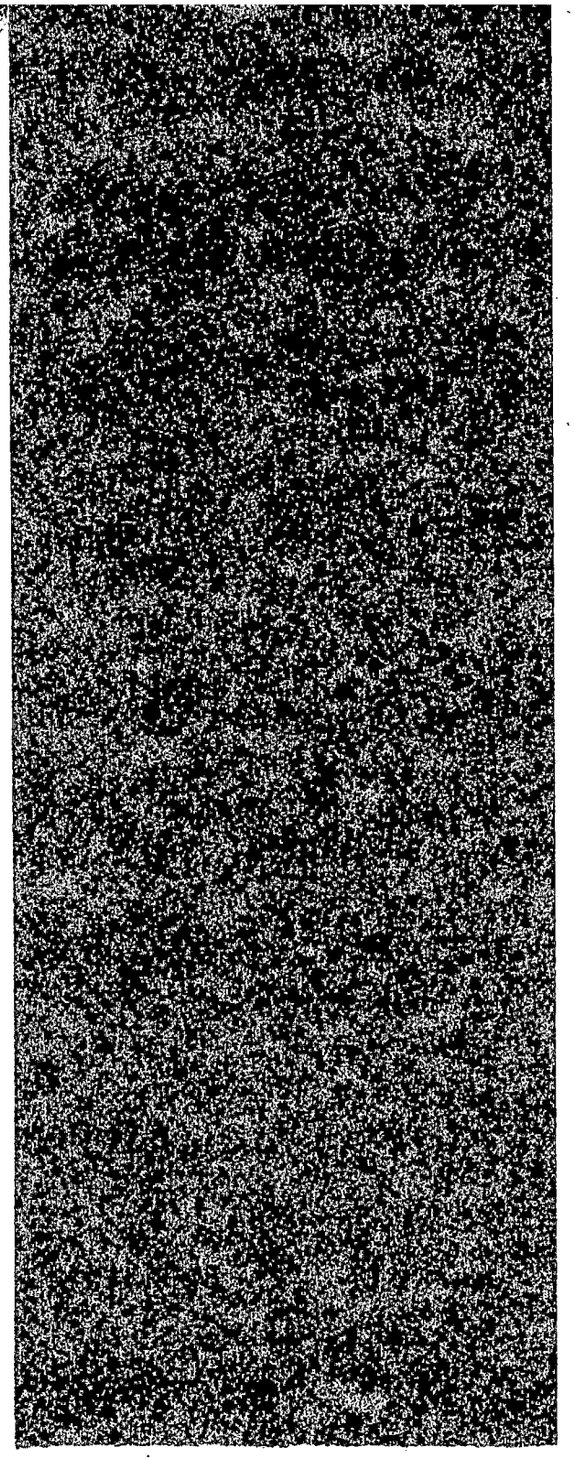
Descending to the quay again, you can cross by the footbridge (Peshekhodny Most or Parkovy Most) to the parks on Trukhanov Island and the city's bathing beach. Near the bridge is the monument built by Molensky in 1802–8 to commemorate the charter of the city of Kiev.

You can go back to the Hotel Dnieper by ascending the Vladimirsky Spusk. Nearby is the St. Vladimir Monument. Vladimir holds aloft a cross commemorating the conversion of Kievan Russia to Christianity.

Third Tour—St. Sophia's Cathedral

To explore the northern and western sections of Kiev, start at October Revolution Square (Zhovtnevoi Revolutsii). Follow Kalinin Street to the north to reach Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square. Here you'll see the statue of the Cossack Hetman who freed the Ukraine from the Poles and later subjugated it to the Russian state. St. Sophia's Cathedral (Sofisky Sobor) stands in Vladimirskaya Street, behind the statue; like the major part of the Monastery of the Caves, St. Sophia's has also now become a museum (open 10–5, closed Thursday).

The cathedral was dedicted in 1037 by Prince Yaroslav the Wise as a mark of gratitude for the battle he won against the Pechenegs, an invading



tribe from the east. Here the first Russian library was founded and the earliest chronicles were written. St. Sophia is a stylistic combination of the traditional wooden church and the principles of stone building, with interesting mosaics and frescos in the central part and on the main dome. In the northeast part is the marble tomb where Yaroslav the Wise was buried in 1054. The iconostasis dates from the 18th century.

