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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 a 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 Bonior, Jack Palance ("City Slickers"), Roman Popadiuk, Mike Ditka, Wayne Gretzky, and Kaye Lani Rae Rafko (Miss America 1988).

Snow/Simon
UKPARL.TS
DRAFT TWO
July 31, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR
SESSION HALL, SUPREME SOVIET BUILDING
KIEV
AUGUST 1, 1991
3:45 P.M.

Thank you chairman Kravchuk [introductory acknowledgments].

This beautiful city brings to mind the words of the poet
Alexander Dovzhenko: "The city of Kiev is an orchard. Kiev is a
poet. Kiev is an epic. Kiev is history. Kiev is art."

Centuries ago, your forebears named this country Ukraine, or
"frontier," because your steppes link Europe and Asia. But
Ukrainians have become frontiersmen of another sort. Today you
explore the frontiers and contours of liberty.

I have come here to talk with you and to learn. For those
who love freedom, every experiment in building an open society
offers new lessons and insights. You face an especially daunting
task. For years, people in this nation felt powerless,
overshadowed by a vast government apparatus; cramped by forces
that attempted to control every aspect of their lives.

Today, your people probe the promise of freedom. In cities
and republics -- on farms, in businesses, around university
campuses -- you debate the fundamental questions of liberty,
self-rule and free enterprise. Americans have a deep commitment
to these values. We follow your progress with a sense of
fascination, excitement and hope.

Dir of
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87

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This alone is historic. In the past, our nations engaged in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado. Now, the fireworks of superpower confrontation are giving way to the quieter -- and far more hopeful -- arts of cooperation.

I come here to tell you: We support the struggle in this great country for democracy and economic reform. And I would like to talk with you today about how the United States views this complex and exciting period in your history -- how we intend to relate to the Soviet central government and the republican governments.

In Moscow I outlined our approach: We will support those in the center and the republics who pursue freedom, democracy and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities, but on the basis of principle.

We cannot not tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between republics -- or between republics and the center. That is your business, not ours.

Do not doubt our real commitment to reform. But do not think that we can presume to solve your problems for you.

Theodore Roosevelt once wrote, "To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have someone else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that someone else for the good of both of us."

see file

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We will work for the good of both of us -- which means that we will not meddle in your internal affairs.

Some people have urged the United States to choose between supporting President Gorbachev and supporting independence-minded leaders throughout the USSR. I consider this a false choice. President Gorbachev has achieved astonishing things, and his policies of glasnost, perestroika and democratization point toward the goals of freedom, democracy and economic liberty.

We will maintain the strongest possible relationship with the Soviet government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the USSR. We therefore want good relations -- improved relations -- with the Republics.

So let me build upon my comments in Moscow by describing in more detail what Americans mean when we talk about freedom, democracy and economic liberty.

No terms have been abused more regularly and cynically than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats; jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith in government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

Let's begin with the broad term, freedom. When Americans talk of freedom, they refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion; without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens; without restricting others' freedoms.

We do not consider freedom a privilege, to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right, bestowed

see file

upon all men and women. As Lord Acton observed, "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

Freedom requires tolerance -- a concept embedded in glasnost and in our First Amendment protections for the freedoms of speech, association and religion -- all religions.

Tolerance nourishes hope. Father Alexander Men wrote of glasnost, "Today, more than ever the words of Paul the Apostle, spoken 2,000 years ago, ring out: 'They counted us among the dead, but look -- we are alive.'" In Ukraine, in Russia, in Armenia and the Baltics -- the spirit of liberty thrives.

very impoetic his firm assoc. w/ Russia Orthodox Church.

But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form shackles. Later today, I will visit the monument at Babi Yar -- a somber reminder of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.

Can we just do Paul & not Men

Yet freedom is not the same as independence. Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred.

The Ukra. hyp: "Ukraine is not dead yet"

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts -- and votes -- of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed -- that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years you had elections with ballots,

Mr. Biliov Ukraine Service VOA 619-3808

"Ukraine has not yet perished, nor her glory, nor her freedom."

