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Aerospace Power Chronicles - Contributor's Corner

DODGING THE SILVER BULLET

How to Survive on Today's High Tech Battlefield

"If you can be seen, you can be hit
If you can be hit, you can be killed."

U.S. Army Tactics of
the Individual Soldier

I have spent my Air Force career flying what fighter jocks joking call "targets." During the Cold War, I piloted EC-130's along the Iron Curtain at 25,000 feet trolling for "Trons" or electronic signals. In a conflict, we were to take those trons and radiate them back disrupting the enemy's communications and radar. Come war, we had a limited life expectancy considering how easily enemy interceptors and surface to air missile's (SAMs) could reach out and touch us. Now I fly C-5A/B Galaxies, a big, fat target for any militia soldier with a shoulder fired SAM. More and more arsenals are filling up with "Silver Bulleted" precision guided munitions with kill probabilities approaching 100%. For me, as a highly visible target, this is a serious matter to consider, if I am to successfully deliver my cargo. In the many hours, I have spent droning in the sky, I have pondered how best to defeat these missiles that can readily reach out and touch me. Looking at it from the attacker's point of view, I identified a series of steps that an attacker has to successfully step through to shoot me down. I realized that by defeating any of these steps, I save my aircraft and deliver my load. Using this series of steps, I developed a tactical attack model that I use to workout a defense plan against potential attacker. This article outlines this model in series of steps I call "The Targeting Cycle."

THE TARGETING CYCLE

In analyzing an attacker's problem, I found a common set of five actions or steps that an attacker must successfully complete. Failure at any step results in a failed attack and the "Silver Bullet" missing its mark. Any attacker must find the target, decide to attack, then physically or otherwise breach through all the natural and enemy barriers to reach that target, and finally to hit the target with sufficient force to kill it.

The five steps in the targeting cycle workout to be:

FIND DECIDE REACH HIT KILL

To Find The Target. The attacker must to know, actively or passively, that a target is out there. Without knowing there is something out there, how can one even think about engaging it. Finding something out there brings up the question of whether it is friend, foe, or neutral. Knowing it is a foe is of limited use; if an attacker cannot track it sufficiently to plan, execute, and deliver an attack. Part of finding and tracking a target requires a sufficient level of accuracy to know where and when to hit it with the weapons or resources at hand. Many a successful defense relies on defeating an attacker's ability to find, identify, and/or track a target. Defensive countermeasures included, but are not limited to, stealth, sensor jamming, and physical camouflage.

To Decide To Attack. For a potential target to become an intended target an attacker has to decide whether to engage it or not. Several factors drive this decision. Is it a threat? Can it be successfully reached and engaged with the available resources? Is it worth the effort? Will the attacking force survive the attack? Is the collateral damage cost prohibitive? Is the threat of reprisal greater than any potential return? Subconsciously or consciously, an attacker address all these questions, thus a defender can manipulate the answers to his/her advantage. For example, the United States strategic defense against nuclear weapons is currently predicated on deterring a nuclear attacker's decision to launch a nuclear strike with a threat of massive retaliation. fear of retaliation is not the only Influence on an attacker's decision making process. An attacker can be influenced by a technical inability to engage or a fear of revealing his/her position or presence. Deception can also fool an attacker's decision making process.

To Reach The Target. The attacker has to somehow cover the physical space between it and its target. This means overcoming any natural barriers, such as time, distance, terrain, water, airspace, ether space, gravity, and/or vacuum; as well as, overcoming any active and/or passive defenses of the target and/or its supporting forces. Defeating this step is a common approach used in most defense plans.