The bell tower (256 feet) was erected between 1744 and 1852. The Zavorovsky Gate is the main entrance to the Metropolitan's residence and is decorated with elaborate stucco ornamentation. The cathedral's surrounding wall was built in the 1740s. The whole complex is now a museum which also displays architectural models of other ancient Ukrainian and Russian towns, and local archeological discoveries. The entire precincts, as an "ancient monument," are maintained under a preservation order.

Leaving St. Sophia's, walk along Streletsky and Polupanov Streets until you reach a small garden containing the Golden Gate, once a part of Kiev's fortifications. The gate consists of two parallel walls built of brick and stone in 1037 by Yaroslav the Wise to guard the main entrance into the city. The arch was topped by the tiny Church of the Annunciation. The Golden Gate was restored for the city's 1,500th anniversary in 1982. You can reach it from the bus terminal by trolleybus 4 or 12, from the railroad station by trolleybus 2, and from the river station by bus 71.

The far side of the square is the continuation of Vladimirskaya Street. Walking southwest along it you come to the Opera House, then, at No. 57, on your left, to the Kiev branch of the Central Lenin Museum.

At the junction with Shevchenko Boulevard, on your left, is Shevchenko Park, where you can see a statue of the great Ukrainian classical writer erected in 1939 on the 125th anniversary of his birth. The large and impressive building opposite the park, on Vladimirskaya Street, is Shevchenko University, founded in 1834.

The far side of Shevchenko Park borders on Repin Street, which runs parallel with Vladimirskaya. Here there are two museums: No. 9 is the Museum of Russian Art and No. 15 the Museum of Oriental and Western Art. The former covers the 12th to the 17th centuries and includes icons of the Novgorod, Moscow and Stroganov schools; the 18th- and 19th-century rooms also have works by outstanding Russian artists. There is a fine collection of 18th–20th-century china, glass and crystal. The Museum of Oriental and Western Art has a collection that includes works by Bellini, Franz Hals, Rubens and Velasquez.

Continue south along Shevchenko Boulevard. Between Repin and Pushkin Streets, at No. 12, you will find the Shevchenko Museum, which is devoted to the life and work of the poet. Turn back to cross Vladimirskaya Street again and walk on further northwest and you come to one of the newer but important monuments in Kiev, the Vladimir Cathedral. Built in the 19th century, designed by Beretti and Bernhardt, it has seven gilded domes, three naves and several striking murals. It is still used for worship.

Further along Shevchenko Boulevard on the left you will see the University Botanical Gardens. Then after a short distance, the boulevard arrives at Peremogi (Victory) Square. Here you can visit the circus, and shop in the Ukraine State Department Store. Here also is the newest Intourist Hotel (Lybed), one of the country's best.

From here on, the Shevchenko Boulevard continues as the Brest-Litovsk Highway. Along it you will find the Kiev Zoo, which can be reached from Victory Square by trolley-buses No. 5, 6 or 7 and trams No. 2, 9 or 47. Close to it is the Medical Faculty of the University and the Dovzhenko Film Studio.

Fourth Tour

For your final walk, start again at Lenkomsomol Square but follow the Street of the Heroes of the Revolution until you reach Kalinin Square. At No. 2 Vladimirskaya Street is the Historical Museum. From there turn northeast, down Andreyevsky Spusk. Here at No. 23 is St. Andrew's Church, designed by Rastrelli and built by the Russian architect Michurin between 1744 and 1753, an important example of Russian Baroque architecture. This is the highest point of Old Kiev, overlooking the Podol district, the river and the plain to the east where, tradition says, the Apostle Andrew, who first preached the Gospel in Kievan Russia, erected a cross.

Built at the command of Elizaveta, the pious daughter of Peter the Great, St. Andrew's Church stands on a terrace at the top of a broad flight of steps. Its proportions are perfect. Today the domes are restored in silver-gilt and the walls painted in turquoise and white. The iconostasis was painted by Antropov and local masters. The church is now a museum, open 10–6 except Thursday.