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but you did not enjoy democracy. Now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

The key to its success lies in understanding government's proper role -- and its limits. Democracy is not a technical process, driven by dry statistics. It is the very human enterprise of preserving freedom, so that we can do the important things: raise families, explore our own creativity, build good and fruitful lives.

In modern societies, freedom and democracy rely on economic liberty. A free economy is nothing more than a system of communication. It cannot function without property rights or a profit motive -- which give people an incentive to produce.

It cannot function without the rule of law -- without fair and enforceable contracts; without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

Free economies depend upon the freedom of expression -- the ability of people to exchange ideas, test out new theories. The Soviet Union weakened itself for years by restricting the flow of information, by outlawing such devices crucial to modern communications, such as computers and copying machines. When you restricted free movement -- even tourist travel -- you prevented your own people from making the most of their talent. You cannot innovate if you cannot communicate.

Finally, a free economy demands engagement in the economic mainstream. As Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, trade

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enriches all who engage in it. Isolation and protectionism doom its practitioners to degradation and want.

I note this because today, some Soviet cities, regions, and even republics have engaged in ruinous trade wars. The republics of this nation have extensive bonds of trade, which no one can repeal with the stroke of a pen or passage of a law. The vast majority of trade conducted by Soviets -- imports and exports -- involves trade between republics.

The Nine plus One agreement holds forth the hope that republics will combine greater autonomy with greater voluntary interaction -- political, social, cultural, economic -- rather than pursuing the suicidal course of isolation.

American investors and businessès look forward to doing business in the Soviet Union -- including Ukraine. We have signed agreements this week that will encourage further interaction between the US and all levels of the Soviet Union. But ultimately, our trade relations will depend upon our ability to develop a common language of commerce -- currencies that communicate with one another; laws that protect innovators and entrepreneurs; bonds of understanding and trust.

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every day. I set forth a presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. This aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering; and it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl.

We have sent teams to help you improve upon the safety of Ukrainian nuclear plants and coal mines. We also have increased the number of cultural exchanges with the republics -- including more extensive legal, academic and cultural exchanges between America and Ukraine.

We understand that you cannot reform your system overnight. America's first system of government -- the Continental Congress -- failed because the states were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights. In 200 years, we have learned that freedom, democracy and economic liberty are more than terms of inspiration. They are challenges. *not to be exclusive*

Mr. Bilou
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Your great poet Taras Shevchenko noted, "Only in your own ~~house~~ can you have your truth, your strength and freedom." No home, *there is truth, there is strength, & there is freedom,* society ever achieves perfect democracy, liberty or enterprise;

but if it makes full use of its people's virtues and abilities, it can use these goals as guides to a better life.

Now, as Soviet citizens try to forge a new social compact, you have the obligation to restore power to citizens demoralized by decades of totalitarian rule. You must give them hope, inspiration, determination -- by showing your faith in their abilities. Societies that don't trust themselves or their people cannot provide freedom. They can guarantee only the bleak tyranny of suspicion, avarice and poverty.

An old Ukrainian proverb says, "When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from weakness."

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The peoples of the USSR have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to a new world order.

Thank you for inviting me here today.

Slava Ukrainia [SLAH-vuh oo-cry-EEN-ee].

God bless you.

#

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
CYCLOPEDIA

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

AND

HERBERT RONALD FERLEGER
Roosevelt Memorial Association

FOREWORD BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION
ROOSEVELT HOUSE
NEW YORK CITY

CONTRABAND

long and worthy
the Consular Reform
March 14, 1906.)
State Papers IV, 693.

AND CONSUMER.

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CONTRABAND

will follow the course in this matter which, under existing conditions at this time, seems most likely to work justice in the immediate future. (*Kansas City Star*, November 22, 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 428; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 387.

CONTRABAND. See also MUNITIONS; NEUTRAL RIGHTS; NEUTRAL TRADE.

