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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KRAVCHUK DEPARTURE/TREATY SIGNING
EAST ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992
[time]

Mr. President and Mrs. Kravchuk, on behalf of the people of the United States, it has been my honor to welcome you on this first official visit by a President of independent Ukraine. We join in celebrating the renaissance of freedom and independence for your great and ancient nation.

A few city blocks from here stands an imposing monument erected by an act of the United States Congress approved by President Eisenhower. It is a bronze statue of Taras Shevchenko, the poet and prophet of a free Ukrainian nation. Inscribed on the pedestal is this verse composed by Shevchenko more than a century ago:

"Our soul shall never perish, freedom knows no dying,
And the greedy cannot harvest fields where seas are lying:
Cannot bind the living spirit nor the living word,
Cannot smirch the sacred glory of the Almighty Lord."

Mr. President, when we acclaim Ukraine's new independence, we honor generations of women and men who kept a flame of hope alight through years of darkness. Free people must never forget the sacrifices Ukraine endured under the totalitarian yoke. For fear of persecution, religious believers gathered in the secrecy of the forests to celebrate the holy sacraments. For speaking

out in favor of cultural, political and economic freedom, Ukrainians faced punishment in the Gulag.

Now the darkness is lifted -- from Lviv [luh-VIEW] to Kiev [KEY-ev] and throughout the Ukrainian countryside. We've entered a season of hope and rebirth. Now that the totalitarian system no longer suppresses their basic freedoms, Ukrainians are better able to pursue the aspirations they share with people everywhere: strong families, an economy with opportunity for productive work, and cooperation to promote peace among nations.

[Placeholder for details of the talks from NSC.]

Mr. President, Ukraine is the birthplace or ancestral home of millions of American citizens. They enliven and enrich this country with their creative talent and their passion for freedom. I think of scientific prodigies like Michael Yarymovych, whose research for our Strategic Defense Initiative has helped disperse the threat of nuclear war. Or the dynamic Dobrianskys -- father and daughter. Professor Lev Dobriansky served President Reagan with distinction as a United States Ambassador, and now his daughter Paula serves my administration as one of our highest-ranking foreign policy officials. And soon I will be sending my trusted advisor, Roman Popadiuk, as the first United States Ambassador to Ukraine.

Decade after decade, Americans of Ukrainian heritage have kept alive in this country the cause of Ukraine's freedom. This historic day is a tribute to them as well as to their kinsmen in Ukraine.

Mr. President, I salute the people of Ukraine for their efforts to put past differences aside as they work to renew their nation. The United States welcomes independent Ukraine as a partner in the quest to build a better world. The ideas and experience of Ukrainians now more than ever will be able to contribute to constructive work in the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other bodies.

We know Ukrainians face many challenges in the years ahead as you work to consolidate systems of free enterprise and democracy. Let me assure you, the United States will stand beside free Ukraine every step of the way.

Again, thank you, Mr. President. May God bless the people of Ukraine and of the United States of America -- and may He always preserve our freedoms.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 6, 1992

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BUSH
AND PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK OF UKRAINE
IN SIGNING CEREMONY

The East Room

12:47 P.M. EDT

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. President and distinguished members of the Ukrainian delegation, on behalf of the people of the United States it's been my honor to welcome you on the first official visit by a freely-elected President of independent Ukraine. And may I also acknowledge Senators Pell and Lugar, who are with us today. Congressmen Broomfield and Leach were supposed to be; they are missing in action. But nevertheless, welcome to the Senators. All of us join in celebrating the renaissance of freedom and independence for the great and ancient nation of Ukraine.

A few blocks from here stands an imposing monument erected by an act of the United States Congress approved by President Eisenhower. It's a statue of Taras Shevchenko, the poet and prophet of a free Ukrainian nation. And inscribed on the monument is this verse composed by Shevchenko more than a century ago: "Our soul shall never parish. Freedom knows no dying. And the greedy cannot harvest fields where seas are lying; cannot bind the living spirit, nor the living word; cannot smirch the sacred glory of the Almighty Lord."

Mr. President, when we welcome Ukraine's new independence we honor generations of women and men who kept a flame of hope alive through years of darkness. And free people must never forget the suffering Ukraine endured under the totalitarian yoke. We must remember the victims of Stalin's forced famine, the Harvest of Sorrow. And we must remember the religious believers who endured persecution for their faith. We must remember the thousands who faced punishment in the gulag because they spoke out for cultural, political, or economic reform.

And now the darkness is lifted. Ukraine has entered a season of hope and rebirth. The Ukrainian people reclaimed their independence on December 1, 1991. And I am proud that the United States was among the first in welcoming that vote, in recognizing Ukrainian independence, and in establishing diplomatic relations.

We also were one of the first to establish an embassy in Kiev, soon to be led by a Ukrainian American, Ambassador-designate Roman Popadiuk. (Applause.)

In our intensive and successful talks today the President and I, President Kravchuk and I agreed that the United States and Ukraine should be not just friends, but partners. Ukraine's future security is important for the United States and for stability in Europe. And we welcome President Kravchuk's assurance that Ukraine will remove all nuclear weapons from its territory and join the Nonproliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapons state. We have pledged to assist Ukraine in the accounting and control of its nuclear reaction materials, to establish a science and technology center in the Ukraine, and to explore additional assistance for weapons destruction.

MORE

We also are committed to Ukraine's future economic prosperity in a free market system. The United States will continue its program of technical assistance, including advice and establishing a new Ukrainian currency. We will extend $110 million in Commodity Credit Corporation guarantees to permit sales of American agricultural commodities to Ukraine.

Opening up markets and expanding trade are essential to our new partnership. A robust exchange of goods and services, of ideas and technologies will create better jobs and enhance the quality of life for people in both of our countries.

The agreement we've just signed on trade and the opening of our new OPIC, Overseas Private Investment Corporation program, are an excellent beginning. And this week I plan to waive the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, and as soon as possible, I hope to confer most favored nation status on Ukraine. (Applause.)

And finally, we hope to assure the closest possible political and cultural ties between independent Ukraine and the United States. We will continue to consult on our vision of a democratic peace in Europe. Our new Peace Corps program -- established by another agreement that was just signed here -- will bring volunteers to help develop small businesses and build personal links between our two peoples.

My President, Ukraine is the birthplace or ancestral home of more than a million American citizens. And they enliven and enrich this country with their creative talent and with their passion for freedom. Decade after decade, Americans of Ukrainian heritage have kept alive in this country the cause of Ukraine's freedom and independence. And this historic day is a tribute to them as well as to their kinsmen in Ukraine.

We know Ukrainians face many challenges in the years ahead, during your historic transition to free enterprise and democracy. And let me assure you, the United States will stand beside a democratic Ukraine.

And again, thank you, Mr. President. May God bless you and the people of your wonderful country. We're delighted that you came our way. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, friends. The official part of my first visit to the United States as the President of Ukraine is coming to an end. In this respect, I would like to sincerely and frankly say that the meetings with the President of the United States, the talks we had, the air of openness and the friendly nature of the talks and mutual understanding of the position and interests of our two states surpassed the limits of official ceremonies.

As you know, we have already had an opportunity of meeting President Bush and many officials of his administration, both in Kiev and Washington. No doubt such contacts always gets appropriate and well-justified international coverage and attract public interest and that of the media. Most important, in my view, is our gradual progress from general political statements to the bilateral state-to-state relations filled with visible content.

We are very pleased to mention that yesterday in Washington, DC, we inaugurated the Ukrainian Embassy in the United States, headed by our first Ambassador Mr. Oleg Belorus, who's present here. (Applause.)

We believe that we will soon welcome the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Popadiuk, in Kiev. (Applause.)

For us, the opening of our own embassy in your great country is an event of great historic and political significance. This is another step towards a true state independence of Ukraine. We will next have to solve the problems related to the establishment of consular and other respected offices of Ukraine in your country. These institutions should give a substantial impetus to further development of our cooperation in the areas that present mutual interest.

Today the President of the United States and myself and the government officials authorized by us signed a number of important bilateral agreements, such as the agreement on trade, promotion of investment, implementation of the U.S. Peace Corps program in Ukraine, on the environmental protection, and some other documents.

Our experts agreed on further cooperation, and I believe, in the nearest future, Ukraine and the United States could sign some new agreements, among them the agreements on the sea shipping, the lifting of duel taxation, preservation of and protection of religious national cultural monuments on the territories of both countries, in cooperation and facilitating programs of assistance.

But the most important issue now is to ensure that the signed agreements be implemented. I hope that the spirit of mutual understanding, openness and trust which gradually turns into a characteristic feature of the Ukraine and American relations at the official level would be transferred into the relationships between the peoples of our two countries.

The entire experience of creating new international ties after the collapse of totalitarianism and the end of the long Cold War period shows that the major issue now is to establish effective cooperation in the interests of universal, peaceful future; and to ensure such international conditions which would allow to find an optimal compromise of state, national and general human interests.

That is why I'm deeply convinced that the development of friendly and equal relations between our two states, Ukraine and the United States of America, corresponds to their innate national interests. And we are ready to further develop and deepen our fruitful bilateral dialogue.

Ukraine is a young state and it will have to go along a very difficult road. But we are totally convinced, including the experience of the United States, that we will go along that road if we would abide by the general human values.

With all my heart, I would like to wish peace, happiness, accord and further prosperity to the great American people and every American home. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think the President has agreed to take a few questions, and I'll be glad to do the same.

Q Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about another subject. Your spokesman says that your not going to Los Angeles today with any kind of new blueprint for the cities. Where does that leave matters for these hard-pressed urban areas, given that Congress has largely ignored your proposals and many people believe that you haven't fought very hard for them anyway?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I have fought hard for them, and we have some excellent proposals. But what I want to do is go out there and see that we are doing everything we can to assist in the recovery. That will also be accompanied by my keen interest in

seeing where we go from here. And I'll have more to say about that. We have some excellent ideas. I am very interested in what is underway there from getting reports. Both the Mayor and Peter Ueberroth and the Governor feel things are moving in the right direction.

So we want to be sure that we have supplemented the overall effort for civil tranquility. I do think that that's in better shape and I think the federal government responded very, very well. And I'm pleased that both Mayor Bradley and the Governor felt that way. And then we've got to begin the healing process. And we also have to find answers that will guarantee tranquility in these cities. I come back to my emphasis that was brought home to me loud and clear by Mayor Bradley himself when he talked about we must find ways to strengthen the family -- he and other mayors having come in before this happened. And so we have some good new ideas. And I will try to bring those forth to the American people after I've had a chance to look at the scene there.

Anybody that would like to ask President Kravchuk a question.

Q I'd like to ask you one.

PRESIDENT BUSH: All right, go ahead, Helen, and then you've got one for --

Q Mr. President, both you and Marlin Fitzwater have blamed Great Society programs for what's happened in our country. But your critics say that you are really, through the benign neglect of the Reagan-Bush years, we are becoming what the Kerner Commission prophesied, which is a nation -- two nations, white and black, separate but unequal. What do you say to that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I say that we're not trying to assign blame. There's no point emphasizing programs that haven't worked, however. We want new programs. We want new ideas. We've put forward some and we may have others to put forward. But there's no point trying to convince the American people that programs that have not worked is the answer to this problem. It isn't. And I don't believe in -- what I'm trying to do is heal and bring the people together. And I will go forward with ideas that have not been tried, emphasizing that it is far more important to give people a piece of the action than it is to have the federal government simply dump largesse on them.

We've tried it the other way. And now this gives us an opportunity, an excellent opportunity, to try some new ideas. And that's all. It's not a question of assigning blame. It's a question of a realistic -- an assessment: have we, as a country, done everything we can to help those people that have been left behind? And I am not satisfied. We need to do more. And we are trying to do more.

So I told my Cabinet today that I think this offers us an excellent opportunity not to assign blame, but to try to come out with ideas that can offer hope and upward mobility to people that have been bypassed. And that's exactly what I'll be trying to do. And that's what I think we've been trying to do. We've got to get it in better focus, and we need some action.

But this isn't any time for blame. This a time to heal. It --

Q You're not saying that Medicare or Head Start or vocational rehabilitation, federal aid to education at all levels, and all the other laws that were implemented in the Great Society era didn't work?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Not all of them, no. But I'm saying we can do better. And I think we should try. And we ought to offer -- here we are talking to Ukraine who's moving to privatization, moving to market economies, and I'd like to be sure we've done everything we can to give people a part of the real action in the private sector. And let's just see if we can't do a better job in terms of ownership for some of these people that have been passed by and assigned in the past to these endless construction projects that all seem to fall apart. There's a better way to do it, is all I'm saying, and that's what we want to try to do.

Q For President Kravchuk, I have two questions for you. The first is, you said this morning that all tactical nuclear weapons would leave the Ukraine by July. But some Russian officials in Moscow said today that all of the tactical nuclear weapons had already left the Ukraine. Could you clarify, please, and tell us, have they all, indeed, left the Ukraine? And the second question is, when do you think you might sign a protocol to the START Treaty? Thank you.

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: By the time of the statements that we would terminate the removal of the tactical weapons, because of lack of respective control, we have moved out about 50 percent of all the tactical weapons. On the 16th of April, President Yeltsin and I signed an agreement which formed the joint commission which is now verifying the process of removal of tactical weapons from Ukraine. As soon as the document was signed and the verification control groups were created, the removal was resumed. And it is going on according to the schedule which we have and we will move all of the tactical weapons by the 1st of July. This is where Ukraine stands. The weapons were not taken yet as.

As to the START Treaty, we have discussed many details with Secretary of State James Baker. Our Minister for Foreign Relations and Mr. Baker had lengthy consultations. We prepared a letter signed by the President of Ukraine, and the letter clarifies all the aspects which are acceptable both by the United States and Ukraine. And as soon as the protocol is signed, the Ukraine would ratify the START Treaty and would fulfill all the commitments stipulated in that treaty.

Q Would you estimate the relationship of partnerships between the Ukraine and such a developed country as the United States -- what can we do to help?

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: We have done lots today by the simple fact that we have signed very important documents which open up our relationship on an interstate level. As to the everyday practice, we had a very interesting meeting with the Secretary of Commerce and will meet other secretaries. We brought a delegation of businessmen who met and will continue meeting their counterparts in the United States. We would create mechanisms and working groups that might help implement what we have agreed upon already, and I think we would continue to do in that direction.

I think those actions would be beneficial for both the United States and the Ukraine. I would like to emphasize again that Ukraine is not asking for anything. Ukraine would like to have some credits to create new technologies and to transfer to a market economy as soon as possible, a free economy. We are not asking for credits to eat them up as food products; we've got other intentions.

Q Sir, you say you're not interested in the politics of blame nor assigning blame. In fact, starting this Monday you blamed Congress for not passing some of your domestic programs for the inner cities. Marlin Fitzwater attacked the Great Society. Vice President Quayle yesterday also attacked Lyndon Johnson's programs.

A year ago in Michigan you said that the Great Society programs actually exacerbated racial animosity. You actually used the words "racial animosity." We still are unable to get a specific list out of the White House as to which programs have done this.

PRESIDENT BUSH: John, I think this is an inappropriate time to try to divide. I think it's a very appropriate time to rethink whether we've done it just exactly right in the past -- whether it's the Great Society or all the way up to our administration. I cannot certify to the American people that we have tried the new ideas that might make urban America better, might give a better opportunity for everybody.

So there is no point trying to go into your question, answering the specifics, trying to assign blame. I don't think that's what the country needs right now. I think it needs to come together. And if I have my fights with Congress on getting some proposals through, some of which I have been proposing for three years, that's another matter.

But this isn't the time to go out and try to divide the country. This is the time to bring it together. Now, we've started on that. We started to bring it together by doing everything we could to assist the local law enforcement people because the American people are outraged by the violence.

Secondly, we started to bring it together by providing every asset we could to the local people out there, the Mayor and Peter Ueberroth and the localities, to have the federal government assist -- whether it's Department of Labor, whether it's HUD, whether it's HHS. We've got a good program moving forward right now to do that. Then I owe it to the American people to say, here's what I think is the longer-range answer; can help right now if we can get some of these things through. And if I can convince the American people that this is what we ought to do -- and I'll have some proposals to that effect.

But I say I don't want to assign blame; I don't. And if I said a year ago that these programs weren't working, perhaps I have been vindicated. But there's no point in going into that. Nobody in the United States political system can certify today that every program we've had has worked just perfectly; it hasn't. So there's no point going back on it. The point is try to take this as an opportunity and bring the country together and then move it forward. And that's exactly what I'm going to do, and I'm not going to go, trying to help you get into what's worked and what hasn't. I will present that to the United States Congress in the future, as I have in the past. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, so much of the problems in California and the inner cities have been addressed in economic terms about enterprise zones, about homeownership. But how do you, sir, begin to address the social problems, the antipathy between not only blacks and whites, but blacks, whites, Koreans, Hispanics? How do you attack it from the social, not the financial, side?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Some of it's rhetorical. Some of it is trying to build on what we've started by this Family Commission. I remember when Tom Bradley, the Mayor of Los Angeles, came to see me before the outbreak there. And he joined a lot of other mayors in telling me that the number one concern that the mayors have -- all of them had it; Republican, Democrat, liberal, conservative -- was the dissolution and the decline of the American family. We've got to find ways to help strengthen the family.

One of them is through the education program. One of them through neighborhood activities. One of them is through the kind of private sector involvement that we've been talking about

through our Points of Light and that Peter Ueberroth is now trying to bring to bear on the solution to the problem.

So that's the approach we'll be taking. But I'm very anxious to hear, before I make final decisions, from the local people as to what they think. One of the things that I mentioned in my speech to the nation was the concern I felt and the concern that Mayor Bradley felt about the attacks on the Korean community. These people were peaceful people and they were all assaulted. We've got to do something about it. I don't have an easy answer to it, but you put your finger on something that I think we have to find answers to.

And somehow in the field of strengthening the family and in the field of ownership and in the field of the dignity that comes with having a piece of the action lies the answer.

Q Have those questions, sir, been neglected simply by dealing with it from other aspects, from financial --

PRESIDENT BUSH: I can't say that they haven't. Anytime you see problems we've got to figure out that we haven't done all we can to have them solved if they're still out there.

Q President Kravchuk, you said a moment ago you didn't ask for anything in the economic. Can you tell us if you asked for anything from the U.S. security field, vis a vis, Russia? And secondly, on the protocol, is the protocol pretty much in place or is there some detail where even some disagreement is still to be resolved.

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: We do not have serious differences. We had some misinterpretation of the text during the translation period, but we have agreed upon those minor details. And the protocol is ready to be signed.

There is a problem of security for Ukraine because Ukraine is a large European country with a population of 53 million, with a powerful nuclear arsenal. And we initiated to annihilate those weapons. We think that this policy is correct in its concept, and we would not change that policy. But some of our neighbors, especially the great neighbors such as Russia, have political forces which would like to make territorial claims as to Ukraine. That certainly worries us. It worries the people in the Ukraine. We would do anything in our power to solve possible conflicts with Russia.

And these problems will exist because the empire crumbled and people have different interests. We would continue to proclaim our request for the international community to find a necessary forum to express its viewpoint as to the Ukrainian stand on the elimination of nuclear weapons, and also provide some guarantees for the national security of Ukraine in case there is a possible threat.

Q Do you fear losing Crimea to the your powerful neighbors?

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: The thing is the Crimea, from the point of view -- of the legal point of view, is the 1954 act was totally legitimate. They acted according to the legal norms and standards which were in effect at that time in our huge country. You can't reverse the law because if we start to reconsider the 18th century rules, we can come to a total absurdity. So we think that the problem was solved in 1954 correctly according to law. The situation in the Crimea would have been totally normal. There is a multinational population there; nobody is deprived of their rights. But there are some forces from the outside that stimulate and

instigate separatist moods. They also finance those moods and, in a way, egg on those moods from the part of Russia.

Let us take the example of the Vice President of Russia, Mr. Rutskoy, who stepped on the Crimean soil and made a first statement that Crimea is Russian. He hugged the barrel of a huge gun and said, can we lose Crimea with that type of weapon? No. He's not a man in the street, but a Vice President of Russia. Such statements are very dangerous. They are politically ungrounded. And we can hardly -- and the people in the Ukraine can hardly understand the type of statements. People in Ukraine and Russia used to live in peace, and they want to live in peace. They want to associate. They want to have contacts in science and culture. We have many common problems dating back into history. But we should not use power play and political play and lead a situation toward danger. (Applause.)

Q Sir, did you raise the issue of Chernobyl at all? And did you seek any sort of help from the United States for safety of nuclear power plants?

And, President Bush, are you concerned about safety of nuclear power plants in the former Soviet Union?

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: We have shut down the Chernobyl power plant after the accident that people had near Leningrad at the power station over there. We have shut down the reactors in Chernobyl and we can see that we cannot resume their functions. A lot of money and a lot of effort would be required. We will need about a year to resume their activities. Our Parliament decided that the Chernobyl power station should be shut down by 1993. And we decided we should not resume the work of the reactors.

The most important thing for us is how to neutralize the ruined fourth power unit. We do not have any scientific solution of the problem yet. We have not addressed the President of the United States definitely about this problem. We think that the people in many countries, including our kin brothers here in the United States who are providing help to us. But we think that the liquidation are consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy -- if that is possible at all. And the taking of the station out of the commission is a very, very difficult financial, technical problem.

As to other nuclear power plants in Ukraine, they are based on a totally different principle, they do not present any threat similar to the Chernobyl power plants. The Leningrad station is similar to what we have in Chernobyl.

PRESIDENT BUSH: My answer to your question would be, yes, of course, we'd be concerned about safety, and I would like to offer cooperation on the part of our side as to our technologically-competent people in every way possible, cooperating with whoever needs our help. We think we've got good, safe systems here, and we'd like to be of assistance to others. But any time you have systems that have caused trouble, we must all be concerned in this world.

Q Mr. President, you and your predecessor, Ronald Reagan, came to office 12 years ago under an economic system that promised a rising tide would lift all boats. During both of your terms in office we had the longest postwar, or peacetime recovery and economic expansion in history; and yet, the conditions that produced the riots in Los Angeles still existed.

Are you now, as part of your effort to look at whether everything has worked, reassessing your economic programs and the role of the federal government in providing help to the cities, states and social classes of the country?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, I think we ought to look at everything. I'm not satisfied. And I think we ought to look at everything and we ought to move forward on these three tracks: One, the question of restoration of law. American citizens should not be asked to put up with wanton looting and pillaging. Secondly, short-term answers to assist the city and the state in the cleanup and in the restoration of things in Los Angeles. And then, three, proposals that would really assist in rebuilding and in harmonizing in this country.

That's the way I'm going to approach it, and I'll look at what we've done and what we've tried to do, what others have done, and -- but not with the question of blaming. I really don't think that's what's wanted. If we point out differences, if I point out a program that I think has failed, it's not to blame, it is simply to say I'm not satisfied with the tensions that I see and want to try to do something about it.

Q If I may ask about a specific, sir, to follow up, revenue-sharing, a program started by a Republican President, was also ended by your predecessor. A lot of people who have been studying the Los Angeles riots say that may have -- the cities may be overburdened now; that because of the new federalism, the shifting of programs to the cities who may not have been able to provide. Is that a specific area -- federal aid to the cities, that you're willing to reconsider?

PRESIDENT BUSH: If I can find some revenue to share. We are operating at unacceptably high levels of deficit, and everyone knows that. What I think we also need to do is consider that a vigorous economy, with job creation as its goal or as its hallmark, is the best poverty program. So we've proposed instead, as you know, a rather substantial block grant. We've not gotten that through, but we'll try again. It's very close to revenue-sharing, as a matter of fact. It's no strings attached, and it is something that we think is a good approach. But I think we should look at all of this.

Q In the past when faced with a budget crisis, you and your predecessor called for a budget summit. Do you foresee anything like that in the area of urban problems, given the fact that enterprise legislation and things along that line have been proposed and reproposed in the past without success?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think there's enough focus on this now that if we come forward with a good, sound program, I would like to think we'd have a good opportunity to encourage the Congress and to get it passed by Congress. And I don't know that we need another commission or another study group, anything of that nature.

Q But as far as the leadership in both the House and the Senate, a bipartisan group getting together to try to form a consensus on this.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'd like to think that we could get it. We'd have to get a consensus if we're going to get it through. And so we'd have to do whatever is required to get the proposals that I -- some of which I have made -- the new ones I'll make to get it through the Congress. Yes, I'll have to do that.

Q Not a summit?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, what's a summit? Everything's a summit, I guess, these days. But I don't know how you define that. But we'd certainly want a -- we need to get cooperation on both sides of the aisle to get something done for America.

Q Mr. President, could I follow up on what Mr. President Kravchuk said about the START Treaty? He said the protocol

was ready to be signed by Ukraine. But, of course, you have a complicated situation where you have several countries involved -- Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. How close are you to being able to work something that is mutually acceptable so you can go forward with the Senate?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we've made progress, as the President said here today. And Jim and the Foreign Minister worked out the details this morning. So this one is in pretty good shape. But we have work to do with others and it's not complete. And I would think that Jim might be going soon to try to hammer out some of the differences that exist with the countries that you mentioned.

Q Would you expect that while President Kravchuk is here he would sign this protocol, or is not something you can sign now?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'd defer to the President. I just don't know whether there's any plan to be signed on it. But the agreement, the letters -- the language has been worked out. I doubt it will signed on this visit. But the language is -- we sat there in the Oval Office, and I think the President would agree that we agreed on it. Correct?

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: Yes. (Laughter.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

Q Mr. President, have you personally lobbied Democratic members of Congress on enterprise zones and on the HOPE program?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes. And I'll continue to. But let me come forward with a package now. And I don't know how you quantify it, but I think you'll note that that's been part of our proposal for a long, long time. And when I look at the devastation and look at some of the hopelessness -- not just in this particular area, but others -- it seems to me that the time has come to try something different.

I thought I heard the Congresswoman from the area say that the time has come for enterprise zones. Well, that's a very interesting development and an interesting shift, if true. But again, you don't get something done by saying, we're with A, B or C before when we were trying to get these programs through. What we do say is -- you mentioned enterprise zones -- I think enterprise zones makes a good deal of sense, to bring business into the area and get jobs -- you've got to get some tax breaks in the area, get the jobs moving in the area. Get the production in the area. We haven't really tried that at the federal level and I'd like to see it tried.

And without assigning blame for failures in the past, I think that this is an idea whose time has come. And so we will try again. And I have tried and I'll keep trying.

Q To follow up on that, you say that you will try to get your proposals through. When we talked to Democrats on the Hill, they say that you're not willing to compromise, that you want it your way or you don't want it at all. Have the L.A. riots provided maybe the tone for a compromise?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't know that the L.A. riots -- but I think I'm the guy that's held out my hands to the United States Congress, saying let's try. But I'm not going to suggest that that means doing it somebody else's way all the time. But I think the time has come when the American people want action. They don't want any more rhetoric. And they say, let's try something new. Let's try something that will really help. Let's have order. Let's have --

not condone the violence, but out of this, let's see if we can't find better answers. And you mentioned enterprise zones -- I happen to think it's a better answer. And I think it's almost unarguable. But --

Q Mr. President, to follow up on that. The Democrats say, in fact, the enterprise zones was in the growth package but you vetoed it. And secondly, on the homeownership program -- the HOPE program, as you mentioned several times -- that was approved, but the funding was cut by 60 percent. And we're told that Jack Kemp asked you to veto the bill so you could get full funding, but that you didn't because the bill also had full funding for the space station. So my question is, will you shift your priorities perhaps away from things like the space station and more towards the homeownership, as your Secretary asked you?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think he suggested we move it away from the space station. But my view is, here's an opportunity. And I'm glad they're saying that they support this. And I hope we can do it in a way that is acceptable to us, because I have to also keep in mind the overall economy of this country. The bill I vetoed was not vetoed on space stations or on HOPE, it was vetoed on a wide range of broad matters that would have burdened the taxpayer in this country. But let's hope that with this new interest in finding new answers that we can get done these programs that I'm talking about. Yes, I'd like to think we can do that.

Last one. No, not again, Terry. (Laughter.) Well, last one. Go ahead.

Q How long are you going to keep the Army and the Marine Corps on duty in Los Angeles?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, it won't be much longer, and I will be very much interested in getting recommendations on that from the Mayor and from the Governor. As you know, we've federalized the Guard at the request of the Governor and the request of the Mayor. They are there. The law enforcement officials and the civilian officials there have felt that their presence inhibited further rioting. I'm convinced in my mind that the fact that we moved as quickly as we did in federalizing them had a very quieting effect.

So -- but we'll start moving out. We've moved out some of the federal law enforcement people already. I think that's been reduced by about a half -- maybe more by now, Terry -- the FBI people, the Customs people, border patrol people and all of those who were in the law enforcement end of the federal government.

But in terms of the Army and the Marines and the National Guard, I will be talking about that, I'm sure, tonight with our task force when I get out there.

Q -- the benefit of hindsight, do you wished that you had put them on duty Thursday night or Wednesday night, rather than waiting until Friday?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I still believe that you ought to work closely with the local officials. I think they are the ones that activate the Guard and that's the way it should be. I don't think the President should call up and insist on something like that. So I have confidence in their judgment and I think they did the right thing. And, similarly, federalizing -- a President can do that, but it is far better to do it when you have the full request and full cooperation of the local officials and of the Governor. And that's exactly what we did in very timely fashion. So I can't -- I don't have any regrets on that.

Q Will you be seeing Mr. Gates?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Gates? I don't know. I don't know. I don't know.

Q When you say new proposals do you mean the ones you've already submitted?

PRESIDENT BUSH: John, I'll tell you about that when I get ready to. I'll announce the program when I'm ready, not sooner, not an answer to one question or another. But when I'm ready to do it, I will. And I'm going to follow it just the way I've told you; do it without recrimination, without trying to blame anybody in an effort to try to move this country forward.

Q Are you sorry the White House has looked divisive the last couple of days?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't feel it has. I don't feel it has. (Applause.)

END 1:38 P.M. EDT

A CONVERSATION WITH ROMAN POPADUIK

He offered the following talking points:

- Recognition of the Ukrainian-American community
- Focus on birth of democracy and free markets.
- The Ukrainians face a great many challenges in the years ahead. POTUS should give assurances to the Ukrainian people that we will stand beside them along the way and help them in those challenges.
- Mention the Ukrainian quest for freedom in the historical sense.
- We should definitely quote from Taras Shevchenko.
- The August 1 speeches didn't go over too well. We should reference it but not dwell too long. Emphasize that this is a new beginning and we will work together as the Ukraine builds a new life for its people.
- We welcome Ukrainian independence and look forward to their new role in the world.
- Mention their becoming part of the international community, referencing the CSCE meeting in Helsinki (although he added that NSC might scrap that kind of reference).2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Michele Nix to Joe Duggan, re: Kravchuk Departure Statement. (1 pp.)	04/30/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Simon Kravchuk [Ukraine] Departure Statement 5/6/92 [1]

Open on Expiration of PRA
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

April 30, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR JOE DUGGAN

FROM: MICHELE NIX

SUBJECT: KRAVCHUK DEPARTURE STATEMENT

No draft has come from Nick Burns office at NSC. I've called four times now.

I talked to the Director of the Ukrainian desk at State for some speeches by Kravcuk. He faxed me one that Kravchuk delivered to the UN. (We can use this to pull quotes from -- re freedom, "our purpose as a new nation," etc.)

He suggested that we hit hot buttons, i.e. -- They consider themselves a brand new nation -- and they're very insecure. They want to be respected among the leading nations as an "equal partner in the world scene." They want to be seen as standing on their own as a "new nation" -- devoid of any association with "the Soviet Union." They like to be recognized as a country -- not a fledgling republic -- "nation of Ukraine" references.

As an aside about Kravchuk: He loves chess. Plays it a lot on his computer. Maybe some chess phrases could work into the speech?

I've included the following:

- Bio on Kravchuk
- Speech Kravchuk delivered to the UN (September 1991)
- Historical/Background material (some pulled from last year's visit)
- Speeches from last year's visit
- Color, quotes, a couple Ukrainian proverbs (I'm trying to get more but the State guy said most of them are negative)

a great and ancient nation enjoying a renaissance of freedom and independence

...Our soul shall never perish,
freedom knows no dying,
and the greedy cannot harvest fields where seas are lying;
cannot bind the living spirit nor the living word,
cannot smirch the sacred glory of the Almighty Lord.

Taras Shevchenko

inscription - motto to Shevchenko

—*— please check accuracy

AUTHORIZING THE ERECTION OF A STATUE TO TARAS SHEVCHENKO. THE BILL THUS BECAME A LAW OF THE LAND, PUBLIC LAW 86-749

PUBLIC LAW 86-749

Authorizing the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko on public grounds in the District of Columbia.

Whereas throughout Eastern Europe, in the last century and this, the name and works of Taras Shevchenko brilliantly reflected the aspirations of man for personal liberty and national independence; and

Whereas Shevchenko, the poet laureate of Ukraine, was openly inspired by our great American tradition to fight against the imperialist and colonial occupation of his native land; and

Whereas in many parts of the free world observances of the Shevchenko centennial will be held during 1961 in honor of this immortal champion of liberty; and

Whereas in our moral capacity as free men in an independent Nation it behooves us to symbolize tangibly the inseparable spiritual ties bound in the writings of Shevchenko between our country and the forty million Ukrainian nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) any association or committee organized for such purpose within two years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution is hereby authorized to place on land owned by the United States in the District of Columbia a statue of the Ukrainian poet and national leader, Taras Shevchenko.

(b) The authority granted by subsection (a) of this section shall cease to exist, unless within five years after the date of enactment of this joint resolution (1) the erection of the statue is begun, and (2) the association or committee certifies to the Secretary of the Interior the amount of funds available for the purpose of the completion of the statue and the Secretary determines that such funds are adequate for such purpose.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to select an appropriate site upon which to erect the statue authorized in the first section. The choice of the site and the design and plans for such statue shall be subject to the approval of the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capitol Planning Commission. Such statue shall be erected without expense to the United States.

H.J. Res. 311 (86th Cong.) APPROVED SEPTEMBER 13, 1960.

THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

"I am pleased to add my voice to those honoring the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. We honor him for his rich contribution to the culture not only of Ukraine, which he loved so well and described so eloquently, but of the world. His work is a noble part of our historical heritage."

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LUKE MYSHUHA, LL. D.,

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE UKRAINIAN DAILY "SVOBODA,"
A SCHOLAR AND PATRIOT WHOSE GENEROSITY MADE
POSSIBLE THE PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK.

SHEVCHENKO'S TESTAMENT

ANNOTATED COMMENTARIES

BY

JOHN PANCHUK

SVOBODA PRESS

JERSEY CITY NEW YORK

05/01/92 16:09 ☎2027078482 LOC- EURDIV 005

SHEVCHENKO'S UKRAINE

Shevchenko's talent for drawing and painting developed earl shaped his destiny, and decreed his emancipation from serfdom. Oth facets of his gifted personality found expression in other artist media. He was a connoisseur of music and the dramatic arts. He wa not only an enthusiastic collector of Ukrainian folksongs, but he wa himself a melodious singer of them. His pen as well as his brus created exquisite color and word-tones, revealed a keen perceptio of form and feeling, which enabled him to communicate his idea and thoughts vividly, precisely, and with economy and simplicit of words. As a poet of rare talent and genius, he ranks with the im mortal bards in world literature.

Of the many subtle devices of word and sound for which th spontaneously creative quality of his poetry is distinguished, an un obstrusively pulsating pattern of contrast gives it a sublime and in cisive vitality. The balanced interplay of diverse forces, actions, ideas feelings, scenes, and personalities makes each poem a symphonic re cord of the strife experienced by his native Ukraine and reflecte in his own Promethean career. His poetic works etch the thorny path of a pilgrim in search of the ultimate truth as he evaluates an synthesizes the conflicting forces of life, culminating in release fron strife upon achievement of justice and freedom, the attributes of man reconciled to his God.

We discern in his poetry how the experiences of his enserfe family, personal adventures, and the impressions of natural beauty amid human suffering evoked a profusion of contrasting impulses, images, and concepts. We seem to enter a realm of experience where "the sweetest songs tell of saddest thought," and "heard melodies are sweet but the unheard are sweeter." A blind minstrel, the *Kobzar* is our guide to the natural paradise that is Ukraine and the hell that the system of serfdom has brought in its wake. We listen to the prayers of the innocent maiden, the yearning of the widow, and the

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exhortations of the brave Kozaks; we hear the blasphemy of the despot and the shackled serf, the sighs of the despairing exile. We stand in awe before the tall mounds stretching across the steppe where the glory of the fallen Kozaks "illumines the gloom of their graves." In the words of the poet, we converse with father Dnieper and mother Ukraine as we listen by the light of the pale moon to the song of the nightingale in the cherry orchard. With the poet we seem to ask—"Heaven? Look around and ask what's happening in that heaven!" [1]

The natural beauty of Ukraine was deeply engraved in the sensitive mind of Shevchenko as a boy and the ideal never left him during the many years he was expatriated from his native country:

I grew up in alien land;
I am growing gray in alien land.
In my lonliness, there is nothing
Lovlier on God's earth than
The Dnieper and our glorious country,[2]

Just as suddenly as the idealized image of Ukraine flashes into view it fades into the dark shadows:

Everywhere in that famous Ukraine,
People are yoke-harnessed by
The landlords. Fettered are
The expiring sons of Knights.[3]

The next scene is beamed in the perspective of Shevchenko's thoughts through the prism of fluid and contrasting lights and shadows of an idealistic and realistic perspective:

If you do not see this evil,
Then things appear to be
Serene and pleasant in Ukraine.
Dnieper, lovable and affectionate
Like a child sucking at
His mother's breast, appears
Amidst the hills. — Around
Him stretch ample villages
Peopled by happy people.
That's the way it would be, maybe
If there were no trace left
Of landlords in Ukraine.[4]

Again and again, the contrast between the ideal and the real evokes strong feelings about his Ukraine:

[1] T. Shevchenko, *Yaloby vy znaly, panyehi* (*If, Lordlings*).
[2] T. Shevchenko, *I vyris ya na chuzhyni* (*I Grew Up in Alien Land*).
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

Recently, I visited in Ukraine,
That most beautiful of villages,
The one in which mother
Cradled me to sleep, toiled
At night to earn enough
To buy a candle offering to
The Immaculate One — of whom
She asked good fortune for her child.
It is well, mother, that you
Died young, or you might
Curse Her for the talent she
Vouchsafed to me. It
Is dreadfully horrible in
That village. People wander
There, emaciated, black as earth.
The green orchards are parched.
The ponds are weed infested.
Desolation scars the villages
Like fire. In silent torpor and
Bondage, the people trudge
To till the fields, leading
Their children by the hand.[5]

This desolate picture of the children of once free Kozaks, trudging silently in the shackles of serfdom and leading their young ones not in the direction of freedom but deeper into slavery, evoked fiery lines from Shevchenko, reminiscent of the following stirring verses from Lord Byron:

The fiery souls that might have led
Thy sons to deeds sublime,
Now crawl from cradle to the grave,
Slaves — nay the bondsmen of a slave.[6]

Ukraine for Shevchenko is the country which has been transformed from the paradise of freedom to the hell of serfdom by Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia and her aristocratic favorites:[7]

Look around and ask —
What's happening in that heaven?
In that meadow, in that house,
In that heaven — I saw hell,
Bondage, hard toil — not even
A respite for prayer. My good
Mother, worn by toil and privation,
Went to the grave in her prime.
Our father, mourning with his

[5] *Ibid.*
[6] G. G. Lord Byron, *The Giaour.*
[7] T. Shevchenko, *Velykyi Polch* (*The Big Crypt*).

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Children (young and naked)
Succumbed to his cruel fate
And died in serfdom.[8]

To Shevchenko, Ukraine is his beautiful native land from which he was expatriated by force. His grief and longing for his beloved native land were intensified by the harshness of his penal servitude in the faraway, bleak, foreign land—Siberia.

In this farway prison,
There are no words, no tears,
There is nothing. Even Almighty
God is not around here.[9]

I recall Ukraine and tremble,[10]

My heart grows cold to think
I'll no longer live or die in Ukraine.[11]

It is hard to live in bondage,
In a desert; but people live there.
What shall I do? Die?
But hope, brother, does not die.[12]

I feign would die. — But
Ukraine, the winding Dnieper,
And you my friend, will
Not let me ask of God
This boon.[13]

I do not curse my fate —
I only pray to God:
Dear God, do not let me
Die in alien land,
In bondage.[14]

Oh send my soul some hope
At least. If not — then send
My tears to my Ukraine.
For her, dear God, my life is
Spent. Maybe I'll rest easier
In alien land, if they
Remember me now and then.

[8] T. Shevchenko, *If, Lordings.*
[9] T. Shevchenko, *Likhi v nevoli dni i nochi* (*I Count the Days and Nights*).
[10] T. Shevchenko, *A. O. Kozachkovs'komu* (*To A. A. Kozachkovsky*).
[11] T. Shevchenko, *V nevoli tiazhko* (*It's Hard in Prison*).
[12] T. Shevchenko, *Ne dodomu vnochi idutchy* (*While Not Homeward Bound*).
[13] T. Shevchenko, *To A. O. Kozachkovsky.*
[14] *Ibid.*

My heart grows numb at
The thought that I may be
Buried in alien land —
And these thoughts be buried
With me! And no one
Remember me in Ukraine.[15]

Love Ukraine,
Love her in her most critical hour;
In her last, most desperate moment
Pray God for her![16]

For Shevchenko Ukraine is his "ill-fated mother" who has lost her freedom and has become a serf, toiling for a rapacious foreign master.

Ukraine, Ukraine, my mother dear!
My heart quavers when I recall you.[17]

My beloved Ukraine
Why are you plundered?
Why, mother, are you dying?[18]

In Shevchenko's poetry Ukraine is presented as a person and as mother country. Symbolic of Ukraine is his famous poem *Kateryna*—the peasant maiden seduced and abandoned by a Russian soldier.

Ukraine is the indigent, grief-stricken widow, whose children are exploited and despoiled by the inhuman and insatiable upper classes who own the land and the people that work it.

Weep, Ukraine!
Childless widow![19]

They torment the widow
To exact the poll tax due.
Her only son they take,
And send in chains
To serve the tsar.[20]

My cruel suffering,
I'll hide behind the cloud —
And to you, Ukraine,
My ill-fated widow,
I will fly from behind

[15] T. Shevchenko, *I Count the Days and Nights.*
[16] T. Shevchenko, *Chy my shche zibemosia znovu* (*Will We Meet Again*).
[17] T. Shevchenko, *Tarasova nich* (*Taras Night*).
[18] T. Shevchenko, *Rozryta mohyla* (*Pillaged Mound*).
[19] T. Shevchenko, *Son* (*Dream*).
[20] *Ibid.*

The cloud to visit
And talk with you. We
Will counsel with one another;
Nightly unburden of our woes,
And wait until your young ones
Grow up and rise against the foe.[21]

For Shevchenko, Ukraine is the home of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, whose valor and exploits in countless struggles were the bulwark for over two centuries of individual and political freedom of the people, whose glory and fame were preserved in songs and ballads of the wandering minstrels, the *kobzars* of Ukraine.

These are Kozaks,
There is no landlord here.
We all lived as equals in freedom;
We all died as equals for freedom.
We will all arise. — But God
Knows when that will be.[22]

Hearken to the blind minstrel's
Song, sorrow laden, about Ukraine,
Love her! Love the truth about her.[23]

At Ukraine's cry of alarm, the eagles came![24]

Oh dear God of Ukraine,
Let not the free Kozaks
Die captive in alien land.[25]

There in the spacious steppe is freedom.[26]

To Shevchenko, Ukraine is the country of the steppes over whose landscape stretch myriads of silent mounds, mute reminders of the bloody wars of Ukrainian Kozaks to preserve their heritage of freedom. The steppe is the land where freedom once flourished. The wind, the sea, and the mighty Dnieper personify the forces of nature which nurtured the unbridled spirit of freedom and resistance to foreign aggression and bondage.

All Ukraine
Is covered with the high mounds. Look,
Child, all those mounds, all of them
Are filled with our noble corpses,

[21] *Ibid.*
[22] T. Shevchenko, *Buvaie, v nevoli inodi shadaiu* (*In Prison, I Recall*).
[23] T. Shevchenko, *Haidamaky.*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] T. Shevchenko, *Hamaliia.*
[26] T. Shevchenko, *Markovychu, N.* (*To N. Markovych*).

Tightly packed. — That's freedom asleep!
It fell gloriously; it fell with the Kozaks.[27]

May the Kozak souls visit Ukraine,
It is pleasant and freedom is boundless there.[28]

Shevchenko's Kozak personifies in the romantic lines of Thomas Moore:

One who, no more than mortal brave,
Fought for the land his soul adored,
For happy homes, and altars free, —
His only talisman, the sword,
His only spell-word, Liberty.[29]

Ukraine is a nation "lulled to sleep by evil men." It is "weed infested, mildewed, sunk in mire and muck," because the healthy invigorating features of freedom, justice, and truth have been suppressed.

A land of carcasses and slaves
One dreary waste of chains and graves.[30]

Her own unwise sons are responsible for the desolate inglorius state of affairs and scenes of ruin and bondage, the hetmans and Kozak leaders who were willing to barter freedom for Moscow's grant of rank and privilege.

Such, dear God, deeds did we
Perpetrate in our heaven,
Upon your just earth!
We made hell out of paradise,
And asked you for yet another.[31]

Shevchenko despairs of the plight, degradation, and oblivion to which his beloved country has sunk. He asks himself:

I wish some one would speak
Sense to me — that I may know
For whom I write and why;
Why I love my Ukraine so?
Is she worth the sacred flame?[32]

[27] T. Shevchenko, *In Prison, I Recall.*
[28] T. Shevchenko, *Dumy moï* (*My Thoughts*).
[29] Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] T. Shevchenko, *If, Lordlings.*
[32] T. Shevchenko, *Khiba samomu napysat'* (*Shall I Write An Epistle To Myself*).

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The pageant of his country's shame —
While every tear her children shed
Fell on his soul, like drops of flame.[33]

Shevchenko wonders what personal obligation he may have to ameliorate the conditions of his beloved country:

We ask one another:
Why were we born?
To do good or to do evil?
What is the purpose of our life?
Why do we strive,
And before attaining die?
By what kinds of acts
Dear God, shall I
Be judged on earth?
It were better that
Children bondage-born
Did not grow up to offend
And bring obloquy
Unto you, Holy One.[34]

Why has God permitted such suffering and loss of freedom in his Ukraine is a question that Shevchenko asks himself throughout his life.

Cherished land, my beloved Ukraine!
Why are you plundered and ravaged?
Why are you dying, mother?
Did you not worship God
Early each morning? Did you
Not teach your children manners?[35]
And maybe, no, I do not know,
But it seems that you
(For without your will, God,
We would not suffer naked in heaven).
And maybe you, yourself, from on high
Are scoffing, dear Father, at us
And counseling, maybe, with the
Landlords how to rule the world.[36]

The usual joy and praise unto
You, the Holy One,
For your wonderous deeds?
Bosh. — Praise for no one —
Only blood, tears and profanity —
Blasphemy on everything —
No! No! There is nothing sacred

[33] Thomas Moore, *op. cit.*
[34] T. Shevchenko, *Odyn u druhoho pytaiem* (*One Another We Ask*).
[35] T. Shevchenko, *Pillaged Mound.*
[36] T. Shevchenko, *If, Lordlings.*

On earth anymore . . .
It seems to me that, already,
Even You — the people have cursed.[37]

I love my poor Ukraine so
That I too would blaspheme,
Even lose my soul for her.[38]

The voice of the *bandurist,* the wondering minstrel, speal through Shevchenko, the poet. It has been aptly stated that "poetr is the protest of genius against the unreality of actual life." [39] "Poetr is indeed something divine" [40] according to Shelley. In Shevchenko Ukraine the blind minstrel, the *kobzar,* personifies the poet who inspired of God to remind his people of their past glory as free peopl The poet proclaims:

We will send our soul on high
To God himself to ask how much
Longer shall the tyrants reign.[41]

Like the Psalmist he cries out:

We do not worship alien Gods,
We beseech you:
Save us, deliver us
From the scorn of the foe.[42]

It will not be the same to me,
If evil men shall lull Ukraine to sleep,
And awake her when she's burned and robbed.[43]

Freedom is God's highest gift to man; a slave defames and of fends God. Man must assert his right to freedom. It is better t strive for freedom even if we perish, than to tolerate misuse of free dom. The divine spark in man is the gift to choose between good and evil.

Oh dear God of Ukraine, let
Not freedom loving Kozaks
Perish in alien bondage.
It is shameful here; it is shameful there,
For a Kozak to arise from an

[37] *Ibid.*
[38] T. Shevchenko, *Dream.*
[39] Edwin P. Whipple, "English Poets of the Nineteenth Century," *Essays and Reviews,* Vol. I, Boston, 1853.
[40] P. B. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry.*
[41] T. Shevchenko, *Dream.*
[42] T. Shevchenko, *Psalm 94.*
[43] T. Shevchenko, *Meni odnakovo* (*It Is All the Same to Me*).

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Alien tomb and come before
Your throne to pray for just
Judgment, with his hands
In shackles — for all to see.[44]

The Kozaks personify the champions of freedom. To him the Kozak is he:

Who, though they know the strife is vain,
Who, though they know the riven chain
Snaps but to enter in the heart
Of him who rends its links apart,
Yet dare the issue — blest to be
Even for one bleeding moment free,
And die in pangs of liberty![45]

Like Samuel Adams who was always sure that the hand of God was in the affairs of men, Shevchenko always turned to God for inspiration and restoration of freedom:

Without your will, God,
We would not wander naked in heaven.[46]

Some day God will restore our freedom
And destroy our bondage.
We will praise thee, God,
With all devout praises.[47]

We are reminded in so many of Shevchenko's "rebellious verses" for which he was banished by the tsar for life into a distant military penal colony in Siberia, of the spirit of defiance to foreign domination as expressed by the American patriot James Otis: "There can be no prescription old enough to supersede the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty, who has given all men a right to be free."[48] Shevchenko's *kobzar* is the psalmist who sings of the eternal truth and proclaims that truth is righteousness. He is the prophet-seer who prophesies the inevitable triumph of truth and righteousness and the rebirth of Ukrainian freedom. The poet's word is God's word. He proclaims with scriptural fervor and conviction that truth shall prevail and make Ukraine free.

We believe in Your power,
And in Your living word:
Truth will rise, freedom will rise;[49]

[44] T. Shevchenko, *Hamaliia.*
[45] Thomas Moore, *op. cit.*
[46] T. Shevchenko, *If, Lordlings.*
[47] T. Shevchenko, *Davydovi psal'my,* 52 (*Psalms of David,* 52).
[48] T. Shevchenko, *Psalms* 53, 136, 146.
[49] T. Shevchenko, *Kavkaz* (*The Caucasus*).

The day of judgment will come,
Dnieper and the mountains will speak.
The blood of your children will flow
To the sea in hundred fold streams.[50]

Send me the sacred Word,
A mighty voice of the holy truth;
Give strength to the feeble soul
To speak with tongues of fire,
So as to liquify the Word
That it may thaw the human heart.
Spread it over Ukraine,
That Ukraine may revere it.[51]

Ukraine will rise, and
Banish the night of bondage.
The world of truth will shine
And the once shackled children
Shall worship in freedom.[52]

Shevchenko's Ukraine is a beautiful, rich country, populated by God-fearing, freedom-loving, socially and individually humane and pleasant people who were enslaved and exploited by wealthy foreign landlords and semi-denationalized Ukrainian underlings of the Russian autocracy and the established church of Moscow. His God-given talents were dedicated to the abolition of serfdom and the economic and political emancipation of his people. Shevchenko idealized a Ukraine without "serf or master" and gave full scope to this vision in his poems.

The poetry of Shevchenko reveals his sharp awareness of the social injustice and national wrong suffered by Ukraine. While he had made acquaintence with the movement of the Decembrists in the middle forties, and some utopian socialist groups as well as with the existence of the Polish independence movement, ideologically, Shevchenko's political and national profile was largely influenced by his Ukrainian orientation and rebellion against foreign domination and serfdom, introduced and supported by Moscow. We discern in his utterances and actions much of the same zeal and political ideals we see in the American revolutionary patriots and so widely popularized by the romantic poets during the early part of the 19th century. The Russian government saw in his poetry an incitement to rebellion against authority calculated to overthrow the tsarist regime, to be followed by the rebirth of a free and independent Ukraine, a status

[50] T. Shevchenko, *Poslanie* (*Epistle*).
[51] T. Shevchenko, *Neofity* (*Neophytes*).
[52] T. Shevchenko, *Stoit' v seli Subotovi* (*Subotiv*).

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Ukraine had enjoyed before the tsars of Moscow had abrogated and destroyed Ukrainian national and political liberties.

In his poems the attainment of brotherhood and equality of nations and peoples is a recurring theme. Finally, the poet sees his Ukraine as a country which takes its place as a member of a large, emancipated, and free family of nations, with equal justice under the law, turning back on strife, fratricidal wars, and living in peace and harmony.

Shevchenko turns to Washington and the American revolutionary history for the realization of his ideals.

> How long must we wait for
> A Washington, with a new and
> Just law? We'll bide our time;
> We know someday he will come.[53]

It is the same spirit which brought young Marquis de Lafayette to serve with George Washington in the American War of Independence. "It was not for America's own sake, however, but because America was for him the fresh, cool body of liberty. To this young dreamer, descended from the great family of Noailles and sick of the long oppression of monarchy, the American Revolution was the promise of a new beauty and a new freedom for the whole kingdom of mankind. . ." "The moment I heard of America," he said with simple boyishness, "I loved her. . . what man has not his little America?[54] In that, he forecast Shelley, Byron, Hugo, and the romanticists of the next century, and we can add Shevchenko.

