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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Grant, Mary Kate, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1988-1991

OA/ID Number: 13883
Folder ID Number: 13883-001

Folder Title:
Overseas Press Club Dinner, 2/90

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	18	29	1	1

5-1140 HAW

TIME

INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 10020

Fax Cover Sheet

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Date: FEBRUARY 23, 1990

To: PAUL LUTHRINGER, THE WHITE HOUSE

Fax#: (202) 456-6218

From: DON MORRISON

Division: TIME EDIT

Pages to Follow EIGHT

Overseas Press Club of America

DATeline

F R E E D O M B E G I N S W I T H

“We The People”

I N T H E W O R D S O F

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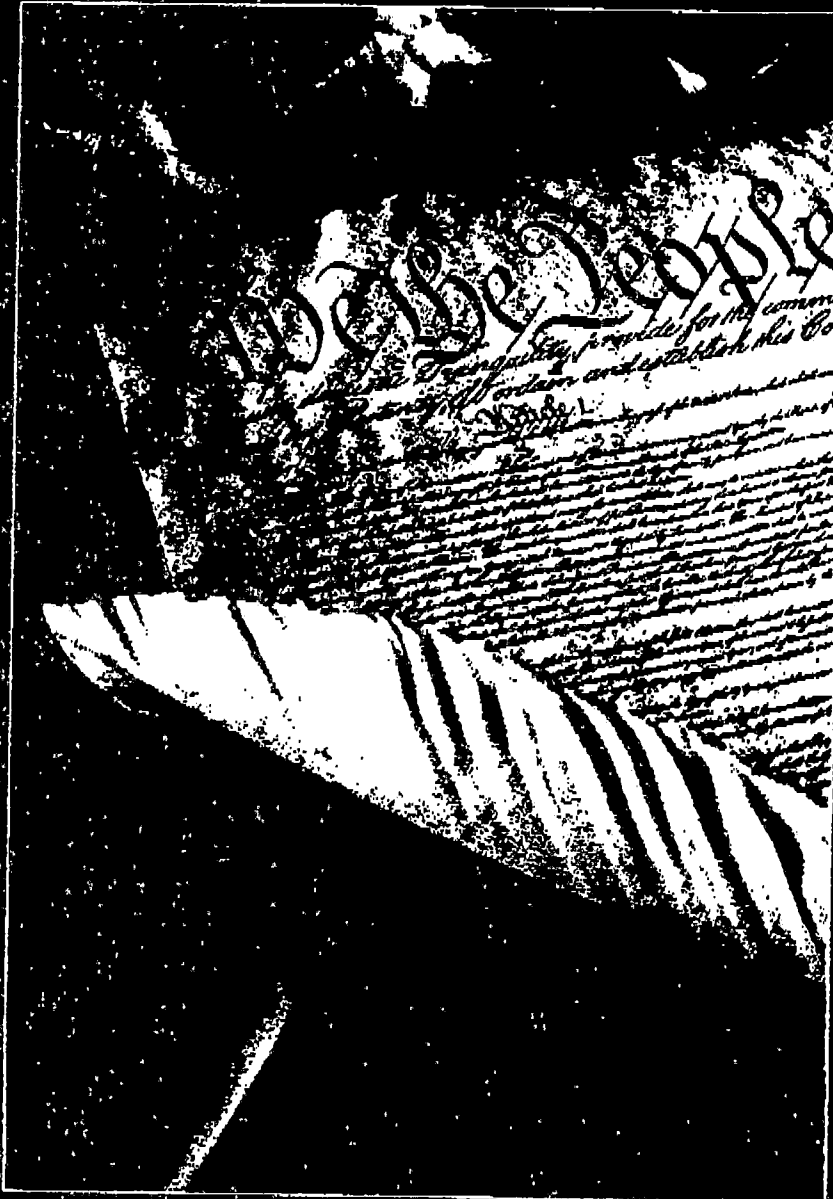
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INSIDE: The Overseas Press Club Awards



Reagan shows carrots, as well as sticks, can win the political "horse race."

analysis about who is winning or losing or what the impact of one specific straw poll will be on the whole campaign when, in fact, no one really knows. This can be both misleading to the public and damaging to the candidate. I recall, for example, that after I fared poorly in the 1980 Iowa Republican caucuses, one veteran network TV correspondent made the snap judgment that my political career was over. That was two inaugural addresses ago.

I have been the subject of intense media scrutiny in every campaign in which I participated. I have not always agreed with everything that has been reported, but on the whole the scrutiny probably helped me and turned out to be good for the country and good for the democratic process.

Anyone who hopes to occupy the Oval Office must withstand intense scrutiny. That's the way it should be. Americans have high standards, and those who seek public service are asking the people to grant them something of great value: their trust. □

democratic society is all about.

Reporters naturally give more attention to the candidate who appears most likely to win, and the brightest lights are thrown on the front-runners

in each party. But no candidate, and no voter, should take seriously the so-called horse-race coverage the media love so well. By that I mean the reliance on polls and instantaneous



In this election year...

IT'S NOT POLITICS AS USUAL AT THE DAILY NEWS.

The election of the best presidential candidate requires an informed electorate. At the New York Daily News, we are doing our level best to keep that electorate informed. To that end, we have assembled the best columnists and writers in the business for the 1988 election. People like Richard Reeves, Lars-Erik Nelson and Frank Lombardi. Nobody covers the election like the Daily News.

DAILY NEWS

New York's Hometown Paper

DESPITE THE MEDIA'S SHORTCOMINGS, SAYS THE PRESIDENT, THEIR SCRUTINY HELPS KEEP DEMOCRACY WHOLE

by Ronald Reagan



The President dons a gift trooper's hat after speaking to the National Law Enforcement Council in Washington, D.C., last year.

As a young man growing up in the Midwest, I remember the days of whistle-stops, classic stump oratory and radio reports of political campaigns. If my neighbors in Dixon, Ill., saw a national candidate once in an election year, it was considered a near miracle.

Today's voters get to know presidential candidates even if they never have the opportunity to see them in person. Nightly news programs, Sunday talk shows, televised debates and local interviews give us the chance to see more and learn more about those who run for the nation's highest office than any generation before us.

Televised campaign coverage, once almost exclusively the province of a few veteran political reporters, is now a staple on hundreds of local sta-

tions across the country. Newspapers and magazines have improved their technology to keep pace with television and continue to play a critical role in campaign coverage. They print the longer stories that give depth to campaign news and offer the analysis that adds perspective. We rely on newspapers to carry the texts of major speeches and campaign platforms and promises. And though they don't always succeed, most newspapers still try hard to keep news on the news pages and opinion on the opinion pages.

I believe a living room is as good a place as anywhere to judge the fitness of a presidential candidate, and television has enhanced the democratic process by bringing it into our

homes. Some have said that television has undermined the political process. On the contrary, I sometimes wonder where our modern democracy would be without it. Because this country is so large and national elections are such enormous events, only television can establish a one-to-one communication between candidate and citizen.

The American people need to observe and listen to candidates many times, in many different situations. That is the best way to understand their characters, feel confident that they are individuals of integrity and grasp their positions on the important issues of our day. Then viewers become well-informed voters, and that is what an open

APRIL 19, 1988

DateLine

POLITICS

AND THE

PRESS

Has the media focus on 'character' distorted the race of '88?

INSIDE

Winners of the Overseas Press Club Awards



M Y T U R N

A New Demand on Democracy



Our free and open society is uniquely suited to prosper from the information explosion

BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

When the Overseas Press Club was founded, 50 years ago, an isolationist United States stood at the edge of entering World War II. It was a faraway war, a "European war," and we learned most of the news of that war through foreign correspondents.

Edward R. Murrow's was the voice that brought many of us together around the radio in our living rooms, describing the tragedy of war. Suddenly, it wasn't just a "European war," it was our war, too.

While the basic tenets of news reporting haven't changed much since that time, the way news is delivered has changed dramatically. We still get our news via radio and newspapers, but also by computer, fax machine and television. Edward R. Murrow's voice is gone. Now pictures are brought into our living rooms, often live pictures of events that unfold as we watch.

The nature of business has changed as well. Round-the-clock trading ensures that international investors have a 24-hour day, for the news that moves markets never stops. What was once a lofty concept—a global marketplace—is now a reality.

You are information managers. People buy and sell stocks, bonds, real estate and commodities partly based on information that comes across the wires or on the various electronic media. Political decisions can be altered based on information that is carried on television or radio or in print.

Our country is unique in its historic protection of freedom of the press. And the press has a unique history of responsible reporting. With the speed with which information is transferred today, that tradition of accuracy and reliability becomes even more crucial.

International reporting has played a great role in educating all peoples of the world on foreign diplomacy. The press plays a daily role in the message that is projected to both our allies and our adversaries, and the nature of public disclosure is affected greatly as a result.

Lifeblood of survival: The information explosion has placed a demand on democracy, but a democratic society is uniquely suited to such an extraordinary flow of information. A free and open society can prosper and survive in the information age, and foreign correspondents are in many ways the lifeblood of that survival.

The world is changing fast, and it is often a very dangerous place. Those correspondents who have put themselves in the line of fire, taking risky posts in perilous places, deserve our thanks and admiration. They have accepted a job many dream of—but one that few actually dare to undertake. Their challenges are often more than we here at home can imagine.

And, there are those who are never out of our prayers—those journalists held in foreign lands against their will. We continue to work for their release and pray for their freedom and their return to their families. We are ever vigilant in our concern.

I'm proud of the role that American correspondents have played in bringing America closer to the world and in sharing America with others. American correspondents have pioneered the use of new technologies to bring the news faster and more reliably to all citizens of the world. And American publications and broadcasts have served as models for other nations.

Fifty years of service and commitment to the highest ideals—freedom and truth. Congratulations.



The voice that brought us together in our living rooms: *Murrow at work*

Inside: Winners of the Overseas Press Club Awards

DateLine

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB
OF AMERICA

**50 Years of
Covering
the World**



B A T T L E L I N E

REAGAN/continued

dissenting view are the norm. It is no accident that the governments which most vehemently deny these rights to their own people are those which pose the greatest threat to their neighbors' freedom as well.

Freedom of the press, then, is not only a liberty in itself, it is, in the phrase of George Mason, who drafted the Virginia Bill of Rights in 1776, a "great bulwark" of all the other liberties we enjoy. For this reason, all of us must be zealous to guard this precious freedom,

and the press must not and need not be ashamed to stand guard over the full panoply of freedoms in which it takes such prominent rank.

Every day around the world there are brave men and women—many of them members of the Overseas Press Club—working tirelessly to get the facts and report the stories that people need to live their lives in enlightened dignity and peace. So much depends on you, on the quality of your work and your professionalism. Let us give thanks then for the document which has endured through 200 years of turbulence, trial, and

triumph, and let us rededicate ourselves to the hope that the values enshrined in our Constitution will one day be recognized as part of the heritage of all mankind.

Nancy and I are proud to salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and to send you our best wishes on the occasion of your annual Awards Dinner. May God bless you all.

In addition to being President of the United States, the writer is a former broadcaster for WHO in Des Moines, and WOC in Davenport, Iowa.

A Common Heritage— Written And Unwritten

BY MARGARET THATCHER,
PRIME MINISTER OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM

ALL WHO VALUE FREEDOM and democracy will want to join you in celebrating this anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. We in Britain are particularly proud to have helped evolve, from the Magna Carta (1215) to the Bill of Rights (1689) and the great Parliamentary reforms of the nineteenth century, the principles which your Constitution has sustained and carried forward for two hundred years.

We in Britain have no written constitution, but instead have built up over centuries a body of traditions which guides us. But we share the same concerns for justice, for the democratic rights of every individual, for freedom to choose, to speak, to think, to act as one wishes, within the limits that life together in society must impose. We have learned from each other's experience for two hundred years. And we have fought together to defend these values.

In this glorious anniversary year, we share your respect and admiration for the wisdom of your founding fathers who enshrined these values in the U.S. Constitution.



Margaret Thatcher

D A T E L I N E

A "Great Bulwark" Of All Our Other Liberties

BY RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



Ronald Reagan

IN 1987 OUR NATION celebrates the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, the blueprint for our republican form of government and a charter of those rights we as a people hold dear. The first ten amendments to our Constitution form the Bill of Rights, and while they do not exhaust the list of fundamental rights, they place in sharp relief those liberties which the Founders wished specifically to secure against invasion by the national government.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are among the very first of the liberties so enumerated. To our Founders, this was a matter of both philosophical and practical significance, for the American Revolution was as much a revolution of words as a revolution of guns. Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose between government without newspapers or newspapers without government, he would choose the latter without hesitation.

Today the term "the press" refers to a

wide variety of media for the written and spoken word, and to images as well. Technology has changed and developed, but unfortunately the urge to deny or abridge freedom of the press has not. In all too many nations around the globe, in this hemisphere and across the oceans, governments founded on a notion of the State as the source of all legitimate rights also insist on the State as the sole arbiter of information for the people. Censorship and outright suppression of any

continued

A real long shot:

The Pope -

Great Communicator

Multi-lingual:

his early poems

Bulgaria: Small evangelical churches are active. The Orthodox Church is submissive.

Czechoslovakia: Here the Catholic Church, headed by ninety-year-old Cardinal Tomasek of Prague, is outspoken. Some priests and theologians are active in dissident organizations. The officially sponsored Pax in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy collaborates with the government; its members are distrusted by the faithful. The underground church has secretly ordained bishops and priests, and is active mainly in cities. Large pilgrimages to various shrines offer a platform for exchange of information and planning of strategy.

