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U.S. Information Agency
Office of European Affairs

91 JUL 24 P4:44

FAX MESSAGE

FAX No. (202) 619-6821

DATE: 7/24/91

TO: Bob Simon, White House

FROM: Rosemary DiCarlo, Soviet Desk

SUBJECT: Information on Exchanges

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

Information on Ukrainians ~~to follow~~ included.

U.S.-USSR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Educational Exchanges

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

People-to-People and Cultural Exchanges

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

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

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

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

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

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

GENERAL AGREEMENT

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

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

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

Quotes:

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

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

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

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

ACTR

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF RUSSIAN

TO: Liza Mallott

FROM: Pam Snyder

DATE: July 24, 1991

SUBJ: Participant Quotes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RECIPROCAL CULTURAL AND INFORMATION CENTERS

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

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

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

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

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

-- providing language instruction and student counselling services;

-- and arranging live satellite television dialogues.

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

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

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

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

THE "1000-1000" UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE EXCHANGE

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

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

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

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

Key features of the general agreement include the following:

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

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

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

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

US-USSR HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

USIS PROJECTS IN UKRAINE

E/P - Office of Citizen Exchanges:

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

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

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

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

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

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

E/V - Office of International Visitors

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

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

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

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

Samantha Smith Memorial Exchange

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

1. FY-91 university exchanges with Ukraine:

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

2. Youth Exchange Programs:

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

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

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

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

US-USSR High School Academic Partnership Program

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

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

Book Publishing

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

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

Book Exhibits

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

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

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

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

Exhibits

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

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

The Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius met with success in its first three years. But any long-term results were lost when the invading Magyars destroyed the state of Moravia. The church of this area eventually developed along Western Catholic lines. The brothers' work did not disappear, however, because their followers carried their message and Slavonic books southward to the Bulgarians, who became fervently attached to Byzantine Orthodoxy.

The Bulgarian Czar Boris, who accepted Christianity for his people, prevailed upon the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople to recognize, in 870, the Bulgarians' right to have an independent church organization, under the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Bulgarians also won approval for their liturgy to be conducted in the Slavonic language. In this way a distinctive form of Orthodoxy was established in Eastern Europe: state churches employing local languages. In 927, the chief bishop of the Bulgarian church was raised to the rank of patriarch.

From Bulgaria, the Old Church Slavonic liturgical language and Byzantine Christianity were transplanted to Serbia, the third Slavic nation to be Christianized in the second half of the ninth century. The Serbian church remained in the shadow of the Bulgarians until the time of the most celebrated Serbian Christian, Sava. In 1219, he was consecrated Archbishop of Serbia. The Serbian archbishopric was promoted to a patriarchate in 1346, at the height of the Serbian Empire under King Stefan Dushan. Bulgarian influence also drew the church of Romania into the Orthodox fold.

Vladimir's choice

The most illustrious fruit of the brothers' Slavonic influence appeared when the pagan prince of Kiev, Vladimir, officially adopted Orthodoxy as the religion of his state. The magnificent legend of the conversion of the Russians narrates how Vladimir, around 988, decided that the interests of his realm required that he take up one of the major religions. According to the *Russian Chronicle*, Vladimir sent envoys to investigate Islam, Judaism, Latin and Byzantine Christianity. The first three failed to suit Vladimir, but he was won over by the report of those who returned from Constantinople, who declared that when they attended the mass in the great church of St Sophia they could not tell whether they were on earth or in heaven. Vladimir then ordered the mass baptism of the Russians according to the Orthodox form. Orthodoxy thus became the state religion of Russia, which it was to remain until 1917.

Although the details of the legend probably do not record actual history, they do reflect one of the most significant features of Russian Christianity. The forms of worship have always been more important than other aspects—such as theology or ethics. The primary appeal of Orthodoxy was aesthetic rather than intellectual or moral. Indeed, the name of the religion in Slavonic, *Pravoslavie*, means 'true worship' or 'right glory', reflecting the pre-eminence of the liturgy to the Russian mind.

After Vladimir's conversion, the Slavonic books of Cyril and Methodius were brought to Kiev. The Russians received a benefit which Christians of the Latin-using Western church did not enjoy. Their religious liturgy and writings existed in a language which was intelligible to all of them. Thus the church both civilized the Russian tribes and stimulated the growth of their native culture.

Vladimir's son and successor, Yaroslav the Wise, who began to rule in 1019, cemented the bonds between the Russian church and Byzantine Orthodoxy by accepting for his realm a bishop appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarch. In this way he acknowledged Constantinople as the overseer of the Russian church. Yaroslav provided the bishop, consecrated as the Metropolitan of Kiev, with a cathedral which he dedicated as St Sophia's in imitation of the mother church. For most of the next four hundred years, the head of the Russian church was a Greek appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Saint Sophia cathedral, Kiev—named after Saint Sophia, Constantinople.

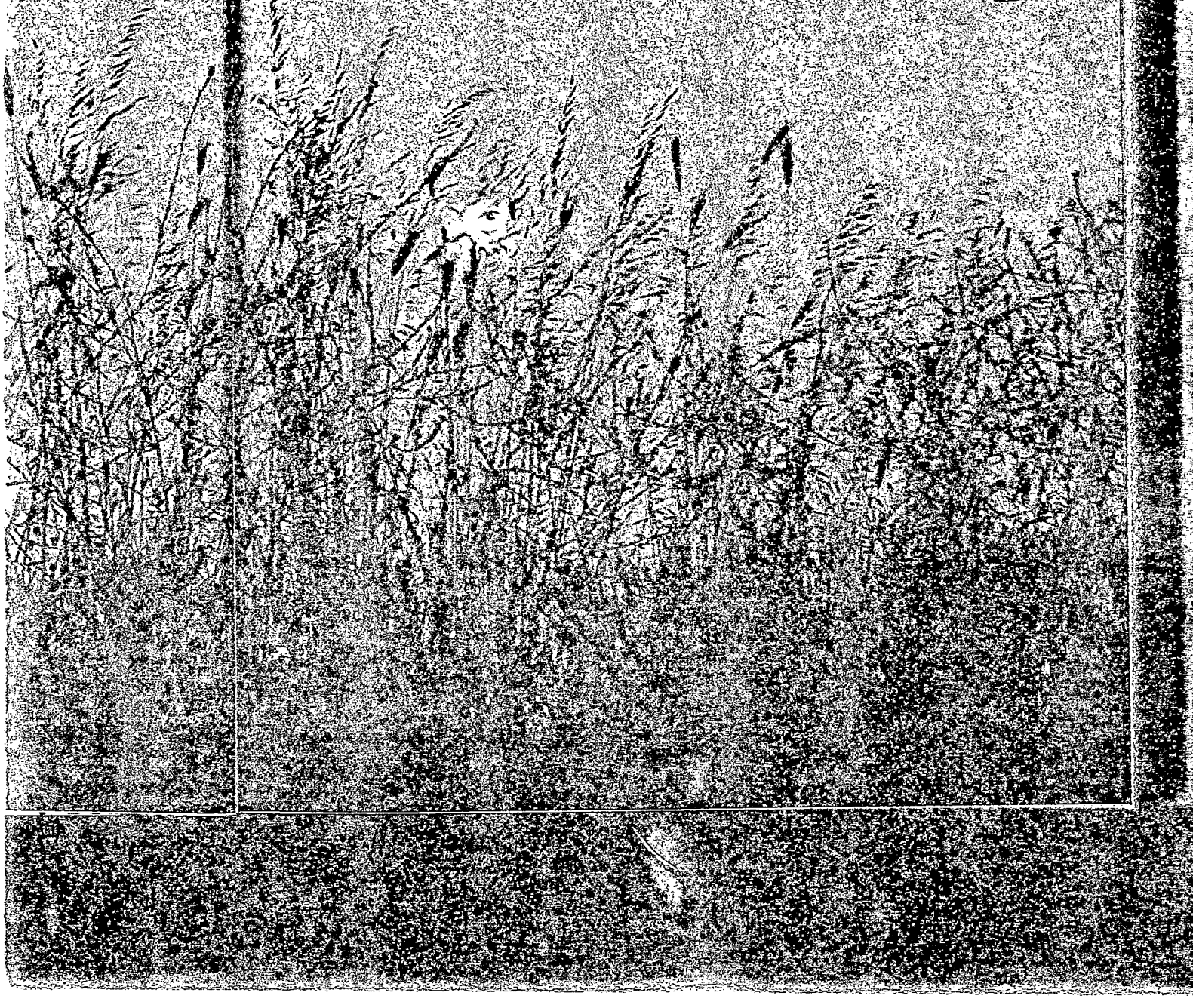


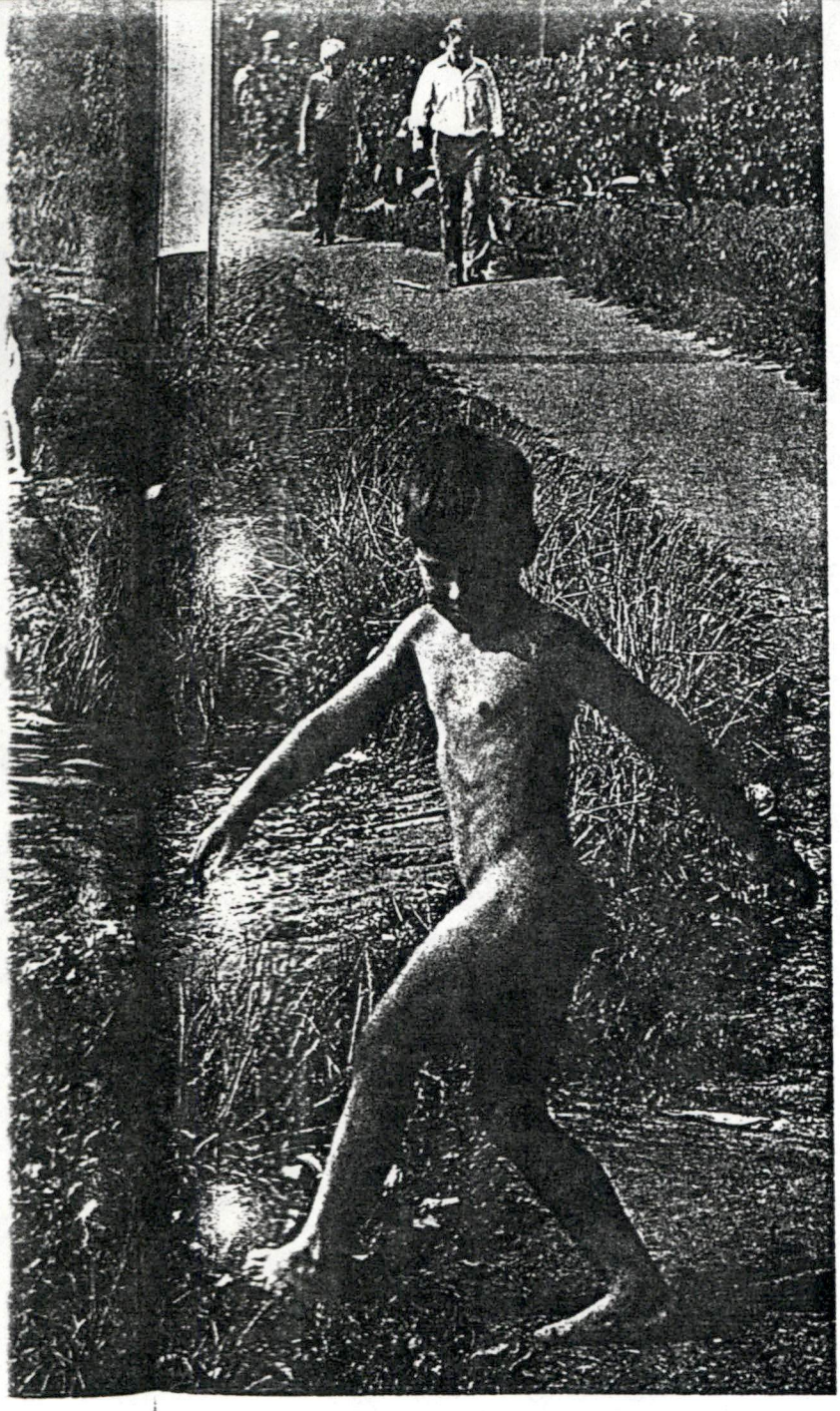
Yaroslav's death coincided with the year traditionally regarded as marking the final rupture between the Latin and Greek churches (1054). The newly-converted Russians quickly learned to despise the Catholics as 'heretics'. Their hatred of the Latin Christians was greatly reinforced when German knights tried to take advantage of the

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EERDMANS' HANDBOOK TO

The History of Christianity





Latter-day Viking, a youth takes to the water in Minsk, the home of several Olympic-class rowers for the U.S.S.R. By oar or sail, Viking vessels ruled northern waterways for some three centuries.

hesitant. At once the old woman grasped her head and led her into the tent.

Inside the tent the girl died beside her master by stabbing and strangling. Then the ship was fired. "Soon it was burning brightly—first the boat, then the tent and the man and the maiden and everything in the boat."

IRONICALLY, THE MAN who eventually ended such savagery in the East, Prince Vladimir of Kievan Rus, himself had been an idol worshiper and a libertine of Solomon's stature. If the Primary Chronicle is to be believed, Vladimir had 800 concubines—"He was insatiable in vice."

Perhaps to further ties with Byzantium, Vladimir chose the Orthodox Church to minister the Christian faith to his people.* His reign saw adoption of Slavonic for the liturgy in place of Greek, a step that helped preserve his independence from Byzantium. On a day in 988 his subjects walked into the Dnieper and submitted to mass baptism—it was that or risk his certain displeasure (painting, pages 284-5). Today's Kievans know the road they took. It is Kreshchatic, Christening Street, the main thoroughfare.