Shevchenko's revolutionary thoughts had their genesis in the feelings and sentiments of the toilers of the soil from whom he arose and in the history and traditions of the fierce opposition of the Ukrainians to enroachment upon their liberty. While he was exposed to the views of Russian radical writers such as Belinsky, Chernishevsky, and Nekrasov, they were not able to reveal anything new to him respecting the evils of autocracy or serfdom. He was ahead of them in the vigor of his fiery condemnation of the system and in preaching revolutionary changes. In addition their liberalism was circumscribed by their nationalistically Russian horizons. They were intellectual liberals to whom Ukraine was "Little Russia" and Shevchenko a talented "Little Russian poet." They did not understand or subscribe to the whole of Shevchenko's truth and righteousness, to his Ukrainian nationalism as well as his social and economic views.

In Shevchenko's poems, the name of his country is always Ukraine, his cherished and beloved Ukraine. There is no other name

[53] T. Shevchenko, *Yurodyvyt* (*The Possessed*).
[54] John Hyde Preston, *Revolution 1776*.

for his native land in his poetry. In his letters and his prose writing he sometimes refers to it as "Little Russia," the official designatic given by the Russian government to Ukraine. In doing so he unde scored the subjugated status of Ukraine and the Russification pr cesses of Moscow with all their depressing consequences—despotisn oppression, serfdom, national and cultural apostasy.

Steadfastly till the very end, he sought for righteous me apostles whose espousals of individual rights and political indepen ence were rooted in the laws of God as well the laws of natur The Otis Smith, the John Adams, and the Thomas Jefferson typ of liberals appealed to his political philosophy. How often he proclaim that tolerance of slavery is an indignity to the human soul and a offense to God himself, since God created man in his own image! Th is the sentiment so eloquently expressed by Justice Wilson in th famous *Chisholm vs. Georgia*, Supreme Court decision.

> Man himself, free and honest, is, I speak as to this world, the noble work of God.[55]

This concept of freedom as a gift of God motivated our America leaders and lawmakers:

"Reason and freedom are our own; we are to use, but cannc resign them, without rebelling against Him who gave them; that t invade them is to encroach on the privileges we receive from God an traverse the design of Infinite Goodness."[56]

A few months before his death in 1861, still waiting for suc leaders to emerge in his own country, Shevchenko wrote:

> Days and nights go by —
> Meditating, hands clasped
> Around my head, I wonder
> What delays the apostle of
> Truth and Revelation.[57]

[55] *U.S. Supreme Court Reports*, 1793.
[56] *U.S. Congress Debates*, 1802-3.
[57] T. Shevchenko, *I den' ide i nich ide* (*The Days Pass*).

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MY LAST WILL

When I die, then bury
Me upon a mound
'Mid spacious steppes, in Ukrainia,
Beloved soil around.

That yonder fields, widely stretching,
I may be adoring.
Mighty Dnieper with his windings
I may hear him roaring!

When he bears from Ukrainia
Into the blue sea
Blood of foeman, then the meadows
And hills dear to me,

Will I leave all, hasten soaring,
Ev'n to God I'll go,
There to pray, but until then
God I do not know.

Bury me, and then arise
Your fetters tear asunder,
Sprinkling with foeman's vicious blood
Your freedom safe thus render.

And in the coming Kinship great,
Kinship new and free
Forget not to gently, kindly,
Sometimes speak of me.

(Translated by *John Yatchew*, 1933)

(Most well known for this)

MY TESTAMENT

When I die, let me be buried
In beautiful Ukraine,
My tomb atop a hillock high
Amid the spreading plain,
So that the fields, the boundless steppes,
The Dnieper's plunging shore
My eyes could see, my ears could hear
The angry river roar.

When from Ukraine the Dnieper bears
Into the deep blue sea
The blood of foes . . . then will I leave
These hills and fertile fields —
All, all I'll leave and fly away,
I'll fly right up to God
To sing His praise . . . But till that day
I recognize no God.

Oh bury me and rise ye up
And smash your heavy chains
And water well with evil blood
The freedom of Ukraine.
And in the great new family,
The kinship of the free,
With kindly and gentle word
Remember also me.

(Translated by *John Weir*, 1961)

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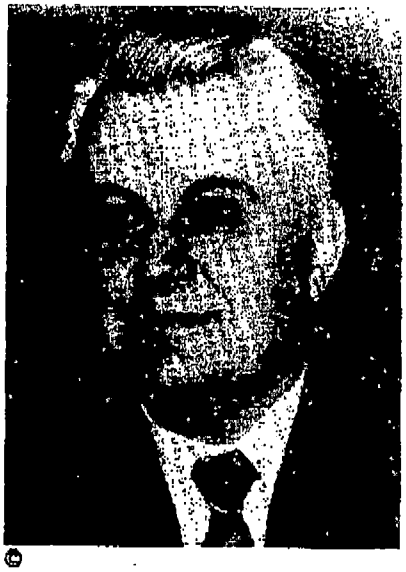
Leonid Makarovich KRAVCHUK **USSR**
(Phonetic: KRAHVchook)

President
~~Chairman, Supreme Soviet,~~
Ukrainian SSR (since ~~July 1990~~)
Dec 1991

Addressed as: Mr. ~~Chairman~~
President



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Leonid Kravchuk is spearheading his republic's drive for greater economic and political sovereignty. As chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Kravchuk must carefully balance the demands of the Communist majority in the legislature with those of independence-minded deputies, many of whom belong to Rukh, the influential nationalist umbrella organization. Kravchuk supports greater Ukrainian sovereignty within a new Soviet confederation, and he has dismissed talk of leaving the union as politically and economically naive. Nevertheless, he has criticized the current draft of the union treaty and has stood firm in his conviction that Ukraine cannot sign such a treaty until it passes a new republic constitution.

Kravchuk also has been actively promoting expanded relations with the other Soviet republics and seeking to improve Ukraine's image abroad. He has signed bilateral agreements with several of the Soviet republics, and he meets frequently with the other republic leaders, including newly elected RSFSR President Boris Yel'tsin and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Kravchuk has recently traveled to Switzerland, Germany, and Hungary to promote business opportunities in Ukraine. He has also met with a host of visiting foreign dignitaries, including UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

The son of Ukrainian peasants, Kravchuk was born in 1934 and grew up in Volyn Oblast—the first Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman not to have come from the highly Russified eastern portion of the republic. In 1956 he graduated from Kiev State University and later attended the Academy of Social Sciences; he holds a doctorate in economic sciences. A member of the CPSU since 1958, Kravchuk became engaged in party work in 1960. Rising through the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party apparatus, he eventually became chief of the central committee's ideology department. In March 1989 he was elected to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Kravchuk was promoted to republic party second secretary and became a member of the republic's Politburo in June 1990. He was elected to the revamped CPSU Central Committee in July 1990.

Kravchuk is married; he has a son and two grandchildren. He does not speak English.

22 July 1991

Reader's Adviser(1986)

BOOK BY MYKOLA KULIŠ

Sonata Pathetique. Trans. by George S. N. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, intro. by Ralph Lindheim, Ukrainian Academic Pr. 1975 lib. bdg. $11.50

KULIŠ, PANTELEJMON (also KULISH). 1819–1897

Kuliš, a scholar as well as a novelist, in *The Black Council* gives a vivid picture of the different levels of society in seventeenth-century Ukraine. His theme is the need for people to be motivated by high ideals as they engage in the "struggle of truth with injustice."

BOOK BY PANTELEJMON KULIŠ

The Black Council. Trans. and abr. by George S. N. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, intro. by Romana Bahrij Pikulyk, Ukrainian Academic Pr. 1973 lib. bdg. $11.50

PIDMOHYLNY, VALERIAN. 1901–1941

Pidmohylny's last novel, *A Little Touch of Drama,* published in 1930, shows the influence of French writers such as MAUPASSANT. In his earlier works he experimented with impressionistic psychological stories and with literary expressionism.

BOOK BY PIDMOHYLNY

A Little Touch of Drama. Ukrainian Classics in Translation Ser. Trans. by George S. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences 1972 lib. bdg. $11.50

ŠEVČENKO, TARAS (also SHEVCHENKO). 1814–1861

Ševčenko is the outstanding Ukrainian romantic poet, creator of the Ukrainian literary language and symbol of the national movement. He was born a serf and educated in St. Petersburg to serve as a portraitist and artist. His freedom was purchased in 1838 by several of his admirers. Ševčenko's first eight poems were collected in *The Bandura Player.* The publication of this collection in 1840 was a literary sensation. This collection was followed in the next three years by *The Haidamaks* and a series of poems based strongly on folk-song rhythms. The writings composed after his return to the Ukraine in 1843 included strong invectives against serfdom and the baneful role that Russians played in Ukrainian history.

For a decade after 1847 Ševčenko was exiled to Central Asia for his participation in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society. This clandestine organization advocated the union of all Slavs on the basis of independence and equality. During his exile he wrote several lyrics and novelettes. The poems of the last four years of his life, including *Neofity* and *Mariya,* are built on strongly religious themes.

BOOK BY ŠEVČENKO

The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko. Trans. by C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, Univ. of Toronto Pr. 1964 $25.00. A good collection by two veteran interpreters of Ukrainian poetry.

of the 22nd dynasty of Egypt. He came from a line of Libyan princes, or sheikhs, whose title was "great chief of the Meshwesh" and who appear to have settled in Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt, although another tradition placed the line in Bubastis in the eastern Delta. Sheshonk probably ascended the throne without a struggle, making Bubastis his residence and marrying his son Osorkon to a daughter of Psusennes II, the last king of the previous dynasty.

According to the Old Testament, "Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem" (I Kings 14:25–26) about 930 BC in support of Jeroboam, the pretender who challenged the right of Solomon's son Rehoboam to succeed to the Israelite throne. Sheshonk's victories in Palestine were celebrated by reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak. Although the biblical account reported the looting of the palace and Temple, the name Jerusalem did not survive in the Egyptian record.

·Egyptian–Libyan relations **6**:479d
·invasion of Palestine **17**:946b

Shes-rab rgya-mtsho, president, in 1953, of a Chinese-organized Buddhist association in Tibet.

·Buddhist modern organization **3**:401d

She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. A Comedy (first performed 1773), comedy by Oliver Goldsmith about Marlow, a reserved young man who is shy with fashionable young ladies, and Kate Hardcastle, who poses as a barmaid to win his affection.

·comic sense and artistic expression **8**:241e

Shetland Islands, also called SHETLAND ISLES or ZETLAND, group of about 100 islands (fewer than 20 of them inhabited) lying 130 mi (210 km) north of the Scottish mainland, administered as Shetland, one of three Islands areas (*q.v.*). Until the reorganization of 1975, it was the insular county of Zetland. The Shetland Islands, like the Orkneys (a similar island cluster lying to the south), possess their own Mainland (name given to the largest island), containing Scalloway, a fishing port, and Lerwick, the seat of the Islands area council, which carries out the responsibilities of both region and district authority, except for fire and police services, for which it combines with the Highland (*q.v.*) region.

The north part of Mainland is sparsely populated. South of Lerwick, where land conditions are more favourable, the population is denser. North of Mainland lie the islands of Yell and Unst, the most northerly and, except for Mainland, the most populous of the Shetland Islands. One mile off the north coast of Unst is Muckle Flugga lighthouse, the most northerly point in Britain. Off the west seaboard are six inhabited islands, including rocky and exposed Foula (14 mi from Mainland), and Fair Isle (24 mi), the latter belonging to the National Trust for Scotland and possessing an important ornithological observatory. The scenery of the Shetland Islands is wild and beautiful, having deeply indented, fjordlike coasts (the sea lochs are locally called voes) enclosed by steep hills. There are streams and lakes but no rivers on the islands. The winds are continuous and strong, and there are few trees. The climate is surprisingly mild for such high latitudes (only 400 mi south of the Arctic Circle) because of the warming influence of the North Atlantic Current.

This northerly area of high winds and generally poor soils is not well suited to the cultivation of many crops. The main form of agriculture is of the smallholding tenant type known as crofting, each croft having a few acres of arable land and the right to graze sheep on the "scattald," or common grazings. The crofters' main source of income is the sale of wool. The Shetland breed of sheep produces a light fleece of fine wool that is spun and knitted by the island women in the distinctive patterns known as Shetland and Fair Isle; the knitted goods are sold. Because many of the crofts cannot adequately support a family, men seek employment in the North Sea oil industry, abroad, or in the Royal Navy. On Fetlar, Shetland ponies are bred in considerable numbers for export. Fishing has always been important. Many crofters fish to supplement their diet or their income. Norwegian and English boats are common in these waters and frequently call at Shetland harbours, although the herring-fishing industry centred on Lerwick has declined since the mid-20th century. Seine fishing for whitefish, mainly haddock and whiting, is now more important, the main centres being Lerwick, Scalloway, Whalsay, and Burra. There are plants for freezing and curing fish at Lerwick.

A North Sea oil terminal became operational in 1978 at Sullom Voe, northern Mainland. Tankers of up to 300,000 tons transport as much as 1,400,000 barrels a day from Sullom Voe, which was planned to be the largest oil port in the U.K. Vessels delivering equipment and supplies to the oilfields are serviced at Lerwick and helicopters provide auxiliary transportation from Sumburgh Airport on the southern tip of Mainland.

Despite the difficulties of wresting a living from these islands, they were occupied in early times. Primitive sunken dwellings, stone circles, and Pictish stone towers remain. During the 7th and 8th centuries, the conversion of the population to Christianity was begun. A treasure of bronze ornaments and other remains of a Celtic church were discovered in 1957. In the 8th and 9th centuries, the Shetland Islands were invaded by Norsemen, who ruled them until the 15th century; many Norse customs survive. In 1469 the islands, with the Orkneys, were given as a pledge for the dowry of Princess Margaret of Denmark on her marriage to James III of Scotland. The pledge was never redeemed, and both groups were annexed to the Scottish crown in 1472. The islands have nevertheless stood outside the mainstream of Scottish history and traditions. Pop. (1977 est.) 20,352.

·map, United Kingdom **18**:866
·Scotland's history and cultures **3**:232g
·United Kingdom population density map **18**:875
·Viking invasions and settlements **16**:306d; map 305

Shetland pony, smallest breed of horse, popular as a child's pet and mount. Originating in the Shetland Islands, Scotland, the ponies adapted to the harsh climate and scant food supply and became sturdy, hardy draft animals. They were used as pack horses and in about 1850 were taken to England to work in the coal mines. About the same time they were introduced to the United States, where a more refined pony suitable for children's riding was bred. Average height is about 10 hands (40 inches, or 102 centimetres), and weight 350 pounds (160 kilograms). Some are shorter than 8.5 hands (34 inches); a height over 10.5 hands (42 inches) is considered undesirable. Most colours, including spotting, are found. Shetlands are long-lived and need little care; they are gentle and even-tempered if properly trained. The American Shetland Pony Club was organized in 1888.

·growth limitations and breeding **5**:651f

Shetland mare and foal
Walter Chandoha

Shetland sheepdog, also called SHELTIE, small working dog developed as a herd dog for the small sheep of the Shetland Islands, Scotland. The dog resembles the rough-coated collie but in miniature, and like the collie it is descended from an old breed of Scottish working dog. Characteristically sturdy and agile, the Shetland sheepdog is noted for its herding ability and affectionate nature. For show purposes the American Kennel Club recognizes only those dogs that are 33 to 41 centimetres (13 to 16 inches) high at the shoulder. The long, straight coat is black, brown, or blue gray with black mottling and may be marked with tan and white.

Shetland sheepdog
Sally Anne Thompson—EB Inc.

Shetland yarn, lightweight, fine, soft yarn.

·handwork yarn production and types **18**:175d

Shevaroy Hills, outlying range of the Eastern Ghāts, in Salem district, Tamil Nadu state, southern India, occupying an area of 150 sq mi (390 sq km). The highest peaks are in the southwest, culminating at Sanyasimalai (Duff's Hill) on the Yercaud plateau, at 5,231 ft (1,594 m). Widespread bauxite deposits are the basis for aluminum processing plants at Mettūr and Yercaud. Coffee is extensively grown on the plateau. In 1845 the British established a hill station at Yercaud, which is now a resort and educational centre.
11°50′ N, 78°10′ E

Shevaṭ, also spelled SHEBAT, SEBAT, or SHVAT, fifth month of the Jewish religious year.

·feasts and calendrical sequence **10**:218d
·Jewish calendar structure **3**:599b

Shevchenko (ŠEVČENKO), **Taras (Hryhorovych)** (b. March 9 [Feb. 25, old style], 1814, Morintsy, Ukraine—d. March 10 [Feb. 26, O.S.], 1861, St. Petersburg, now Leningrad), foremost Ukrainian poet of the 19th century and a major figure of the Ukrainian national revival. Born a serf, Shevchenko was freed in 1838 while a student at the St. Petersburg Academy of Art. His first collection of poems, entitled *Kobzar* (1840; "The Bard"), expressed the historicism and the folkloristic interests of the Ukrainian Romantics, but his poetry soon moved away from nostalgia for Cossack life to a more sombre

portrayal of Ukrainian history, particularly in the long poem "The Haidamaks" (1841). When the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius was suppressed in 1847, Shevchenko was punished by exile and compulsory military service for writing the poems "The Dream," "The Caucasus," and "The Epistle," which satirized the oppression of the Ukraine by Russia and prophesied a revolution.

Though forbidden to write or paint, Shevchenko did write clandestinely a few lyrical

Shevchenko, detail of a portrait by an unknown artist

Sovfoto

poems during the first years of his exile. His release in 1857 was followed by a revival of creativity; his later poetry treats historical and moral issues, in which the fate of the Ukraine is but one facet of the tragic history of mankind, and the coming revolution is an apocalyptic renewal.

Shevchenko exercised a decisive influence on the Ukrainian literature and culture of his century. He established the literary idiom, codified a range of themes and concerns, and, above all, formulated the terms of 19th-century Ukrainian self-identification. C.H. Andrusyshyn and Walton Kirkconnell published an English translation, *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko*, in 1964.

·Slav nationalist movement repression **16**:60e
·Ukrainian 19th-century literature **10**:1209c

Shewa, or SHOA, province (*teklai gezat*), central Ethiopia, that has an area of 33,000 sq mi (85,400 sq km) and is mostly high plateau country, rising to 13,123 ft (4,000 m) in Abuye Meda. Its capital and main commercial centre is Addis Ababa. Shewa is bounded on the northwest by the Blue Nile and on the southwest by the Omo River; its eastern and southeastern boundaries are in the Great Rift Valley along the Awash River.

It contained several early Ethiopian kingdoms (10th–14th century AD). In 1528 the area was overrun by Muslims from the state of Adal to the east. Afterward, for more than a century, it was penetrated by Gallas from the south, who settled as far north as the Blue Nile. Emperor Tewodros II incorporated Shewa into the Ethiopian Empire (1856). Menelik II regained his kingdom of Shewa in 1886, and, when he became emperor (1889), he proclaimed Addis Ababa as his capital.

The province carries on extensive trade (coffee, hides, beeswax), as roads from all parts of Ethiopia and the Addis Ababa–Djibouti railroad converge there. Farming and stock raising are the main occupations; industrial activity, notably textile and shoe manufacturing and food processing, is concentrated in Addis Ababa. Koka Dam, on the Awash, was built (1960) to provide power for industrial development. Besides the capital, the main towns are Debre Birhan, Nazaret (Hadama), Debre Zeyt (Bishoftu), Giyon (Woliso), and Agere Hiywet (Ambo). Debre Libanos, a monastic centre, and Ankober, the former capital of the Shewa kingdom, are of historic interest. The population is predominantly Amhara and Galla, with Gurage in the south. Pop. (1972 est.) 5,369,500.

·area and population table **6**:1002
·map, Ethiopia **6**:1001
·Menelik II's unification of Ethiopia **11**:903b

Shewan Plateau, central Ethiopia.
·elevation and igneous rock formation **6**:998g

shewbread, archaic English form of SHOWBREAD, also called BREAD OF THE PRESENCE, 12 loaves of bread that stood for the 12 tribes of Israel, presented and shown in the Temple of Jerusalem in the Presence of God. The loaves were a symbolic acknowledgment that God was the resource for Israel's life and nourishment and also served as Israel's act of thanksgiving to God. The arrangement of the bread on a table in two rows of six (Lev. 24) was an important aspect of the presentation because some verses in the Bible literally speak of "the bread of the arrangement" (I Chron. 9:32, 23:29; Neh. 10:33). The table, which stood at the west end of the "holy place" of the Temple, next to the Holy of Holies, was also important. The bread was changed every sabbath and the priests ate that which had been displayed. Once, in an emergency, it was given to David to feed his hungry men. Many aspects of the Christian Eucharist show that it was influenced by Israel's shewbread.

She-xian (China): *see* She-hsien.

Sheyenne River, rising in Sheridan County, central North Dakota, U.S. It flows east and then south, past Valley City, near which Baldhill Dam impounds Lake Ashtabula, and at Lisbon it turns northeast to join the Red River of the North just above Fargo. The river is 325 mi (525 km) long. It was named for the Cheyenne Indians.
47°05′ N, 96°50′ W
·map, United States **18**:908

Sheykhi, Sinan (Ottoman poet): *see* Şeyhi, Sinan.

Shīʿah, also called SHIʿISM, one of the two major branches of Islām, distinguished from the majority Sunnah. In early Islāmic history it had been a political faction (*shīʿat ʿAlī*, "party of ʿAlī") that supported the power of ʿAlī, son-in-law of Muḥammad and fourth caliph, over the Muslim community. The Shīʿah gradually developed into a religious movement, deeply influencing all Sunnī Islām and numbering, at mid-20th century, about 40,000,000, or one-tenth of all Islām. It is the majority faith in Iran, Iraq, and perhaps Yemen (Ṣanʿā'), and has adherents in Syria, Lebanon, East Africa, and northern India (especially Lucknow), in the Indian Deccan and Bombay, and in Pakistan.

In 656 ʿAlī had been raised to the caliphate with the support of the murderers of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, but, never quite receiving the allegiance of all the Muslims, had to wage increasingly unsuccessful wars. After his murder (661), when Muʿāwiyah, his chief opponent, became caliph, many Muslims, especially at Kūfah in Iraq, ʿAlī's capital, invited Ḥusayn, ʿAlī's son, to become caliph. The Iraqi Muslims failed to support Ḥusayn, however, and he and his small band were cut down (680) near Kūfah at Karbalā', now a pilgrimage spot. Swearing vengeance against the triumphant Umayyad government, the Kūfans soon gained support from other groups that opposed the status quo: aristocratic Muslim families of Medina, pious men protesting a too worldly interpretation of Islām, and non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*), especially in Iraq, who demanded an equality denied them by the ruling Arabs. While the ʿAlids never won power (though Shīʿīs helped set up the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in 750), ʿAlī was rehabilitated as a major hero of Sunnī Islām, and his descendants by Fāṭimah, Muḥammad's daughter, received a privileged status as *sayyid*s and *sharīf*s.

But the Shīʿīs were not satisfied with this. Some, such as the Zaydīyah, preserving the purely Arab political nature of the Shīʿah and doctrinally adhering to the Sunnah, demanded that the caliph be whichever descendant of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah proved to be qualified at a given time. Others, principally the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah (*q.v.*) and the Ismāʿīlīyah (*q.v.*), asserted a religious role for the ʿAlid claimants (*imām*s; *q.v.*).

While some extremists paid the *imām*s practically divine honours, a more moderate view became the position with which Shīʿī Islām is identified: the *imām* is sinless, endowed with supernatural knowledge and power, and capable of interpreting infallibly the Qur'ān. It is on the character of the imamate and the readings of the Qur'ān that the Shīʿīs and Sunnīs primarily disagree, though under Sunnī persecution, the Shīʿah also developed a distinct doctrine, *taqīyah*, allowing the Shīʿī to dissimulate his faith for self-preservation.

Despite occasional Shīʿī rulers, the Shīʿah remained almost everywhere a minority faith until the start of the 16th century, when the Iranian Ṣafavid dynasty made it the sole legal faith of their empire, embracing the Turks of Azerbaijan, the Persians of Iran, and the Arabs of Iraq proper; these have since been all overwhelmingly Ithnā ʿAsharīs and have given the sect a vigorous modern life. *Major ref.* **9**:916g

·ʿAbbāsid political betrayal **3**:635f
·Afghānī's family background **10**:20a
·ʿAlid doctrines and Umayyad power **3**:627g
·ʿAlī's struggle with secular caliphate **1**:573d
·Al-Ma'mūn and the Muslim sects **11**:417h
·Al-Manṣūr and ʿAlid dissent **11**:461f
·Arabian tribe and religion fragmentation **1**:1047f
·Bābī version of imām expectations **2**:587h
·dress customs and symbolism **15**:638b
·Druze harassment of Muslims after AD 1009 **5**:1060h
·Fāṭimid establishment in Egypt **6**:489f
·geographical distribution map **15**:630
·imām tombs at Kāẓimayn **2**:586f *passim* to 587e
·Iranian peoples' religious practices **9**:866d
·Iraqi religio-political conflicts **11**:991c
·Iraq's Muslim majority **9**:876f
·Islāmic faction origins and consequence **9**:852d
·Islāmic law compared in different sects **9**:939c
·Islāmic myth and legend contributions **9**:949f
·Islāmic sectarian origins and tradition **8**:538c
·Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad's imāmate **10**:6a
·Jordanian intra-Islām divisions **10**:272c
·messianism of mahdī concept **11**:1020f
·Muʿāwiyah I as usurper **12**:604g
·North African Fāṭimid anti-orthodoxy **13**:157b
·Ottoman rebellion participation **13**:777e
·Pakistani subsects and business groups **13**:897h
·passion play performances **9**:980d
·pictorial representation in Islām **9**:923g
·Saudi Arabia regional distribution **16**:277f
·Seljuqs and Shiʿite political demise **16**:503h
·Ṣūfī interrelationships **9**:947g
·Syrian and Palestinian communities **17**:952g
·theological and doctrinal development **9**:1016h
·Umayyad supremacy over rival sects **1**:5c

Shiba Kōkan, real name ANDŌ SHUN (b. 1738, Edo, now Tokyo, Japan—d. 1818, Edo), first Japanese painter to produce a cop-

"Shinobazu-no-Ike," print by Shiba Kōkan; in the Tokyo National Museum

By courtesy of the Tokyo National Museum

Encyclopedaedia Britannica (1983)

it was not until his great narrative poem, *Yevgeny Onegin* (written 1823–31), that he achieved what no other Russian poet had achieved: integration of idea and character; warm, humane humour; really deep understanding of the human heart; and mastery of language astonishing in its simplicity and profundity. His other narrative poems written at this time, *Count Nulin* (1825) and *Domik v Kolomne* (1830; "The Small House in Kolomna"), revealed a playful satiric vein, a blend of realism and irony with good-humoured sympathy for human foibles. The *Tsygane* (*The Gypsies*) and *Poltava* were masterpieces of two quite different types, the first a tragedy of frustrated passion and the second the apotheosis of a hero-king in the person of Peter I the Great. During the same period Pushkin wrote his greatest lyrics and the often-quoted rhetorical *Prorok* ("Prophet"). At the beginning of the 1830s he wrote fairy tales in verse and the magnificent "King Saltan." In 1833 he wrote *Medny Vsadnik* ("The Bronze Horseman"), in which Peter the Great personified the elemental forces that sweep puny man out of their path. Pushkin never surpassed this poem, with its onomatopoetic undertow of horror. His poetic dramas included a historical play, *Boris Godunov* (1831).

The simplicity and profundity of Pushkin's language

The period's other major poet, Mikhail Lermontov, sprang to fame in 1837 with a poem on the death of Pushkin that resulted in his exile. Lermontov's most Romantic poems, such as *Mtsyri* (1840; "The Novice") and the celebrated *Demon* (1839), dealt with Caucasian themes.

Less important poets of the Romantic period were Ivan Ivanovich Dmitriev, a follower of the sentimentalist Karamzin, and Krylov, whose simple and profound fables are among the great treasures of Russian literature. Vasily Zhukovsky, most important as a translator, created a new poetic diction on Karamzinian principles. Many poets of this golden age, such as Yevgeny Baratynsky, wrote elegaic poetry, while many others, such as Kondraty Fyodorovich Ryleyev, gave expression to their abhorrence of tsarist oppression and glorified death in the struggle against it.

Prose. With Pushkin and Lermontov the golden age of poetry ended, and the great age of creative prose began. Pushkin turned increasingly to prose in the last years of his life. Lermontov's novel *Geroy nashevo vremeni* (1839–40; *A Hero of Our Time*, 1886) was immediately successful. Its hero was one of the typical misfits of Lermontov's generation, a man of great gifts but with an insatiable and self-destroying desire for novelty.

The first widely popular 19th-century novelist was Mikhail Nikolayevich Zagoskin, whose *Yury Miloslavsky* (1829), on the expulsion of the Poles from Russia in 1612, appealed to the public by its crude nationalistic spirit, while a most popular Romantic novelist was Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev (pseudonym Marlinsky). An outstanding writer was Nikolay Gogol, who was a great influence on Russian literature and on the Russian revolutionary movement; partly due to the fact that he was a Ukrainian by birth and saw the Russians from the standpoint of an outsider, he revealed the Russians to themselves and raised turbulent ideas in their minds. The revolutionary impact of Gogol's writings became evident in 1836 with the performance of his comedy *Revizor* (*The Government Inspector*, 1968). It dealt with the officials of an obscure provincial town, but it presented a microcosm of the Russian state. It was saved from being banned by its laughter, which Gogol considered the only positive character in it. Protests at the play forced Gogol to go to Italy, where he finished the first part of his famous novel *Myortvye dushi* (1842–52; *Dead Souls*, 1877). Gogol was a conservative and an upholder of autocracy and serfdom who never thought that his play and his novel were destroying the things he stood for.

The "natural" school

One of Gogol's last stories, "Shinel" (1842; "The Overcoat," 1949), led to the creation of a whole school of writers, the "natural" school, of which Fyodor Dostoyevsky was the most brilliant follower. The first part of Dostoyevsky's literary career was notable mainly for his stories of St. Petersburg slums and the life of poor degraded civil servants, such as *Bednye lyudi* (1845; *Poor Folk*, 1894). In 1849 he was imprisoned in Siberia for his membership in a revolutionary group, and on his return—faced with the impending liberation of the serfs and the new relationship that would inevitably ensue between landowners and peasants—published a magazine to help solve this problem. In *Epokha* he took up an attitude midway between the Slavophiles and conservatives, on the one hand, and, on the other, the westerners and revolutionaries grouped around the magazine *Sovremennik* ("The Contemporary"). Dostoyevsky's attempt to bridge the gulf between the mass of illiterate peasants and the educated classes, by advocating that the latter should "return to the soil," ended in failure. His four greatest novels, *Prestupleniye i nakazaniye* (1866; best translation, *Crime and Punishment*, 1955), *Idiot* (1868–69; *The Idiot*, 1955), *Besy* (1871–72; *The Devils*, 1953), and *Bratya Karamazovy* (1879–80; *The Brothers Karamazov*, 1958), all showed his intuitive understanding of the human heart and of the tragic aspects of life, together with unsurpassed moments of illumination, that makes them immortal.

Gorky's social themes

Although Ivan Turgenev lacked Dostoyevsky's moments of illumination, his stories and novels, too, transcended topical problems and laid bare the eternal. *Zapiski okhotnika* (1852; *A Sportsman's Notebook*, 1950), in which serfs were shown to be superior to their masters in intelligence, decency, and humanity, foreshadowed the abolition of serfdom. With his first novels he enhanced his reputation as a liberal-minded thinker and as one of the finest prose writers of the day. His greatest novel, *Otsy i deti* (1862; *Fathers and Sons*), dealing with the generation gap, set left-wing writers (who took Bazarov, its nihilist hero, for a caricature of themselves) against him, and he never regained popularity with young progressives. *Dym* (1867; *Smoke*, 1949), in which he had bitter truths to say about all classes of Russian society, and *Nov* (1877; *Virgin Soil*, 1877), in which he analyzed the Russian revolutionary movement and forecast the rising power of the managerial class, deepened the enmity of the radicals. It was only on his last visit to Russia that he was again popularly acclaimed.

Another great creative writer of the century, Leo Tolstoy, mostly stood aloof from the literary scene. Two great novels, *Voyna i mir* (1865–69; *War and Peace*, 1925) and *Anna Karenina* (1875–76), raised him to a pinnacle; and even his denial of his art, following his conversion to Christianity in 1876, failed to affect his supremacy. Tolstoy's distinguishing mark as a creative artist was his genius for analytical dissection of character. In "Kreytserova sonata" (1891; "The Kreutzer Sonata"), "Smert Ivana Ilyicha" (1886; "The Death of Ivan Ilich"). and *Voskreseniye* (1899; *Resurrection*, 1900), his creative genius asserted itself over the philosophic and religious convictions that marred many of his last stories.

Ivan Goncharov achieved shattering results in his finest novel, *Oblomov* (1859), by an accumulation of seemingly unimportant details. Aleksey Pisemsky was another major novelist, but his play *Gorkaya sudbina* (1859; "A Hard Lot"), though popular, showed the artistic dangers of too realistic a representation of life.

Late-19th-century drama, satire, and short stories. The most prolific professional playwright of the century, Aleksandr Ostrovsky, in such plays as *Bankrut* (1850; "The Bankrupt") and *Groza* (1860; "The Storm"), exposed and protested against the low business morality, ignorance, and brutality of the Moscow merchant class.

The great satirist of the century, Mikhail Saltykov, was a pillar of the radical movement as editor of *Otechestvennye zapiski* ("Fatherland Annals"). In *Gospoda Golovlyovy* (1876; *The Golovlyov Family*, 1955), Saltykov wrote one of the century's most brilliant novels; its hero, Iudushka (Little Judas), surpassed even Gogol's most villainous characters in idleness, uselessness, and drunkenness.

Chekhov, master of the Russian short story

Although the short story was developed by many writers, such as Nikolay Leskov, author of *Ocharovanny strannik* (1873; *The Enchanted Wanderer*, 1924) and "Zayachy remiz" (1894; "The March Hare," 1949), it was

Anton Chekhov who became its acknowledged master, as well as a brilliant innovator in drama. Chekhov was the first great Russian writer to adopt a neutral attitude to politics. Most of his short stories were written while he was a medical student and later as a young doctor. In his greatest short stories, "Step" ("The Steppe") and "Skuchnaya istoriya" ("A Dreary Story"), as well as in four famous plays, *Chayka* (1896; *The Seagull*), *Dyadya Vanya* (1897; *Uncle Vanya*), *Tri sestry* (1901; *The Three Sisters*), and *Vishnyovy sad* (1903–04; *The Cherry Orchard*), his training can be seen both in the medical men he introduces and in his attitude toward his characters.

Gorky's social themes

Maksim Gorky, in contrast, overflowed with pity and compassion, though only for the working classes. Self-educated, he early threw himself into revolutionary work. A romantic poem in prose, "Pesnya o burevestnike" (1901; "The Song of the Stormy Petrel")—with its refrain, "The Storm! The Storm is about to break!"—became a powerful rallying cry of the revolutionary movement. In his first and most popular play, *Na dne* (1902; *The Lower Depths*), Gorky introduced philosophizing down-and-outs onto the Russian stage. Apart from his early novels—especially *Mat* (1906; *Mother*)—his most impressive work is an autobiographical trilogy: *Detstvo* (1913; *Childhood*, 1950), *V lyudyakh* (1915–16; *In the World*, 1917), and *Moi universitety* (1923; *My Universities*, 1952).

Ukrainian. Ukrainian literature in the 19th century reflects the rapid development of Ukrainian national consciousness. Ukrainian writers at first were primarily concerned with reawakening that consciousness and the sense of historical continuity and establishing the vernacular as a literary language. Virtually the entire Ukrainian literary process in the 19th century occurred under official and unofficial Russian disfavour, and in 1863 and 1871 all Ukrainian publications were prohibited. Not until 1905 did the Russian Academy of Sciences concede that Ukrainian was indeed a separate language.

Ivan Kotlyarevsky, classicist poet and playwright, inaugurated modern Ukrainian literature with his *Eneida* (1798), a travesty of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Kotlyarevsky's work had enormous (at times undue) influence on later Ukrainian writers. Classicist prose appeared only with Hryhoriy Kvitka Osnovyanenko's novel *Marusya* (1834). His *Konotopska vidma* (1837; "The Witch of Konotop") is a first-rate novella that is reminiscent of Gogol.

Around 1830 Kharkov became the centre of Ukrainian Romanticism (Izmail Sreznevsky, Levko Borovykovsky, A. Metlynsky, and Mykola Kostomarov). In the western Ukraine Romanticism was represented by the "Ruthenian Triad": Markiian Shashkevych, Yakov Holovatsky, and Ivan Vahylevych. The Romantic movement reached its peak in the work of the Kiev Romantics and found its highest expression in the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (1846). Its ideology was reflected in Kostomarov's biblical *Knyhy bytiia ukrainskoho narodu* ("Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People").

The early poetry of Taras Shevchenko, the outstanding Ukrainian poet of the 19th century, expressed the interests of the Romantics, but it soon moved to a more sombre portrayal of Ukrainian history, especially in the long poem *Haidamaky* (1841; "The Haidamaks"), and to works satirizing Russia's oppression of the Ukraine—*e.g.*, *Son* ("The Dream"), *Kavkaz* ("The Caucasus"), and *Poslaniie* ("The Epistle"). His later poetry, written after his release (1857) from exile, treats broader themes.

After Shevchenko, the most important Romantic was Panteleymon Kulish, poet, prose writer (*Chorna rada*; "The Black Council"), translator, and historian.

Ukrainian Realism, which begins with Marko Vovchok (*Narodni opovidannia*, 1857; "Tales of the People"), was long confined to populist themes and the portrayal of village life. Anatoli Svydnytsky's novel *Lyuboratski* was exceptional for its artistry but had little influence on the development of Ukrainian Realism since, though written in 1862, it was not published till 1898. Ivan Nechuy-Levytsky's literary oeuvre was larger and thematically broader, ranging from the portrayal of village life in *Kaydasheva simya* (1879; "The Kaydash Family") to that of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in *Khmary* (1908; "The Clouds"). Panas Myrny (pseudonym of Panas Rudchenko) was the major representative of Ukrainian Realism. His depiction of social injustice and the birth of social protest—in *Khiba revut voly, yak yasla povni?* (1880; "Do the Oxen Low When the Manger Is Full?"), written with his brother Ivan Rudchenko (pseudonym Ivan Bilyk), and in *Poviya* ("The Whore")—has a new psychological dimension. The novels of the influential Ivan Franko describing the Boryslav oil industries of Galicia were written in the naturalistic manner of Zola. The long narrative poems *Moysey* ("Moses"), *Panski zharty* ("Nobleman's Jests"), and *Ivan Vyshensky* are the heights of Franko's poetic achievement.

Writing at the turn of the century were such outstanding figures as the Neoromantic poet Lesya Ukrainka, Mikhaylo Kotsiubynsky, and Vasyl Stefanyk.

POLISH LITERATURE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A second distinct period of Polish classicism, called pseudoclassicism, occurred in the early 19th century. In general, pseudoclassicist writing lacked freshness. During the Enlightenment period, literature had re-established contact with the West and became the voice of national consciousness. Although it was the literature of a community undergoing a severe political crisis, it exercised an influence on neighbouring countries.

The Romantic period began later in Poland than in England or Germany, and it lasted longer. It has been regarded as the greatest period in Polish literature. The rise of Romanticism coincided with the loss of independence, and great writers found in it an expression of their own mood. A need to interpret their country's destiny gave the work of the three great Romantic poets—Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Zygmunt Krasiński—visionary power and moral authority. Writing in exile, they kept faith in the restoration of Polish independence alive, and their concern gave the literature of the Polish Romantic movement its strength and passion. Mickiewicz was the greatest Polish poet and leader of the Romantic period. His *Poezye* (1822–23; "Poetry") was the first major literary event of the period. In its second volume were included parts ii and iv of *Dziady*, in which he combined folklore and mystic atmosphere to create a new kind of Romantic drama. Mickiewicz' greatest works were written after 1824, when he was deported to Russia for revolutionary activities as a student; they included *Sonety Krymskie* (1826; "Crimean Sonnets"); a visionary third part of *Dziady* (1833); a messianic interpretation of Poland's past and future destiny, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (1832; "Books of the Polish Nation and Its Pilgrimage"), written in biblical prose; and a great epic, *Pan Tadeusz . . .* (1834; "Master Thaddeus . . . ").

The poets in exile

The suppression of the insurrection of 1830–31 drove the cultural elite into exile in France; among poets whom Mickiewicz joined there were Słowacki, Krasiński, and Cyprian Norwid. Słowacki, a Romantic in the fullest sense, who in all his work showed genius, wrote verse narratives in the style of Byron and accomplished lyric poetry. He was inspired by patriotic themes: *Kordian* (1834) was a drama of conspiracy and problems of commitment. His subtle *W Szwajcarii* (1839; "In Switzerland") is probably the finest lyrical work in Polish. Much of Słowacki's work was in dramatic form, and although it was not intended for production, it laid the foundations of Polish tragic drama. His plays showed the influence of French Romantic drama, Shakespeare, classical tragedy, and Calderón. The last years of Słowacki's life were devoted to writing *Król-Duch* (1847; "The Spirit King"), an unfinished lyrical and symbolic epic describing the history of a people as a series of incarnations of the essential spirit of the nation.

Zygmunt Krasiński, when 23, published (anonymously, as with all his works) *Nie-Boską komedią* (1835; *The Undivine Comedy*, 1875), which presented, for the first time in Europe, a struggle between opposed worlds of aristocracy and disinherited masses. *Irydion* (1836), his second play, was an allegory of Poland's fate. In *Przedświt* (1843; "The Moment Before Dawn") he developed a

Chekhov, master of the Russian short story

United States Department of State

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

OFFICE OF INDEPENDENT STATES AND
COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS (EUR/ISCA)

FAX COVER SHEET

RETURN FAX NO. (202) 647-3506

DATE: 30 April 1992

TO: White House - Michelle Nix

FAX NO. 456-6218

FROM: EUR/ISCA - Doug Kramer

SUBJECT: Kravchuk UN Speech 9/91, and bio

REMARKS:

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 10

Distinguished Mr. President,

Allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to this high position. Only the most outstanding diplomats can become eligible to this honour which is conferred upon them once in a lifetime and for just one year. Yet, today a single year may see historic developments that in the past would have spanned a few decades. Proclamation by our Parliament of independence of Ukraine and creation of an independent Ukrainian state was a culmination of agelong aspirations of the Ukrainian people. The August 24, 1991 is a turning point which opens a new era in the history of Ukraine.

Mr. President,

Ukranians remain grateful to your predecessor Mr. Guido de Marco who so ably steered the 45th session of the UN General Assembly. Last August he came on an official visit to Kiev and was the first foreign dignitary to welcome the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. We see it as a symbol of a direct United Nations involvement in the sweeping process of liberation that has changed the face of the world in the second half of this century.

I join in with those who have welcomed the admission to the great family of the United Nations of three former Soviet republics - Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. I am convinced that their independent foreign policy within the United Nations will be vigorous and effective in promoting their own interests as well as those of the international community.

I hope we will soon be able to welcome other republics of the former Union that may wish to become UN members.

I also would like to add our voice to the greetings extended to the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, the Federative States of Micronesia and the Republic of Marshall Islands.

Thus, Mr. President, you are presiding over a session attended

by a record number of UN Member-States - or almost all nations of the world are represented in this hall today. One cannot fail to notice many things that make this session different from the First General Assembly, which gathered the representatives of 51 Founding Members, including Ukraine.

Yet the substance of the General Assembly deliberations shows that in 1991, just as back in 1945, government representatives came to the UN Headquarters spurred by their peoples aspirations for peace and development; security and cooperation; human rights and justice.

Delegates to the United Nations from difference states share a common concern for the future of humanity rooted in each one's concern for the future of his or her own people, family and children. I want to recall that Ukrainian children affected by the Chernobyl disaster were welcomed by families in France and Germany, the United States and Australia, Cuba and Finland, Canada, Israel and other countries as if those kids were their own. Hence, coming here today on behalf of a grateful Ukraine, I can confidently speak of a triumph of the lofty human ideals embodied in the goals and principles of the United Nations. This is a source of hope for ordinary people.

The hungry from the drought-striken Africa, the suffering who flee from areas of military, racial or ethnic conflict, the sick from the territories affected by the Chernobyl explosion - all of them are looking towards the United Nations with hope in their eyes and plea in their hearts. Both the recent UN Chernobyl Pledging Conference and the UN-sponsored measures to help the victims of other emergencies prove that the hopes the United Nations inspires around the world are not unfounded. This is particularly true at a time when the Organization logically assumes a greater role as a universal center for coordinating the objectives and actions of states, a time of revitalization for the United Nations.

Leaving behind the age of bitter ideological confrontation, we are finally able to dispense with the arms race which has been so wasteful and, in a historical perspective, ruinous for humanity.

The implementation of the Soviet-US INF Treaty, the signing of the Treaty on the 30percent reduction of strategic offensive arms, the CFE Treaty, the considerable progress in drafting the International convention to prohibit and fully eliminate nuclear weapons are landmark development of recent history which we acclaim and will promote to the best of our ability.

Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian thinker, said that the only way to get closer to the future is to advance towards it. The latest proposal by President Bush, supported by leaders of nuclear powers, for the drastic cuts in short-range nuclear weapons - is a

significant step towards a more secure future. All initiatives which reduce the nuclear threat are wholeheartedly welcomed by Ukraine.

We think the United Nations should assist in extending the scope of these promising reductions in military capabilities to all types of weapons and all regions and nations of the world, making it a universal process. In this respect, even country may assume its share of responsibility in world affairs, while the United Nations can awaken every country to its responsibility. For each nation of the world has the sacred duty to contribute to the strengthening of international security through disarmament, through strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and through faithful compliance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Ukraine for its part would like to become directly involved in the disarmament negotiating process. I am certain it has a meaningful contribution to make to the solution of these problems.

The world community must not pass by the new opportunities which present themselves today. Non-proliferation of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction as well as of combat missiles and missile technology has become particularly relevant tasks today. Ukraine welcomes the declarations by France, China as well as South Africa of their decision to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. A situation evolves where any state's intention to stay out of this treaty may be regarded as opposition to the common interests of humanity.

And what is the policy of Ukraine in this respect? You are aware that certain nuclera weapon systems are presently deployed in Ukraininan territory.

Our policy in this respect is that these nuclear weapons are only temporarily stationed in Ukraine. Elimination of them together with the components of their deployment is just a matter of time.

Last year our Parliament solemnly proclaimed Ukraine's intention not to participate in military blocs in the future and to comply with the three " non-nuclear" principles, i.e. not to accept, produce or acquire nuclear weapons.

The IAEA Secretariat has been informed of our consent to place all nuclear facilities in Ukrainian territory under the Agency's control.

Ukraine does not seek to possess any nuclear weapons. It intends to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a non-nuclear state.

This intention is in line with international efforts to reduce and destroy nuclear stockpiles throughout the world. By adopting

this stand, Ukraine wishes to promote disarmament and greater trust among nations.

Let me also use this opportunity to officially declare in response to the appeal of the General Assembly that Ukraine does not produce chemical weapons, or have them in its territory and it will preserve its status of a chemical weapons-free state.

Ukraine welcomes the General Assembly's call on states to become original parties to the future Convention on this subject.

On behalf of Ukraine whose people have suffered the disastrous effects of the Chernobyl tragedy, as well as on my own behalf, I am urging governments, primarily those of the nuclear powers, to display at least enough political will and take immediate measures so that nuclear testing can be stopped forever. I am confident that by a concerted action we will be able to finally bring peace to the weary entrails of the earth beneath the test sites in Nevada, the islands of Mururoa and Novaya Zemlya, and in all other places where nuclear explosions may still be rocking the Earth. It is time for us to complete the endeavour of our eminent predecessors who outlawed nuclear testing in space, in the atmosphere and under water back in 1963.

Let us take a look at the agony of today's world, caused by the degradation of the human habitat, and let us have mercy upon it. This is something we can do and must do. Events in the Gulf have shown that the peace-making and peace-reviving power of the United Nations can prevail over any aggressor, it needs no support by nuclear explosions.

Rather than continuing to dangerously waste their resources on terrifying arsenals of mass destruction weapons, the nations of the world today must unite in order to settle the existing regional conflicts, which sometimes tend to be regarded as incurable chronic ills of the second half of this century. We welcome active UN involvement in looking for peaceful solutions in the Middle East, as well as in launching the process of negotiated settlement in Cambodia and on Cyprus. We hail UN efforts to find a peaceful solution in Western Sahara. The Security Council resolution 713, unanimously adopted last week, has charted a peaceful course towards solving the problems that divide the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Organization and its Secretary-General Mr. J.Perez de Cuellar, have spared no effort to initiate a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of an international consensus reflected in

the relevant resolution of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly. If all those who can influence developments in that country were to give their earnest support to the peace-making efforts of the world community, missiles would no longer be coming down on the Afghan soil, and civilians in that country would no longer be terrified by machine-gun fire.

A historical parallel comes to mind as we speak of sufferings inflicted on civilian population.

Precisely half a century ago, on September 30, 1941 loudspeakers had been booming for 48 hours on end in the Ukrainian capital, airing music in a cynical attempt to drown the sound of automatic fire as Nazi troops were wearily shooting the last of the Jewish women, children and old people in Kiev. They were the first to be buried in the mass graves of Babi Yar. Nearly 200,000 other Jews, Ukrainians, Russians and Gypsies shared their lot under the occupation. Our compassionate memory owes tribute to all these innocent victims without distinction. Today we can no longer accept the ideological approaches of the former regime in our country which often ended in neglect for individual rights and the rights of entire peoples. We can accept nothing less than the entire truth about the Babi Yar tragedy where Jews were the most frequent victims of mass executions. The international commemoration of the victims of the tragedy in Babi Yar, held this week in the city of Kiev, serves as yet another reminder of our duty to make sure that genocide never happens again anywhere on earth.

In this connection I would like to stress that nowadays Ukraine has changed more than just its country plate in the UN Assembly Hall. It has made fundamental adjustments in the attitude to the tragic pages of its history and in its approach to a number of world issues. Thus, it would have been impossible for the independent Ukraine to support, let alone co-sponsor, a resolution equating Zionism to racism - a resolution born out of bitter ideological confrontation among the nations of the world. It is time for the United Nations to shake off the burden of the past.

Mr. President,

Under the new circumstances, top priority should be given to further consolidation and better use of the UN peace-making potential and to a comprehensive improvement of its organizational forms and functions.

I believe that the recent developments highlight the need to consider establishing under Chapter VII of the UN Charter an effective mechanism of quick response to acts of agression or

threats to international peace and security.

At the same time, there is a growing need for preventive measures and international conflict prevention mechanisms. This would also require a reliable UN system for quick and timely identification of potential sources of international tension.

The world is changing. The United Nations changes along with it, never losing track of historic developments. As the Organization approaches its 50th anniversary, we would welcome certain efforts to adapt it to new international realities. In particular, this may involve setting up a Council of Environmental Security, possibly to replace some bodies that have had their day. It is high time that such anachronisms as the mention of "adversary states" be deleted from the UN Charter.

Experience suggests that timely action to adapt to new realities increases the effectiveness of an organization. Yet we see the best approach to increasing UN efficiency in full application of the potential of the UN Charter for consolidating security, developing comprehensive international cooperation.

Mr. President,

We have no doubt that the nationwide referendum to be held on December 1, will endorse the parliamentary move proclaiming independence of Ukrainian state. The people will do so because of their infinite desire to keep the sinister past from repeating itself, they wish to become real masters of their homeland and to ensure stability and peace in their society. The democratic Ukraine will do justice to the millions of those who fell victim to famine and terror under Stalinist regime by making sure that social or national opression, or the abuse of human dignity, never happen again.

The independent Ukraine will cherish the memory of hundreds of thousands of its fellow citizens who were driven along the agonizing road out of the country by accusations of "nationalism". Never again will its citizens - Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Tartars, Poles or Hungarians - have to live in fear of persecution because of their natural love for their own culture, their language and their nation.

The independent and democratic Ukraine calls on all our compatriots in Ukraine or elsewhere to set aside old feuds and old bitterness and work together for the noble cause of reviving the language, culture and statehood of their people, to bring back the glorious wheat-growing and spiritually creative traditions of their past - for, as our author Oles Honchar once put it, it was <u>not by the force of arms</u> that Ukraine asserted itself in the community of European nations.

Having announced our independence to the world community, we wish to make it clear that Ukraine has no territorial claims vis-a-vis any of its neighbors and in its turn rejects most categorically any attempts whatsoever to address itself in a language of territorial claims.

Ukraine reiterates its commitment to the principles of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris and confirms its intention to seek direct involvement in the CSCE process and membership in the European structures.

The Ukrainian Parliament was expressing the will of the people when as early as last year it declared that universal human values come before the interests of a social class, and that well-established international legal standards shall have priority over domestic legislation. Our state will continue to give adequate protection to human right on the basis of full respect for the individual and equal treatment of national minorities.

The Ukrainian Constitution has been amended and supplemented to provide a solid legal basis for political and economic pluralism, which is but another manifestation of our serious intentions and efforts to establish a truly democratic society. The entire system of Ukrainian government is being overhauled to make it possible for democracy and a market economy to prevail in Ukraine.

Let me say frankly that this is not always a simple task.

The mastering of the science of democracy does not come easy. We seek to emulate the positive experience of other nations. When ever Ukrainian representatives in Committees of the General Assembly or within the Commission on Human Rights sponsor draft resolutions on matters of social justice, the rights of minorities or the development of democratic institutions, first and formost they seek to test their perceptions of social values against the universal human experience accumulated by the United Nations.

Still more important than a recognition of principles is the record of their implementation. We are aware of that. Therefore, as long as

religious freedom in Ukraine is still at times misused to incite disputes and conflicts among confessions,

the right of the Crimean Tartars to live in dignity in the land of their ancestors cannot be fully exercised,

Jews in Ukraine are tempted to abandon the land of their forefathers and settle in Israel or elsewhere,

the Ukrainian language is not fully reinstated in its rights,

and so long as democratic laws and respect for the Constitution

have not become standards of our thinking and practical action - we shall not hurry to tell the United Nations that our society has definitively done away with the errors and wrongdoings of the past.