CONTRACT—LIBERTY OF. Probably the chief obstacle in the way of taking . . . wise collective action lies in the mental attitude of those who still adhere to the doctrinaire theory of eighteenth-century individualism, and treat as a cardinal virtue the right to absolute liberty of contract—and of course, carried out logically, the theory of absolute liberty of contract simply means the legalization of all kinds of slavery. It is essential that the nation and the State should be able to forbid the exercise of that kind of pseudo-liberty which means the abridgment of real liberty. (*Outlook*, February 4, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 104; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 69.

CONTRACT—RIGHT OF PRIVATE. I am not an empiricist; I would no more deny that sometimes human affairs can be much bettered by legislation than I would affirm that they can always be so bettered. I would no more make a fetish of unrestricted individualism than I would admit the power of the State offhand and radically to reconstruct society. It may become necessary to interfere even more than we have done with the right of private contract, and to shackle cunning as we have shackled force. All I insist upon is that we must be sure of our ground before trying to get any legislation at all, and that we must not expect too much from this legislation, nor refuse to better ourselves a little because we cannot accomplish everything at a jump. (*Review of Reviews*, January 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 377; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 161.

CONTRACT. See also COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION; LABOR.

CONVICT LABOR. The State must get away from the theory that financial profit from its prisoners is its first consideration. The protection of society is the primary purpose of imprisonment and the next purpose is reformation. The penalty must be wise and humane and the prisoner must be made, as far as possible, to be self-supporting while in prison or under imprisonment. (*Annals of American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science*, March 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 610; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 441.

COOPER, JAMES F. After all, there are none to whom we so readily come back as to

COPPERHEADS

our own old favorites. Cooper, of course, is a writer to be read and reread again and again. His land fights are good; but his sea fights are unapproached. There is nothing else in naval fiction like some of his boat attacks and single-ship actions, such as the frigate's running fight and hair-breadth escape in "The Pilot"; while the vividly dramatic description of the cruising, the manoeuvring, and the final grapple between the rival fleets in the "Two Admirals," commemorates, as no other description in either history or novel begins to commemorate, a typical pitched battle at sea, in the days of the white-winged ships of the line. (*Cosmopolitan*, December 1892.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 374; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 308.

COOPERATION IN LIFE. To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have some one else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that some one else for the good of both of us—any man will speedily find that other people can benefit him just as much as he can benefit them. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 75; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 65.

COOPERATION IN NATIONAL LIFE. We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself. (At Minnesota State Fair, September 2, 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 331; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 471.

COOPERATION IN POLITICS. Of course, in a government like ours, a man can accomplish anything only by acting in combination with others, and equally, of course, a number of people can act together only by each sacrificing certain of his beliefs or prejudices. (*Forum*, July 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 43; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 30.

COOPERATION. See also COLLECTIVE ACTION; COLLECTIVISM; FARMER COOPERATION; FELLOWSHIP; INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION; POLITICS.

COOPERATIVES. See FARMER COOPERATIVES.

COPPERHEADS. We cannot but admire at least the courage of those gallant soldiers of the South, who, from a terribly mistaken sense of duty, fought us so grimly and so stubbornly for four long years, but we feel nothing but contempt for their cowardly allies of the North, the dough-face and the copperhead, who had

James Madison

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA

To Richard Rush, November 20, 1821

... Russia seems at present the great bug-bear of the European politicians on the land, as the British Leviathan is on the water. They are certainly both formidable powers at this time, and must always hold a high rank among the nations of Europe. I cannot but think, however, that the future growth of Russia and the stability of the British ascendancy are not a little overrated. Without a civilization of the hordes nominally 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; and in the event of their civilization, and consequent increase, the overgrown empire, as in so many preceding instances, must fall into separate and independent States. . . .

MEXICO

To William Taylor, November 22, 1823

Mexico must always have been made interesting by its original history, by its physical peculiarities, and by the form & weight of its colonial yoke. The scenes thro' which it has latterly passed, and those of which it is now the Theatre, have given a new force to the public feeling, and this is still further enlivened by the prospect before it, whether left to itself or doomed as it probably is to encounter the interference of the powerful Gov^{ts} confederated agst the rights of man and the reforms of nations. With the U. S. Mexico is now connected not only by the ties of neighbourhood & of commercial interests but of political affinities & prudential calculations. We necessarily therefore turn an anxious eye to everything that can effect its career and its destiny.