Behind the church you can descend the Andreyevsky Spusk into the Lower Town, the Podol. At the foot of the hill turn left into Zelinsky Street and a few steps will take you to Krasnaya (Red) Square. The House of Contracts (Kontraktovy Dom), built here in 1817 expressly as a headquarters for the negotiating and signing of agreements, is an interesting example of the early 19th-century Russian classicist style.

The building on the corner of Red Square and Naberezhno-Nikolskaya Street (designed by Sedel and built in 1735) is a branch of the Academic Library. The courtyard wall has Baroque decorations. The building used to be the home of the Kiev Academy, which was founded in 1701 at the command of Peter the Great, to replace the former Kiev College. It had many distinguished graduates in its time.

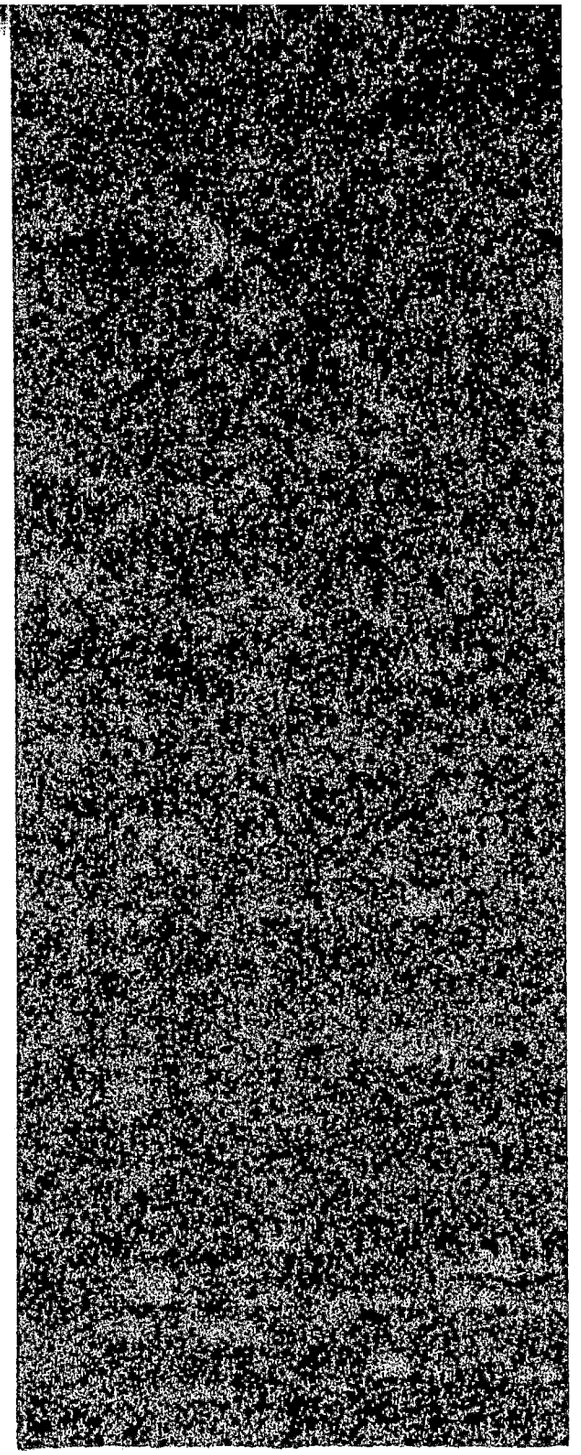
Also on Red Square are the ruins of the Bratsky Monastery; the old house in the northwestern corner was Peter the Great's headquarters in 1706 when he prepared the attack on the Swedes, who had advanced to within 25 miles of Kiev.

East of the square, at No. 15 Kreshchatik Quay, which curves in from the river, is the former dormitory of the students of the Kiev Academy, the "Bursa." The ground floor was built in 1778; in 1809–11 two stories were added, with a four-columned gate, and the facade was remodeled in the style of the early 19th-century classicism.