The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren (Presbyterian) seems to have overcome a long period of inertia. A number of its members are involved in Charter 77 and other civic associations, and many were imprisoned. The Hussite Church has been quiescent and is in decline. In Slovakia, the Lutheran Church is coasting along. Its leadership is weak, submis-

sive, and uninspiring, unlike the leadership during World War II.

Hungary: Under Janos Kadar, the churches were relatively free, as long as the clergy stayed in line. Hierarchs, particularly Protestant, were accommodating. The Catholic Church worked well within the limits stipulated by the state.

Poland: The Catholic Church never lost its authority and prestige. It was most fortunate to have such a dynamic leader as Cardinal Wyszynski during the worst years. Cardinal Glemp commands far less respect and affection because of his cautiousness and accommodating ways.

USSR: Major changes in the attitude to religion are of most benefit to the Orthodox Church. In the past it has been controlled and manipulated for the purposes of the government; its patriarch is an ex-prisoner, now ailing, very obedient to the state.

The Catholic Church in Lithuania has openly challenged the government and has a well-organized action group which provided reliable information about numerous clashes and conflicts. The Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church remains unrecognized, although the Uniates are now

openly defying the restrictions on their activities and are reclaiming their churches. This conflict may inflame the population in Western Ukraine.

The Lutheran Church is very influential in Latvia and Estonia. Other Protestant or Evangelical churches are growing fast.

The Church in Armenia and Georgia has always retained a large degree of independence and is keeping the national spirit alive.

Muslims are increasingly assertive.

Yugoslavia: Despite its more liberal image, the country is fragmented into national and religious entities. Religious intolerance exacerbates the current crisis. While in Soviet-bloc countries religion was a force for positive change, here it adds to the problems.

Rumania: The hierarchy of the Orthodox Church with all its servility failed to save churches and monasteries from destruction by Ceausescu. Local churches provided spiritual support to the faithful, and so did the minority denominations. The Hungarian minority suffered the heaviest losses, and it is ironic that the persecution of its pastor in Timisoara sparked the revolt which toppled the megalomaniac and his clan. —OSH

contact with friends in the West and, thus, received support and information they shared with believers of other faiths. Their struggle was occasionally successful enough to encourage others, particularly members of ethnic groups, to apply for emigration. Again, churches provided the network for strategic planning. This was also the case with the Solidarity movement in Poland, with the demonstrations against the Honecker regime in East Germany, with the resistance in the Baltic states, and to some extent also with Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. It would be difficult to find a dividing line between religious, nationalist, and political protest in many of those instances.

Even some of the churchmen who publicly defended the Marxist policies of their countries would confess their dissatisfaction in private. They spread the word about Western democracies among their friends, smuggled Bibles, forbidden books, and periodicals into

their countries, and secretly aided the persecuted. Others, however, glorified the powers that be in the most servile, unctuous manner. The Holy Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church recently addressed the megalomaniac Ceausescu as "the illustrious and experienced leader of the Rumanian people, an eminent personality of the contemporary world." The same church leader who sang these praises presided on Christmas Day at thanksgiving services for Ceausescu's downfall.

The intensity of believers' determination varies from country to country even in the same denomination [see box]. But the differences in denominational attitudes may be partly explained by the fact that while the Catholics have a strong supporter in the Vatican, the Protestants and the Orthodox could not expect such help from the World Council of Churches and other international religious organizations where the spirit of ap-

peasement has prevailed. Yet even those bodies in many ways advanced the revival of churches in Communist countries by providing a meeting place and a vantage point from which the representatives from the Soviet bloc could gather information, gain experience, and learn how to negotiate.

But among the factors advancing the cause of captive churches, the existence of a multi-lingual Polish Pope should not be underestimated. The persecuted churches have looked up to Pope John Paul II for inspiration in their struggle. He may be criticized in the West, but behind the Iron Curtain he gained many admirers even among Protestants, Orthodox, and agnostics. They know that he shares their sorrows and hopes, and above all, that he is a man of peace. It is gratifying that this spirit prevailed in the revolutions that have swept the Communist-dominated countries from Poland to Bulgaria. □

The loss of independence is the judgement on our golden freedom.

For centuries heroes carried this verdict in themselves: taking up the challenge of their land they entered a dark night, crying: 'Freedom is dearer than life!'

We judged our freedom with more justice than others (history raised its mysterious voice). The sacrifice of many generations burnt on the altar of self-determination: the piercing cry of freedom stronger than death.

3

Can we deny this call surging in us as a tide surges against shores too high and too steep?

Can we measure our freedom against the freedom of others – the struggle and the gift?

You who have bound your freedom with ours, forgive us.
And see how continually we rediscover freedom, ours and yours,* as a gift given and a struggle still unfulfilled.

* 'For our Freedom and yours', a motto carried on Polish banners during the struggles for independence.



I reach the heart of the drama

1

Beyond speech an abyss opens. Is the unknown to be found in the weakness which we experienced through our fathers and have ourselves inherited?

Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle. Gift and struggle are written into pages, hidden yet open.

You pay for freedom with all your being, therefore call this your freedom, that paying for it continually you possess yourself anew.

Through this payment we enter history and touch her epochs. Which way runs the division of generations, the division between those who did not pay enough and those who had to pay too much? On which side are we? And exceeding in so many self-determinations, did we not outgrow our strength in the past? Are we upholding the burden of history like a pillar with a crack still gaping?

2

Our country: the challenge thrown down by this land to us and to our ancestors, inspiring us to determine our common good and sing her history in our own speech, as much our own as our flag.

The song of history is fulfilled in deeds built on the rock of will. In the maturity of self-determination we judge our youth, the age of division* and the golden age.

* The division of medieval Poland into principalities after the death of Boleslas the Wrymouth in 1139.

Thinking my Country I return
to the tree

1

The tree of the knowledge of good and evil grew on the river banks of our land. Together with us it grew over the centuries; it grew into the Church through the roots of our conscience.

We carried the fruits, heavy but enriching. We felt the tree spreading, but its growing roots remained deep in one patch of earth. History lays down events over the struggles of conscience. Victories throb inside this layer, and defeats. History does not cover them: it makes them stand out.

Can history ever flow against the current of conscience?

2

In which direction did the tree branch out? Which direction does conscience follow? In which direction grows our land's history? The tree of knowledge knows no frontiers.

The only frontier is the Coming which will join into one Body the struggles of conscience and the mysteries of history: it will change the tree of knowledge into the Spring of Life, ever surging.

But every day so far has brought the same division in each thought and act, and in this division the Church of conscience grows at history's roots.

3

May we never lose that clarity before our eyes, in which events appear, lost in the immeasurable tower where man yet knows whither he is going. Love alone balances fate.

Let us not increase the shadow's measure.

A ray of light – let it fall into the hearts and shine through the darkness of generations. Let a stream of light penetrate our weakness.

We must not consent to weakness.



AP/WIDEWORLD

said. "But we are interested that the governments and people who are close to us also have success."

One East bloc leader stood out, however, for his refusal to get in step with reform: Rumania's Nicolae Ceausescu. At an old-fashioned Stalinist party congress, he gave no sign that he was willing to open Rumania to even a zephyr of change, much less a full-blown wind. In his opening speech, Ceausescu said the Communist Party "cannot surrender its historical mission to another political force."

The tumult in Czechoslovakia was more than two decades in the making, a very belated—but all the more heartfelt—reaction to the brutal suppression of Prague's experiment with democracy in the spring of 1968. Two weeks ago, club-wielding police reminded Czechoslovaks of that bitter crackdown when they waded into a demonstration of 15,000 young antiregime marchers near Wenceslas Square, injuring hundreds. Popular anger at being victimized once again by calculated police violence quickly spread.

On Sunday fledgling opposition groups banded together under the name Civic Forum to call for a mass protest. Night after night, huge crowds turned out—blue-jeaned students, matrons in furs and young couples pushing baby carriages, waving red-white-and-blue Czechoslovak flags, carrying banners and shouting "Svobodu [Freedom]!" Many of the chants that went up from the throng were unabashedly direct: "Jakes for the garbage!"

As the week progressed, bulletins indicating a mounting ground swell of support flowed into the Forum's makeshift press center. First came announcements of a nationwide university strike and a shutdown of entertainment. Then plans were laid for a two-hour general strike to show that the country's traditionally phlegmatic workers were siding with the opposition.

The spirit proved contagious. The staff of the Socialist party daily *Svobodne Slovo* (Free Word), which has been a mockery of its own name since 1968, announced that it would no longer spout the official line and would become an independent journal. Workers at the state television network threatened to close down operations unless coverage of the demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Sure enough, while still hardly objective, nightly broadcasts began carrying film clips from Wenceslas Square and shots of Catholic Primate Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek meeting with Prague's party boss.

The nightly demonstrations went on unhindered as hundreds of plainclothes

Tumult more than two decades in the making: demonstrators light candles in front of monument to St. Wenceslas

Czech

police, easily identifiable in their trademark polyester raincoats, watched but did not interfere. And while the possibility remained alive that the cornered regime might still try to quell the mounting protest movement with violence, the crowds grew noticeably more self-confident as the week progressed. Said a Czech journalist who had reported on the Prague Spring: "In 1968 it was a slim hope for change battling against overwhelming odds. Today this is the voice of the whole people when their time has come."

Nothing dramatized the wonder of that turnaround more than the public reappearance of Alexander Dubcek, the architect of the Prague Spring who was yanked from power in the wake of the Warsaw Pact invasion and has spent the years since then as a virtual nonperson. Now 68 and living in the city of Bratislava, Dubcek first sent a personal message to the crowds in Wenceslas Square expressing support for "all the demands of the Civic Forum, especially the resignation of all officials linked to the Soviet invasion." Then, even as a bitterly divided Central Committee was meeting to defuse the crisis on Friday, Dubcek turned up in person. From a balcony overlooking Wenceslas Square, he addressed the enormous crowd, recalling the rallying cry of his reform movement more than two decades ago. "The ideal of socialism with a human face," said Dubcek, "lives on in a new generation."

The Forum's principal demand was for the resignation of the half a dozen Politburo members who served as quislings in the wake of the 1968 invasion. Jakes was on the list for having presided over the purge of some 500,000 reformist members within the Communist Party during the following year. Also targeted: President Gustav Husak, who succeeded Dubcek as party leader in 1969. In addition, the Forum's manifestos called for the resignation of Prague party leader Miroslav Stepan and Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl as the two officials most responsible for the police violence two weeks ago, and for a full investigation into the incident.

Ironically, one of the principal causes of Jakes' downfall was Moscow, his



Patriotic people power: a protester overlooking the demonstrations waves the Czechoslovak flag

longtime backer. With the rest of Eastern Europe finally pursuing *perestroika*-style reforms, Gorbachev had no desire to set off for Malta with Czechoslovakia in turmoil—or in the throes of a new crackdown. The Soviet leadership made its position plain in tense meetings with Czech leaders. Moscow's message: resolve the situation, and do it before the Malta meeting.

Gorbachev may also have come to regard the official Soviet defense of the 1968 invasion as an important "blank spot" in his country's history and feel increasingly obliged to denounce it. Had he done so while Jakes and his cronies were still in power, Gorbachev might have undermined their sole claim to legitimacy. There seems ample reason to believe the Soviet leader was preparing to do precisely that, not because he was hankering to interfere in

Czech affairs but because he saw such a denunciation as a necessary measure to set the history books straight.

Referring to Moscow's evident relief at the dramatic turn in Prague, playwright Vaclav Havel, leader of Czechoslovakia's human rights movement, said wryly, "We cannot rule out the situation that all occupiers of this country will have renounced the occupation, and only the occupied will still stand behind it." Added Havel, who is known for his absurdist dramas: "It is like something out of my own plays."

Czechoslovakia's seething frustrations were rooted partly in a faltering economy. By East bloc standards, the country is relatively prosperous, with ample supplies of basic foodstuffs and fewer housing woes than its neighbors. But Czechoslovakia 50 years ago boasted one of Europe's strongest economies, and many residents compare their living standards not with those of East bloc neighbors but with those of the West. By that measure, Czechoslovaks concluded that their economy was backward.

Far more important than economic dissatisfaction, however, was political anger. Czechoslovakia has Eastern Europe's strongest democratic tradition, and its modern supporters argued that the country was being left behind by new experiments in Poland, Hungary and even East Germany. But if tradition served as a goad to some, it was lack of a historical memory that helped spur on others. The



The joyous people of Prague celebrate with flags and victory signs

"The ideal of socialism with a human face lives on in a new generation."

under the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the States in which they reside. The step was premature; it was not desired by the Indians themselves; and it might have placed in jeopardy both human and property rights of the Indians.

At the time I returned S. 1407 without my signature, I stated that I would be glad to approve a bill that incorporated the desirable features so necessary to the future welfare of these Indian groups, if the Congress should see fit to pass a measure without the objectionable provisions.

The present bill (S. 2734) is in substance the predecessor bill without the provisions to which I objected. It authorizes improvements which will help the Indians achieve greater economic stability, will provide better educational opportunities, and will lead to the improvement of their health. Among other helpful provisions is one which gives the Navajo Tribal Council greater control over the expenditure of tribal funds. The act also authorizes the Navajo Indians to adopt a constitution, which would enable them to exercise broad powers in the management of their own affairs.