Yet, we would like to use this opportunity to solemnly declare before the United Nations and the entire world that the independent united Ukraine has irreversibly embarked on the path toward the rule of law based on the principles of democracy and self-government where law and nothing but law shall be the predominant standard of behavior. We shall be guided by the high international standards in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms. And we shall follow this road every step of the way.

The newly independent Ukraine has begun to overhaul its entire economy, dismantling the command-and-administrative structures. The transformation of the social and economic thinking aimed at reducing state controls, promoting privatization and market relations has been completed within a short period of time.

The law on economic independence, the concept of transition to a market economy, the laws on free enterprise, foreign economic activity, protection of foreign investment, and other fundamental statutory acts have set a solid legal framework for sweeping restructuring of the Ukrainian economy and its incorporation into the international division of labour.

Our new legislation guarantees equal legal protection to all forms of ownership and provides for an independent economic policy of Ukraine. This will mean, in particular, that Ukraine will introduce its own currency, develop budget, tax and banking systems, set up a market of labor, investment and securities, put foreign economic relations and scientific and technological cooperation on a legal footing, and expand bilateral and multilateral ties.

A radical reform in the Ukrainian economy does not only call for considerable domestic efforts. It also requires promotion of foreign investment, increased cooperation and the use of consultative assistance, know-how and experience that the international community has to offer. We welcome the attention paid by the United Nations to problems facing the countries which, like Ukraine, are going through a period of transition. International economic cooperation should be expanded in order to make full use of the potential created by the recent political transformations.

A favorable international response would make it easier for the Ukrainian economy to quickly overcome the difficulties of transition and integrate itself into the international trade system. That would also be an encouragement for our young democracy.

Mr. President,

Distinguished delegates,

Until quite recently, we used to live in separation from the

outside world, haunted by hostile spectres which were born out of our own ideological dogmas. Cold War clouds were casting over our heads a grim shadow of a global nuclear menace.

It was not until the world community began to assert universal values, discarded adversary attitudes and extended to us their helping hands and heartfelt sympathies in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster, and we proclaimed the independence of Ukraine that we discovered a world of friends. The feeling is so exciting that I could not miss the opportunity to come here and pay respect to the United Nations, bringing the words of gratitude to the world community on behalf of our free Ukraine.

Thank you.

* * *

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 17, 1984, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: Style; B2

LENGTH: 640 words

HEADLINE: The Pride of the Ukraine

BYLINE: By Joseph McLellan

KEYWORD: PRIDE

BODY:

"Rise up," sang the chorus, "and break your heavy chains, and water with the tyrant's blood the freedom you have gained." It was music for marching together; music to bring an audience to its feet. It was sung in Ukrainian, a language whose right to exist has been denied, by people resisting a century-old effort to erase their national identity.

The occasion was both festive and ceremonial yesterday afternoon in the Kennedy Center Concert Hall. Before the concert and during the intermission, the atmosphere was almost like that of a family reunion involving a very large family: an estimated 10,000 Americans and Canadians of Ukrainian descent who had come to Washington to shake their collective fist at the Soviet Union.

Many in the audience were dressed in the national costume, with richly embroidered, large-sleeved blouses. And many conversations were being held in a language that, to foreign ears, might sound like Russian. It emphatically was not. "There never was a Ukrainian language," wrote a czarist minister of education in 1863, "there is not now and there never can be." It was a sentiment heartily echoed by Stalin, successor to the czars, who killed more than 10 percent of the Ukraine's population with an artificially induced famine. But the visitors to Washington were speaking in that language. They were singing, in that "nonexistent" language, the unofficial anthem of a nation the size of France that cannot have an official anthem:

And in that great new family,

The fam'ly of the free,

With softly spoken kindly word

Remember also me.

The author was remembered, with a concert dedicated to his memory. He was Taras Shevchenko, exiled from the Ukraine in the mid-19th century because of his revolutionary poetry and honored now with a statue in Washington at 22nd and P Streets NW. Before yesterday's concert, which was dedicated largely to music with texts by Shevchenko, the Ukrainian visitors marched from that corner to the corner of 16th and K, the closest they were allowed to come to the Soviet Embassy.

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But this was not primarily a political demonstration; it was a cultural demonstration -- essentially, a simple statement that "We exist; we are different; we have a right to exist and to be different." And for that purpose, a concert in the Kennedy Center may be more useful than a march on the Soviet Embassy. As reflected in its music, the culture of the Ukraine resembles that of Russia more than most of the other nations that have been engulfed in the Soviet Empire -- nations like Turkmenistan, Armenia, Georgia and the Baltic states.

Most of the music on the program would have been unfamiliar to American audiences. It was composed by men with names like Verbytsky, Stetsenko, Lysenko and Davydovsky, though two numbers were included by Giuseppe Verdi, whose music helped 19th-century Italy to find its national identity. The Ukrainian music was sung by the excellent Ukrainian Dumka Chorus with three outstanding soloists. Bass Ihor Zamiaty soloed with the chorus in "The Testament," by Verbytsky with words by Shevchenko, which is the unofficial Ukrainian anthem.

Soprano Renata Babak, a defector from the Bolshoi Opera and an amazing voice, sang in two folk-flavored songs, "The Poplar" and "The Nightingale," as well as "O fatal scritto" from Verdi's "Nabucco." Andrij Dobriansky of the Metropolitan Opera soloed with the chorus in two brief cantatas deeply tinged with national sentiment and in excerpts from Kostiantyn Dankevych's opera of national liberation, "Bohdan Khmelnytsky." The musical high point of the program was a duet by Babak and Dobriansky in "Ciel! Mio padre!" from "Aida." The program was an artful blend of musical and political statements, and it gave a tantalizing sample from what seems to be a rich tradition of solo, choral and operatic music.

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Chess Nut - chess phrases on computer

Roman Popadiuk

Grand new nation

Very insecure

New nation

"equal partner in world scene"

"Nation of Ukraine"

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- Brand new nation
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- Contribs Ukrain- Am Community here

- Birth of democ + free market will keep

- Challenges we'll stand w/ him

- Uk quest for freedom Tada Schevenko

- Aug 1 New beginning Work together

- Welcome Uk independence

- International Community

~~Ukraine desk~~

(202) 707-5400

Juan

European Reference

707-5858

A CONVERSATION WITH ROMAN POPADUKE

He offered the following talking points:

- Recognition of the Ukrainian-American community
- Focus on birth of democracy and free markets.
- The Ukrainians face a great many challenges in the years ahead. POTUS should give assurances to the Ukrainian people that we will stand beside them along the way and help them in those challenges.
- Mention the Ukrainian quest for freedom in the historical sense.
- We should definitely quote from Taras Shevchenko.
- The August 1 speeches didn't go over too well. We should reference it but not dwell too long. Emphasize that this is a new beginning and we will work together as the Ukraine builds a new life for its people.
- We welcome Ukrainian independence and look forward to their new role in the world.
- Mention their becoming part of the international community, referencing the CSCE meeting in Helsinki (although he added that NSC might scrap that kind of reference).2

July 16, 1991 Ukranian Independence

Kravchuk's inaugural address

President Leonid Ukranian ✓
(202) 452-0939 by Wednesday
Talk to Ihor or Segei embassy ✓

Roman Popaduke
U.S. Ambassador to the Ukraine

Soviet Desk
~~647-6799~~

Bootleg draft
Douglas Cramer
647-6795

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APRIL 16, 1992, THURSDAY

SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 7823 words

HEADLINE: STATE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING
BRIEFER: MARGARET TUTWILER

KEYWORD:
STATE DEPT BRIEF

BODY:
MS. TUTWILER: Okay, I have two things I'd like to do. The first concerns the presidential mission that returned last night. As you recall, that consisted of Undersecretary Paul Wolfowitz, Ed Hewett at the White House and Dennis Ross here from the State Department. Their trip was very useful. They met with a wide cross-section of Ukrainian government officials and other individuals, and felt the discussions were very good and helped bring a basis to further promote strong bilateral ties. The mission is part of an ongoing dialogue and was organized, as you know, to help prepare for President Kravchuk's visit.
On the subject of tactical nuclear weapons, I spoke about the agreement on procedures for the dismantling and destruction of tactical nuclear weapons yesterday, which was due to be signed by Russia and Ukraine. During the visit, President Kravchuk told our team that he had signed the agreement and he expected resumption of the withdrawal very, very soon. This morning Foreign Minister Kozyrev spoke by phone with Secretary Baker about a number of subjects, and during that conversation the Foreign Minister relayed the news to Secretary Baker that President Yeltsin had signed the accord as well.
The United States is very pleased to learn that this agreement has been signed by both presidents. Our understanding is that transfers of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia will resume immediately. Both Ukraine and Russia have indicated that they believe that they can meet the July 1, 1992 deadline for those transfers to be completed and we hope that deadline will be met.
Q Do they have an arrangement now that would satisfy Ukraine about overseeing the destruction of the weapons, because you know --
MS. TUTWILER: They must.
Q Well, the agreement doesn't necessarily require the destruction of weapons.
MS. TUTWILER: My understanding is that -- this is their agreement, obviously, Barry, and that both presidents have now in the last 24 hours signed this. It must satisfy both of them. And it's my understanding this resolution does address what happens to these weapons when they get on the Russian territory.
Q -- the other day when we asked the Secretary about this, he said if -- you know, if all parties wanted the US to participate he'd be amenable probably, amenable to that. Will the US have any role in overseeing the (destructions ?)?
MS. TUTWILER: We haven't been asked, and so I'd refer you just to the response the Secretary gave the other day.
Q Well, but does this agreement provide for any international supervision or international participation?
MS. TUTWILER: Not to my knowledge. But I'll be honest with you, I'm not at

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all totally familiar with all of the details and nuances of this agreement. After all, it's an agreement between them. I will see if an expert can answer that question for you. I know that I can't.
Q Okay. Well, I guess what I was trying to get at was Baker obviously talked with Kozyrev about it this morning, and your team has just gotten back from talking with Kravchuk about it, and you at this moment say the United States has not been asked to participate. I thought that perhaps in that series of discussions the United States had been briefed on how this process will work and --
MS. TUTWILER: The --
Q -- whether other nations, if not the US, would -- be --
MS. TUTWILER: The United States, it's my understanding, was, prior to these two meetings, was famliar at the expert level with the nuance and the details that are in this agreement that these two countries were working on. I just particularly am not what we were talking about yesterday and what I believe most of you have been interested in is the resumption of the tactical nuclear weapons, and I was very careful yesterday to say that yes, they say they had agreed but had not signed. What I'm saying now is both presidents have signed this and both countries have said this resumption is going to begin immediately.
Q Margaret, did they -- did Dennis and the others discuss the START treaty and has there been any resolution to that?
MS. TUTWILER: They did discuss it, and this is something -- another subject that the Secretary discussed again this morning with the Foreign Minister of Russia and the Secretary is continuing to work the issue.
Q Do you feel that you've made any progress? Are you any closer to resolution?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't want to do predictions or characterizations at this moment. He is actively very involved in this at his level himself. As we've said, evidenced by again this morning, he is working on finding a way to resolve this, and I just -- I don't want to do predictions for you.
Q Are there any plans for the Secretary to meet Kozyrev in the next couple of weeks?
MS. TUTWILER: Anything is possible. There is nothing that is firm or definite.
Q Can you tell us specifically now, if you know, what -- why Ukraine did stop shipping and what their concerns were, what specifically they were --
MS. TUTWILER: I'd really rather refer you to the Ukranian government for that.
Q And when you say he's been working this issue, has he been in touch with the leaders of the other nuclear or former nuclear republics on the question of the START treaty recently?
MS. TUTWILER: Our experts have. He personally has not as of this briefing.
Q Okay. So as far as his working on it is concerned, he's been dealing with it with Ukraine and with Russia?
MS. TUTWILER: As far as as of this briefing, his having a personal phone conversation, which is what I referred to, with the Foreign Minister of Russia, as of this briefing that's the only phone conversation that I know of, if you want to stop the clock, as of, say, the last several days. There are cables that can go through the Secretary of State, and the day doesn't end today at 12:05. He may well be intending, Ralph, to talk to others about this, and I just want to keep continuing to say -- which I know doesn't help you and is frustrating -- that he is actively working on this, as he has been for a number days, really, over the last two weeks.
Q Margaret, while you're looking into this, could you throw another question at the folks? There are none in Belarus, but I don't know what the situation is in Kazakhstan. Is there a problem there? Are the tacticals gone, are they -- you know, are they shipping -- any problems? Now what's the status, I mean, are they all gone, or --

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MS. TUTWILER: Okay, I'll ask. May I do Yugoslavia, if we're through with this?
Q Can we just finish this?
MS. TUTWILER: Sure.
Q Are discussions continuing on going beyond START -- you know, the proposal that were exchanged in February? Or is the Secretary and are the experts now concentrating on implementing START first?
MS. TUTWILER: I would have to say that the bulk of his focus right this moment is on START, because as you know, we have a legislative clock running here in the United States. But that doesn't mean that he has forgotten going beyond START. As you know, he was in Brussels and had -- I can't remember how long that conversation lasted -- what, was it about four hours -- discussing those proposals, but right now, yes, trying to specifically and literally find a way so that we can begin our ratification process here on START.
Q (Off mike) -- Brussels, the issue has been, not forgotten, but put aside for the moment.
MS. TUTWILER: That gets me into a problem and is an unfair characterization. That doesn't mean that the experts or that even he cannot at the same time be having these conversations. But because we have a calendar and a clock that's ticking on START ratification that they say is important to get done, we've said is important to get done, that is something that is of an immediate and a specific. The other is, of course, yes, he still discuss.
Q Margaret, does Baker think that anyone other than Russia, at this point, needs to sign anything with the United States -- co-sign something with the United States --
MS. TUTWILER: That's a level of --
Q -- before the administration sends the START treaty up to Congress?
MS. TUTWILER: That's a very legitimate question, but it goes to a level of detail that I'm just not at liberty to get into.
Q (Off mike.)
MS. TUTWILER: May I do what? Are you talking about me?
Q No, no. (Laughter.)
MS. TUTWILER: Yugoslavia. As you know, we are having extensive contacts with our allies regarding the crisis in Bosnia. The Secretary, as I mentioned, has talked personally to a number of his colleagues. We discussed the situation in Bosnia intensively yesterday as a priority item at the CSCE meeting in Helsinki. At that meeting, representatives of the participating states unanimously adopted a statement on the crisis in Yugoslavia, and the situation in Bosnia, in particular. We are very pleased with the results. This statement, written and adopted by the participants working very quickly, is an indication of the success that is possible through cooperative effort and demonstrates the beginning of a process and the willingness of the world community to begin isolating Serbia if it continues on its present course in Bosnia.
The statement condemns the violence in the region, expresses support for the territorial integrity of Bosnia and for the peace efforts there, including those of the EC and the UN, and condemns those responsible for the violence, in particular Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army, JNA. The resolution warns that continued CSCE participation requires full respect for CSCE commitment.
A meeting of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials has been scheduled for April 29 in Helsinki to review the situation in Bosnia. We believe the CSCE action puts those responsible for the violence in Bosnia on notice that they face real consequences, such as ostracism by the international community, if their campaign of aggression and destabilization continues.
Overall, on the update, militant Bosnian Serbs backed by the JNA say their aim is to take control of Sarajevo. Yesterday evening, Sarajevo was hit by tank

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fire. This morning, there was sporadic sniper fire, apparently intended to prevent people from going to work. We also understand that Serbian forces have set up barricades within the city in an effort to partition it. Serbian forces outside of Sarajevo continue to maintain their blockade of the city. Food shortages there are becoming very serious. However, the airport is open at the present time. Low-intensity fighting continues throughout much of Bosnia. Much of the fighting is concentrated in towns along the (Drina ?) River in eastern Bosnia. We are also concerned about reports that Croatian paramilitary forces from Croatia continue to cross into Bosnia. All such efforts to destabilize Bosnia are totally unacceptable.

Yesterday I spoke of our concern about the refugees who have been forced from their homes in Bosnia by the fighting there. We have more information for you today on this which shows the extent of the tragedy and which heightens our concern. We estimate that as many as 160,000 people have been made homeless by the fighting in Bosnia during the past 10 days. Many of the refugees are women and children, and most are fleeing on foot. At least 50,000 Croats have taken refuge in Croatia. Serbian attacks along Bosnia's eastern border have displaced thousands within Bosnia and prompted about 30,000 refugees to cross into Serbia, many seeking to join Muslim communities in the south. US officials say that one town on the border with Serbia has become a ghost town. According to our embassy, many people have also fled the town of Visegrad, which is near the border with Serbia.

Montenegro now hosts 15,000 refugees from the fighting in the areas of Bosnia near its border with Montenegro. Yesterday 6,000 Bosnian refugees arrived in Slovenia.

We, the United States, are working to provide emergency humanitarian relief on an urgent basis. We are going to airlift this aid over the coming days. We are planning to send two United States Air Force airplanes, a C-5A and a C-141, to Sarajevo with food and blankets. We are now discussing the timing and the security situation with our embassy in Belgrade and Bosnian authorities. We are reviewing on an urgent basis other emergency humanitarian relief measures that we as a government can take.

Q Margaret, Croatian regulars are attacking Bosnia? You've -- you made some reference to Croatia --

MS. TUTWILER: We've said that they are -- in many of our statements that they are a lesser problem in this particular situation. But they have also, as you know, have been guilty of some violence, yes.

Q Well, those are the folks you just recognized last week.

MS. TUTWILER: That's correct.

Q Are you planning any action in CSCE against Croatia? And as you look back on it, was the breakup of Yugoslavia such a great idea after all?

MS. TUTWILER: Well, I don't think, Barry -- (laughs) -- that we had a vote or a say-so --

Q (Off mike.)

MS. TUTWILER: I mean, that's for the people of the former Yugoslavia to decide.

Q (Inaudible) -- view that these breakaways should be recognized. And I know it didn't changed the course of history, but you did go with the flow, and I wondered if on reflection, the administration thinks maybe things were better when there was one country called Yugloslavia.

MS. TUTWILER: That is for the Yugoslavian people to decide. The administration has never changed its policy concerning -- our policy, which was whatever the people decide, it should be done peacefully.

Q Margaret, in your earlier statement, you said you were pleased with the reaction. Have you seen the quite defiant statements issued this morning by the Serbian leadership saying that they simply don't care whether in fact they're

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expelled from --
MS. TUTWILER: The Serbian leadership in Belgrade?
Q Yes.
MS. TUTWILER: I have not seen that. Their representative was in Helsinki yesterday. It's my understanding, understandably, that he left the hall when the actual vote was taken, but I understand that he did come back after the vote, and the vote was unanimous.
Q And are there any implications that go along with the expulsion from CSCE? In other words, do they lose anything other than prestige?
MS. TUTWILER: Legitimacy, prestige -- those are things as I answered you yesterday that only they can determine. It's my understanding that this has never been done before, and again, so the record is correct, I am not saying this is indeed what is going to happen. That is not what we said yesterday or today.
Q Margaret, what leads us to believe that they would care, particularly in light of today's statements?
MS. TUTWILER: Well, again, I can't judge what motivates the leadership in Belgrade. Maybe they could answer that better for you. Jim says they've responded to this.
Q I guess what I'm asking is, is this not a somewhat empty threat: We'll read you out of CSCE if you don't stop killing people?
MS. TUTWILER: Well, I'll answer the same way I answered for Jim yesterday. Some nations care about legitimacy. Some nations want to be viewed as the successor to former states. That's the only leverage that I can tell you that many people must be of the opinion that nations do care. I've just said what we, the United States, are going to do concerning sending in two of these aircrafts on an emergency basis on the humanitarian side. Many of you had asked me yesterday, "Is this all just empty talk? You're not doing anything." I told you today in, what, less than 24 hours, here is what we're doing.
Q Margaret, the Center for Security Policy, which is a conservative think tank here in Washington, put out a release yesterday describing the US approach to this as limp wristed and suggesting that Secretary Baker resign his post.
MS. TUTWILER: Well--
Q I'm not sure what you think about the Center for Security Policy --
MS. TUTWILER: I've never heard of it.
Q -- but it is -- it's out there on the record. Does the United States plan -- does the United States --
MS. TUTWILER: For the Secretary to resign?
Q -- plan any further and perhaps more stringent actions? Are you, for example, calling for a meeting of the NACC to consider military action? Would the United States be required to provide security for the C-5 and the C-141 that are going into Sarajevo if the airport is not secure at the time?
MS. TUTWILER: As I've said, the reason I could not today and we really -- some people here worked very hard on this yesterday afternoon and last night -- I cannot give you a specific time for touchdown for that very reason. We obviously are not going to send our people into a situation that we don't feel is safe or secure. But we are confident enough, as of this briefing, to announce that we indeed have identified these two airplanes, that we indeed are saying we're going to send them, but obviously if they close the airport or the situation totally deteriorates we would have to delay it. I am not aware of the group that you've mentioned to me. What did you call it -- a think tank? I just -- I'm not aware of it, and I -- yeah, you're correct, I obviously am not going to respond to something that I haven't seen. And I would say --
Q (Off mike) -- and we'll give them your fax number, then you'll get it, too.
MS. TUTWILER: Great. That'll be wonderful. Then I can come to the briefings

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-- (laughs) -- informed.
Q Margaret, a follow-up on the security of the aircraft -- of the aid delivery? I just want to make sure I understand this right. The US for months declined to send humanitarian aid into Georgia, even after Tbilisi was quiet, certainly quieter than Sarajevo is in the last couple of days, because the US felt the security situation was inadequate to guarantee the security of US officials and US personel involved in the aid delivery. But in Sarajevo the US thinks that even with the gunfire you reported and so on in the city, that it wants to announce aid flights there now?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't normally do comparisons, but I believe it'll refresh your memory that at the time of Georgia we had information that was very reliable through our sources that the airport was mined and that we could not assure our pilots or the crews that those mines had been removed, and a judgment call, which I think was a very common-sense one, was as long as your -- I'll say the word intelligence -- tells you that this airport has mines on it, you're certainly not going to land an airplane.
We have no such information concerning the Sarajevo airport. Former Secretary Vance is there right now. He landed in an airplane. I've said the airport is open. Obviously, Ralph, if intelligence came in or reports that the airport has been mined, we would not land an airplane there.
Q Margaret, you mentioned legitimacy and the fact that Serbia wants to be regarded as the heir to Yugoslavia.
MS. TUTWILER: Well, I said some country said it, not through this country.
Q All right. But we know that Serbia wants to be regarded as the heir to Yugoslavia and we know also that Serbia at the moment is de facto the heir to Yugoslavia, they occupy the Yugoslav embassies around the world, they occupy Yugoslavia's UN seat. In CSCE itself, they don't sit there as Serbia, they sit there as Yugoslavia, to the best of my knowledge.
MS. TUTWILER: Correct. You're right.
Q It is under consideration to deprive Serbia of these assets which are in fact Yugoslav assets?
MS. TUTWILER: I have not, Alan, heard anyone discuss that. I don't know how this situation is going to evolve. As I said yesterday, what the United States and even the Foreign Minister of Bosnia said is the time for politics is not right now, people are dying as we're standing at this briefing. He used the phrase with the Secretary many times when he met with the Secretary, and said, "Sir, all politics should be put aside. People, as we speak, are dying." And so I can't answer whether the leadership in Belgrade is going to halt this, is going to on a humanitarian basis stop this, talk their differences out in a peaceful way.
We reported today, and I've seen it in a number of your reports, people on the record, officials saying what they're trying to do is clean this territory. I saw a phrase, "take this territory." There's a preferred way, if you're going to have differences, and it is a peaceful discussion versus the type of activity that we've been trying to describe and that your colleagues are reporting everyday that's going on there.
(Crosstalk.)
Q Margaret, with the greatest of -- can I -- can I follow up on my question? Can I follow up on my question? I mean, with the greatest respect, you described to us moves that you've done in the CSCE which are political moves to suspend Serbia -- or Yugoslavia, actually -- within two weeks. And my question is why don't you also -- is it under consideration to take similar moves in other bodies like the United Nations where they are sitting?
MS. TUTWILER: Right. Correct.
Q I'm talking about similar political moves --

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MS. TUTWILER: I understand.
Q -- that have described in CSCE.
MS. TUTWILER: And you asked me that question yesterday, and I answered it by saying there is no recommendation at this point for that. There are any number of things -- Ralph mentioned one to me yesterday and someone else did -- that are all floating out there. But I don't know. Hopefully, it would be the case this afternoon, this stops. Then you wouldn't have to go that route, Allen. And so I can't prejudge for you what -- what's going to happen ont the ground there and where we go from here.
I can, and I think been probably less than 48 hours since the Foreign Minister of Bosnia was here, and you heard him and many of you all did, the United States government, the CSCE, which I believe is composed now of 51 nations, have moved with, my old phrase, with ligntening speed to try to alert the world community and bring attention to this humanitarian situation that is apparently ongoing there on the ground.
Q When the Iraqis invaded Kuwait, though, the United States called for an immediate session of the Security Council and brought this up as an urgent matter before the Security Council. Why is there no such action here?
MS. TUTWILER: All future options aren't precluded. Everything is open. But right now, this is what we've done in the last thirty-something hours, what the United States unilaterally has done and what we have done as part of a 51-nation group that is meeting in Helsinki.
Q And you are considering asking for an emergency session of the Security Council?
MS. TUTWILER: No, I've answered, that's Alan's question. There is no recommendation that I have any knowledge of as of this briefing for future, further, what ifs and steps. It doesn't say that they aren't going to be considered at some point, but I don't know at what point, or if you get to a point where they need to be. I just -- I can't -- it's too hypothetical and speculative for me.
Q A follow up on that technicality of the thing about the CSCE meeting, you said the vote was unanimous --
MS. TUTWILER: For those members who were present.
Q I had not followed that vote yesterday, so I may be in the dark on this, but for those members who were there, how many voted for it, do you know? I mean were there others who were not present or was it 50 to 1 essentially, 50 with one abstention?
MS. TUTWILER: Under CSCE rules, it's my understanding as you know, I know they vote on consensus, but they have an exception for, Barry, when there is a resolution about a country who's a member, that country obviously does not have to be part of the consensus. I don't have how many people were actually there, I don't know that they weren't all there, I will be happy to find out for you.
Q I guess it would be interesting to know, there is some question about how consensus is going to work in the CSCE.
MS. TUTWILER: No, that's the current rule before this even came up.
Q I know, but there is some question as to whether this will have any -- whether they'll be able to actually operate under consensus and how it's going to work, so I'd be interested to know whether others were not present but I can look, I can follow that up.
MS. TUTWILER: And what the rules are if you aren't present, I don't know.
Q Margaret, a quick point.
MS. TUTWILER: Excuse me, wait a minute. But Ralph, I believe, at least what we do, we travel, we have a permanent representative and we travel with a big delegation, so I'm just guessing -- I would assume if they're an appointed person who Mr. or Mrs. CSCE wasn't there, someone else can sit in the chair,

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just like they can for the United States, so I'll find out if there were empty literal delegations, who for whatever reasons couldn't be at that meeting. I'll just find out for you.
Q Margaret, you were asked about this yesterday but I'm going to try again. The statements that are put together here keep referring to Serbia. It sort of makes believe there is no Yugoslavia anymore. I realize Yugoslavia has fallen apart, but there is a Serbia, Montenegro remained in and maybe enclaves of the others remain in. Is there some point besides politics for the fact that you use Serbia to describe the country? Is the United States going to withdraw recognition of Yugoslavia? Will it simply call Yugoslavia Serbia from now on? I don't understand what's going on. I understand you know, you have a rhetorical reason, but is there anything else behind all this?
MS. TUTWILER: It's not only rhetorical Barry, is that Yugoslavia as we all knew it does not technically, literally exist anymore, so I could interchange the terms if you want, except that Serbia as you know, and Montenegro, we have been told the route they want to go is to form a -- I believe it's called --
Q (A smaller ?) Yugoslavia.
MS. TUTWILER: No, but it's called a federal confederation, is it that, I think the term they are thinking about using. I don't know what they are going to choose to call themselves --
Q (Off mike) -- US is aiming to say, maybe -- I'm not --
MS. TUTWILER: But Yugoslavia, you asked me point blank does Yugoslavia exist? My answer to you point blank would be no, it doesn't.
Q (Off mike) -- you earlier talked about reports from the US Embassy --
MS. TUTWILER: Correct.
Q Those reports came from the US Embassy where?
MS. TUTWILER: US Embassy --
Q In what country?
MS. TUTWILER: It's the same question, Ralph.
Q I know, so I'm trying to get the answer. Was the US Embassy in Serbia?
MS. TUTWILER: The US Embassy -- Yugoslavia as we all know it does not exist. It is common knowledge that our ambassador and all ambassadors are in a very fluid situation there. They were accredited to the former country of Yugoslavia. We have said, for instance, that we will be hopefully opening embassies in tne new country of Slovenia, the new country of Croatia by this summer. So then you'll have embassies in those two countries.
Right now, we think it's wiser to not get hung up on, to be honest with you, semantics, that it's very important to have Ambassador Zimmermann there on the ground. He is extremely helpful and extremely knowledgable on all of these issues, as is his staff. And they not only, as you know, and have been throughout this enormous change that's gone on in the former Yugoslavia, they have been in contact with all of these countries -- new countries. And to be quite honest with you, he right now is wearing many hats, if you want to describe it that way. For instance, when we were talking to the Bosians, it is Ambassador Zimmermann and his staff. It's just a natural. So it'll all sort itself out, but it's really not what we're most focused on or concerned about right now.
Q Will they have access to the Serbian -- in view of the statements this government has issued in the last 24, 48 hours, does Ambassador Zimmermann still have access to the highest levels of the former Yugoslavian government?
MS. TUTWILER: He met with the president, what was it, two days ago? I hadn't asked this morning, but --
Q (Inaudible) -- statement.
MS. TUTWILER: He delivered one of our demarches, which was what, yesterday? So I'm not aware that there's any problem.

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Q Let me ask you about Afghanistan.
MS. TUTWILER: okay.
Q Now that Najibullah has apparently surrendered power, does the US remain concerned that the situation could deteriorate into anarchy and bloodshed?
MS. TUTWILER: Yes, we do. And I would refer to our statement yesterday, which clearly pointed out that we call on all parties to support the United Nations' efforts there. We called for all parties to do whatever they can to ensure that this is a peaceful transition.
I can tell you that our latest information is, is that the situation on the ground is fluid, but regime control is rapidly collapsing. It appears that major population centers outside of Kabul are, for the most part, calm.
In Kabul itself, resistance forces have moved closer to the city. We understand that armed mujaheddin are in Kabul, but we have no reports of fighting. We understand that President Najib has resigned and remains in Kabul. We know that there are countries where he could seek asylum, but we are not going into any details at this time.
A council of senior regime military and militia leaders has been formed in Kabul. Its exact membership and the extent of its authority we just don't know at this moment.
There are on-going negotiations under UN auspices between resistance and regime forces and militias on establishing a new transition authority in Kabul. We understand that the UN Secretary General's special representative is in Kabul. He is working with all factions to try to arrange a peaceful resolution and agreed-upon mechanisms for a transition process. His efforts continue to have our full and total support. We urge again today all factions to cooperate with the UN efforts.
Q Why did this government embrace Najibullah for as long as it did?
MS. TUTWILER: Which government?
Q The United States.
MS. TUTWILER: Embrace him?
Q Yes -- so to speak.
MS. TUTWILER: (Laughs.) That's a new one for me. We have, as you know, worked since January very closely with the Russian government, and we ended, as you know, as they did at the same time, I believe effective January 1st, all of our military assistance. We, as you know, welcomed in the former Soviet Union their withdrawal of all of their arms and weapons and people. And we have been working very hard and very closely with the United Nations to have a peaceful transition there and our goal has been for peace for the Afghan people.
Q So you're not glad -- you're not pleased that he left, resigned?
MS. TUTWILER: What we are most interested in today --
Q I know what you're concerned about, but I mean --
MS. TUTWILER: That is what we are very concerned about.
Q Well, what about the action he took? What does the US think -- I mean, there are things lately that the US has been delighted about and other things they have no position on.
MS. TUTWILER: Right, and as you know, we have stated publicly many times that in order, we felt, for this to be peacefully resolved and for the people to be able to have self-determination for themselves that Najibullah would indeed have to step aside. He has decided to do that. We have told you that, and what we are most concerned about is in this creation of, I'm sure, a lot of on the ground there, confusion and disruption that it does not spin into what Bill was referring into as blood and violence, for everyone to please -- all people, all factions -- to please handle this in a way the UN is suggesting -- and they're there on the ground -- for a peaceful transition.
Q You don't think that you waited too long to -- I mean, you don't think that

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you supported him for too long?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't where you could say we've supported him.
Q Well, all right, not supported --
MS. TUTWILER: Thank you.
Q -- but waited a long time to be sure, as you say, that there was no violence. There are those who think the cord could have been cut sooner.
MS. TUTWILER: Well, again, we have made no secret of our view that in order for this transition to go to its logical conclusion, have free and fair elections, which is what we want -- we want self-determination for the people of Afghanistan, we want a broad-based government at peace with its neighbors, we want the safe return of over 5 million refugees -- that Najibullah would have to step aside. He made this decision either early this morning or whenever. That's his decision.
Q You know, there was a wire service report just before we came in here that he had now been arrested. Do you know whether he is under arrest or not?
MS. TUTWILER: It was not my understanding before I came here, but we were not going to discuss -- I have not heard that -- we were not going to discuss for obvious security reasons what information we do have concerning him. But I had not heard that.
Q I'd like to ask about something else, unless you want to --
Q No, no, I want a couple more on this.
Isn't it -- there are other reports not attributable to the United States or anything -- they are reports from Afghanistan that Najibullah is under the protection, shall we say, of the independent UN personnel there. Isn't that some sort of a difficult situation for the UN to be in, if they're trying to broker an agreement among what you described as an agreement among the factions, for them to be providing asylum -- or I don't know how you would describe it -- protection for this guy?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm just really not going to be able to comment on the situation concerning Najibullah.
Q Is it accurate to say that the United States now considers the situation to be that the UN is no longer negotiating between the Kabul government and the Mujaheddin rebels, but it is now negotiating among the factions of the rebel forces? Is that an accurate description?
MS. TUTWILER: The UN -- I have said that the regime is rapidly collapsing. I'm assuming, and I don't want to speak for the United Nations, that they are one of the factions that is involved in moving this country towards peaceful transition. I am not aware that they have all of sudden not discussing with members of the regime that are there. I mean I believe that they are and have been throughout, and will continue to discuss with all the parties, factions, whatever you want to call them, involved in Afghanistan in trying to move this towards a peaceful resolution.
Q You've talked about -- many times you've mentioned today the business about moving toward peaceful resolution, and you described the rebel force as being -- armed rebel force as being in the capital. Are you -- is the United States asking the rebel forces to lay down their weapons and negotiate a solution here?
MS. TUTWILER: We're asking everyone to use the utmost restraint to let the UN work this out in a peaceful way, and whatever it takes for this to be handled peacefully, it's up for individuals and leaders to decide. But --
Q Asking them to stop fighting.
MS. TUTWILER: Of course we are. Fighting is violence, fighting is death, and that usually happens with guns. And we are asking everyone, we said it yesterday, we're saying it today -- I don't know who all is armed there, but people who are armed, please, in this situation where the leadership has just resigned, stepped down, whether it's in Afghanistan or anywhere else, you have

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an instant vacuum, you could have chaos, you could have confusion, please do not resort to violence. That in my mind means guns, killing people.
Q Margaret, how do you expect the Mujaheddin to take what you're saying seriously when this is --
MS. TUTWILER: Well why not?
Q -- the very moment that they have been armed and crime -- (cross talk) --
MS. TUTWILER: So does that give you an excuse to go kill people?
Q -- by the United States, armed and primed for by the United States?
MS. TUTWILER: Is that a reason to go open fire and kill people? I mean really. We have a UN system that --
(Cross talk)
Q But there is this Reagan-Bush administration freedom fighters that you've been -- you're six months late, I mean six years late -- not you, but I sort of blend the two administrations together, I hope you won't object.
MS. TUTWILER: I served in both.
Q Right, and so did Mr. Baker --
MS. TUTWILER: Right.
Q -- Mr. Bush --
MS. TUTWILER: Right.
Q -- and so did a lot of people who make policy, and you know, six years ago they were predicting the imminent collapse of Najibullah.
MS. TUTWILER: I remember that.
Q Now he's out --
MS. TUTWILER: And you have never heard me say that in the three years and four months I have been here.
Q That's true, I have not. There has been a marked change on contra policy and Afghan policy, but these are your freedom fighters and Sid's question is well taken. Why aren't you delighted that you've gotten rid of this communist Marxist dictator, whatever you called him all those years, and now you've got freedom fighters in there, some of them kind of fundamentalistly inclined, but they are -- you call them freedom fighters. I would think you should be kicking up your heels.
MS. TUTWILER: You have a situation where -- I've just explained -- innocent people could -- you say why aren't we, you know, jumping up and down. Barry, why not be responsible and why not say, we strongly support whatever it takes to have this transition go peacefully? And that should apply, in my personal opinion, to everyone. And I think that all people would subscribe to that. Why go on a rampage and start -- what -- killing people because you're happy? I mean, come on.
Q Margaret, have you seen the rather angry remarks from the Libyans today threatening some -- vaguely threatening some kind of retaliation perhaps against Americans?
MS. TUTWILER: I haven't seen that, no.
Q Well, have you seen any of the statements, and do you -- is the United States taking any special precautions about its installations or its citizens overseas?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm not aware, number one, Jim, of a specific threat the Libyans or -- I don't know, who is it, Gadhafi? I don't know. I'm not aware of a specific threat against Americans. Obviously if we knew of such a threat and we took it as a credible, substantial threat, you know that we instantly not only notify our posts, at the same moment we notify the public at large. I've heard of absolutely nothing along those lines.
I will take what you say, and I'm sure that people who looked into the briefing upstairs will see what it is -- try to find out what it is you've got that maybe we don't. But of course we would take it seriously, but I'm just not aware of one.

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Q Margaret, another subject. The President of South Korea in an interview said he would like -- it's an AP interview, you may not have seen it.
MS. TUTWILER: (Laughs.) Sorry, I haven't.
Q It's not on the front page of the Post yet.
MS. TUTWILER: I read as much as I possibly can.
Q But he does -- our foreign editor went there and saw him and he said --
MS. TUTWILER: Was he on background?
Q I think he's on the record. But we didn't get the North Korean president yet. He said that he would like American troops -- this doesn't surprise me -- to stay in South Korea -- stay in Korea even after unification. Do you happen to know if the US has a position?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know, but I think that Secretary Cheney very recently spoke to this, and can I just refer you to his record?
Q Sure, delighted to have you do it.
MS. TUTWILER: I think he was on the record.
Q Thank you.
Q Margaret, are you briefing tomorrow?
MS. TUTWILER: No, I won't be.
Q Nobody --
MS. TUTWILER: Yes -- no, Richard will be.
Q Oh, okay.
Q Margaret, back to Libya. Yesterday the background briefer was asked about how a country whose air space was getting ready to be invaded by Libyan planes --
MS. TUTWILER: How countries what?
Q Countries where a Libyan plane was approaching their air space, what the ground rules would be, whether they would scramble jet fighters, or were they free to shoot them down, whatever. Have you all -- has that been worked out, how countries should respond?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know. I honestly don't know. I have seen various reports and read internally of how various countries reacted yesterday to some Libyan flights that were attempting to land in their countries. Each one of those instances, I believe, that country as a sovereign nation decided to handle differently. I don't know. I'll be happy to you know, see if the Sanctions Committee is working on this, but I hadn't heard.
Q (Off mike) going to establish groundrules yesterday at a 4:00 meeting.
MS. TUTWILER: The gentleman that you are referring to is obviously much more familiar with the subject matter in a much deeper level of detail than I am and I'll be happy to see if he has something further for you.
Q Sudan has said it won't observe the embargo --
MS. TUTWILER: That's correct.
Q -- do you have any reaction?
MS. TUTWILER: Not really, so has Iraq.
Q Then another subject, I'd like to go back to Yugoslavia. You said that Croatian paramiliary forces are moving into Bosnia. Do you believe the Croatian government has control over those forces?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know whether they do or don't, I'll be happy to ask, but certainly if they have any influence over them, and we have spoken in our statement two days ago about Croatia, but said to a lesser extent.
Q (At the time ?) you were talking about Croatian nationalist leaders in Bosnia not coming from Croatia, as I understood it.
MS. TUTWILER: I'll be happy to ask somebody who is more familiar with the details than I am.
Q Margaret?
MS. TUTWILER: Yes, Jan.
Q About Israel, where we haven't been for a couple of days. Over the last two

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or three days there have been at least two reports by Israeli human rights groups alleging major incidents of torture and human rights abuses by Israeli military or military in civilian garb in the Occupied Territories. Have you seen the reports and do you have any comment on them?
MS. TUTWILER: I haven't seen them but we had one of these reports I believe several weeks ago and I referred you to our annual human rights report where this subject is addressed.
Q Following on that, on a related subject, has the Secretary considered yet how he's going to handle the question of whether he will continue to meet with Palestinians who met yesterday in Cairo with Yassir Arafat?
MS. TUTWILER: He's going to have the same reaction that Prime Minister Shamir's spokesman had for you yesterday, which basically said it was irrelevant.
Q So the US is going to continue to say it has no dialogue with the PLO --
MS. TUTWILER: Of course we don't.
Q -- because it considers the meetings to be irrelevant to whether there is a dialogue or not?
MS. TUTWILER: We have the same reaction the Prime Minister did, we agree completely with him --
Q (Off mike) -- the difference?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm going to answer it if you wait a second.
Q Okay.
MS. TUTWILER: Particularly they pointed out in their statement the importance of the peace process, we couldn't agree more. The PLO, as you well know, is not part of these negotiations, and it's not relevant to us whom the Palestinians do or don't meet with. And the PLO furthermore, as you know, is not an intermediary. They don't have a role. They don't -- they're not -- that's why we don't have a dialogue with them.
Q The question still is different, though. It's -- it -- I -- I'm glad to hear your comment on the peace process, but the question is not about the peace process. The question is about the PLO's relationship with the United States. If --
MS. TUTWILER: We don't have a relationship with them.
Q Except through these people with whom Baker meets regularly --
MS. TUTWILER: That's your interpretation. We do not have a dialogue, a relationship with the PLO.
Q Because they're not relevant to the United States, you said a moment ago.
MS. TUTWILER: We said that our reaction to, I believe your question is, these people who met yesterday. Our reaction is the same --
Q That's not -- that's not my question. (Inaudible) -- reaction.
MS. TUTWILER: That's how I think you started it.
Q No, I was not asking for your reaction.
MS. TUTWILER: Okay.
Q I asked whether Baker had considered how he would deal with the situation of continuing to meet with people who met with Arafat yesterday. I didn't ask anything about the peace process. The question is about the US-PLO relationship. I think you answered the question when you said, "The PLO is not relevant to us." And that's --
MS. TUTWILER: Let's -- let's have the record correctly reflect --
Q Fine, the record is there, yeah.
MS. TUTWILER: -- I believe what you asked me, how was the Secretary going to act now that these people have said they had this meeting yesterday. And I believe I responded.
The record -- if it is incorrect, I want to correct it. I said our reaction is the same as the spokesman for the Prime Minister of Israel. This meeting is what we're all talking about, was irrelevant as in our view, as it is with the

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Prime Minister of Israel. I further then said when you asked me, I believe, as you well know, we do not have a dialogue with the PLO. And I would further comment to you, you yourself, I believe, at one time asked me, isn't it true, Margaret, in Madrid that there were just, quote-unquote, "hundreds" of PLO there? People meet with people and et cetera. And we at the time said we are not schedulers. We do not control who people do and do not talk to. That's not any different in this instance in my mind than what has been going on.

Q (Inaudible) -- describe the individuals with whom Baker meets regularly as not being representatives of the PLO?

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

(Cross talk.)

Q Yes. Yes, I have one question. The Turkish Minister of Interior is paying an official visit to Syria in face of the concern Syrian support [to] the PKK terrorists. Do you have any comment on this visit and the Syrian support of PKK terrorism?

MS. TUTWILER: We've answered the second part of your question a number of times, and your first one, I'm unaware of a visit of the Interior Minister of Turkey. I just -- I don't know anything about it.

Q Thank you.

MS. TUTWILER: Thank you all, and goodbye.

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SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

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REGULAR BRIEFING
BRIEFER: MARGARET TUTWILER

KEYWORD:
STATE DEPT BRIEF

BODY:
MS. TUTWILER: May I start, Barry?
Q Please.
MS. TUTWILER: What I'd like to do is give you one piece of information that is not for attribution or for camera. At 3:30 this afternoon, [name and title deleted], will hold a background briefing on Libyan sanctions for you here in the State Department Press Briefing Room. What I would like to do -- I have tried to pull together as much as I could this morning concerning the Libyan sanctions -- let me go through -- which I think touches on a number of questions you may have and I will try to answer any additional questions. If not, then as you know, there will be a senior expert who will be giving you a briefing this afternoon at 3:30.
It is our understanding from both press reports and diplomatic reportings that there is widespread and significant numbers of foreigners [that] are leaving Libya. We have heard that some Americans have departed, but at this point, I don't have the numbers involved. We have been in contact with our protecting power, the Belgians, regarding the status of Americans who still may be in Libya. Bear in mind as we have said many times that some of the American citizens believed to be in Libya may be spouses of Libyan citizens or dual nationals who have not intended to leave.
Our most recent information has not changed. It is still the 131 Americans that we've spoken of previously are the only ones that are currently registered at the Belgian embassy at Tripoli.
While air service to and from Libya is being cut off under UN sanctions regime, it is still possible, we have to assume, if you wanted to to leave overland or by sea routes. United Nations Security Council Resolution 748 has no effect on the land borders of Libya. The borders were closed by Libya yesterday, and as far as we know, they're open today.
There is full agreement that by 11:59 p.m. Eastern Standard Time tonight all international air flights to and from Libya must cease. Any violations would be referred to the United Nations sanctions committee for possible action. I should also or would like to point out that the Libyan Arab Airlines, if it continues to fly, in our opinion it will have a great deal of difficulty finding places to land.
The United Nations has formed just this morning a committee to monitor compliance with mandatory sanctions against Libya. As you know, these sanctions are in effect today, April 15th. We would estimate that Libyan Airlines has offices in about three dozen countries worldwide. There are about 50 scheduled international flights a week by Libyan Arab Airlines. Other foreign carriers

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have, in our estimation, about 55 scheduled flights a week. We expect all flights to be cancelled.

I do not have precise numbers of Libyan diplomats. As you know, the resolution addresses itself to that also. The resolution calls on all member states to significantly reduce the number of Libyan diplomats at their missions, and we also expect all states to comply with this requirement. In accordance with the provisions of the resolution, paragraph 6A, the United States is consulting with the United Nations today regarding the reduction of the size and level of the Libyan diplomatic diplomatic presence at the United Nations. Currently there are 12 Libyan diplomats at the United Nations mission, and we expect that that reduction will be carried out promptly.

The sanctions, with the weight of the internaional community behind them, are designed to secure Libyan compliance, as you know, with Resolution 731, and we certainly hope that Libya will do so. The sanctions are narrowly focused and are appropriate to Libya's responsibilities for the barbaric bombing of Pan Am 103 and the French UTA flight. They are not designed to cause hardship to the Libyan people. The United Nations Resolution 748 is mandatory and binding on all UN member states. All states are required to report to the UN Secretary General by May 15th on the measures they have taken to implement the resolution. The UN Security Council Libyan Sanctions Committee will review those reports, monitor implementation and recommend appropriate measures in response to violations.

It is my understanding that Marlin, who I believe is going to be briefing, if he has not already started, has told a number of your colleagues at the White House, and will be restating it in his briefing, that the President wil be signing an Executive Order later today that will go into effect at 11:59 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time concerning the sanctions against Libya. The White House will be issuing a written statement providing details on the Executive Order.

Q Margaret, on a technical point, you said there's full agreement that the sanctions will begin at 11:59 tonight. Some people in Europe, in the Middle East think it began at 11:59 last night.

MS. TUTWILER: That's right, and in our opinion that -- the point is is that this is effective today. We have said that it -- the United States, as our member, it begins for us at 11:59 p.m. tonight. The actual time when other countries had decided, it's obviously up for those countries to decide, and we really think that the exact, precise time, to be honest with you, is irrelevant. We have said when our portion, or our membership, when we view it kicks in, for us it's 11:59 tonight. Also, I must mind you, there are different time zones around the world so people are you know, doing what they are doing, but it's not a problem for us.

Q This is 11:59 New York time?

MS. TUTWILER: Correct, Eastern Standard (sic) Time, for the United States. I am well aware that others who are in different time zones -- and I have read wire copy but they will speak for themselves, have already put these into effect. I can't speak to what time it is for -- right now in Egypt and other parts of the world. You are reading the same copy that I'm reading about what they right now are doing.

Q Standard or Daylight?

MS. TUTWILER: What?

Q Standard or Daylight?

MS. TUTWILER: What did I --

Q Eastern Standard or Eastern Daylight? We're in Daylight time now.

MS. TUTWILER: When it's 11:59 p.m. tonight in New York, it's 11:59 p.m.

Q That'd be Eastern Daylight Time.

MS. TUTWILER: Thank you. Eastern Daylight Time for the -- is the United

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States' view -- in New York. New York time.
Q Margaret, some Americans in Libya are not in the category you described, they are workers, they are people who have good jobs.
MS. TUTWILER: They're there illegally.
Q Yeah, well, that's the point of my question. They're there, and they're there for their own economic interests, and they don't care to take your advice and leave.
MS. TUTWILER: It's their business.
Q Is it -- that it? Is that the end of it? It's their business? It -- there's no -- you're not going to try in some way to prosecute these people or do something about them?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know, Barry, what the rules are, to be honest with you, for -- this isn't the only country where we don't give visas, or recommend strongly -- validate their passports for Americans to go to. I'll be honest with you, I don't know. I can certainly ask the Consular Affairs officers, when an American comes out and says, "Hey, I was just in a place I wasn't supposed to be," I don't know what our country does about that. But you're absolutely right that we believe there are -- we're guessing, and we've said this for weeks, anywhere from 500 to 1,000. From the first time I came out and talked publicly about the United States was supporting and trying to get an air embargo, 131 Americans have registered at the Belgian embassy. But that's all. So, I mean, our numbers could be wrong, that there are a thousand there. We don't know.
Q If we get really technical, people at the Belgian embassy are looking after American interests. If Belgium draws down its diplomatic staff there, doesn't -- don't you lose something by that?
MS. TUTWILER: Well, it's my understanding, I believe in the 1970s our buildings were basically burned to the ground. So we don't have any buildings, it's my understanding. Since -- I believe it was either '73 or '77. I can't remember the exact date.
Q '79.
MS. TUTWILER: '79? Thanks. (Stuart ?) says '79. It's the '70s, as I remember.
Q Yeah, but as far as looking after American interests, there won't be anybody there to do it, correct?
MS. TUTWILER: Well, number one, it's a hypothetical. I don't know that the Belgians are drawing down. Number two, if our estimates are right, that there are 500 to 1,000 Americans there, I think it's close to four weeks ago when we publicly said this, 131 have let the Belgians know they are there in that country.
Q Margaret, are there any meetings of the UN Security Council scheduled on this matter before the May 15th re-evaluation deadline?
MS. TUTWILER: Not that I know of, but that might better be asked at the UN. I haven't heard of such a thing.
Q But would you --
MS. TUTWILER: And on the Sanctions Committee, which I believe, I was told right before our brief, they have formed this morning, I believe, Joe -- who did you tell me was in charge of it?
AIDE: A Hungarian.
MS. TUTWILER: A Hungarian has been appointed as in charge of that. I don't know how often they meet. I just don't know.
Q Do you anticipate, though, that there'd be no further UN formal action toward Libya until the May 15th deadline for everyone to comply fully?
MS. TUTWILER: That would be -- that would be my guess, but it's only a guess on my part.
Q Margaret, I know this is probably going to be classified as a hypothetical, but it's not without being in the realm of possibility that Qadhafi would send

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one of his aircraft to try and break the embargo. Are there contingency plans for that eventuality? I mean, say, for example, he sent a Libyan Arab airliner packed with Libyans to Rome and that he's not allowed to land.
MS. TUTWILER: My understanding from wire copy this morning is that that very situation has existed in some countries and it's my understanding that those countries' towers have turned the planes back.
Q The planes have gone back voluntarily?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know where they are. I've only just read this this morning and I'm prefacing it by saying I have had no independent confirmation here in the building [of] this. I've only seen it in the last 90 minutes and it's all been wire copy. I'm not doubting the wire copy but I'm not confirming it.
Q Are US actions regarding Libya limited to enforcing the sanctions, the UN sanctions, or are there other actions the US is taking with regard to Libya that go beyond or outside the UN sanctions?
MS. TUTWILER: Not that I have any knowledge of.
Q And do you have any comment on Libya's announcement that it would ask other -- ask the nations who have required a drawdown of Libyan diplomats in their capitals to withdraw diplomats from Tripoli?
MS. TUTWILER: It's their business.
Q And also, you said earlier that these sanctions are not designed to cause hardship on the Libyan people. It sounds a little almost like you're making a virtue out of a necessity. The sanctions don't seem as though they would have very much effect on most Libyan people. Most Libyan people don't travel anywhere. They still will be able to get food shipments. They'll still be able to trade their oil, their valuable oil.
MS. TUTWILER: That's right. And we think that it is important that we point that out, that this is not, as you know, many times -- you can take Haiti as an example. Many of the questions that we received is that you are hurting innocent people across the board in Haiti. This is very narrowly focused. After all, this is about a barbaric terrorist act; 441 people, men, women and children are dead, from blowing up two airplanes. And this is very narrowly focused.
There are, I just pointed out, whether it's 50 or it's one -- the international community is making a statement, it's made a second resolution that is tougher than the first resolution of what it expects Libya to do. And you know, I have just told you our estimates of -- counting both Libyan flights and international flights, there's 105 right there. I don't know what kind of economic impact that has to the Libyans. I don't know if all those flights are full. I don't know if there are more flights.
Q Would you expect -- do you think the United States could expect to receive support even from some of its closest allies for imposing stiffer sanction against Libya, such as a reduction or cutoff in its oil exports?
MS. TUTWILER: Secretary Baker answered that question yesterday when he was asked, I believe by Barry, about if the United States was going to go further and have an oil embargo. I have nothing really to add to his response of yesterday.
Q Margaret, Qadhafi is putting his defiance of the order that he surrender the -- the demand that he surrender the suspect -- in Arab terms. Do you have -- does the State Department have any accounting of how loyal the Arabs will be to this embargo? Is there any waffling in the Arab world? Do you expect them to -- be as --
MS. TUTWILER: We expect all UN members to abide by this, and I can only -- I'm not going to go down a list of all the countries, whether Arab or European or Asian, et cetera. Obviously, we are getting lots of information of what

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people are doing, and various countries today have spoken out. One Arab country that I'm aware has spoken out is President Mubarak this morning has spoken of what Egypt will be doing. I don't have a complete rundown of every country, but yes, we expect --

Q Have you heard -- have any of them said to the State Department, we wish you wouldn't do this, you're going -- you're being too tough? Are there any -- any buckling reported back here?