Turning along Kreshchatik Quay towards the harbor, you can see Trukhanov Island on the far side. The island has been developed as an aquatic sports center. A wide promenade lines the riverbank where railway lines and warehouses once stood. Behind the harbor is Pochtovaya Square, a traffic center and terminus for the funicular which links the Lower and Upper Cities. Take the funicular to the Upper City terminal and you are back at Kalinin Square.

Excursions around Kiev

The permanent Ukrainian Exhibition of Economic Achievements covers 750 acres on Sorokichya Zhovtnya Prospekt, to the south of the city.



It can be reached by No. 11 trolley-bus directly from Lenkomsomol Square.

Pushcha-Voditsa, about 13 miles from the city center, is one of the finest parks in Kiev's green-belt. Extending over 1,875 acres, the park used to be a hunting preserve and also a refuge from enemies who attacked Kiev. It can be reached by tram No. 25 from the railway station or No. 12 from the Red Square in Podol.

An interesting excursion is to the open-air Folk Architecture Museum on the outskirts of Kiev, near Pirogovka village, which consists of 400 old homes, mills, forges and other structures from all over the Ukraine.

Lvov

Lvov is a regional capital, the traditional economic, transport, cultural and administrative center of the western Ukraine. For six centuries it was the scene of much strife and war between hostile powers, irreconcilable nations and opposing religions. Yet the monuments of the past, their different styles ranging from Ukrainian traditional to Italianate Renaissance, German Baroque and Polish, today form a unique whole. In Ukrainian, the city's name is Lviv.

The statue of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (by Popiel and Farashcuk, 1905) stands in Mickiewicz Square and has come to be a symbol of Lvov. Also in the square is the Intourist hotel, built in 1901, and close by, the shady promenade of the Shevchenko Prospekt to Rosa Luxemburg Square. The most important monument here is the Roman Catholic Cathedral, dating from 1270–1480, but never completed. It is still used today for services. The old Gothic houses in the square burned down in 1527 but their foundations, ground floors and, here and there, parts of their first floors have survived and been incorporated into more modern dwellings. The cathedral has 18th-century frescos and many decorative carvings and statues dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The chapels and the 214-feet-high Gothic tower were added between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Boim Chapel, built 1609–17 in Baroque style, belonged to a family of Hungarian origin, whose ancestor was private secretary to King Stephen Batory of Poland and Transylvania.

No. 2 Rosa Luxemburg Square (with its classicist facade) was built in the 18th century. No. 3 dates from 1630.

You entered Rosa Luxemburg Square from the southwest; now you leave it at its northeastern corner, where it is crossed by Russkaya (Russian) Street, the only street where Russian Orthodox believers were allowed to live at the end of the Middle Ages.

No. 2 Russkaya Street dates from the 16th century and has Gothic details. No. 8 is 18th century; notice the four relief carvings symbolizing the occupant's trade. But the most important landmark is the Church of the Assumption, one of the most beautiful in Lvov. After two previous churches had burned down, the present one was built in 1590–1629. In the courtyard there is a bell tower 226 feet high, dated 1572–78, with a bell called Cyril, cast locally in 1783 and weighing almost five tons. The outside walls of the church are decorated with a sculptured frieze depicting Biblical scenes; the interior contains 18th-century sculptures and 17th- and 18th-century icons. Russian Orthodox services are held here regularly.

Rinok Square

Rinok (Market) Square is like an architectural sampler of the centuries, so we will describe it in some detail. The old City Hall (now the City Soviet) stands in the center, and almost all the buildings around the edges of the square are worth close inspection. Of the 44 houses none is less than 200 years old.

No. 2 is a Gothic one-storied house dating from the 16th century, with a sculpture by Bellon and dolphin-reliefs on its façade. In 1627 this was the home of the first Lvov post office. No. 4, built in 1577 and known as the Black House (Chornaya Kamonica), houses a section of the Historical Museum. (The museum occupies several buildings, including also Nos. 6 and 24 in Market Square.)

No. 6 has also had a varied past. It is called the Korniakt or Sobieski house; it was built at the end of the 16th century by one of Lvov's richest burghers, a Greek merchant, who had special permission to erect a broad facade with six windows instead of the usual narrow frontage. In the 17th century the Polish King Jan Sobieski bought the house. No. 8 was built at the end of the 18th century in Classicist style but its front, stylistically a survival from the 16th century, was later decorated with balconies, wrought-iron railings and reliefs symbolizing shipping and trade.