It is reassuring to learn from the telegram of the chairman and vice chairman of the

Navajo Tribal Council, urging approval of the bill, that the "Navajos look forward with hope to the Government's commitment to help them solve their economic and social problems." I assure the members of the Council of my continued interest in their efforts toward economic and social advancement. I particularly invite their attention to section 8 of the bill which states the intention of the Congress that the tribal councils and the Indian communities affected by this program shall be kept informed and shall be consulted as the program develops. I also wish to assure the members of both the Hopi and Navajo Tribes that their religion and social customs will be fully respected in accordance with this Nation's long-established laws and traditions.

I believe that the economic development program outlined in this bill will start the Indians of the Navajo and Hopi Reservations on the way to economic self-sufficiency, which has been too long delayed. It is my sincere hope that the Congress will promptly appropriate the full amount requested in my 1951 budget to initiate this program.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2734 is Public Law 474, 81st Congress (64 Stat. 44).

92 Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. *April 20, 1950*

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

I am happy to be here today with this group of editors. You and I have a great many important problems in common, and one of the most important of these is the responsibility we share in helping to make the foreign policy of the United States of America. That is why I am going to take

this opportunity to discuss with you some of the aspects of that policy.

No group of men in this country is of greater importance to our foreign policy than the group your society represents.

In a democracy foreign policy is based on the decisions of the people.

One vital function of a free press is to present the facts on which the citizens of a democracy can base their decisions. You

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Public Law 474, 81st
 Congress (44 Stat. 44).

of the American

, 1950

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 aspects of that policy.
 The participation of men in this country is of
 great importance to our foreign policy
 because your society represents
 the democracy foreign policy is based on
 the interests of the people.
 One of the functions of a free press is to
 present facts on which the citizens of
 the country can base their decisions. You

Harry S. Truman, 1950

Apr. 20 [92]

are a link between the American people and
 world affairs. If you inform the people
 well and completely, their decisions will be
 good. If you misinform them, their deci-
 sions will be bad; our country will suffer
 and the world will suffer.

You cannot make up people's minds for
 them. What you can do is to give them the
 facts they need to make up their own minds.
 Now that is a tremendous responsibility.

Most of you are meeting that responsibility
 well—but I am sorry to say a few are meeting
 it very badly. Foreign policy is not a matter
 for partisan presentation. The facts about
 Europe or Asia should not be twisted to con-
 form to one side or the other of a political
 dispute. Twisting the facts might change
 the course of an election here at home, but
 it would certainly damage our country's pro-
 gram abroad.

In many other countries today, the papers
 print about foreign affairs only what their
 governments tell them to print. They can't
 add anything, or cut anything. In the de-
 mocracies, the papers have a free hand.
 Only in a democracy is there such mutual
 trust and confidence among citizens that a
 private group is given such an all-important
 role in determining what the Nation as a
 whole shall do. There is too much nonsense
 about striped trousers in foreign affairs. Far
 more influence is exerted at home by the
 baggy pants of the managing editor than
 ever is exerted by the striped pants in the
 State Department.

There never has been a time in our his-
 tory when there was so great a need for our
 citizens to be informed and to understand
 what is happening in the world.

The cause of freedom is being challenged
 throughout the world today by the forces of
 imperialistic communism. This is a strug-
 gle, above all else, for the minds of men.
 Propaganda is one of the most powerful

weapons the Communists have in this strug-
 gle. Deceit, distortion, and lies are systemat-
 ically used by them as a matter of deliberate
 policy.

This propaganda can be overcome by the
 truth—plain, simple, unvarnished truth—
 presented by the newspapers, radio, news-
 reels, and other sources that the people trust.
 If the people are not told the truth, or if they
 do not have confidence in the accuracy and
 fairness of the press, they have no defense
 against falsehoods. But if they are given
 the true facts, these falsehoods become laugh-
 able instead of dangerous.

We can have confidence that the free press
 of the United States and most of the other
 free nations will keep us from being de-
 ceived by Communist propaganda. But in
 other parts of the world the struggle between
 falsehood and truth is far more intense and
 far more dangerous.

Communist propaganda is so false, so
 crude, so blatant, that we wonder how men
 can be swayed by it. We forget that most of
 the people to whom it is directed do not have
 free access to accurate information. We for-
 get that they do not hear our broadcasts or
 read impartial newspapers. We forget that
 they do not have a chance to learn the truth
 by traveling abroad or by talking freely to
 travelers in their own countries.

All too often the people who are subject
 to Communist propaganda do not know
 Americans, or citizens of other free nations,
 as we really are. They do not know us as
 farmers and as workers. They do not know
 us as people having hopes and problems like
 their own. Our way of life is something
 strange to them. They do not even know
 what we mean when we say "democracy."

This presents one of the greatest tasks
 facing the free nations today. That task is
 nothing less than to meet false propaganda
 with truth all around the globe. Every-

where that the propaganda of the Communist totalitarianism is spread, we must meet it and overcome it with honest information about freedom and democracy.

In recent years there has been tremendous progress all over the world in education and the exchange of ideas. This progress has stirred men everywhere to new desires and new ambitions. They want greater knowledge, they want better lives, they want to be masters of their own affairs. We have helped and encouraged these people, but the Communists have seized upon their desires and ambitions and are seeking to exploit them for their own selfish purposes.

In the Far East, for example, millions are restlessly seeking to break away from the conditions of poverty and misery that have surrounded them in the past. The Communists understand this situation very well. They are trying to move in and take advantage of these aspirations. They are making glittering promises about the benefits of communism. They reach directly to the peasant or the villager in these vast areas, and talk to him directly in his own tongue about the things he has learned to desire. They say that they can get these things for him. And too often he hears no voice from our side to that dispute.

We know how false these Communist promises are. But it is not enough for us to know this. Unless we get the real story across to the people in other countries, we will lose the battle for men's minds by pure default.

The Communist propaganda portrays the Soviet Union as the world's foremost advocate of peace and the protector of defenseless peoples. The contradiction between what the Communist leaders have promised and what they have actually done is so startling that we are amazed that anyone can be deceived. In Berlin, in Czechoslovakia, in the Balkans, in the Far East, they have proved,

time after time, that their talk about peace is only a cloak for imperialism. But their intended victims will not learn these facts from Soviet propaganda. We are the ones who must make sure that the truth about communism is known everywhere.

At the same time, we must overcome the constant stream of slander and vilification that the Communists pour out in an effort to discredit the United States and other free nations.

Soviet propaganda constantly reviles the United States as a nation of "warmongers" and "imperialists." You and I know how absurd this is. We know that the United States is wholly dedicated to the cause of peace. We have no purpose of going to war except in the defense of freedom. Our actions demonstrate that we mean exactly what we say. But when men throughout the world are making their choice between communism and democracy, the important thing is not what *we* know about our purposes and our actions—the important thing is what *they* know.

Communist propaganda also seeks to destroy our influence in the world by saying the American economy is weak and about to collapse. We know this is preposterous. The industrial production of the United States is equal to that of all the rest of the world combined. Our agricultural production is more than adequate for our needs. Our people enjoy the highest standard of living in the history of the world. Our economic strength is the bulwark of the free world.

From every standpoint, our free way of life is vastly superior to the system of oppression which the Communists seek to impose upon mankind. In many parts of the world, however, where men must choose between freedom and communism, the story is going untold.

We cannot run the risk that nations may

Truman

9247892

be lost to the cause of freedom, because their people do not know the facts.

I am convinced that we should greatly extend and strengthen our efforts to make the truth known to people in all the world.

Most of us have recognized for years, of course, how important it is to spread the truth about freedom and democracy. We are already doing some very good work—through the “Voice of America” and the United States information offices and libraries in many parts of the world, through the exchange of students, through the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, and in many other ways. But events have shown, I believe, that we need to do much more, both ourselves and in cooperation with the other free nations. We must use every means at our command, private as well as governmental, to get the truth to other peoples.

Private groups and organizations have an important part to play. Our labor unions have already done fine work in communicating with labor in Europe, in Latin America, and elsewhere. The story of free American labor, told by American trade unionists, is a better weapon against Communist propaganda among workers in other countries than any number of speeches by Government officials.

The same principle applies to other groups. The best way for farmers in other countries to find out about us is to talk directly with our own farmers. Our businessmen can speak directly to businessmen abroad. We need to promote much more direct contact between our people and those of other countries.

We should encourage many more people from other countries to visit us here, to see for themselves what is true and what is not true about this great country of ours. We should find more opportunities for foreign students to study in our schools and univer-

sities. They will learn here the skills and techniques needed in their own countries. They will also see at first hand the rights and duties of citizens in our land of democratic institutions.

Our colleges should train more Americans to go abroad as teachers, especially to teach modern methods of farming, industry, and public health—and, by example, to teach our concepts of democracy. The notable record of our many charitable and religious organizations who send teachers abroad is a proof of what can be done.

Another major part of our effort must be carried out through our great public information channels—newspapers and magazines, radio, and motion pictures. We must strive constantly to break down or leap over barriers to free communication wherever they exist. We must make full use of every effective means of communicating information, in simple, understandable form, to people whose backgrounds and cultures are different from our own.

This poses an enormous challenge to groups such as yours, a challenge which can be met only by extraordinary inventiveness and enterprise. I am confident that the American press can and will make a tremendously useful contribution toward finding new solutions.

The Government's programs for telling the truth about the United States to the peoples of the world also need constant improvement. Our present overseas information and educational exchange program is getting results. For example, the “Voice of America” has been carrying to people behind the Iron Curtain the true story of world events. It has been so successful that the Soviet government is using a vast amount of costly equipment in an attempt to drown out our broadcasts by jamming. We must devise ways to break through that jamming

and get our message across. And we must improve and strengthen our whole range of information and educational services.

This is not a conclusion reached by Government officials alone. We have had the valuable aid of the United States Advisory Commission on Information created by the Congress. Your own society is ably represented on that commission by Mr. Mark Ethridge and Mr. Erwin D. Canham. The members of the Commission have given intensive study to the overseas information program and have made repeated recommendations that it be substantially expanded. Similar recommendations for the exchange program have been made by the Advisory Commission on Education, headed by Dr. Harvie Branscomb. I have been glad to see that many members of the Congress have urged an improved and expanded program in these fields—as shown, for example, by the resolution introduced recently by Senator Benton for himself and a number of his colleagues.

Because of the pressing need to increase our efforts along this line, I have directed the Secretary of State to plan a strengthened and more effective national effort to use the great power of truth in working for peace. This effort will require the imagination and energies of private individuals and groups throughout the country. We shall need to use fully all the private and governmental means that have proved successful so far—and to discover and employ a great many new ones.

Our task is to present the truth to millions of people who are uninformed or misinformed or unconvinced. Our task is to reach them in their daily lives, as they work and learn. We must be alert, ingenious, and diligent in reaching peoples of other countries, whatever their educational and cultural backgrounds may be. Our task is to show them that freedom is the way to economic and so-

cial advancement, the way to political independence, the way to strength, happiness, and peace.

This task is not separate and distinct from other elements of our foreign policy. It is a necessary part of all we are doing to build a peaceful world. It is as important as armed strength or economic aid. The Marshall plan, military aid, point 4—these and other programs depend for their success on the understanding and support of our own citizens and those of other countries.

We must make ourselves known as we really are—not as Communist propaganda pictures us. We must pool our efforts with those of other free peoples in a sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of freedom against the propaganda of slavery. We must make ourselves heard round the world in a great campaign of truth.

We have tremendous advantages in the struggle for men's minds and loyalties. We have truth and freedom on our side. The appeal of free institutions and self-government springs from the deepest and noblest aspirations of mankind. It is based on every man's desire for liberty and opportunity. It is based on every man's wish to be self-reliant and to shape his own destiny.

As we go forward with our campaign of truth, we will make lasting progress toward the kind of world we seek—a world in which men and nations live not as enemies but as friends and brothers.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. at the Hotel Statler in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to B. M. McKelway of the Washington Star, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. In the course of his remarks he referred to Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Times and the Louisville Courier-Journal, Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, and Dr. Harvie Branscomb, chancellor of Vanderbilt University.

The annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors was held in Washington April 20-27, 1950.

Rumania -
town of Timisoara where
uprisings started

securitate man. Called Dominic Parasciv, he was a hairy, powerful man in his fifties, a chemical engineer who was known as a quiet, nice fellow. Only he spent many weekends away from home, supposedly on business trips. He was captured red-handed on Christmas Eve after he had shot several people and only after he himself got hit in the leg and liver. When he came to, the nurse on duty told me, he said he was sorry—sorry he didn't kill more people. Now, pale and unshaven, mumbling incoherently, he was tied to the bed, looking like a trapped wolf. What training does it take to turn a man into such a beast?

The shooting from the factory was one of the last acts of resistance by the *securitate*. A few hours later a TV announcer, his face beaming, said, "Good news this Christmas Day. The Antichrist is dead." The staff of the Bucharest TV station apologized for not being able to show the tape of Ceausescu's execution, but there were some pockets of resistance on the way and the historic recording could not be risked. It transpired that when Ceausescu was tried and condemned to death an entire army unit volunteered for the firing squad; only three men drew the lucky lots. The man who had called himself "the fairest fir tree of the Carpathians," and who had declared only a few weeks previously that sooner would apple trees bear pears than socialism be endangered in Rumania, was now dead.

I made my pilgrimage to the place where it had all begun 11 days before, the house of a Protestant pastor whose parishioners were willing to die rather than let him be arrested by the *securitate*. "Laszlo Tokesz, we are waiting for you," someone scrawled in white paint on the brick wall. The name of the priest, a Hungarian name, gives part of the reason why the trouble began here in Timisoara. Besides Hungarians there are German, Yugoslav, and Jewish minorities in this town. Very few Rumanians have been allowed out of the country since World War II, but Timisoarans have watched Yugoslav and Hungarian television for years.