And Kiev, where the far-reaching steppe begins, has become the Soviet Union's third largest city, capital of the bountiful Ukraine. It is a stately city of hills and undulating avenues arched with poplars and chestnuts. In summer, from the bluff upon which the oldest section rests, one watches swift hydrofoils and leisurely passenger ships cleave the broad, slate-blue Dnieper. Sunseekers clutter a beach on the far bank. Over all this soar church domes resplendent in gold leaf. Here rose the important monastery and cultural center called Pecheryskaia Lavra, now a state museum (page 312).

And beneath this splendor lies a fearful nether world of labyrinthine catacombs. "There is a legend," said museum director Yuri Kibalnik, "that the Varangians hid cargoes and foodstuffs in the caves. For hundreds of years monks lived here in underground cells. People were attracted by the eerie sound of the monks singing beneath their feet. Most of the caves are man-made. We are still finding new passages."

Down the centuries a cult of holy relics developed as religious hermits lived out their lives in the chill labyrinths. Hunching my way cautiously through small, dank tunnels, I wondered how many eremites had contributed their bones to this charnel house. Thousands, judging from the evidence on all sides.

*See "Byzantine Empire, Rome of the East," by Merle Severy, in the December 1983 GEOGRAPHIC.

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
MARY KATE GRANT
BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: UKRAINE

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

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

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

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

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

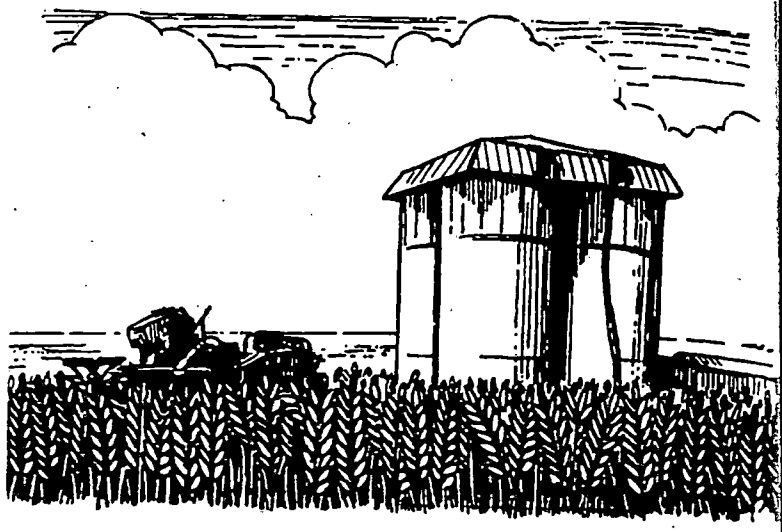
Taras Shevchenko is known as the national poet of Ukraine. Strongly nationalistic, he was a proponent of freedom and admired the U.S. Reflecting on our War of Independence, he wrote:

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

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

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

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



THE UKRAINE AND MOLDAVIA

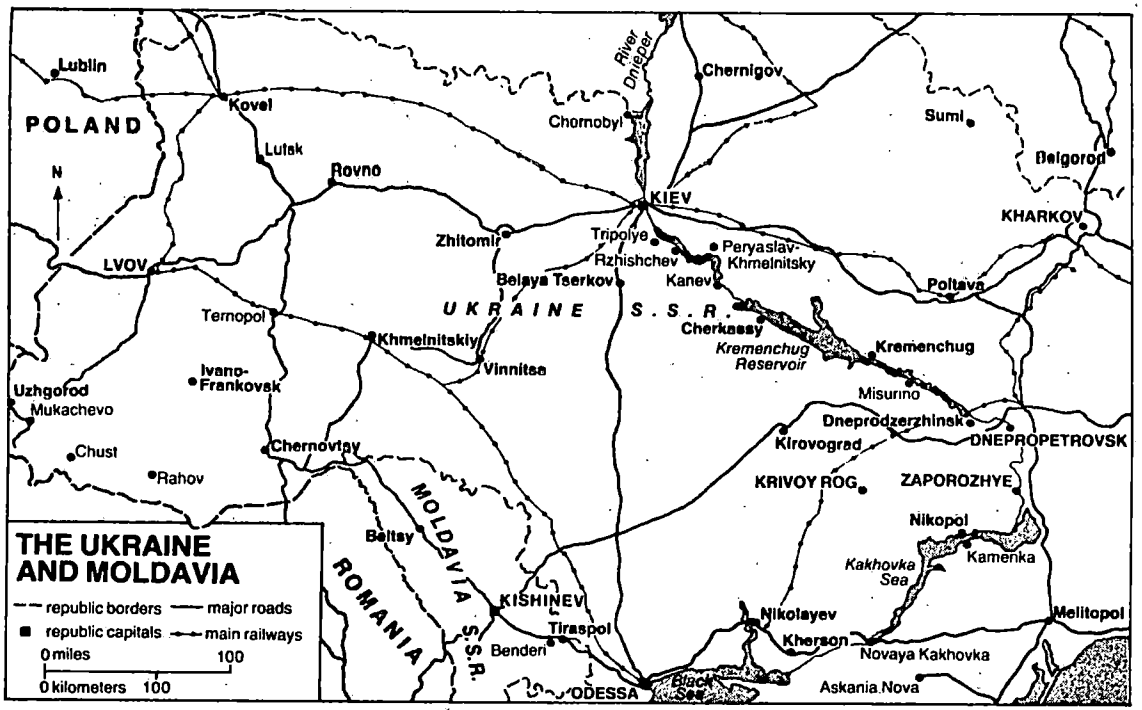
Breadbasket of the U.S.S.R.

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

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

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

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


Lublin
POLAND
Kovel
Lutsk
Rovno
N
LVOV
Ternopol
Ivano-Frankovsk
Uzhgorod
Mukachevo
Chust
Rahov
Chernovtsy
Khmelnitskiy
Vinnitsa
Zhitomir
Belaya Tserkov
Tripolye
Rzhishchev
KIEV
Chernobyl
River Dnieper
Chernigov
Peryaslav-Khmelnitsky
Kanev
UKRAINE S.S.R.
Cherkassy
Kremenchug Reservoir
Kremenchug
Poltava
Sumi
Belgorod
KHARKOV
Misurino
Dneprodzerzhinsk
DNEPROPETROVSK
Kirovograd
KRIVOY ROG
ZAPOROZHYE
Nikopol
Kamenka
Kakhovka Sea
Nikolayev
Kherson
Novaya Kakhovka
Melitopol
Askania Nova
Black Sea
ODESSA
Beltsy
MOLDAVIA S.S.R.
ROMANIA
KISHINEV
Tiraspol
Benderi
THE UKRAINE AND MOLDAVIA
republic borders
major roads
republic capitals
main railways
0 miles 100
0 kilometers 100

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

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

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

Kiev

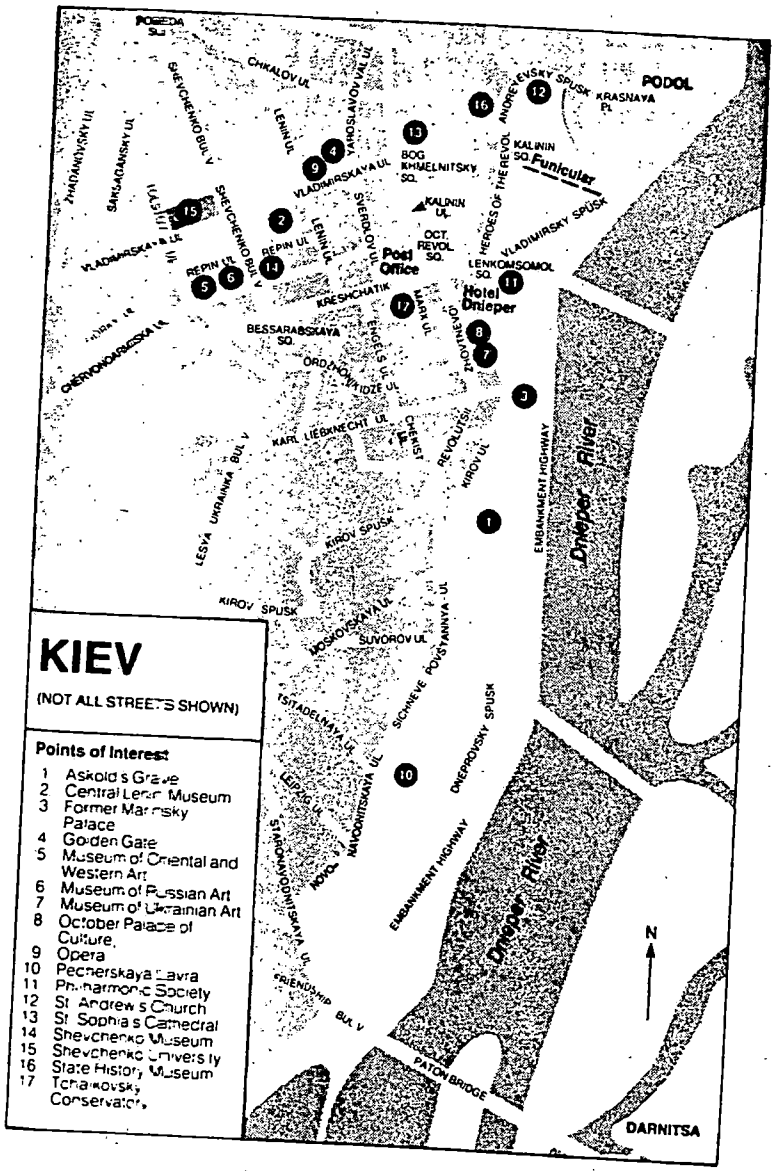
Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R., has a population of over two million and is one of the most important industrial and cultural centers in the Soviet Union. It lies on both sides of the Dnieper River; the right bank (western) is hilly, the left an extensive flat plain.

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

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

First Tour—The Kreshchatik

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


KIEV
(NOT ALL STREETS SHOWN)
Points of Interest
1 Askold's Grave
2 Central Lenin Museum
3 Former Mariinsky Palace
4 Golden Gate
5 Museum of Oriental and Western Art
6 Museum of Russian Art
7 Museum of Ukrainian Art
8 October Palace of Culture
9 Opera
10 Pecherskaya Lavra
11 Philharmonic Society
12 St Andrew's Church
13 St Sophia's Cathedral
14 Shevchenko Museum
15 Shevchenko University
16 State History Museum
17 Tchaikovsky Conservatory
Dnieper River
Post Office
Hotel Dnieper
PODOL
DARNITSA
PATON BRIDGE
N

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second Tour—Monastery of the Caves

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Third Tour—St. Sophia's Cathedral

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fourth Tour

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excursions around Kiev

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

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

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

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

Lvov

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

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

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

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

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

Rinok Square

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elsewhere in Lvov

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kharkov

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye and Kherson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Transcarpathia

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

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

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

Uzhgorod

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Poltava

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

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

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

Vinnitsa

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

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

Down the Dnieper from Kiev to the Black Sea

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mukachevo, Khust and Rakhov

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

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

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

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

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

PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR THE UKRAINE

WHEN TO GO. As we have indicated, the climate of the Ukraine (except for the mountainous Carpathian region) is much milder than that of Russia. The spring starts earlier and the autumn lasts longer, so April and October are pleasant months for a visit. However, most of the Dnieper river cruises run in the summer months only. There are winter sports facilities in the Carpathians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

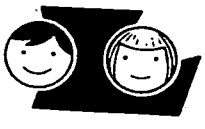
Kiev. *Rus,* 21 Kuibyshev Street (tel. 20–4255/4266). 22-story, 477 rooms. Fairly new. *Lybed,* Victory Square (tel. 74–0063). Reported good, with fair service, in 1990. *Intourist,* 26 Lenin Street. Officially classed as deluxe but we call it first-class. Only 43 rooms at last look.

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

The IN AMERICA *Series*

THE UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA

MYRON B. KUROPAS



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Volodymyr the Great, who adopted Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus in 988.



Jaroslav the Wise was known as the "father-in-law of Europe" because his daughters married the kings of Hungary, Norway, and France.

The first recorded Slavic tribe in Ukraine were the Antae. They came as permanent settlers and in time their tribal descendants, each of which came to be known by a different name, had established tribal communities throughout Ukraine. By the ninth century, the most powerful of the Ukrainian-Slavic tribes were the Rus, who settled in the vicinity of the Dnieper River and founded the city of Kiev.

In 879, Kiev was captured by the Varangians (Vikings), and the Rus came under the rule of the Scandinavian royal family of Rurik. Adopting the language, customs, and traditions of the people they conquered, the new Rus rulers began to develop a powerful state. In time the Rus were able to unite all of the Ukrainian-Slavic tribes and to build a vast and powerful empire which came to be known as Kievan Rus.