No. 12 has also acquired Renaissance features during its long life; the ornamentation shows the plump-cheeked faces and bold moustaches of contemporary Polish figures. The portals of No. 14 display a winged lion, the symbol of Venice, denoting that this was once a diplomatic dwelling; Antonio di Massari, the Venetian consul, lived here in 1600.

No. 17, built in Louis Quinze style, is noteworthy for its elegance and air of serene luxury. No. 18 dates from 1523 and was one of the most richly-decorated mansions of its age. Under the balcony of No. 19 there are fantastic, half-human, half-animal masks.

No. 23 is massive, almost oppressive in its effect. The details, and decorative elements, the splendid masks, the stylized lions' and angels' heads belong to the traditions of the Italian Renaissance but their excessive use and the heaviness of the whole ornamentation betrays German and Flemish influences.

No. 24 is the third section of the Historical Museum; it dates from the 16th century but its front was rebuilt in the 20th. In 1707 Peter the Great received a deputation of the Stavronigy Brotherhood here and granted them a charter to sell their books freely in the Ukraine.

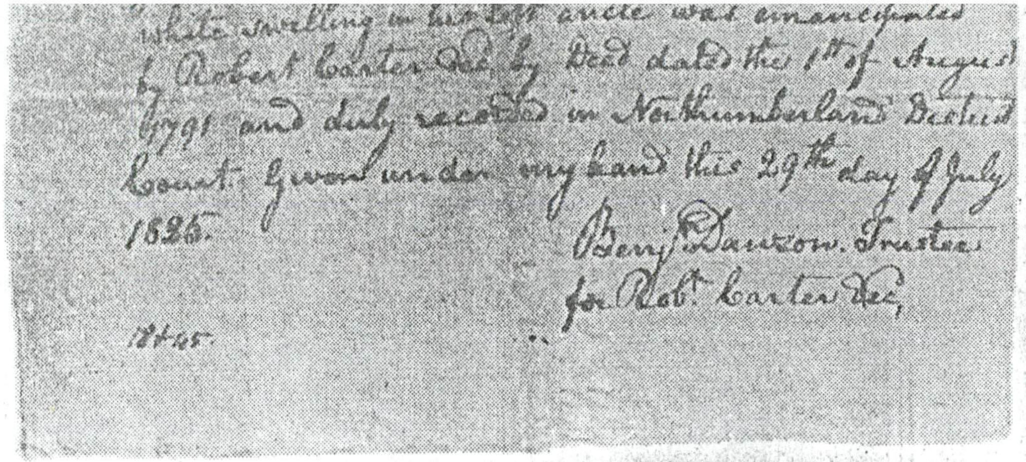
No. 28 is a real architectural anthology: its left side still displays the Gothic arches and flying buttresses of 1510, its Renaissance portico and window frames are 17th century, while its second story dates from the Baroque period. Built by an anonymous architect, it has a particular gracefulness and charm.

No. 29, in Classicist style, was built by peasant rebels captured at the end of the 18th century; as soon as it was finished, they were executed.

Almost the entire northern side of Rinok Square dates from the second half of the 18th century, but some buildings have earlier elements. The decorations are especially interesting, ranging from a laurel-wreathed, bearded head with a lion's body, to the hermit figures supporting the balcony of No. 40, and the grinning stone face with a huge mustache on the façade of No. 41.

FAMILIES

Historians, combing through "freedom papers" in Virginia's state archives, such as the one shown at right, are searching for descendants of Robert Carter's freed slaves. More than 50 surnames have been identified. See Page F4.


white swelling in his left ancle was emancipated by Robert Carter Dec by Deed dated the 1st of August 1791 and duly recorded in Northumberland District Court. Given under my hand this 29th day of July 1825.
Benj Dawson. Trustee for Robt Carter Dec
I#45

in Slavery is contrary to the true principle of Religion & justice . . . I do hereby declare that such . . . shall be emancipated. . . ."*

Next Sunday, in a twilight ceremony on a torch-lit clover field near the site of Nomini Hall, the people of Westmoreland County, black and white, will gather to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Carter's momentous but little-known act of conscience—the first such act of any scale in American history, almost certainly the largest private emancipation ever recorded.