Keeping in touch with families abroad, the remaining ones knew only too well how much the official propaganda lied. This plus the tradition of civilized Habsburg rule in this part of Rumania helps to explain why Timi-

soara became the flashpoint. But why did all of Rumania follow Timisoara's lead? "Look," said my Rumanian guide, a shabby, friendly, talkative man of 42. "This was my plan for escaping to Hungary"—he unfolded a tiny, easily digestible piece of paper with a sketch of a border region. "My salary is 3,200 lei per month, but we were taxed 250 lei per month for not having childrens. My wife and I no like making childrens for Ceausescu. This coat is 2,000 lei—you can only buy them on the black market. A kilo of coffee is 1,500 lei. I haven't seen a banana for ten years." In a country where television, heating, and electricity were rationed to two hours a day, reasons for discontent are easy to point out.

But you have to go to Bucharest to appreciate the depths of Ceausescu's depravity. The Avenue of the Victory of Socialism has been built on the ruins of Bucharest's medieval quarter. At the apex of the avenue rises one of this century's prime monuments to megalomania and cruelty. What was to become Ceausescu's presidential palace is set off from the public space by a stern fence which takes over half an hour to walk around. The palace itself expresses perfectly the character of its sponsor. It is as if someone had read *1984*, liked it, and had a fantasy of reproducing the Ministry of Love. One thing is certain. If, in another few months, Ceausescu had moved in, he would never have been dislodged by people power. He would never have had to flee ignominiously by helicopter from the roof. No crowd would

have dared to challenge him from that square, in front of that fortress. In what was no doubt the intended effect, standing before Ceausescu's palace one feels powerless as if before the temple of an evil god.

RUMANIANS paid dearly for their courage. In Timisoara alone I saw a graveyard with twenty corpses, some tortured, their hands and legs bound with wire. The local citizens' committee published a list of one hundred dead. This tallies with estimates by doctors I interviewed at Timisoara's main hospital. When a proper count is made, perhaps the casualty figure will have to be doubled or even trebled. A few hundred died in Bucharest. I would estimate, therefore, that it took the lives of about one thousand people to topple Ceausescu. That is a lot of innocent blood but a far cry from the Western estimates of 12,000 dead in Timisoara and seventy thousand in all of Rumania. As usual in revolutions rumor had a field day.

How will Ceausescu's 24-year rule be remembered a few decades hence? Will some academic Marxist argue that, with all his faults, he nevertheless left Rumania non-aligned and debtless, with plenty of low-income housing (to match the low incomes) and a brand-new subway in Bucharest? It seems unlikely. But Ceausescu does have two paradoxical achievements: a Communist Party so discredited that it will probably disappear altogether, and a people who are proud of having regained their freedom by their own efforts. □

Christmas Eve in Poland

RADEK SIKORSKI

WARSAW—When I was a child, Christmas Eve had an eternal, unchanging quality. My mother cooked carp for the traditional meatless supper. One was supposed to eat 12 other courses, but by the time of my childhood—the Sixties—this was only a memory. I did, however, always set an extra place at the table, for a guest who always came late: only at the age of ten or 11 did I begin to wonder why the appearance of St. Nicholas was preceded by

the disappearance of my grandfather. He would say he was going to fetch a paper, even though newsstands were closed at that time of night. When I grew older I joined everybody at mid-night Mass, and it was solemnly explained to me why in such times the last words of the traditional hymn were changed to "Bring us back, O God, our free fatherland."

This year, at five thousand zloties per kilo, many families could hardly afford the traditional fish. The mood



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Women pray over the dead in a cemetery in Timisoara, as the uprising began.

noon and into the
ay, Romanians mid-
ad heard about in
from Czechoslova-
Bulgaria, where up-
seated other long-

front of the Central
waved flags and
"With Us!" But the
sure.

—better trained,
re fanatically loyal
yed to be in East-
ad not given up.
ed.

Securitate began

edge what they already knew from 24 years of life under the Ceausescus.

Their country was different. Its history was marked by cruelty, fascism and violence. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The national history books celebrated Vlad the Impaler, a 15th century nobleman who modern historians believe killed more than 100,000 people by forcing them to sit on sharpened stakes.

Vlad's descendants were the Securitate, Ceausescu's private army of 30,000, who that night began a guerrilla war against the Romanian people. For the next five days, the Securitate terrorized the country like a deranged dragon, breathing fire in Bucharest and other cities, including Timisoara, where the uprising had begun.

That uncharacteristic reasonableness from the government encouraged others to join the protest. By Saturday night, tens of thousands of citizens were in the streets, chanting anti-Ceausescu slogans.

On Dec. 17, as the crowds headed for city hall, Ceausescu miscalculated and decided to treat the protesters as rabble, or "anti-socialist hooligans."

"Relay my order to all officers," he told party leaders by closed-circuit television. " . . . Anyone who tries to enter a state institution or party headquarters, or who breaks a shop window, must immediately be shot. I want calm restored in Timisoara in one hour. Call everybody. Give orders and execute them."

The shooting started late that Sunday afternoon and continued through the night. But instead of quelling the violence, it seemed to enrage the people.

All fall, the citizens of Timisoara had been watching Yugoslav and Hungarian television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. They were ready.

Little Timisoara was gripped by a kind of euphoria. "At last, we were doing something," recalled Laszlo Szabo, a chemical engineer who joined the demonstrations Sunday night.

The army did fire on civilians in Timisoara, but not willingly. At least 42 soldiers were executed on the spot during the operation for refusing to fire on the crowd.

"He Did This Thing to Himself"

By Wednesday, Dec. 20, the soldiers in Timisoara had had enough. When 50,000 workers marched through the streets, headed for the local Communist Party headquarters, the soldiers joined them. That afternoon, the soldiers pulled their tanks into defensive positions around civilian headquarters at the Opera House.

Exactly how many died in the massacre at Timisoara is not yet known, but in the first days the figures were wildly inflated. In a country where information had been rigidly controlled for a quarter century, Romanians were ready to believe anything.

As the revolution gained strength, the lack of real information and exaggerated atrocity stories worked against the regime. "Timisoara" came to mean the massacre of thousands upon thousands of unarmed people. It was the rallying cry for the students who infiltrated Ceausescu's final rally.

Ceausescu's decision to call an official demonstration on Dec. 21 "was the biggest mistake he ever made," said a Bucharest resident. "He was so arrogant he believed he could win the crowd over by speaking to them. He did this thing to himself."

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured by the government the same day they tried to get away. Their capture was announced the next day, along with a promise that they would be given a fair trial.

But as hundreds of civilians were killed by Securitate bullets, and the army post where the Ceausescus were being held

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A Revolution's Unlikely Spark

As pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the Transylvanian city of Timisoara, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes seemed an unlikely figure to spark a revolution. But Tokes, 37, possessed a sharp tongue at a time when that attribute was rare in Rumania. Not only did he lash out against the tyrannical regime in Bucharest, but he even accused Hungarian Reformed Church leaders of collaborating with communist authorities.

No cause aroused Tokes's wrath more than the plight of his fellow 1.7 million ethnic Hungarians, who make up 8% of the Rumanian population and are concentrated in Transylvania, the country's westernmost region. Long a center of ethnic turbulence, Transylvania passed from Hungary to Rumania in 1918, after World War I. The region reverted to Hungary in 1940, and was ceded back to Rumania in 1944. Ethnic Hungarian leaders charge Bucharest with attempting "cultural genocide" by shutting ethnic schools, dissolving Hungarian communities and seizing historical archives. Some 18,000 ethnic Hungarians fled Rumania last year.

Tokes ran afoul of authorities last August in an outspoken interview with Hungarian television. Among other things, he attacked Bucharest's plan to raze up to 8,000 villages and resettle their residents in high-rise apartment complexes. Some 50,000 ethnic Hungarians would be relocated in the program, which has brought denunciations from international human rights groups and strained relations with the Budapest government.

Denied a ration book by the state after the broadcast, Tokes was unable to buy bread, meat or fuel. Parishioners who tried to bring him provisions were confronted by police. The pastor was barred from meeting relatives, and his telephone was shut off. In a surreal form of harassment, authorities occasionally turned on the phone to



Tokes inside his besieged and battered church

deliver threats to Tokes, then billed him for the calls at long-distance rates. To protect his four-year-old son, Tokes sent the boy to live with relatives.

In November four masked thugs broke into the apartment where Tokes lived with his pregnant wife, and they beat and stabbed the minister. Two friends who were visiting Tokes helped fight off the attackers. In a smuggled videotape made last fall, a haggard Tokes showed clear signs of strain. "They've broken our windows every day," he said. "Now they've started breaking them in the church as well. Our friends sleep here now. The nights are terrible."

Threats of violence were just part of Tokes's troubles. Church officials tried to transfer him to a less volatile parish in southern Rumania. When Tokes refused, Bishop Laszlo Papp accused the pastor of "violating the laws of both church and state" and obtained a court order for his eviction. But hundreds of supporters formed a human chain around Tokes's building to protect him, thus triggering the crackdown that helped inspire the nationwide demonstrations that toppled Nicolae Ceausescu.

Tokes and his wife were taken into custody, present whereabouts unknown. After Ceausescu's fall, Rumanian television said Tokes was alive and well and "calling on people not to give up their fight for freedom." The once obscure minister has already joined the ranks of Eastern Europe's foremost fighters for liberty. Wrote Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in an open letter to Tokes last week: "I honestly admire your activity in a country oppressed by dictatorship. Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world."

Reported by John Borrell/Vienna

—By John Greenwald.

down. Party spokesmen claimed that Milea then committed suicide, but it was more likely that he was shot by Securitate men. Next morning an unidentified general appeared on television to say, "I am very sorry that my friend the Minister died. It is a lie that he committed suicide." With his defenses crumbling, Ceausescu fled.

Of all Warsaw Pact party chiefs, only Ceausescu dared to order his security forces to shoot after Gorbachev had made it clear that the Soviet army would not back them up. But then Ceausescu for many years had set himself apart from his East bloc brethren. He was cheered by the West as the "maverick" of the Pact and praised for his refusal to allow Soviet troops on his soil, to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or to support the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

Washington, Paris, London and other capitals chose to overlook Ceausescu's steel Stalinist hand at home, where he enforced a shameless cult of his own personality. He tolerated neither dissent among citizens nor a difference of opinion inside the party. He appointed his wife to the Politburo, his sons to high party and government rank and more than 30 other relatives to official positions. He basked in such honorifics as the Genius of the Carpathians and the Danube of Thought while treating the Rumanian people with extraordinary cruelty.

To repay his \$10 billion foreign debt, he halted imports, exported food, rationed electricity and impoverished the population. He wasted scarce investment funds on giant party office buildings and decided to bulldoze thousands of villages and force farmers into high-rise apartment buildings. His go-it-alone stubbornness in foreign policy was only one more sign of his determination to depend on no power but his own. As it turned out, that was not enough.

Though Ceausescu is out of power, he still casts a black shadow over his country's future. Rumania has no history of democratic government and Ceausescu permitted no institutions to develop outside his control. The Communist Party, if it is not completely discredited in the eyes of the people, will have to enter negotiations with nascent political organizations, if they can take solid shape. With security men still fighting desperately to avert a reckoning with the nation they brutalized, the regular army will play a stabilizing role.

The European Community has already dispatched plane-loads of food and medical supplies to Bucharest. Gorbachev and the Soviet parliament have passed a resolution of "support for the just cause of the people of Rumania." In the days ahead, the people of Rumania will need all the help they can garner from both East and West if they are to recover from their bloody rebirth.

—Reported by John Borrell/Vienna and William Mader/London, with other bureaus



KLAUS REISINGER—REUTER

medical and other humanitarian aid, and Soviet Premier Nicolai Ryzhkov said any military assistance would be "impermissible." Still, the Kremlin said it would consult with other Warsaw Pact nations about responding to the Romanian crisis. And the news agency Tass pointedly expressed concern for the safety of Soviet citizens in Romania—something that could serve as a justification for military intervention.

find a tank
REBOURS—AP



On balance, it was probably in Gorbachev's interest for the anti-Ceausescu forces to prevail without assistance from Soviet troops. However different the circumstances, any intervention would rekindle memories of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. But if faced with the prospect of a Securitate victory, most Romanians would welcome Soviet help. And Gorbachev could use the opportunity to remind the increasingly independent Baltic republics that he is capable of resorting to force.



The triggering event in Ceausescu's fall was a showdown in the western city of Timisoara that ended in a Tiananmen Square-style assault by Romanian security forces. The authorities had ordered the eviction of Laszlo Tokes, a Protestant clergyman who harshly criticized the government's persecution of the country's ethnic

Hungarian minority. Local Hungarians and Romanians formed a human chain to guard Tokes, then joined other demonstrators in an outpouring of anger against the Ceausescu regime. Witnesses reported that the crowd attacked bookstores and burned Ceausescu's books, overturned cars and attacked the town hall with Molotov cocktails; some even hurled themselves at the demonstrators, even though children were at the front of the crowd. Several Army officers reportedly refused to shoot their unarmed countrymen—and were summarily executed by the security forces. The death-toll estimates ranged from the hundreds to 12,000. Television footage showed anguished local residents digging out mass graves in a grim search for family and friends.