2. *Kievan Rus*

Kievan Rus reached the height of its power in the 10th century. Under the wise and popular Volodymyr the Great, the first Ukrainian state was expanded and consolidated. In 988, Volodymyr adopted Christianity as the state religion. He began a massive church and



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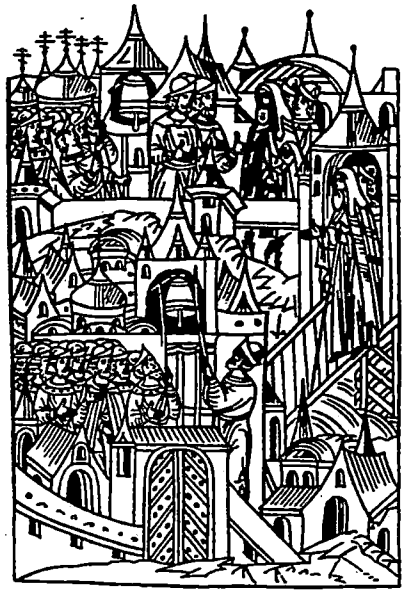
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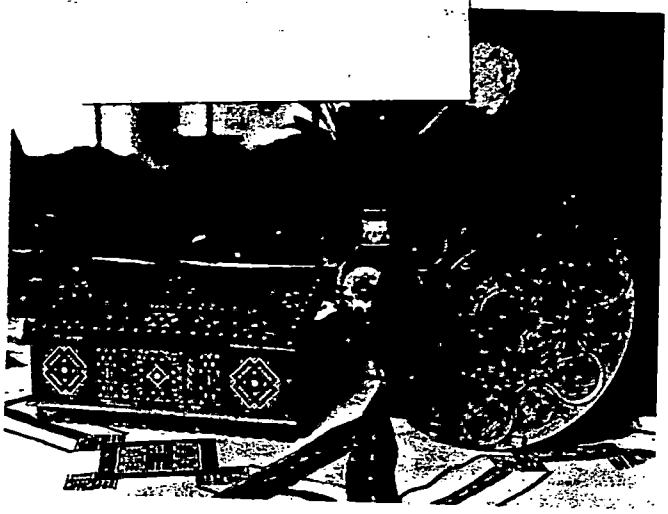
school building program in Kiev, and in time the ancient Ukrainian city became a place of splendor and beauty. In 1017 a visiting German bishop recorded that city possessed over 100 churches and eight trading centers. At the time of Volodymyr's death the empire of Kievan Rus stretched from the Black to the Baltic seas and from the Volga River to the Carpathian Mountains, an area of some 1.2 million square miles.

Another great ruler of Kievan Rus was Jaroslav the Wise, who succeeded Volodymyr. He strengthened Christianity by building churches and monasteries throughout the provinces and by having Kiev recognized as a Metropolitan See (or Archdiocese) by the Eastern Christian Church. Jaroslav also wrote the opening section of the *Ruska Pravda*, the first written code of laws in the Slavic world. Recognized as the ruler of a powerful and cultured state, Jaroslav was able to have his daughters marry the kings of Hungary, Norway, and France.

At this time, the people of Kievan Rus enjoyed an unusual combination of monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic government. Political control of the state was shared by the Prince (the head of the state), the *Druzhina* (a body of royal landowners), and the *Veche* (local councils of representatives elected by free citizens). For the Ukrainian people, this element of democracy is a cherished inheritance from the days of Kievan Rus.



This 14th-century woodcut shows citizens being summoned by a bell to attend the *Veche*, a local council of representatives.



Ukrainian wood carving

4. *Music*

There is an old saying among Ukrainians, "when two Ukrainians meet, we have the start of another choir." For Ukrainians the song is a second language. The first Ukrainian choir in America was organized in 1887 by Volodymyr Simenovych in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. From that time on each Ukrainian community has established its own church choir almost as soon as the community was organized. Early choral ensembles sang only during church services, but gradually they expanded their repertoires to include folk songs as well. Eventually a number of choirs began to produce their own musicals.

America came to know Ukrainian music soon after the arrival of the Ukrainian National Chorus, which was formed in the days of the Ukrainian National Republic. Under the direction of Professor Alexander Koshetz, the chorus toured Europe and the United States in 1922 and 1923 and was very well received. So popular did the Koshetz choir become that it was not long before Ukrainian songs were being translated into English. By 1935, Witmark Educational Publications had put out 20 Ukrainian songs. One of these, the beautiful "Carol of the Bells" by Nicholas Leontovych, has since become an American Christmas classic. It was first sung in the United States by the Ukrainian National Chorus.

After the Ukrainian Republic fell and was replaced by Soviet rule, Koshetz and his entire chorus elected to remain in America. Many

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IN THE REPUBLICS 91 JUL 25 P12:02

The Changing Political Landscape in Ukraine

Roman Solchanyk

Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty has had a visible impact on politics in the republic. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk has made the sovereignty issue the key element in his policies, particularly insofar as relations with the center are concerned. The state sovereignty of Ukraine also has broad support among the population of the republic, as became clear after the referendum on March 17. One of the consequences has been a realignment of political forces in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

The declaration on state sovereignty adopted almost unanimously in July, 1990, by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is one of the most important political developments in the recent history of Ukraine. Hardened "realists" would probably argue that, given the current political circumstances in the Soviet Union, this document, like similar declarations in the other republics, is largely of symbolic value. For example, although the Ukrainian declaration states that the repub-lic has the right to its own military forces, the bloody events in Vilnius and Riga in January clearly show that implementing this right is quite another matter. Nonetheless, it is clear that the sovereignty declaration has had a significant impact on the political situation in Ukraine. For some time now, virtually every speech and interview given by Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, has had as its principal focus the sovereignty of Ukraine as the point of departure for Ukrainian politics, especially insofar as the question of future arrangements with the center are concerned. Kravchuk's position has, in turn, resulted in an interesting realignment of political forces in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, particularly within the Communist majority. Moreover, if the results of the republican poll on March 17 that was conducted simultaneously with the all-Union referendum on the future of the USSR is to be taken as a yardstick, state sovereignty has won the backing of the overwhelming majority of the voters in Ukraine.

The Kravchuk Phenomenon

When Kravchuk was elected chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet during the second round of voting on July 23, 1990, replacing Volodymyr Ivashko, who left for Moscow as Mikhail Gorbachev's deputy in the CPSU, he held the position of second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and member of its Politburo.[1] At the time, the predominant view within the democratic opposition was that the newly elected head of the Supreme Soviet would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor and defend, first and foremost, the interests of his backers—i.e., the Communist Party of Ukraine. This was to be expected, given his background; previously, Kravchuk had served as the Party's ideological secretary and had played a very prominent role in the Party's campaign against "Rukh" at the end of 1988 and in early 1989. On the eve of the election, Mykola Horyn', a "Rukh" activist, voiced the opposition's general assessment of Kravchuk when he told a Western correspondent: "It is only natural that Kravchuk will be elected, because he represents the Communist majority in parliament."[2] The opposition demonstrated its dissatisfaction with Kravchuk by withdrawing its candidate and boy-

[1] Kravchuk was elected second secretary of the Party at its Central Committee plenum on June 23, 1990, directly after the first stage of the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, held on June 19–23, 1990 (see *Materialy XXVIII z"izdu Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy 19–23 cherwnya 1990 roku [pershyi etap]*, Kiev, Politvydav Ukrainy, 1990, p. 137). He was relieved from this post at the plenum of the Central Committee in September, 1990, in connection with his election as chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (see *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, September 29, 1990).

[2] *The Independent*, July 24, 1990.

cotting the second round of voting. A statement read by Dmytro Pavlychko from the *Narodna Rada* (People's Council), which groups together members of the democratic opposition in the Supreme Soviet, declared that the election results had shown that the Party placed its interests above those of the people and added that the opposition "relinquishes responsibility for the activities of the newly elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR."[3] In a recent interview, Kravchuk recalled:

> Ivashko's departure [from Kiev] was taken negatively above all by the parliamentary majority. The opposition also utilized the opportunity to emphasize: Look at these CPSU members! In difficult times they abandon Ukraine! And Kravchuk is from the same mold! Is it really possible to trust him—that is, me? My candidacy was proposed by the Communist majority in the Supreme Soviet.[4]

At the time, Kravchuk's remarks in his acceptance speech to the effect that his policies would be guided by "the principles of a democratic society, Soviet power and the Socialist choice, and also by the approved declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine" did not provide much ground for optimism.[5]

Today, the situation has changed dramatically. A recent poll shows that Kravchuk's popularity rating has soared from an initial 3–4 percent to 45 percent in Kiev and 30 percent in the republic as a whole.[6] Another survey, conducted by the newspaper *Holos Ukrainy*, placed Kravchuk at the top of the popularity list of politicians in Ukraine.[7] By comparison, a survey conducted in Kiev last November found him to be in twenty-first place among the most popular politicians, one notch above the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Stanislav Hurenko.[8] Even in Western Ukraine, which is regarded as a bastion of uncompromising anticommunism and deep-rooted nationalism, popular opinion appears to have shifted towards Kravchuk, as was evident during his successful visit to Lvov in early March. A press release of the Lvov Oblast Soviet commented:

> And now Chairman of the Supreme Soviet L. M. Kravchuk was in [our] ancient city. Could the former Party ideologist of the republic have imagined that "the center of extremism in Ukraine" would greet him so kindly? Probably not. But the citizens of Lvov immediately sensed the changes (albeit not significant ones) in the chairman's tactics and conduct during the recent sessions of the parliament and decided to thank him in advance for his desire to pursue a more constructive position.[9]

Sovereignty, the Union Treaty, and the Referendum

The explanation for this turnaround must be sought in Kravchuk's position on such issues as Ukrainian sovereignty, the new Union treaty, and his handling of the referendum conducted on March 17 on the future of the Soviet Union.

In a relatively short period, Kravchuk has established himself as the representative of the interests of a sovereign Ukrainian state both vis-à-vis the center in Moscow and in the international arena. His stance as a champion of these interests was reflected by his reaction to an announcer's sarcastic remarks on Soviet Central Television's main news program, "Vremya," regarding the insistence by a Ukrainian delegation during a recent visit to Germany that Ukrainian rather than Russian be used in the official negotiations with the German side. Kravchuk, who headed the delegation, promptly characterized the announcer's remarks as "an insult to Ukraine and its statehood" and instructed the Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs to lodge a protest with the Moscow television authorities.[10]

Kravchuk stated his position on state sovereignty forthrightly during his visit to Lvov:

> The president [Gorbachev], when he issues his decrees, forgets that there is our declaration, that there is a republic, that there is a road to sovereignty, that this is now not just a slogan, that it is entering into the conciousness and psychology [of the people]. And no one can now change this, regardless of how much they would like to. . . . When I voted for sovereignty (and I did!), I said that I would fight for it to the end. We will not diverge from this path.[11]

That these remarks were not specifically tailored to his Lvov audience was made clear in an interview with *Holos Ukrainy* several weeks later, where Kravchuk emphasized once again that there would be no turning back from the sovereignty declaration:

> There is no road back from sovereignty. There never will be, because this has entered into the blood of the people; it is now not just someone's desire, which can be this today and that tomorrow. The people have taken this road, they supported us, and, regardless of what happens—whatever kinds of storms, whatever

[3] *Vechirnii Kyiv*, July 24, 1990.
[4] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.
[5] Quoted by *Reuters*, July 23, 1990.
[6] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.
[7] *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 16, 1991.
[8] *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, January 12, 1991; *Visti z Ukrainy*, No. 11, 1991.
[9] Cited by *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991. See also *Holos Ukrainy*, March 7, 1991, and *Radio Kiev*, March 13, 1991.
[10] *Die Welt*, April 22, 1991; *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, May 6, 1991; *Pravda Ukrainy*, May 7, 1991.
[11] *Za vil'nu Ukrainu*, March 5, 1991.

kinds of turbulent political processes—we cannot diverge from this path, we do not have the right. This is the order that we have been given by the people.[12]

Kravchuk adhered to his position on Ukrainian sovereignty no less adamantly during his recent trips to Switzerland, Germany, and Hungary. Indeed, in Budapest, he characterized the accords signed with Hungary as constituting "a real recognition of Ukraine as a sovereign state."[13]

At the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in December, 1990, the Ukrainian leader expressed his reservations about the draft Union treaty that had been published that autumn. The draft, he said, could serve as a basis for further work, noting that in some respects the treaty of 1922 was more democratic than the document now under consideration. "Our point of departure," Kravchuk maintained, "is that the Union is not the center; rather, it is the republics that make up the Union in the interests of all the people." Given the present realities, he continued, the task ahead consists of "building a new Union of sovereign states."[14] He outlined the contours of that "new Union" in an interview in mid-February following his return from the meeting of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland:

> Today I am in favor of a Union. But only as a Union of sovereign states. Sometimes one hears that Kravchuk is supposedly against a Union. I am against the Union that now exists. I am against the kind of Union in which, for example, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers can nullify a decree of a republican Supreme Soviet. There must be a very clear delineation of powers between the Union and the republics. Our fate, the fate of Ukraine, should not depend on who is the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the head of the cabinet, and so on. . . . And no one has the right to interfere in our affairs. But if we give [the center] any kinds of rights, that does not mean that it is forever.[15]

The revised draft of a new Union treaty that was published in March of this year also met with a negative response from Kravchuk. Within several days of its publication, he told Ukrainian television viewers: "I want to emphasize that this is not the draft treaty that we need and that would reflect the interests of the people of the republic."[16] Later, he characterized the draft as "politically and juridically inconsistent," saying that both he and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet had "a number of substantial critical remarks" to make concerning the document, which had not resolved such issues as the division of property, the delineation of the powers of the republics and those of the center, and the republic's contribution to the all-Union budget." In a subsequent interview, Kravchuk remarked that he had objections to "practically every paragraph" in the draft and that these had been disseminated among the Ukrainian people's deputies.[18]

Perhaps his most successful political maneuver was his proposal that a republican survey be held simultaneously with the all-Union referendum on March 17. The referendum issue, as was to be expected, was emotionally charged. The democratic opposition argued that the decision to hold a referendum had been made in Moscow without consulting the republics and was therefore "illegal." Ukrainian Communists, of course, supported the referendum. On February 13, the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet introduced a draft resolution on the referendum for a vote in the Supreme Soviet. It criticized the wording of the referendum question ("Do you consider necessary the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of an individual of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?") as unclear and confusing and proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet deliberate the addition of a second question for voters in Ukraine ("Do you consider it necessary that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics become a Union of Soviet sovereign states in which each people will decide its own fate?").[19] The Communist majority in the parliament had its own draft resolution, which contended that voters should be asked only one question—the one formulated by the center. Neither draft was approved by the lawmakers; the presidium's draft resolution received 135 votes, and the majority's alternative was supported by 188 deputies.[20] Proposals that the referendum be boycotted altogether and that a referendum on full independence be held instead were also turned down.