"It's a bit weird deciding how to celebrate something like this," says Frank Delano, a Warsaw, Va., resident spearheading the observance. "Do you honor the man who freed them or the people he freed? My view is you honor them both."

See CARTER, F4, Col. 1

Always a Hot Seat

ıgtons in clement weather offer tea, a breeze and a view red guests. For a crowd, they put out the 30 Windsor chairs piazza. There's always a

ı effort to give the "Vision of Washington," the hospitable Vernon Ladies' Association . 2-4 will offer a seat (briefly) piazza in a fan chair, as well as ascensions and a look at a oat and many other marvels ed by the forward-thinking gton in his last years.

hington was ever a man to p with the inventions of the When he couldn't take the

See CHRONICLES, F5, Col. 5


A fan chair similar to the one George Washington ordered in 1787.

MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION

Bang in the U.S.S.R.

Or, the Trouble With Light Industry in Russia

By Eleanor Randolph
Special to The Washington Post

KIEV—The Dnepro Hotel dining hall in the center of this lush Ukrainian city features decent food, nice waiters and exploding chandeliers.

At a recent luncheon, when the elegant room was filled with well-dressed Soviet businessmen, tourists and journalists in town for a visit there by President Mikhail Gorbachev, one of the big fixtures suddenly started making loud popping noises, sending some guests scuttling under the tables.

Out of a huge crystal doughnut on the dining room ceiling came a shard of plastic, burning like the trail of a firecracker. It landed a few inches from the shoulder of a Russian woman eating her lunch.

A group of Americans, alarmed by the fireworks and the acrid smell of blackened plastic, paid their bill and rushed outside into the fresh air. The remainder of those in the restaurant were unperturbed. A group of men in dark summer suits lit up cigarettes—to wipe out the odor. And the Ukrainian woman moved her plate to a seat that was not directly under the still-smoldering chandelier.

There we go again, the Soviets seemed to be saying, another exploding chandelier, another electrical fixture that performs in strange and alarming ways.

The Soviet chandelier, and a few other Soviet appliances such as television sets, provide a kind of electri-

See EXPLOSIONS, F5, Col. 1


ILLUSTRATION BY SCOTT MENCHIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

it? I would love to reply, 'It's none of your business,' but

Those Bad Bulbs

EXPLOSIONS, From F1

cal version of Russian roulette. Some of these things work fine; some don't. Some are perfect; some are dangerous. The reasons are as complicated as the wiring inside a Soviet fuse box—a sight to be endured only by the bravest electrician or perhaps by the individual who has no idea that electricity involves more than the little switches that say On, Off, Play and Eject.

The hotel chandelier exploded that day because light bulbs here sometimes have a flaw that causes them to burn out not with a flicker, but with a bang. In our apartment, we first witnessed the event when we turned on the living room light one night and saw it explode, sending small triangles of light bulb all over the room. From that point on, we learned to step away from any light we were preparing to activate.

A Russian journalist explained that when purchasing Soviet light bulbs—and almost anything else made in the Soviet Union—it has always been a good idea to check the date it was manufactured. Items made near the beginning of the month tend to be made better than those made at the end of the month, he said.

Why? Simple Soviet economics. By the end of the month the workers are scrambling to meet their quotas. If they forget a wire or two as the month draws to a close, the bulb still gets counted as newly produced—no matter how it works when put to use weeks or months later.

Bulbs that do work, more or less normally, have a long life here that extends past their ability to shed light. Instead of being thrown away or used as a template for darning socks (a lost art in the West but still practiced here), some of these light bulbs go on sale in the local markets for a few kopecks.

People buy these used bulbs and carry them to work. At their offices, they take out a light bulb that is still operating and replace it with the dud. Then they call the plant electrician and complain: How are they supposed to work without proper light?