Although Timisoara was sealed off to outsiders and Western reporters were not admitted into Romania, the news spread quickly of a conflict that had united Romanians and Hungarians against a detested regime. "People were scared, but it was clear that hatred turned into rage," says Vladimir Tismaneanu, a former Universi-

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Date: FEBRUARY 23, 1990

To: PAUL LUTHRINGER, THE WHITE HOUSE

Fax#: (202) 456-6218

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“We The People”

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INSIDE: The Overseas Press Club Awards

A "Great Bulwark" Of All Our Other Liberties

BY RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



Ronald Reagan

IN 1987 OUR NATION celebrates the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, the blueprint for our republican form of government and a charter of those rights we as a people hold dear. The first ten amendments to our Constitution form the Bill of Rights, and while they do not exhaust the list of fundamental rights, they place in sharp relief those liberties which the Founders wished specifically to secure against invasion by the national government.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are among the very first of the liberties so enumerated. To our Founders, this was a matter of both philosophical and practical significance, for the American Revolution was as much a revolution of words as a revolution of guns. Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose between government without newspapers or newspapers without government, he would choose the latter without hesitation.

Today the term "the press" refers to a

wide variety of media for the written and spoken word, and to images as well. Technology has changed and developed, but unfortunately the urge to deny or abridge freedom of the press has not. In all too many nations around the globe, in this hemisphere and across the oceans, governments founded on a notion of the State as the source of all legitimate rights also insist on the State as the sole arbiter of information for the people. Censorship and outright suppression of any

continued

REAGAN /continued

dissenting view are the norm. It is no accident that the governments which most vehemently deny these rights to their own people are those which pose the greatest threat to their neighbors' freedom as well.

Freedom of the press, then, is not only a liberty in itself, it is, in the phrase of George Mason, who drafted the Virginia Bill of Rights in 1776, a "great bulwark" of all the other liberties we enjoy. For this reason, all of us must be zealous to guard this precious freedom.

and the press must not and need not be ashamed to stand guard over the full panoply of freedoms in which it takes such prominent rank.

Every day around the world there are brave men and women—many of them members of the Overseas Press Club—working tirelessly to get the facts and report the stories that people need to live their lives in enlightened dignity and peace. So much depends on you, on the quality of your work and your professionalism. Let us give thanks then for the document which has endured through 200 years of turbulence, trial, and

triumph, and let us rededicate ourselves to the hope that the values enshrined in our Constitution will one day be recognized as part of the heritage of all mankind.

Nancy and I are proud to salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and to send you our best wishes on the occasion of your annual Awards Dinner. May God bless you all. ■

In addition to being President of the United States, the writer is a former broadcaster for WHO in Des Moines, and WOC in Davenport, Iowa.

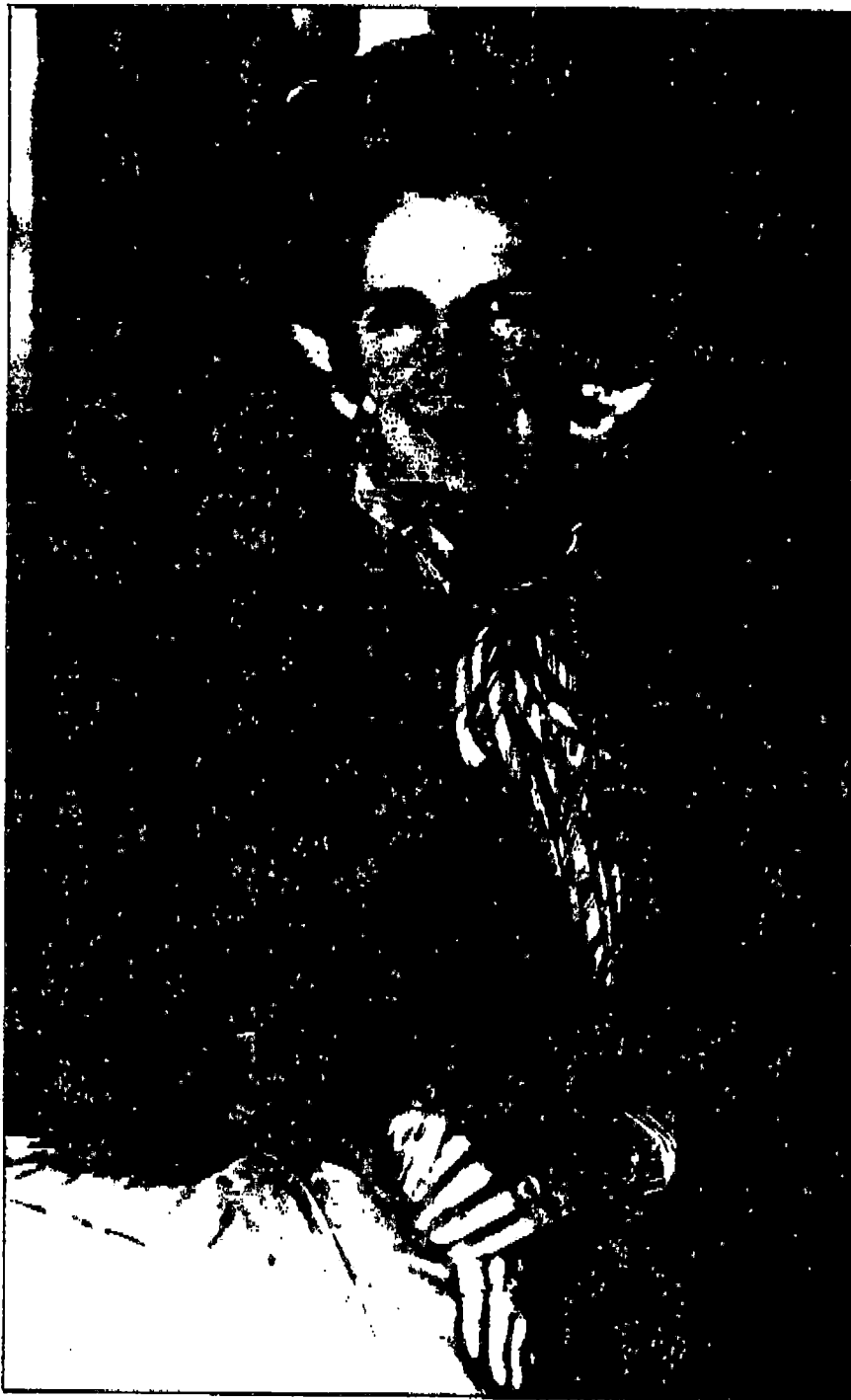
A Common Heritage— Written And Unwritten

BY MARGARET THATCHER,
PRIME MINISTER OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM

ALL WHO VALUE FREEDOM and democracy will want to join you in celebrating this anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. We in Britain are particularly proud to have helped evolve, from the Magna Carta (1215) to the Bill of Rights (1689) and the great Parliamentary reforms of the nineteenth century, the principles which your Constitution has sustained and carried forward for two hundred years.

We in Britain have no written constitution, but instead have built up over centuries a body of traditions which guides us. But we share the same concerns for justice, for the democratic rights of every individual, for freedom to choose, to speak, to think, to act as one wishes, within the limits that life together in society must impose. We have learned from each other's experience for two hundred years. And we have fought together to defend these values.

In this glorious anniversary year, we share your respect and admiration for the wisdom of your founding fathers who enshrined these values in the U.S. Constitution. ■



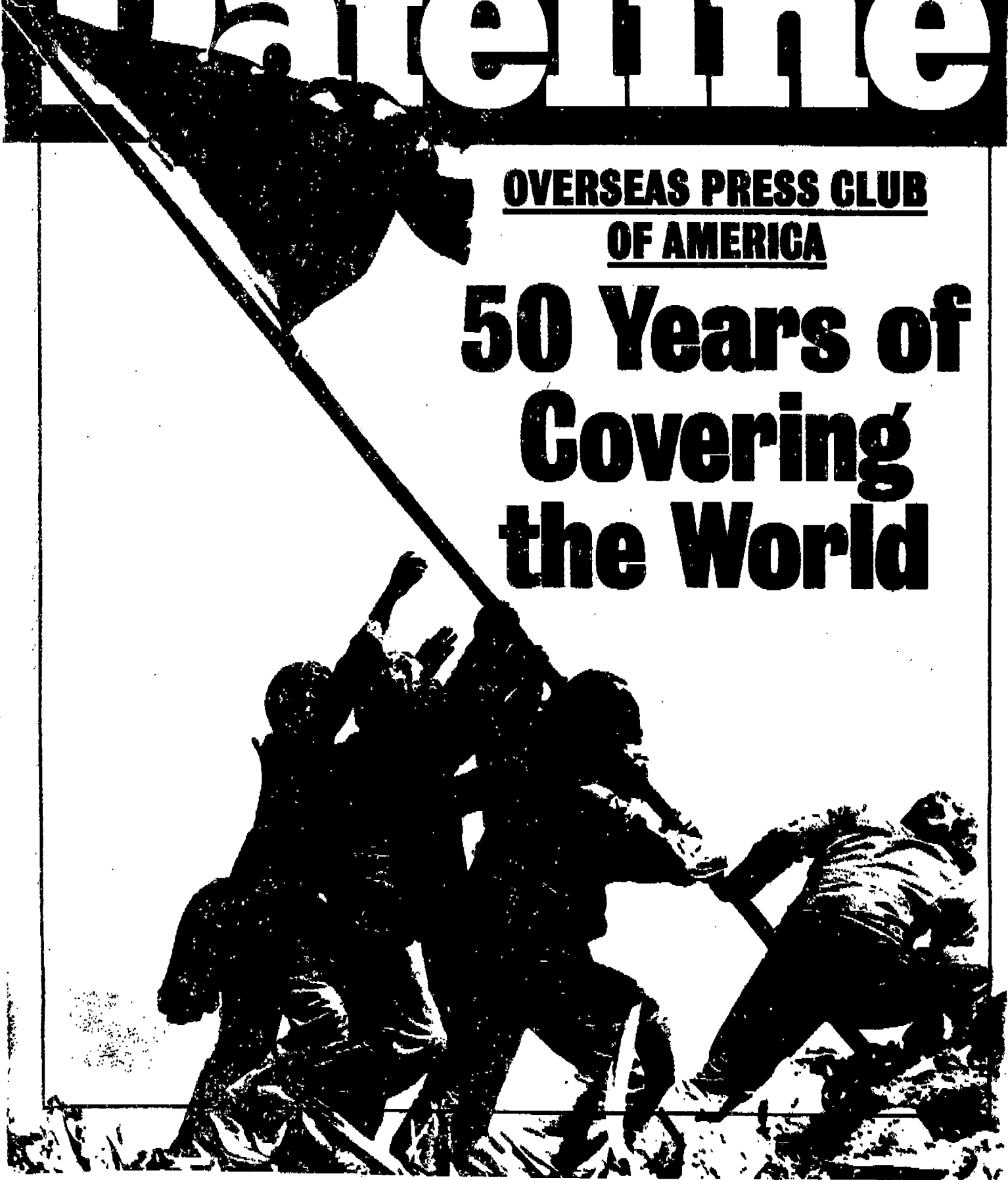
Margaret Thatcher

Inside: Winner of the Overseas Press Club Awards

Dateline

**OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB
OF AMERICA**

**50 Years of
Covering
the World**



A New Demand on Democracy



Our free and open society is uniquely suited to prosper from the information explosion

BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

When the Overseas Press Club was founded, 50 years ago, an isolationist United States stood at the edge of entering World War II. It was a faraway war, a "European war," and we learned most of the news of that war through foreign correspondents.

Edward R. Murrow's was the voice that brought many of us together around the radio in our living rooms, describing the tragedy of war. Suddenly, it wasn't just a "European war," it was our war, too.

While the basic tenets of news reporting haven't changed much since that time, the way news is delivered has changed dramatically. We still get our news via radio and newspapers, but also by computer, fax machine and television. Edward R. Murrow's voice is gone. Now pictures are brought into our living rooms, often live pictures of events that unfold as we watch.

The nature of business has changed as well. Round-the-clock trading ensures that international investors have a 24-hour day, for the news that moves markets never stops. What was once a lofty concept—a global marketplace—is now a reality.

You are information managers. People buy and sell stocks, bonds, real estate and commodities partly based on information that comes across the wires or on the various electronic media. Political decisions can be altered based on information that is carried on television or radio or in print.

Our country is unique in its historic protection of freedom of the press. And the press has a unique history of responsible reporting. With the speed with which information is transferred today, that tradition of accuracy and reliability becomes even more crucial.

International reporting has played a great role in educating all peoples of the world on foreign diplomacy. The press plays a daily role in the message that is projected to both our allies and our adversaries, and the nature of public disclosure is affected greatly as a result.

Utsided of survival: The information explosion has placed a demand on democracy, but a democratic society is uniquely suited to such an extraordinary flow of information. A free and open society can prosper and survive in the information age, and foreign correspondents are in many ways the lifeblood of that survival.

The world is changing fast, and it is often a very dangerous place. Those correspondents who have put themselves in the line of fire, taking risky posts in perilous places, deserve our thanks and admiration. They have accepted a job many dream of—but one that few actually dare to undertake. Their challenges are often more than we here at home can imagine.

And, there are those who are never out of our prayers—those journalists held in foreign lands against their will. We continue to work for their release and pray for their freedom and their return to their families. We are ever vigilant in our concern.

I'm proud of the role that American correspondents have played in bringing America closer to the world and in sharing America with others. American correspondents have pioneered the use of new technologies to bring the news faster and more reliably to all citizens of the world. And American publications and broadcasts have served as models for other nations.

Fifty years of service and commitment to the highest ideals—freedom and truth. Congratulations.