America, "land of liberty"—See LIBERTY, preservation of, a duty, 2.

America, "land of the free"—See "LAND OF THE FREE, HOME OF THE BRAVE," is America?

America, leads in improvements—The human family originated somewhere in Asia, and have worked their way principally westward. Just now in civilization and the arts the people of Asia are entirely behind those of Europe; those of the east of Europe are behind those of the west of it; while we, here in America, think we discover, and invent, and improve faster than any of them. They may think it arrogance; but they cannot deny that 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.—*Lecture, Springfield, Feb. 22, 1858.* V, 112.

America, people of, called hypocrites—See SLAVERY, extension of, opposed, 2.

America, suicide only peril of—If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 37.

2.—While ever a state of feeling such as this [reverence for law] shall universally or even very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 43.

America, thanks for—For the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.—*To James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863.* IX, 101.

American Baptist Home Mission Society, thanked—In response to the preamble and resolutions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which you did me the honor to represent, I can only thank you for thus adding to the effective and almost unanimous support which the Christian communities are so zealously giving to the country and to liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise with anyone professing Christianity, or even having ordinary perceptions of right and wrong.—*To Dr. Ide and others, May 30, 1864.* X, 109.

American Colonization Society, praise for—It [American Colonization Society] was one of the most cherished objects of his [Henry Clay's] direct care and consideration, and the association of his name with it has probably been its very greatest collateral sup-

port. . . . This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made 25 years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized.—*Speech, Springfield, July 16, 1852.* II, 175.

American Flag, each star brings happiness—I am invited and called before you to participate in raising above Independence Hall the flag of our country, with an additional star upon it [that of Kansas]. . . . I wish to call your attention that, under the blessing of God, each additional star added to that flag has given additional prosperity and happiness to this country, until it has advanced to its present condition; and its welfare in the future, as well as in the past, is in your hands. Cultivating the spirit that animated our fathers, who gave renown and celebrity to this hall, cherishing that fraternal feeling which has so long characterized us as a nation, excluding passion, ill temper, and precipitate action on all occasions, I think we may promise ourselves that not only the new star placed upon that flag shall be permitted to remain there to our permanent prosperity for years to come, but additional ones shall from time to time be placed there until we shall number, as was anticipated by the great historian, five hundred millions of happy and prosperous people.—*Speech, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1861.* VI, 159.

American Flag, its raising an omen—When [at Independence Hall] . . . the cord was pulled, and it [American flag] floated gloriously to the wind, without an accident, in the bright, glowing sunshine of the morning, I could not help hoping that there was in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony at least something of an omen of what is to come. Nor could I help feeling then, as I have often felt, that in the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place; I had applied but a very small portion of even my feeble strength in raising it.—*Speech to Pennsylvania legislature, Feb. 22, 1861.* VI, 163.

American Government—See GOVERNMENT (AMERICAN).

American Party—See KNOW-NOTHING PARTY.

American People, "most intelligent, and happiest"—See PEOPLE, relied on to save Union, 10.

"American Solon"—See WALKER, ROBERT J., characterized.

American Tract Society—What has jarred and shaken the great American Tract Society—not yet splitting

it, but sure to mighty deep-slavery] that exciting and society—in p morals, in all Alton, Oct. 1.

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Amnesty, disfect of your 1864. I have f suspected of oath of any s nary right of made that wh in a noisy po to assemble a crans, April 4

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ROYALTY

to be expected, they were like other human beings in that the average among them was not very high as regards intellect and force. Indeed the kind of driving force and energy needed to make a first-class President or Prime Minister, a great general or War Minister, would be singularly out of place in the ordinary constitutional monarch. Apparently what is needed in a constitutional king is that he shall be a kind of sublimated American Vice-President; plus being socially at the head of that part of his people which you have called "the free masons of fashion." The last function is very important; and the king's lack of political power, and his exalted social position, alike cut him off from all real comradeship with the men who really do the things that count; for comradeship must imply some equality, and from this standpoint the king is doubly barred from all that is most vital and interesting. Politically he can never rise to, and socially he can never descend to, the level of the really able men of the nation. I cannot imagine a more appallingly dreary life for a man of ambition and power. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, October 1, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 246; Bishop II, 211.