In this country where light bulbs are often in short supply, such a maneuver is completely understandable—you get a 60-kopeck light bulb for 3 kopecks. The problem is that even the dimmest plant electrician eventually can figure out the trick if it happens too often.

Some electrical problems in this country are not simply due to the rhythms of the Soviet production line. Several years ago, one particularly popular type of television set tended to get overheated and explode, not only when it was operating for a long time but even when it was only plugged in for a long time. Exploding televisions became such a problem that the Interior Ministry put out a public-service film about how to operate a television set safely.

The main precaution, the government said, is to unplug the set after use—a habit still encouraged in most hotels where, upon arrival, one finds the set with the plug noticeably draped over the picture tube. Unfortunately for foreign tourists, the explanation for this dangling plug and the warning to unplug the set after use is written in Russian.

The second precaution, according to the film, is that when the television set is on, the area around it should be well ventilated. This is not a problem, of course, except in the winter.

A fellow journalist recently visited a light bulb factory in Armenia where he asked the director why Soviet light bulbs sometimes explode. The director became quite upset. His response was clear, simple and very Soviet: "Our light bulbs don't blow up," he explained indignantly.

The journalist's Russian translator, who had been trained as an electrical engineer, waited until the two of them were out of earshot of the director. "Soviet light bulbs explode for one simple reason," he whispered. "They are made in the Soviet Union."

written word. Dig deep for in
tion, clear away emotional
Meaning of love will become
clear. Relative plays significant

Gemini (May 21-June 20):
tion revolves around home, a
ance of apparel, concern with
status. Major domestic adjus
featured. Taurus, Libra person
roles.

Cancer (June 21-July 22): An
found through process of medi
Protect privacy, be discreet,
form brooding into revelation.
do things in "different" way.
report available; you can now re

Leo (July 23-Aug. 22): Lun
pect promotes variety, discovery
relationship. Qualifications teste
pass 100 percent. Focus on d
design, color, showmanship. C
Capricorn persons in picture.

Virgo (Aug. 23-Sept. 22): Att
revolves around property, stru
large household products, durabi
goods. Long-range prospects be
crystal clear. Emphasis on t
communication. Libra represente

Libra (Sept. 23-Oct. 22):
make fresh start, many will b
tracted, some could make declar
of love. Short trip involves relat
search of lost article. Imprint
assume leadership role. Leo invo

Scorpio (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): Int
intellect serves as reliable guide.
phasis on timing, unorthodox p

July 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITERS

FROM: RESEARCHERS

SUBJECT: MATERIAL FOR MOSCOW SUMMIT

JOKES

1) [jag](for State Dinner toast) "I may no longer be seen as an imperialist pig, but I'm still a glutton for Russian cooking."

2) [jag]"The first time our arms negotiators sat down with yours, they were amazed by what an easy start talks got off to. 'Star Wars? We love Star Wars!' said the Soviet negotiator. Unfortunately, he was talking about the George Lucas variety."

QUOTES/PROVERBS

1) [jag]"The strongest of all warriors are these two -- Time and Patience."
--Tolstoi, War and Peace, X, 16.

2) [bs]"The Slavs are a young people, of limitless possibilities, who from various causes have not been able to develop as rapidly as the peoples of central and western Europe. They have grown in civilization until their further advance has become something greatly to be desired, because it will be a factor of immense importance in the welfare of the world."
--Theodore Roosevelt, New York Times, Oct. 11, 1914.

3) [bs]"..it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power of endurace. Russia is mighty, and her future looms so vast that it is hardly possible to overstate it."
--Theodore Roosevelt, 1916.

4) [bs]"If Russia chooses to develop purely on her own line and to resist the growth of liberalism, then she may put off the day of reckoning; but she cannot ultimately avert it.."
--Theodore Roosevelt, to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, Aug. 11, 1897.

5) [bs]"Dreadful though it is that despotism should ruin men's bodies, it is worse that it should ruin men's souls."
--Theodore Roosevelt, Metropolitan, June 1918.

6) [bs]"..extending the Russian dominion over so many latitudes

and longitudes, they will add little to her real force, if they do not detract from it...the overgrown empire, as in so many preceding instances, must fall into separate and independent States.."