MS. TUTWILER: Not that I know of. It's my understanding that Egypt has halted all air traffic to Libya as of the end of the day April 14. There's one.

Q Yeah, on Egypt.

Q Can you, just to follow on that, give us a sense of the Secretary's phone work on this, if any? Has --

MS. TUTWILER: There hasn't been any that I'm aware of.

Q But there has been, at a lower level, just sort of routine consultations on it? Or is it all going on in New York?

MS. TUTWILER: Well, this passed, as you know, two weeks ago, and at that time said would go into effect April 15th. The Secretary, weeks ago I'm sure, did have involvement, if nothing more than sending instructions to our representative at the Security Council on language, et cetera. Over those two weeks -- these two weeks -- to be honest with you, there hasn't been a whole lot for anybody to do, other than those who have relations with Libya, to try to convince them the UN is deadly serious, this is going to happen, you have a two-week lead here. They, as you know, have floated a number of unacceptable proposals, and here's where we are.

Q But there was no sort of -- attempt at a coherent strategy, let's pull all our diplomats at a certain time, or --

MS. TUTWILER: Well, we don't have any.

Q Well, I know you don't, but usually you do spearhead coalition efforts.

MS. TUTWILER: We were very involved, which is no secret, in the garnering of support for this second resolution, in the crafting of this second resolution, a resolution we were very pleased passed, and since that point, Johanna, I just can't say -- once everybody signed onto it -- and this morning, there seems to be quite a bit of evidence of people are indeed going to abide by this resolution, and it's what -- speaking for the United States -- we expect all United Nations members to do.

Q Margaret, could you -- could you say whether Libya's friends in the Arab world, countries like Sudan, Iran -- while, not technically in the Arab world -- are complying with this UN resolution?

MS. TUTWILER: As of this briefing, I cannot. I just don't have that information -- probably by tomorrow, but again, I want to preface -- we're not going to every day come out and do a country list. I mean, we'd spend 30 minutes going through that. This is the United Nations, what, a hundred and -- it used to be 157, now there are what, 19 new countries. I mean, it's a large number we'd be dealing with.

I would guess that there is going to be -- hopefully not, but an instance where I will probably be answering questions, but right now, this morning, this is just now going into effect. I don't know of anyone who has notified the United Nations, or notified the United States under any and all circumstances, we will not abide by this resolution. I am unaware of any situation like that.

Q Margaret, what steps does the United States have to take to comply -- does the United States, as a member of the UN, have to take to comply with this resolution? The US has no flights --

MS. TUTWILER: Right, and the President's Executive Order that is being issued at the White House will address what the United States will be doing. He has not -- as I came to the podium -- yet signed that, and there's a White House --

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from my understanding -- paper that will be set out with it. So I just -- can I leave that to the White House?
Q Well, but I guess I don't understand --
MS. TUTWILER: We don't have a lot, you're absolutely correct --
Q Yeah.
MS. TUTWILER: But the President --
Q He's going to issue an Executive Order --
MS. TUTWILER: Right.
Q -- that may be doesn't do anything.
MS. TUTWILER: Well, let's judge it by when we see, when they release it. And I grant you -- you know, we do not have, by any stretch of the imagination, normal relations with Libya. The United States has recognized that from the beginning. We have no personnel, Barry spoke to our assets, they basically burned to the ground in the '70s. So I acknowledge to you that's correct. But the United States also feels very, very strongly about Pan Am 103 and did an extensive investigation to ferret this out.
Q I guess I was trying to get at the fact that, for the United States anyway, complying with this resolution is a relatively cost-free situation. It doesn't really cost the US anything to comply with this resolution. Some other countries it costs them business, its costs them income, it costs them some tourism, and so on.
MS. TUTWILER: We're aware of that.
Q Isn't the US sort of asking other people to take on the burden here that the US doesn't have to bear, simply because there isn't anything to bear?
MS. TUTWILER: Well, with all due respect, I would argue that it was not cost-free to the people who were flying on Pan Am 103, and I am aware that there are other countries that, yes, there is probably more of a direct economic hit to their people, but let's not forget what this is about, and that was a very incredible, barbaric terrorist activity and many Americans have suffered a great deal because of it.
Q Can we move on to something else?
MS. TUTWILER: Fine with me.
Q Yugoslavia, or what used to be Yugoslavia --
MS. TUTWILER: Mmm hmm?
Q Can you give us a rundown on US diplomatic activities over the last few days in Bosnia?
MS. TUTWILER: Yes. And in fact, I can do as recently as this morning at a meeting in Helsinki of the CSCE. As you all know, Secretary Baker yesterday characterized the situation in Bosnia as extraordinarily tragic and outrageous. It remains so today.
In Sarajevo, intensive gun battles and sporadic shelling by Serbian forces have continued overnight and into the day. Militant Bosnian Serbs say their aim is to take control of Sarajevo. Serb forces have encircled it for a week, cutting off all outside commerce. Sarajevo, a city of over half a million people, is beginning to run short of food. The Yugoslav military is now overtly siding with Serbian paramilitary forces. Fighting continues throughout Bosnia. Much of it appears concentrated in towns along the Drina River in Eastern Bosnia. International relief agencies report that tens of thousands of refugees, mainly Bosnian Moslems, are fleeing from the areas affected by the fighting. This morning the deputy secretary of state underscored our grave concern and our condemnation of Serbian aggression against Bosnia to the Yugoslav ambassador. The deputy secretary made the following points to the ambassador.
One, the conduct of the Serbian leadership in Belgrade and of Serbian armed forces is completely outside the bounds of civilized behavior. Two, we need to see immediate and concrete steps to reverse this behavior, and not lip service

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to peaceful principles while Serbian aggression continues. Three, the United States is consulting closely with the EC and other friends and allies on further steps to bring the international community's strong concerns to bear on Belgrade.

Our message to Serbian civilian and military authorities is that if they continue their aggression against Bosnia and to deny human rights to Serbia's own citizens, Serbia will very quickly become an international pariah. The United States delegation to the CSCE Helsinki Followon Meeting, which is meeting right now in Helsinki, is working with EC and other delegations to put Belgrade on notice as to the consequences of its behavior in the CSCE context. Today the United States representative to the conference, Mr. Kornblum (sp), made the following comments during a session on Yugoslavia: "The United States joins with the EC and other nations in calling on the Serbian leadership to take clear and concrete steps to correct flagrant violations of CSCE principles in its dealings with Bosnia. If the Serbian authorities, Serbian military and Serbian paramilitary have not taken such steps by April 29, CSCE senior officials will meet and they will consider stronger action such as full membership for Bosnia in the CSCE on an emergency basis. Continued refusal of Serbian authorities to live up to its CSCE commitments would raise serious questions about their presence in CSCE. We will consult with our EC and NATO partners about the continued legitimacy of the Serbian delegation at CSCE. If the situation has not improved by April 29, careful consideration should be given to the possibility of a decision to suspend their participation at that time."

Q Can you give us a little bit about Secretary Baker's direct activities?

MS. TUTWILER: Secretary Baker has had a number of phone calls late yesterday afternoon after his meeting with the Foreign Minister and again early this morning. He asked for me to refrain from saying with who. They are with our strong European allies, and he just didn't want me to get into the specific names. But he himself, yes, is personally involved in this.

Q Basically, the anonymous official who's quoted in the Washington Post with all the material, could we assume all that material is correct? Can you substantiate it?

MS. TUTWILER: To be honest with you, I read that this morning before 7:00. I can't tell you that everything that's in any article, because I read them so fast --

Q Just the front page of it.

MS. TUTWILER: I read it --

Q They managed to get some --

MS. TUTWILER: I read seven newspapers this morning. I cannot remember.

Q It's a very informed piece, as if they had access to a very senior official.

MS. TUTWILER: They might have.

Q I wonder if we could have equal information here a day later.

MS. TUTWILER: I've just given you information that the Washington Post did not have this morning of what our official was instructed this morning to say and has said at a CSCE meeting that is going on right now. And I just gave you --

Q (Off mike.)

MS. TUTWILER: Well, I think what we just said --

Q This building is what I'm interested in.

MS. TUTWILER: -- had some very fresh and new information that I have just given you.

Q I'm wondering if perhaps the United States has seemed content to sit back and let this be an EC show. Your joining with the EC in these calls for actions by Serbia, does that indicate that the United States is now willing to take a more involved role than it has in the past?

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MS. TUTWILER: Let me just tidy up one thing. This was -- the statement I just read to you parts of are what the United States representive this morning said at the Helsinki meeting. I cannot speak for the EC or other member countries, but this was what we said that we felt we should all do in the CSCE context. I'm going to answer the rest of the -- huh?
Q (Off mike) -- clarify the position of this official, who it exactly is --
Q She's answering my question.
Q But when we're on the question of who said it, could you -- sorry to interrupt -- could you just say who the official is?
MS. TUTWILER: No, I will never do that.
Q No, the official that spoke at CSCE --
MS. TUTWILER: Oh, Mr. John Kornblum (sp) --
Q John Kornblum (sp) --
MS. TUTWILER: I said that --
Q She did. John Kornblum (sp).
MS. TUTWILER: I said that. I believe, John, to answer the first part of his question was the United States previously had not been as basically involved and the EC was taking the lead, I believe as -- along the lines you were asking me. That is correct and I'm not saying that the United States today is in the lead. Obviously, the EC is, and as you know, we strongly support the EC Ambassador who has just been in the region. We also strongly support Secretary Vance's mission, but we've also pointed out, and we issued a very strong statement yesterday. We have sent, over the last two weeks, two very strong demarches that I'm aware of to President Milosevic, and we have now done this at the CSCE. And we have pointed out each time -- Bosnia did exactly what CSCE principles call for in their seeking their independence, if you'll recall. And they -- that was done peacefully, there was no unilateral decisions or unilateral -- for instance, remember the incidents with border posts being seized, et cetera, et cetera. So we have pointed out in all of our statements, here is a country, a new country that followed to the letter every single thing that the international community and the principles subscribed to, and yet what is going on there today. And I can't recall if you were there or not, but if you listened yesterday to the Foreign Minister of Bosnia, that was a very powerful statement of what is going on in this small area, and on this planet earth. And it's something the United States, yes, cares very much about -- if nothing more, on a humanitarian level. This is just wrong.
Q Margaret, but still is it -- in your statement, the last sentence says that -- in effect, that if the Serbians don't shape up by April 29th, their participation should be suspended. You're saying participation in CSCE?
MS. TUTWILER: Correct.
Q Well, so what. Then -- since they're acting as outlaws already, what do they lose?
MS. TUTWILER: Some countries, Jim, care about legitimacy, and I'm not here to judge whether Yougoslavia's one of those or not. Maybe you could call their ambassador and ask him if he would care or not. But we know that many countries do care, and this is why we care that consideration should be given to suspending their participation.
Q And "their," in this case, refers to -- Yugoslavia, if there, in fact, is still such a thing.
MS. TUTWILER: Correct.
Q Not Serbia.
Q Margaret?
Q Margaret, do you know --
MS. TUTWILER: Basically, we have three new countries, as you know, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia. Yugoslavia -- because that's what we all continue to call

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it -- basically, as you know, is that portion of former Yugoslavia which is Serbia. Yes, I'm well aware there are others in there, but basically that's what it is today.
Q But do you know what the ambassador's response was to these requests by the Deputy Secretary?
MS. TUTWILER: No, I really don't. That's a good question and I forgot to ask Larry. I'm sorry.
Q Was that a meeting at the US request or at the --
MS. TUTWILER: Yes.
Q At the US request?
Q Margaret, is it the US view that what the Army and the Serbian nationalists are trying to do is partition the country?
MS. TUTWILER: That is what many of them claim. I can't stand here and speak for them, either, because as you know, you get contrary statements from government officials there. But what is quite clear, not only from our meeting with the Foreign Minister -- and I believe he did a press conference with many of your colleagues yesterday afternoon -- but from many of your colleagues on reporting in this morning's newspaper, including the article in the Washington Post where someone is there on the ground and is reporting what is going on, and it is really something that is very difficult to comprehend how you could do this to fellow former citizens or just human beings. It is awful.
Q But the US does not have information independently to confirm that this is the aim of the Serbian nationalists, that is, to partition the country?
MS. TUTWILER: We have -- various Serbian officials who have made comments to that effect. Now, I can't tell you at any given moment -- as yo know, things are not exactly routine and normal there -- who is speaking for who. But it is not something that we are not aware of. And I can't tell you that there are not some people, and especially people who are out here on the ground, that that's not in their minds and that -- you know -- the way, it's my understanding, and again, some of their own reporting is educating people about this, of what is going, as the Foreign Minister described it, is fairly barbaric.
Q Margaret, the foreign minister mentioned the possibility of an aid flight going in. Do you know anything about that?
MS. TUTWILER: A United States aid flight? Or just a humanitarian aid flight?
Q A humanitarian aid flight. He didn't specify where it was going to come from.
MS. TUTWILER: He mentioned to the Secretary of State a general humanitarian aid flight, would he, in his opinion, be helpful? He did not have any more specifics for us or ask the United States to do such a thing. The Secretary said that he would be more than glad to look into that, and there's nothing on that today.
Q Well, if Sarajevo is running short of food, as you say, that's something --
MS. TUTWILER: Let's cut it off.
Q -- that you're going to have to address at some point, presumably. MS. TUTWILER: Correct. And the Secretary said to the foreign minister, "Do you specifically mean the United States sending in a humanitarian aircraft?" and he said, "I am not, but the situation is such that we are surrounded, our airport is surrounded." Yesterday I believe the airport was closed, and food is becoming a problem, and that's why I wanted to point out how many people live there. I don't know what the international community will do if this situation continues, but we are aware of the situation, and yes, he did raise it with the Secretary.
Q Margaret, another one. Now that you've recognized Bosnia, this is an international conflict. You have one country, Serbia, sending its army into another. Why not take that up at the UN?
MS. TUTWILER: That may be something that we look at.

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Q Peacekeeping forces? Did they discuss that?
MS. TUTWILER: They did discuss that, and the Secretary pointed out that the United Nations peacekeeping forces and peacekeeping observers are just that. They are not peacemakers. They are not in any country where they are sent. And you have a -- for lack of a better word -- certainly a large conflict going on there, and the United Nations peacekeepers do not have a history of and are not in this case. And the foreign minister was very well aware of that policy. He had just spoken the day before with former Secretary of State Vance, and I believe he told us he had just met at the United Nations with the Secretary General. So he knew that.
Q What is the US position?
MS. TUTWILER: The US position is we agree. Peacekeepers are peacekeepers, not peacemakers.
Q Well, I mean their options. Let's see what the US position is. Does the US think that peace, you know, as limited as their powers are, does the United States support as a matter of policy having the peacekeepers in Bosnia too? Does the United States support --
MS. TUTWILER: At this particular time when there's no ceasefire? No. They are not peacemakers.
Q No? Okay. All right, do you support the idea of a European force going in?
MS. TUTWILER: That would be something that, to be honest with you, I have not heard us give an opinion on and something that I believe the Europeans have all expressed themselves on.
Q In other words, the US seems --
MS. TUTWILER: I don't have an opinion for you about --
Q You're taking the lead on this, you know. When there was trouble in Serbia and Croatia and Slovenia, the United States was off on the side there, and the Europeans were in the lead.
MS. TUTWILER: I answered that question. That was John Dancy's question. Q Well, your answer was that it's more horrible than the situation --
MS. TUTWILER: That was not my answer.
Q There's another reason. The reason is it's cross-border, and that's probably what's got you --
MS. TUTWILER: That was my answer. My answer was, Barry, and if you'll go back and look at the record --
Q That they followed the letter of the law.
MS. TUTWILER: Correct.
Q All right. Then the question I was going to ask you then is did Slovenia and Croatia follow the letter of whatever principles --
MS. TUTWILER: No. As you know --
Q They didn't?
MS. TUTWILER: -- they took unilateral actions, and if you will recall they seized their border posts, it was exactly what the Secretary of State had stood there and said would happen indeed did happen, and he has spoken to this many, many times when asked the very question you are asking me.
Q (Off mike) -- this is something that the North Atlantic Cooperation Council should take up and does it put it in a category as the Secretary did in Brussels last month, with Nagorno-Karabakh for example, that it's something the NACC might consider involving NACC/NATO forces in?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm not aware Ralph, that I have heard various officials here discuss such things, but it's just totally hypothesizing. I am not aware of point blank what our position would be should we be asked. I'll be happy to take your question.
Q Do you have an update on what Cyrus Vance is doing?
MS. TUTWILER: My understanding, and this is information as of late yesterday

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afternoon, is that he would be in Yugoslavia today. For security reasons they had requested that we not give his schedule.
Q Can you tell us what he's going to do?
MS. TUTWILER: That would pretty much --
Q We don't want a minute-by-minute blow, just what type of people he's going to meet with and --
MS. TUTWILER: As you know, the Secretary General announced last week that he had asked the former Secretary to go back on a fact-finding mission concerning the situation in Bosnia. I am not aware that there has been any change in his mission.
Q Margaret, can you discuss the warning that was delivered to Iraq?
MS. TUTWILER: The warning that was issued to Iraq? The demarche you're talking about yesterday?
I can't discuss -- to be honest with you, a lot of it, the contents of it. It was -- yesterday as I remember -- I recall that it happened and I believe that the United States consulted with our coalition partners, Turkey, Britain and France on our ongoing concerns about Iraqi behavior in Norther Iraq. They made a demarche, those three countries, to the Iraqi representative, I believe it was at the United Nations. I believe the United States, as I recall was represented by Ambassador Watson.
The demarche covers, generally speaking, the Iraqi deployment of surface-to-air missiles North of the 36th parallel, the continuing prohibition on Iraqi flights north of the 36th parallel, and the use of military forces to repress civilians in all parts of the country in contravention of United Nations Security Council Resolution 688. I do not have for you a specific readout of the Iraqi response. All I can say is that we and the people, obviously, who made the demarche, look for and believe that what counts is Iraqi actions and not words.
Q Margaret, do you have an update on the sitution in Afghanistan, where the government of Najibullah seems to be crumbling?
MS. TUTWILER: Yes.
There are reports over the past few days of rapid advances by Afghan resistance forces toward Kabul. The situation remains very unclear, but it appears that some regime strong-points have fallen. These developments do not alter our conviction that only a political solution to the Afghan conflict will be an effective one. There is a danger that current military operations will only lead to more fighting and bloodshed.
The Afghan resistance has fought a long and bitter struggle for self-determination which won admiration and support from around the world. They are now on the verge of achieving their goal of self-determination for the Afghan people, but would risk a prolonged and pointless conflict if they pursue a military option which will not bring resolution and reconciliation.
We urge all parties involved, and particularly the forces of the Afghan resistance, to use this opportunity to pursue a final settlement through political means, with the assistance of the UN Secretary General and his Special Representative for Afghanistan. The United States strongly supports fully the UN's key role in bringing the Afghan people together.
My understanding on a literal update on the ground is that the situation is fluid. We don't have a lot of details at this time. We're aware of what I just said is going on. And it is my understanding that the UN Secretary General's Special Representative is working very hard at putting together the Council of Notables, and he's working on that right now.
Q Are you saying --
Q Margaret, are you calling on the rebels to stop their advance on Kabul?
MS. TUTWILER: We're calling on people to work through a political mechanism and not use one of the military and violence, to be honest with you. That's our

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statement.
Q So you're asking them to stop fighting?
Q That's -- that's -- isn't that the same thing? Are you calling on them to stop their military action?
MS. TUTWILER: I think -- I think our statement is fairly clear, and what we have just stated is the United States' view.
Q It would be clearer if you said "Stop your military advance on Kabul." but see you're choosing not to say that. Is there some difference?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm choosing to stand by our statement, which addresses ourselves to the current situation on the ground and says what the United States government's view is.
Q (Off mike) -- relayed that view to the resistance leaders, the resistance groups?
MS. TUTWILER: I didn't ask Ed Djerejian this morning. I'll be happy to ask him. I just -- I didn't ask the question.
Q So the administration still considers them freedom fighters, which is what the Reagan administration called them?
MS. TUTWILER: Mmm hmm.
Q (Inaudible.)
Q Fine with me.
Q Do you have any comment on the reported remarks -- the reported announcement by the Ukraine foreign minister that shipments of nuclear warheads will resume soon to Russia?
MS. TUTWILER: Mmm hmm. What we have, to be honest with you, is press reports that the Ukrainian foreign minister said yesterday that Ukraine will resume the movement of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia for elimination. As you know, the defense minister was here yesterday and had a very lengthy meeting with the Secretary of State, where they discussed in quite some detail this subject, START, and other subjects. We were very pleased yesterday to see this report of what the foreign minister of Ukraine said, and as you know, we encouraged the Ukrainians and Russians to continue with this process. We --
Q (Inaudible.)
MS. TUTWILER: Wait a minute. We understand that an agreement on this has been reached between Ukraine and Russia but that it has not yet been signed. It would be inappropriate for us, in our opinion, since this has not been signed, to have any other comments. As you know, I've told you the Secretary of State has personally been working on this. Our view, and it's, you know, been consistent, is that we hope that this agreement will be signed and implemented promptly.
One of you, and I can't remember who, asked me yesterday since there's been basically a six-week delay if we thought if they started today, could they indeed move all these weapons by July. In the same statement yesterday where the foreign minister says they've reached agreement, the foreign minister says that, yes, they believe that they can. Russia has said they believe that they can, and our opinion right now is that we hope that they will reach that goal.
Q And so does that mean that the defense minister made no mention of this announcement? Or does it mean that he discussed it in terms of an agreement that hasn't been signed?
MS. TUTWILER: Not only has the Secretary of State met personally with the defense minister, he had quite a lengthy conversation on Saturday with the foreign minister of Russia. So what I would -- what I'm trying to steer you towards is that we are well aware that the Ukrainians and the Russians say that they have an agreement, but there is not yet -- there is a document, and that document has not been signed.
Q That agreement, if it comes about, how would that schedule and so on work

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with regard to helping the US get the START Treaty ratified, or does it impinge upon it at all in your view?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm not sure that the two are entwined.
Q Margaret, can I ask you about Peru?
MS. TUTWILER: Peru?
Q What's the situation of the antinarcotics program in Peru now? Is the United States pulling some people out?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm in the position today of continuing to tell you that that is an extremely sensitive security matter with us and I have no details for you, nor will you find that the Defense Department does and I think it's understandable that we do not.
There was one report and I can't remember where it was this morning, that we have stopped delivery of all military assistance to Peru. That's not true. There was one order of urgently needed aircraft safety equipment for the Peruvian air force, and as far as our State Department and DEA counternarcotics programs in Peru, those are still under review.
Q Another subject, on the Middle East?
Q May I follow up?
Q Sure, yeah.
Q The Secretary of State spoke with the Mexican foreign minister this morning. Did they discuss the situation in Peru and can you tell us something about it?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't know. I was unable to attend that bilateral, I was preparing for the briefing, I'll be happy to ask someone who was in the meeting to give you a readout.
Q I knw that someone asked the same question yesterday, but could you tell us something about what you expect of the OAS mission traveling to Lima probably next week? Do you expect them to get any positive results there due to the soft approach that many people say that the OAS has taken?
MS. TUTWILER: I don't have a time yet for the OAS mission, of when they are departing and when they will be there, and obviously we are very supportive of the mission. It was a unanimous vote as I recall, 32-0. They have with them their marching orders from the OAS and they are obviously going to try to resolve this situation according to what was decided in the document, the resolution of the OAS and we certainly fully support them and hope that they will be able to.
Q Margaret, on the Middle East. This morning in Cairo, Yassir Arafat was visited by Faisal Husseini and Hanan Ashrawi along with about a dozen or so other Palestinians. Arafat is there recuperating as you know. Does the US have any view as to whether the United States will continue to meet with those officials with whom it has met before now that they have openly met with Arafat?
MS. TUTWILER: I'm not aware of a meeting in Cairo this morning, and to be honest with you, I wasn't aware that Arafat was in Cairo. I haven't seen anything about this, and I'm not going to speculate on something I don't know about and whether it does or doesn't affect the Secretary or other US officials meeting with individuals.
Q But the -- the status --
MS. TUTWILER: I really have heard nothing about it.
Q The status of the US policies as of today still is the US does not have a dialogue with the PLO, is that correct?
MS. TUTWILER: We do not.
Q No, no, but could you check the facts, because --
MS. TUTWILER: Yeah, I just have heard of this. I don't know anything about it.
Q I understand. I mean, could we hear later in the day, perhaps --
MS. TUTWILER: Yeah, I said I would.
Q -- whether the United States will still consider these two folks to be

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legitimate advisors to peace talks if they're having meetings with Arafat?
MS. TUTWILER: Mmm-hmm.
Q Margaret, do you have any reaction to the interview in the Washington Times today by Kim Il-Song in which he calls for better relations with the United States?
MS. TUTWILER: Not particularly. I can restate for you what it takes to have better relations with the United States -- our policy hasn't changed -- and we can't judge this morning if this is indeed a shift in North Korea's attitude towards the United States.
Q Thank you.
Q Thank you.

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4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 25, 1992, Wednesday

LENGTH: 835 words

HEADLINE: EUROPE: POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS COME OUT OF CSCE MEETING

BYLINE: by Julian Isherwood

DATELINE: HELSINKI, Mar. 25

When Raffi Hovannisian returns to Yerevan today there is much he will have to report. As foreign minister of Armenia he has witnessed two days of both the good and bad sides of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

But overall, his report is likely to be a positive one and should give the Asian republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) some peace of mind that their political, and not least economic future, lies under the umbrella of an expanding and increasingly credible CSCE.

As a litmus test of its management, the two-day meeting of CSCE foreign ministers in the Finnish capital resulted in agreement to convene an international conference for peace in the troubled Nagorno-Karabakh region -- a feather in the CSCE cap.

Prior to this week's watershed conference, attitudes towards the CSCE's ability not just to talk but to defuse conflicts and engender European cooperation were mixed, as the CSCE process saw its membership explode from 35 to 51 delegations in one year.

But hard work, in the knowledge that failure would relegate the organization into a fifth-rate debating club, brought about agreement on a route could see two member nations settling their differences.

Although the politically explosive issue of representation for the peoples of Nagorno-Karabakh -- an ethnic Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan -- was left temporarily to one side, the fact that a conference has been called has given impetus for a resolution of a violent ethnic war that has hitherto cost 1,500 lives.

Immediately after the announcement of an international conference, to be convened in the Belarus capital of Minsk "at the earliest opportunity," both Armenia and Azerbaijan announced trilateral meetings with Nagorno-Karabakh representatives, to iron out the finer details of representation.

The Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, apart from its inherent importance, is symbolic of the new policing role that the CSCE now intends to play.

The CSCE will be keeping a close eye on the human and minority rights situations in member countries spreading across the vast area from Vladivostok (close to the Chinese and former Soviet Union border) to Vancouver.

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Such targets are laudable, and to an extent they appear to have been successful in the case of the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, but still there remains a severe imbalance in the organization that will need to be addressed if the CSCE is to achieve full credibility.

For while Moldova's Nicolae Tsiuo assured the conference that his country would respect CSCE principles on minority rights, and Ukraine's Viktor Makarevich supported a Dutch proposal for the setting up of a minority rights commission, little was said of the ongoing minority strife which continues in the older CSCE states.

In Britain, Spain, Turkey and the United States, and not least in other Western European countries with large immigrant or/and refugee communities, the reinforced role of the CSCE in the area of minority rights may increasingly have a mixed reception, despite praise for the effect it will have on the East.

Whatever the national merits or otherwise of Irish Republican Army campaigns; Basque or Kurdish separatist attacks; or American Indian movement rights; these issues have no less justification in a CSCE context than those of Serbs in Croatia; Armenians in Azerbaijan; Russians in Moldova; or Gypsies throughout the region.

While the problems of eastern CSCE countries may seem more immediate, it will not take long before those states start pointing fingers at the West and in self-defense begin to question the minority and human rights records of older members.

For the moment, however, the CSCE can bask in the light of a task fulfilled -- that of beginning the process of bringing Europe together and affording independent representation to those new countries who need the recognition of the international community in order to develop.

And in the area of arms control, the CSCE also proved this week that it is able to act as a forum for arms negotiations that were previously held closely to the chests of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact.

Half of the organization yesterday signed an "open skies" treaty, allowing controlled aerial espionage against perceived potential enemies, a leap forward for an organization that hitherto has achieved little but talk in the area of arms control.

But while disarmament issues, and continued discussions elsewhere in Europe on conventional troop reductions are vital, they can hardly be brought to fruition while states and their minorities have little faith that inter-ethnic and inter-European good intentions and confidence are but facades at a vast conference of politicians.

It is here that the development of CSCE solutions to the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, and in the coming three months the CSCE follow-up conference in Helsinki, will show how much influence member states will allow CSCE opinion to have.

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 24, 1992, Tuesday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 453 words

HEADLINE: FORMER COLD WAR FOES SIGN ''OPEN SKIES'' TREATY

BYLINE: By Nigel Stephenson

DATELINE: HELSINKI, March 24

KEYWORD:
ARMS-SKIES-CSCE

BODY:
Ministers from 24 states on Tuesday signed a landmark ''Open Skies'' treaty, allowing former Cold War adversaries to make surveillance flights over each other's territory.

The new pact, signed during a meeting of the 51-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), was the culmination of almost three years of on-off negotiations between states of NATO and of the former Warsaw Pact.

The talks originally included 22 countries but Russia, Ukraine and Belarus signed the pact in place of the now defunct Soviet Union.

Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, opening the signing ceremony at Helsinki's House of Estates, described the treaty as ''without equal in the area of verification and confidence building.''

Diplomats said the treaty would be an important step in building confidence among the former cold war foes as the CSCE seeks to extend security in a region stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok and the Chinese border.

Among the aims of the four-month CSCE follow-up meeting, which began on Tuesday, is to increase confidence that military manoeuvres by member countries would not threaten their neighbours' security.

Aeroplanes using surveillance equipment can often gather more detailed information than satellites. Under the pact, data collected will be shared among all signatories, though the number of permitted flights will be limited by quotas.

Other members of the CSCE, which brings together the United States, Canada, European states and former Soviet republics, also issued a political declaration welcoming the treaty.

''The treaty can be described as an important element in the process of enhancing security and confidence between members of the international community, '' Vayrynen said.

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''In the declaration we want to reiterate the importance of equal security for all our countries.''

The declaration called for countries, such as Finland, which were not in the military blocs but which had shown an interest in the Open Skies talks, to be allowed to accede to the treaty as soon as possible and take part in talks on practical arrangements which will continue in Vienna.

After the signing of the pact, the ministers drank champagne in the historic panelled hall of the house, a precursor of the Finnish parliament dating back to when Finland was a Grand Duchy under the Russian Tsars.

''There is a good reason for celebration,'' Vayrynen said.

The idea of the pact, which was initialled in Vienna last Friday, was first proposed by the United States in 1955 but the required openness, in the year Moscow set up the Warsaw Pact to counter NATO, was then out of the question.

Open Skies was relaunched by U.S. President George Bush in May 1989.

TYPE:
International news, analysis, profiles

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6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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FEBRUARY 5, 1992, WEDNESDAY

SECTION: CAPITOL HILL HEARING WITH DEFENSE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL

LENGTH: 22120 words

HEADLINE: HEARING OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
SUBJECT: US FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW
CHAIRED BY: SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL (D-RI)
WITNESS:
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER
419 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

KEYWORD:
SFRC BAKER

BODY:
SEN. PELL: (Sounds gavel.) The Committee on Foreign Relations will come to order.
Mr. Secretary, we welcome you here today for your annual presentation on American foreign policy and look forward to any preliminary thoughts you have concerning the START Treaty.
We all know that immense changes have occurred in the world since you were last with us and they require a basic reassessment of our foreign policy and the means to implement it. While the fundamental goals of American foreign policy remain exactly the same threefold -- providing for the nation's security, promoting US economic interests, and supporting American national values -- there's no consensus on your end of the avenue or here or anywhere as to what extent the United States should respond to the opportunities and challenges produced by the changes.
No where are opportunities and challenges more apparent than in the former Soviet Union. Seventy-five years ago, the West failed to respond to the aid of the fledgling Kerensky government and it succumbed to a Bolshevik coup resulting in a three-generation long reign of terror. We should remember, too, that democracy in Russia is very fragile, virtually non-existent in their history. In a thousand years you had two years of it. Without external support, I believe the frustrated, exasperated Russians could become susceptible to a man on a white horse, to authoritarian, although not Communist, rule once again.
I congratulate the President on the joint declaration that he and President Yeltsin issued over the weekend. And I also commend the President for the announcement of the $645 million assistance package. That's an average of about $325 million a year. To put that into perspective, we could note that five years ago, the United States spent over $500 million in a single year to combat communism in the tiny country of El Salvador. I would maintain more is at stake in Russia than it was in El Salvador.
Mr. Secretary, last week President Yeltsin outlined a bold plan for extraordinary deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. He proposed going way below the levels contained in the START Treaty, and even lower than President Bush had proposed. I'm pleased you'll be discussing this matter in Moscow and urge you to try to conclude a quick agreement with the Russians toward amending the START Treaty, which is expected to be marked up by our committee in late March or early April. In fact, March 20th might be a good target date to have

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a package of treaty amendments to propose to our committee.
Other urgent requirements demand our attention and commitment as well. Foremost among them is peace in the Middle East; an end to the arms race that for four decades has fueled a caldron of conflict. I congratulate you for the energy and the imagination and the work you've done in this regard.
And finally, I think we all agree American foreign policy must ensure an increasing focus on problems here at home. Some of the questions requiring urgent answers are: How much we should rely on multilateral institutions to promote our economic interests; and how we can most effectively press our trading partners to provide reciprocal market opportunities; what mix of approaches can best address global threats to United States society as environmental degradation, drug trafficking and illegal immigration?
These are some of the issues that we hope you can cover today. We're very happy you're here. All the senators will be here before we're through, so we want to get some opportunity for questions and answers. And I'm informed that you have to leave for luncheon with the President at 12:30. Is that correct?
SEC. BAKER: I think that's the time. I know I have lunch with the President. I don't know exactly what the time is. (Confers off mike.) Yeah, if I could get out of here by 12:30 or 12:40 at the latest, Mr. Chairman, it would be appreciated.
SEN. PELL: I thank you very much indeed.
I would turn to the Ranking Minority member, Mr. Helms.
SEN. HELMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
And good morning, Mr. Secretary. It's good to see you.
SEC. BAKER: Good morning, Senator.
SEN. HELMS: Since you're visiting in Washington again.
SEC. BAKER: Yes, sir. (Laughter.) It's very nice to be here, however briefly.
SEN. HELMS: Well, you're doing well.
I have several things which I feel I ought to put on the table with you now, and I'll do it as briefly as possible.
First, the proposed START Treaty. As you know, I have recommended to you and to the President that the treaty be withdrawn because, in my judgment, it simply is not relevant. Mr. Gorbachev no longer calls the shots, and the USSR -- thank the Lord -- no longer exists. I am persuaded that START should be renegotiated so that the four nuclear republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States are parties to the treaty. And I know you're working in that regard.
I'm not at all comfortable, however, having the Foreign Relations Committee proceed with hearings on START before the State Department really decides with whom we're going to be able to negotiate.
Another of my concerns is closer to home. The desperate situation in Cuba has presented the administration with a remarkable opportunity to help free the Cuban people at long last from Castro's dictatorship. I believe it's time for us to make clear to our allies, who are cozying up to Mr. Castro, that this is totally unacceptable. They should be joining the US embargo not helping Castro earn foreign exchange to sustain his dictatorship. We should insist, I think, that all of our allies, including Mexico, participate in a worldwide effort to put an end to the Castro regime. Look at the situation. Castro has stepped up his violent repression against the Cuban people in their struggle for liberty. I pray that there will not be a Tiananmen Square-like incident in Cuba 90 miles off our shore. So I hope the administration is doing everything possible to hasten the downfall of the Castro regime. Strengthening the embargo is a good way to start.
Now then, Mr. Secretary, you and I have talked about the imperative need to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The communist Chinese continue to be one of the worst culprits in this death trade. And in their

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attempts to line their pockets with hard currency, these corrupt sons and daughters of the communist Chinese military elite are selling weapons of mass destruction and the technology to produce such weapons to the most antidemocratic regimes of the Middle East. Unless the United States exercises the leadership and political will to put an end to this death trade, these weapons may be very well turned on American personnel and our closest allies in that region.

And finally, the new world order. Now, I know that President Bush has his own ideas about precisely what this means, and Senators on the other side of the aisle appear to have their own interpretation of it. My problem is I'm not certain what it means. But all of us can agree that with the collapse of the Soviet Union the United States is the most powerful nation in history, and that in and of itself is a new world order. The trouble is this new world is certainly not orderly nor is it peaceful nor is it safe. We could debate the new world order, but we must not entrust the safety of this country and our allies to wishful thinking. I hope we will make certain that our actions are based on reality and in the best interests of the United States.

And again, I welcome you, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. PELL: Thank you very much, Senator Helms. Secretary Baker, the floor is yours. We look forward to hearing from you.

SEC. BAKER: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It's a privilege once again to appear before this committee, and with your permission I would like to have my detailed written statement entered into the record.

SEN. PELL: Without objection.

SEC. BAKER: Just a year ago this week, Mr. Chairman, I came up here and presented our fiscal 1992 budget to this committee. And since then, as we were just chatting outside before we came in, we really have lived through a dramatic year, a year of extraordinarily fast-paced change, a year marks the end of one era and the birth of another, and a year that our children and grandchildren will be reading about, I'm quite confident, in their history books. It was a year of unprecedented American-led coalition, reversing Iraqi aggression, restoring Kuwait's legitimate government, and ensuring that we would not be held hostage to a dictator's ambitions.

It was the year that our investment in peacemaking began to pay dividends around the world as old adversaries in El Salvador and Cambodia and in Southern Africa started bridging decades of mistrust.

It was the year that even, Mr. Chairman, in the Middle East, the scene of decades of war, bitterness, and hate, we saw ancient enemies sit down for the first time to talk. That's only a first step, but I think many people would agree it is a vitally important first step if we are to get to peace.

It was the year that we began negotiating a North American Free Trade Agreement, an agreement, Mr. Chairman, that will eventually create the world's largest market with an annual production of $6 trillion and more than 360 million people.

But above all, it was the year that Stalinism and the Soviet Union collapsed and a dozen new states struggled to take their place in the community of democratic nations. The meeting between President Bush and President Yeltsin last weekend made this shift formal in the Camp David declaration to which you referred, Mr. Chairman, in your opening comments.

The Cold War has ended, and we now have a chance to forge a democratic peace, an enduring peace that's built on shared values, on democracy, and political and economic freedom. The trumph of these values in Russia and the other new independent states will be the surest foundation for peace and it will be the strongest guarantee of our national security for decades to come.

So, Mr. Chairman, the world is a more promising and better place today than it

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was when I was up here a year ago. The dramatic events that we have witnessed and shaped are cause for optimism. But that optimism should not and must not blind us to the challenges which are remaining and which you and Senator Helms alluded to in your opening comments. Those challenges are very real, and let me just mention a few of the most important ones as we see it.

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction remains a deadly menace to international peace. Revelations, for instance, about Iraq's advanced nuclear program and the specter of a buyer's market in Soviet nuclear know-how drive home a very clear lesson to us, and that is that only by constant concerted vigilance can we ensure our national and our international security.

Regional conflicts have abated, as I've just indicated, but not everwhere and not at the same pace. Peacemaking -- and no more so than in the Middle East -- is painfully protracted. Peacekeeping in El Salvador, Cambodia, and elsewhere, is expensive and it will be more expensive. We in the world community must be persistant, I think, in our support of both.

Opening markets to American goods and services presents a particular complex challenge. Bilaterally, we have to negotiate to ensure that our goods and services are not shut out of individual foreign markets. Regionally, we must maintain momentum toward the promise of a North American Free Trade Zone, and globally we must do our part and, if possible, take the lead to ensure that the Uruguay Round succeeds and trade barriers come down worldwide.

And Mr. Chairman, let us not forget the task of consolidating democratic values. The victory of democracy has not been universal, and it certainly is not inevitable. We must remember, I think, that the United States is more than just the greatest democracy in the world, which we are. We are also the spokesman for the democratic community everywhere in the world.

None of these challenges can be met by wishful thinking, and none will just disappear if we close our eyes. But I am convinced that we can forge an effective policy in pursuit of our interest in a free, prosperous, and peaceful world. And I think this holds especially true of the greatest challenge confronting us today, and that is the challenge of helping the new states of the former Soviet Union find their place as peaceful, democratic, and prosperous members of the world community. How we address this challenge, Mr. Chairman, I think will shape world events through the next century.

But I believe that we have at hand a tool to meet this challenge, a tool that augments our bilateral diplomacy and that enhances our influence. It's a tool that helped us to victory over Iraq, and it is the tool that will loom ever larger in our foreign policy as we leave the doctrine of containment behind. And that tool, Mr. Chairman, is collective engagement: nations taking concerted actions to pursue common interests and to solve common problems.

Over the last few weeks alone, I have seen this concept in action around the world. In Prague, I met with the other 47 members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to continue its worthy work in helping build democracy from Vancouver to Vladivostok. In Moscow, I met with three dozen ministers as the Mid-East peace talks took on a new, multilateral dimension in recognition of the international community's interest in bringing peace to this troubled region. In New York, the President joined with 14 other leaders and with Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to chart a new course for the United Nations Security Council, a body that is just now emerging into full maturity as a forum for international consensus building and common action. And in Washington, perhaps most extraordinarily of all, 54 nations and international organizations joined together in a coordinating conference to divide labors and to help meet emergency humanitarian needs in the former Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, that conference forged a new coalition: a coalition no less important, I think, than the one that freed Kuwait. It is a new coalition to

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support democracy in the new states of the Soviet -- former Soviet Union; a coalition to help struggling peoples through the painful transition to a market economy. It's a coalition to combat an immediate, very human emergency. And above all, it's a coalition to provide hope in hard times: hope for a better future, not just for the peoples of the new states, but for the world at large. All of those extending a helping hand at the coordinating conference were united in common appreciation of the extraordinary promise attending the collapse of the Soviet Union. This promise would have been unimaginable even a few years ago: the prospect of close to 300,000 million people waking from an over 70-year nightmare of totalitarian rule and charting their own democratic destiny; the possibility of 12 new countries converting from a crippling command economy to vibrant free markets; and perhaps most importantly, the real hope of putting the world's nightmare of nuclear confrontation behind us.

This coalition, like the one that achieved victory in the Gulf, is firmly rooted in the principle of responsibility sharing. This does not mean totaling up a bill and then splitting the check. It means marshaling resources: financial, technical, and human resources from all of the interested parties -- private and public -- in support of a common goal. Working with other key international players, especially the G-7 countries, the European Community, and NATO, we can achieve together what we could never reach alone.

And this coalition, like the one we forged during the Gulf crisis, requires America once again to demonstrate leadership. Just as we led the alliance that won the Cold War, we must now help lead the coalition to win the peace.

For America's part, Mr. Chairman, our effort is well underway. Last week, an international c ntact team met in Minsk with representatives of the new states to discuss the action plans oference and to accelerateerence and to accelerate the process of international cooperation to help deal with the global emergency. Operation Provide Hope, a major short-term airliftnext week. Aircraft of rian assistance, begins next week. Aircraft of the United States Air Force will fly urgently needed food and medical supplies to each of the 12 new independent states where it is safe to do so. Over the next three months alone, we will provide wheat, dairy products, baby food, cooking oils, meat, antibiotics and other medicines to those most at risk, which of course are the old, the young and the sick. And we've appointed Ambassador Rich Armitage, a veteran troubleshooter, to serve as the United States operational coordinator.

This and other aid to the new states, of course, is no substitute for tough, domestic reforms. These new states need to maintain their commitment to economic reform and their commitment to political reform. But I am convinced, Mr. Chairman, that international help can play a very critical role in helping that reform.

I spoke earlier of the promises associated with the breakup of the Soviet Union. You have spoken, in your opening statement, about some of the risks that are associated with the breakup of the Soviet Union. And let me now speak bluntly about these risks.

The newly independent states are struggling bravely to create new societies based upon representative and accountable government, based upon the rule of law, and based upon the free market. But they do so burdened by the wreckage that's left over by 70 years of political and economic misrule. The temptations of ethnic conflict and authoritarian rule remain very strong. And despite dramatic progress on arms control, nearly 30,000 nuclear weapons remain stationed in the states of the former Soviet Union.

So, as we move ahead with helping overcome the humanitarian emergency, we must also help the new states guarantee the security of nuclear weapons; we must help them eliminate large numbers of those weapons; and we must help them safeguard against proliferation of weapons and technologies of mass

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destruction.
In this regard, Mr. Chairman, I visited Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus in December to discuss the need for these new governments to commit to and to implement responsible security policies. We sent Under Secretary for International Affairs Ambassador Bartholomew to visit the former Soviet Union last month to discuss issues of nuclear command and control, weapons destruction and dismantlement, and non-proliferation more generally. I also had productive discussions with President Yeltsin last week in Moscow, and President Bush, of course, had productive discussions at Camp David.
I will be following up on all of these meetings and discussions when I go to Moscow on Sunday. The assurances we have received through this high-level dialogue have been very positive, and we look forward to continuing them in the future.
As we move forward, we must ensure that the new states meet their pledge to keep nuclear weapons under single unified control. We must go forward with the destruction of tactical nuclear weapons resulting from President Bush's dramatic initiative of September 27. We are helping the new states accelerate the dismantling of nuclear weapons even as we speak. We must see that the new states honor their commitment to implement the START, CFE, and Non-Proliferation treaties. And we must help the new states of the former Soviet Union fashion effective export controls. President Yeltsin's announced intention to adopt legislation regulating dual-use technology is very welcome. We must also develop specific proposals for scientific cooperation aimed at reducing incentives for scientists to transfer their expertise to would-be proliferators. And, Mr. Chairman, we will shortly name a senior State Department official who will be coordinating this effort.
Of course -- and I disagree, Senator Helms, with your comments with respect to this issue -- I think there are very good reasons why we ourselves should move quickly toward ratifying the START treaty, and I'll be glad to address myself to those during the question and answer session. START really remains a critical element in our relationship with the new states. First of all, the START verification regime increases transparency and openness at a time of great turbulence and great change. Secondly, it creates a legally binding regime which creates obligations that will make it easier for us to lock in substantial and stabilizing reductions. And third, it provides a sound structure and ground rules within which further reductions can be quickly achieved. Lastly, Mr. Chairman, START encourages Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to seek a non-nuclear future.
I don't wish to strike to any extent a note of alarm. Indeed, like the leaders and people of the new states themselves, I'm full of hope for a better future for them and for us. But I still, Mr. Chairman, must stress: The belief that the world is safe enough to suffer a little American neglect is just plain wrong. This administration believes and our budget assumes that American leadership remains a necessity and not a luxury.
In fiscal 1993, Mr. Chairman, we seek $22.1 billion in discretionary budget authority for international affairs, and we seek $20.6 billion in outlays. Our request is within the limits on budget authority and outlays set by the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990, and I think it is a lean budget for lean times. But this is also a flexible budget, one that reflects the changed international environment in which we live. And let me conclude by just highlighting several areas.
Aid to the states of the former Soviet Union is the centerpiece of our budget request. We seek $620 million in new humanitarian, technical and emergency assistance for fiscal years '92 and '93. Combined with $860 million in funds available under existing legislation, and $3.75 billion in CCC export

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guarantees, our proposals will provide more than $5 billion in much-needed help to the new states.
In peacekeeping as with our help for the republics of the former Soviet Union, we intend, Mr. Chairman, to put our money where our mouth is. We seek to reinforce the new solidarity of the United Nations that was first displayed during the Gulf crisis and to support its key role in defusing regional conflicts. We therefore propose $350 million as an amendment to the fiscal 1992 budget, and $350 million in the fiscal 1993 budget to support the United States' fair share of new and expected peacekeeping activities in Cambodia, in El Salvador, in Africa, the Mideast and perhaps even in Yugoslavia.
We consider these funds nothing less than an investment in peace, as we do our proposal to make a third installment of $150 million on arrearages that we owe to the United Nations and other international organizations. In addition, Mr. Chairman, we believe it is critical that we meet our commitments for the IMF quota increase. In combination with other member states, this would provide the increase in the IMF capital base that is necessary for this institution to take a leading role in fostering economic restructuring in Russia and in the other new independent states.
Foreign assistance remains an essential tool in advancing United States interests in the 1990s. It permits timely, flexible support for our interests in political pluralism, free market economic development, peacemaking and strong alliances. Total foreign assistance will decline $465 million in fiscal 1993 from our fiscal '92 request level of $16.3 billion, down to $15. 8 billion. The collapse of the Soviet Union has produced a once-in-a-century opportunity to advance American interests and American values throughout the world. One of our top priorities will be opening new embassies in the former Soviet Union and expanding our presence in the Baltics and Cambodia. Just last month, Mr. Chairman, we've opened embassies in Kiev, Alma-Ata, Minsk, Bishkek, and Yerevan. In fiscal 1993, we seek $2.1 billion for State Department opreations, an increase of $115 million over the current year.
Mr. Chairman, I'd like to return to an observation I made at the very beginning of these remarks. We are moving into a new era. It is an age that is so new that it has yet to acquire a name. We enjoy the unique opportunity to help shape this new era and to define it for generations to come. Is it going to be known as the era of neo-isolationism? A second age of protectionism? The era of proliferation? The age of dirty little wars? Or will it be known as the era of prosperity, the age of democracy, the long peace? The choice, in so many ways, Mr. Chairman, is ours.
Thank you very much.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Secretary. Because of the interests of all of us at the hearing getting a chance to question you, we will limit the time to about six minutes for each one of us, and I will start out limiting myself in that regard.
I'd like to return to the question of the deep reductions beyond START. And as I mentioned earlier, President Bush and Yeltsin have proposed deep reductions, and the Yeltsin levels are substantially below the Bush levels. What is your reaction to the Yeltsin proposals, and will you be discussing these cuts next week in Moscow? And if you plan to see the treaty amended, about what time? March 20th, or through that period of time?
SEC. BAKER: See the treaty what, sir?
SEN. PELL: Coming up here ready for ratification.
SEC. BAKER: With respect to the last question --
SEN. PELL: With the -- with the amendments.
SEN. PELL: Well -- with respect to the last question, Mr. Chairman, we -- the treaty has been submitted for ratification, and we hope that specific hearings

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with -- in that regard will begin during the course of this month. It was my understanding from our prior telephone conversations that we were looking at sometime during the course of the last week or so or last 10 days of this month to begin those, maybe the last two weeks.

We think there are good reasons why the treaty, as negotiated and signed, should be ratified. But putting that aside for the moment, let me say that with respect to the -- should be ratified without amendment before we begin the ratification process. Now, ultimately, there will have to be, in all probability, amendments with respect to the question of signatory parties or -- commitments to the treaty by the three nuclear republics other than the Russian republic. But we'll talk -- we can talk about that more in a minute.

I think I said in my opening statement I would be going to Moscow Sunday. That is not totally accurate. I will be going to the former Soviet Union after stopping off in Frankfurt, but I will be leaving the United States on Sunday. It's my present plan to have meetings regarding these various arms control proposals in Moscow around the 15-16 February timeframe. And we will be discussing at that time in detail with the leadership of the Russian Federation their reaction to and response to President Bush's initiative in the State of the Union and our reaction and response to the proposals that President Yeltsin has since made.

Let me say we very much welcome President Yeltsin's prompt and positive response to the initiatives that were announced by President Bush in the State of the Union. I think we need to all understand that the proposals President Bush announced would take us down to a level almost 50 percent below the level to which we would be reduced after START was ratified and implemented. So, those proposals are in and of themselves very, very signigicant and substantial. We find the comments that President Yeltsin made on ballistic missile defenses very encouraging. We will be discussing those in detail when we get there.

With respect to strategic forces, Mr. Chairman, let me say that we continue to believe that the most important joint step that our two nations could take now would be to eliminate ICBMs with multiple warheads because they are the most destabilizing of all of the strategic nuclear weapons. The President made it clear in his State of the Union address that we are prepared in the context of their considering that de-MIRVing proposal, de-MIRVing of ICBMs, we're prepared to take steps to address some of their concerns such as reducing submarine warheads, terminating production of the W-88, and reorienting some of our bombers from nuclear to conventional roles.

We will be discussing all of these as we move forward now, and the proposals themselves, both President Bush's and President Yeltsin's, are really quite far-reaching in terms of what we have been used to in the past.

SEN. PELL: From the viewpoint of with whom we will negotiate, I was struck when I was there a couple of weeks ago that the nuclear states were all very desirous of turning the weapons over to the Russians and letting them have the responsibility for dismantling. Is it your thought we will be negotiating with all four of the nuclear states, or just with Russia as the agent of the other three?