The voice that brought us together in our living rooms: *Murrow at work*

APRIL 19, 1988

Dateline

POLITICS

AND THE

PRESS

Has the media focus on 'character' distorted the race of '88?

INSIDE

Winners of the Overseas Press Club Awards



DESPITE THE MEDIA'S SHORTCOMINGS, SAYS THE PRESIDENT, THEIR SCRUTINY HELPS KEEP DEMOCRACY WHOLE

by Ronald Reagan



The President dons a gift trooper's hat after speaking to the National Law Enforcement Council in Washington, D.C., last year.

As a young man growing up in the Midwest, I remember the days of whistle-stops, classic stump oratory and radio reports of political campaigns. If my neighbors in Dixon, Ill., saw a national candidate once in an election year, it was considered a near miracle.

Today's voters get to hear presidential candidates even if they never have the opportunity to see them in person. Nightly news programs, Sunday talk shows, televised debates and local interviews give us the chance to see more and learn more about those who run for the nation's highest office than any generation before us.

Televised campaign coverage, once almost exclusively the province of a few veteran political reporters, is now a staple on hundreds of local sta-

tions across the country. Newspapers and magazines have improved their technology to keep pace with television and continue to play a critical role in campaign coverage. They print the longer stories that give depth to campaign news and offer the analysis that adds perspective. We rely on newspapers to carry the texts of major speeches and campaign platforms and promises. And though they don't always succeed, most newspapers still try hard to keep news on the news pages and opinion on the opinion pages.

I believe a living room is as good a place as anywhere to judge the fitness of a presidential candidate, and television has enhanced the democratic process by bringing it into our

homes. Some have said that television has undermined the political process. On the contrary, I sometimes wonder where our modern democracy would be without it. Because this country is so large and national elections are such enormous events, only television can establish a one-to-one communication between candidate and citizen.

The American people need to observe and listen to candidates many times, in many different situations. That is the best way to understand their characters, feel confident that they are individuals of integrity and grasp their positions on the important issues of our day. Then viewers become well-informed voters, and that is what an open



Reagan shows carrots, as well as sticks, can win the political "horse race."

analysis about who is winning or losing or what the impact of one specific straw poll will be on the whole campaign when, in fact, no one really knows. This can be both misleading to the public and damaging to the candidate. I recall, for example, that after I fared poorly in the 1980 Iowa Republican caucuses, one veteran network TV correspondent made the snap judgment that my political career was over. That was two inaugural addresses ago.

I have been the subject of intense media scrutiny in every campaign in which I participated. I have not always agreed with everything that has been reported, but on the whole the scrutiny probably helped me and turned out to be good for the country and good for the democratic process.

Anyone who hopes to occupy the Oval Office must withstand intense scrutiny. That's the way it should be. Americans have high standards, and those who seek public service are asking the people to grant them something of great value: their trust. □

democratic society is all about.

Reporters naturally give more attention to the candidate who appears most likely to win, and the brightest lights are thrown on the front-runners

in each party. But no candidate, and no voter, should take seriously the so-called horse-race coverage the media love so well. By that I mean the reliance on polls and instantaneous



In this election year..

IT'S NOT POLITICS AS USUAL AT THE DAILY NEWS.

The election of the best presidential candidate requires an informed electorate. At the New York Daily News, we are doing our level best to keep that electorate informed. To that end, we have assembled the best columnists and writers in the business for the 1988 election. People like Richard Reeves, Lars-Erik Nelson and Frank Lombardi. Nobody covers the election like the Daily News.

DAILY NEWS

New York's Hometown Paper

Stars Burning Bright

Latvia

JURIS KAZA



—Jennifer Lawson

RIGA—With the slight background hiss of a distant AM broadcast, the choir sings *Klusa Nakts, Sveta Nakts* (Silent Night, Holy Night) in Latvian on Radio Riga. Playing in the background during a transatlantic call from Stockholm, it amazes and moves my family in the U.S., who never thought this would be possible.

On Christmas Eve, the Lutheran services from the Riga Dom Church are beamed across Latvia on television. In Ludza, a town near the Russian border in the predominantly Catholic province of Latgale, almost all the students from the local high school, and younger children as well, attend midnight Mass; two years ago this would have been unthinkable defiance. At the same time, Latvian television offers a surprise broadcast of midnight Mass from the Vatican, relayed by satellite.

Interspersed with the Christian celebrations and caroling were eerie pre-Christian solstice songs with the ancient refrain, "*kaladu, kaladu*," and the songs of merrymakers roaming around dressed as gypsies, storks, dancing bears, and other animals. A few years ago, the Soviet authorities were even more upset by the Latvian folklore movement than by Christian activism. There was a powerful un-

Mr. Kaza is a Latvian-American freelance journalist based in Stockholm, who has been banned by the Latvian KGB from visiting Latvia for five years.

spoken message in reminding people that their culture was one of the oldest and richest in Europe, with an oral tradition of nearly one million folk songs.

For years, Christmas had been celebrated in secrecy and fear, just one week ahead of the official surrogate, New Year's Eve, when decorated trees and *Sala vecis*, the Frost Man (a kind of ersatz Santa Claus), were officially allowed. I celebrated one such New Year's Eve with relatives in Riga, ringing in 1983, a year that proved to be one of the most repressive for Latvia's then-tiny democratic movement. In a sweep on January 6, the Latvian KGB ransacked the homes of up to fifty Latvian families and seized for questioning a Latvian woman from Sweden and her 16-year-old daughter. One man suffered a heart attack during a KGB search, and his body was left more or less where he collapsed until the secret police were through. (The man died.)

A Latvian editor, reached by phone from Stockholm, reports that in the Dom Square—called, until recently, the June 17 Square for the day the

Red Army occupied Latvia in 1940—a Christmas pageant was held. There were lavish Christmas trees set up, apparently at city expense, in the Riga Market.

But another Latvian journalist says she saw "horrible poverty" in shops everywhere before Christmas. "The churches were full, to a large extent because it was the only place you could find peace from the open mockery of the population by the authorities through the standard of living they are able to give us," she said bitterly.

In 1989, Latvians give frank, fearless Christmas Eve man-in-the-street interviews to local television reporters. They say that although they would rather not talk politics at the rebirth of the official Christmas holiday, they feel compelled by Gorbachev's and the Kremlin's latest threats against Lithuania.

As long as the struggle for the restoration of democracy and complete independence has not ended, no formerly suppressed tradition or holiday will ever be free of politics. In many windows all across Latvia, three candles were left burning as symbols of defiance and hope, echoing the three bright stars atop the Latvian Freedom Monument in downtown Riga. □

No Turning Back

Lithuania

PETER G. KAUFMANN

VILNIUS—Anyone watching the steady stream of people of all ages entering the Vilnius Cathedral on the morning of November 25, 1989, could have assumed that this was an ordinary, everyday occurrence. Even the children scurrying through the door, genuflecting on both knees at the entrance before proceeding to their places, behaved as if this had been the usual practice throughout their lives. In fact, it was a new experience for any Lithuanian under the age of about sixty.

The occasion was the Mass which marked the opening of the congress to re-establish the Catholic Youth Association, Ateitis, in Lithuania, an organization which had been banned since the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940. Its objectives: to foster spiritual, intellectual, social, and fa-

miliar consciousness in young people, based on traditional Christian values. The fact that this event could take place at all has lost much of its dramatic force against the backdrop of the revolutionary movements toward democracy sweeping through Eastern Europe, but opening the churches has accomplished much more than a return to the open practice of religion: it has opened the door to freedom of thought. Most of all, it has provided new hope for a better future.

Today, the Catholic Church in Lithuania recognizes both the difficulties and the importance of its role. Many of its priests were persecuted, and have served time in prison and in exile. The priesthood had been infil-

Mr. Kaufmann is president of Ateitis in the United States.

ted by agents of state security, no used the few remaining seminaries for their own purposes, ultimately forcing the establishment of underground seminaries in which priests could be trained, untainted by political indoctrination.

The clergy recognize that many handicaps remain: although a sizable core of Catholics exist, most of the population has only a superficial un-

derstanding of the faith. No one expects miracles, only dedicated and methodical work. In the words of Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius: "Each of us is like a tiny rivulet feeding into a river. Our individual contributions may appear insignificant yet, together, they form a powerful current whose force can shape the world." The Catholic Church and the people know that there is no turning back. □

Christmas this year has been a symbol of rebirth for the Armenian people.

In Moscow there are relatively few Catholics, most of them Poles living here. On December 24 and 25 they gathered, as they customarily do, in St. Ludvik's Cathedral, where they listened attentively to the sermon by the church's rector, Father Stanislav Mozheyko. This Christmas, however, they were joined by a number of Orthodox believers. But even more of the Orthodox went on December 24 to the new Moscow Art Theater, which for the first time staged a Christmas play, organized and financed by the Baptist newspaper *The Protestant*.

The initiative came from Nikolay Gubenko, a famous dramatic actor who is now the minister of culture. The play, *Under the Star of Bethlehem*, was specially written for the occasion, and it reached out not only to believers: those in attendance included not simply atheists and Communists, but even People's Deputies, such as Gavriil Popov and Ilya Zaslavsky.

At the end of the play everyone in the audience received a gift that is very precious in the Soviet Union—a Gospel. There are plans to repeat this program in the Moscow Art Theater during the course of the Yuletide season.

There is no more room for Communist idols in the festive light of Christmas. □

A Christian Christmas

SERGEI GRIGORYANTS

Moscow—In the Soviet Union Christmas normally begins in the Baltics, for it is only there that Catholics and Protestants commemorate the holiday according to the Gregorian Calendar—the so-called "new style." The other churches—the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Gregorian Church, to be sure, but even the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite and Baptists and other Protestants—celebrate Christmas 13 days later, according to the Julian Calendar.

This year, however, it would not suffice to describe only what was happening in the Baltics on December 24 and 25, although there, for the first time in dozens of years, Christmas not only was celebrated nationwide, but was even recognized as a national holiday by the Communist authorities. In Lithuania all 630 Catholic churches summoned believers to Mass by tolling their church bells for the first time since the Soviet takeover in 1940. In Vilnius Cathedral, Archbishop Julionas Stepanavicius celebrated Mass, which was broadcast over the radio and television, to be heard by all Lithuanians. Throughout the republic there were concerts of religious music, and city squares for the first time displayed brightly shimmering Christmas trees.

Estonia, which is primarily Protestant, was almost as colorful this Christmas as its Catholic neighbor, Lithuania. Practically the entire pop-

ulation of this tiny country attended church services. In the Dom Cathedral of Tallinn there was a huge Christmas concert. And a curious event took place right before Christmas: a manifesto appeared in the press announcing the formation of the "Party of Free Democrats of Estonia." Among the scientists and cultural figures who had signed the manifesto, half were former CPSU members.

This year even in Yerevan and in Moscow the commemorations began on the "new style" Christmas Eve. On December 24 Armenian protestors erected a Christmas tree on the tracks of the railroad that brings raw materials to the nitrate plant in Yerevan, which for a long time has been poisoning the city's inhabitants.

Keeping the Faith

OLGA S. HRUBY

IT IS A principle of Marxist faith that with the progress of Communism religion will wither away. Because in practice this process moved much more slowly than predicted, Communist governments tried to speed it up by various means at their disposal, among which gentle persuasion was the least popular one. Yet it seems that no matter what method they apply, religious convictions are extremely difficult to eradicate. Even in Albania, where Enver Hoxha closed all houses of worship and imprisoned or killed all clergymen, there are strong indications that believers—both Christian and Moslem—have kept their faith alive.

In some Communist-dominated countries—for example, in Poland—believers were able to worship the Lord openly. In other instances they were forced into the underground church, thus risking persecution or worse. In either case they were part of a vast network which provided spiritual guidance, personal contacts, and information mostly unavailable from other sources.

In the post-Stalinist Soviet Union, demands for religious freedom were sparked by the Jewish emigration movement. Many refuseniks were in

Mrs. Hruby is editor of Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas.

Mr. Grigoryants is the editor of the independent magazine *Glasnost* and chairman of the Trade Union of Independent Journalists in the Soviet Union. This article was translated by Ludmilla Thorne.

REMARKS BY
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES A. BAKER, III
TO THE NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST
THE WASHINGTON HILTON
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 1, 1990

This is a unique morning. Today, heads of state from three continents and citizens from approximately 150 nations of the world are meeting here in the spirit of Jesus Christ to pray together, to talk together and to seek to know each other better. I know we all hope that by meeting in this way we can help foster increasing bonds of friendship throughout the world.

Frankly, when I was asked if I'd be willing to speak with you today, I was hesitant. That hesitation came from the fact that after nine years here in Washington in three different public service jobs, I am far more comfortable talking about the policy process, the political process, or any number of other topics. For me to discuss a personal journey of faith is a new experience.

But here I am and I want to talk with you "briefly" -- about faith, about friendship and about our collective spiritual responsibilities as leaders.

I am up here this morning because I believe that those of us who are put in positions of public trust should not be hesitant to speak about spiritual values. In fact, I believe spiritual values are important in the pursuit of world peace.

Pope Paul VI said at the United Nations: "The problems of the world are so great that perhaps the leaders of the world will have to learn to pray together."

It was in this very spirit that President Eisenhower, 38 years ago, began with a few members of the Senate and the House of Representatives to see if it was possible to pray together both privately and in this kind of assembly. President Eisenhower had a strong conviction that we need to build deeper and longer lasting relationships on a basis other than just economic or political. I think he would be excited to see the reality that his vision has become, if he could see us here this morning.