ROYALTY—ROOSEVELT AND. I thoroughly liked and respected almost all the various kings and queens I met; they struck me as serious people, with charming manners, devoted to their people and anxious to justify their own positions by the way they did their duty—it is no disparagement to their good intentions and disinterestedness to add that each sovereign was obviously conscious that he was looking a possible republic in the face, which was naturally an incentive to good conduct; I was very glad to have met them; and it was pleasant to see them for a short while; but longer intercourse, or renewed intercourse, would have been unnatural unless there had been, as there was not, some real intellectual interest, or other bond in common, and if there was any such, it happened not to develop itself. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, October 1, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 238; Bishop II, 204.

ROYALTY—VISITS OF. We make a strong effort to prevent royalties coming here. Mr. Bacon will send you a circular issued by John Hay some years ago to our diplomatic and consular representatives, explaining this point. I am continually importuned to get over here, now Emperor William, now President Diaz, now King Edward, and now all sorts and kinds of princes. If one comes it makes a precedent which others are apt to follow, and you know as well as I do that with all these princes we are

Theodore Roosevelt entered ✓

RUSSIA

apt to have difficulties — sometimes because some demagogue thinks it will help him to say disagreeable things about them; sometimes because of the officious and rather snobbish action of the people who regard themselves as of high social position in desiring to entertain the princes; and sometimes from the simple fact that in a democratic government like ours it is very hard to arrange properly for the reception of members of royal houses. Of course you understand that I cannot make him a guest of the nation. Congress only can do that. (To Melville E. Stone, July 16, 1907.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 81; Bishop II, 70.

ROYALTY. See also **KINGS**; **PRESIDENCY**.

RUGBY. See **FOOTBALL**.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY. See **FARM LIFE**.

RURAL LIFE. See **AGRICULTURE**; **COUNTRY LIFE COMMISSION**; **FARM LIFE**; **ROADS**.

RUSSIA—FUTURE OF. The destruction of Russia is not thinkable, but if it were, it would be a most frightful calamity. 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. All that is necessary is for Russia to throw aside the spirit of absolutism developed in her during the centuries of Mongol dominion. She will then be found doing what no other race can do and what it is of peculiar advantage to the English-speaking peoples that she should do. (New York Times, October 11, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 57; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 49.

_____ . Russia's sufferings have been sore, but it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power of endurance. Russia is mighty, and her future looms so vast that it is hardly possible to overstate it. The Russian people feel this to be their war. Russia's part in the world is great, and will be greater; it is well that she should stand valiantly and stubbornly for her own rights; and as a firm and ardent friend of the Russian people may I add that Russia will stand for her rights all the more effectively when she also stands for the rights of Finn and Pole and Jew; when she learns the lesson that we Americans

RUSSIA

must also learn rights, and to ex- formance of his 257; *Nat. Ed.* X

RUSSIA—TYF to develop purel the growth of li the day of recko avert it, and ins go through what the Populists, sh red terror which tion pale. (To August 11, 18 Bishop I, 80.

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nate Russian na gigantic scale o between extrem cratic despotism extreme tyranny the Bolsheviks a veritable Wit der, murder, ut efficiency carriec integration. Eac mulas which we sense and com formulas were b

I do not say speak ill of the *Ed.* XXI, 378; .

RUSSIA. See **COUNT**.

RUSSIA ANI I have a stron [the Russians], marked way the to the higher lif disliked the Un they singled ou Our people ha and I personall interests are no make it possibl with them; I sh

must also learn—to grant every man his full rights, and to exact from each man the full performance of his duty. (1916.) *Mem. Ed. XX*, 257; *Nat. Ed. XVIII*, 222.