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Chairman, we are -- based on the meetings that we have had so far, and going back particularly to the meetings that were held during the course of my trip in December, the follow-up meetings of the team led by Under Secretary Bartholomew, we have already had quite an extensive security dialogue with the four republics that have nuclear weapons. We are very pleased with the position of all of those republics with respect to the development of a single command over Soviet nuclear forces. We think that issue has been determined, and all of those four republics cooperated to meet what was a concern, I think, of the rest of the world in that regard. We think there has

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been very good progress made in collecting and storing and -- well, collecting and storing tactical nuclear weapons with the view -- with the possibility -- the distinct possibility, in our view, that all such tactical nuclear weapons will be in the Russian republic by July 1 of 1992. We have engaged with them with respect to the process of collection, storing, disabling, and destroying those nuclear weapons, and we think we're beginning to make very -- we've made very good progress on the first three. We're beginning to make some good progress with respect to the latter. And we will have some specific things to talk to them about in that regard when this mission gets over there in the next two weeks.

SEN. PELL: Thank you very much. My time has expired.

Senator Helms.

SEN. HELMS: I just mentioned to Senator Pell, Mr. Secretary, the possibility of maybe the committee meeting with you and -- so we can talk about some aspects of this START Treaty. And it may very well be that some of the concerns can be relieved.

I want to concentrate on two drug matters, if I may.

SEC. BAKER: Two what?

SEN. HELMS: Two drug matters.

SEC. BAKER: Yeah.

SEN. HELMS: I wanted to ask you when you came in if you saw the latest issue of the Far Eastern Economic Review, which is a subsidiary of the Wall Street Journal, and one of last August, a New York Times, alleging that Burma is exporting heroin into the United States and using the money derived from this trade to purchase arms from Deng Xiaoping's son-in-law. Now, a billion dollars' worth of narcotics and arms are involved. Are you aware of this report? Now, we've looked into it, and it seems very credible to us.

SEC. BAKER: I'm not personally aware of the report that you refer to. I am aware of the rather disturbing record of the government of Burma with respect to the question of drugs.

SEN. HELMS: Right. But the arms trading is a significant factor, and --. Does anybody in your administration know enough about this to talk to us about it?

SEC. BAKER: Sure. I'm sure there will be -- I'm sure there are --

SEN. HELMS: But you don't know?

SEC. BAKER: -- people down there --

SEN. HELMS: But you don't know?

SEC. BAKER: Well, I can talk to you about the drug trading, and I can tell you --

SEN. HELMS: Well, I'm -- I'm talking about the arms slop, you know, too. Burma is exporting the heroin to the United States, using the money derived from this trade to purchase arms from Deng Xiaoping's son-in-law. Now this is a significant thing, Mr. Secretary, and --

SEC. BAKER: I'm aware that China has sold arms to Burma, Mr. -- Senator Helms, and we have repeatedly told the Chinese the we oppose these sales. I'm also aware that Burma is the largest producer of heroin --

SEN. HELMS: Right.

SEC. BAKER: -- and that we've been working with some of the working-level officials of that government through our drug enforcement administration to curtail this production. But the results have been so unsatisfactory that we have not certified Burma in our annual drug reports as cooperating with respect to the fight against drugs.

SEN. HELMS: Janet just handed you a note. Maybe --

SEC. BAKER: Yes. It's a very good answer to your question. It says the Ambassador Designate to Burma, Parker Borg, is having a hearing before this committee this afternoon, and he obviously will be prepared to discuss all of

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the nuances of this with you. (Laughter.)
SEN. HELMS: All right. That's the answer I wanted. Thank you, Janet. (Laughter.)
SEC. BAKER: Right on!
SEN. HELMS: The other -- Lebanon, as you know --
SEC. BAKER: It's a big world out there, Senator. (Laughing.) (Laughter.)
SEN. HELMS: Lebanon -- and don't charge all this laughter to my time, if you will, Mr. -- Lebanon is becoming a major producer of opium, and much of that opium is being produced in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley. Now, there's credible information that over 20 percent of the heroin imported into the United States comes from Syrian-occupied Lebanon. Now, routine updates from the DEA indicate that top Syrian officials, army officers, are implicated in this heroin business, and then there are reports that both the United States and the Israeli intelligence have documents implicating the Syrian Minister of Defense, Mustafa Talas, in drug smuggling himself.
And we have in our hands a wealth of information detailing Syrian military complicity in the opium trade, and we know that these drugs are coming into this country and killing our people, but the US Drug Enforcement Agency has, in fact, given money to the Syrian regime to destroy the drug crops.
Now, maybe Janet can hand you a note on this. But I am concerned about this drug thing, the swapping and our supporting, de facto or otherwise, people that we ought not to be supporting. And I would like some comment from you on this, and I'm not trying to be irrelevant, because I think this is vastly important to the American people.
SEC. BAKER: I can't comment on the intelligence aspects of what you've just mentioned there, Senator Helms. I can comment on your statement that we are supporting people we ought not to be supporting. I don't think we are. I don't know what you mean by supporting people. We do have continuing discussions with the Syrian government, again through DEA, a bureau of the Justice Department, of course, on narcotics cooperation, and we have not been -- we do not believe that the Syrians have taken adequate steps in terms of narcotic control, with particular reference to Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley. And we continue to urge them to cooperate with the government of Lebanon -- that is the government of Syria to cooperate with Lebanon -- to establish and implement a comprehensive drug eradication program in the Bekaa. So, it's not an issue that we are not unaware of, and it's not an issue that we haven't addressed in our dialogue with representatives of the Syrian government. And we're working on it through our Drug Enforcement Administration as well. So, we're doing it politically and diplomatically, but also at the drug working level.
SEN. HELMS: Mr. Secretary, we need to do more than that. At least, we need to be assured of more than that. And I'm not going to carry it further because my time is up. But we have got to crack down on these people with both fists who are shipping this heroin and other drugs into this country and using money from the United States to buy arms from China. And that's the point I'm making. You've got a thread and a circle that is disturbing, to say the least.
My time is up, and I thank you very much.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much.
Senator Biden.
SEN. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR. (D-DE): Mr. Chairman, I'd like to ask unanimous consent that a statement I have be placed in the record as if read.
SEN. PELL: Without objection.
SEN. BIDEN: And there are so many questions, Mr. Secretary, but to get right to it, I'd like to make one comment. And that is that some have suggested there is occasionally some reluctance on the part of the administration to be more forthcoming with regard to a plan or plans to bolster the prospects of a free

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market system in the former Soviet Union because of criticism from the Democratic Party and Democrats that you're paying attention to foreign policy rather than domestic policy. I would like to say to you now that any constructive aid program for the Commonwealth of Independent States that you come forward with, although it will obviously have some give and take to it, I pledge to you that I'm one Democrat who'll stand with you and argue against any Democrat or anyone else who suggests that it's not what you should be doing.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you, Senator.
SEN. BIDEN: I am of the view that administrations can walk and chew gum at the same time. There's no reason why we can't have a vigorous foreign policy, and at the same time have a vigorous domestic policy. And although you will hear me criticize the lack of a domestic policy, it will not be because you have a foreign policy if you move. I just want to make that clear, number one.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you.
SEN. BIDEN: Number two, since the time is short, I will not go into some of the economic questions I had, but let me get right to what -- I'll follow up what Senator Pell had asked you about, about reductions, potential reductions, potential amendments, to the START treaty. You've acknowledged we're going to end up having to amend the START treaty because of the nature of the change in the bodies with whom we have to sign a treaty. It is not the same entity with whom the initial treaty was negotiated.
And I would respectfully ask you, in light of the fact that the President is now talking about something on the order of 4,700 warheads and Yeltsin's talking about 2,500, why should we consider ratifying a treaty that ratifies the level at eight to nine thousand? Why not now just simply amend the START treaty? Let us move forward in a timely fashion. If it means the delay of a month, it's not dispositive of what's likely to happen to the treaty, in my view, and ratify it at levels that every one in the world seems -- (laughs) -- and almost everyone in the Senate except possibly Senator Helms -- and I don't say that facetiously, I say that with respect; I mean, he has a different view on this -- that almost everyone thinks we should do. Why not do it now?
SEC. BAKER: Senator, first of all, there has not beena greement.
SEN. BIDEN: I know that.
SEC. BAKER: And so until you have agreement, you don't have anything to ratify. One of the things that I hope will flow from our discussions there on the 15th and 16th is at least progress toward some further agreement, whether it's based on the President's initiative or President Yeltsin's or a combination or what -- what it is. But there's a lot of room now out there for additional agreement, but we don't have that agreement.
Now, we do have an agreement that took us 10 years to conclude in the form of the START treaty, and it is a very good agreement from the standpoint of the United States, and it would be good to lock it in and get it ratified. Now, we will have to have some amendments with respect to the question of signatory parties, but our people, particularly the legal people, are quite confident that that commitment can be recorded in a legally binding manner.
We have oral commitments from the leadership of Ukraine, Belerus, Kazakhstan, and Russia that they will adhere to, ratify, confirm, and exceed to START -- whatever words -- verb you want to use. And our people tell us that can be done in a legal fashion. So --
SEN. BIDEN: I'm confident they're right.
SEC. BAKER: So what we're suggesting is that you start your technical hearings. You've got -- there's a lot of -- there's a lot -- you've got to Chair them, and you know. Get it strated, because it's important that we get this treaty ratified.
SEN. BIDEN: Mr. Secretary, let me be clear. I'm not suggesting we don't start

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the hearings or start the process. I'm asking -- let me ask the question a slightly different way. If, in fact, you believe that we should be reducing, as the administration suggests, well below the 9,000 plus level that START would allow us to be at, if that -- we believe that, and I know you do, it seems to me that the actual numerical reduction is the least complicated, assuming there is an agreement by the Soviet -- by the Russian -- by Yeltsin, et al., assuming there is agreement, it is the least complicated piece of the START treaty, the overall numbers.

All the rest is extremely complicated -- the verification regimes and everything else that you have fastidiously and so -- I think skilfully put in place. And so my request to you is that if that is your aim, I would fervently urge you to put the prospect of reducing the numbers within the present START agreement the highest item on your agenda when you speak with Mr. Yeltsin.

My time is about to be up. The last point, because this is the way this committee works and all committees; you have to get it in.

SEN. PELL: That's right. Go for it.

SEN. BIDEN: You -- you have a statement and you say -- in your statement, you say "We must see that the new states honor their commitment to implement START, CFE, and nonproliferation treaties." It seems like your statement was deafening in its absence of the phrase "ABM."

SEC. BAKER: Well, it's not intended to be, and we -- we're -- because I said we're encouraged by what President Yeltsin suggested with respect to the possibility of looking at cooperation in the defense area. We need to do a lot more exploring of that. That might very well require -- might, I said "might" -- require some amendments to the AMB treaty. We are not walking away, Senator, from the ABM treaty. We --

SEN. BIDEN: Is it our official policy to -- the United States policy -- to uphold the ABM treaty and to alter it only through negotiation? Is that your position?

SEC. BAKER: That is -- our position has not changed one bit with respect to the ABM treaty. People say because you didn't go to the Soviet Union and talk to them. When you used CFE and START, you didn't say "ABM". We didn't say "TT", "BT", and "PNET", either. But we expect these successor states to observe the provisions of all of the treaties to which we were a party with the former Soviet Union. Just because we haven't named each and every one of them, really, is not something that has any significance. And we are not considering any abrogation of that treaty. As you know, we -- for a long time, we have advocated some changes to the treaty to permit the sides to deploy limited defenses.

SEN. BIDEN: Thank you, and I compliment you on what you've done so far. Be bold. The nation's with you.

SEC. BAKER: Senator, let me just add there, if I might: it's not a case just to -- we can't just talk about more cuts, more reductions. We got to talk about those which are the most -- those reductions which would contribute the most to stability. So we -- there are some things that need to be worked on and worked out, and we have no assurance that some of these proposals that either President Yeltsin or President Bush made that call for reciprocal actions will be agreed to, notwithstanding all the changes in the political atmosphere. So if we said we were going to hold START up or wait on it until we got these, I think it'd be a big mistake, and I hope we'll move forward.

SEN. BIDEN: There are a lot of guys in the basement of the Pentagon who are thinking of new targets for 8,000 weapons or 4,700 that aren't needed. Thank you.

SEN. PELL: Thank you very much, indeed.

Senator Lugar.

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SEN. LUGAR: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
Secretary Baker, I appreciate the comments that Senator Biden has made, because I think -- first of all, he stated that, as a Democrat, he's prepared to work as he has been for the foreign policy of our country. Now, I would just say as one Republican I feel the same way. I think the President and you ought to spend as much time as is necessary to pin down these opportunities for peace that you've talked about eloquently. And --
SEC. BAKER: Thank you, Senator. We have --
SEN. LUGAR: -- you really have emphasized the foreign policy of this country as a very important objective of what government is all about.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you very much, sir, and thanks to Senator Biden as well, because we do have a historic opportunity here. And this is one issue, it seems to me, that we ought to remove if possible from the political debate and let politics stop at the water's edge as we deal with this remarkable -- the remarkable changes that have taken place over there after 70 years.
SEN. LUGAR: In response to Senator Biden, you pointed out that, in your judgment, it is best to pin down what we have achieved in START, and I tend to be persuaded by what you're saying. I think that he has a point that the possibilities for dramatic reductions are at hand. I know that you're attempting to seize those -- will attempt to codify them if they're possible. I would just emphasize I share his viewpoint that it may be that, even as we're discussing ratification of this treaty -- and it ought not to be delayed -- we set in motion substantial opportunities for ratification of other agreements, even in this calendar year. I would hope that might be possible. And you'll be close to this committee as those developments occur, because you'll be relying upon this committee, since the Senator from Delaware, as I understand it, will chair these hearings, to get a prompt activity and likewise strong advocacy on the floor.
My suggestion today is taken from your statement on page nine, "Investing in Diplomacy", and you've pointed out that we have a once-in-a-century opportunity to advance American interests throughout the world, and the top priorities will be opening new embassies in the former Soviet Union. And you've indicated five embassies have been opened, in addition to the Russian Federation. I suppose -- and this -- only you can know from the administration of your own department, but I would have thought it would be useful to open up embassies in all twelve of the republics, and to do so promptly because other countries are doing so, even in the six that we have thus far not indicated will find proper recognition and embassies. Iran, for one, appears to be active in some of those republics. So do other countries that do not (certainly ?) wish us well. And even in the five where we have the embassies, we don't have ambassadors. And I know the personnel problems must be acute, but, given the thrust of what you're saying, why don't we recognize the rest, open embassies, and appoint ambassadors? It just seems to me the ballgame is being played out there very vigorously and that we're not really on the field.
SEC. BAKER: Senator Lugar, that's a very good question. Let me make sure everyone understands, we have recognized the independence of all of the former republics of the Soviet Union. We have recognized their independence. We have now established diplomatic relations with the ones that are mentioned in my statement.
We have -- we early on announced some principles that would govern our approach to these new nations as they emerged: commitment to CSCE principles, respect for human rights, minority rights, democracy, free markets, and, above all else perhaps, or at least certainly as important as anything else, nuclear safety considerations. We have -- when I conclude this next trip, the trip that begins on Sunday, I will have sat down face-to-face, eyeball- to-eyeball with the

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leaders of each one of these new nations and gotten those commitments from those leaders.
And it is only that that is holding -- that is all but three, three that we are not now programmed to visit primarily for reasons that there's some disturbances going on in some of those former republics. But we will have received the kinds of assurances that we think are important before we establish diplomatic relations. And it's my thought that if we receive those assurances -- and I have no reason to think we will not -- that we will then move promptly.
But, quite frankly, Senator Lugar, we are out in front of everybody else in establishing embassies and posting diplomats to these various countries, at least anybody else, I think, in the West. You're quite right that with respect to the Central Asian republics, some countries are moving, Turkey, Iran, and others, but we will be moving as well, and we will be doing so in the short term.
SEN. LUGAR: I appreciate that assurance and, as you say, maybe in three cases, you will conclude that satisfactory arrangements have been made. Three remain apparently out there that you'll have to --
SEC. BAKER: Well, with respect to one of those, we've already established diplomatic relations. And with respect to two, we have not as yet done so, but it may be that we can find a way to get the kinds of assurances we want without actually going into those republics.
SEN. LUGAR: Let me correct a misstatement. The distinguished chairman of the committee, Senator Pell, will be conducting the hearings on START, I'm informed, and I'm delighted that that is the case.
Let me ask one further question, and that is that you've mentioned your own trip in December, Secretary Bartholomew's trip, trying to pin down who is responsible for the collection and transportation, what have you, of tactical nuclear weapons. It appears, at least to some of us who are trying to follow that from the Senate side, that it's been very difficult for Secretary Bartholomew to determine precisely with whom to deal. And maybe he will have better luck, or you will, as you proceed. Now, the trend of movement of these weapons back to Russia appears to be clear, but the persons with whom to talk, negotiate, and to operate is less clear. Do you have any comment on that? Are you assured from your standpoint that you or Bartholomew know who can deal effectively in Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation with the tactical weapons and their collection and dismantlement?
SEC. BAKER: I think we do, Senator Lugar, although I must say that the transformations that have taken place there have been so dramatic that it's not just in the security area that sometimes you have questions about exactly who your -- the proper interlocutors are. You have the same problem sometimes in the economic area. But I think that we have made some very good progress, as I say, on issues involving collection, storage, dismantling.
Destruction is one we're -- we will be having some suggestions that we will advance when we get there.
But, I think in this area we do know who to talk to, and that we are talking to the right people, and that the progress that's been made, particularly with respect to tactical nuclear weapons, is more than people really anticipated in terms of -- that is, in terms of collecting them and getting them ready for movement to the Russian Federation.
SEN. LUGAR: I thank you and just ask you to stay closely in touch, if you will, as --
SEC. BAKER: We will, indeed. And we are very appreciative of the leading role that you played in obtaining last year funding, the $400 million which is in the Defense Department's appropriation bill, the funding that's necessary in order for us to do this. Let me add here, Senator Lugar, that we will also be

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addressing in more detail with our Russian interlocutors the question of brain drain and scientific knowhow when we get over there.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much indeed.
Senator Sarbanes.
SEN. PAUL S. SARBANES (D-MD): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Secretary, we're pleased to welcome you. I share your view of the effective work that Senator Lugar and Senator Nunn did last year in making some money of the defense money available to be used for the destruction of the nuclear weapons. I'd just make the comment we kept trying to get the administration to say that they were for this thing in order to help us move it here through the Congress, and we couldn't get that. I think it would have helped. As it turned out, it carried by a very overwhelming margin in the Senate, but it woud have helped. I just want to make that observation.
SEC. BAKER: Well, Senator Sarbanes, the best thing is that now we have a truce, it seems to me. I've taken on board very clearly what Senator Biden said. I should add that Senator Mitchell made similar comments the other day on a television program. And I have heard from the Majority Leader in the House of Representatives. And I think that's really a very good bipartisan approach to this problem. That was not the case -- that was not the case last year.
SEN. SARBANES: Now, there's no doubt you're in the Secretary's position in an extraordinary time. As you say in your statement, it marks the end of one era and the birth of another. I really want to add perhaps a new dimension. But it's obvious that as the security dimension of our international agenda, in a sense, diminishes since the security threat will diminish, not that it's been eliminated as you wisely point out in your statement, but it's clearly been diminished and will no longer dominate, I think, the international agenda as it has done in the past, that the economic dimension is going to become more and more important.
Now, that raises difficult questions in terms of our dealings with those that were clearly close allies in the security arrangement may become much more competitive in the economic arena, perhaps even confrontational. And, therefore, I'm very much interested in the administration's comprehensive international economic policy. And I'm first interested in who makes that policy in the administration? Who's responsible for it, for really -- I mean, you know, we've got the trade negotiator and we've got the Treasury that does certain things, State Department does certain things, so forth and so on. Are you at the center of the making of international economic policy as well?
SEC. BAKER: Well, we certainly have a major role in that, Senator Sarbanes, but I think that what I -- the way I would answer that for you is to say that particularly State and Treasury have major roles to play there. We've been deeply involved in those questions as they relate to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, as they relate to the emergence of these twelve new nations. We, as you know -- those two agencies and departments are the two that attend the annual economic summits with the President.
But there are other agencies and departments that are likewise involved: the Office of the Special Trade Representative, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, and others. So, it's a -- it is not a -- I mean, it is done in a cooperative way in terms of the way it's approached, and that's been my experience in three administrations with respect to the way international economic policy is formulated and implemented.
SEN. SARBANES: Well, would you agree that previously, given the central role the United States played in security arrangements, and given the concern of others about security matters, that the United States had a sort of a stepped-up influence across the board? Now, if security matters diminish, that influence may not continue in the same way. The economic matters may become more

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controversial. And we have to adjust to that change in circumstance in terms of how we deal with these economic issues. In other words, I'm -- what I'm --
SEC. BAKER: I think the --
SEN. SARBANES: -- suggesting to you is the past way of dealing with this international economic dimension in our policy may not be adequate to the new challenges since this is going to move more and more into the very center of focus and attention.
SEC. BAKER: I think it will be more important, but I think it's always been very important, Senator Sarbanes, and, frankly, I do not see a displacement, if you will, of the security role that the United States has played around the world -- a leadership security role -- by the economic dimension. I think international economics has always been an important part of our foreign policy, and we spend a lot of time on it at the State Department, and I, of course, spent an extraordinary amount of time on it for three and a half years as Secretary of the Treasury.
SEN. SARBANES: Well, --
SEC. BAKER: But it is a cooperative effort between particularly those two departments and other agencies within the executive branch that have a legitimate interest and role.
SEN. SARBANES: Well, let me just turn to substance for a moment. What would you list as the major economic issues on the administration's agenda now, in the -- international economic issues?
SEC. BAKER: I think the question of how we relate to the transformations that are going on in the former Soviet Union is right at the top of the agenda. I mean, that's very important. I think the North American Free Trade Agreement that I mentioned in my opening remarks is very, very important. I think the Uruguay Round is not just an economic -- if it fails, it's not just going to be -- create an economic crisis, in my view. I think it's going to create major political problems and, perhaps, even a political crisis. It's that important. Now, clearly, the Office of the Special Trade Representative has a major role to play in those agreements. They have to negotiate them. But the policy positions that the United States takes in those negotiations are worked out interagency, through cooperation and coordination with State and Treasury playing a major role.
SEN. SARBANES: Do you see a global slow-down as a major concern? There are some disturbing trends developing in these other major industrial countries --
SEC. BAKER: Yes.
SEN. SARBANES: -- that lead one to be very apprehensive --
SEC. BAKER: Yes.
SEN. SARBANES: -- that we're going to be caught up in a worldwide slow-down.
SEC. BAKER: I do see that as a problem. And let me say that, with respect to questions of multilateral policy coordination and certainly exchange rate management and that sort of -- that sort of thing, the Treasury Department has and should have the lead. But yes, I do see that as a problem. And I think it's a problem that was addressed by the G-7 finance ministers in a meeting just recently on the 25th or 26th of January.
SEN. SARBANES: Yeah. I'd just make this final comment: I don't think they addressed it very well, I must say to you, at that meeting in Long Island outside of Kennedy Airport. I thought that we didn't begin to get out of that meeting what was needed to address the international economic situation.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much.
Senator Kassebaum.
SEN. KASSEBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, Senator Murkowski asks that a statement of his be made a part of the record.
Secondly, I would like to reiterate what several have said, Mr. Secretary,

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about a strong, stable foreign policy being important. But it's important to domestic policy, as well, and I think there's no better illustration than the Uruguay Round of the GATT talks, as an example, or the North American Free Trade Agreement. Certainly, we understand it in Kansas, where agriculture is taking a -- is very important, and the outcome of the Uruguay Round is particularly important.

But I would like to just ask, first on the collective engagement, and following a little bit some comments that Senator Sarbanes raised. I think that's an interesting new phrase to coin for our policy, and I think it's an important one, I think not only with our partners abroad but here at home, as well. And I would say collective engagement in coordination among our own departments and agencies -- sometimes that doesn't succeed as much as we would like.

And I think this is true in trade policy, as an example. I think it's true also in dealing with the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as Eastern European states. And I find it troubling that, reported in this morning's paper, President Walesa is raising some significant criticisms against the West for conditions existing in Poland. President Yeltsin made some similar comments in Canada, I believe, to US businessmen about American investments and American business.

But one of the reasons that it becomes a significant problem as I understand it, is that there is very little certainty from the American business community about what kind of conditions they can expect and/or assistance even in guiding them to go abroad. I personally was particularly disappointed to hear the comments regarding Poland, because I've been a strong supporter of the Citizens for Democracy coalition in which the private sector has been very invovled in trying to assist in Eastern Europe. Union Pacific, for instance, has spent a great deal of time trying to help the railroads in Poland to establish a system and move away from the nationalization there.

So I guess my question is just -- you speak to this coalition in very broad terms, and a largue number of countries, of course, were involved here and elsewhere. But are we -- are we really working on the specifics enough, and precisely sort of what will the coalition do? Is it breaking down in dealing with agriculture? Is it breaking down in dealing with assistance with financial structure? I mean -- or are they just sort of -- are we just talking in generalities?

SEC. BAKER: Sell, Senator Kassebaum --

SEN. KASSEBAUM: Regarding not only the CIS --

SEC. BAKER: -- let me say the -- my reference to a new coalition has to do with the coordinating conference that we held here in order to direct world attention to the opportunity that's presented here as well as the risks. And I think we were successful in doing that because we had not only the United States, European countries, we had countries from Asia and Latin America and the Persian Gulf, all attending and agreeing in various ways to commit. And they are commiting. And I think it was important. That's what I meant by a new coalition.

Actually, with respect to Eastern and Central Europe -- you take Poland, for instance -- the coalition was perhaps less global in nature, but it was brought together quite some time ago through a G-24 exercise that was headed by the European Community and that was quite successful. And there has been quite a bit of assistance provided, I think -- I can't remember the exact number for Poland, but it's way up in the billions of dollars.

It is hard for these countries to change their entire economy after many, many years of going in the exact opposite direction of a free market. It's going to be even harder for the former republics of the Soviet Union because they've had 70 years of commitment to a central communist -- central-planned state

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economy.
The countries of Central and Eastern Europe, particularly Czechoslovakia and Hungary, are coming along. They are -- it's hard, but they are beginning to succeed, and frankly, we were more optimistic than the comments that President Walesa made about the chances for success in Poland.
SEN. KASSEBAUM: Well, I -- I certainly understand that. I think everybody does. I guess my concern is whether it's going to take a lot of sort of nurturing and consistency working with this, and whether the collective engagement, so to speak, for either the Commonwealth of Independent States or Eastern Europe is so sort of broad-based that it's not coordinating enough in precise ways that we can kind of provide a framework there that's going to be ongoing, because it isn't going to be easy. But that's what troubles me.
SEC. BAKER: Mmm-hmm.
SEN. KASSEBAUM: And if I may move on to --
SEC. BAKER: On -- just one quick comment on the point you made about businessmen and investment, there won't be, of course, investment in these countries until the -- until the necessary free market policies are adopted and until mechanisms are put in place where the investor knows that he can be secure in his investment, that he can repatriate his profits, and that sort of thing.
SEN. KASSEBAUM: But doesn't -- this is sort of which comes first, the chicken or the egg. It seems to me that investments have to come. At the same time, of course, those conditions have to be there that would allow the investment -- investors to feel comfortable going. But that's why I think we need to help with that framework of stability --
SEC. BAKER: Well, I --
SEN. KASSEBAUM: -- so that investors can feel they can go.
SEC. BAKER: I think that's why we are asking for money from you and willing to commit as much as we are for technical economic assistance. Technical assistance we see as a bridge between humanitarian short-term emergency assistance and the medium and long-term economic assistance possibilities that would probably be carried out through the international financial institutions.
SEN. KASSEBAUM: Well, I have five other very important questions, and my time is up.
SEC. BAKER: Maybe we'll get to them as we get --
SEN. KASSEBAUM: I hope so, but I think regarding the technical assistance money, I come back again, Mr. Secretary, to all of us feeling it's important. I think if we're just certain, again, exactly how it's being used and what coordination there is with other countries providing this assistance.
Thank you.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much.
Senator Cranston.
SEN. ALAN CRANSTON (D-CA): Mr. Secretary, I welcome you. I want to say at the outset that I appreciate and understand the difficulties under which you are working, not the least of which is the challenge of explaining to the American people why in this era of economic uncertainty in the United States, support for the republics of the former Soviet Union is not only morally correct but politically sound and a sound investment for us as well.
I want you to know that I strongly support more, not less, assistance to the republics of the former Soviet Union as they make the transition to democracy and a market economy. And I join with Senator Biden and Senator Lugar in stating emphatically that I am not going to criticize, I will support whatever reasonable efforts you make to devote the attention of this administration, the President, and our resources to promoting democracy and stability in that part of the world.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you, Senator.

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SEN. CRANSTON: I realize that we have truly great domestic needs, but in helping the former Soviet Union, we can help further decrease our own military burden, we can maximize the potential for American jobs and for markets.

I think we can do better than we are now doing. Last week the Washington Post carried a story about the 1920 relief effort headed by future President Herbert Hoover in those days, the venture that helped save the Soviet Union and many of its people, millions of them, from starvation. It was one of the most successful humanitarian acts in history. It's estimated that between 10 and 20 million Russians survived as a result of Hoover's effort. Even now in this age of far more rapid travel and delivery of goods, the size of the Hoover relief effort dwarfs what we are doing today. If Herbert Hoover, of all people, could convince Americans to open their hearts and their purposes to Soviet communists, cannot the Bush administration offer a comparable effort to Russia and to other fledgling democracies whose advent to power has so immensely improved the prospect for world peace and, presumably, prosperity? Obviously, in this highly charged political environment, a presidential election year, a real selling job is needed. But those of us who dealt with you and Larry Eagleburger month in and month out know you can do it.

The end of the Cold War has helped to reduce the gulf that separated Democrats and Republicans in the foreign policy area. A return to an earlier bipartisanship can and must be forged on the critical issue of support for democracy and development in the republics of the former Soviet Union. A reduction in the threat to democracy there obviously offers a comparable reduction in the threat to our security right here.

General Marshall noted at the end of World War II that a country that did not respect the human rights of its own citizens would not respect its neighbors either. The Argentine generals' invasion of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, Manuel Noriega's drugrunning to the US, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait are only some of the sad confirmations of Marshall's wisdom in recent events. We must help the Commonwealth to survive and prosper if we expect to enjoy the hard-won fruits of the post-Cold War period.

Mr. Secretary, I may be bumping into you in Russia. I expect to be over there next week on a factfinding mission where I expect to meet with several officials of the Russian government and others. I hope to get their reactions to such important items as US aid, arms reductions, non-proliferation, and progress toward democracy and a market economy. I want to help by playing a constructive role on these issues, so I ask you first do you have any thoughts for me that might be useful in my talks with Russian officials? I presume that perhaps the most helpful thing I can do is say that many of us in the Congress will support whatever efforts the administration makes to be constructively helpful there.

SEC. BAKER: I think that would be helpful, Senator. And, beyond that, I think just asking the questions that you've just indicated you were going to ask could be helpful. It's -- there's a great deal of flux over there, a lot of changes taking place. I think it's important with respect to the issue of humanitarian assistance that we know that the assistance, when delivered, will reach the people for whom it is targetted. And that's been one of the problems. And it would be interesting, I think, for you perhaps to explore that with the leadership of the Russian Federation, and how we can better meet that problem. Now, with respect to our airlift, our Operation Provide Hope, which is going to begin on Monday, we're going to have our own people on the ground to make certain that the distribution takes place as it is intended and that the goods are not siphoned off or taken by someone else. The Russians have been very cooperative on that, and I hope could be expected to continue to be.

SEN. CRANSTON: Thank you very much for those thoughts. Senator Lugar has been particularly helpful and constructive, along with Senator Nunn, in adoption

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and ramming through that amendment passed last year by Congress in December. Could you please tell us the status of that exactly? Specifically, address both the $400 million earmarked for weapons dismantlement and the $100 million earmarked for humanitarian aid. What's happening on those?
SEC. BAKER: We are beginning to spend the money, Senator Cranston. Operation Provide Hope will be paid for with the $100 million -- I mean, out of the $100 million. It won't cost anywhere that much. And we are -- we will have specific and concrete proposals to discuss with the Russian Federation leadership regarding collection, storage, dismantling -- we're going to have to build some facilities over there with respect to the question of tactical nuclear weapons. And so we would anticipate that we will have specific commitments for some of the 400 million [dollars] flowing from those discussions two weeks from now, or on the 15th and 16th.
May I say that we're grateful for those funds. We also have though, in our request here for fiscal '92 and fiscal '93, a request for an additional $620 million for technical assistance and humanitarian assistance that is in the 150 account, not in the 050 account. We need help getting that money actually appropriated by this Congress so that it will be there and available to assist in these remarkable transformations.
SEN. CRANSTON: Well, I assure you we'll do our best to see that that happens. Thank you.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much. Senator Pressler.
SEN. PRESSLER: Good morning, Mr. Secretary.
SEC. BAKER: Good morning, Senator.
SEN. PRESSLER: Mr. Secretary, the issues in India and Pakistan on nuclear proliferation are -- one gets mixed reports. But in any event, as you know, in 1990 foreign assistance to Pakistan was cut off when an amendment came into effect that the President was unable to certify to Congress that Pakistan did not have a nuclear weapon. However, recently I have learned that private commercial sales of certain military items to Pakistan are continuing, apparently. Is this true, and is it -- what I'm trying to get at here is the State Department's interpretation of the amendment regarding Pakistan and whether it covers also private sales of military equipment and technology.
SEC. BAKER: Senator Pressler, we have indeed cut off all foreign assistance to Pakistan because we were unable to certify within the parameters of your amendment. We have carefully reviewed the amendment, we have reviewed the legislative history, and as a legal matter we do not believe it applies to commercial sales or exports controlled by the Department of Commerce. And so we look at munitions and spare parts that are necessary to maintain the Pakistani military at current levels on a case-by-case basis. Commercial sales are limited, and in our view none are being approved that would contravene either the letter or the spirit of your amendment.
SEN. PRESSLER: Now, the amendment did read -- did include the language "No military equipment or technology shall be sold or transferred to Pakistan." It seems that that just boilerplate language, that's fairly hard to argue with.
SEC. BAKER: Well, I've given you the answer to that by saying that as a legal matter it's the view of our lawyers that it does not apply to commercial arms sales or exports. Having said that, I also would say that we -- that we limit the commercial sales and we don't approve any that contravene either the letter or the spirit of the Pressler Amendment.
You've given me an opportunity to make a broader point, if you'd let me.
SEN. PRESSLER: Sure. Sure.
SEC. BAKER: A number of senators have talked about the importance of economic issues as we move forward and the -- and as the cold war ends and the East-West confrontation diminishes. Wearing for just one moment my hat as a former

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Secretary of the Treasury, Senator Pressler, let me say that one of the first instructions I gave when I came to the State Department was that I thought we had for too long traded foreign -- traded economic chits for foreign policy gains, and that I wanted to instruct all posts to be alert to possibilities to assist the economic prospects for America, and to assist the prospects for enhancing our economic, and that sort of thing.

I firmly believe that we have to begin to take a look at economic considerations in areas such as this as well as other areas. For too long, we've been willing to put the foreign policy considerations way out in front of the economic considerations, and this country was strong, Senator Pressler, because of its economic strength. That's how we became strong politically, diplomatically, and militarily. And we will only be strong politically, diplomatically, and militarily as long as we retain and maintain our economic strength. So I don't think that commercial sales that do not contravene the letter or spirit of the amendment are things that we ought to -- that we ought not to permit to go forward.

Thank you for letting me make that general point.

SEN. PRESSLER: Do you see any type of arrangement among the Security Council members to slow down the proliferation of nuclear weapons among smaller countries, small -- for example, there are nuclear weapons in some of the Soviet states. I guess they're going to be shipped back to Russia, hopefully.

SEC. BAKER: Um-hmm. [Affirmative.]

SEN. PRESSLER: But is there a regime that could be set up to -- where there would be a system of reward, so to speak, for reducing nuclear weapons or reducing conventional arms?

SEC. BAKER: Well, with respect to weapons of mass destruction, a lot of things are going on. Of course, you have the NPT anyway with respect to nuclear. President Bush proposed five-power consultations regarding sales of weapons to the Middle East. There have been several meetings of the permanent five of the Security Council regarding that. We have proposed a regional nuclear five-power meeting involving the Chinese, the Russians, the United States, India, and Pakistan. That has been accepted by everyone so far except India, who would prefer to deal with these things on a global basis. So we're doing what we can with respect to proliferation, particularly of weapons of mass destruction. There are other things that time doesn't permit me to get into. But, as I mentioned in my formal remarks, we see proliferation, Senator Pressler, particularly of weapons of mass destruction, as one of the foremost challenges -- foreign policy challenges that we face.

SEN. PRESSLER: Yes, and I would certainly be in favor of India signing that treaty, and also of joining the five-power talks. And I've been critical of India in that area.

But if there were a way, and I might just put this forth as a hypothetical, I think that the six -- the five or six Muslim states in the Soviet Union will look towards Pakistan and the warm water port at Karachi much more so than they're going to look northward in the future. At least two or three of those states have nuclear weapons in them, or at least one or two do. And Pakistan, apparently, has a nuclear weapon. So, if those states form a confederation, and if they were to become fundamentalist Muslim, or fundamentalist as we define it, that could be a whole new strategic group of countries or states that would cause a lot of problems in that part of the world.

SEC. BAKER: That argues for doing exactly what we are doing, which is to make contact with them, to recognize their independence, to enter into diplomatic relations with them, provided they are willing to subscribe to the values that we support: democracy, respect for human and minority rights, free markets, and nuclear safety. Let me just say, though, it is not correct to say that there

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are nuclear weapons in the Central Asian states other than in Kazakhstan. And Kazakhstan has some nuclear weapons that are strategic in nature.
SEN. PRESSLER: I have some additional questions for the record.
SEN. PELL: Without objection, they'll be submitted to the record. I would also ask unanimous consent to insert into the record some questions from Senator Helms and also a statement from Senator Murkowski.
Senator Dodd.
SEN. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD (D-CT): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
And, Mr. Secretary, welcome to the committee this morning. Mr. Secretary, what I've -- first of all, let me commend you on the very fine job you're doing in a number of areas. In a sense, I suppose there's a -- must be a degree of envy. To be sitting as Secretary of State during these remarkable times is an enviable position to be in, and I think you're doing a fine job.
What I'm about to say to you regarding this package of some $5 billion to the new Commonwealth I hope will be taken in the spirit in which it's offered. There's sometimes, I think, an inclination to believe necessarily -- that the reactions you get from this committee necessarily what's apt to occur on the floor of the Senate or that may reflect some of the concerns and attitudes in the country. Now, I know your job is Secretary of State. You're not the Secretary of Labor, and you're not the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. But I presume you'd like to hear a candid assessment, to some extent. I think a lot of the reaction against -- that you're hearing in the streets about foreign aid and about specific packages has to do with the fact that people are so concerned about the strength of our own economy. In fact, I think the statement you just made to Senator Pressler is very accurate, that our strength internationally in no small way depends upon our strength at home. And there is a growing concern about the weakening of our economy at home.
This year, we have already heard GM announce that it will lay off 74,000 people over the next several years. That was banner headlines, the lead story in every news broadcast when it occurred. We will lay off this year as well 64,000 people in this year alone from our military forces, 500,000 in the next several years. According to the Department of Labor, we will lose between 350,000 and 750,000 jobs of defense workers in this country over the next several years. We are going to see, apparently, a continuing decline in our commitment financially to cities, to health care, and a variety of other issues.
I raise those points with you only to suggest to you that while certainly intellectually one can make a very strong case, and you have, for the idea that we ought not to miss this historical opportunity, that the attention of the people of this country right now is focused on what's not happening here at home, and we'd make a dreadful mistake, in my view, if we didn't appreciate the basis of this concern and some of the opposition that's being expressed to programs such as the one you're suggesting.
I realize it's not your job to necessarily focus your attention on the domestic agenda specifically, but I think it's critically important that today before this committee that in addition to the words of encouragement that you're receiving, and appropriately so, that also it be clear that there are some other concerns being raised across the country that could jeopardize what you're talking about. And so, I just didn't want you to leave the committee hearing with the assumption somehow that this is a foregone conclusion with an overwhelming vote of support.
I suspect, in fact, that last year when Senator Sarbanes pointed out -- because, in fact, I raised the question on the floor. And I supported the Nunn-Lugar proposal, but I asked the question very specifically whether or not the administration was in favor of it and, of course, we couldn't get an answer that day as to whether or not they were supportive of the package. I suspect it

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wasn't because the administration was not supportive of the package. I suspect the reason was is there was some unease about what the political fallout was in the country here from endorsing a program such as that.

So I'm delighted to hear today that we may be in synch on these issues. But I think it would be a dreadful mistake if we went forward from this room assuming that the American public are going to be behind this particular effort, given the conditions that exist in this country.

Having said that, let me switch quickly to related issues and ask for your comments and response to both of these. On the North American Free Trade Agreement -- in the budget that's been submitted this year there is a comment on the North American Free Trade Agreement, and I quote from it. It says: "Adjustment services for displaced workers, whether provided through the improvement of existing programs or through the creation of a new program, will be timely, comprehensive and effective."

It's critically important that if there's going to be a North American Free Trade Agreement that there be far more aggressive, it seems to me, activities to assure people in this country that the disparity in wages, the environmental issues that have been raised earlier, that efforts be made to address those.

I will submit for the record two pieces of correspondence. One from an aeronautical industrial district labor union that raises the concerns about the inaction on trying to deal with disparity in wages. And a letter from a thing called (Grupo Arquies ?), which is from Mexico, in two-way business in Michigan where the writer of the letter says: Just consider the fully fringed labor costs along the border in Northern Mexico averages $1.25 per hour. Just compare that to your real cost of wages. That equates to almost $20,000 in savings per employee per year. There is a real effort to lure businesses down, of course, based on those wage disparities.

I would hope that before you submit the North American Free Trade Agreement for the Congress's approval that we would make an aggressive effort to try and deal with the wage disparity issues. If not, I would tell you that I think there'll be a serious difficulty in ratifying that agreement. There is great concern about businesses obviously being lured to the North of Mexico when there are such wage disparities as reflected in the correspondence from -- Mexican efforts to attract businesses to the South.

At that, let me stop and give you chance to respond to both those points.

SEC. BAKER: I'll first respond to the second point, Senator Dodd, and that is to say -- by saying simply that we are quite aware of the importance of the two-flank issues -- labor and environment -- to the success of NAFTA. We also agree with you, I know -- and I know you feel this way -- that a successful North American Free Trade Agreement will create jobs in this country, it will expand our economy, and it will make the United States economy more competitive internationally, which is something we very, very much need to do.

And so we're -- I was -- as you know, I was in Mexico City recently for the signing of the El Salvador Peace Accords. I had meetings with President Salinas and others. And let me simply say that we're well aware of the importance of the issue you've just mentioned, and the other flank issue of the environment. And I ought to interject here very quickly that our fiscal '93 budget request contains $201 million for a border environment plan designed to deal with some of those issues. We've got some other environmental issues. But we're very much aware of that.

With respect to the other comments, the general ones, let me say I understand the point you're making. I know you don't have to be -- you know, you don't have to be a rocket scientist to see what's happening in this political year in terms of some of those arguments that have a certain degree of superficial appeal but which have proved to be devastating in terms of their effect on the

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United States when we have succumbed to those kinds of arguments in the past. Protectionism, isolationism have done nothing but get us in trouble, and it's happened on more than one occasion, as you know. That tends to -- that tends to diminish and weaken our economy, not strengthen our economy, as we -- if we decide we're going to pull back and withdraw from our leadership role in world affairs.

Lastly, Senator Dodd, let me just say -- as you, I think, pointed out -- we have spent trillions of United States dollars over the past 40 plus years to win the Cold War. We are now talking about spending a few billions in order to try and secure the peace. If we don't we're going to find ourselves faced with the expenditure once again, I'm afraid, of trillions of dollars because of what the Chairman himself said might happen over there if they're not successful.

SEN. DODD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. SARBANES: Surely, there must be enough vision to embrace both objectives so they're not framed in an either/or posture. I fail to understand why it's being put in the context of either/or. We ought to be able to address our domestic needs, which after all are an essential prerequisite to sustaining our strength to handle our international responsibilities --

SEC. BAKER: I didn't --

SEN. SARBANES: -- and at the same time be able to meet our international responsibilities, shouldn't we?

SEC. BAKER: I didn't speak to the domestic needs, Senator Sarbanes, because that's not my job. And I didn't put it in an either/or context. What I'm saying is let's not lose sight of the importance over here on the international side and how it might relate to our competitiveness and to what will happen on the domestic side. But that's not -- it's not for me to address that. It's --

SEN. SARBANES: Well, you should tell your colleagues who deal with the domestic side in the administration that they need to address those issues in a successful manner in order to diminish the pressures which you otherwise would experience in taking advantage of these opportunities.

SEN. DODD: That's my point, really, just that your job is going to be that much more difficult if, in fact, the perception of the American public is that we seem, as they have suggested in places, that we care more about what's happening there than here. That's really the point. You're -- you've got a correct job, it's just a question that your job's going to be that much more difficult if the perception is that on the domestic front we don't seem to care as much.

SEN. PELL: Well, I think this point has been made. Senator Brown.

SEN. BROWN: Mr. Secretary --

SEC. BAKER: Senator --

SEN. BROWN: -- let me add my voice of thanks for the wonderful job you've done and welcome that you're here. I'd be interested in your response or comments on a number of areas. One, specifically, the question of Soviet scientists. We're told that they are receiving a number of offers from counties around the world, some where their services would be put to beneficial use, others that there is a great potential for sinister use of -- of that very considerable talent. Would you share with us your view of that and what, if anything, we're as a country doing.

SEC. BAKER: Thank you, Senator. I think it's a serious problem. I'm not sure that it's one that we will totally be able to overcome. But we're certainly going to try. And we are -- we have right now in the process of development some specific and concrete ideas and suggestions that we will be sharing with the Russian Federation leadership in less than two weeks and that will call for the use -- for utilizing some of the $400 million that Senator Lugar and Senator Nunn were so instrumental in having added to the Defense Department appropriation bill.

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SEN. BROWN: We'll look forward to any of those thoughts. Our office has drafted a bill that we think might be of help in facilitating the movement of scientists to this country and, if we may, we will forward a copy of the draft to your office.
SEC. BAKER: We'd like very -- I'd like very much to have it. If you could give it to us this afternoon, it would be timely.
SEN. BROWN: Certainly will.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you.
SEN. BROWN: With regard to Croatia and Slovenia, my understanding is that we have not as yet recognized those countries. Some have pictured this as a contest or a potential conflict between two breakaway republics as ones who believe in democracy versus a central government that neither shares our view of democracy nor of free enterprise. Any comments you might have as to why the delay in recognizing them and what developments you see in that area?
SEC. BAKER: First of all, let me say I don't think that is an accurate portrayal and we have been very, very outspoken and strong in our condemnation of some of the things that Serbia has done. In particular, our statements in United Nations Security Council meetings.
But let me say that our objective in Yugoslavia, Senator Brown, is basically the same as that of the EC. That is to see the fighting end and to bring about a peaceful settlement that's based on the principles -- on Helsinki principles. We've made it very clear from the very outset that we will accept any outcome which is arrived at peacefully, democratically and through negotiation. Our primary concern has been to support the peace process. We've been in very close touch as we move along here over the past several months with the Secretary General and with his special representative who have been working very hard toward a possible UN peacekeeping operation.
We continue to believe that the conference setup established by the EC and chaired by Lord Carrington is the forum in which these issues should be negotiated out and resolved. We continue to keep our recognition policy under review, but frankly, the United Nations has been of the view that recognition now by the United States would move us in the wrong direction and would not enhance the prospects for putting together a peacekeeping operation but would, in fact, move in the other direction.
So that's pretty much where we are. Having said all that, Senator, I suppose it's only fair of me to say that I think there's plenty of blame to go around in Yugoslavia. It is a very tragic situation. It's one that we certainly hope finds -- it one that we hope there is a solution to in the near term. We're working very closely with the United Nations and keeping our recognition policy under review. That's about the best I can tell you right now.
SEN. BROWN: Thank you. One last question. I know you're in the process of negotiating with the government of Israel regarding loan guarantees. One of the factors that I think influences all of our thoughts in that area is a fear or a concern that the instability in what used to be the Soviet Union could well precipitate not only violence but the potential loss of life and significant acts of anti-semitism. In effect, a delay in moving -- providing housing and helping people move to Israel could well endanger their lives. Can you give us a feel for how realistic that danger is, what kind of potential there is for that loss of life?
SEC. BAKER: I think it's something that is something we should be concerned about. I can't quantify it for you, but I don't think it's an impossibility. And therefore, I think it's important when we get into this topic when we get into this topic that we consider this issue of the terms and conditions under which we would support such absorption assistance. And it is our view, as you know, Senator Brown, that the assistance should -- if it is given, and we

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certainly support the principle of absorption of Soviet Jewish emigres; nobody's done any more to make that happen over the course of the past few years than have we in our dialogue with the Soviet Union before its collapse -- but we should be giving some -- we should give consideration to those things that would make it clear that if we were going to do this, we would do it in a manner that supported United States policy, and not in a manner that ran counter to United States policy. So, that's really the issue. That's where we're -- that's what we are now negotiating, and I'm hopeful that we'll be able to negotiate some arrangements that do not find the United States advancing yet additional assistance in a manner that is contradictory to or in opposition to what has been the long-established policy position of the United States since 1967.

SEN. PELL: Thank you.

Senator Kerry.

SEN. JOHN KERRY (D-MA): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

And welcome, Mr. Secretary. Mr. Secretary, I'd just take really a brief moment to underscore what my colleagues have said, particularly Senator Dodd. I've held a lot of town meetings recently and have never seen the level of anger as high as it is, and have passionately defended the notion that you and the President obviously need to be engaged at this moment and that it makes a lot more sense to spend $1 billion to complete the task of winning the Cold War than to go back to spending $300 billion to continue it. The problem is that the lack of a sense of domestic policy really is taking away the consensus that you need to effect that. And my fear is similar to my colleagues, that there is an irrational commitment to doing otherwise setting in because of the lack of that policy. Now, I know it's not -- you're not the czar, and you don't do that, but clearly you have an enormous input on it. And I would just signal that to you.

On another subject, if I could bring up a couple of quick housekeeping matters relative to another hat I wear as chairman of the POW-MIA Committee, we have come across some -- a large number of files in the National Archives, about 43 cubic feet of files that are State Department files. And they relate to the POW-MIA issue from 1966 to 1978. We are told that they can only be released to us with your authorization. The Defense Department has made available to us all files, and we are leaving for the Soviet Union next week to follow up on General Kalugin's statements. I hope it might be possible to get your authorization with respect to those files today or perhaps in writing forthwith. Would that be possible?

SEC. BAKER: I think it would be. This is the first I've heard of it, Senator Kerry.

SEN. KERRY: I understand. I well understand it may not have come to your attention, but it is a matter of urgency.

SEC. BAKER: I don't see any reason why not. This note tells me that the one thing we do have to -- that we have to run through an interagency process is the question of declassification. Getting them to you in classified form immediately, I don't think is a problem.

SEN. KERRY: We're not asking for declassification at this point. We need the files, and obviously we'll work with you --

SEC. BAKER: Sure.

SEN. KERRY: -- and need your commitment on the declassification process.

The second housekeeping matter is that two weeks ago, a former KGB agent walked into one of our embassies and reported that he confirmed General Kalugin's story with respect to the interrogation of Americans after the end of the war. We learned of that, regrettably, not through Department communicating to the committee, but really through indirect and non-Department sources. And I would hope it would be possible to cable all potential locations that are most likely to be the recipients of such information so that the committee could learn

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more immediately of that kind of information.
SEC. BAKER: Where did he walk in?
SEN. KERRY: I don't have the particular embassy. I think it was in Eastern Europe.
SEC. BAKER: Sure. I mean, the answer is yes, we would be delighted to do that.
SEN. KERRY: Thank you very much. I appreciate that.
Mr. Secretary, as you well know, in June the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development is going to take place in Rio de Janeiro, known as the Earth Summit. Right now, it appears as though every single industrial nation in the world with the exception of the United States has agreed to set targets with respect to CO2 emissions and gas -- global warming gas emissions. We're the only holdout with respect to that. A hundred and thirty nations are going to meet in New York in the next couple of weeks for preliminary -- continued negotiations on it. I know you've sort of recused yourself to a degree. But does that recusal prevent you at this point from advising the President that the United States -- if we're going to take advantage of this moment in the way you described in your words earlier, that it's really up to us to seize the moment, will we join in that effort rather than being viewed as being the reluctant participant, and even a barrier to progress?
SEC. BAKER: The recusal extends to anything having to do with global warming, Senator Kerry, unless the President were to grant a waiver, as he did in the case of the Gulf War and the case of the United Nations resolutions against Libya in relation to 103. He hasn't done that. And so, if he doesn't do that, then I'm -- I really am recused from discussing with him or anybody else in the administration issues relating to global warming.
SEN. KERRY: Who is leading on this issue, then, in terms of the international world? I mean, who -- is there a State Department -- is there no State Department policy, then?
SEC. BAKER: The Under Secretary -- no, no, that's not correct at all. The Deputy Secretary of State is not recused, and the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Zoellick, is actively involved in this issue.
SEN. KERRY: Well, can you at least relay to us today as a conduit rather than a decision-maker whether or not there is a State Department policy that the United States should join the stabilization effort for the year 2000 on CO2 emission?
SEC. BAKER: I have not involved myself in any of those discussions, Senator Kerry, for obvious reasons, but I can certainly have Secretary -- Under Secretary Zoellick get in touch with you and discuss it with you.
SEN. KERRY: I would appreciate that, and I might just say, Mr. Secretary, that I would hope that you might instruct others at the Department, if this is, perhaps, appropriate that this is an issue where we are perceived as not being a leader, and that perhaps there ought to be a greater effort to join with Mr. Reilly in pressing for the United States to be a participant in that effort.
SEC. BAKER: Don't get me --
SEN. KERRY: I see you smiling and nodding, and the record --
SEC. BAKER: Don't get me in trouble. (Laughter.)
SEN. KERRY: -- will so indicate your pleasure on this issue.
Turning to another subject, Mr. Secretary: two years ago, the President went to Cartagena and announced the Andean Initiative, and that was to combat, obviously, drug trafficking in this hemisphere. The goal was to have a 15 percent reduction in cocaine production by this time. Unfortunately, not only has the goal not been met, but there is a 28 percent increase in production. We've seen a massive rise of heroin production. We've seen the spread of drug production and trafficking enterprises into Venezuela, Brazil, Suriname, Argentina, and Central America. We've seen the repeal of extradition laws in Colombia and Bolivia. We have a growing alliance between the growers and the

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guerillas in Peru. And we have the significant, continuous use of liberated Panama as a haven for drug trafficking and money laundering, despite the fact that we give them a billion dollars in aid.