At this juncture, Kravchuk proposed that the center's question be left as it was but that a republican survey be conducted at the same time. The formulation of the additional question was to be considered by the appropriate parliamentary commissions. Kravchuk's proposal was carried by 288 votes.[21] Two weeks later, on February 27, the Supreme Soviet passed, by a vote of 277 in

[12] *Holos Ukrainy*, April 3, 1991.

[13] *Radio Budapest*, May 31, 1991.

[14] *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, December 13, 1990.

[15] *Komsomolskoe znamya*, February 13, 1991.

[16] *Holos Ukrainy*, March 16, 1991.

[17] *Ukrinform-TASS*, March 28, 1991.

[18] *Holos Ukrainy*, April 3, 1991. For the text of Kravchuk's remarks and proposals on the revised draft of the new Union treaty, see *Prykarpats'ka pravda*, April 11, 1991. Kravchuk had announced in February, 1991, that he was working on his own version of a draft Union treaty (*Radio Kiev*, February 11, 1991).

[19] *Molod' Ukrainy*, February 14, 1991; *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, February 15, 1991.

[20] *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, March 2, 1991.

[21] *Komsomol'skoe znamya*, February 15, 1991.

favor and thirty-two against, a resolution approving a republican survey question to be worded: "Do you agree that Ukraine should be part of a union of Soviet sovereign states on the principles of the declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine?"[22] On March 17, 70.2 percent of the voters who participated responded to the center's referendum question in the affirmative, and 80.2 percent answered "yes" to the question posed in the republican survey.[23] Although the results are subject to various interpretations, Kravchuk has argued forcefully that the voting reflects mass support for Ukrainian sovereignty and that it constitutes a mandate for his policies.[24]

"Imperial Communists" and "Sovereignty Communists"

The failure of the parliamentary majority to push through its position on the referendum in February, taken together with Kravchuk's success in gaining approval for his compromise resolution, showed clearly that the Communist majority could no longer be viewed as a monolithic bloc and that a parliamentary center unofficially led by Kravchuk was in the process of being formed. In the words of Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Vladimir Grinev, the voting revealed that the majority was no longer the majority.[25] Increasingly, observers of the Ukrainian political scene are referring to two groups of Communist deputies in the Supreme Soviet—"the imperial Communists" and "the sovereignty Communists."[26]

From the standpoint of the Communist Party leadership, Kravchuk has turned out to be a disappointment. Although not in direct confrontation with the Party, he has assumed a distinctly independent position with regard to relations with the center. This became clear at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party in February, 1991, which dealt primarily with the referendum to be held in March. In his speech at the plenum, Kravchuk addressed the question of delineation of powers between the center and the republics and questioned the timing of the referendum. Ukrainian Party leader Stanislav Hurenko, *Izvestia* reported, "did not support L. Kravchuk's proposals." According to the newspaper: "For the first time in recent years, the participants [in the plenum] witnessed differences of opinion within the republic's leadership regarding how to solve the present difficulties."[27] In a recent interview, Hurenko, responding to a question about the diversity of views within the Communist majority in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet concerning the new republican constitution, tried to play down his differences with Kravchuk:

> I feel that it is in connection with precisely this issue that attempts are being made by all possible means to split the Communists. But I do not want to divide Communists into good ones and bad ones. It is true that I do not always find common ground with Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, but we both have one major thing in common: we both act in the mainstream of the political line of the Communist Party of Ukraine; from time to time we check this line. We do not have any fundamental differences. It's another matter that the emphasis on some issues is not the same.[28]

Kravchuk has been much more forthright regarding his differences with the Communist Party leadership. He sees these differences as having two sources. The first, in his words, is a "root" issue:

> I am convinced that Ukraine should be a sovereign, full-fledged, and full-blooded state. I do not hide this from the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, nor from the Politburo, nor from the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, nor at home, nor at the Supreme Soviet. I see that this approach does not suit everyone.[29]

The second problem is the inability of the Communist Party to understand that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet must stand above parties, including his own. "Many [Communists]," Kravchuk notes, "have not parted with the illusion that it is not a [Supreme Soviet] session in which they are participating, but a Party plenum."[30] This psychological barrier, he says, will require time to overcome.

Not long ago, a Western correspondent wrote that the biggest political mystery in Ukraine was the identity of its leader. Is he the Leonid Kravchuk who patiently worked his way up through the apparatus of the orthodox Communist Party of Ukraine, or is he a hidden Ukrainian nationalist whose true colors are now emerging? Kravchuk himself suggested as a third possibility what would be a new phenomenon in the Soviet Union: that he is a politician who tries to represent his constituents.[31]

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[22] *Vechirnii Kyiv*, February 28, 1991. For the text of the resolution, see *Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrains'koi Radyans'koi Sotsialistychnoi Respubliky*, No. 12, 1991, pp. 312–13.

[23] *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, March 23, 1991.

[24] See the interviews with Kravchuk in *Holos Ukrainy*, March 29, 1991, and *Le Monde*, May 28, 1991.

[25] *Molod' Ukrainy*, April 16, 1991.

[26] See *Holos Ukrainy*, March 15, 1991; *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, April 25, 1991; *Moskovskie novosti*, April 28, 1991.

[27] *Izvestia*, February 20, 1991. Perhaps not altogether fortuitously, coverage of the plenum in the republican press was minimal.

[28] *Molod' Ukrainy*, May 18, 1991.

[29] *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, April 27, 1991.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 2, 1991.

(RL 222/91, June 3, 1991)

May by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency.[2] Worried that the IAEA's conclusions, which denied the existence of serious health problems, would mean less support from potential Western benefactors, the republican foreign ministers complained that the world still did not know the truth about the impact and scale of the Chernobyl' disaster. On June 27, moreover, the Belorussian Supreme Soviet issued an appeal to the European Parliament for additional financial and humanitarian aid, stating that

> only now, five years after the Chernobyl' tragedy, is the world coming to terms with the global and regional problems it engendered and the unprecedented and unforeseeable consequences the accident has had on the health of millions of people.[3]

Similar conclusions were reached by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the USSR and the Union republics that took place on June 28 in Minsk, at which the Chernobyl' dilemma occupied center stage. On that occasion, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh added his voice to the chorus of complaints about the IAEA's findings, stating that he found them misleading and unacceptable.[4] The meeting concluded with an agreement to strengthen cooperation between the USSR and republican foreign ministries on the matter of seeking international aid for Chernobyl's victims.

Five years after the accident, it is clear that controversy, contradictions, and unsolved mysteries still plague efforts to deal with the problems created by Chernobyl', which in Belorussia alone left approximately 2 million people, including 800,000 children, living in contaminated areas. The Soviet authorities, for understandable reasons, are more interested in focusing attention on the problems of today than in shedding light on the political decisions taken after April 26, 1986, that in all likelihood exposed many more people than necessary to radiation. Moreover, the Belorussian people's deputy whom Navumchyk quoted as saying that "certain forces are interested in not letting this information get out to the public" might have had not only high Party and government officials in mind but also the KGB, which is responsible for preserving nuclear secrets. The question remains how much and what kind of information is still being concealed from the world community whose assistance is now being solicited.

[2] *TASS*, June 19, 1991.

[3] *TASS*, June 27, 1991.

[4] *TASS*, June 29, 1991; Bessmertnykh was quoted in a report to the Belorussian service of Radio Liberty on June 29.

(RL 248/91, July 2, 1991)

UKRAINE

Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky Takes Up Permanent Residence in Ukraine

Kathleen Mihalisko

Thanks to relegalization, Ukrainian Catholicism is once again the predominant religious denomination in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts of Western Ukraine. The Church's position has been strengthened further by the recent decision of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lyubachivs'kyi to move from Rome to Lvov. These developments, together with the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, have reduced to a minimum the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in the area.

The office of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lyubachivs'kyi, the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, announced on June 12 that the cardinal and archbishop major of Lvov had decided to take up permanent residence in Ukraine.

Lyubachivs'ky, a US citizen, returned to his homeland on March 30 for the first time after fifty-two years in exile in North America and Rome, receiving a jubilant welcome from tens of thousands of Ukrainian Greek Catholics who flocked to see him during his first days in Lvov. The cardinal's return to the seat of Greek Catholicism and his subsequent decision to remain mark the final stage in the full restoration of the rights of the Church after its forty-five-year existence in the catacombs. Soon after the announcement of Lyubachivs'ky's intention to stay, the Ukrainian government registered the Greek Catholic Church as a religious organization in accordance with the republic's two-month-old law on freedom of conscience.

In one of his first pronouncements after arriving in Ukraine, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky declared "invalid and

uncanonical" the synod of 1946 that resulted in the liquidation of his Church on Stalin's orders and the transfer of its assets to the Russian Orthodox Church. On March 31, Lyubachivs'ky became the first head of the Greek Catholic Church since that fateful year to say Mass in the Cathedral of St. George, the seat of the Church and, until recently, the object of a bitter property dispute between Catholic and Orthodox believers.

Though property is still the most contentious issue, disputes about it have tapered off, because the majority of priests and their parishes have had sufficient time to establish their affiliation with one or another faith. During his recent trip to Poland in connection with the visit of Pope John Paul II, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky told *Gazeta Wyborcza* that the number of Greek Catholic parishes currently stood at 2,000—the largest number of congregations of any single Christian denomination in Western Ukraine.[1]

The number of parishes loyal to the Russian Orthodox Church in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts had dropped, in contrast, to approximately 500 by April;[2] simultaneously, there was a dramatic rise in Orthodox congregations opting for affiliation with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which does not recognize the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate. The Patriarchate has lost so much ground to Greek Catholicism and to the Autocephalous Church that it is possible to say that the Russian Orthodox Church no longer has control over religious life in that region. What is more, the fate of its remaining 500 parishes is an open question. Until 1946, according to Greek Catholic Bishop Volodymyr Sternyuk, the Russian Orthodox Church had only one parish in Galicia,

> which was in Lvov, on Korolenko Street. Today, the newly created Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which claims to be separate from the Russian Orthodox Church, is attempting to seize the remaining parishes, as is the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The dispute is over 400–500 churches, the majority of which historically belonged to the Greek Catholic Church and must be returned to it accordingly.[3]

The Russian Orthodox Church, as the prime beneficiary of the ban on Greek Catholicism, sought to prevent its relegalization. Spokesmen commonly used derisive terms such as "the reanimation of Uniatism" and "the messiahs of national enmity" in their discourses on developments in Western Ukraine.[4] Now that those efforts have proven futile, a new set of ecumenical issues is waiting to be addressed. The past month or so has witnessed a more temperate public attitude towards Greek Catholics on the part of Russian Orthodox hierarchs. Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev, at a press conference for foreign journalists a few days after Lyubachivs'ky's arrival in Lvov, characterized the state of Orthodox-Greek Catholic relations as ridden with tension:

> The Churches are called upon to sow peace. . . . That is why the [Orthodox] Church is in favor of good relations with all Churches, including the Greek Catholic. Instead, however, antagonisms are mounting between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, especially nowadays. Let us take the example of Sambor, in Lvov Oblast, where aggressive-minded Greek Catholics are waging a battle against the Orthodox for possession of a Church building, using force.

Commenting further, Metropolitan Filaret alleged:

> There are forces that find it useful to stir up hostility between believers. Unfortunately, Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky's arrival in Ukraine is contributing to this.[5]

These remarks, made in April, stand in marked contrast to a more recent pronouncement by Metropolitan Filaret before a public audience on June 18, when he maintained that the state of interfaith relations in Ukraine was "not a cause for serious concern."[6]

What does, however, seem to be a cause for concern for the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine is its pervasive reputation as an instrument of Russification and an institution out of step with the burgeoning Ukrainian national consciousness. This is to the benefit of the increasingly visible Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which considers itself the true heir of the Christian tradition of Kievan Rus'. The challenge by national-minded Ukrainians to the Russian Orthodox Church became serious enough to warrant an important step by the Moscow Patriarchate: last year, the Exarchate of Ukraine was raised to the status of Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Filaret has set about the task of shoring up his Church's Ukrainian image, adding words like "independence" and "sovereignty" to his vocabulary.[7]

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[1] *Gazeta Wyborcza*, June 8, 1991. Statistics for all religious organizations in Ukraine as of January, 1991, are provided in *Dovidka pro kil'kist' relihiinykh orhanizatsii v Ukrains'koi RSR. Stanom na 01.01.91 r.* (a document prepared for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet).

[2] The figure of 500 was cited by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev in a press conference summarized by, *inter alia*, *Sil'ski visti*, April 6, 1991. That already represents a sharp drop from January, when, according to the *Dovidka*, there were a total of 734 Russian Orthodox parishes in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts.

[3] *Literaturnaya gazeta*, June 19, 1991.

[4] See, for instance, the interview with Metropolitan Filaret in *Nedelya*, No. 8, 1989.

[5] *Sil'ski visti*, April 6, 1991.

[6] *Radio Kiev-3*, June 18, 1991, 2225.

[7] For instance, at a ceremony on June 4 at a Cossack grave site in Volyn, Metropolitan Filaret said the warriors had died "for the independence of our Ukraine and for the holy Orthodox faith." The statement was intended to impress upon listeners the

In the western oblasts, too, as Bishop Sternyuk's comment above suggests, many Greek Catholics are piqued by, and not a little suspicious of, the inroads made by the newcomer to the area, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which has already established 1,000 parishes there. Some feel that the Autocephalous Church is encroaching on Catholic territory, when it should be concentrating on the traditionally Orthodox eastern region.