--James Madison, to Richard Rush, Nov. 20, 1821.

7) [bs]"..Russia has called on us to show her how to build steamboats and railroads, while in the older parts of Asia they scarcely know that such things as steamboats and railroads exist."

--Abe Lincoln, Lecture, Springfield, Feb. 22, 1858.

8) [bs]"..the cooperation of our great nations will inevitable be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace. The successful accomplishment of this mutual task will be of immediate and lasting benefit not only to the peoples of our countries but to all peace-loving peoples everywhere."

--FDR, Remarks to the first ambassador of the USSR, on presentation of credentials, Jan. 8, 1934.

THE SOVIET PRESS

1) [jag]Cathy Young, who writes the Soviet Presswatch in The American Spectator, says the most popular Soviet publications are the Commersant, The Independent Gazette, and Democratic Russia. There are two independent (in that they are not affiliated with the Soviet government) radio stations in the Russian Republic, Moscow Echo (cosponsored by the Moscow City Council), and Radio Russia.

She also told me that 1990's biggest grossing film there was Rambo. Tootsie and Married to the Mob have also proven quite popular. In one "video salon" that she visited, the billing included Star Wars, The Empire Strikes Back, The Howling, Aliens, and Running Man (funny, each title could be a commentary on modern Soviet history). Any film with Stallone or Schwarzenneger in it is popular. Soviets also love James Bond movies (joke on "From America With Love"?)

ANECDOTES

1) [jag]Joe Klein of New York Magazine (212/880-0893) says the reason he's so fascinated with Soviet youth is that they embody the political attitudes of his middle age and the style of his youth. Here are some of his stories:

..at a Pravda printing plant, the two obligatory portraits of Lenin and Gorbachev were overshadowed by a huge poster of Michael Jackson. (POTUS joke?, "back home, most of the time they don't even bother with mine.")

..at what would pass for a chic Moscow dinner party thrown by "New Russians," mood music in the backround was replaced by videos of Moonlighting and Miami Vice (english, with finnish

subtitles, barely dubbed over in Russian). Joke about the Russian version of a TV dinner? Joke about how Americans and Soviets aren't that different after all -- they both watch too much American television?

Klein and Pinkerton witnessed a peace march in front of Moscow's McDonald's -- an anti-draft rally. When they caught up with them, they asked, "What do you call yourselves?" Came the heavily accented reply: "Hippies." (Joke about creative excuses for lack of soap in Moscow?)

2) [jag]Excerpts from one of Klein's articles in New York Magazine: "According to one survey released on Vremya, the official nightly television news broadcast, only 10 percent of all young people had positive feelings toward Komosol (the official Communist youth organization), while 40 percent actively disapproved of it and the rest thought it irrelevant."

"'You know, all the apparatchiks used to wear suits,' says Alexei Kovalyov, 26, one of the reformers who won control of the Leningrad Soviet (city council) in the March elections. 'But two years ago, the party told them, 'Don't wear suits anymore, wear jeans. Try to be more like the people,' So a lot of them now wear jeans -- but people still know who they are.'"

3) [jag]Excerpts from a commencement address given by Klein: "..the Russian people are obsessed by America...and American things. They're not too suble about it either. They love the very sort of things that we sophisticated New Yorkers pretend to disdain: Ronald Reagan, Michael Jackson, Marlboro cigarettes, and McDonalds...I'm sure you've heard that the lines at McDonald's are longer than the lines at Lenin's tomb...but it's not just the food that's drawing them. It's the attitude, the Americanness of the place -- I mean when was the last time your average Russian was told...by anyone, 'You deserve a break today...'"

4) [jag]Cathy Young talks of visiting a some relatives in the Soviet Union. One 14 year old son had a room plastered with posters of American movie stars -- and on one shelf, he had constructed a small shrine to McDonalds, cartons, bags, all souvenirs of his trip to Moscow's McDonald's. Soviet one-upmanship on recycling.

HISTORY OF PRE-REVO RUSSO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

1) [jag] In June, 1775, Empress Catherine the Great prophesied that the American Revolution would succeed. (Czars and Presidents, Alexandre Tarsaidze)