So, later this month, I gather, the President is reconvening the second drug summit, and my question is whether we will be proposing something dramatically different or whether we will continue this program that seems to be such a failure.

SEC. BAKER: Senator, the GAO and the Office of the Inspector General at the Department don't agree with you, and so maybe we ought to have some further discussions about this, but we think the Andean strategy has been a major success in reducing the supply of cocaine to the United States. They recommended in their report some areas for improvement, but they certainly don't brand the strategy a failure. There's going to be a second drug summit on the 26th and 27th in San Antonio, and it seems to me that what we have done, while it may not meet -- while it may not be everything we might have hoped, is certainly good progress and should be continued, which is quite a different view than was stated in your statement. So maybe we ought to --

SEN. KERRY: My time is up. Obviously, we do have a very fundamental difference. And I think we're planning to have a hearing on this, so maybe we could explore a little more. I guess our figures differ, and certainly the observations I've made about Panama, Venezuela, et cetera, certainly differ.

SEN. PELL: Thank you.

Senator McConnell.

SEN. MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY): Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, I'd like to focus on the PRC for a moment. We are shortly going to have before the Senate once again the question of MFN for China, and I just wondered if you could give us an update on what progress, if any, has been made in human rights, missile proliferation, democratic reforms, any of the areas of concern to us. What's going on in the People's Republic of China that could make us feel a little better about them?

SEC. BAKER: Senator McConnell, I went to China, as you know, in November, and I raised with the Chinese those three main areas that we have problems in: that is, proliferation, trade, and human rights. We made, I think, some good gains in the area of trade and proliferation, much less so in the area of human rights, but there were some things that happened, so let me tell you what has happened since that visit.

China agreed during the course of that visit to accede to the NPT, and their legislature has now approved ratification of the nonproliferation treaty, and they have committed themselves to accede to that treaty by April. They agreed in the course of discussions when I was there to observe the parameters and guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime. We have since been engaged with them in discussions seeking to get from them confirmation of that in writing so that we will have it for you and others up here. We have just received a letter which we are now studying in relation to the letter I sent them asking for it, but it looks like it is a clear step in the right direction. And if -- let me simply say this. If China were willing to unreservedly accede -- agree to observe the parameters and guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime, that would be a major step forward on proliferation concerns that we have vis-a-vis the Chinese.

On trade, we have agreed with the Chinese with respect to the Special 301 we had on intellectual property rights. That's been negotiated by our special trade representative. It's an agreement that we think will effectively protect United States intellectual property in China and that I think our industry is very happy with.

With respect to the general question of market access to China,

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we've had further discussions. There's still a ways to go, but we are talking to them and they've indicated some interest in and willingness to make some -- make the kinds of changes we've talked about.

It's important, I might add here -- interject -- it's important that they do so because they're very anxious to accede to the GATT and their accession to the GATT is going to depend upon their dealing with these market access questions.

With respect to human rights, we gave them a list of detainees in November. For the first time, they came back and gave us information with respect to what had happened -- or what the status -- I'm sorry, what the status of those detainees was. They'd never done that before. They agreed that they would no longer deny exit visas to people who wanted to leave China on political grounds. They would deny exit visas to anyone who had been charged with criminal violations, but would not deny them on political grounds. And they agreed to identify a foreign ministry official to engage with our Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Dick Schifter.

That progress in human rights is not much, but it's some, and we have begun a human rights dialogue with the Chinese. I think back to how long it took in terms of our human rights dialogue with the former Soviet Union. For years we had a human rights dialogue with them. It began in much this same way -- very reluctantly on their part.

So all I would say to you is, I think our policy of engagement is the right policy. It's one that we should continue. And I think it would be counterproductive for us to now say that we're going to end MFN for China in the light of what's happened.

SEN. MCCONNELL: So there has been measurable progress in all three of those areas, in your view, be it ever so slight in the human rights area?

SEC. BAKER: Well, human rights progress is insufficient. We've said that's not enough. We're going to continue to press for more. But at least we've begun a dialogue with them on human rights and we got agreement to the steps that I've just mentioned for you.

With respect to proliferation, I think -- assuming this letter is satisfactory -- I think that is clear and very good progress. And we've gotten a good intellectual property agreement.

SEN. MCCONNELL: What's the status of the relationship between the PRC and Russia, including the troop levels along the border? Just give me a rundown of your view of how relations are between those two countries.

SEC. BAKER: Well, there's a great -- there's a fair amount of nervousness, I think, on the part of the Chinese leadership with respect to the developments in the former Soviet Union. There has been an easing of tensions, however, I believe, along the border between Russia and China. And they have -- you know, they have normal diplomatic relations and contact.

SEN. MCCONNELL: Shifting to the other side of the PRC, focusing on Hong Kong and its future, do you share my view that because of America's substantial interests in Hong Kong in terms of trade, investment and all the rest that we have a stake in the Joint Declaration promise that there would be one country and two systems coming to fruition? And I'm curious as to how you see that unfolding and what hope you may have that the Joint will in fact be honored in the coming years.

SEC. BAKER: Well, our policy there, Senator McConnell, is to work to help ensure the continued confidence and prosperity in Hong Kong that is essential for a fully successful transition. So we would want to take any action that would move us in that direction. Let me say another reason we are opposed to revocation of MFN for China is because were it to happen, it would have disastrous effects on Hong Kong.

SEN. MCCONNELL: As well as Kwangtung, I assume.

SEC. BAKER: Sir?

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SEN. MCCONNELL: As well as Kwangtung eventually.
SEC. BAKER: As well as Kwangtung. True.
SEN. MCCONNELL: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much. Senator Moynihan?
SEN. MOYNIHAN: Mr. Secretary, it's getting to an end, and you haven't wavered yet. I would like to associate myself with the remarks of Senators Biden and Lugar and Cranston in support of your efforts and the President's efforts to secure the peace, as you put it, and would even go to the point of saying I wish there were -- one could wish there was a greater sense of urgency.
About two weeks ago, Jim Hoagland had an article in the Post entitled "The Crisis That Won't Wait," citing Murray Fessbach (sp), just back from there, on the number of people who will be dying for lack of medicine, for lack of food in this winter to come, and recalling some of the past experiences of that kind.
One of the things that you could read between Hoagland's lines was the thought that the intelligence community of our government, having so completely failed to foresee the collapse of the Soviet economy, can't accept the fact that it indeed happened because it would suggest they got it wrong. And that's not a view just of his.
I mean, Admiral Turner, in the current issue of Current Affairs speaks of the enormity of the failure of the intelligence community in this area. The Foreign Service journal, which I'm sure you read faithfully, speaks of the gargantuan failure, in this current issue, of in this case the CIA. And we don't get much response from anyone else on this subject, and I want to see if I can get one from you.
You say in your testimony that you're asking for $2.1 billion for State Department operations in the coming year, $2.1 billion. Now, sir, without revealing any state secrets, could you tell us whether the budget of the intelligence community is 5 times larger than the State Department, ten times larger, or 15 times larger? (Laughter.)
SEC. BAKER: I could tell you, and if I did, I would be revealing state secrets.
SEN. MOYNIHAN: Yeah, I thought so. Well, could you in the abstract suggest that maybe the people who got it that wrong -- maybe their budget could contribute a little bit to what you're trying to do?
SEC. BAKER: Senator, you know you can't -- you know you're not going to get me into that one, Senator. We have our request up here. We think it's appropriate. It's within the budget act, doesn't require any transfers among functions, and we hope that you'll find a way to let us have it because it's an important time, and it's urgently needed.
SEN. MOYNIHAN: Well, but sir, you just can't sit there and look at a gargantuan failure and say, "But it's a secret and we won't say." The secret's out. It's in the editorial of the Foreign Service Journal. And the State Department -- the Cold War institutions of the last 45 years have sort of enveloped and almost sunk the State Department as the lead agency in the decisions really made. And is there a chance for those of us who think it ought to be -- we ought to reconsider those arrangements now, to think that you feel they ought to be reconsidered also?
SEC. BAKER: Yeah, but -- Senator Moynihan, let me say that I -- you know, the President's budget is the President's budget, and it is agreed to, and I don't think you're going to find any administration official who is going to come up here and challenge the President's budget, least of all his friend of 35 years. So, all I can say to you is we've got our request up here, it's an appropriate request, I can't agree that it was a gargantuan failure. I don't know how many people foresaw or had some premonition of what was going to happen.
But you know, there are substantial reductions called for in the President's budget for defense, substantial reductions. There will be a debate, I suppose

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SEN. MOYNIHAN: Would you say there are substantial reductions called for for the intelligence community?
SEC. BAKER: I can't discuss that budget with you --
SEN. MOYNIHAN: But that's the point, sir, it's secret. And that's the point of the secrecy system, that it doesn't correct itself. Stan Turner doesn't -- is a strong man. He can -- on his watch it happened as well as the ones that followed --
SEC. BAKER: But it's not secret --
SEN. MOYNIHAN: -- the enormity of the failure.
SEC. BAKER: Senator, it's not secret to the intelligence commmittees, and the Budget Committee I'm sure will -- has ways of knowing, generally speaking, what's embraced within it. I just -- you know I can't discuss it.
SEN. MOYNIHAN: Can you make -- give us the feeling that you are aware that there is a disproportion or that there are those who think there's a disproportion between what the State Department has in the way of resources and what the secret components, the ingelligence community, have?
SEC. BAKER: I can't get into that.
SEN. MOYNIHAN: Have you recused yourself on this one, too?
SEC. BAKER: Not formally.
SEN. MOYNIHAN: My time's up.
SEN. PELL: Senator Robb.
SEN. ROBB: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Secretary, as you know, during at least the first four years of your tenure as Secretary of State, when you get to me the endurance contest is over for all practical purposes and I'm delighted to mark that point in today's testimony. Many of the areas that I was planning to explore I think have been adequately explored by others.
I would like to ask a couple of general questions and one that relates in part to the area, although not quite the way that Senator Moynihan was approaching it. And that has to do with the structure of State vis-a-vis CIA and DOD and other agencies. There's been a great deal of discussion of late about the restructuring and downsizing of the Defense Department. Certainly Secretary Cheney has spent a great deal of time on that area. Without going into the details, certainly there has been a great deal of discussion, and certainly in the confirmation process for Bob Gates there was a lot of comment about the future role and mission of the Central Intelligency Agency, as well as other elements of the intelligence community.
There hasn't been as much discussion of the structure or any restructuring that may take place in State. Obviously you're shifting a few desks around; you've put a few more into what used to be the Soviet Desk; you have uncertainties about the old Yugoslavian desk, whatever the case may be. But would you comment in terms of the kinds -- you certainly this morning talked about the agenda, some of the priorities and some of the things you want to do to win the peace after winning both the Cold War and the most recent contested war in which the United States was involved. Are you contemplating significant changes with respect to the way the Department of State does business, with respect to structure or mission organization, what have you, within the Department.
SEC. BAKER: Senator Robb, there are some fundamental changes that we are making, and I referred to some of those in my opening comments. Clearly, we have many more new nations with whom we will now have diplomatic relations, so -- we have the Baltics, for instance. We've got the possibility of quite a few republics of the former Soviet Union. We already have six of those. There are changes in the representation of our ambassador to the former Soviet Union. He's now ambassador to Russia. Our consulate in Kiev has changed. We have an

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additional bureau which has been, in effect, forced upon us by the Congress, a Southeast Asian Bureau, which we did not think was required and necessary but which we are establishing because it's mandated.
SEN. ROBB: Mr. Secretary, I was not referring so much to the individual changes in terms of geographic borders or whatever but a basic philosophy in terms of how to approach the post-Cold-War era with respect to the way State does its business. Is there the kind of reassessment taking place within State that's currently going on in Defense and CIA, for instance?
SEC. BAKER: Well, I spoke to the concept of collective engagement. I spoke to the greater role that multilateral institutions will be playing in the future, in my opinion, to the greater need for peacekeeping resources. Beyond those things, Senator, there's nothing beyond the changes that I've just mentioned to you.
SEN. ROBB: Let me just ask a couple of odds and ends questions here. You indicated, I think, that you were requesting an additional $350 million in FY '92 and '93, if I recall in your testimony correctly, for the peacekeeping role --
SEC. BAKER: That's correct.
SEN. ROBB: -- that you're anticipating because of the additional responsibilities that the United Nations has accepted, and certainly the far greater number that they have accepted in the last two or three years than they had over most of its previous existence. Number one, do you believe that those amounts will be adequate to fund the United States' share? And number two, are the other nations that are going to have to make contributions to this effort prepared to make comparable contributions based on their own participation?
SEC. BAKER: The answer to the latter question is they are prepared to make comparable contributions based on the formulas which have been agreed to within the United Nations. In other words, I think we pick up about 30.4 percent of peacekeeping activities. The answer to this first question is these should -- this should be sufficient, although we do have the possibility of a peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia that is not specifically covered by that. But Cambodia, El Salvador, as new ones would be covered by that, and then you've got the possibility in Western Sahara, as well. You've got responsibilities in Angola, where we see elections coming in September.
SEN. ROBB: There are a number of more detailed questions in any of those areas that might be appropriate for follow-up later on. In a general sense, you made reference, certainly, to the situation in the Middle East and Iran. At least one or two of our members have alluded to this, but there is a growing influence -- in fact, you mentioned the fact that the -- Iran was indeed, and Turkey and a couple of others were ahead of the United States in the establishment of diplomatic missions and entities in some of the new republics, particularly in the Islamic region. That, combined with the increasing fundamentalist concerns in the area -- at least of the former Soviet states and Iran's role in it -- could you comment at all on where you believe the United -- where you believe Iran may be headed, and what the United States' basic policy is with respect to Iran's emerging role in this region?
SEC. BAKER: Well, we -- you know, we have said for some time we are -- we have been willing to sit down and have official government-to-government discussions with the Iranians, but their domestic situation has not permitted that. We've said that there are two things that we're primarily concerned with -- one was the hostages, and while all American hostages are out, the hostage problem is not totally resolved as long as we have hostages of other countries, such as Germany and Israel, being held. And the second is their sponsorship of -- state-sponsorship of terrorism. And if we were to sit down and have discussions with them, we would want to tell them a little bit about how we view those

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problems.
They are active, we think, in some of the former Central Asian republics. It's one of the reasons we think it's important that we, ourselves, have contact and dialogue with these former republics. It's one of the reasons, frankly, Senator Robb, that Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of next week, that's where I'll be -- because those republics, as now sovereign, independent nations, will be important.
SEN. ROBB: Mr. Chairman, could I ask just one exit question that -- I know the time is up, and I would just bring it close to home, within our own hemisphere -- the Western Hemisphere. You've made reference to the fact that you attended the signing of the El Salvador Accords, you have been active in what has happened in Nicaragua, there has been more focus on Cuba -- any basic comment as to how you see the relationships between the North American, or the United States' role in this region emerging, and whether or not we have the ability to shift our focus to other areas -- I'm not looking to Venezuela or whatever in terms of the recent outbreaks, or Haiti -- but is this -- do you see more or less stability in the region now, based on what has happened in the last few months?
SEC. BAKER: In Latin America?
SEN. ROBB: In Latin America.
SEC. BAKER: I see a great deal more stability, really, Senator Robb, notwithstanding what we just saw in Venezuela. And of course, but for Cuba, we were at the point -- we were at the point before the overthrow of the government in Haiti of being able to say we have an all-democratic hemisphere, which would be an extraordinary accomplishment for democracy. We're not in that position now, as a consequence of what's happened in Haiti, and of course we would have to make the Cuba exception.
But I think that the region as whole is more stable, it's certainly more oriented toward the values and principles that we have subscribed to, it's more oriented toward democracy and free markets. But I think we need to stay very much involved in Latin America, and that we should not be thinking in terms of reducing our commitment.
I'm delighted, of course, that we no longer have an active war in Central America, and that therefore we do not have divisions within the United States respecting policy in Central America. We still have an active insurgency in Guatemala and we need to see that ended. But we need -- but there is some fragility on the part of some of these regimes and we need to stay involved and committed.
SEN. ROBB: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much. I ask unanimous consent that the record stay open until the end of the day for any questions that any of us may wish to ask. In addition to that, the statement by Senator Jeffords should be in the record and the report that I submitted from my trip to the Soviet Union and some other items to inserted in the record. And we have two more questions. I think we have 10 minutes. And I would like to suggest -- Senator Biden, I think, had a question.
SEN. BIDEN: Mr. Secretary, mine relate to aid and there are two, they are relatively brief. One, short-term emergency aid. We've heard much about the inadequacies of the Soviet distribution system, but what about our own efficiency in transporting food. What's causing the delay such that already allocated foods are, as reported, languishing en route and not even reaching the Soviet Union?
The second, longer term. I have specific questions about the content of the plan you may submit. All of us have varying ideas. My question is, will you be sending this committee a specific plan and what authorities will you seek from

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this committee or is this still being formulated?
SEC. BAKER: What's the latter one, Senator Biden?
SEN. BIDEN: Long-term economic plan relative to the former Soviet Union. Are you going to send us a package, a plan, a proposal seeking consent or seeking agreement, seeking authorization, and if so, when are you going to do that? Short-term question, why is, if it is what reported as correct, why is the food that --
SEC. BAKER: Yeah, let me answer the first one. With respect to that, I think you ought to look at it in its overall perspective. First of all, we have actually shipped, Senator Biden, over 19 million tons of grain to the former Soviet Union and that makes the United States far and away the largest provider of food aid to the Soviet Union -- larger than any other nation in the world. We recognize there's a need to accelerate deliveries of food and medicine and that's why we're having our Operation Provide Hope and we're going to have 54 sorties of huge C-5A and C-141 aircraft. The 140 tons -- or let me put it this way -- 140 tons of the food aid that's referred to in that story you have there is actually going to go on this airlift and those planes begin to take off Monday morning. So insofar as past delays are concerned, with respect to overall assistance there hasn't been any. With respect to that particular 165 million grant aid, I would grant you there has been some, but we've taken care of that.
It's important, as I said before, that we have the proper mechanisms for distribution when this aid gets to the Soviet Union because it's been our experience and the experience particularly of the European Community that because a lot of the dislocations and changes taking place there, a lot of things get siphoned off, the distribution system is inadequate and so we want to make certain before we send something that we know it's going to get to the people it needs to get to.
With respect to a long-term plan, the view of all of the G-7 nations is that we need to approach the question of medium- and long-term assistance to the Soviet Union in cooperation -- close cooperation with the international financial institutions which have the most expertise, which have a lot of resources, and which have an ability to coordinate in ways that if we all go off on our own we would not have an ability to do.
So we are taking the position that we want to see these new nations in the IMF and in the World Bank as quickly as possible. We are encouraging the leadership of those institutions to take action and to take action quickly so that a medium- and long-term plan can be developed and supported by the G-7 nations, including the United States.
SEN. BIDEN: Thank you.
SEN. PELL: Thank you very much.
Senator Pressler? And then the Secretary has to leave in about three minutes.
SEN. PRESSLER: I'm -- just ask a question about Cuba. Is there anything more we can be doing to help in the human rights area with Cuba? I had the privilege, I guess, of spending about 5-1/2 hours with Fidel Castro. I can't say I persuaded him of anything, mostly listening. But I didn't get a feeling that he was moving in the direction of fair and free elections or was going to make any changes. What will our policy be there in regards to the human rights issues?
SEC. BAKER: Well, you know, we have been pressing with respect to Cuban -- the lack of human rights by the Cuban regime in the forums of the United Nations. We now have -- I think each year we've developed more and more support for resolutions condemning their human rights practices.
We believe that the concerns of the Cuban leadership about what's happened in the East-West confrontation -- the fact that they've been cut off from assistance from the former Soviet Union -- has provided the pretext for a very

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severe crackdown in Cuba. We think that's what's happening -- what's happened; that mere dissent now is tantamount to treason, and they've put their people on notice that that's going to be summarily punished.
So we think progress on human rights in Cuba has been in exactly the wrong direction, and we will simply continue to do what we've been doing. We have an embargo going. We don't lose any opportunity in multilateral fora to make the case.
SEN. PELL: Thank you.
I gather you have to leave now.
SEN. : Do you have to leave?
SEC. BAKER: I've got lunch with the boss at 1:00, so I've got about --
SEN. PELL: I guess you do. Anyway --
SEC. BAKER: 12:45, sorry about that.
SEN. PELL: We'll insert these questions in the record, including one here about the -- hoping that the President will take up the question of Cyprus with Prime Minister Demirel. And any other questions that get submitted --
SEN. SARBANES: Can I ask the Secretary one question as he's leaving? Because George Orwell once talked about politics and language and how the language you use frames your political concepts. And all morning you've been talking about "the former Soviet Union." But, you know, obviously that goes to the past, and at some point we have to start thinking of what are the terminology we use to talk about this great land mass.
SEC. BAKER: What I use, Senator, is the new independent states. And I've used that today. Or, if we're dealing with one particularly I use Russia, or Ukraine, or Belarus. But when I'm talking about them as a whole, the most comprehensive way to do that, I think, is to say "the former Soviet Union."
SEN. SARBANES: Well, what -- you don't use the Commonwealth of Independent States. You don't --
SEC. BAKER: Yes, yes we do. But that is not -- that is not -- I mean, that is a loose agreement among many sovereign, independent nations. It is not an independent legal entity in and of itself as we see it. In other words, we deal with these countries as sovereign, independent nations.
Now, they have worked out an agreement among themselves where they have a common defense -- they're still working on it, they've still got some differences -- and where they have common and unified control of their nuclear capabilities. And we -- and I said earlier that we're very pleased that we're -- and satisfied that they have that, one unified nuclear command.
SEN. PELL: Okay. We thank you very much indeed for being with us. Good luck to you on your trip to Moscow.
SEC. BAKER: Thank you, sir.

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HEADLINE: CSFR PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS TO CSCE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

SOURCE: Radio Czechoslovakia 0900 gmt 30 Jan 92

Text of live relay of speech by Vaclav Havel

BODY:

Ladies and gentlemen, dear audience, first of all, allow me to welcome you on behalf of Czechoslovakia to this conference.

It is the first time that our country has played host to a conference of this significance, and there is no need for me to emphasise that we regard it as a great honour. I am especially pleased to welcome here the representatives of the new participant states, that is of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and, of course, the Russian Federation. I also welcome the observesrs from Croatia and Slovenia. I believe that these two countries will also become members soon. Finally, I would like to welcome the representiative of all international organisations who accepted the invitation to this conference.

The fall of communism and totalitarian regimes in the former Soviet bloc, the dissolution of the Soviet empire and the freeing of all nations who had been directly of indirectly controlled by this empire has brought about a radically new situation on our continent and has had an impact on the whole world. The so-called second world has ceased to exist as a military and political threat to the democratic West and as a focal centre of expansion into the third world. The era of bi-polar division of the world has ended, and the nations of what used to be the Soviet bloc have embarked on the difficult road to democracy, civil society, market economy and the fulfilment of their sovereignty.

This is a time of hitherto undreamt of hopes but also a time when we are all faced with a great many new problems and new dangers. Whether the hopes which are opening up for Europe and the whole world today will be fulfilled or wasted, depends on our conduct in the coming days, months and years. Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, the founder of modern Czechoslovakia, called the historical motion set off by the First World War ''the world revolution''. Today, too, we are experiencing events which could be termed ''the world revolution''. The old orders are collapsing, and it is our task to build new ones. What used to be called - not quite accurately - the Yalta arrangement of Europe has collapsed; and even the Versailles rearrangement has been superseded.

And so for the third time this century Europe stands before the task of arranging itself in such a way so as to exclude not only the danger of a world

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war emanating from its soil, be it hot or cold, but in such way as to exclude fighting on its soil altogether. To become really and permanently a continent of peaceful co-operation of all with all, a continent of real security for all, a continent from which the spirit of expansion and confrontation will not be radiated into the world but the spirit of peace and democracy.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a political environment which could play a decisive role in this respect. First of all since it associates, or will associate in the very near future, all European countries. Secondly, because it interlinks Europe not only with the North American continent, with which Europe is intrinsically bound by its civilisation, but also with a large part of Asia which, too, is closely connected to it by important historical, political and economic bonds and which, by its contemporary present, more authentic than the hitherto, brings a radically new and all-round important element into the Helsinki process.

Mainly, however, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is such an environment due to the fact that it has all the basic dimensions which truly peaceful co-operation must have. From care for human rights and democratic institutions, through interest in economic co-operation, to the military and security dimension. I think that CSCE could be the highest umbrella over all European integration processes, their basic framework, a context, a solid ground from which they grow. It could become a kind of natural, permanent and self-evident background of all European activity. I believe that CSCE has the preconditions to change into such a solid ground relatively soon. And it would be excellent if this year's summit, called Helsinki II, which it is our task to prepare, would be a decisive step forward in this direction.

If the first Helsinki conference in 1975 was the beginning of the first act of CSCE history, then Helsinki in 1992 could be the beginning of act two. That means an act, the aim of which would be namely what I have already spoken about to change this community into a truly solid and functioning system offering effective and reliable guarantees of peaceful co-operation, good coexistence and a continuously deeper political integration of Europe on a democratic basis.

If Europe changes one day into a confederate set-up, as many of us have envisaged, then it will most likely happen against the very background of the thus constructed and developed Helsinki system, and owing to this system.

What needs to be done for the Helsinki process to take this path? Many specific options exist and have been suggested. No doubt the conference will talk about them. Therefore I will mention only some of them here, and only very generally at that and without regard to whether they are feasible immediately, in the course of time or only from a long-term perspective.

Firstly, the CSCE documents have up to now been of a political and moral nature only. The states have jointly expressed their good intentions and promised to each other that they would put them into practice. I think that the Helsinki documents should in future have a greater content of legal obligation, they should gather legal momentum and acquire a more pronounced character of international agreements whose observance can be monitored and whose breach would result in sanctions. All member states should simply, in their own interest, gradually transfer certain activities and powers to the CSCE, which would thus to an increasing degree assume responsibility for the developments in Europe and provide an increasingly greater number of

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international guarantees and privileges.

This basic trend should be followed in all areas of CSCE work. It must necessarily be reflected as a radical change in the way all CSCE work has been done up to now. After the disintegration of the USSR, the conference has changed. It is more complex but also more diverse than up to now.

Secondly, in conjunction with and following from the above, the CSCE should continue building up and strengthening its bodies and institutions and confer more powers on them. It definitely should not become a mere debating society which whose efforts would stop at issuing joint statements. The aim is not to set up and widen bureaucratic apparatus devoid of power, but to have strong bodies free of a big apparatus. At the same time, the CSCE should at least in some areas of its work tailor its consensus principle to the needs of today.

Having the backing of some relevant treaty documents it could, for example, delegate some operational functions in the security sphere to a smaller organ, similar to that of the UN Security Council, to which it could give also some executive powers - fore example, in the deployment of peace-keeping forces which, in my opinion, should be established as part of the CSCE. If the CSCE is to be a guarantor of the inviolability of borders, the security of member states and the protection of their democratic constitutional systems, then it has to possess certain instruments through which it can carry out this role. This is true not only in the sphere of common security but in all spheres of co-operation. In every one of them there could gradually be a relevant smaller executive organ be set up be equipped with considerable powers. The CSCE parliamentary assembly should be a counterbalance to this Helsinki executive body.

Thirdly, I consider a clear and functional interlinking of the CSCE with other existing European or Euro-Atlantic structures very important. In the security sphere we can hardly imagine in the future its activity without close ties with the North Atlantic Alliance and the West European Union on whose potential, possibility and organisation it could lean and thus exclude the necessity of building new, costly bodies. I can quite well imagine NATO sometime becoming - especially if it opens up to new members and it if continues to change itself - one of the instruments of collective defence for all countries of the Helsinki sphere and an organiser of possible local security interventions where the CSCE considers it necessary.

In the sphere of human rights protection, integration of legal systems and setting of common standards, the CSCE can establish a closer co-operation with Council of Europe and make use of its possibilities. It can share certain tasks with it or in some cases delegate them to it directly. It can simply draw it into its work. The European Communities are undoubtedly the core of the political and economic integration of Europe, its vanguard and its driving force at the same time. Although they too will, as I strongly believe, continue to let in new members, they will hardly in the near future include all European countries. Nevertheless as the core uniting Europe they will probably lean on the CSCE as on its broader background to the extent to which its importance grows. This link should therefore be in both directions, and the CSCE as the guarantor of the new all-European order should co-operate closely with bodies of the European Communities, should make use of them, use their experiences and impulses and introduce them into the broader CSCE sphere. This is also true about other organisations, including non-governmental ones.

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There are many various international institutions and apparatuses in Europe and, rather than building more of them, we should use them as a back-up, to get them involved and to make use of them. The importance of various regional associations, such as the Nordic Council or the currently forming co-operative unions in Central Europe, will be growing in the many-faceted European architecture. The CSCE ought to focus its attention on these formations too, and lend its backing to them as natural parts, or links of the all-European co-operation system. The CSCE bodies should also naturally maintain political contacts with other parts of the world, for example with such important economic powers as Japan or other important international communities as the Organisation of American States.

Fourthly, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has played an important role and can play even more important role in the sphere of disarmament treaties and in the monitoring of their execution. The main reasons for the stockpiling of military arsenals, especially of strategic ones, have gone and the opportunity is thus opening up to speed up and facilitate disarmament. The CSCE should clearly be considering how to make various military and armament matters as clear as possible, it should be considering the most effective ways of being able to regulate the production of arms and monitor the exports of arms, it should be considering how to punish the breaching of contractual pledges and how to offer generous assistance for the conversion of the arms industry, for this is in the interest of all member countries. Nowadays the states of the former Soviet Union are having major problems with the scrapping, cuts or redeployment of nuclear potential. I think that it would be in the interest of all of us, if the CSCE also offered its practical assistance in this sphere.

Esteemed gathering, each war is usually followed by a peace conference settling, in a manner binding for all, new post-war conditions. In fact we are also living in a post-war era because the Cold War has definitively ended. And today we are also urgently experiencing a need for some kind of peace conference which would bring light into the rather chaotic situation left us by the Cold War, and which would be conducive in newly stabilising European conditions. Those who met in Helsinki for the first time in 1975 had no idea that a community that had come into being then would be now, 17 years later, capable of accommodating this need and of creating, asserting and guaranteeing the new European order. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has simply a chance to take up this historic opportunity and to answer the call of our era.

In conclusion I would like to assure you that Czechoslovakia, which chairs the CSCE now, will do all in its power to ensure that the Helsinki process continues successfully, that it acquires a new dynamism and that it gradually turns into a structure which will become the fundamental and most important creator of the new European order and the main, and at the same time, a watertight guarantee of peaceful development, the objective of which is a united Europe properly interconnected with the western and eastern part of our hemisphere, contributing to a better life on our planet.

Thank you for your attention. I wish you success in your talks.

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I can tell thee where that saying was born

SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

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thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in.
SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*. Act iii, sc. 1, l. 127.

1
High-stomach'd are they both, and full of ire,
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.
SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 18.

2
He was a man
Hard, selfish, loving only gold,
Yet full of guile: his pale eyes ran
With tears, which each some falsehood told.
SHELLEY, *Rosalind and Helen*, l. 248.

3
Lax in their gaiters, laxer in their gait.
HORACE AND JAMES SMITH, *Rejected Addresses: The Theatre.*

4
A man of plots,
Craft, poisonous counsels, wayside ambushings.
TENNYSON, *Gareth and Lynette*, l. 423.

CHARITY

See also Gifts and Giving; Philanthropy

For Charity of Judgment, see Tolerance

I—Charity: Definitions

5
Charity is a virtue of the heart, and not of the hands.
ADDISON, *The Guardian*. No. 166.

6
The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it.
FRANCIS BACON, *Essays: Of Goodness. See also* AMBITION: ITS FOLLY.

7
For this I think charity, to love God for himself, and our neighbour for God.
SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *Religio Medici*. Pt. ii, sec. 14.

True charity is sagacious, and will find out hints for beneficence.
SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *Christian Morals*. Pt. i, sec. 6.

8
Charity is, indeed, a great thing, and a gift of God, and when it is rightly ordered, likens us to God himself, as far as that is possible; for it is charity which makes the man.
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *True Almsgiving*.

9
Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.
And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.
And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.
Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up. . . .
And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.
New Testament: I Corinthians, xiii, 1–4, 13.

Meek and lowly, pure and holy,
Chief among the "blessed three."
CHARLES JEFFERYS, *Charity*.

In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity.
POPE, *Essay on Man*. Epis. iii, l. 307.

Hell bade all its millions rise; Paradise sends three:
Pity, and Self-sacrifice, and Charity.
THEODOSIA GARRISON, *These Shall Prevail*.

10
True Charity, a plant divinely nurs'd.
COWPER, *Charity*, l. 573.

11
Charity is indeed a noble and beautiful virtue, grateful to man, and approved by God. But charity must be built on justice. It cannot supersede justice.
HENRY GEORGE, *The Condition of Labor*, p. 92.

12
The best form of charity is extravagance. . . . The prodigality of the rich is the providence of the poor.
R. G. INGERSOLL, *Hard Times and the Way Out*.

13
Charity, decent, modest, easy, kind,
Softens the high, and rears the abject mind;
Knows with just reins, and gentle hand to guide,
Betwixt vile shame and arbitrary pride.
MATTHEW PRIOR, *Charity*.

Soft peace she brings, wherever she arrives:
She builds our quiet, as she forms our lives:
She builds our quiet, as she forms our lives:
Lays the rough paths of peevish Nature even,
And opens in each heart a little Heaven.
MATTHEW PRIOR, *Charity*.

14
Charity itself fulfills the law,
And who can sever love from charity?
SHAKESPEARE, *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, 3, 364.

Charity,
Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.
SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III*. Act i, sc. 2, l. 68.

15
True charity is the desire to be useful to others without thought of recompense.
SWEDENBORG, *Arcana Caelestia*. Sec. 3419.

The charities that soothe and heal and bless
Are scattered at the feet of Man—like flowers.
WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion*. Bk. ix, l. 239.

16
What is faith? What you do not see.
What is hope? A great thing.

Are breathers of an ampler day
For ever nobler ends.
TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*. Pt. cxviii, st. 2.

It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles whom we knew.
TENNYSON, *Ulysses*, l. 63.

1
Henceforward, listen as we will,
The voices of that hearth are still;
Look where we may, the wide earth o'er
Those lighted faces smile no more. . . .
Yet Love will dream, and Faith will trust
(Since He who knows our need is just)
That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.
J. G. WHITTIER, *Snow-Bound*, l. 187.

2
It is but crossing with a bated breath,
A white, set face, a little strip of sea—
To find the loved one waiting on the shore,
More beautiful, more precious than before.
ELLA WHEELER WILCOX, *The Crossing*. Inscribed upon a wreath sent by Queen Alexandra, to be laid on the coffin of Mrs. William Ewart Gladstone, in June, 1900.

3
Passed on, beyond our mortal vision,
But now the thought is robbed of gloom,
Within the Father's many mansions
Still dwelling in another room.

The one whose going left us lonely
Is scaling heights undreamed of yore,
And guided on by Love's unfolding,
Has gone upstairs and shut the door.
UNKNOWN, *Upstairs*.

XXIII—Death: Weep Not the Dead

See also Mourning

4
No funeral gloom, my dears, when I am gone,
Corpse-gazings, tears, black raiment, graveyard grimness;
Think of me as withdrawn into the dimness,
Yours still, you mine; remember all the best
Of our past moments, and forget the rest;
And so, to where I wait, come gentlv on.
WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, *No Funeral Gloom*. Copied by Ellen Terry on the flyleaf of her *Imitation of Christ*, and under it, "I should wish my children, relatives and friends to observe this when I die." This wish was carried out.

Weep awhile, if ye are fain,—
Sunshine still must follow rain;
Only not at death,—for death,
Now I know, is that first breath
Which our souls draw when we enter
Life, which is of all life centre.
EDWIN ARNOLD, *After Death in Arabia*.

5
He who died at Azan sends
This to comfort all his friends:
Faithful friends! It lies, I know,
Pale and white and cold as snow;
And ye say, "Abdallah's dead!"
Weeping at the feet and head,
I can see your falling tears,
I can hear your sighs and prayers;
Yet I smile and whisper this:
"*I* am not the thing you kiss;
Cease your tears and let it lie;
It *was* mine—it is not I."
EDWIN ARNOLD, *After Death in Arabia*.

Behold—not him we knew!
This was the prison which his soul looked through.
O. W. HOLMES, *The Last Look*.

6
But never be a tear-drop shed
For them, the pure, enfranchised dead.
MARY E. BROOKS, *Weep Not for the Dead*.

7
On that grave drop not a tear!
Else, though fathom-deep the place,
Through the woolen shroud I wear
I shall feel it on my face.
E. B. BROWNING, *Bertha in the Lane*. St. 31.

8
Him who is dead and gone, honour with remembrance, not with tears. (Τὸν δὲ ἀποιχόμενον μνήμῃ τιμᾶτε, μὴ δάκρυσιν.)
ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *Commentaries*. *See also under* MEMORY.

9
When I am dead, forget me, dear,
For I shall never know,
Though o'er my cold and lifeless hands
Your burning tears shall flow;
I'll cancel with my living voice
The debt you owe the dead—
Give me the love you'd show me then,
But give it now instead.
LADY CELIA CONGREVE, *When I Am Dead*.

10
Make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest.
Apocrypha: Ecclesiasticus, xxii, 11.
When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest; and be comforted for him, when his spirit is departed from him.
Apocrypha: Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii, 23.
Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him.
Old Testament: Jeremiah, xxii, 10.

11
When I am dead, no pageant train
Shall waste their sorrows at my bier,
Nor worthless pomp of homage vain
Stain it with hypocritic tear.
EDWARD EVERETT, *Alaric the Visigoth*.

12
Thou art gone to the grave! but we will not deplore thee,
Though sorrows and darkness encompass the tomb.
REGINALD HEBER, *Hymns: At a Funeral*.

13
Let dirges be absent from what you falsely deem my death, and unseemly show of grief

and lamentation! Re:
forego the idle tribute
(Absint inani funere n
Luctusque turpes et q
Compesce clamoren
Mitte supervacuo
HORACE, *Odes*. Bk. ii,

1
You come not, as afor
every day,
And I, who died, I dc
friend, you play;
Only, in playing, thin
kind and dear,
And, if you see a beat
is not here.
WILLIAM JOHNSON (

2
No chorus of loud
συνεπιθρηνεῖν, μὴ σφύζ
MARCUS AURELIUS,
43.

3
Weep not for him w
there is no suffering
θανάτου δεύτερόν ἐστι
PALLADAS. (*Greek A*

4
We have no need of
mentation.
PLATO, *The Republ*

The silent organ louc
The master's requiem
EMERSON, *Dirge*.

5
And when committ
Few tears, but fr
grave.
JOHN POMFRET, *T*

6
Weep not, O frien
Our friend of fri
No sorrow rankl
Fallen fast asleep,
She wakes and l
To-day, as she w
To-morrow, follow
CHRISTINA ROSSE

7
When I am dead, l
Sing no sad son
Plant thou no ros
Nor shady cypress
Be the green grass
With showers a
And if thou wilt,
And if thou wil
CHRISTINA ROSS

8
Let not the eyes
friend, nor let th
but we must not

1
As the hawk is wont to pursue the trembling dove. (Ut solet accipiter trepidas agitare columbas.)
OVID, *Metamorphoses*. Bk. v, l. 606.

2
Doves have made a nest in the soldier's helmet: see how Venus loveth Mars. (Militis in galea nidum fecere columbæ: Apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus.)
PETRONIUS, *Fragments*. No. 96.

3
Not half so swift the trembling doves can fly,
When the fierce eagle cleaves the liquid sky;
Not half so swiftly the fierce eagle moves,
When thro' the clouds he drives the trembling doves.
POPE, *Windsor Forest*, l. 185.

And mine to fly like doves whom th' eagle doth affray.
SPENSER, *Faerie Queene*. Bk. v, canto xii, st. 5.

4
Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest.
Old Testament: Psalms, lv, 6.

The Wings of the Dove.
HENRY JAMES. Title of novel.

5
As patient as the female dove.
SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*. Act v, sc. 1, l. 309.

Thou wilt be as valiant as the wrathful dove, or most magnanimous mouse.
SHAKESPEARE, *II Henry IV*. Act iii, sc. 2, l. 171.

The dove and very blessed spirit of peace.
SHAKESPEARE, *II Henry IV*. Act iv, sc. 1, l. 46.

6
I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove.
SHAKESPEARE, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Act i, sc. 2, l. 84.

Modest as the dove.
SHAKESPEARE, *The Taming of the Shrew*. Act ii, sc. 1, l. 295.

7
Doves will peck in safeguard of their brood.
SHAKESPEARE, *III Henry VI*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 18.

8
Who will not change a raven for a dove?
SHAKESPEARE, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 114.

So shows a snowy dove trooping with crows.
SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*. Act i, 5, 50.

9
In the spring a livelier iris changes on the burnish'd dove.
TENNYSON, *Locksley Hall*, l. 19.

10
And oft I heard the tender dove
In firry woodlands making moan.
TENNYSON, *The Miller's Daughter*, l. 41.

I heard a Stock-dove sing or say
His homely tale, this very day;
His voice was buried among trees,
Yet to be come at by the breeze:
He did not cease; but cooed—and cooed;
And somewhat pensively he wooed:
He sang of love, with quiet blending,
Slow to begin, and never ending;
Of serious faith, and inward glee;
That was the song,—the song for me!
WORDSWORTH, *O Nightingale! Thou Surely Art*.

DOWRY

See also Marriage and Money

11
Often in marriage the dowry, if overlarge, becomes a cause of offense. (Sæpe in conjugiis fit noxia, si nimia est dos.)
AUSONIUS, *Technopaegnion*. Sec. vii, l. 1.

12
Then hey for a lass wi' a tocher,
The nice yellow guineas for me!
BURNS, *Hey for a Lass wi' a Tocher*.

Oh, gie me the lass that has acres o' charms,
Oh, gie me the lass wi' the weel-stockit farms.
BURNS, *Hey for a Lass wi' a Tocher*.

13
He who gets a dowry with his wife, sells himself for it.
EURIPIDES, *Phæthon: Fragment*.

I sold myself for a dowry. (Dote imperium vendidi.)
PLAUTUS, *Asinaria*, l. 87. (Act i, sc. 1.)

14
Old women's gold is not ugly.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia*.

15
There is no character so contemptible as a man that is a fortune-hunter.
GOLDSMITH, *Vicar of Wakefield*. Ch. 5.

16
A great dowry is a bed full of brabbles.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*. No. 754.

17
I would rather be poor a thousand times over than grow wealthy through my wife.
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Marriages as They Were and as They Are*, ii, 355.

18
Nor has he pined under the darts of Venus; he was never burnt by her torch. It was the dowry that lighted his fires, the dowry that shot those arrows. (Nec pharetris Veneris macer est aut lampade fervet; Inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittæ.)
JUVENAL, *Satires*. Sat. vi, l. 138.

19
Alas that I took Crobyle to wife,
With sixteen talents and a foot of nose.
MENANDER, *Plocium*. Frag. 402.

20
I do not consider that my dowry is that which people call a dowry, but purity and modesty and quiet desire.
PLAUTUS, *Amphitryon*, l. 839. (Act ii, sc. 2.)

She is herself a dowry.
SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 244.

V—Money: The Love of Money

See also Avarice

1
My theme is always one, and ever was—
"Radix malorum est Cupiditas."
CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale: Prologue*, l. 5.

2
The love of money is the mother-city of all evils. (Τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν παντων τῶν κακῶν.)
DIOGENES. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Diogenes*. Bk. vi, sec. 50.)

For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.
New Testament: I Timothy, vi, 10. Often incorrectly quoted, "Money is the root of all evil." The Latin is the oft-quoted, "Rad x malorum est cupiditos." Mark Twain is credited with amending this to, "Lack of money is the root of all evil." Attributed also to Bernard Shaw.

3
The love of money and the love of learning seldom meet.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

4
The love of money grows as the money itself grows. (Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.)
JUVENAL, *Satires*. Sat. xiv, l. 139.

VI—Money: Contempt for Money

5
Thy money perish with thee.
New Testament: Acts, viii, 20.

6
I cannot afford to waste my time making money.
AGASSIZ, when offered a large sum for a course of lectures at a western college. (WHIPPLE, *Recollections of Eminent Men*.)

7
"Vile money!" True. Let's have enough
To save our thinking of such stuff.
WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, *Blackberries*.

8
Money, which is of very uncertain value, and sometimes has no value at all and even less.
CARLYLE, *Frederick the Great*. Bk. iv, ch. 3.

9
Let us despise money.
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *The Weak Things of God*. Vol. ii, p. 59.

To despise money at the right moment is sometimes the way to make it. (Pecuniam in loco neclegere maximum interdumst lucrum.)
TERENCE, *Adelphi*, l. 216. (Act ii, sc. 2.)

10
The beggarly last doit.
COWPER, *The Task*. Bk. v, l. 321.

11
Money, thou bane of bliss and source of woe.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Avarice*.

12
What beauty is there in a piled up heap [of money]? (Quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?)
HORACE, *Satires*. Bk. i, sat. 1, l. 44.

13
Money never made any man rich, but his mind. He that can order himself to the law of nature, is not only without the sense, but the fear of poverty.
BEN JONSON, *Explorata: Amor Nummi*.

14
Money amassed with excessive care chokes many. (Plures nimia congesta pecunia cura Strangulat.)
JUVENAL, *Satires*. Sat. x, l. 12.

15
A money-mong'ring pitiable brood.
KEATS, *Addressed to Haydon*. St. 2.

16
Never do anything for money; leave gain to trades pursued for gain.
PERIANDER. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Periander*. Sec. 4.)

17
Trade it may help, Society extend,
But lures the Pirate, and corrupts the friend:
It raises armies in a nation's aid,
But bribes a senate, and the land's betray'd.
POPE, *Moral Essays*. Epis. iii, l. 29.

18
Who steals my purse steals trash.
SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*. Act iii, sc. 3, l. 157.

19
The price we pay for money is paid in liberty.
R. L. STEVENSON, *Familiar Studies*, p. 138.

20
Not greedy of filthy lucre.
New Testament: I Timothy, iii, 3.

21
Whereunto is money good?
Who has it not wants hardihood,
Who has it has much trouble and care,
Who once has had it has despair.
FRIEDRICH VON LOGAU, *Sinnedichte*. (Longfellow, tr.)

22
Money—money, like everything else—is a deception and a disappointment.
H. G. WELLS, *Kipps*. Bk. ii, ch. 7.

MONK AND NUN

23
Despair makes the monk. (Desperatio facit monachum.)
ROBERT BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Pt. iii, sec. 4, mem. 2, subs. 3. Quoted.

24
Merrily sang the monks in Ely
When Cnut, King, rowed thereby;
Row, my knights, near the land,
And hear we these monkes' song.
KING CANUTE (?), *Song of the Monks of Ely*. (c. 1030) A famous early English ballad, recorded by a monk of Ely in 1166. (SPENS, *History of the English People*.)

his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never seen.
EDMUND BURKE, *Speech*, on Mr. Fox's East-India Bill. House of Commons, 1 Dec., 1783.

1
The friend of man, to vice alone a foe.
BURNS, *Epitaph on His Father.*

Friend to the friendless, to the sick man health,
With generous joy he viewed his modest wealth.
S. T. COLERIDGE, *Lines Written at the King's Arms, Ross.*

He treads unemulous of fame or wealth,
Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health.
ERASMUS DARWIN, *Philanthropy of Mr. Howard.*

2
I love my country better than my family, but I love human nature better than my country.
FÉNELON, *Télémaque.*

3
Their chat on various subjects ran,
But most what each had done for man.
JOHN GAY, *Fables.* Pt. ii, fab. 13.

4
A kind and gentle heart he had,
To comfort friends and foes;
The naked every day he clad,
When he put on his clothes.
GOLDSMITH, *Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog.*

5
Large was his bounty, and his soul sincere,
Heav'n did a recompense as largely send:
He gave to Mis'ry all he had, a tear,
He gain'd from Heav'n ('twas all he wish'd) a friend.

No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
(There they alike in trembling hope repose,)
The bosom of his Father and his God.
THOMAS GRAY, *Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard: The Epitaph.*

Scatter plenty o'er a smiling land.
GRAY, *Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard*, l. 63.

6
You hear that boy laughing?—You think he's all fun;
But the angels laugh, too, at the good he has done;
The children laugh loud as they troop at his call,
And the poor man that knows him laughs loudest of all!
O. W. HOLMES, *The Boys.*

7
He held his seat; a friend to human race.
HOMER, *Iliad.* Bk. vi, l. 18. (Pope, tr.)

8
A man rich in substance, and beloved of all men; for he dwelt in a house by the high-road and was wont to give entertainment to all.
(Ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο, φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι·
πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν ὁδῷ ἔπι οἰκία ναίων.)
HOMER, *Iliad.* Bk. vi, l. 14.

Depart from the highway and transplant thyself in some enclosed ground, for it is hard for a tree which stands by the wayside to keep her fruit till it be prime.
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

There are hermit souls that live withdrawn
In the peace of their self-content;
There are souls like stars that dwell apart,
In a fellowless firmament;
There are pioneer souls that blaze their paths
Where highways never ran,—
But let me live by the side of the road,
And be a friend to man.
SAM WALTER FOSS, *The House by the Side of the Road.*

Ah me, why did they build my house by the road to the market town?
RABINDRANATH TAGORE, *The Gardener.* No. 4.

9
In ev'ry sorrowing soul I pour'd delight,
And Poverty stood smiling in my sight.
HOMER, *Odyssey.* Bk. xvii, l. 505. (Pope, tr.)

10
Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw, within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold:—
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said,
"What writest thou?"—The Vision rais'd its head,
And, with a look made all of sweet accord,
Answer'd, "The names of those who love the Lord."
"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerly still; and said, "I pray thee, then,
Write me as one that loves his fellow men."
The angel wrote, and vanish'd. The next night
It came again with a great wakening light.
And show'd the names whom love of God had blest,
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.
LEIGH HUNT, *Abou Ben Adhem.*

11
He is one of those wise philanthropists who in a time of famine would vote for nothing but a supply of toothpicks.
DOUGLAS JERROLD, *Douglas Jerrold's Wit.*

The milk of human kindness ran
In rich abundance in his breast,
It left thin grease stains on the tan
Of his asbestos vest.
PAUL TANAQUIL, *Philanthropist.*

1
The sin is not in the sinning, but in the being found out.
W. G. BENHAM, *Proverbs*, p. 851.

2
Guard yourself from being found out, so that you may sin freely. (D'être pincé te garderas, Afin de fauter librement.)
PRINCE DE JOINVILLE, *Memoirs*, adding that this "Eleventh Commandment, according to the late Lord Clarendon, sums up all the rest."

After all, the eleventh commandment [thou shalt not be found out] is the only one that is vitally important to keep in these days.
BERTHA H. BUXTON, *Jenny of the Prince's*, iii, 314. (1879)

3
The sin is merely in the noise which one makes;
It is only the scandal which makes the offence.
(Le mal n'est jamais que dans l'éclat qu'on fait;
Le scandale du monde est ce qui fait l'offense.)
MOLIÈRE, *Le Tartufe*. Act iv, sc. 5, l. 118.

4
Their best conscience
Is not to leave 't undone, but keep 't unknown.
SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*. Act iii, sc. 3, l. 203.

5
The girl who can her fault deny
Will always at the end be winner;
'Tis she who does for pardon cry
That's held the sinner.
F. A. WRIGHT, *The Complaisant Swain*.

IV—Sin: Repentance and Forgiveness

See also Forgiveness

6
To abstain from sin when a man cannot sin is to be forsaken by sin, not to forsake it.
ST. AUGUSTINE, *Sermons: De Pœnitentibus*. (Jeremy Taylor, tr., *Works*, vii, 206.)

Therefore I rede you this counsel take,
Forsaketh sin, ere sin you forsake.
CHAUCER, *The Phisiciens Tale*, l. 285.

Unto each man comes a day when his favorite sins all forsake him,
And he complacently thinks he has forsaken his sins.
JOHN HAY, *Distichs*.

7
The proper process of unsinning sin
Is to begin well doing.
ROBERT BROWNING, *The Ring and the Book*. Pt. iv, l. 285.

8
Who sins and mends commends himself to God.
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. ii, ch. 28.

Take away the motive, and the sin is taken away. (Quitada la causa, se quita el pecado.)
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. ii, ch. 67.

9
For to sin, indeed, is human: but to persevere in sin is not human but altogether satanic. (Peccare, quidem, humanum est; at in peccatis perseverare, id non humanum est, sed omnino satanicum.)
ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *Adhortatio at Theodorum Lapsum*, i, 14.

To do sin is mannish, but certes to persevere long in sin is the work of the devil.
CHAUCER, *The Tale of Melibeus*. Sec. 29. Quoted as a proverb.

He that falls into sin is a man; that grieves at it, is a saint; that boasteth of it, is a devil.
THOMAS FULLER, *The Holy and the Profane State: Of Self-Praising*.

God pardons those who do through frailty sin,
But never those that persevere therein.
ROBERT HERRICK, *Pardon*.

Man-like is it to fall into sin,
Fiend-like is it to dwell therein,
Christ-like is it for sin to grieve,
God-like is it all sin to leave.
FRIEDRICH VON LOGAU, *Sinngedichte: Sin*. (Longfellow, tr., *Poetic Aphorisms*.)

10
When once the sin has fully acted been,
Then is the horror of the trespass seen.
ROBERT HERRICK, *Sin Seen*.

11
Owning her weakness,
Her evil behaviour,
And leaving with meekness,
Her sins to her Saviour!
THOMAS HOOD, *The Bridge of Sighs*.