Such resentment is not only an inter-Ukrainian matter; Polish-Ukrainian altercations are beginning to take place on both sides of the border. In his latest trip to Poland, Pope John Paul II personally intervened to try to settle a conflict over ownership of a church in Przemysl that had pitted the large Ukrainian population there against Polish Roman Catholics. Earlier this year, moreover, the democratically elected authorities in Lvov Oblast lodged what in Western countries would be considered a highly irregular protest against both the establishment of a Roman Catholic archdiocese in Lvov Oblast and the pope's appointment of Bishop Marion Jaworski, a citizen of Poland, to head it.[8] Speaking on behalf of the Lvov Oblast Soviet, Chairman Vyacheslau Chomovil justified the action on the grounds that "we did not sanction the new archdiocese. This event could become a catalyst for anti-Polish feelings in the Lvov area."[9] An official protest forwarded to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Polish Consulate General in Kiev repeated the claim that the creation of the archdiocese would cause "serious tension" in Ukrainian-Polish relations and charged that the Vatican's decision had been motivated less by concern for the needs of Catholics than by political considerations.[10]

As the facts attest, religious and national disputes are not only a matter of Russian Orthodox versus "Uniate." The religious landscape of Ukraine, where Western and Eastern Christian traditions meet and blend, remains charged with emotions. The presence of Cardinal Lyubachivs'ky should, however, speed the process of harmonization, since he has pledged to work towards the establishment of good relations with all faiths.

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fact that Ukraine's Cossack heroes had fallen in battle against nations not of the Orthodox faith (such as Catholic Poles).

[8] See Oxana Antic, "New Structures for the Catholic Church in the USSR," *Report on the USSR*, No. 21, 1991, pp. 16–19; Jan de Weydenthal, "The Pope Appeals in Poland for a Christian Europe," *Report on Eastern Europe*, No. 25, 1991, pp. 18–22.

[9] *Ratusha*, March 1–2, 1991.

[10] *Za vil'nu Ukrainu*, March 5, 1991.

(RL 249/91, June 26, 1991)

KIEV

Kiev is the political, economic and cultural capital of the Ukrainian Republic of the USSR. The Soviet Union's third most important city (after Moscow and Leningrad), Kiev is situated on the banks of the Dnepr River, some 500 miles southwest of Moscow and just north of the Ukraine's geographical heart. Kiev is slightly farther north than Winnipeg, Manitoba, and has a moderate continental climate (including hot humid summers and cold winters) similar to that of St. Louis, Missouri. Kiev's January 1986 population stood at 2,495,000, comprising Ukrainians (about two-thirds), Russians (roughly one-quarter), and Jews (about one-tenth). Kiev's 1989 population was 2.59 million.

History

For centuries before the Christian era the Dnepr River was a major north-south trade artery. Chronicles from the 6th and 7th centuries first mention Kiev as a center where forest- and plains-dwelling Slavic tribes engaged in trade with the Greek world to the south. By the 9th century, what historians call "Kievan Rus" had emerged, uniting various eastern Slavic principalities under Kievan leadership.

In 988, Kiev's sovereign adopted Byzantium's Orthodox Christianity for himself and his people. Byzantium went on to exert powerful influence on Kiev's subsequent political and cultural development. The 11th century has been called Kiev's golden age: the arts flourished; trade prospered; outstanding churches were constructed. Kievan Rus domination extended from the Black Sea to Lake Ladoga, and from the Western Bug and San Rivers to the upper Volga.

In 1240, a Mongol-Tatar invasion which resulted in the capture and destruction of the city decisively ended the Kievan Rus era. For the next century and more, Kiev was a vassal of the Golden Horde. Subsequently, rule over this area passed to Lithuania and later to Poland, with resulting strong influences on the politics, language and culture of the Ukraine. Permanent settlers filtering into the territory from the north, fleeing crop failure and feudal obligations, also notably influenced the course of Ukrainian events. Early in the 17th century Ukrainian revolts against Polish rule increased in scope and intensity; in 1648 the Ukrainians turned to Moscow for help. Kiev and surrounding Ukrainian lands entered into a special relationship with the Tsarist Empire which lasted more than a century before Catherine the Great terminated their special institutions and limited autonomy. Virtual annexation to the Tsarist Empire ensued. The Ukraine was in the forefront of the empire's expansion to the south and southwest; much of the territory of the present-day Ukrainian Republic was not acquired until late in the 18th century or afterward, as a result both of military showdowns with Turkey and of partitions of Poland.

By 1800, Kiev had become a provincial center of some 35,000 inhabitants with a wide variety of small workshops. Kiev's rise to national prominence was due in part to the rapid development of the rich coal, manganese and iron ore deposits of the southern Ukraine as well as the expansion of the rail network connecting this region and Black Sea ports to the European center. By 1890 Kiev had an electric power station and two years later the city boasted the country's first electric streetcars. On the eve of World War I, Kiev had established itself as the Tsarist Empire's third most important city, in political, economic and cultural terms.

World War I and the aftermath of the two revolutions in 1917 wreaked disruption and destruction on Kiev and the Ukraine in general. The years 1917-1921 were marked by violent changes: German occupation; independent but short-lived Ukrainian governments; Civil War between "Whites" and "Reds" complicated by "foreign intervention;" war with Poland; and famine. In 1922, the Soviet Ukraine signed a treaty with Russia, Transcaucasia and Belorussia to form the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Ukrainian republic was developed during the 1920s and 1930s as one of the USSR's principal industrial and agricultural bases. The Ukraine was the site both of the first giant factories and of Moscow's revolutionary collectivization of agriculture. Capturing the mineral and agricultural resources of the Ukraine was one of Hitler's major aims in attacking the Soviet Union in 1941. During World War II Kiev was occupied by German forces for 26 months; hundreds of thousands of inhabitants were killed or deported to German factories. ("Babiy Yar" is on the city's outskirts.) Postwar reconstruction and expansion has been rapid; local officials have made a point of restoring historic edifices and providing trees and green spaces.

The Ukraine and Ukrainians

The Ukrainian SSR, the third largest Soviet republic, occupies an area of 232,000 square miles -- making it larger than France and almost as big as Texas. It is the USSR's second most populous republic (50,973,000 in January 1986), trailing only the far-flung Russian Republic, (RSFSR). The Ukraine is one of the most productive agricultural areas in the USSR, as well as a major mining and industrial power. It has abundant and easily accessible deposits of iron ore, coal, manganese and natural gas.

As of the 1979 USSR Census, the number of Ukrainians in the USSR was 42,347,387. Roughly three-quarters of the Ukrainian Republic's inhabitants are of Ukrainian nationality. Well over five million Ukrainians live in Soviet republics other than the Ukraine. More than one million Americans and Canadians claim Ukrainian ancestry.

Ukrainians are Eastern Slavs with a distinct history. They share many traditions and sentiments with Russians, but also reject "Great Russian chauvinism." The Ukrainian language is distinct from Russian, although quite similar; many Ukrainians read and speak Russian and are thoroughly versed in Russian culture. At the same time, most Ukrainians are proud of a national culture rich in peasant folkways. Folk music and dances, traditional embroidery, wood carving, pottery and ornately ornamented Easter eggs are the background of a national culture which finds its contemporary expression in music, poetry and the theater.

Kiev the City

Kiev is the historical and emotional center of the Ukraine and Ukrainian nationalism. The city lies on the Dnepr River ("Dnipro" in Ukrainian), about 500 miles southwest of Moscow and some 300 miles north of Odessa and the Black Sea. The greater part of Kiev lies on the high western bank; the eastern bank now sports a rapidly growing massif of prefab high-rise apartment buildings. The older section of Kiev, which contains the main administrative offices and cultural institutions as well as many monuments from the city's distant past, lies on a series of hills along the western bank. Once known as the city of golden cupolas, Kiev's unusual panorama features gold-topped cathedrals and television towers against a background of huge trees and green areas preserved even in the center of the city.

Industry

Kiev is a major industrial city with a wide range of products and activities that reflect both the nearby productive agricultural areas and the major mining and industrial activities of the Ukrainian Republic. The city's factories turn out a variety of machine tools and heavy construction equipment. Kiev is the Ukraine's chief producer of motorcycles, record players, washing machines and such other consumer goods as silk textiles and leather goods. The city produces specialized goods of more than local importance, such as movie cameras, hospital equipment, precision instruments, and computers and electronic equipment.

Culture

Kiev is the cultural center of the Ukraine. Ukrainian is the city's chief language, but Russian is not far behind. The city is the traditional center of Ukrainian scholarship with standards equal to or closely approaching those of Moscow and Leningrad. Kiev's educational system is an extensive pyramid whose apex is Shevchenko State University (enrollment approx. 20,000), which is named after Taras Shevchenko (1814-61), a poet who symbolizes the 19th-century Ukrainian cultural renaissance and whose statue -- dedicated by

President Eisenhower -- stands at the corner of 22nd and P Street, N.W., in Washington, D.C. Kiev also is the home of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of over 200 scientific research institutes, including the Cybernetics Institute, which has played a leading role in introducing computerization to the Soviet economy.

The city has six major theaters, including a Ukrainian and a Russian drama theater. It also has a wide range of art and historical museums. The Golden Gates of Kiev and the partial remains the defensive wall that surrounded the city in the 11th century are preserved as monuments. The St. Sophia Cathedral, with its Byzantine frescoes and mosaics, is of special interest, as is the Pecherska Lavra, a complex of churches, monasteries and catacombs.

Media

Kiev's inhabitants have equal access to the central press from Moscow and to newspapers and journals published in Kiev in both Ukrainian and Russian. Radyanskaya Ukraina, Raduga and Vecherniy Kiev are publications with the greatest local orientation. The city has an ultramodern television center; local viewers have the choice of three channels -- with programs produced in Moscow as well as locally.

Recent Developments

For the past several years, the U.S. has been negotiating with the Soviets over establishment of a U.S. consulate at Kiev, with a reciprocal Soviet consulate to be based in New York. The status of these negotiations has mirrored the vicissitudes of U.S.-Soviet relations; the USSR's shootdown in September 1983 of a South Korean airliner, for example, set the talks back. Progress on opening the Kiev consulate has been evident in recent months, however.

The tangible consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe in April 1986 may have subsided, but Ukrainian politics are swirling with turmoil. Vladimir V. Shcherbitskiy, long-time first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, has come under indirect but sharp criticism in recent months for his handling of the economy and the Chernobyl disaster. Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev is evidently trying to oust Shcherbitskiy, who was a protege of the late Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev.

April 1987

United States Department of State

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

91 JUL 24 P4:46

URGENT!!!

OFFICE OF SOVIET UNION AFFAIRS (EUR/SOV)

FAX COVER SHEET

RETURN FAX NO. (202) 647-3506

DATE: 7/24/91

TO: BOB SIMON 456-7750 URGENT!!!

FAX NO. 456-6218

FROM: EUR/SOV - RICHARD MILLS 647-6757

SUBJECT: ATTACHED BACKGROUND ON UKRAINE

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

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

6/30/91

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Ukrainian Sovereignty

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

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

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

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

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

Multiparty Politics

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

Rukh

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

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

Economic Reform

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

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

Kiev Consulate

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

Ukraine

- President: Leonid Kravchuk
- Prime Minister: Vitold Fokin

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

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

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

Uzbekistan

- President: Islam Karimov
- Prime Minister: Islam Karimov

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

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

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

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

Moldova

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

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

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

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

Nine-Plus-One

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

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

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

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

Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents



Monday, August 5, 1991
Volume 27—Number 31
Pages 1057–1113

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year we welcome Albania's entry into the CSCE community and its commitment to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms that this symbolizes.

The tremendous changes that have swept central and eastern Europe underscore the CSCE's effectiveness in advancing the goal of universal compliance with the Helsinki accords. At their meeting in Paris last November, CSCE members welcomed the emergence of a new transatlantic partnership of nations based on a mutual commitment to upholding human rights and the rule of law. In signing the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, members added to existing CSCE principles new and sweeping commitments to political pluralism, free elections, free enterprise, and the rule of law. New CSCE institutions established at the Paris summit—such as the Office for Free Elections in Warsaw, the CSCE Secretariat in Prague, and the Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna—strengthen the CSCE's ability to help consolidate and to build upon recent gains. The United States encouraged and welcomed these developments as evidence that the CSCE can serve not only as a catalyst for change but also itself change to reflect the demands of an evolving Europe.

During the June meeting of CSCE foreign ministers in Berlin, the Conference endorsed the report of the Valletta Meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and agreed to designate the Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna as the nominating institution to help settle disputes. Members also agreed on a mechanism for holding emergency official-level meetings of the CSCE, which has first been called into action in the current Yugoslav crisis.

As the Yugoslav crisis demonstrates, major challenges remain. The United States will continue to suggest that the CSCE strengthen its capacity to address the political sources of conflict. One area of special concern to us is the persecution of ethnic minorities. Ethnic tensions in Europe provide a solemn and urgent reminder that we still have much work to do in achieving universal compliance with both the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki accords. The United States has sought to lead other member-states in exploring ways that the CSCE can help reduce those tensions and fulfill the promise of a Europe that is whole and free, and at peace with itself.

As an expression of the special importance that the United States continues to attach to the CSCE in a changing Europe, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 264, has designated August 1, 1991, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 1, 1991, as Helsinki Human Rights Day and reaffirm the United States dedication to the principles of human dignity and freedom—principles that are enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act. As we Americans observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, let us call on all signatories of the Final Act to fulfill their obligation to respect the rights and dignity of all their citizens.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixteenth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:37 a.m., August 1, 1991]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 1, and published on August 6.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

Chairman Kravchuk. Today on the Ukrainian soil we are extending our hearty welcome to the high-ranking guests, President of the United States of America George Bush and Mrs. Bush. Our sincere words of welcome are also addressed to the well-known U.S. statesmen and those accompanying the President.