I spoke a moment ago about a personal journey of faith. Those of you who know me best certainly know that I do not feel like an expert on this subject. Like many of you, I am just one person genuinely struggling to put faith into practice in my life. But over these last nine years in Washington I have gained some valuable insight into that process.

There are many who believe that living in this city makes developing one's personal faith more difficult. But for me, living in this centrifuge of power and politics has encouraged (and even demanded) spiritual growth. Power, of course, can be intoxicating and addictive, and few doubt the truth of Lord Acton's words that "Power tends to corrupt, absolute power corrupts absolutely." Over these last nine years, I have had opportunities to participate in the exercise of more power than I would ever have imagined. I have felt the weight of responsibility that that brings, and I have also felt the temptations attendant to it. From this perspective, I have seen the reality that people from every level and station in life desire affirmation, recognition, and fulfillment. And some go to extraordinary lengths to obtain these elusive goals. And I found early on that having a position of power doesn't bring the fulfillment that many think it does.

Of course, it does bring excitement, a sense of satisfaction when things go well, disappointment when they don't, and invitations to some of the most exclusive gatherings in the world. (For someone who likes to go to bed at 9:30 at night that is not necessarily a plus!) But it also brings a complicated lifestyle with an exhausting schedule, innumerable headaches, and lots of conflict.

Most importantly, having a position of power does not bring inner security and fulfillment. That comes only by developing a personal relationship with God, which for me is personified by Jesus Christ. Inner security and real fulfillment comes by faith -- not by wielding power in the town where power is king. As those of you who believe know only too well, faith more often than not doesn't come easily. It takes work.

When I look back on my own journey of faith I can see that real growth began when I started reading God's word as a young man. Romans 10:17 in the New Testament, says "Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." The Scriptures I read also teach me that my God loves and accepts me as I am. He loves me as I struggle (and even as I fail) to become the man He wants me to be. Once upon a time I felt I had to earn God's love, but now I know the Bible tells us that it is faith, and not works that makes us acceptable in God's sight.

In 1986 I met with a group of diplomats gathered here for this National Prayer Breakfast. One of them asked me what I felt was the most important thing I'd learned since being in Washington. I told him it was the discovery that temporal power is fleeting.

I told him about an experience I had early one morning a few years ago, when I was the White House Chief of Staff. As my driver turned the car into the Northwest gate, I looked down Pennsylvania Avenue and noticed a man walking alone. He was someone many of you would have recognized -- a Chief of Staff in a previous Administration. There he was alone -- no reporters, no security, no adoring public, no trappings of power -- just one solitary man alone with his thoughts.

That mental picture continually serves to remind me of the impermanence of power and place. That man had it all -- but only for a time. That memory puts my own life in perspective. When I leave Washington, what will remain? (One thing I know for sure -- the people who wouldn't return my telephone calls before I went to Washington, won't return them after I leave.)

The fleeting aspects of power cause us to understand the importance of lasting personal relationships. Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "God evidently does not intend us all to be rich, or powerful, or great, but He intends us all to be friends." The Scriptures, both Old and New, affirm this reality by speaking about our relationships to God and to each other. The first and greatest commandment is to "Love the Lord, your God with all your heart, with all your soul, all your strength and all your mind" and the second is to "Love others as yourself." And we know too that Jesus said, "I do not call you servants, I call you friends."

These ancient thoughts on personal relationships -- friendships -- are often not taken seriously enough in our modern, busy lives. In all candor, I used to think that if you were strong you didn't need anyone. Too often independence -- self reliance -- are said to be the path to success. And to many, being "successful," means never admitting that you have any hurts or problems. The truth is, we really do need one another if we are going to make it through this life in both our private and public capacities.

I remember a situation a few years ago where I was really struggling with a specific problem. No matter how much I tried, I couldn't figure it out -- but I found strength in being able to talk it over with my wife, Susan. As we did, a truth from the book of proverbs finally crystallized our thinking.

"Trust in the Lord with all your heart, lean not unto your own understanding; in all your ways acknowledge Him and He will direct your path." Susan helped me to see that I needed to stop trying to play God and really turn the matter over to Him. Without this kind of partnership, I'm convinced I would never have resolved the problem.

For several years I have been meeting each week with a small group of men for fellowship. They are all pretty normal guys who just happen to hold positions of power and influence in Washington. Members of our group come from both of our nation's political parties and from several religious traditions.

None of us expresses himself in religious jargon -- more typically our language is pretty earthy. But in our own way, we're pursuing our faith through friendship. We've grown to trust each other. We talk pretty openly about our problems -- and I don't just mean items on the national agenda. We support each other in our efforts to live a life of faith in a very complex and challenging environment.

There are, of course, many times when all of us need something extra from our faith and from our friendships. I remember my Mother telling me how she used to repeat the 91st Psalm every day when my Dad was a Captain in the Infantry in Europe in World War I: "A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee....."

My Mother, who taught me so many of the values that give me strength today, drew much comfort from those words -- and in hearing her say them, so did I. (She is still saying them as her 96th birthday approaches!)

I also remember how important friendships were during my first wife's illness. How important, for instance, that friends were there with me at her bedside during the last days. (Two of those friends are very prominent today and are both with us here at the head table this morning.) How important that friends were there for four little boys who were heartbroken, scared and confused. How important friendships were to the task that Susan and I faced several years later of putting two families together at a very difficult time in the lives of seven children. (If any of you have ever had 3 seventh graders at one time, you understand what I mean!)

I remember how important friendships were and are to the need for support on a journey through public service. And I remember finally how important friendships were and are to the process of developing and maintaining my faith.

So, when I think back over the hills and valleys of my life, the consistent theme is the one in that 91st Psalm -- "I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope and my stronghold; my God, in Thee will I trust."

Faith and friendship are very important in building a community of nations. And as leaders, I think we share certain spiritual responsibilities.

Daniel Webster has said "If we work upon marble, it will perish. If we work upon brass, time will efface it. If we rear **temples**, they will crumble to dust.

But, if we work upon men's immortal minds, if we imbue them with high principles, with the just awe of God, with love of their fellow men, we engrave something which no time can efface and which will brighten and brighten to eternity."

We are all struck by the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They are not all political or economic. In September of last year, I met with Eduard Shevardnadze in Wyoming. We had very productive sessions and on the last evening exchanged gifts. I gave him a pair of cowboy boots -- in keeping with the Western motif of Jackson Hole. But, I received from him a far more profound and meaningful gift -- an enamel picture of Jesus teaching the people. In giving me this picture he said -- only half jokingly -- "You see even we Communists are changing our world view."

Could it be that a major meaning of the revolution going on in Eastern Europe is the resurgence of faith? What we seem to be seeing is the reaffirmation of the individual as a person worthy in his or her own right, with freedom to choose and the responsibility that goes along with those choices.

Vaclav Havel, the new president of Czechoslovakia, recently told his countrymen that the most important problem they were facing was a "decayed moral environment" devoid of belief, consideration, compassion, humility and forgiveness. These values, of course, are crucial to democracy.

And it is no accident that the churches in Eastern Europe have played such an important part in political change. Despite oppression, the people of God have maintained their integrity as custodians of the faith.

I believe there is a moral and spiritual lesson for the United States in these events. We need to listen to others who are observing us. Lech Walesa made the observation that "Americans were drifting away from spiritual values as they become richer." He said that "Sooner or later we will have to go back to our fundamental values, back to God, the truth, the truth which is in God." Then he made a most interesting statement, "We look to America...and expect from you a spiritual richness to meet the aspirations of the 20th Century."

And so, as we hail the resurgence of faith and freedom around the world, in America we must be mindful of our own responsibilities regarding faith. The United States, as a great political experiment was and continues to be a great spiritual experiment as well.

Every person who enjoys freedom has the responsibility to improve the society which assures that freedom. One way to carry out this responsibility is to pray together as we are doing this morning. Prayer by itself is a reaffirmation of that freedom and that responsibility, whether that prayer is private or communal. It is an act of free men and women who believe that their relationship to God is fundamental to preserving those freedoms. The Bible tells us, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

So my friends, I believe that as leaders we can build relationships around the world rooted in trust, love and understanding. I believe we can go beyond rhetoric to discover concrete ways to express this reality -- particularly in light of the Psalmist's profound observation that "righteousness exalts a nation and sin is a reproach to any people."

And so, as we join together in prayer this morning let us be thankful for recently rekindled hopes for freedom in many countries, for our faith and for our friendships.

Let us pray for the strength to meet our collective spiritual responsibilities as leaders -- by doing what we can to make our world a freer, better, and more peaceful place.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hung local pastor bravely
~~spoke~~ ~~lasted~~ out @ tyranny of
The current regime in Bucharest.
Denied food & barred from
mtg of relatives -
Finally imprisoned.

But L. W. wrote "even
prison walls. 1 -

He was right. Hung
today a democ.

Sound of Carols and Bells Ends 40 Years of Silence

By The Associated Press

of Eastern Europeans yesterday celebrated their first Christmas since Communist domination in four political prisoners rejoined families, East Germans and Slovaks watched Mass on television, Rumanians listened to carols broadcast on state radio.

John Paul II prayed for Rumania celebrating this Christmas in "trembling," mourned the killing of overthrowing the leadership of Nicolae Ceausescu and praised the democratic movement making his native Eastern

'Everybody Is So Happy'

bells pealed across Czechoslovakia to mark the new freedoms of democracy movement that

For the first time, live broadcasts of a Mass.

toppled Communist leaders, created a freer press and brought promises of free elections.

"I feel like this is a miracle," said Ivan Martin Jirous, who was reunited with his family after being released from prison a month ago. Mr. Jirous, 45 years old, was imprisoned more than eight years for "subversive" acts like unauthorized lecturing and publishing.

"Everybody is so happy, so cheerful," said Dagmar Vogel, 22, who was back in Czechoslovakia for Christmas for the first time since her family fled

their homeland in 1968. "It is euphoric with everybody chatting about the future."

On Prague's 15th-century Charles Bridge, young carolers sang traditional Christmas songs. In previous years, the police chased carolers from the city's broad, cobbled King's Road.

Millions of Czechoslovaks attended Mass or watched a live television broadcast of one at Prague's 13th-century Strahov Monastery. The Mass at the monastery was offered by the Rev. Vaclav Maly, a dissident priest who was banned for 11 years for his human rights activities.

In both parts of Berlin, people mingled freely, attending joint church services for the first time since the Berlin wall went up 28 years ago. East Germany on Sunday began allowing West Germans to enter the country without visas, and thousands used the opportunity to cross to East Berlin to join relatives for a Christmas service.

Prayers for Rumania

East Germans also watched their first Mass on television, as the Pope delivered his traditional Christmas message in 53 languages from St. Peter's Square in Rome. Many of his remarks were directed at Eastern Europe.

"May this Europe open her doors and her heart to understand and receive the anxieties, the fears and the problems of the nations which seek her help," the Pope said. "May she respond with the strength and the generosity of her Christian roots to this very special moment of history, which the world is now experiencing as if awakened from a nightmare and opened up to a better hope."

"In particular, bless at this hour, O Lord, the noble land of Rumania, which is celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling, with sorrow for the many human lives tragically lost and in the joy of having taken once more

the path of freedom," John Paul said. "Amid the sounds of gunfire on the streets of Bucharest were the sounds of Christmas carols, broadcast by the Bucharest radio for the first time since December 1947."

Yugoslav and Finnish journalists brought Christmas presents for children in the western Rumanian city of Timisoara, the state press agency Tanjug reported. The gifts had been provided by a candy company in Yugoslavia, it said.

Also for the first time in four decades, Bulgarian radio and television broadcast the speech of Christmas and the New Year by the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Maxim.

Offices Closed in the Baltics

It was a working day in Bulgaria, the state press agency reported, "but people are wishing merry Christmas to each other, maybe for the first time without fear that they would be accused of being 'religious.'"

In the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, which have large populations of Roman Catholics and Protestants, all offices were closed for the first official Dec. 25 holiday in the four decades of Soviet rule there.

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a Roman Catholic political campaigner, Antanas Terleskas, said many people attended church on Christmas Eve. But he said people were not especially happy, because "the freedom of expressing religious beliefs is just an illusion we are permitted to toy with."

Estonians watched religious programs with Christmas carols on television, as well as the Pope's Mass. The Mass was also seen in Latvia, where all television and radio programs were religious-oriented.

Christmas in most of the Soviet Union will be celebrated on Jan. 7, according to the Russian Orthodox calendar.

...ds an Ode to Freedom



Associated Press

Bernstein conducting Beethoven's Ninth Symphony yesterday at the Schauspielhaus in East Berlin as part of a three-day festival.

The Baltics

Soviet Party Leaders Debate The Breakaway by Lithuania

MOSCOW, Dec. 25 (Reuters) — Communist Party leaders addressed a Central Committee meeting today devoted to the decision by Communists in the Baltic republic of Lithuania to break with Moscow and form an independent party.

The official Tass press agency gave no details of the meeting other than a list of speakers with both conservative and liberal outlooks, suggesting that discussion had been heated. It said debate would continue Tuesday.

pants certain to have been critical.

Also among the speakers was a representative of the minority of Lithuanian Communists who refused to adhere to the new body and pledged allegiance to the Soviet party.

A statement issued by Tass before the start of the meeting suggested that the Central Committee would declare the Lithuanian move invalid and against party statutes. It said the Politburo had submitted the matter to a meeting of the national party.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND LECH WALESA
AT MEDAL OF FREEDOM CEREMONY

The East Room

6:07 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression. In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop.

Lech Walesa made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing with solidarity with the Polish people.