12
Palliation of a sin is the hunted creature's refuge and final temptation. Our battle is ever between spirit and flesh. Spirit must brand the flesh, that it may live.
GEORGE MEREDITH, *Diana of the Crossways*. Ch. 1.

13
But unless I had sinned, what had there been for you to pardon? (Sed nisi peccassem, quid tu concedere posses?)
OVID, *Tristia*. Bk. ii, l. 32.

14
A sin confessed is half forgiven.
JOHN RAY, *English Proverbs*. The French form is: Péché avoué est à moitié pardonné.

The blackest sin is clear'd with absolution.
SHAKESPEARE, *The Rape of Lucrece*. St. 51.

15
When thy lovely sin has been
Wasted in a long despair,
World-forgetting, it may look
Upon thee with an angel air.
GEORGE WILLIAM RUSSELL, *Ancestry*.

16
Why does no one confess his sins? Because he is still in their grasp. Only he who has awoke from sleep can tell his dreams. (Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est; somnium narrare vigilantis est.)
SENECA, *Epistulæ ad Lucilium*. Epis. liii, 8.

Reckoning his skill with opportunity.
GEORGE ELIOT, *Felix Holt*. Ch. 47.

1
There are temptations that require all of one's strength to yield to.
ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Philistine*, xx, 86.

Do you really think that it is weakness that yields to temptation? I tell you that there are terrible temptations which it requires strength, strength and courage, to yield to.
OSCAR WILDE, *An Ideal Husband*. Act ii.

2
Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life.
New Testament: James, i, 12.

3
Honest bread is very well—it's the butter that makes the temptation.
DOUGLAS JERROLD, *The Catspaw*.

4
Let us not lose heart in temptation.
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *The Word of Praise*.

5
When the clergyman's daughter drinks nothing but water,
She's certain to finish on gin!

If the aunt of the vicar has never touched liquor,
Look out when she finds the champagne!
RUDYARD KIPLING, *Sons of the Suburbs*. These are two of the choruses from this unpublished poem of five eight-line stanzas, never included in Kipling's collected works.

6
Her smile, her voice, her face, were all temptation,
All subtle flies to trouble man the trout.
JOHN MASEFIELD, *The Widow in the Bye Street*. Pt. i, st. 16.

7
You may be lustrous as a star, with all the virtues in you canned, but if you fool around with tar you'll blacken up to beat the band.
WALT MASON, *At the Theatre*.

8
Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.
New Testament: Matthew, vi, 13; *Luke*, xi, 4.

From all blindness of heart; from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness.
Book of Common Prayer: Litany.

9
Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.
New Testament: Matthew, xxvi, 41; *Mark*, xiii, 33; xiv, 38; *Luke*, xxii, 40, 46.

10
So gloz'd the Tempter.
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*. Bk. ix, l. 549.

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve.
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*. Bk. iv, l. 800.

11
May God defend me from myself. (Defienda me Dios de my.)
MONTAIGNE, *Essays*. Bk. iii, ch. 13. Quoted as a maxim.

12
If you have overcome your inclination and not been overcome by it, you have reason to rejoice. (Tu si animum vicisti potius quam animus te est quod gaudeas.)
PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, l. 310. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 24.

13
The devil was piqued such saintship to behold,
And long'd to tempt him like good Job of old;
But Satan now is wiser than of yore.
And tempts by making rich, not making poor.
POPE, *Moral Essays*. Epis. iii, l. 349.

The tempter saw his time; the work he plied;
Stocks and subscriptions poured on ev'ry side,
Till all the demon makes his full descent
In one abundant shower of cent per cent,
Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,
Then dubs Director, and secures his soul.
POPE, *Moral Essays*. Epis. iii, l. 369.

Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back,
When gold and silver becks me to come on.
SHAKESPEARE, *King John*. Act iii, sc. 3, l. 12.

14
My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.
Old Testament: Proverbs, i, 10.

15
That no man put a stumbling-block or an occasion to fall in his brother's way
New Testament: Romans, xiv, 13.

16
How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Make deeds ill done!
SHAKESPEARE, *King John*. Act iv, sc. 2, l. 219.
See also under OPPORTUNITY.

17
Devils soonest tempt, resembling spirits of light.
SHAKESPEARE, *Love's Labour's Lost*. Act iv, sc. 3, l. 257.

18
I am that way going to temptation,
Where prayers cross.
SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 158.

19
The tempter or the tempted, who sins most?
SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 163.

I was one of the tempted, and not one of the strong.
ARTHUR WING PINERO, *The Profligate*. Act iii.

20
Most dangerous
Is that temptation that doth goad us on
To sin in loving virtue.
SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 181.

1
A cigarette is the perfect type of a perfect pleasure. It is exquisite, and it leaves one unsatisfied. What more can you want?
OSCAR WILDE, *Picture of Dorian Gray*. Ch. 6.

TODAY

I—Today

See also Present

1a
There is left for myself then but one day in the week—today. Any man can fight the battles of today. Any woman can carry the burdens of just one day. Any man can resist the temptations of today. Oh, friends, it is only when we willfully add the burdens of those two awful eternities, yesterday and tomorrow, such burdens as only the mighty God can sustain, that we break down. It isn't the experience of today that drives men mad. It is the remorse for something that happened yesterday, and the dread of what tomorrow may disclose.
ROBERT J. BURDETTE, *The Golden Day*.

2
Out of Eternity the new Day is born;
Into Eternity at night will return.
THOMAS CARLYLE, *To-day*.

3
To those leaning on the sustaining infinite, to-day is big with blessings.
MARY B. EDDY, *Science and Health: Preface*, p. vii.

4
Rise! for the day is passing,
And you lie dreaming on;
The others have buckled their armour,
And forth to the fight are gone:
A place in the ranks awaits you,
Each man has some part to play;
The Past and the Future are nothing,
In the face of the stern To-day.
ADELAIDE ANN PROCTER, *Now*. St. 1.

5
The obscurest epoch is to-day.
R. L. STEVENSON, *Ethical Studies*, p. 113.

6
To-day is yesterday's pupil.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia*, No. 5153.

7
Our to-days and yesterdays
Are the blocks with which we build.
LONGFELLOW, *The Builders*. St. 3.

8
To-day is always different from yesterday.
ALEXANDER SMITH, *Dreamthorp: Books and Gardens*.

9
Life greatens in these later years,
The century's aloe flowers to-day!
J. G. WHITTIER, *Snow-Bound*, l. 738.

10
Listen to the Exhortation of the Dawn!
Look to this Day, for it is Life—
The very Life of Life!
In its brief course lie all the Verities
And Realities of your Existence:
The Bliss of Growth,
The Glory of Action,
The Splendor of Beauty;
For Yesterday is but a Dream,
And To-morrow is only a Vision;
But To-day well lived
Makes every Yesterday a Dream of Happiness,
And every To-morrow a Vision of Hope.
Look well, therefore, to this day!
Such is the Salutation of the Dawn.
UNKNOWN, *The Salutation of the Dawn*. From the Sanscrit.

II—Today and Tomorrow

See also Present and Future

12
Light to-morrow with to-day!
E. B. BROWNING, *Romance of Swan's Nest*. St. 9.
Build a little fence of trust
Around to-day;
Fill the space with loving work,
And therein stay;
Look not through the sheltering bars
Upon to-morrow;
God will help thee bear what comes
Of joy or sorrow.
MARY FRANCES BUTTS, *Trust*.

13
The rule is, jam to-morrow and jam yesterdays—but never jam to-day.
CARROLL, *Through the Looking-Glass*. Ch. 3.

14
What's lost today may be won tomorrow.
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. i, ch. 7.

15
Give me to-day, and take to-morrow. (Δίδου μοι τὴν σήμερον, καὶ λάμβανε τὴν αὔριον.)
ST. CHRYSOSTOM. A proverb condemned by him.

16
To-day is ours; what do we fear?
To-day is ours; we have it here.
Let's treat it kindly, that it may
Wish, at least, with us to stay.
Let's banish business, banish sorrow;
To the gods belongs to-morrow.
ABRAHAM COWLEY, *The Epicure*, l. 7.

17
If today will not, tomorrow may.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia*. No. 2725.

18
Oh, to be wafted away
From this black Aceldama of sorrow,
Where the dust of an earthy to-day,
Is the earth of a dusty to-morrow.
W. S. GILBERT, *Patience*. Act i.

19
Reap the harvest of to-day; trust to-morrow as little as may be. (Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.)
HORACE, *Odes*. Bk. i, ode 11, l. 8. *See also* LIFE AND LIVING.

20
Here's in the teeth of to-morrow
To the glory of to-day!
RICHARD HOVEY, *At the End of the Day*.

the other world, but this I know, that I was never mean enough to despise a man because he was ignorant, or because he was poor—or because he was black.
JOHN ALBION ANDREW, *Address*, at Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 10 Aug., 1862.

1
Toleration is good for all or it is good for none.
BURKE, *Speech*, House of Commons, 1773.

2
Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman;
Tho' they may gang a kennin wrang,
To step aside is human.
ROBERT BURNS, *Address to the Unco Guid.*

3
Like feather bed betwixt a wall
And heavy brunt of cannon ball.
BUTLER, *Hudibras*. Pt. i, canto ii, l. 872.

4
I have seen gross intolerance shown in support of toleration.
S. T. COLERIDGE, *Biographia Literaria*. Ch. 10.

Intolerant only of intolerance.
UNKNOWN, *Mr. Buckle and the East*. (This is an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for August, 1863, signed "I.S.S.G.")

5
He preached upon "breadth" till it argued him narrow,—
The broad are too broad to define.
EMILY DICKINSON, *Poems*. Pt. i, No. 64.

Broadmindedness is the result of flattening high-mindedness out.
GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

6
Give to every other human being every right that you claim for yourself.
R. G. INGERSOLL, *Limitations of Toleration*.

7
Wise with the history of its own frail heart,
With reverence and sorrow, and with love,
Broad as the world for freedom and for man.
J. R. LOWELL, *Prometheus*, l. 216.

Ready to settle Freewill by a vote,
But largely liberal to its private moods.
J. R. LOWELL, *Under the Old Elm*.

8
He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.
New Testament: Matthew, v, 45.

9
Though all society is founded on intolerance, all improvement is founded on tolerance.
BERNARD SHAW, *Saint Joan: Preface*.

10
Let your precept be, "Be easy."
RICHARD STEELE, *The Spectator* No. 196.

11
This Laodicean cant of tolerance.
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD, *Robert Elsmere*. Bk. ii, ch. 12.

TOMB, see Grave, Monument

TOMORROW

See also Future; Today and Tomorrow

12
Who knows aright of tomorrow's fortune?
(Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον.)
CALLIMACHUS, *Epigrams*. No. 16.

It is doubtful what fortune tomorrow will bring. (Posteraque in dubio est fortunam quam vehat aetas.)
LUCRETIUS, *De Rerum Natura*. Bk. iii, l. 1085.

It is not lawful to know what the morrow will bring forth. (Quid crastina volveret aetas Scire nefas homini.)
STATIUS, *Thebais*. Bk. iii, l. 562.
See also FUTURE: KNOWLEDGE OF.

13
As much to the purpose as "Tomorrow I found a horseshoe."
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. ii, ch. 43.

14
Put not off till to-morrow; for the morrow never comes to completion. (Μὴ εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀναβάλλου· ἡ γὰρ αὔριον οὐδέποτε λαμβάνει τέλος.)
ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *Adagia*. *See* PROCRASTINATION.

15
And blithe as the lark that each day hails the dawn,
Look forward with hope for To-morrow.
JOHN COLLINS, *To-morrow*. St. 1.

16
To-morrow!
'Tis a sharper—who stakes his penury
Against thy plenty—takes thy ready cash,
And pays thee naught but wishes, hopes, and promises.
NATHANIEL COTTON, *To-Morrow*.

Trust on and think To-morrow will repay;
To-morrow's falser than the former day;
Lies worse; and while it says, we shall be blest
With some new Joys, cuts off what we possest.
DRYDEN, *Aureng-Zebe*. Act iv, sc. 1.

To-morrow and to-morrow cheat our youth.
In riper age, to-morrow still we cry,
Not thinking that the present age we die,
Unpractis'd all the good we have design'd:
There's no to-morrow to a willing mind.
COUNTESS OF WINCHILSEA, *No To-Morrow*.

To-morrow is an old deceiver, and his cheat never grows stale.
SAMUEL JOHNSON, *Letters*. Vol. i, p. 221.

17
To-morrow is, ah, whose?
DINAH M. M. CRAIK, *Between Two Worlds*.

18
Ever from one who comes to-morrow
Men wait their good and truth to borrow.
EMERSON, *Considerations by the Way*.

19
And evermore he said, "To-morrow."
JOHN GOWER, *Confessio Amantis*. Bk. iv, l. 9.

"To-morrow we will open," I replied,
And when the morrow came I answered still, "To-morrow."
LONGFELLOW, *To-morrow*. (*Mañana*.)

20
With the bitter past I will deck to-morrow.
HELEN HUNTINGTON, *The Wayfarer*.

1
There is truth in falsehood, falsehood in truth.
ROBERT BROWNING, *A Soul's Tragedy*. Act ii.

What does the world, told truth, but lie the more?
ROBERT BROWNING, *The Ring and the Book*. Pt. x, l. 673.

2
And, after all, what is a lie? 'Tis but
The truth in masquerade.
BYRON, *Don Juan*. Canto xi, st. 37.

Truth is only falsehood well disguised.
FARQUHAR, *The Constant Couple*. Act iii, sc. 4.

3
The truth is bitter and disagreeable to fools; but falsehood is sweet and acceptable. (Τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς πικρόν ἐστι καὶ ἀηδὲς τοῖς ἀνοήτοις· τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος γλυκὺ καὶ προσηνές.)
ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *Adagia*.

4
Falsehood is so near to truth that a wise man would do well not to trust himself on the narrow edge. (Ita enim finitima sunt falsa veris ut in præcipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere.)
CICERO, *Academicarum Quæstionum*. Bk. ii, sec. 21.

He who has once deviated from the truth, usually commits perjury with as little scruple as he would tell a lie.
CICERO, *Pro Quinto Roscio Comœdo*. Sec. 20.

5
Ever to that truth,
Which but the semblance of a falsehood wears,
A man, if possible, should bar his lip.
(Sempre a quel ver ch' ha faccia di menzogna
De' l' uom chiuder le labbra.)
DANTE, *Inferno*. Canto xvi, l. 124.

6
For how can that be false, which every tongue
Of every mortal man affirms for true?
SIR JOHN DAVIES, *Nosce Teipsum*. Sec. 32, st. 55.

7
Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies,
To please the fools, and puzzle all the wise.
Succeeding times did equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all.
DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel*. Pt. i, l. 114.

8
Falsehood is so easy, truth so difficult.
GEORGE ELIOT, *Adam Bede*. Ch. 17.

9
Truth is beautiful. Without doubt; and so are lies.
EMERSON, *Journals*. Vol. iii, p. 437.

10
Half the truth is often a great lie.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard*, 1758.

Half-truths to which men are accustomed are so much easier to pass than the golden mintage they rarely encounter!
CHRISTOPHER MORLEY, *Religio Journalistici*, p. 32.

Truths would be tales
Where now half truths be truths.
SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 136.

That a lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies,
That a lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,
But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.
TENNYSON, *The Grandmother*. St. 8.

11
The art of lying is the strongest acknowledgment of the force of truth.
WILLIAM HAZLITT, *Table Talk: On Patronage and Puffing*.

12
He that trusts in a lie shall perish in truth.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

13
We know how to speak many things which are false as if they were true. (Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα.)
HESIOD, *Theogony*, l. 27.

14
Urge him with truth to frame his fair replies;
And sure he will; for Wisdom never lies.
HOMER, *Odyssey*. Bk. iii, l. 25. (Pope, tr.)

15
Telling the truth to people who misunderstand you is generally promoting falsehood.
ANTHONY HOPE, *Dolly Dialogues*. No. 14.

16
To distinguish the false from the true. (Vero distinguere falsum.)
HORACE, *Epistles*. Bk. i, epis. 10, l. 29.

I would I could as easily discover the true as I can expose the false. (Utinam tam facile vera invenire possim, quam falsa convincere.)
CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*. Bk. i, ch. 32, sec. 91.

17
A man had rather have a hundred lies told of him, than one truth which he does not wish should be told.
SAMUEL JOHNSON. (BOSWELL, *Life*. 1773.)

18
I reckon there's more things told than are true,
And more things true than are told!
RUDYARD KIPLING, *Rewards and Fairies: The Ballad of Minepit Shaw*.

19
Man is ice for truth, fire for falsehood.
(L'homme est de glace aux verités;
It est de feu pour les mensonges.)
LA FONTAINE, *Fables*.

20
Some falsehood mingles with all truth.
LONGFELLOW, *The Golden Legend*. Pt. ii.

21
The nimble lie

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(W.S.-cg./J.L.A.F./W.H./M.B.R./ E.J.Wi./A.G.W./N.A.Z./J.E.S.T.)

Chrysostom, Saint John

St. John Chrysostom was a Christian teacher, a scriptural exegete, an archbishop of Constantinople, and a Church Father. His fame, during his lifetime and for posterity, rests on his preaching and his exposition of the Bible, whence his surname Chrysostom, "golden-mouthed." He was a leading exponent of the method of scriptural exegesis (the Antiochan school) that emphasized the literal or natural sense of the text, as opposed to the allegorical sense, and throughout the ages he has been revered as one of the four greatest Eastern doctors, or teachers, of the whole church.

John was born at Antioch in Syria about the year AD 347, the son of a high-ranking military officer. He was brought up as a Christian by his widowed mother and was intended for the law, to which end he studied under a distinguished pagan rhetorician, Libanius. But John also studied theology, and before long he gave up his profession to become a hermit-monk. This life was not for him, either. His health gave way, and he returned to Antioch, becoming an ordained deacon and priest there. For 12 years (from 386) he established himself as a great preacher, his homilies (sermons) including some on the first and fourth gospels and on eight of St. Paul's letters. A sensational episode of this period was a riot in 387, during which the citizens of Antioch treated the images of the sacred emperors with disrespect and were threatened with reprisals; in a famous course of sermons, "On the Statues," Chrysostom set himself to bring his hearers to a frame of mind suitable both to the season, Lent, and to the dangerous situation in which they stood. His reputation as a preacher was now assured. He was unfailing in the practical application of his scriptural learning to everyday life, and he did it with understanding and sympathy and without compromise. His brilliant exposition and moral teaching have the note of universality; his words strike the reader today as forcefully as ever, and his humorous sallies are as pungent as when they provoked laughter in the congregations of Antioch and Constantinople. He was concerned, above all, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the needy and oppressed. He was not alone among the early Fathers in speaking out against the abuse of wealth, teaching that personal property is not strictly private but a trust, and declaring that what was superfluous to one's reasonable needs ought to be given away. But none surpassed John Chrysostom in eloquent, moving, and repeated insistence on almsgiving, and in no narrow sense.

St. John Chrysostom, detail of a mosaic by an unknown artist, 12th century. In the Palatine Chapel, Palermo, Italy.
Anderson—Alinari

Archbishop of Constantinople

In 398 Chrysostom was called to Constantinople to be its archbishop, much against his will. The imperial city afforded yet more scope for his reforming zeal, but his vigour and thoroughness were not balanced by temperateness and discretion; he gained a large following among the people, but his castigation of the misuse of riches angered the wealthy and influential. An unscrupulous alliance against John was made by Eudoxia, the wife of the Eastern Roman emperor Arcadius, and the archbishop of the rival see of Alexandria, the powerful Theophilus. In 403 Theophilus convened a synod of disaffected or subservient Syrian and Egyptian bishops at The Oak, across the Bosporus. This gathering indicted John on a large number of charges, many of which were purely frivolous or vexatious; the most important of them were that he had protected the Tall Brothers, a group of Egyptian monks who had incurred the wrath of their archbishop, Theophilus; and that John was guilty of treason, in that he had publicly used reproachful language about the character of the empress Eudoxia. Chrysostom refused to appear before the synod, whereupon it condemned him and professed to depose him from his see. The emperor Arcadius therefore banished Chrysostom from the city, recalled him at once, and finally banished him again in the following year. He was kept in confinement at Cucusus in Armenia.

Chrysostom appealed to the bishop of Rome, Pope Innocent I; he, with the help of the Western emperor Honorius, tried to intervene, but his efforts were brought to nothing by Chrysostom's enemies. But John, in exile, was able to keep up a lively correspondence with his supporters, and many details about his enforced sojourn at Cucusus are recorded in his letters to the deaconess Olympias and others. These letters are marked, too, by a deep concern for his friends, his flock, and the missions he had established in Syria and among the Goths. He suffered much from ill health in the bitter winters, but from Cucusus he was still able to exert influence in his cause, and word came from Constantinople that he was to be removed to a more remote place at the eastern end of

the Black Sea. Chrysostom did not survive the journey, dying of exhaustion at Comana in Pontus on September 14, 407. The official rehabilitation of John Chrysostom came about 31 years later, when his relics were brought from Comana to Constantinople and were solemnly received by the then archbishop Proclus and the emperor Theodosius II, son of Arcadius and Eudoxia.

Significance and works

Chrysostom was not an outstanding theologian or theological writer; it has been said that a detailed history of Christian theology could be written without mentioning his name. His works consist of a very large number of scriptural homilies and other sermons, together with some treatises and letters. The first collected edition of the texts of Chrysostom's works were edited, simultaneously and separately but not without mutual consultation, by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc (Latin, Ducaeus) in France (published 1609–33) and by Sir Henry Savile in England (1610–13). The edition now most easily available for consultation is that in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (Series Graeca), volumes 47–64; the text of this is substantially that of Bernard de Montfaucon (1718–38).

The most frequently used of the three eucharistic services of the Eastern Orthodox Church is called the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, but the evidence that he had anything to do with its composition is unconvincing. The Prayer of St. John Chrysostom in *The Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England is taken from this liturgy, hence the attribution of the prayer. Chrysostom's feast day is kept, in the new general calendar of the Roman Church (1969), on September 13; the Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 30 and other dates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The chief source for Chrysostom's life is a *Dialogue* on that subject, attributed to PALLADIUS, bishop of Heliopolis, a personal friend of the saint; Eng. trans. by H. MOORE (1921); Greek text ed. by P.R. COLEMAN-NORTON (1928). The standard modern biography is by C. BAUR, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und Seine Zeit* (1929–30; Eng. trans. *John Chrysostom and His Time*, 2 vol., 1959–60). A. MOULARD, *Saint Jean Chrysostome: sa vie, son oeuvre* (1949), is a study of his pastoral method as well as a biography. For a more popular treatment, see D. ATTWATER, *Saint John Chrysostom: Pastor and Preacher* (1959). There are 16 volumes of English translations of scriptural homilies, the sermons on the Statues, and other material in the "Library of the Fathers" (1839–52); see also "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church," 1st series, vol. 9–14 (1888–93).

(D.At.)

Chuang-tzu

Taoism has had many interpreters in Chinese history, but none has been more significant than Chuang-tzu (Pinyin romanization Juang-zu). Among the basic Taoist texts, the book that bears his name, the *Chuang-tzu*, is more comprehensive and definitive even than the famous *Tao-te Ching* ("Classic of the Way of Power"), attributed to Lao-tzu, Taoism's first major patriarch. Kuo Hsiang (died AD 312), the first and, many scholars think, best commentator on Chuang-tzu, secured the sage's position as a primary source for Taoist thought. Buddhist scholars, especially those of the Ch'an (Zen) school, also drew heavily from Chuang-tzu's works. His particular interpretation of the Tao (the Way) provided a touchstone for the development of Buddhist philosophy within the traditional framework of Chinese thought. In addition to the role he played in both Taoism and Buddhism, the themes and interests of Chuang-tzu were frequent subjects of subsequent Chinese landscape paintings and poetry.

Reported facts about Chuang-tzu's life

In spite of his importance, details of Chuang-tzu's life are unknown. The "Grand Historian" of the Han dynasty, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (died *c.* 85 BC), incorporated in his biographical sketch of Chuang-tzu only the most meagre information. It indicates that Chuang-tzu was a native of the state of Meng, that his personal name was Chou, and that he was a minor official at Ch'i-yüan in his home state. He lived during the reign of Prince Wei of Ch'u (died 327 BC) and was therefore a contemporary of Mencius, an eminent Confucian scholar known as China's Second Sage. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Chuang-tzu's teachings were drawn primarily from the sayings of Lao-tzu; but his perspective was much broader. His literary and philosophical skills were used to refute the Confucianists and Moists (followers of Mo-tzu, who advocated universal love). In addition, he is reported to have written "The Old Fisherman," "Robber Chi," and "Opening Trunks," all devoted to attacks on Confucianism, and *Wei lei hsü* and *Keng san tzu*, which are imaginative fictions.

Chuang-tzu, ink on silk by an unknown artist. In the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

By courtesy of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China

Chuang-tzu is best known through the book that bears his name, the *Chuang-tzu*, also known as *Nan-hua chen-ching* ("The Pure Classic of Nan-hua"). It is composed of 33 chapters, and evidence suggests that there may have been as many as 53 chapters in copies of the book circulated in the 4th century AD. Numerous editions of the text have appeared since then, and variant readings have obscured the original content. It is generally agreed that the first seven chapters, the "inner books," are, for the most part, genuine, whereas the "outer books" (chapters 8–22) and the miscellany (chapters 23–33) are largely spurious, even though some passages reflect Chuang-tzu's own hand. The more vivid descriptions of Chuang-tzu's character come from the anecdotes about him in the later chapters of the book, which are reputedly apocryphal.

Character according to anecdotal accounts

Chuang-tzu appears in these passages as an unpredictable eccentric sage, who seems careless about personal comforts or public esteem. His clothing is shoddy and patched, and his shoes have to be tied to his feet with string in order to keep them from falling apart. Nevertheless, he does not consider himself to be miserable, only poor. When his good friend Hui Shih comes to console him upon the death of his wife, he finds the sage sitting on a mat, singing and beating on a basin. Hui Shih reprimands him, pointing out that such behaviour is improper at the death of someone who has lived and grown old with him and has borne him children.

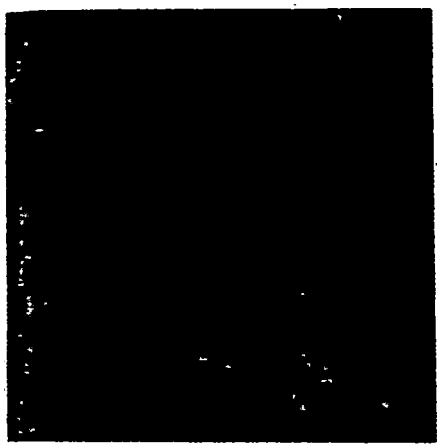
> When she died, how could I help being affected? But as I think the matter over, I realize that originally she had no life; and not only no life, she had no form; not only no form, she had no material force (*ch'i*). In the limbo of existence and non-existence, there was transformation and the material force was evolved. The material force was transformed to be form, form was transformed to become life, and now birth has transformed to become death. This is like the rotation of the four seasons, spring, summer, fall, and winter. Now she lies asleep in the great house (the universe). For me to go about weeping and wailing would be to show my ignorance of destiny. Therefore I desist.

When Chuang-tzu himself was at the point of death, his disciples began to talk about an elaborate burial for him. Chuang-tzu immediately stopped the discussion by declaring that he did not need the paraphernalia of a great

The term chrysocolla was applied by Theophrastus and other ancient writers to various materials used in soldering gold.

Chrysocyon brachyurus: *see* maned wolf.

chrysography, in calligraphy, the art of writing in letters of gold or a piece of calligraphic work so set off. From the 2nd century, scribes or book artists catering to the Roman luxury market responded to the allure of parchment and the rectangular page of the codex form of book. Chrysography perhaps reached highest perfection, however, in the West during the Middle Ages under the impetus of the 8th- and 9th-century Carolingian literary renaissance when a number of splendid manuscripts



Chrysographic page from the Evangeliarium of Vaast, Franco-Insular style, 2nd half of the 9th century (Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1055, fol. 41)
Giraudon

known as the Golden Gospels were produced. Most famous among these masterpieces is the Godescalc Gospels, written before 783 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

Chrysolina, genus of leaf-feeding beetle belonging to the insect family Chrysomelidae (order Coleoptera), an important biological control for weeds. *Chrysolina* species have been used to control the Klamath weed (*Hypericum perforatum*), a noxious range plant. The larvae and adults feed on the foliage, killing the weed by starvation.
- in plant population control 14:825g
- weed control by insects 19:727a

chrysolite, silicate mineral in the olivine family (*see* forsterite-fayalite series); also the transparent, yellow-green, gem olivine peridot (*q.v.*). The name chrysolite has also been applied to various unrelated gems and minerals, such as topaz, beryl, chrysoberyl, and prehnite. Because of this ambiguity, it is seldom used by mineralogists and gemmologists.
- composition range and structure 13:561d; illus.

Chrysolophus (bird genus): *see* pheasant.

Chrysoloras, Manuel (b. *c.* 1353, Constantinople, now Istanbul—d. April 15, 1415), Greek scholar who was a pioneer in spreading Greek literature in the West. The Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus sent him to Italy to get help against the Ottoman Turks. From 1394 onward he travelled in Europe and accompanied Manuel on his tour of the European countries. After Manuel's return to Constantinople in 1403, he remained for the most part in the West; he taught Greek at Florence and was well known as a translator of Homer and Plato. He was also active in trying to arrange for a general council to consider union of the Greek and Latin churches. He was on his way to the Council of Constance, having been chosen to represent the Greek Church, when he died. He left the *Erotemata* ("Questions"), a Greek grammar based on the question and answer method; some letters; the *Syncrisis*, a comparison of old and new Rome; and a Latin translation of Plato's *Republic*.
- Greek calligraphic writing style 3:651h
- Renaissance linguistic contributions 6:343h
- teaching appointment in Florence 3:570e

Chrysoloras, detail of a drawing by an unknown artist, *c.* 1400; in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
J.P. Ziolo, Paris

Chrysomelidae (insects): *see* leaf beetle.

chrysomonad, any aquatic, algae-like, solitary or colonial protozoan of the phytoflagellate (plantlike) order Chrysomonadida. Chrysomonads are minute, have one or two anterior flagella, often near a red eyespot, and contain yellowish or brown pigments in chromatophores. Most chrysomonads are photosynthetic, although some forms have pseudopodia (cytoplasmic extensions) for food gathering. Chrysomonads often lose their flagella and become cystlike or palmellar in form. Both palmellar and motile forms reproduce by asexual division. Encystment within a siliceous wall plugged by cytoplasm is common. The representative *Chromulina* sometimes colours water brown.
- algae classification 1:497c
- protozoan features and classification 15:127e

Chrysomyia megacephala (insect): *see* blow fly.

Chrysopelea (reptile): *see* flying snake.

Chrysophyta (algae): *see* golden algae.

Chrysopidae (insect family): *see* lacewing.

chrysoprase, brittle, translucent, semiprecious chalcedony (*q.v.*), a variety of the silica mineral quartz. It owes its bright apple-green colour to colloidally dispersed hydrated nickel silicate; heating or prolonged exposure to sunlight will cause the colour to fade. Its physical properties are those of quartz (*see* table under silica minerals). Typical occurrences are in serpentine as a secondary mineral found in cavities and veins; the U.S. state of California and Silesia have notable deposits. Imitation chrysoprase is chalcedony dyed with nickel or chromium salts.

The ancient Greek word *chrysoprasios* probably referred to plasma, prase, beryl, or other green materials, and not what is now considered chrysoprase.
- chalcedony formation and coloration 16:753f
- gem properties, cut, and simulations 7:974h

Chrysoprase from Porterville, Tulare County, Calif.
By courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; photograph, John H. Gerard—EB Inc.

Chrysops (insect genus): *see* horse fly.

Chrysosplenium alternifolia, species of flowering plant (order Saxifragales) commonly called golden saxifrage.
- distribution and edibility 16:294g

Chrysostom, also called DIO COCCEIANUS, 2nd-century Greek philosopher.
- stoicism and sovereignty 15:1122d

Chrysostom, Saint John 4:583 (b. *c.* AD 347, Antioch, now in Turkey—d. Sept. 14, 407, Comana, near modern Tokat, Tur.), famous preacher and early Church Father, biblical interpreter, and archbishop of Constantinople.

Abstract of text biography. After studying rhetoric and theology, Chrysostom became for a time a hermit-monk. In Antioch he was ordained a priest. During the following 12 years (from 386) he became a renowned preacher, thus the surname Chrysostom (Goldenmouthed). In 398 he was called to become archbishop of Constantinople, where his reforming zeal appealed to the common people but not to the wealthy. At a synod convoked at The Oak in 403 by Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, John was indicted on many charges, including treason, and condemned. He was deposed from his see and twice banished from Constantinople (403 and 404). In exile at Cucusus, Armenia, John corresponded with his supporters, though he suffered much from ill health. He died en route to the eastern part of the Black Sea. His relics were brought back to Constantinople in about 438, and he was later declared doctor (teacher) of the church.

REFERENCES in other text articles:
- Eastern Orthodox dogma of love 4:477c
- Istanbul's wealth and population 9:1070c
- patristic Christology of Antioch 13:1083f

Chrysostom, Liturgy of Saint John, a shortened form of the Liturgy of St. Basil, in common use in Eastern Orthodox and Eastern-rite Catholic churches.

It is unlikely that St. John Chrysostom composed the liturgy; it was probably composed in the 6th century and based on the Antiochene rite, which purports to be the oldest liturgy.

The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, used daily and Sunday except on those days reserved for the Liturgy of St. Basil or the Liturgy of the Preconsecrated Offerings (attributed to St. Gregory the Great), consists of three parts: prothesis, or proskomidia (preparation), synaxis (hymns, prayers, and scriptural readings), and Eucharist. In Orthodox churches the liturgy is always chanted, but in Eastern Catholic churches a "low," or spoken, version has also been adopted, thus shortening what is generally a two-hour service.
- Byzantine rite liturgy cycle 6:162h
- Christian liturgical cycles 4:495g
- Eastern Orthodox use of his liturgy 6:148a

chrysotile (Greek: "hair of gold"), fibrous serpentine (*q.v.*), the most important asbestos

verts. At first these churches we cared for by clergy sent out fro the city. Only in the sixth ce tury, and primarily in Gaul, di each country church come have its own staff of clerg Priests in these country parishe were still consecrated and co trolled by the city bishop bu could administer the sacrament The church was beginning take on the form of local paris ministry familiar in the Middl Ages and modern times.

Another kind of countr church developed at the sam time. This was the church build ing given by a landowner benefit those on his private estat He would normally provide a endowment for the upkeep of th church and have the right t appoint the clergy. Such clergy though subject to the bisho were not to the same extent unde his control.

Church organization grew i two ways: by the development o the authority of church council and that of certain bishops ove other bishops. Councils devel oped out of the irregular meeting of bishops of neighbouring com munities to discuss commo problems. These meetings be came more regular during th third century when some local and provincial councils began t meet annually.

Constantine called larger coun cils to settle matters that could not be resolved by local or provin cial synods. Arles, in 314, was a general council of the Western church and Nicaea, in 325, the first general council of the whole church. The decrees of these and subsequent councils became the canon law of the church.

The bishop of Rome pre-eminent

Meanwhile the growth in the authority of the bishop of Rome was of vital significance. In theory bishops were all equal, but from earliest times some were more prominent than others because of the importance of their cities. The most important were Alexandria, Antioch, Rome and Carthage. The Council of Nicaea recognized the first three of these as pre-eminent in their own areas.

Constantinople was added in 381, when the church council meeting in that city declared it second only to Rome. The bishop of Rome objected to this because it implied that the position of church and bishop depended on the status of their city in the Empire. The pre-eminence of Rome did not depend on any such historical accident, nor on the decrees of any synod, declared a Council of Rome probably in 382, under Damasus' leadership.

John Chrysostom

Everett Ferguson

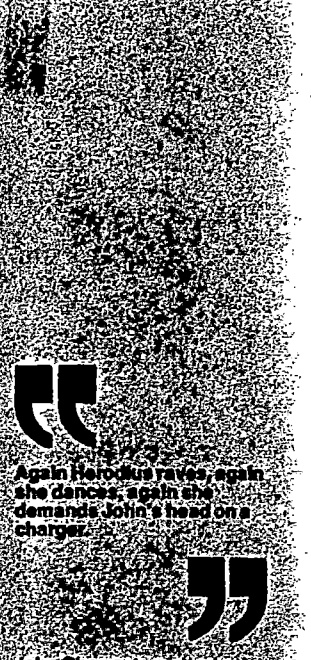
John, who became known as the greatest of Christian preachers, was born about 350 at Antioch. He was brought up by his devoted mother Anthusa, who at twenty was left a widow with an infant son. John's teacher, the pagan orator Libanius, paid Anthusa the tribute, 'God, what women these Christians have!'

John was baptized at the age of eighteen and became a reader in the church. His devotion to ascetic practices, including two years living alone in a mountain cave, ruined his health. Returning to the city, he was ordained a deacon in 381 and presbyter in 386. From the latter date he was appointed to preach in the principal church in Antioch, where he built up his reputation as a preacher.

In 397 John was chosen bishop of Constantinople against his will and consecrated to that position in 398. He was unsuited for the intrigues and pressures of Constantinople. His efforts to raise the moral climate of the capital met strong opposition. His enemies joined forces: the Empress Eudoxia, stung by his attacks on sin in high places; local clergy who found John too strict; and Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, jealous of a churchman from Antioch at the capital. They had John deposed at the 'synod of the Oak' in 403. The Emperor accepted the decision and exiled him. The people of Constantinople rioted in support of their bishop; the Emperor was frightened by the response and recalled John the next day.

John's brave, if tactless, preaching angered Eudoxia again, and his enemies now tried to banish him once more. The Emperor ordered him to cease his official church duties, which he refused to do. While gathering catechumens for baptism, he was driven out of the church by soldiers, and blood stained the baptismal waters. This exile (404) ended in his death in 407. His remains were brought back to Constantinople in 438 and buried in the Church of the Apostles.

John Chrysostom has been honoured for his courage and piety. From the sixth century he has been known as the 'Golden mouth', for he was a master of preaching. His insights into the meaning of the Greek Bible and skill in applying it practically to his hearers are the enduring contribution of his hundreds of surviving sermons.



"Again Herodias raves, again she dances, again she demands John's head on a charger."

John Chrysostom attacks the Empress Eudoxia from the pulpit.

Handbook to the History of Christianity (1988)

Encyclopaedia Britannica v. 6 (1982)

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGIES

Two eucharistic liturgies are most generally used in Orthodox worship—*i.e.*, the so-called liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and of St. Basil the Great. Both acquired their present shape by the 9th century, but it is generally recognized that the wording of the eucharistic "canon" of the liturgy of St. Basil goes back to the 4th century—*i.e.*, to St. Basil himself. The so-called Liturgy of St. James is used occasionally, especially in Jerusalem. During the period of Lent, a service of Communion, with elements (bread and wine) reserved from those consecrated on the previous Sunday, is celebrated in connection with the evening service of Vespers; it is called the "Liturgy of the Presanctified" and is attributed to St. Gregory the Great.

The liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and of St. Basil differ only in the text of the eucharistic canon: their overall structure, established in the high Middle Ages, is identical.

These eucharistic liturgies begin with an elaborate rite of preparation (*proskomidē*). A priest on a separate "table of oblation" disposes on a paten (plate) the particles of bread that will symbolize the assembly of the saints, both living and dead, around Christ, the "Lamb of God." Then follows the "Liturgy of the Catechumens," which begins with a processional entrance of the priest into the sanctuary with the Gospel (Little Entrance) and which includes the traditional Christian "liturgy of the word"—*i.e.* the reading from the New Testament letters and the Gospels as well as a sermon. This part of the liturgy ends with the expulsion of the "catechumens," who, until they were baptized, were not admitted to the sacramental part of the service. The "Liturgy of the Faithful" includes another ceremonial procession of the priest into the sanctuary. He carries the bread and wine from the table of oblations to the altar (Great Entrance); the following recitation of the Nicene Creed, the eucharistic canon, the Lord's Prayer, and Communion are—as in the West—the characteristic parts of the Byzantine "Liturgy of the Faithful." The bread used for the Eucharist is ordinary leavened bread; Communion is distributed under both kinds (bread and wine) with a special spoon (*labis*).

THE LITURGICAL CYCLES

Variety of hymnodical texts

One of the major characteristics of the Byzantine liturgical tradition is the wealth and variety of hymnodical texts marking the various cycles of the liturgical year. A special liturgical book contains the hymns for each of the main cycles. The *daily* cycle includes the offices of Vespers (Hesperinos), Compline (Apodeipnon), the midnight prayer, Matins (Orthros), and the four canonical "hours"—*i.e.*, offices to be said at the "First" (6:00 AM), "Third" (9:00 AM), "Sixth" (12:00 noon), and "Ninth" (3:00 PM) hours. The liturgical book covering the daily cycle is called the *Hōrologion* ("The Book of Hours"). The *Paschal* (Passover) cycle is centred on the "Feast of Feasts"—*i.e.*, of Christ's Resurrection; it includes the period of Great Fast (Lent), preceded by three Sundays of preparation and the period of 50 days following Easter. The hymns of the Lenten period are found in the *Triōdion* (Three Odes), and those of the Easter season in the *Pentekostarion* (called the "Flowery Triodion"). The weekly cycle is the continuation of the Resurrection cycle found in the *Triōdion* and the *Pentekostarion;* each week following the Sunday after Pentecost (50 days after Easter) possesses its own musical tone, or mode, in accordance with which all the hymns of the week are sung. There are eight tones whose composition is traditionally attributed to St. John of Damascus (8th century). Each week is centred around Sunday, the day of Christ's Resurrection.

The Easter and weekly cycles clearly dominate all offices of the entire year and illustrate the absolute centrality of the Resurrection in the Eastern understanding of the Christian message. The date of Easter, set at the Council of Nicaea (325), is the first Sunday after the full moon following the spring equinox. Differences between the East and West in computing the date exist because the Orthodox Church uses the Julian calendar for establishing the date of the equinox (hence a delay of 13 days) and also because of the tradition that Easter must necessarily follow the Jewish Passover and must never precede it or coincide with it. The *yearly* cycle includes the hymns for each of the 366 days of the calendar year, with its feasts and daily commemoration of saints. They are found in the 12 volumes of the *Menaion* ("Book of Months").

The golden age of Byzantine hymnody

From the 6th to the 9th centuries the Byzantine Church experienced its golden age of creativity in the writing of hymns by outstanding poets such as John of Damascus. In more recent times hymn writing has generally followed the accepted patterns set by these authors but rarely has it reached the quality of its models. Since the Eastern Orthodox tradition bans instrumental music, or accompaniment, the singing is always a cappella, with only a few exceptions admitted by Westernized parishes in America. The idea behind the ban is based upon the practice of worship in the New Testament; *i.e.*, only the natural aptitudes of the living congregation are viewed as capable of expressing praise that is worthy of God. In many Orthodox churches there is a wealth of new musical compositions for liturgical texts.

THE SACRAMENTS

Contemporary Orthodox catechisms and textbooks all affirm that the church recognizes seven *mystēria*, or "sacraments": Baptism, chrismation, Communion, holy orders, penance, anointing of the sick (the "extreme unction" of the medieval West), and marriage. Neither the liturgical book called *Euchologion* (prayer book), which contains the texts of the sacraments, nor the patristic tradition, however, formally limits the *number* of sacraments; they do not distinguish clearly between the "sacraments" and such acts as the blessing of water on Epiphany day or the burial service or the service for the tonsuring of a monk that in the West are called *sacramentalia.* In fact, no council recognized by the Orthodox Church ever defined the number of sacraments; it is only through the "Orthodox confessions" of the 17th century directed against the Reformation that the number seven has been generally accepted. The underlying sacramental theology of the Orthodox Church is based, however, on the notion that the ecclesiastical community is the unique *mystērion*, of which the various sacraments or *sacramentalia* are the normal expressions.

The Christian community as the *mystērion*

In the West, since the Scholastic period (Middle Ages) and, especially, since the Catholic Reformation (16th century), much emphasis has been placed on the vicarious juridical power of the minister to administer the sacraments validly. The Orthodox East, however, interprets each sacramental act as a prayer of the entire ecclesiastical community, led by the bishop or his representative, and also as a response of God, based upon Christ's promise to send the Holy Spirit upon the church. These two aspects of the sacrament exclude both magic and legalism: they imply that the Holy Spirit is given to free men and call for their responses. In the *mystērion* of the church, the participation of men in God is effected through their "cooperation" or "synergy"; to make this participation possible once more is the goal of the incarnation.

Baptism and confirmation. Baptism is normally performed by triple immersion as a sign of the death and Resurrection of Christ; thus, the rite appears essentially as a gift of new life. It is immediately followed by confirmation, performed by the priest who anoints the newly baptized Christian with "Holy Chrism" (oil) blessed by the bishop. Baptized and confirmed children are admitted to Holy Communion. By admitting children immediately after their Baptism to both confirmation and Communion, the Eastern Christian tradition maintains the positive meaning of Baptism—*i.e.*, as the beginning of a new life nourished by the Eucharist.

The Eucharist. There never has been, in the East, much speculation about the nature of the eucharistic mys-

tery. Both canons presently in use (that of St. Basil and that of St. John Chrysostom) include the "words of institution" ("This is my Body . . .," "This is my Blood . . ."), which are traditionally considered in the West as the formula necessary for the validity of the sacrament. In the East, however, the culminating point of the prayer is not in the remembrance of Christ's act but in the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which immediately follows: "Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon the Gifts here spread forth, and make this bread to be the precious Body of Thy Christ. . . ." Thus, the central mystery of Christianity is seen as being performed by the prayer of the church and through an invocation of the Spirit. The nature of the mystery that occurs in the bread and wine is signified by the term *metabolē* ("sacramental change"). The Western term transubstantiation occurs only in some confessions of faith after the 17th century.

Orders. The Orthodox Church recognized three major orders: the diaconate, the priesthood, and the episcopate (bishop), as well as the minor orders of the lectorate and the subdiaconate. All the ordinations are performed by a bishop and, normally, during the eucharistic liturgy. The consecration of a bishop requires the participation of at least two or three bishops, as well as an election by a canonical synod.

Penance. The sacrament of penance in the early church was a solemn and public act of reconciliation, through which an excommunicated sinner was readmitted into church membership. Historically it has evolved into a private act of confession through which every Christian's membership in the church is periodically renewed. In the Orthodox Church today there is a certain variety in both the practice and the rite of penance. In the churches of the Balkans and the Middle East, it fell into disuse during the four centuries of Turkish occupation but is gradually being restored today. In Greek-speaking churches only certain priests, especially appointed by the bishop, have the right to hear confessions. In Russia, on the contrary, confessions remained a standard practice that was generally required before communion. General or group confession, introduced by John of Kronstadt, a Russian spiritual leader of the early 20th century, is also occasionally practiced. The rite of confession in the *Euchologion* retains the form of a prayer, or invocation, said by the priest for the remission of the penitent's sins. In the Slavic ritual a Latin-inspired and juridical form of personal absolution was introduced by Peter Mogila, metropolitan of Kiev (17th century). Confession, in Orthodox practice, is generally viewed as a form of spiritual healing rather than as a tribunal. The relative lack of legalism reflects the Eastern patristic approach to sin—*i.e.*, as an internal passion and as an enslavement. The external sinful acts—which alone can be legally tried—are only manifestations of man's internal disease.

Practice of confession

Anointing of the sick. Anointing of the sick is a form of healing by prayer. In the Greek Church it is performed annually in church for the benefit of the entire congregation on the evening of Holy Wednesday.

Marriage. Marriage is celebrated through a rite of crowning, performed with great solemnity and signifying an eternal union, sacramentally "projected" into the Kingdom of God. Orthodox theology of marriage insists on its sacramental eternity rather than its legal indissolubility. Thus, second marriages, in cases of either widowhood or divorce, are celebrated through a subdued penitential rite, and men who have been married more than once are not admitted to the priesthood. Remarriage after divorce is tolerated on the basis of the possibility that the sacrament of marriage was not originally received with the consciousness and responsibility that would have made it fully effective; remarriage can be a second chance.

ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY

Since the time of Constantine I, Eastern Christianity has developed a variety of patterns in church architecture. The chief model was created when Emperor Justinian I completed the "great church" of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the 6th century. The architectural conception of that church consisted of erecting a huge round dome on top of the classical early Christian basilica. The dome was meant to symbolize the descent of heaven upon earth—*i.e.*, the ultimate meaning of the eucharistic celebration.

By courtesy of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral, London; photograph, A.C. Cooper Ltd.

The iconostasis or screen, characteristically decorated with icon paintings, separates the sanctuary from the nave in an Orthodox church. In the Greek Orthodox Cathedral, London.

The screen, or iconostasis, which separates the sanctuary from the nave in contemporary Orthodox Churches, is a rather late development. After the triumph of orthodoxy over iconoclasm (destruction of images) in 843, a new emphasis was placed upon the permanent revelatory role of *images*. The incarnation implied that God had become man—*i.e.*, fully visible and thus describable in his human nature. The images of Christ and the saints, who had manifested in their lives the new humanity transfigured by the grace of God, were placed everywhere in full evidence before the congregation. A contrast was thus suggested between the visible manifestation of God through the pictural representation of Christ as man and his more perfect but mysterious and invisible presence in the Eucharist. The iconostasis, together with those parts of the liturgy that involve the closing and opening of the curtain before the altar, emphasizes the mysterious and "eschatological" (consummation of history) character of the eucharistic service. They suggest, however, that this *mystery* is not a "secret" and that the Christian is being introduced through the eucharistic liturgy into the very reality of divine life and of the kingdom to come, which was revealed when God became man.

The iconoclastic controversy

The long iconoclastic controversy (725–843), during which the Orthodox theology of icons was fully developed, concerned itself primarily with the problem of the incarnation; it was the direct continuation of the Christological debates of the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries. The image of Christ, the incarnated God, became, for the Eastern Christian, a pictorial confession of faith: God was truly visible in the humanity of Jesus of Nazareth, and the saints—whose images surround that of Christ—are witnesses of the fact that the transfigured, "deified" humanity is accessible to those who believe in Christ.

Popular use of icons

Departing from tridimensional images or statues, which were reminiscent of pagan idolatry, the Christian East developed a rich tradition of iconography. Portable icons —often painted on wood but also using mosaics with enamel techniques—are always kept in houses or public places. Among the icon painters, who never signed their work, there appeared several artists of genius. Most of

1 A fat paunch never breeds fine thoughts.[1]
Ib.

2 No one cares to speak to an unwilling listener. An arrow never lodges in a stone: often it recoils upon the sender of it. *Ib.*

3 That clergyman soon becomes an object of contempt who being often asked out to dinner never refuses to go. *Ib.*

4 The best almoner is he who keeps back nothing for himself. *Ib.*

5 It is worse still to be ignorant of your ignorance. *Letter 53*

6 Even brute beasts and wandering birds do not fall into the same traps or nets twice.[2]
Letter 54

7 Sometimes the character of the mistress is inferred from the dress of her maids.
Ib.

8 The face is the mirror of the mind, and eyes without speaking confess the secrets of the heart. *Ib.*

9 The scars of others should teach us caution.
Ib.

10 When the stomach is full, it is easy to talk of fasting. *Letter 58*

11 Small minds can never handle great themes.[3] *Letter 60*

12 The Roman world is falling, yet we hold our heads erect instead of bowing our necks.[4] *Ib.*

13 Every day we are changing, every day we are dying, and yet we fancy ourselves eternal.
Ib.

14 Early impressions are hard to eradicate from the mind. When once wool has been dyed purple, who can restore it to its previous whiteness? *Letter 107*

15 The tired ox treads with a firmer step.[5]
Letter 112

16 Athletes as a rule are stronger than their backers; yet the weaker presses the stronger to put forth all his efforts. *Letter 118*

17 For they wished to fill the winepress of eloquence not with the tendrils of mere words but with the rich grape juice of good sense.
Letter 125

[1]This is a Greek proverb.
Fat paunches have lean pates, and dainty bits / Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits.—SHAKESPEARE, *Love's Labour's Lost, act I, sc. i, l. 26*
[2]Translated by F. A. WRIGHT (Loeb Classical Library).
[3]Translated by W. J. COURTENAY.
[4]Romanus orbis ruit.
[5]An old Roman proverb quoted by St. Jerome to St. Augustine after the latter criticized the elder Jerome.