Mr. President, we attach to your visit to the Ukraine very great importance, and we think it will be another step in improving relations between our countries. Your visit reflects the changes which have taken place in our countries and in the world as a whole.

Despite the complexity and contradictoriness of the political processes, the basic feature of today's world development is radical positive changes. And for these changes mankind should thank the foresighted policy of our states, their common aspirations towards humane and just peace.

We are especially satisfied with the fact that you, Mr. President, came to our Republic right after the historic document, the Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction Treaty, had been signed in Moscow. The Ukrainian people consider this act as another concrete step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, toward a world without weapons and without wars.

Your visit to the Ukraine is taking place at a time difficult for the Republic. However, on the basis of the Declaration on State Sovereignty and thanks to the aspiration toward national concord, the Ukraine is, step by step, moving along the road to its high aim: sovereignty, bringing about stability and civil peace.

Fifty-two million representatives of different people—the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Poles, the Jews, the Bulgars—are working together on this land. And for them, Ukraine is their home. We have resolutely chosen the road to democracy, market economy, and sovereignty; and this choice of ours is supported by the majority of the people.

The American Nation knows only very well the price of genuine sovereignty, and the Declaration of Independence was one of the first to proclaim to the whole world the ideals of freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Taking into account the present-day political and economic realities, we are pursuing the policy aimed at the setting up of a new union, a union of sovereign states as further consolidation and development of fruitful relations with all the Republics. This policy is being supported by the people, and around it, all kinds of political forces are being consolidated.

On the international area, the Ukraine is striving to acquire the status of an equal member of the international community, to integrate its economy into the world economy.

To your visit, Mr. President, we attach sincere hope for the establishment of direct relations between the Ukraine and the United States of America, into whose foundation the first bricks have already been laid.

We believe that after your visit to Ukraine it will be visited by a great number of businessmen, and we will create every necessary condition for their activities here.

Let me once again welcome you, Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, and the members of the American delegation on the hospitable Ukrainian soil, and say to you in Ukrainian, *Laskavo prosimo.*

President Bush. Chairman Kravchuk, Barbara and I are simply delighted to visit Kiev, the city of golden domes, and I might say that we saw so many beautiful hilltop churches from the windows of Air Force One as we came in.

Ukraine, as we all know, is the motherland of many hundreds of thousands of Americans. In fact, back home in Washington, DC, stands a statue of the Ukrainian poet and painter Taras Shevchenko. Once, reflecting on the democratic experiment in America, he wrote this: "When will we have a Washington with a new and righteous law? One day we shall have him."

Well, I'm here to tell you, sir, that the United States stands committed to a new world order based on what Shevchenko called a "new and righteous law"—the rule of law and the guarantee of real economic freedom, political freedom, religious freedom. Yes, the world is changing profoundly. But with change comes opportunity and hope for the future.

The American people applaud the changes that are creating a Soviet Union blessed with free markets and free people. We're anxious to offer help and hope where needed, to build ties of understanding and common interest. In that spirit we recently opened a consulate general in this great city, a permanent American presence to build America's friendship with Ukraine.

I come here having concluded 2 days of very productive work in Moscow. President Gorbachev and I did sign, as you referred to, an historic treaty that will, for the first

time, reduce strategic forces between our countries. But we also talked about peace and prosperity, in hopes that our nations can increase trade and share ideas and experiences with one another.

Now, we look forward to meeting with Chairman Kravchuk and other Ukrainian leaders. We want to expand the scope of our relationship with the people of this Republic, as you mentioned—build stronger economic ties and extend the range and quality of cultural, social, and academic and professional exchanges. We want to retain the strongest possible official relationship with the Gorbachev government, but we also appreciate the importance of more extensive ties with Ukraine and other Republics, with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

As I hope you know, the American people care about people in Ukraine and Russia and the other Soviet Republics. In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, American citizens and private relief organizations responded with deep concern and generosity. American physicians are helping Ukrainian officials study the long-term health effects of the accident. And through a Presidential initiative on medical assistance, we've shipped badly needed pharmaceutical supplies to help Chernobyl victims.

You are a strong people, and your rich and glorious past spans centuries of upheaval and change. You first brought Christianity to this part of Europe, this crossroads of Europe and Asia. Christianity took hold here over a thousand years ago when Prince Vladimir of Kiev baptized his followers in the Dnieper River.

Now, for the first time in 40 years, the patriarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches have returned to Kiev. With the freedom to practice religion a spiritual renewal has begun among all the religions of Ukraine—Catholics, Jews, Orthodox, and others. A new day, in some ways, has already arrived.

Thank you, Chairman Kravchuk. It's a great pleasure for all of us to be here. And we're looking forward to our visit.

Note: The ceremony began at 1:01 p.m. at Borispol Airport, upon the arrival of President Bush. Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, spoke in Russian and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, the President referred to U.S. and Soviet cooperation in dealing with the aftermath of a 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine.

Remarks at a Luncheon in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

Thank you very much. And I am very grateful to Chairman Kravchuk and people of Ukraine for welcoming us so warmly through your Golden Gate.

I will shorten these remarks because our lives are controlled by satellites these days. But I've come here to Kiev to learn more about the tremendous challenges you face, to strengthen the ties that link the people of America and the people of Ukraine, and to signal our strong support for free markets and free government.

Our people are not strangers. In Chicago and Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, and all across America, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian Americans preserve your proud heritage and history.

The end of the cold war opens opportunities to forge a new relationship. Through increased trade, expanded exchanges—through American medical assistance, efforts aimed at helping you cope with the after-effects of Chernobyl—the United States and Ukraine can build a future based on shared aspirations and common interests.

So, our visit marks a beginning. We don't come to tell you how to pursue your future. We won't preach, nor prescribe solutions. We come to offer our expertise, our hopes. And we will do our best to build sturdier ties of culture, ideas, and trade with the Soviet Union and all of its Republics.

America stands ready to support the forces of reform in Ukraine, especially those of economic reform. But in the end, we recognize that Ukraine will shape its own future. And only you can transform an economy based on the concept of command and control into one based on the laws of supply and demand. Only you can guarantee the sovereign rights of the individual—political, religious, and economic.

You will bear responsibility for making your land more prosperous and free, according to your traditions and cultures, your hopes and dreams.

May God bless both our lands. And may I say thank you, Chairman, for your hospitality. Mrs. Bush and I and all that travel with us are just delighted to be here. Thank you, sir.

Note: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. at Marinsky Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet. The President also referred to U.S. and Soviet cooperation in dealing with the aftermath of a 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine.

Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

Well, first, thank all of you for that warm welcome. And may I take this opportunity to thank all people of Ukraine that gave us such a warm welcome, such a heartfelt greeting. Every American in that long motorcade—and believe me, it was long—was moved and touched by the warmth of the welcome of Ukraine. We'll never forget it.

Chairman Kravchuk, thank you, sir. And to the Deputies of the Soviet, Supreme Soviet, may I salute you. Members of the clergy that are here, members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of American pharmaceutical and health care corporations who I understand are with us today, and distinguished guests all. Barbara and I are delighted to be here—very, very happy. We have only one regret, and that is that I've got to get home on Thursday night—I can still make it. And the reason is, our Congress goes out tomorrow, finishes their session they're in now, and I felt it was important to be there on that last day of the final session.

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

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

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

Today, your people probe the promise of freedom. In cities and Republics, on farms, in businesses, around university campuses, you debate the fundamental questions of liberty, self-rule, and free enterprise. Americans, you see, have a deep commitment to these values. We follow your progress with a sense of fascination, excitement, and hope. This alone is historic. In the past, our nations engaged in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado. Now, the fireworks of superpower confrontation are giving way to the quieter and far more hopeful art of cooperation.

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

In Moscow, I outlined our approach: We will support those in the center and the Republics who pursue freedom, democracy, and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities but on the basis of principles. We cannot tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between Republics or between Republics and the center. That is your business; that's not the business of the United States of America.

Do not doubt our real commitment, however, to reform. But do not think we can presume to solve your problems for you. Theodore Roosevelt, one of our great Presidents, once wrote: To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have someone else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that someone else for the good of both of us. That's what our former President said. We will work for the good of both of us, which means that we will not meddle in your internal affairs.

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

We will maintain the strongest possible relationship with the Soviet Government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the U.S.S.R. And therefore, as a federation ourselves, we want good relations—improved relations—with the Republics. So, let me build upon my comments in Moscow by describing in more detail what Americans mean when we talk about freedom, democracy, and economic liberty.

No terms have been abused more regularly, nor more cynically than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats, jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith in government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

I don't want to sound like I'm lecturing, but let's begin with the broad term "freedom." When Americans talk of freedom, we refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion, without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens, without restricting others' freedoms. We do not consider freedom a privilege, to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right, bestowed upon all men and women. Lord Acton once observed: The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

Freedom requires tolerance, a concept embedded in openness, in *glasnost*, and in our first amendment protections for the freedoms of speech, association, and religion—all religions.

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

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

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

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts—and yes, the votes—of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed, that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years, you had elections with ballots, but you did not enjoy democracy. And now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

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

In modern societies, freedom and democracy rely on economic liberty. A free economy is nothing more than a system of communication. It simply cannot function without individual rights or a profit motive,

which give people an incentive to go to work, an incentive to produce.

And it certainly cannot function without the rule of law, without fair and enforceable contracts, without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

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

And finally, a free economy demands engagement in the economic mainstream. Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, trade enriches all who engage in it. Isolation and protectionism doom its practitioners to degradation and want.

I note this today because some Soviet cities, regions, and even Republics have engaged in ruinous trade wars. The Republics of this nation have extensive bonds of trade, which no one can repeal with the stroke of a pen or the passage of a law. The vast majority of trade conducted by Soviet companies—imports and exports—involves, as you know better than I, trade between Republics. The nine-plus-one agreement holds forth the hope that Republics will combine greater autonomy with greater voluntary interaction—political, social, cultural, economic—rather than pursuing the hopeless course of isolation.

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

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every single day. I set forth a Presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. And this aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering. And it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl. You should know that America's heart—the hearts of all—went out to the people here at the time of Chernobyl.

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

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

Your great poet Shevchenko noted: Only in your own house can you have your truth, your strength, and freedom. No society ever achieves perfect democracy, liberty, or enterprise; if it makes full use of its people's virtues and abilities, it can use these goals as guides to a better life.

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

An old Ukrainian proverb says: When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from weakness. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to what we call—appropriately call a new world order.

You're the leaders. You are the participants in the political process. And I go home to an active political process. So, if you saw me waving like mad from my limousine, it was in the thought that maybe some of those people along the line were people from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or Detroit where so many Ukrainian-Americans live, where so many Ukrainian-Americans are with me in the remarks I've made here today.

This has been a great experience for Barbara and me to be here. We salute you. We salute the changes that we see. I remember the French expression, *vive la difference,* and I see different churnings around this Chamber, and that is exactly the way it ought to be. One guy wants this and another one that. That's the way the process works when you're open and free—competing with ideas to see who is going to emerge correct and who can do the most for the people in Ukraine.

And so, for us this has been a wonderful trip, albeit far too short. And may I simply say, may God bless the people of Ukraine. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:55 p.m. in Session Hall of the Supreme Soviet Building. In his remarks, he referred to Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet.

Remarks at the Babi Yar Memorial in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

Thank you, Chairman Kravchuk. And to our special guests today, the survivors of the Babi Yar massacres and the Ukrainians who helped rescue them, it is my great honor to be here today.

We come to Babi Yar to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness. At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life assails us: the shadows of past evil, the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if whispering warnings and cautions, telling tales of victims and villains, cowards and heroes.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity and that any nation that tries to repudiate history, tries to ignore the actors and events that shape it, only repudiates itself.

For many years, the tragedy of Babi Yar went unacknowledged, but no more. You soon will place a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against Jews, the slaughter of gypsies, the wanton murder of Communists, Christians—of anyone who dared oppose the Nazi madman's fantasies.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here we think about people of great promise and talent, young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists, athletes or artists, mothers, fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind.

The statue here testifies to an important truth. Just as bricks and stones shape great monuments, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trust of children, the blessings of life and learning—these things give life meaning; they give society its character; they give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here, at Babi Yar, Nazis set out to destroy families and faiths, set out to destroy the soul of a nation. And here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women, and children to undergo a ritual of humiliation and death. Victims stopped first to empty their pockets and place their valuables in heaps on the ground, and then moved forward to another place where they had to remove their clothing, which Nazis folded in neat piles—booty for the Fuehrer.

And then shivering, they moved to the edge of the ravine where marksmen murdered their prey, letting the bodies tumble into long, deep pits. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm. Nazis tried to drown out that horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. And despite this macabre ritual, screams made their way into the hearts of townspeople—and to the pages of history.

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit, and many more people had committed suicide rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rites. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

Miraculously, a few managed to escape, several of whom have joined us today, along with several people who helped protect the victims of the massacred at Babi Yar. And I think it would be most appropriate to ask them to stand so we may honor them.

Abraham Lincoln once said: We cannot escape history. Mikhail Gorbachev has promoted truth in history. Here's the quote: Not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations.

Today we stand at Babi Yar and wrestle with awful truth. We marvel at the incredible extremes of human behavior. And we make solemn vows:

We vow this sort of murder will never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition.

And we vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty rather then to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this place. We will remember that evil flourishes when good men and women refuse to defend virtue.

Let me quote the poet Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place and of its history. Here's what he wrote: On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees, like judges, loom and threaten. All screams in silence; I take off my cap and feel that I am slowly turning gray. And I, too, have become a soundless cry over the thousands that lie buried here. I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot. None of me will forget.