RUSSIA—TYRANNY IN. 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, and instead of occasionally having to go through what Kansas has gone through with the Populists, she will some time experience a red terror which will make the French Revolution pale. (To Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, August 11, 1897.) *Mem. Ed. XXIII*, 94; Bishop I, 80.

—————. The most powerful indictment of the corrupt and inefficient tyranny of the Romanoffs, or rather of the Russian autocracy, is that it produced Bolshevism. Dreadful though it is that despotism should ruin men's bodies, it is worse that it should ruin men's souls. (*Metropolitan*, June 1918.) *Mem. Ed. XXI*, 386; *Nat. Ed. XIX*, 350.

—————. Before our eyes the unfortunate Russian nation furnishes an example on a gigantic scale of what to avoid in oscillating between extremes. The autocratic and bureaucratic despotism of the Romanoffs combined extreme tyranny with extreme inefficiency; and the Bolsheviks have turned the revolution into a veritable Witches' Sabbath of anarchy, plunder, murder, utterly faithless treachery and inefficiency carried to the verge of complete disintegration. Each side sought salvation by formulas which were condemned alike by common sense and common morality; and even these formulas were by their actions belied.

I do not say these things from any desire to speak ill of the Russian people. (1918.) *Mem. Ed. XXI*, 378; *Nat. Ed. XIX*, 343.

RUSSIA. See also **BOLSHEVISTS**; **WITTE**, **COUNT**.

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES. I have a strong liking and respect for them [the Russians], but unless they change in some marked way they contain the chance of menace to the higher life of the world. I knew they now disliked the United States; I did not know that they singled out me. In one way they are right. Our people have become suspicious of Russia and I personally share this view. Probably our interests are not at the moment so great as to make it possible for us to be drawn into war with them; I shall certainly not fight unless we

have ample reasons, and unless I can show our people that we have such cause. Remote though the chance is, it does exist, if the Russians push us improperly and too evidently. "Peace, if possible; but in any event, Justice!" (To Spring Rice, February 2, 1904.) *The Letters and the Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1929), I, 377-378.

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT — DISTRUST OF. I like the Russian people, but I abhor the Russian system of government and I cannot trust the word of those at the head. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, May 13, 1905.) *Mem. Ed. XXIII*, 438; Bishop I, 381.

—————. Of course, if the Rusians go on as they have gone ever since I have been President—and so far as I can find out, ever since the Spanish War—they are hopeless creatures with whom to deal. They are utterly insincere and treacherous; they have no conception of truth, no willingness to look facts in the face, no regard for others of any sort or kind, no knowledge of their own strength or weakness; and they are helplessly unable to meet emergencies. (To Henry Cabot Lodge, June 5, 1905.) Lodge *Letters II*, 133-134.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. I am entirely sincere in my purpose to keep this Government neutral in the war. And I am no less sincere in my hope that the area of the war will be as limited as possible, and that it will be brought to a close with as little loss to either combatant as is possible. But this country as a whole tends to sympathise with Russia; while the Jews are as violent in their anti-Russian feeling as the Irish in their pro-Russian feeling. I do not think that the country looks forward to, or concerns itself about, the immense possibilities which the war holds for the future. I suppose democracies will always be short-sighted about anything that is not brought roughly home to them. Still, when I feel exasperated by the limitations upon preparedness and forethought which are imposed by democratic conditions, I can comfort myself by the extraordinary example of these very limitations which the autocratic government of Russia has itself furnished in this crisis. (To Spring Rice, March 19, 1904.) *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1929), I, 397.

—————. It is now nearly four years since the close of the Russian-Japanese war. There were various factors that brought about Russia's defeat; but most important by all odds was her having divided her fleet between the

on statue at
22nd + P St, NW
W. D.C.