18 It is no fault of Christianity that a hypocrite falls into sin. *Ib.*

19 The charges we bring against others often come home to ourselves; we inveigh against faults which are as much ours as theirs; and so our eloquence ends by telling against ourselves. *Ib.*

20 Preferring to store her money in the stomachs of the needy rather than hide it in a purse.[6] *Letter 127*

21 The privileges of a few do not make common law.[7] *Exposition on Jona*

22 Never look a gift horse in the mouth.[8]
On the Epistle to the Ephesians

St. John Chrysostom
c. 345–407

23 Hell is paved with priests' skulls.
De Sacerdotio [c. 390]

24 No one can harm the man who does himself no wrong.[9] *Letter to Olympia*

Vegetius
[Flavius Vegetius Renatus]
fl. c. 375

25 Let him who desires peace prepare for war.[10] *De Rei Militari, III, prologue*

St. Augustine
354–430

26 Will is to grace as the horse is to the rider.[11] *De Libero Arbitrio [388–395]*

27 The weakness of little children's limbs is innocent, not their souls.
Confessions [397–401], I, 7

28 To Carthage I came, where all about me resounded a caldron of dissolute loves.[12]
Ib. III, 1

[6]Translated by F. A. WRIGHT (Loeb Classical Library).
[7]Privilegia paucorum non faciunt legem.
The exception proves the rule.
[8]Noli equi dentes inspicere donati.
[9]No one is injured save by himself.—ERASMUS [1465–1536], *Adagia*
[10]Qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum.
See Aristotle, 87:24; Robert Burton, 259:13; Fénelon, 316:12; Washington, 379:9; and Lowell, 568:9.
In peace, like a wise man, he has provided for the needs of war.—HORACE, *Satires, bk. II* [30 B.C.], *ii, 111*
We should provide in peace what we need in war.
—PUBLILIUS SYRUS [first century B.C.], *Maxim 709*
[11]This is considered the most important definition of the relation of grace to free will in the Middle Ages.
[12]To Carthage then I came.—T. S. ELIOT, *The Waste Land* [1922], *III, l. 307 and note*

Familiar Quotations (Bartlett) (1980)

1 I was in love with

2 In the usual course
a book of a certain C

3 Give me chastity a
just now.

4 Take up, read! Take

5 Too late I loved you,
and ever new! Too late
hold, you were within
and there I searched f

6 Give what you com
what you will.

7 Hear the other side.
De Duabu

8 I would not have bel
not the authority of the
Contra Ep

9 Necessity has no law.
Soliloquiorum

10 We make a ladder of o
ple those same vices und

11 Anger is a weed; hate

12 The dove loves when it
hates when it flatters.

13 Rome has spoken; the c

14 He who created you wi
justify you without you.

15 The most glorious city
City of Go

St. Vincent of
died c. 45

16 [That faith is catholic]
lieved always, everywhere
Com

[1]Tolle lege, tolle lege.
What the bell seemed to say t
ment of his conversion. When he
eyes fell on *Romans 13:12–14*, 47
[2]Audi partem alteram.
See Euripides, 77:1, and Protag
[3]See Publilius Syrus, 111:20,
272:20.
[4]See Longfellow, 511:22, and Te
[5]Roma locuta est; causa finita
[6]Quod semper, quod ubique, quo
est.
The definition of the traditiona

Encyclopaedia Britannica 1982

of the 22nd dynasty of Egypt. He came from a line of Libyan princes, or sheikhs, whose title was "great chief of the Meshwesh" and who appear to have settled in Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt, although another tradition placed the line in Bubastis in the eastern Delta. Sheshonk probably ascended the throne without a struggle, making Bubastis his residence and marrying his son Osorkon to a daughter of Psusennes II, the last king of the previous dynasty.

According to the Old Testament, "Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem" (I Kings 14:25–26) about 930 BC in support of Jeroboam, the pretender who challenged the right of Solomon's son Rehoboam to succeed to the Israelite throne. Sheshonk's victories in Palestine were celebrated by reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak. Although the biblical account reported the looting of the palace and Temple, the name Jerusalem did not survive in the Egyptian record.

·Egyptian–Libyan relations 6:479d
·invasion of Palestine 17:946b

Shes-rab rgya-mtsho, president, in 1953, of a Chinese-organized Buddhist association in Tibet.

·Buddhist modern organization 3:401d

She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. A Comedy (first performed 1773), comedy by Oliver Goldsmith about Marlow, a reserved young man who is shy with fashionable young ladies, and Kate Hardcastle, who poses as a barmaid to win his affection.

·comic sense and artistic expression 8:241e

Shetland Islands, also called SHETLAND ISLES or ZETLAND, group of about 100 islands (fewer than 20 of them inhabited) lying 130 mi (210 km) north of the Scottish mainland, administered as Shetland, one of three Islands areas (*q.v.*). Until the reorganization of 1975, it was the insular county of Zetland. The Shetland Islands, like the Orkneys (a similar island cluster lying to the south), possess their own Mainland (name given to the largest island), containing Scalloway, a fishing port, and Lerwick, the seat of the Islands area council, which carries out the responsibilities of both region and district authority, except for fire and police services, for which it combines with the Highland (*q.v.*) region.

The north part of Mainland is sparsely populated. South of Lerwick, where land conditions are more favourable, the population is denser. North of Mainland lie the islands of Yell and Unst, the most northerly and, except for Mainland, the most populous of the Shetland Islands. One mile off the north coast of Unst is Muckle Flugga lighthouse, the most northerly point in Britain. Off the west seaboard are six inhabited islands, including rocky and exposed Foula (14 mi from Mainland), and Fair Isle (24 mi), the latter belonging to the National Trust for Scotland and possessing an important ornithological observatory. The scenery of the Shetland Islands is wild and beautiful, having deeply indented, fjordlike coasts (the sea lochs are locally called voes) enclosed by steep hills. There are streams and lakes but no rivers on the islands. The winds are continuous and strong, and there are few trees. The climate is surprisingly mild for such high latitudes (only 400 mi south of the Arctic Circle) because of the warming influence of the North Atlantic Current.

This northerly area of high winds and generally poor soils is not well suited to the cultivation of many crops. The main form of agriculture is of the smallholding tenant type known as crofting, each croft having a few acres of arable land and the right to graze sheep on the "scattald," or common grazings. The crofters' main source of income is the sale of wool. The Shetland breed of sheep produces a light fleece of fine wool that is spun and knitted by the island women in the distinctive patterns known as Shetland and Fair Isle; the knitted goods are sold. Because many of the crofts cannot adequately support a family, men seek employment in the North Sea oil industry, abroad, or in the Royal Navy. On Fetlar, Shetland ponies are bred in considerable numbers for export. Fishing has always been important. Many crofters fish to supplement their diet or their income. Norwegian and English boats are common in these waters and frequently call at Shetland harbours, although the herring-fishing industry centred on Lerwick has declined since the mid-20th century. Seine fishing for whitefish, mainly haddock and whiting, is now more important, the main centres being Lerwick, Scalloway, Whalsay, and Burra. There are plants for freezing and curing fish at Lerwick.

A North Sea oil terminal became operational in 1978 at Sullom Voe, northern Mainland. Tankers of up to 300,000 tons transport as much as 1,400,000 barrels a day from Sullom Voe, which was planned to be the largest oil port in the U.K. Vessels delivering equipment and supplies to the oilfields are serviced at Lerwick and helicopters provide auxiliary transportation from Sumburgh Airport on the southern tip of Mainland.

Despite the difficulties of wresting a living from these islands, they were occupied in early times. Primitive sunken dwellings, stone circles, and Pictish stone towers remain. During the 7th and 8th centuries, the conversion of the population to Christianity was begun. A treasure of bronze ornaments and other remains of a Celtic church were discovered in 1957. In the 8th and 9th centuries, the Shetland Islands were invaded by Norsemen, who ruled them until the 15th century; many Norse customs survive. In 1469 the islands, with the Orkneys, were given as a pledge for the dowry of Princess Margaret of Denmark on her marriage to James III of Scotland. The pledge was never redeemed, and both groups were annexed to the Scottish crown in 1472. The islands have nevertheless stood outside the mainstream of Scottish history and traditions. Pop. (1977 est.) 20,352.

·map, United Kingdom 18:866
·Scotland's history and cultures 3:232g
·United Kingdom population density map 18:875
·Viking invasions and settlements 16:306d; map 305

Shetland pony, smallest breed of horse, popular as a child's pet and mount. Originating in the Shetland Islands, Scotland, the ponies adapted to the harsh climate and scant food supply and became sturdy, hardy draft animals. They were used as pack horses and in about 1850 were taken to England to work in the coal mines. About the same time they were introduced to the United States, where a more refined pony suitable for children's riding was bred. Average height is about 10 hands (40 inches, or 102 centimetres), and weight 350 pounds (160 kilograms). Some are shorter than 8.5 hands (34 inches); a height over 10.5 hands (42 inches) is considered undesirable. Most colours, including spotting, are found. Shetlands are long-lived and need little care; they are gentle and even-tempered if properly trained. The American Shetland Pony Club was organized in 1888.

·growth limitations and breeding 5:651f

Shetland mare and foal
Walter Chandoha

Shetland sheepdog, also called SHELTIE, small working dog developed as a herd dog for the small sheep of the Shetland Islands, Scotland. The dog resembles the rough-coated collie but in miniature, and like the collie it is descended from an old breed of Scottish working dog. Characteristically sturdy and agile, the Shetland sheepdog is noted for its herding ability and affectionate nature. For show purposes the American Kennel Club recognizes only those dogs that are 33 to 41 centimetres (13 to 16 inches) high at the shoulder. The long, straight coat is black, brown, or blue gray with black mottling and may be marked with tan and white.

Shetland sheepdog
Sally Anne Thompson—EB Inc.

Shetland yarn, lightweight, fine, soft yarn.

·handwork yarn production and types 18:175d

Shevaroy Hills, outlying range of the Eastern Ghāts, in Salem district, Tamil Nadu state, southern India, occupying an area of 150 sq mi (390 sq km). The highest peaks are in the southwest, culminating at Sanyasimalai (Duff's Hill) on the Yercaud plateau, at 5,231 ft (1,594 m). Widespread bauxite deposits are the basis for aluminum processing plants at Mettūr and Yercaud. Coffee is extensively grown on the plateau. In 1845 the British established a hill station at Yercaud, which is now a resort and educational centre. 11°50′ N, 78°10′ E

Shevat, also spelled SHEBAT, SEBAT, or SHVAT, fifth month of the Jewish religious year.

·feasts and calendrical sequence 10:218d
·Jewish calendar structure 3:599b

Shevchenko (ŠEVČENKO), **Taras (Hryhorovych)** (b. March 9 [Feb. 25, old style], 1814, Morintsy, Ukraine—d. March 10 [Feb. 26, O.S.], 1861, St. Petersburg, now Leningrad), foremost Ukrainian poet of the 19th century and a major figure of the Ukrainian national revival. Born a serf, Shevchenko was freed in 1838 while a student at the St. Petersburg Academy of Art. His first collection of poems, entitled *Kobzar* (1840; "The Bard"), expressed the historicism and the folkloristic interests of the Ukrainian Romantics, but his poetry soon moved away from nostalgia for Cossack life to a more sombre

...ayal of Ukrainian history, particularly in ... long poem "The Haidamaks" (1841). When the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius was suppressed in 1847, Shevchenko was punished by exile and compulsory military service for writing the poems "The Dream," "The Caucasus," and "The Epistle," which satirized the oppression of the Ukraine by Russia and prophesied a revolution.

Though forbidden to write or paint, Shevchenko did write clandestinely a few lyrical

Shevchenko, detail of a portrait by an unknown artist

Soviet

poems during the first years of his exile. His release in 1857 was followed by a revival of creativity; his later poetry treats historical and moral issues, in which the fate of the Ukraine is but one facet of the tragic history of mankind, and the coming revolution is an apocalyptic renewal.

Shevchenko exercised a decisive influence on ... Ukrainian literature and culture of his ...tury. He established the literary idiom, ...ified a range of themes and concerns, and, ...e all, formulated the terms of 19th-century Ukrainian self-identification. C.H. Andrusyshyn and Walton Kirkconnell published ...glish translation, *The Poetical Works of ... Shevchenko*, in 1964.

...nationalist movement repression 16:60e
...krainian 19th-century literature 10:1209c

...wa, or SHOA, province (*teklai gezat*), central Ethiopia, that has an area of 33,000 sq mi (...,000 sq km) and is mostly high plateau ...try, rising to 13,123 ft (4,000 m) in Abuye ... Its capital and main commercial centre ...ddis Ababa. Shewa is bounded on the ...west by the Blue Nile and on the south-... by the Omo River; its eastern and south-... boundaries are in the Great Rift Valley ...long the Awash River.

...contained several early Ethiopian kingdoms (10th–14th century AD). In 1528 the ... was overrun by Muslims from the state ...ahal to the east. Afterward, for more than ...ntury, it was penetrated by Gallas from the south, who settled as far north as the Blue ... Emperor Tewodros II incorporated ...ewa into the Ethiopian Empire (1856). ...enelik II regained his kingdom of Shewa in ...0) and, when he became emperor (1889), proclaimed Addis Ababa as his capital.

...e province carries on extensive trade ...offee, hides, beeswax), as roads from all ...ts of Ethiopia and the Addis Ababa–Djibouti railroad converge there. Farming and stock raising are the main occupations; industrial activity, notably textile and shoe manufacturing and food processing, is concentrated in Addis Ababa. Koka Dam, on the Awash, was built (1960) to provide power for industrial development. Besides the capital, the main towns are Debre Birhan, Nazaret (Adama), Debre Zeyt (Bishoftu), Giyon (Debre Lebanos), and Agere Hiywet (Ambo). Debre Libanos, a monastic centre, and Ankober, the former capital of the Shewa kingdom, are of historical interest. The population is predominantly Amhara and Galla, with Gurage in the ... Pop. (1972 est.) 5,369,500.

...ee also population table 6:1002
·map, Ethiopia 6:1001
·Menelik II's unification of Ethiopia 11:903b

Shewan Plateau, central Ethiopia.
·elevation and igneous rock formation 6:998g

shewbread, archaic English form of SHOWBREAD, also called BREAD OF THE PRESENCE, 12 loaves of bread that stood for the 12 tribes of Israel, presented and shown in the Temple of Jerusalem in the Presence of God. The loaves were a symbolic acknowledgment that God was the resource for Israel's life and nourishment and also served as Israel's act of thanksgiving to God. The arrangement of the bread on a table in two rows of six (Lev. 24) was an important aspect of the presentation because some verses in the Bible literally speak of "the bread of the arrangement" (I Chron. 9:32, 23:29; Neh. 10:33). The table, which stood at the west end of the "holy place" of the Temple, next to the Holy of Holies, was also important. The bread was changed every sabbath and the priests ate that which had been displayed. Once, in an emergency, it was given to David to feed his hungry men. Many aspects of the Christian Eucharist show that it was influenced by Israel's shewbread.

She-xian (China): *see* She-hsien.

Sheyenne River, rising in Sheridan County, central North Dakota, U.S. It flows east and then south, past Valley City, near which Baldhill Dam impounds Lake Ashtabula, and at Lisbon it turns northeast to join the Red River of the North just above Fargo. The river is 325 mi (525 km) long. It was named for the Cheyenne Indians.
47°05′ N, 96°50′ W
·map, United States 18:908

Sheykhi, Sinan (Ottoman poet): *see* Şeyhi, Sinan.

Shīʿah, also called SHĪʿISM, one of the two major branches of Islām, distinguished from the majority Sunnah. In early Islāmic history it had been a political faction (*shīʿat ʿAlī*, "party of ʿAlī") that supported the power of ʿAlī, son-in-law of Muḥammad and fourth caliph, over the Muslim community. The Shīʿah gradually developed into a religious movement, deeply influencing all Sunnī Islām and numbering, at mid-20th century, about 40,000,000, or one-tenth of all Islām. It is the majority faith in Iran, Iraq, and perhaps Yemen (Ṣanʿā'), and has adherents in Syria, Lebanon, East Africa, and northern India (especially Lucknow), in the Indian Deccan and Bombay, and in Pakistan.

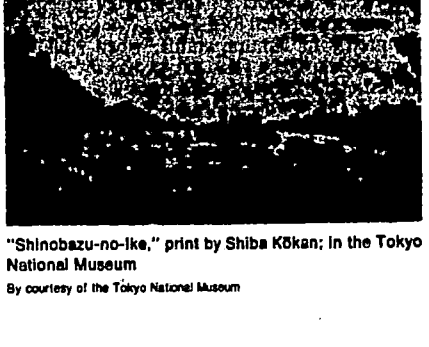
In 656 ʿAlī had been raised to the caliphate with the support of the murderers of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, but, never quite receiving the allegiance of all the Muslims, had to wage increasingly unsuccessful wars. After his murder (661), when Muʿāwiyah, his chief opponent, became caliph, many Muslims, especially at Kūfah in Iraq, ʿAlī's capital, invited Ḥusayn, ʿAlī's son, to become caliph. The Iraqi Muslims failed to support Husayn, however, and he and his small band were cut down (680) near Kūfah at Karbalā', now a pilgrimage spot. Swearing vengeance against the triumphant Umayyad government, the Kūfans soon gained support from other groups that opposed the status quo: aristocratic Muslim families of Medina, pious men protesting a too worldly interpretation of Islām, and non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*), especially in Iraq, who demanded an equality denied them by the ruling Arabs. While the ʿAlids never won power (though Shīʿīs helped set up the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in 750), ʿAlī was rehabilitated as a major hero of Sunnī Islām, and his descendants by Fāṭimah, Muḥammad's daughter, received a privileged status as *sayyid*s and *sharīf*s.

But the Shīʿīs were not satisfied with this. Some, such as the Zaydīyah, preserving the purely Arab political nature of the Shīʿah and doctrinally adhering to the Sunnah, demanded that the caliph be whichever descendant of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah proved to be qualified at a given time. Others, principally the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah (*q.v.*) and the Ismāʿīlīyah (*q.v.*), asserted a religious role for the ʿAlid claimants (*imām*s; *q.v.*).

While some extremists paid the *imām*s practically divine honours, a more moderate view became the position with which Shīʿī Islām is identified: the *imām* is sinless, endowed with supernatural knowledge and power, and capable of interpreting infallibly the Qur'ān. It is on the character of the imamate and the readings of the Qur'ān that the Shīʿīs and Sunnīs primarily disagree, though under Sunnī persecution, the Shīʿah also developed a distinct doctrine, *taqīyah*, allowing the Shīʿī to dissimulate his faith for self-preservation.

Despite occasional Shīʿī rulers, the Shīʿah remained almost everywhere a minority faith until the start of the 16th century, when the Iranian Ṣafavid dynasty made it the sole legal faith of their empire, embracing the Turks of Azerbaijan, the Persians of Iran, and the Arabs of Iraq proper; these have since been all overwhelmingly Ithnā ʿAsharīs and have given the sect a vigorous modern life. *Major ref.* 9:916g
·ʿAbbāsid political betrayal 3:635f
·Afghānī's family background 10:20a
·ʿAlid doctrines and Umayyad power 3:627g
·ʿAlī's struggle with secular caliphate 1:573d
·Al-Maʾmūn and the Muslim sects 11:417h
·Al-Manṣūr and ʿAlid dissent 11:461f
·Arabian tribe and religion fragmentation 1:1047f
·Bābī version of imām expectations 2:587h
·dress customs and symbolism 15:638b
·Druze harassment of Muslims after AD 1009 5:1060h
·Fāṭimid establishment in Egypt 6:489f
·geographical distribution map 15:630
·imām tombs at Kāẓimayn 2:586f *passim* to 587e
·Iranian peoples' religious practices 9:866d
·Iraqi religio-political conflicts 11:991c
·Iraq's Muslim majority 9:876f
·Islāmic faction origins and consequence 9:852d
·Islāmic law compared in different sects 9:939c
·Islāmic myth and legend contributions 9:949f
·Islāmic sectarian origins and tradition 8:538c
·Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad's imāmate 10:6a
·Jordanian intra-Islām divisions 10:272c
·messianism of mahdī concept 11:1020f
·Muʿāwiyah I as usurper 12:604g
·North African Fāṭimid anti-orthodoxy 13:157b
·Ottoman rebellion participation 13:777e
·Pakistani subsects and business groups 13:897h
·passion play performances 9:980d
·pictorial representation in Islām 9:923g
·Saudi Arabia regional distribution 16:277f
·Seljuqs and Shiʿite political demise 16:503h
·Ṣūfī interrelationships 9:947g
·Syrian and Palestinian communities 17:952g
·theological and doctrinal development 9:1016h
·Umayyad supremacy over rival sects 1:5c

Shiba Kōkan, real name ANDŌ SHUN (b. 1738, Edo, now Tokyo, Japan—d. 1818, Edo), first Japanese painter to produce a cop-



"Shinobazu-no-Ike," print by Shiba Kōkan; in the Tokyo National Museum

By courtesy of the Tokyo National Museum

BOOK BY MYKOLA KULIŠ

Sonata Pathetique. Trans. by George S. N. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, intro. by Ralph Lindheim, Ukrainian Academic Pr. 1975 lib. bdg. $11.50

KULIŠ, PANTELEJMON (also KULISH). 1819–1897

Kuliš, a scholar as well as a novelist, in *The Black Council* gives a vivid picture of the different levels of society in seventeenth-century Ukraine. His theme is the need for people to be motivated by high ideals as they engage in the "struggle of truth with injustice."

BOOK BY PANTELEJMON KULIŠ

The Black Council. Trans. and abr. by George S. N. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, intro. by Romana Bahrij Pikulyk, Ukrainian Academic Pr. 1973 lib. bdg. $11.50

PIDMOHYLNY, VALERIAN. 1901–1941

Pidmohylny's last novel, *A Little Touch of Drama,* published in 1930, shows the influence of French writers such as MAUPASSANT. In his earlier works he experimented with impressionistic psychological stories and with literary expressionism.

BOOK BY PIDMOHYLNY

A Little Touch of Drama. Ukrainian Classics in Translation Ser. Trans. by George S. Luckyj and Moira Luckyj, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences 1972 lib. bdg. $11.50

ŠEVČENKO, TARAS (also SHEVCHENKO). 1814–1861

Ševčenko is the outstanding Ukrainian romantic poet, creator of the Ukrainian literary language and symbol of the national movement. He was born a serf and educated in St. Petersburg to serve as a portraitist and artist. His freedom was purchased in 1838 by several of his admirers. Ševčenko's first eight poems were collected in *The Bandura Player.* The publication of this collection in 1840 was a literary sensation. This collection was followed in the next three years by *The Haidamaks* and a series of poems based strongly on folk-song rhythms. The writings composed after his return to the Ukraine in 1843 included strong invectives against serfdom and the baneful role that Russians played in Ukrainian history.

For a decade after 1847 Ševčenko was exiled to Central Asia for his participation in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society. This clandestine organization advocated the union of all Slavs on the basis of independence and equality. During his exile he wrote several lyrics and novelettes. The poems of the last four years of his life, including *Neofity* and *Mariya,* are built on strongly religious themes.

BOOK BY ŠEVČENKO

The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko. Trans. by C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, Univ. of Toronto Pr. 1964 $25.00. A good collection by two veteran interpreters of Ukrainian poetry.

Encyclopedaedia Britannica (1983)

The simplicity and profundity of Pushkin's language

it was not until his great narrative poem, *Yevgeny Onegin* (written 1823–31), that he achieved what no other Russian poet had achieved: integration of idea and character; warm, humane humour; really deep understanding of the human heart; and mastery of language astonishing in its simplicity and profundity. His other narrative poems written at this time, *Count Nulin* (1825) and *Domik v Kolomne* (1830; "The Small House in Kolomna"), revealed a playful satiric vein, a blend of realism and irony with good-humoured sympathy for human foibles. The *Tsygane* (*The Gypsies*) and *Poltava* were masterpieces of two quite different types, the first a tragedy of frustrated passion and the second the apotheosis of a hero-king in the person of Peter I the Great. During the same period Pushkin wrote his greatest lyrics and the often-quoted rhetorical *Prorok* ("Prophet"). At the beginning of the 1830s he wrote fairy tales in verse and the magnificent "King Saltan." In 1833 he wrote *Medny Vsadnik* ("The Bronze Horseman"), in which Peter the Great personified the elemental forces that sweep puny man out of their path. Pushkin never surpassed this poem, with its onomatopoetic undertow of horror. His poetic dramas included a historical play, *Boris Godunov* (1831).

The period's other major poet, Mikhail Lermontov, sprang to fame in 1837 with a poem on the death of Pushkin that resulted in his exile. Lermontov's most Romantic poems, such as *Mtsyri* (1840; "The Novice") and the celebrated *Demon* (1839), dealt with Caucasian themes.

Less important poets of the Romantic period were Ivan Ivanovich Dmitriev, a follower of the sentimentalist Karamzin, and Krylov, whose simple and profound fables are among the great treasures of Russian literature. Vasily Zhukovsky, most important as a translator, created a new poetic diction on Karamzinian principles. Many poets of this golden age, such as Yevgeny Baratynsky, wrote elegaic poetry, while many others, such as Kondraty Fyodorovich Ryleyev, gave expression to their abhorrence of tsarist oppression and glorified death in the struggle against it.

Prose. With Pushkin and Lermontov the golden age of poetry ended, and the great age of creative prose began. Pushkin turned increasingly to prose in the last years of his life. Lermontov's novel *Geroy nashevo vremeni* (1839–40; *A Hero of Our Time*, 1886) was immediately successful. Its hero was one of the typical misfits of Lermontov's generation, a man of great gifts but with an insatiable and self-destroying desire for novelty.

The first widely popular 19th-century novelist was Mikhail Nikolayevich Zagoskin, whose *Yury Miloslavsky* (1829), on the expulsion of the Poles from Russia in 1612, appealed to the public by its crude nationalistic spirit, while a most popular Romantic novelist was Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev (pseudonym Marlinsky). An outstanding writer was Nikolay Gogol, who was a great influence on Russian literature and on the Russian revolutionary movement; partly due to the fact that he was a Ukrainian by birth and saw the Russians from the standpoint of an outsider, he revealed the Russians to themselves and raised turbulent ideas in their minds. The revolutionary impact of Gogol's writings became evident in 1836 with the performance of his comedy *Revizor* (*The Government Inspector*, 1968). It dealt with the officials of an obscure provincial town, but it presented a microcosm of the Russian state. It was saved from being banned by its laughter, which Gogol considered the only positive character in it. Protests at the play forced Gogol to go to Italy, where he finished the first part of his famous novel *Myortvye dushi* (1842–52; *Dead Souls*, 1877). Gogol was a conservative and an upholder of autocracy and serfdom who never thought that his play and his novel were destroying the things he stood for.

The "natural" school

One of Gogol's last stories, "Shinel" (1842; "The Overcoat," 1949), led to the creation of a whole school of writers, the "natural" school, of which Fyodor Dostoyevsky was the most brilliant follower. The first part of Dostoyevsky's literary career was notable mainly for his stories of St. Petersburg slums and the life of poor degraded civil servants, such as *Bednye lyudi* (1845; *Poor Folk*, 1894). In 1849 he was imprisoned in Siberia for his membership in a revolutionary group, and on his return—faced with the impending liberation of the serfs and the new relationship that would inevitably ensue between landowners and peasants—published a magazine to help solve this problem. In *Epokha* he took up an attitude midway between the Slavophiles and conservatives, on the one hand, and, on the other, the westerners and revolutionaries grouped around the magazine *Sovremennik* ("The Contemporary"). Dostoyevsky's attempt to bridge the gulf between the mass of illiterate peasants and the educated classes, by advocating that the latter should "return to the soil," ended in failure. His four greatest novels, *Prestupleniye i nakazaniye* (1866; best translation, *Crime and Punishment*, 1955), *Idiot* (1868–69; *The Idiot*, 1955), *Besy* (1871–72; *The Devils*, 1953), and *Bratya Karamazovy* (1879–80; *The Brothers Karamazov*, 1958), all showed his intuitive understanding of the human heart and of the tragic aspects of life, together with unsurpassed moments of illumination, that makes them immortal.

Although Ivan Turgenev lacked Dostoyevsky's moments of illumination, his stories and novels, too, transcended topical problems and laid bare the eternal. *Zapiski okhotnika* (1852; *A Sportsman's Notebook*, 1950), in which serfs were shown to be superior to their masters in intelligence, decency, and humanity, foreshadowed the abolition of serfdom. With his first novels he enhanced his reputation as a liberal-minded thinker and as one of the finest prose writers of the day. His greatest novel, *Otsy i deti* (1862; *Fathers and Sons*), dealing with the generation gap, set left-wing writers (who took Bazarov, its nihilist hero, for a caricature of themselves) against him, and he never regained popularity with young progressives. *Dym* (1867; *Smoke*, 1949), in which he had bitter truths to say about all classes of Russian society, and *Nov* (1877; *Virgin Soil*, 1877), in which he analyzed the Russian revolutionary movement and forecast the rising power of the managerial class, deepened the enmity of the radicals. It was only on his last visit to Russia that he was again popularly acclaimed.

Another great creative writer of the century, Leo Tolstoy, mostly stood aloof from the literary scene. Two great novels, *Voyna i mir* (1865–69; *War and Peace*, 1925) and *Anna Karenina* (1875–76), raised him to a pinnacle; and even his denial of his art, following his conversion to Christianity in 1876, failed to affect his supremacy. Tolstoy's distinguishing mark as a creative artist was his genius for analytical dissection of character. In "Kreytserova sonata" (1891; "The Kreutzer Sonata"), "Smert Ivana Ilyicha" (1886; "The Death of Ivan Ilich"). and *Voskreseniye* (1899; *Resurrection*, 1900), his creative genius asserted itself over the philosophic and religious convictions that marred many of his last stories.

Ivan Goncharov achieved shattering results in his finest novel, *Oblomov* (1859), by an accumulation of seemingly unimportant details. Aleksey Pisemsky was another major novelist, but his play *Gorkaya sudbina* (1859; "A Hard Lot"), though popular, showed the artistic dangers of too realistic a representation of life.

Late-19th-century drama, satire, and short stories. The most prolific professional playwright of the century, Aleksandr Ostrovsky, in such plays as *Bankrut* (1850; "The Bankrupt") and *Groza* (1860; "The Storm"), exposed and protested against the low business morality, ignorance, and brutality of the Moscow merchant class.

The great satirist of the century, Mikhail Saltykov, was a pillar of the radical movement as editor of *Otechestvennye zapiski* ("Fatherland Annals"). In *Gospoda Golovlyovy* (1876; *The Golovlyov Family*, 1955), Saltykov wrote one of the century's most brilliant novels; its hero, Iudushka (Little Judas), surpassed even Gogol's most villainous characters in idleness, uselessness, and drunkenness.

Chekhov, master of the Russian short story

Although the short story was developed by many writers, such as Nikolay Leskov, author of *Ocharovanny strannik* (1873; *The Enchanted Wanderer*, 1924) and "Zayachy remiz" (1894; "The March Hare," 1949), it was

Anton Chekhov who became its acknowledged master, as well as a brilliant innovator in drama. Chekhov was the first great Russian writer to adopt a neutral attitude to politics. Most of his short stories were written while he was a medical student and later as a young doctor. In his greatest short stories, "Step" ("The Steppe") and "Skuchnaya istoriya" ("A Dreary Story"), as well as in four famous plays, *Chayka* (1896; *The Seagull*), *Dyadya Vanya* (1897; *Uncle Vanya*), *Tri sestry* (1901; *The Three Sisters*), and *Vishnyovy sad* (1903–04; *The Cherry Orchard*), his training can be seen both in the medical men he introduces and in his attitude toward his characters.

Gorky's social themes

Maksim Gorky, in contrast, overflowed with pity and compassion, though only for the working classes. Self-educated, he early threw himself into revolutionary work. A romantic poem in prose, "Pesnya o burevestnike" (1901; "The Song of the Stormy Petrel")—with its refrain, "The Storm! The Storm is about to break!"—became a powerful rallying cry of the revolutionary movement. In his first and most popular play, *Na dne* (1902; *The Lower Depths*), Gorky introduced philosophizing down-and-outs onto the Russian stage. Apart from his early novels—especially *Mat* (1906; *Mother*)—his most impressive work is an autobiographical trilogy: *Detstvo* (1913; *Childhood*, 1950), *V lyudyakh* (1915–16; *In the World*, 1917), and *Moi universitety* (1923; *My Universities*, 1952).

Ukrainian. Ukrainian literature in the 19th century reflects the rapid development of Ukrainian national consciousness. Ukrainian writers at first were primarily concerned with reawakening that consciousness and the sense of historical continuity and establishing the vernacular as a literary language. Virtually the entire Ukrainian literary process in the 19th century occurred under official and unofficial Russian disfavour, and in 1863 and 1871 all Ukrainian publications were prohibited. Not until 1905 did the Russian Academy of Sciences concede that Ukrainian was indeed a separate language.

Ivan Kotlyarevsky, classicist poet and playwright, inaugurated modern Ukrainian literature with his *Eneida* (1798), a travesty of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Kotlyarevsky's work had enormous (at times undue) influence on later Ukrainian writers. Classicist prose appeared only with Hryhoriy Kvitka Osnovyanenko's novel *Marusya* (1834). His *Konotopska vidma* (1837; "The Witch of Konotop") is a first-rate novella that is reminiscent of Gogol.

Around 1830 Kharkov became the centre of Ukrainian Romanticism (Izmail Sreznevsky, Levko Borovykovsky, A. Metlynsky, and Mykola Kostomarov). In the western Ukraine Romanticism was represented by the "Ruthenian Triad": Markiian Shashkevych, Yakov Holovatsky, and Ivan Vahylevych. The Romantic movement reached its peak in the work of the Kiev Romantics and found its highest expression in the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (1846). Its ideology was reflected in Kostomarov's biblical *Knyhy bytiia ukrainskoho narodu* ("Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People").

The early poetry of Taras Shevchenko, the outstanding Ukrainian poet of the 19th century, expressed the interests of the Romantics, but it soon moved to a more sombre portrayal of Ukrainian history, especially in the long poem *Haidamaky* (1841; "The Haidamaks"), and to works satirizing Russia's oppression of the Ukraine—*e.g.*, *Son* ("The Dream"), *Kavkaz* ("The Caucasus"), and *Poslanie* ("The Epistle"). His later poetry, written after his release (1857) from exile, treats broader themes.

After Shevchenko, the most important Romantic was Panteleymon Kulish, poet, prose writer (*Chorna rada*; "The Black Council"), translator, and historian.

Ukrainian Realism, which begins with Marko Vovchok (*Narodni opovidannia*, 1857; "Tales of the People"), was long confined to populist themes and the portrayal of village life. Anatoli Svydnytsky's novel *Lyuboratski* was exceptional for its artistry but had little influence on the development of Ukrainian Realism since, though written in 1862, it was not published till 1898. Ivan Nechuy-Levytsky's literary oeuvre was larger and thematically broader, ranging from the portrayal of village life in *Kaydasheva simya* (1879; "The Kaydash Family") to that of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in *Khmary* (1908; "The Clouds"). Panas Myrny (pseudonym of Panas Rudchenko) was the major representative of Ukrainian Realism. His depiction of social injustice and the birth of social protest—in *Khiba revut voly, yak yasla povni?* (1880; "Do the Oxen Low When the Manger Is Full?"), written with his brother Ivan Rudchenko (pseudonym Ivan Bilyk), and in *Poviya* ("The Whore")—has a new psychological dimension. The novels of the influential Ivan Franko describing the Boryslav oil industries of Galicia were written in the naturalistic manner of Zola. The long narrative poems *Moysey* ("Moses"), *Panski zharty* ("Nobleman's Jests"), and *Ivan Vyshensky* are the heights of Franko's poetic achievement.

Writing at the turn of the century were such outstanding figures as the Neoromantic poet Lesya Ukrainka, Mikhaylo Kotsiubynsky, and Vasyl Stefanyk.

POLISH LITERATURE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A second distinct period of Polish classicism, called pseudoclassicism, occurred in the early 19th century. In general, pseudoclassicist writing lacked freshness. During the Enlightenment period, literature had re-established contact with the West and became the voice of national consciousness. Although it was the literature of a community undergoing a severe political crisis, it exercised an influence on neighbouring countries.

The Romantic period began later in Poland than in England or Germany, and it lasted longer. It has been regarded as the greatest period in Polish literature. The rise of Romanticism coincided with the loss of independence, and great writers found in it an expression of their own mood. A need to interpret their country's destiny gave the work of the three great Romantic poets—Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Zygmunt Krasiński—visionary power and moral authority. Writing in exile, they kept faith in the restoration of Polish independence alive, and their concern gave the literature of the Polish Romantic movement its strength and passion. Mickiewicz was the greatest Polish poet and leader of the Romantic period. His *Poezye* (1822–23; "Poetry") was the first major literary event of the period. In its second volume were included parts ii and iv of *Dziady*, in which he combined folklore and mystic atmosphere to create a new kind of Romantic drama. Mickiewicz' greatest works were written after 1824, when he was deported to Russia for revolutionary activities as a student; they included *Sonety Krymskie* (1826; "Crimean Sonnets"); a visionary third part of *Dziady* (1833); a messianic interpretation of Poland's past and future destiny, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (1832; "Books of the Polish Nation and Its Pilgrimage"), written in biblical prose; and a great epic, *Pan Tadeusz* . . . (1834; "Master Thaddeus . . . ").

The poets in exile

The suppression of the insurrection of 1830–31 drove the cultural elite into exile in France; among poets whom Mickiewicz joined there were Słowacki, Krasiński, and Cyprian Norwid. Słowacki, a Romantic in the fullest sense, who in all his work showed genius, wrote verse narratives in the style of Byron and accomplished lyric poetry. He was inspired by patriotic themes: *Kordian* (1834) was a drama of conspiracy and problems of commitment. His subtle *W Szwajcarii* (1839; "In Switzerland") is probably the finest lyrical work in Polish. Much of Słowacki's work was in dramatic form, and although it was not intended for production, it laid the foundations of Polish tragic drama. His plays showed the influence of French Romantic drama, Shakespeare, classical tragedy, and Calderón. The last years of Słowacki's life were devoted to writing *Król-Duch* (1847; "The Spirit King"), an unfinished lyrical and symbolic epic describing the history of a people as a series of incarnations of the essential spirit of the nation.

Chekhov, master of the Russian short story

Zygmunt Krasiński, when 23, published (anonymously, as with all his works) *Nie-Boska komedia* (1835; *The Undivine Comedy*, 1875), which presented, for the first time in Europe, a struggle between opposed worlds of aristocracy and disinherited masses. *Irydion* (1836), his second play, was an allegory of Poland's fate. In *Przedświt* (1843; "The Moment Before Dawn") he developed a

successful U.S. feature of its kind. In 1930 he established a school for radio announcers of the Columbia Broadcasting System; rejecting British pronunciation, he insisted on American standards.

Vizianagaram, also spelled VIZIANAGRAM, town in north Vishākhapatnam district, northeastern Andhra Pradesh state, southern India. Situated in the heart of the Eastern Ghāts, Vizianagaram is a rail junction and shipping centre for sunn hemp (jute substitute) and jute products. Manganese is mined nearby. The town has four colleges. Pop. (1971 prelim.) 86,548.
18°07′ N, 83°25′ E
·map, India 9:278

vizier, Arabic and modern Persian WAZĪR, Turkish VEZIR, (from old Iranian Pahlavi *vçir*, "judge"), a title of ministers of state since early Islāmic times; in the Ottoman Empire it designated the highest office in the administrative hierarchy.

The office of vizier began in the early 'Abbāsid period and was probably inherited from the Sāsānian Empire of Persia. Under the early Ottoman sultans, the office was called *perwane* ("advice"), a usage inherited from the Seljuqs of Anatolia. The title vizier was first conferred on a military commander *c.* 1380. Thenceforth until the conquest of Istanbul (1453), it denoted the highest rank in the ruling institution and could be held simultaneously by several persons, including the ministers of state. In this period members of the powerful Çandarli family served periodically as ministers and held the rank of vizier.

Under the sultan Mehmed II (reigned 1451–81), the Ottomans assumed the old Islāmic practice of giving the title vizier to the office of the chief minister, but they had to use the distinguishing epithet "great" (or "grand"). A number of viziers, known as the "dome viziers," were appointed to assist the grand vizier, to replace him when he was absent on campaign, and to command armies when required. Later the title vizier was granted to provincial governors and to high officials such as the *defterdar* (finance officer).

The grand vizier was the absolute representative of the sultan, whose signet ring he kept as an insignia of office. He presided over the Imperial Divan (state council), controlled all appointments in the army and in the central and provincial administration, commanded the armies in war, was responsible for maintaining law and order in Istanbul, and represented the sultan as the chief dispenser of justice. The actual power of the grand viziers, however, varied with the vigour of the sultans; the tenures of the powerful viziers Sokullu Mehmed Paşa (served 1560–79), and the two Köprülüs (served 1656–76), for example, coincided with a period of retiring sultans. In 1654 the grand vizier acquired an official residence known as the Bab-ı Ali (Sublime Porte), which replaced the palace as the effective centre of Ottoman government. Under the sultan Ahmed III (reigned 1703–30), the abolition of the dome viziers further increased the grand viziers' powers. Beginning in the 19th century they presided over the council of ministers, appointed by the sultan; and after 1908 they acquired the right to appoint the Cabinet ministers. The title disappeared with the collapse of the empire.

·Egyptian administration of law 6:502a
·Islām and caliphal rule 9:921h
·New Kingdom office and function 6:471h
·political evolution and importance 13:776a
·Second Intermediate Period power 6:470f
·unprecedented power in Teti's reign 6:467g

vizsla, sporting dog whose ancestors were probably brought to Hungary by the Magyars more than 1,000 years ago. The vizsla can generally work both as a pointer and a retriever. Developed on the open plains of Hungary, it was bred to be a swift and cautious hunter, wary of alerting its quarry. It is a graceful, pointer-like dog and has a short, smooth, red-

Hungarian vizsla
Sally Anne Thompson—EB Inc.

dish-gold or sandy-yellow coat. It stands 53 to 61 centimetres (21 to 24 inches) and weighs 18 to 27 kilograms (40 to 60 pounds).

Vizzetelli (family): *see* Vizetelly.

Vlaams: *see* Netherlandic language.

Vlaanderen, plateau in Belgium.
·physical geography and cultural significance 2:817c

Vlaardingen, municipality (*gemeente*), Zuid-Holland province, southwestern Netherlands, on the Nieuwe Waterweg, just west of Rotterdam. An early Dutch naval victory was won nearby when Dirk IV defeated Emperor Henry III in 1037; the victories of Count William V (1351) near the town established the Bavarian line of Holland. Vlaardingen has developed in the 20th century from a small fishing village into the third largest seaport of The Netherlands. The completion of the largest shipyard in Holland, on nearby Rozenburg Island in 1958, greatly increased the town's industrial importance. Economic facilities include herring fisheries, dairies, and metallurgical and chemical (phosphates) works. Historic landmarks include the town hall (1650), the Grote Kerk (1643), the weigh bridge (1156), and the fish market (1779). Pop. (1972 est.) 81,579.
51°54′ N, 4°21′ E
·map, The Netherlands 12:1060

Vlachs, European people constituting the major element in the populations of Romania and the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as smaller groups located throughout the Balkan Peninsula, south and west of the Danube River. Although their Slav neighbours gave them the name Volokh, from which the term Vlach is derived, the Vlachs call themselves Romani, Romeni, Rumeni, or Aromani; they are also referred to as Romanians or Rumans.

The Vlachs traditionally claim to be descendants of the ancient Romans who in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD occupied Dacia, a Roman province located in the regions of Transylvania and the Carpathian Mountains of modern Romania. A more generally accepted theory suggests that their ancestors were a Thracian tribe, native to the Roman province of Dacia, which intermarried with the Roman colonists and assimilated their language and culture.

After the Romans evacuated Dacia (AD 271) and the area was subjected to a series of barbarian invasions, the Romanized Dacians probably took refuge in the Carpathian Mountains. They remained there for several centuries as shepherds and primitive farmers, until conditions settled and they returned to the plains.

Another theory suggests that the Romanized Dacian or Vlach population moved south of the Danube when the Romans left Dacia, and, after the invasions subsided, migrated northward back to their native habitat. This theory cites the major role the Vlachs played in the formation and development of the Second Bulgarian Empire (also known as the Empire of Vlachs and Bulgars; founded 1184) as evidence that the centre of the Vlach population had shifted south of the Danube.

By the 13th century the Vlachs were re-established in the lands north of the Danube, including Transylvania, where they comprised the bulk of the peasant population. From Transylvania they migrated to Walachia (Land of the Vlachs) and Moldavia, which became independent principalities in the 13th and 14th centuries and combined to form Romania at the end of the 19th century.

Other groups of Vlachs migrated to other regions of the Balkan Peninsula. The Macedo-Vlachs or Tzintzars settled on the mountains of Thessaly. According to the 12th-century Byzantine historian Anna Comnena, they founded the independent state of Great Walachia, which covered the southern and central Pindus Mountain ranges and part of Macedonia. (After the establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople in 1204, Great Walachia was absorbed by the Greek Despotate of Epirus; later it was annexed by the Serbs and in 1393 it fell to the Turks.) Another Vlach settlement, called Little Walachia, was located in Aetolia and Acarnania (*i.e.*, southwest of Great Walachia). In addition, Vlachs known as Morlachs or Mavrovlachi inhabited areas in the mountains of Montenegro, Hercegovina, and northern Albania as well as on the southern coast of Dalmatia, where among other settlements they founded Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik). In the 14th century some Morlachs moved northward into Croatia, causing much of northern Dalmatia to acquire the name Morlacchia; and in the 15th century others, later called Čići, settled in the Istrian peninsula.
·Moldavia and Walachia 2:620a

Vlacic, Matija: *see* Flacius Illyricus, Matthias.

Vlacq, Adrian (1600?–67), Dutch mathematician; published tables of common logarithms of numbers between 20,000 and 90,000.
·history of calculatory device and table 11:650f

Vladimir (ruled 889–893), tsar of Bulgaria, son and successor of Boris I of Bulgaria.
·policies and deposition 3:43h

Vladimir I, Saint (b. *c.* 956, Kiev—d. July 15, 1015, Berestova, near Kiev), grand prince of Kiev and first Christian ruler in Russia, through whose military conquests the provinces of Kiev and Novgorod were consolidated into a single Russian state, and whose Byzantine baptism determined the direction of Christianity in Russia.

Son of the Norman-Russian prince Svyatoslav of Kiev by one of his courtesans, in the Rurik lineage dominant from the 10th to the 13th centuries, Vladimir was made prince of Novgorod in 970. On the death of his father in 972, he was forced to flee to Scandinavia, where he enlisted help from an uncle and overcame Yaropolk, another son of Svyatoslav, who attempted to seize the duchy of Novgorod as well as Kiev. By 980 Vladimir had consolidated the Russian realm from the Ukraine to the Baltic Sea and had solidified the frontiers against incursions of Bulgarian, Baltic, and Eastern nomads.

Although Christianity in Kiev existed before Vladimir's time, he had remained a pagan, accumulated about seven wives, established temples and, it is said, taken part in idolatrous rites involving human sacrifice. With insurrections troubling Byzantium, the emperor Basil II (976–1025) sought military aid from Vladimir, who agreed, in exchange for Basil's sister Anne in marriage. A pact was reached *c.* 987,

when Vladimir also consented to the condition that he become a Christian. Having undergone baptism, assuming the Christian patronal name Basil, he stormed the Byzantine area of Chersonesus (modern Korsun, Ukrainian S.S.R.) to eliminate Constantinople's final reluctance. Vladimir then ordered the Christian conversion of Kiev and Novgorod, where idols were cast into the Dnieper River after local resistance had been suppressed. The new Russian Christian worship adopted the Byzantine rite in the Old Slavonic language. The story (deriving from the 11th-century monk Jacob) that Vladimir chose the Byzantine rite over the liturgies of German Christendom, Judaism, and Islām because of its transcendent beauty is apparently mythically symbolic of his determination to remain independent of external political control, particularly of the Germanic Goths. The Byzantines, however, maintained ecclesiastical control over the new Russian Church, appointing a Greek Metropolitan, or archbishop, for Kiev, who functioned both as legate of the patriarch of Constantinople and of the emperor. The Russian–Byzantine religio-political integration checked the influence of the Roman Latin Church in the Slavic East and determined the course of Russian Christianity, although Kiev exchanged legates with the papacy. Among the churches erected by Vladimir was one in Kiev (designed by Byzantine architects and dedicated *c.* 995 to "The Virgin Mother of God") that became the symbol of the Russian conversion. The expansion of education, judicial institutions, and aid to the poor were other legacies of the Christian Vladimir.

A marriage, following the death of Anne (1011), affiliated Vladimir with the Holy Roman emperors of the German Ottonian dynasty and produced a daughter, who became the consort of Casimir I the Restorer of Poland (1016–58). The Kiev Cycle of Russian legendary epic verse celebrates Vladimir's foundational deeds.

- Basil II conditional alliance **2:**749b
- Byzantine Christian influences **6:**153g
- conversion to Orthodox Christianity **3:**561g
- Kievan expansion and institutions **16:**40e

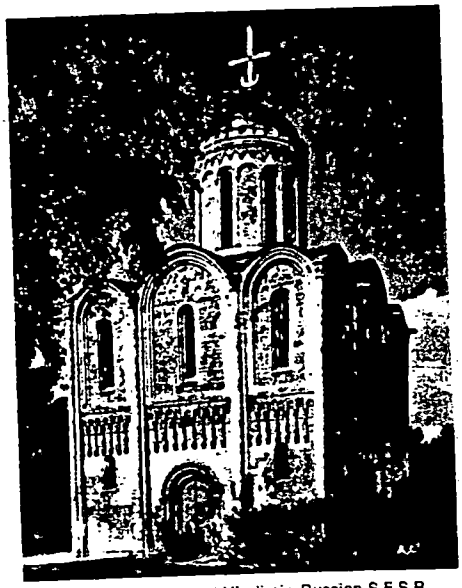
Vladimir II Monomakh (b. 1053—d. May 19, 1125, near Kiev), grand prince of Kiev from 1113 to 1125. The son of Grand Prince Vsevolod I Yaroslavich (ruled Kiev 1078–93) and Irina, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, Vladimir became actively engaged in Russian politics, helping his father and uncle Izyaslav I (ruled at Kiev intermittently 1054–78) defeat his cousins Oleg Svyatoslavich and Boris Vyacheslavich at Chernigov (1078) and succeeding his father as prince of Chernigov when Vsevolod became grand prince of Kiev. Vladimir ruled Chernigov from 1078 to 1094, restoring order among his cousins in Volhynia (1084–86) and assuming a leading role among Russian princes at the conferences held to avert perpetual warfare among themselves (1097 and 1100). In 1113, when his cousin Grand Prince Svyatopolk II (ruled Kiev 1093–1113) died, the *veche* (city council) of Kiev named him the successor to the throne of Kiev.

During his reign, as prior to it, Vladimir was almost constantly involved in wars, fighting a variety of enemies, but primarily against the Polovtsy, who had settled in the steppe region southeast of the Kievan state and had been raiding the Russians since 1061. In his "Testament," which he wrote for his sons and which constitutes the earliest known example of Russian literature written by a layman, Vladimir recounted participating in 83 noteworthy military campaigns and recorded killing 200 Polovtsy princes. In addition to his martial qualities, Vladimir Monomakh was known as an adept administrator, whose ability to curtail the internecine warfare among his princely relatives revived, if only temporarily, the declining strength of Kievan Rus. He was also noted as a builder, who founded the city of Vladimir on the Klyazma River in northeastern Russia, which by the end of the 12th century replaced Kiev as the seat of the grand prince.

- early education document **6:**331d
- Rus reunification and institutions **16:**41a

Vladimir, *oblast* (administrative region), western Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, centred on Vladimir city; it has an area of 11,200 sq mi (29,000 sq km) and lies east of Moscow in the basin of the Oka River. The greater part is a low plain, with extensive swamps in the south. The *oblast* has a natural vegetation of spruce, pine, and oak, but much of the forest has been cleared. The *oblast* is part of the central manufacturing region, producing textiles, engineering goods, timber goods, and glassware. Of lesser importance, agriculture is concentrated chiefly in the northwest, where there is considerable market gardening. Much land reclamation has taken place in the swamps. Pop. (1970) 1,511,000.

Vladimir, city and administrative centre of Vladimir *oblast* (region), western Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, on the



Cathedral of St. Dmitry at Vladimir, Russian S.F.S.R.
Snostal

Klyazma River. Vladimir was founded in 1108 by Vladimir II Monomakh. It became the centre of a princedom, deriving importance from trade along the Klyazma. In 1157 Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky moved his capital there from Kiev. In 1238 the city was devastated by the first Tatar invasion, and in 1293 it was again sacked by the Tatars; on each occasion it rapidly recovered. In 1300 the Orthodox metropolitan was established there, but in 1325 the church authority and in 1328 temporal authority were transferred to Moscow. Thereafter the city, suffering several further Tatar attacks in the 15th century, became a minor local centre, although in 1796 it was made a seat of provincial government.

Post-Revolutionary Vladimir has grown chiefly on the basis of its textile, light-engineering, and chemical industries. The city has many surviving buildings of its long history, including some superb examples of early Russian architecture. Especially noteworthy are the kremlin; the Cathedral of the Assumption, built in 1158 and several times rebuilt or restored; the Cathedral of St. Dmitry (1197, restored 1835); and the triumphal Golden Gate of 1158, restored under Catherine II the Great. Pop. (1970 prelim.) 234,000.

56°10′ N, 40°25′ E

- Alexander Nevsky's historical relation **1:**478f
- map, Soviet Union **17:**322

VLADIMIRSKAYA BOGOMATEY (*c.* 1130), icon of the school of Constantinople that played an important role in the development of the Umilenic type of icon.

- Byzantine visual art developments **19:**334g
- tempera on wood depiction, illus., **19:**Visual Arts, Western, Plate III

Vladimirescu, Tudor (b. *c.* 1780, Vladeşti, Walachia, now in Romania—d. June 7, 1821, Tîrgovişte), national revolutionary hero, leader of the popular uprising of 1821 in Walachia.

A former officer in the Russian Army, Vladimirescu was influenced by the autonomist movement in Serbia. He initially allied himself with the Greek revolutionary society —the Philiki Etairia—that sought to overthrow Turkish rule throughout the Balkans. He began with the Etairist rising in Moldavia under Prince Alexander Ypsilantis (March 1821), but disavowed the Greek leadership of the revolution in the Romanian principalities. He organized a popular rising in Walachia to evict the predominantly Greek administration of the Turkish government and end the spoliation of the native Romanian aristocracy (*boyars*). His movement at first enjoyed considerable popularity, but his eventual accommodation to the provisional aristocratic government at Bucharest eroded his support. When Ypsilantis suspected Vladimirescu of conspiring with the Turks to cut off the retreat of the Greek revolutionary forces from the Bucharest region, he ordered the arrest of the Romanian leader, who was court-martialled and executed.

- uprising of 1821 **2:**625h

Vladimir-Suzdal school, school of Russian medieval mural and icon painting that flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries around the neighbouring cities of Vladimir and Suzdal in the Suzdal region of northeastern Russia. Vladimir-Suzdal, along with the city of Novgorod in northwestern Russia, was one of the two areas that inherited the Byzantine artistic traditions of Kiev, Russia's first capital, which lost pre-eminence to Vladimir in 1157. Like

"The Archangel Michael," icon by an anonymous artist of the Vladimir-Suzdal school, egg tempera on pane. : 1300; in the Tretyakov Art Gallery, Moscow
Novosti Press Agency, Moscow