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown, And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa and Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. And at Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he'd never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs and the American people have waited for you to come. We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. And we waited because we believe in you. (Applause.)

And today, the waiting is over. Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is at the White House. We think of it as the house of freedom.

Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you: "Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair. Now you can have a seat." (Applause.)

MORE

In just a few days, you will be the second private citizen from abroad -- second in our history to ever address a joint meeting of Congress -- after the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824. And like him, you helped win an historic struggle. And like him, you represent not only a people but also an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

That idea is freedom. The time is now. (Applause.)

You were called a nobody. But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by presidents or princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The Iron Curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era, a failed ideology. And the change is everywhere. Poland. Hungary. Czechoslovakia.

And ladies and gentlemen, the week that brought Lech Walesa to America is the week that the headlines proclaimed, "And the Wall comes tumbling down." (Applause.)

So what is happening in Berlin and on our television screens is astounding. World War II, fought for freedom, ironically left the world divided between the free and the unfree. And most of us alive today were born into that sundered world. And now almost 50 years have passed and some have wondered all these years why we stayed in Berlin. And let me tell you. We stayed because we knew -- we just knew -- all Americans -- that this day would come. And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire others in them a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself; changed the course of a nation. History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history continues to be made every day by small daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the country, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin, who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to Earth, Lech Walesa seized an idea, a powerful idea, and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. Spanish, German, Chinese, Russian. And yet from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. Freedom. And with one voice, the people of the world have spoken. Freedom.

In America, it's our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity and freedom.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world, East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

And even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the example of the Polish people was mirrored across Asia when

"People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan and South Korea and, yes, even in Tiananmen Square. The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you. (Applause.)

Thank you, Poland, for showing us that the dream is alive. And thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa. (Applause.)

And now, it is with great pride that I bestow the medal, previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King and President John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat, Mother Teresa. It is our nation's highest civilian honor. So, Mr. Walesa, if you'll come over here, let me read the citation.

To Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Lech Walesa has shown through his life and work the power of one individual's ideals when combined with the irresistible force of freedom. Through moral authority, force of personality and demonstrated heroism, he has inspired a nation and the world in the cause of liberty. The United States honors a true man of his times and of timeless ideals. Lech Walesa, distinguished son of Poland, champion of universal human rights. (Applause.)

MR. WALESA: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'm deeply moved and gratified that I'm here, in the Capital of the United States of America and the White House, greeted so warmly by President George Bush in the company of American Polish friends.

One of the greatest dreams of my life has thus been fulfilled. I'm full of admiration for your country, not because it's a big power and not because it's rich, even though one could envy that. I admire America as a country of freedom -- freedom of man and freedom of a nation. You took that freedom yourself. Nobody gave it to you as a present. You built it through your hard work, step by step. You created wonderful democratic institutions which are an example for many other countries. But most before others, you created human attachments to freedom.

America is a free country because American workers and farmers are and want to be free. Technicians and engineers, bankers and industrialists. America is rich with its freedom. It shares it with the emigrants -- some are looking for freedom from misery and others are looking for freedom from persecutions.

That is why I so highly cherish the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Poles know the price of freedom as very few nations of the world. They know how to fight for freedom. They know how to defend freedom. Now my country has entered the road of freedom. It's rebuilding its independence and democracy. It's restoring sense to labor and economy. I'm sure that we will not get away from that road.

Mr. President, for yours and our freedom, for the American nation, for the freedom of all nations of the world, thank you very much for this wonderful, wonderful distinction. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. Before we conclude, there is one more person with us today whose dedication to Solidarity and to free trade unions I feel we must recognize. You all know how crucial has been the work of the AFL-CIO in helping Solidarnosc through difficult times and in promoting free trade unions and democracy around the world.

So, Lane Kirkland, would you please come up here, sir. (Applause.) For over a decade, under your leadership, you and the union have been path-breakers for freedom, continuing the support for free trade unions around the world. And in Eastern Europe, your support was crucial. And you were there -- you, personally, were there -- in the hour of greatest need, helping to keep alive the dream of democracy in Poland.

And so, Lane, on behalf of a grateful nation, I want to present you with the Presidential Citizens Medal. And the citation reads: As President of the AFL-CIO, Joseph Lane Kirkland has worked tirelessly and effectively in support of Solidarity, free trade unions and democratic principles. America honors him for this dedication, which has helped spread the lamp of liberty in Eastern Europe and across the globe.

Congratulations. (Applause.)

MR. KIRKLAND: Mr. President, you must like surprises because I was extraordinarily surprised by your very generous act in enabling me to share an honor with the man who towers in the world today for his achievements -- Lech Walesa.

I can only say that it's what I think I try my best to stand for today that merits any such recognition. And what I do stand for -- the instrument and the principle of free trade unionism -- is today a lever that can move the world. And to serve that is a privilege for any person.

Thank you again, Mr. President. (Applause.)

END

6:28 P.M. EST

- 1 Sweet the coming on
Of grateful ev'ning mild, then silent night
With this her solemn bird, and this fair
moon,
And these the gems of heaven, her starry
train. *Ib. l. 646*
- 2 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we
sleep. *Ib. l. 677*
- 3 In naked beauty more adorned,
More lovely, than Pandora.¹ *Ib. l. 713*
- 4 Eased the putting off
These troublesome disguises which we wear.
Ib. l. 739
- 5 Hail wedded love, mysterious law, true
source
Of human offspring. *Ib. l. 750*
- 6 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve. *Ib. l. 800*
- 7 Not to know me argues yourselves unknown.
Ib. l. 830
- 8 Abashed the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely.
Ib. l. 846
- 9 All hell broke loose.² *Ib. l. 918*
- 10 Like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved.
Ib. l. 987
- 11 The starry cope
Of heaven. *Ib. l. 992*
- 12 His sleep
Was airy light from pure digestion bred.
Ib. V, l. 3
- 13 My latest found,
Heaven's last, best gift, my ever new delight!
Ib. l. 18
- 14 Good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows.
Ib. l. 71
- 15 These are thy glorious works, Parent of good.
Ib. l. 153
- 16 Him first, him last, him midst, and without
end. *Ib. l. 165*
- 17 A wilderness of sweets. *Ib. l. 294*
- 18 So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent.
Ib. l. 331
- 19 Nor jealousy
Was understood, the injured lover's hell.
Ib. l. 449
- 20 Freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we stand or fall.
Ib. l. 538
- 21 What if earth
Be but the shadow of heaven, and things
therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is
thought? *Ib. l. 574*
- 22 Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers. *Ib. l. 600*
- 23 All seemed well pleased, all seemed but were
not all. *Ib. l. 617*
- 24 Among the faithless, faithful only he.
Ib. l. 897
- 25 Morn,
Waked by the circling hours, with rosy
hand³
Unbarred the gates of light.
Ib. VI, l. 2
- 26 Servant of God, well done,⁴ well hast thou
fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms.
Ib. l. 29
- 27 He onward came; far off his coming shone.
Ib. l. 768
- 28 More safe I sing with mortal voice, un-
changed
To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compassed
round,
And solitude. *Ib. VII, l. 24*
- 29 Out of one man a race
Of men innumerable. *Ib. l. 155*
- 30 There Leviathan
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
Stretched like a promontory sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land, and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out a sea.
Ib. l. 412
- 31 Endued
With sanctity of reason. *Ib. l. 507*

¹See Cicero, 98:13, and Thomson, 345:14.²See Robert Greene, 178:14.³See Homer, 57:11.⁴See Matthew 25:21, 40:29.

outside a prison when
recognizes her as a
continues, "Then a
ind me, whose lips
and who, naturally
n heard of my name,
te of torpor common
her lips close to my
spoke in whispers—
l you describe this?"
'I can.' Then some-
smile flashed across
er face."

n you describe this?"
rt of acting as it is of
y of the arts. You get
lace, and a moment.
he character in that
traction, one of the
esses, but as a particu-
, hoping, fearing,
that had once been a
hers; and you convey
describe it, you de-
soon, at least for me,
l harder to force any
into a straightjacket,
n in which you all
even as you develop
hat we call the dra-
a more intimate way
ficial pomp and cir-
ntive to the core of
each of us that God
f his hand and into
e breath of life. And
ate what another of
umilev, meant when
eternal entrance to
losed with seven dia-
rway in a wall aban-
es, moss, and nothing

leadership in a de-
ng past the abstrac-
the vast diversity of
with humility, listen-
ot just to those with
o the cacophonous
ble and trusting those
ping out of their way,
ll-wise and all-power-
ment act that way.
e for this is freedom.

In the last few years, freedom for the arts has been expanded in the Soviet Union. Some poems, books, music, and works in other fields that were once banned have been made available to the public; and some of those artists who produced them have been recognized. Two weeks ago, because of the work of the Writers Union, the first step was taken to make the Pasternak home at Peredelkino into a museum. In the meantime, some artists in exile—the stage director Yuri Lubimov, for example—have been permitted to return and to work, and artists who are here have been allowed a greater range.

We in the United States applaud the new thaw in the arts. We hope to see it go further. We hope to see Mikhail Baryshnikov and Slava Rostropovich, artists Mrs. Reagan and I have seen perform in Washington, perform again in Moscow. We hope to see the works of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn published in the land he loves. And we hope to see a permanent end to restrictions on the creativity of all artists and writers. We want this not just for your sake but for our own. We believe that the greater the freedoms in other countries the more secure both our own freedoms and peace. And we believe that when the arts in any country are free to blossom the lives of all people are richer.

William Faulkner said of poets—although he could have been speaking of any of the arts—it is the poet's privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of our past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man. It can be one of the props, the pillars, to help him endure and prevail.

Thank you for having me here today and for sharing your thoughts with me, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:44 p.m. in the dining room at the A. Fadeyev Central House of Men of Letters. He was introduced by Vladimir Vasilievich Karpov, first secretary of the board of the U.S.S.R. Writer's Union. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Students and Faculty at Moscow State University

May 31, 1988

The President. Thank you, Rector Logunov, and I want to thank all of you very much for a very warm welcome. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, and I want to thank you all for turning out. I know you must be very busy this week, studying and taking your final examinations. So, let me just say *zhelayu vam uspekha* [I wish you success]. Nancy couldn't make it today because she's visiting Leningrad, which she tells me is a very beautiful city, but she, too, says hello and wishes you all good luck.

Let me say it's also a great pleasure to once again have this opportunity to speak directly to the people of the Soviet Union. Before I left Washington, I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here a simple message, perhaps, but also some of the most important business of this summit: It is a message of peace and good will and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples.

As you know, I've come to Moscow to meet with one of your most distinguished graduates. In this, our fourth summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we're getting to know each other well. Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day, issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time to talk to you much as I would to any group of university students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today but of the possibilities of tomorrow.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, quietly sweeping the globe without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives. It's easy to underestimate because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called the technological or information revolution, and as its emblem, one

might take the tiny silicon chip, no bigger than a fingerprint. One of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives—replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of DNA for medical researchers. These microcomputers today aid the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft; they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we're emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution—an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources—into, as one economist titled his book, "The Economy in Mind," in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource. Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire. In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this university, Mikhail Lo-

monosov, knew that. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." You know, one of the first contacts between your country and mine took place between Russian and American explorers. The Americans were members of Cook's last voyage on an expedition searching for an Arctic passage; on the island of Unalaska, they came upon the Russians, who took them in, and together, with the native inhabitants, held a prayer service on the ice.

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college students, no older than you, in the garage behind their home. Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many do, particularly the successful ones; often several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they'll tell you it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way; yes, it's what they learned from failing. Like an athlete in competition or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

And that's why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are a problem around the world. There's an old story about a town—it could be anywhere—with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good-for-nothing, but he somehow had always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman got up and said to him: "There is a folk legend here where I come from that when a baby is born, an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman. If he kisses him on his

"It is common knowledge that the achievements of the modern era are the result of the free market and see all the entrepreneurs do, particularly the several times. And if that they learned in the way; yes, it's what I'm saying. Like an athlete in pursuit of the greatest teacher. So hard for government to make their fact is, bureaucrats around the world. But a town—it could be a bureaucrat who is for-nothing, but he goes on to power. So saying, an old woman says: "There is a folk tale from that when it comes down from one part of its body. On his hand, he believes kisses him on his

forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you so that you should sit there for so long and do nothing." [Laughter]

We are seeing the power of economic freedom spreading around the world. Places such as the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that in some years India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change that are blowing over the People's Republic of China, where one-quarter of the world's population is now getting its first taste of economic freedom. At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age. In Latin America in the 1970's, only a third of the population lived under democratic government; today over 90 percent does. In the Philippines, in the Republic of Korea, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth. Democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it's something of a national pastime. Every 4 years the American people choose a new President, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 13 major candidates running in the two major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates—all trying to get my job. About 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers—each one an independent, private enterprise, fiercely independent of the government—report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. In the end, the people vote; they decide who will be the next President.

But freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs—in many places, synagogues and mosques—and you'll see families of every conceivable nationality worshipping together. Go into any school room, and there you

will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that no government can justly deny; the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no government power. There every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers, usually 12 men and women—common citizens; they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman or any official has no greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, and there you'll find an open, sometimes heated discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them; the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police. Go into any union hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law. As a matter of fact, one of the many jobs I had before this one was being president of a union, the Screen Actors Guild. I led my union out on strike, and I'm proud to say we won.

But freedom is more even than this. Freedom is the right to question and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows us to recognize shortcomings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to dream—to follow your dream or stick to your conscience, even if you're the only one in a sea of doubters. Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on

The truth