TARAS SHEVCHENKO
1814 - 1861
BARD OF UKRAINE

Dedicated to the Liberation, Freedom, and Independence of all captive nations. This monument of Taras Shevchenko, 19th Century Ukraine poet and fighter for the independence of Ukraine and the freedom of all mankind, who under foreign Russian tyranny and colonial rule appealed for the new and righteous law of Washington was unveiled on June 27, 1964. This historic event commemorated the anniversary of Shevchenko's birth. The memorial was authorized by the 86th Congress of the United States of America on August 31, 1960 and signed into public law 86-749 by Dwight D. Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States of America on September 13, 1960. The statue was erected by Americans of Ukrainian ancestry and friends.

PART III

The Ukrainian Experience in America

by Myron
Kurypas

1. *Ukrainians in America Today*

Since census figures do not list Ukraine as a separate land of ethnic origin, it is impossible to determine the exact number of Americans of Ukrainian descent living in the United States today. A fair estimate, however, can be obtained from church affiliation statistics (see tables 1 and 2). On the basis of these figures, it can safely be said that there are at least 500,000 Americans who can trace their ethnic roots to present-day Ukraine. If other groups of Ukrainians are added to this figure—30,000 Ukrainian Protestants, Ukrainians who belong to other churches, and third- and fourth-generation Ukrainians who have completely assimilated into the American mainstream—a final total of between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 is not inconceivable.

Those Americans who identify themselves as Ukrainian and who are active in the Ukrainian-American community are concentrated in six major metropolitan areas (see table 3). They support 2 daily newspapers (*Svoboda* and *America*), 8 major weekly newspapers, over 50 weekly and monthly periodicals and magazines, 8 national youth organizations, 2 major scholarly societies, 11 professional societies, 3 women's associations, 13 political organizations, and many other local clubs and organizations.

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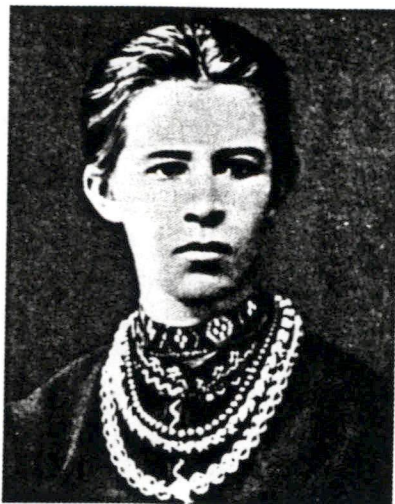
The Ukrainians in America by
Myron Kuropas

Born a serf, Shevchenko was a poet of the people, a genius who was able to capture the true sentiment of the Ukrainian nation and to translate it into literary excellence. Severely condemning the Russian czars for their treatment of his people, Shevchenko often thought of the freedom enjoyed by Americans as a result of the War of Independence. Reflecting on the events of 1776, Shevchenko wrote:

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

Several years later, Shevchenko learned about the United States from a first-hand source. One of his close friends was a famous black American, the Shakespearean actor Ira Aldridge. (The two men met when Aldridge was in St. Petersburg as part of a Shakespearean troupe.) Arrested for his views by the czarist police, Shevchenko was forced into military service and sent to a remote camp, where he was forbidden to write. He returned to Ukraine soon after his release from service, but he died a short time later, at the age of 47.

After Shevchenko's works became widely read, the Ukrainian literary revival could not be stopped. The poet's call for freedom was repeated by many other Ukrainian writers, most notably Lesya Ukrainka (1871-1913) of eastern Ukraine and Ivan Franko (1856-1916) of western Ukraine. Fearful lest the Ukrainian people begin to assert their independence in an organized manner, the Russians



Lesya Ukrainka, a Ukrainian writer who took part in the 19th-century national revival

Fax # 452 - ~~3~~6218U.S. Information Agency
Office of European Affairs

91 JUL 24 P4:44

FAX MESSAGE

FAX No. (202) 619-6821

DATE:

7/24/91

TO: Bob Simon, White House
FROM: Rosemary DiCarlo, Soviet Desk
SUBJECT:

Information on Exchanges

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

Information on Ukrainians ~~to follow~~ 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

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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.

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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.

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.

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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 notable 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 offset 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.

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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 and 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 the 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.

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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 indebted 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.