None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil. And the Nazis fell when good men and women opened their eyes, summoned their courage and faith, and fought for democracy, liberty, and justice and decency. This memorial proves that eventually the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. It should inspire us to spare future generations from horrors like the one that claimed nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you all. May God bless Ukraine and its wonderful people, and may God bless the memories of Babi Yar.

Note: The President spoke at 5:25 p.m. in front of the memorial. In his remarks, he referred to Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet.

Remarks on the Middle East Peace Talks in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

The President.——a wire service report that Prime Minister Shamir has accepted and they will attend this conference. I've not yet had a chance—just got on the plane—have not had a chance to talk to Secretary Baker, but this, indeed, is good news if that report is accurate. And I hope it is, assume it is.

And there's still a lot of hard work ahead, but this is bound to be good news for peace in the Middle East. And I'm very, very pleased that the hard work on many parties, especially our Secretary of State, looks like it may be coming to fruition. So, let's mark this one up as good tidings, and I hope that things go forward right now in a good way.

Q. How did you solve the Palestinian issue, Mr. President?

The President. I leave all the details to the Secretary until—at least until I have chance to talk to the Secretary. All I've heard was a service report—a wire service report that Prime Minister Shamir has accepted. And I assume that's the way—under the conditions that were presented to him. And if so, that's very good.

Q. Did he ask if——

The President. That's all I've got. I don't know enough about it to comment anymore, except to say I think it's very good and we'll have more on that later.

Privileges of the one who pays

30. He who pays the piper calls the tune.
31. Let him that pays the lawing choose the lodging. ["Lawing" means "reckoning"]

The mercenary

32. He that serves God for money, will serve the devil for better wages.
33. Virtue flies from the heart of a mercenary man.

See also BORROWING: *Repayment of debts*

132 PEACE

Its value

1. Where there is peace, God is.
2. To live peaceably with all breeds good blood.
3. Peace makes plenty.
4. By wisdom peace, by peace plenty.
5. The secret wall of a town is peace.

War and peace

6. He that will not have peace, God gives him war.
7. If you want peace, you must prepare for war.
8. Clothe thee in war: arm thee in peace.
9. A just war is better than an unjust peace.
10. He that makes a good war, makes a good peace.
11. Better a lean peace than a fat victory.
12. Better an egg in peace than an ox in war.
13. War makes thieves, and peace hangs them.
14. Of all wars, peace is the end.
15. It is a great victory that comes without blood.

Making peace

16. The stick is the surest peacemaker. [The implication of this and the following proverbs is that peace can best be achieved by violence or by the threat of violence]
17. 'Tis safest making peace with sword in hand.
18. Weapons breed peace.
19. One sword keeps another in the sheath.

133 PEOPLE

Africa

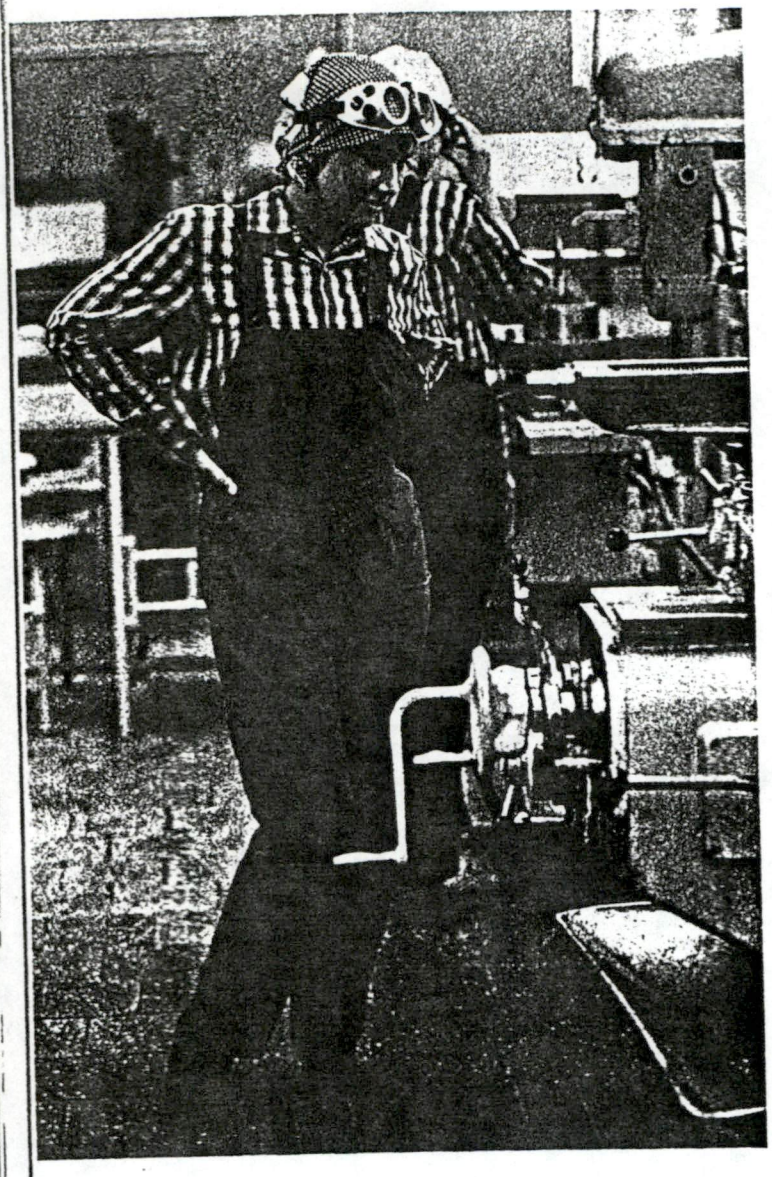
1. Africa always brings something
2. The African race is an indiarub ground, the higher it will rise.
3. The riches of Egypt are for the f reference to the fact that most
4. Truly at weaving wiles the Egyp

Asia

5. In China we have only three relig we can make from rice. [Chinese p
6. In China are more tutors than st patients. [Chinese proverb]
7. A Chinaman is ill only once in his [Russian proverb]
8. If a Bengali is a man, what is a c
9. The more you plunder a Turk the
10. Where the Turk's horse once tre reference to the destructive power
11. The tyranny of the Turk is better [Arabic proverb]
12. The understanding of an Arab is in

Europe

13. The emperor of Germany is the king king of men; the king of France, king the king of devils.
14. The Italians are wise before the deed, French after the deed.
15. In settling an island, the first building e church; by a Frenchman, a fort; by a by an Englishman, an alehouse.
16. Learn in Italy; clothe yourself in Germa in Poland.
17. In Spain, the lawyer; in Italy, the doc Germany, the artisan; in England, the m thief; in Turkey, the soldier; in Polar Moscow, the liar – can all make a livin
18. Malta would be a delightful place if eve
19. Every Czech is a musician.



Working to learn, young women at a vocational school attached to a tractor factory in Kharkov operate a drill press (left) one day a week. In the same school math students operate rudimentary computers. Moscow seeks to place 500,000 new computers in Soviet high schools by 1990.

"We do not have a count," replied Father Ivan Chernenko when I asked the size of the St. Vladimir flock. No priest in any other church ever answered the question either. ("We do not have a five-year plan for church membership," one declared.)

No doubt priests fear that they will provoke official wrath if they seem to be bragging about growth. Nevertheless, Father Ivan told me that fifty to a hundred children are baptized every week at St. Vladimir's. "Some of them leave the church," he conceded, "and come back only when they are old. Some become atheists." And the Baptists, courting trouble by their aggressiveness, "probably catch some in their webs."

"Ukraine" means frontier; hence many Westerners say *the* Ukraine. (Some expatriate Ukrainians dislike the construction, since it implies their homeland is merely a region.) Like the 19th-century U. S. frontier, much of Ukraine was once (say, 450 years ago) a vast, nearly peopleless realm. Open land, mostly steppe, reached a thousand miles from the Carpathian Mountains in the west to the Rivers Don and Volga.

In Shevchenko's century (and until 1918) it belonged to Russia and Austria-Hungary. In earlier times Poland and Lithuania possessed large parts; the Mongols, Tatars, and Ottoman Turks carved off slices.

In the 17th century Ukrainian Cossacks —very much frontiersmen, in the Daniel Boone mold—wrought a short-lived independent state. In the chaos that followed the 1917 Russian Revolution and the collapse of Austria-Hungary, freedom was again in the air. Some Ukrainians wanted to cling to Russia, but free governments sprang up in Kiev and the western city of Lvov (Lviv, as Ukrainians spell it). The westerners then united with the Kievans in 1919.

Though Lenin had promised to recognize an independent Ukraine, the Red Army invaded. The free forces also faced Polish troops and anti-Bolshevik White Russians. There were battles and massacres. But by 1920 most of Ukraine was Bolshevik ruled, destined to become a Soviet republic. A western area with eight million people went largely to Poland, with pieces to Czechoslovakia and Romania.

So, one must ask: What, despite shifting boundaries, holds together the 50 million people of this realm larger than France? Language, yes, and old songs about Cossacks and love, and a body of literature (especially poetry), and a few art forms. Ukrainians excel at embroidery, and created exquisitely decorated Easter eggs until the Communists frowned.

And one thing more: faith. The people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are among the most devout in the Soviet Union. How many believe? By one guess, half. The number who attend services is only a small

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

TARAS SHEVCHENKO
1814 - 1861
BARD OF UKRAINE

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

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ɔm the earlier
·World War II
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PART III

The Ukrainian Experience in America

by Myron Kuropas

1. *Ukrainians in America Today*

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

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

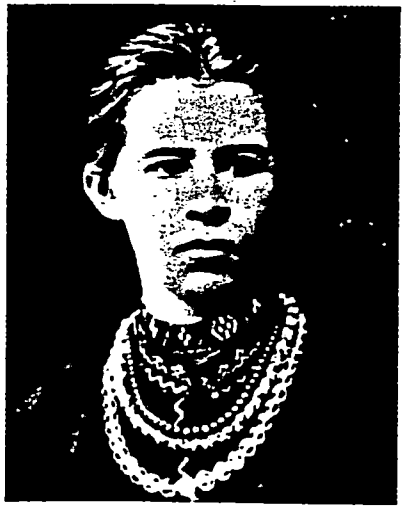
p. 24 The Ukrainians in America by Myron Kuropas

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

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

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

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



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

G. Krawciw/VOA Ukrainian Branch

TWO POSSIBLE UKRAINIAN QUOTES

1) As your great poet Taras Shevchenko said: "U svoyi khati, svoya pravda i syla i volya" ("У своїй хаті, своя правда і сила і воля") [oo SVO-yee KAH-tee, SVO-ya PRAV-da ee silla ee vol-nya]

PRONOUCIATION: "U (flat, as in Gunther Toody's "U-U") SVO-YÉE KHÁ-TEE (the KH is the slavic "X" sound), SVO-YÁ PRÁV-DA EE SÝLA (the "Y" as the "I" in silly) EE VÓ-LYA (the LYA as the NYA in Tanya Tucker)."

Translation: "Only in your own house, can you have your truth, your strength and freedom.

The president would bring the house down if he could say this in Ukrainian. The poet Taras Shevchenko has the same stature in Ukraine, as George Washington in the United States, and its a widely known quote. The implication of mentioning "freedom" may be softened by putting the quote in an "economic sovereignty" context.

2) Another Shevchenko quote: "U kozhnoho svoya dolya i sviy shlakh shyrokiy" ("В кожного своя доля і свій шлях широкий").

PRONOUNCIATION: "U KÓZH-NOHO (the "ZH" is the slavic "Ж" sound) SVO-YÁ DÓ-LYA (the LYA as the NYA in Tanya Tucker) EE SVEE SHLAKH (the KH is the slavic "X" sound) SHY-RÓ-KEE ("SHY" sound as in "ship").

Translation: "Everyone has his own fate, and his broad path (to tread)." Comes in as a poor second to the first quote.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: SHEVCHENKO QUOTE

The Ukrainian guys at VOA say this quote will bring down the house if the President says this Shevchenko quote in Ukrainian:

"U svoyi khati, svoya pravda i syla i volya."
[oo SVO-yee KAH-tee, SVO-ya PRAV-da ee silla ee VOL-nya]
Only in your own house, can you have your truth, your strength and freedom.

But the peace of the world must be assured during the whole period of disarmament and I, therefore, propose . . . :

That all the nations of the world should enter into a solemn and definite pact of non-aggression; that they should solemnly reaffirm the obligations they have assumed to limit and reduce their armaments, and, provided these obligations are faithfully executed by all signatory powers, individually agree that they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature across their frontiers.

Common sense points out that if any strong nation refuses to join with genuine sincerity in these concerted efforts for political and economic peace, the one at Geneva and the other at London, progress can be obstructed and ultimately blocked. In such event the civilized world, seeking both forms of peace, will know where the responsibility for failure lies. I urge that no nation assume such a responsibility, and that all the nations joined in these great conferences translate their professed policies into action. This is the way to political and economic peace.

Message to the nations of the world appealing for peace by disarmament, May 16, 1933

2 / I have made it clear that the United States cannot take part in political arrangements in Europe, but that we stand ready to cooperate at any time in practicable measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce.

State of the Union Message, Jan. 3, 1934

3 / A deep love of peace is the common heritage of the people of both our countries [the Soviet Union and the United States] and I fully agree . . . that the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace. The successful accomplishment of this mutual task will be of immediate and lasting benefit not only to the peoples of our countries but to all peace-loving peoples everywhere. FDR

Remarks to the first ambassador of the U.S.S.R. on presentation of credentials, Jan. 8, 1934

4 / The peoples of many countries are being taxed to the point of poverty and starvation in order to enable governments to engage in a mad race in armament which, if permitted to continue, may well result in war.

Message to Congress on the menace of uncontrolled manufacture and sale of arms and munitions, May 18, 1934

5 / I cannot with candor tell you th
outside the borders of the United Sta

I believe, however, that our ov
toward other nations is coming to b
maintenance of international peace is
unselfishly concerned. . . .

There is no ground for apprel
nation will be otherwise than peacefu
the people of most nations seek relief
to the false theory that extravagant
limited by international accord.

State of the Union Message, Jan. 4, 193

6 / It is the policy of this governn
between other nations, but it is a fac
can foresee all possible future situatio
situations that call for some flexibility
tions may arise in which the wholly
this [Neutrality] Act might have e
which was intended. In other words,
into war instead of keeping us out
definitely committed to the maintena
entanglement which would lead us
the policy of the government by ev
tanglement to cooperate with othe
promote peace.

Statement on approval of neutrality l

7 / [Foreign war is a] potent dan
civilization. It is not surprising that
of apprehension lest some of the nat
twenty years ago and drag civilizati
recovery may be all but impossible.

In the face of this apprehensio
one concern—the American people
what happens in continents overseas
and must remain, as long ago the Fath
remain—unentangled and free.

Address, San Diego Exposition, San D

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 10, MADISON

"By a faction, I understand a number of citizens whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community."

"The latent causes of faction are thus sown into the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society."

"The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government."

"The interference to which we are brought is that the **causes** of faction cannot be removed and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its **effects.**"

"From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble a administer the government in person, can admit no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert results from the form of government itself..."

"The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States."

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 51, MADISON

"In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

"If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure. There are but two methods of providing against this evil: the one by creating a will in the community independent of the majority -- that is, of the society itself; the other, by comprehending in the society so many separate descriptions of citizens as will render an unjust combination of a majority of the whole very improbable, if not impracticable."

"In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights."

QUOTES ON MINORITY RIGHTS, RESPECTING MINORITIES

"The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

-- Lord Acton
The History of Freedom and Other Essays, Ch. 1
1907 1877 Feb 20

"What is a minority? The chosen heroes of this earth have been a minority. There is not a social, political, or religious privilege that you enjoy today that was not brought for you by the blood and tears and patient suffering of the minority."

"It is the minority that have... achieved all that is noble in the history of the world."

-- John Bartholomew Gough
Sunlight and Shadow
1880

"All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression."

-- Thomas Jefferson
First Inaugural Address
March 4, 1801

"Men are respectable only as they respect."

-- Emerson
Lectures and Sketches: Sovereignty of Ethics

"Neither our national nor our local civic life can be what it should be unless it is marked by... the mutual kindness, the mutual respect, the sense of common duties and common interests, which arise when men take the trouble to understand one another, and to associate together for a common object."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Century
January, 1900

"To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have some one else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that some one else for the good of both of us -- any man will speedily find that other people can benefit him just as much as he can benefit them."

-- Theodore Roosevelt, 1913

"We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
September 2, 1901

"I ask in our civic life that we... pay heed only to the man's quality of citizenship, to repudiate as the worst enemy that we can have whoever tries to get us to discriminate for or against any man because of his creed or his birthplace."

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
October 14, 1912

"No democracy can long survive which does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of its minorities."

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
January 8, 1938

"The moment a mere numerical superiority by either states or voters in this country proceeds to ignore the needs and desires of the minority, and for their own selfish purpose or advancement, hamper or oppress that minority, or debar them in any way from equal privileges and equal rights -- that moment will mark the failure of our constitutional system."

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Radio Address
March 2, 1930

"On a candid examination of history, we shall find that turbulence, violence, and abuse of power, by the majority trampling on the rights of the minority, have produced factions and commotions which, in republics, have, more frequently than any other cause, produced despotism."

-- James Madison
Speech in the Virginia Convention
June 16, 1788

"If by mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view, justify revolution -- certainly would if such a right were a vital one."

-- Abraham Lincoln
Inaugural address
March 4, 1861

"Minorities are the stars of the firmament; majorities, the darkness in which they float."

-- Martin H. Fischer (1879-)

FREE TRADE/ADAM SMITH

"[T]hat trade which, without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally so, to both."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 3

"By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society. These great and important services foreign trade is continually occupied in performing to all the different countries between which it is carried on."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 1

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, [at peace]; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away."

-- FDR
Fourth Inaugural Address
January 20, 1945

"Every individual endeavors to employ his capital so that its produce may be of greatest value... He intends only his own security, only his own gain... By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more efficiently than when he really intends to promote it."

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations
Vol. II, bk. IV, ch. 2

UKRAINE COLOR

* Ukraine means "frontier".

* Jaroslav the Wise, son of Vladimir and ruler of Kievan Rus in the 11th century, wrote some of the "Ruska Pravda", the first written code of laws in the Slavic world. It served Russian law-makers as a source and model for years to come.

* Under Jaroslav, local representatives of the people were elected by free citizens.

* Jaroslav built dozens of churches, including the gold-domed St. Sophia, the most revered church in Kiev, which still stands.

* For hundreds of years, monks lived underneath Kiev in a labyrinth of tunnels known as the Monastery of the Caves. Most of the caves are man-made. People could sometimes hear the eerie sound of the monks singing beneath their feet.

* Ukrainians are known for their singing. There is an old saying, "When two Ukrainians meet, we have the start of another choir."

* The most famous folk art is Easter Egg painting, which dates back to ancient times. Known as "pysanka", the eggs are painted with intricate geometric patterns."

* The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and the most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. The bell tower, the highest in the USSR, was built in 1731-45; it has been completely restored, and the dome reguilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them -- as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night.

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Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

Daniel B. Baker, Editor

Gale Research Inc. • DETROIT • NEW YORK • LONDON

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y not sufficiently respect the rights
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account. —James Madison, letter

vail against the voice of a nation.
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2287. When a faction in a state attempts to nullify a constitutional law of congress, or to destroy the union, the balance of the people composing this union have a perfect right to coerce them to obedience. This is my creed. —Andrew Jackson, letter to Gen. John Coffee, Dec 14, 1832

2288. The tyranny of the majority. [*La tyrannie de la majorité.*] —Alexis, Comte de Tocqueville, sub-heading, *Democracy in America*, 1835

2289. The blessings of Liberty which our Constitution secures may be enjoyed alike by minorities and majorities. —James K. Polk, inaugural address, Mar 4, 1845

2290. No society in which eccentricity is a matter of reproach, can be in a wholesome state. —John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848

2291. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. —Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience*, 1849

2292. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. —Lord Macaulay, letter to Henry Stephens Randall, May 23, 1857

2293. Governments exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection: they have many friends and few enemies. —Wendell Phillips, speech in Boston, Massachusetts, Dec 21, 1860

2294. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. —Abraham Lincoln, first inaugural address, Mar 4, 1861

2295. The majority rules. If they want anything, they get it. If they want anything not right, they get it, too. —Sojourner Truth, speech in Rochester, New York, 1871

2296. Let us not fall into the ... pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is multitude. —James A. Garfield, speech at Hudson College, Jul 2, 1873

2297. The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877

2298. The one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority, or rather of that party, not always the majority, that succeeds, by force or fraud, in carrying elections. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877

2299. The minority is always right. [*Minoriteten har altid retten.*] —Henrik Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*, 1882

2300. In the majority beat many hearts, but it has no heart. [*Die Majorität hat viele Herzen, aber ein Herz hat sie nicht.*] —Prince Otto von Bismarck, speech in the Reichstag, Jun 12, 1882

2301. Desperate courage makes One a majority. —Andrew Jackson, quoted by James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1888

2302. So long as a minority conforms to the majority, it is not even a minority. They must throw in their whole weight in the opposite direction. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Indian Opinion*, Sep 14, 1907

2303. You can not have a decent, popular government unless the majority exercise the self-restraint that men with great power ought to exercise. —William Howard Taft, speech in Fresno, California, Oct 10, 1909

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Roman: E.J. BICKERMAN, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1968), an excellent short manual, unfortunately marred by a number of factual errors; AGNES KIRSOPP MICHELS, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (1967), contains much valuable information on chronology as well as the calendar—probably the best book ever written on the Roman calendar; F.K. GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker*, 3 vol. (1906–14), the standard work of reference on its subject.

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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.

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(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

verts. At first these churches were cared for by clergy sent out from the city. Only in the sixth century, and primarily in Gaul, did each country church come to have its own staff of clergy. Priests in these country parishes were still consecrated and controlled by the city bishop but could administer the sacraments. The church was beginning to take on the form of local parish ministry familiar in the Middle Ages and modern times.

Another kind of country church developed at the same time. This was the church building given by a landowner to benefit those on his private estate. He would normally provide an endowment for the upkeep of the church and have the right to appoint the clergy. Such clergy, though subject to the bishop, were not to the same extent under his control.

Church organization grew in two ways: by the development of the authority of church councils, and that of certain bishops over other bishops. Councils developed out of the irregular meetings of bishops of neighbouring communities to discuss common problems. These meetings became more regular during the third century when some local and provincial councils began to meet annually.

Constantine called larger councils to settle matters that could not be resolved by local or provincial 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 Herodius 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)

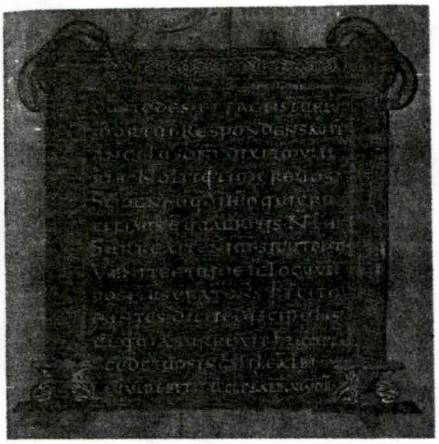
Encyclopaedia Britannica (1982)

ornamental stones. For detailed physical properties, *see* table under silicate minerals.

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*.



Chrysoloras, detail of a drawing by an unknown artist, *c.* 1400; in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

J.P. Ziolo, Paris

·Greek calligraphic writing style **3**:651h
·Renaissance linguistic contributions **6**:343h
·teaching appointment in Florence **3**:570e

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

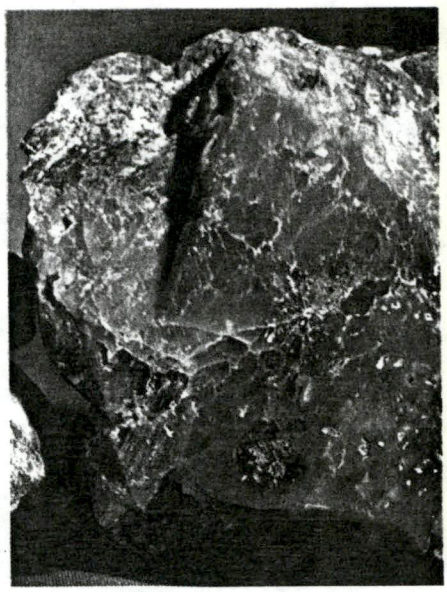
Chrysomyia megacephala (insect): *see* blow fly.

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.



Chrysoprase from Porterville, Tulare County, Calif.

By courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; photograph, John H. Gerard—EB Inc.

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

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

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

Practice of confession

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

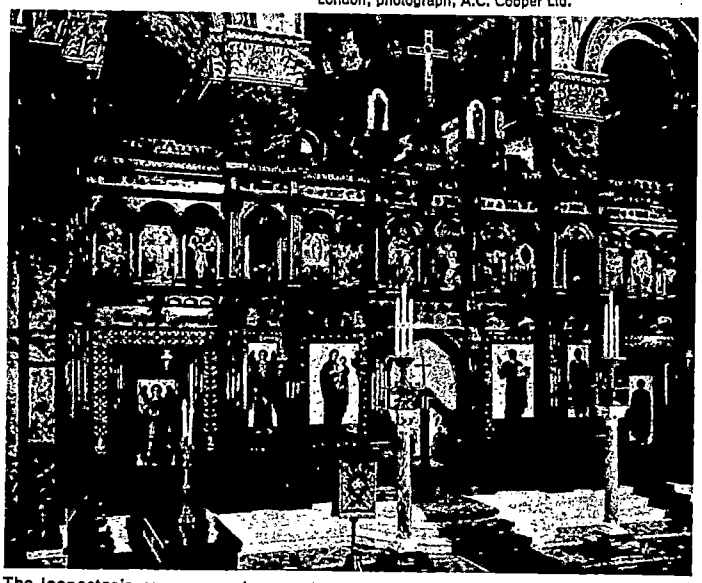
Anointing of the sick. Anointing of the sick is a form of healing by prayer. In the Greek Church it is performed annually in church for the benefit of the entire congregation on the evening of Holy Wednesday.

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.

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

Popular use of icons

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 lovi
2 In the usual course of
a book of a certain Cicer
3 Give me chastity and
just now.
4 Take up, read! Take u
5 Too late I loved you, O
and ever new! Too late I
hold, you were within me,
and there I searched for
6 Give what you comma
what you will.
7 Hear the other side.[2]
De Duabus
8 I would not have belie
not the authority of the
Contra Epis
9 Necessity has no law.[3]
Soliloquiorum
10 We make a ladder of ou
ple those same vices und
11 Anger is a weed; hate i
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 h
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

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THE HOME BOOK OF QUOTATIONS

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Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born

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

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

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:
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 Cœlesta*. 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 thc 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, r
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, *Phœthon: 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 Churchyard*, 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 Tartuffe*. 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' εὐ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον.)
CALLIMACHUS, *Epigrams.* No. 16.

It is doubtful what fortune tomorrow will bring. (Posteraque in dubio est fortunam quam vehat ætas.)
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

* Departure Statement
Ukranian President Kravchuk

- friendship, partnership, peace
independence

* Taras
Shevchenko
Ukrainian poet
quotes

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The encyclopedia didn't even have a bio of Shevchenko.

KB

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