Examples include:

- The Chinese building of the Great Wall during the Han dynasty
- The British reliance on the English Channel and their fleet for defending the British Islands
- The United States reliance on the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans as strategic defensive barriers
- The USSR use of an integrated air defense of radar, SAMs, and interceptors
- The proposed United States anti-ballistic missile or Star War systems

To Hit The Target. After overcoming the physical and man-made barriers, the attacker must touch, physically or otherwise, the target, that is hit it or deliver an intended force close enough to affect the target. Put simply, the attacker has to hit what he/she is aiming at; this despite any maneuvering or dodging a target may do. Hitting the target means hitting it in the right spot, which goes back to the find step in the targeting sequence. Hitting the wrong spot is at times worst than not hitting it at all; since a miss may give the attacker's presence away. The key for a defender is knowing when and from where an attack is coming from and then taking appropriate actions to move out of the way (i.e. evade the attack) or to force the incoming weapon to miss (i.e. jamming or fool its sensors). Defeating this step is the basis for chaff/flare systems and jamming pods.

To Kill The Target. Hitting the target is not the same as killing the target. An attack must have sufficient force to kill or rather neutralize the target. An attacker does not have to or may not be able to physically destroy its target, but it can neutralize it. A weapon system that does not have an effect, is not used, or fails to complete its mission is a neutralized weapon system. If an attacker can adversely impact its target this way, then it has successfully killed it.

Many times a weapon impact has little or no effect. This is a reoccurring theme in the history of tactical warfare. Tank armor negated machine guns in WW1 trench warfare. The Confederate ship CSS Merrimac's ironclad sides thwarted the Union blockade ships' broadsides. In each case, it was not a case of finding, deciding on, reaching, or hitting the target; but a case of defeating an attacker's ability to kill the target.

In defense, the key is to minimize a weapon's impact, either through physical protection (shielding or armor) or active damage control to rapidly minimizing any damage. Many a flyer has this mental picture of an airplane disintegrating in midair when hit by a missile; but air warfare history is ripe with examples of aircraft surviving multiple hits, completing their missions, and returning home. Numerous battle damaged B-17s and B-24s successfully completed their WW2 German raids. The B-52s still rained bombs on North Viet Nam and returned to base despite having SA-2 SAM missiles stuck in their tails. For me, I find it hard to believe that the 2 lb. explosive from a shoulder fired SAM would have a catastrophic impact on my C-5 Galaxy, a 700,000 lb. aircraft. This goes to show that it takes more than just getting there. It takes getting there with the right amount and type of force at the right spot to complete a successful attack. Aircrew aircraft malfunction training, the Army's M1A1 tanks' reactive armor, the Navy's shipboard damage control teams are three of the numerous ways to defeat this aspect of the targeting cycle.

Another important aspect in killing a target is knowing whether you actually killed it. What is commonly referred to as a battle damage assessment. In many ways, this circles back to the find step of targeting cycle; since an attacker has to determine if the target is still there or not. If the target is not killed, then an attacker has to execute another targeting cycle sequence. Many times the assessment is based on observing the weapon impact and detonation. A defender can exploit this by playing possum or stealing away in the confusion of the battle. WW2 submariners used this defensive tactic when they pumped out oil and debris to make an attacking destroyer think the submarine had sunk.

DETAILED EXAMPLE

While there are a multitude of examples, the targeting cycle of an attacking nuclear ICBM and the defensive tactics employed to derail each targeting cycle step provides the most vivid and readily understood example. To launch a nuclear missile, one needs to know where to target that missile. Normally, the targeting planners identify and or find the target(s) in coordination with the intelligence community and guidance from the national command authorities. An accurate aim point is only contingent on what the nuclear weapon's destructive area and the target's level of hardened protection. The decision step is made by the national command authorities based on whatever political, strategic, or operational factors they perceive and desire. The reach step is achieved by the ICBM's ability to launch into low earth orbit and release its warhead for a ballistic supersonic reentry over the target area thousands of miles away. The hit step is completed with the successful weapon impact and detonation within the intended target area within a time frame that insures that any mobile target is still in the area. Neutralizing or, in this case, destroying the target is accomplished by insuring that the explosion's heat and over pressure is sufficient to overcome any of the target(s) hardening measures. Assessing whether the target was actually destroyed is verified by satellite or aerial reconnaissance after the dust settles.

To defend against such an attack requires the defender to defeat at least one of the missiles target cycle steps. In the first target cycle step, "find," a defender can make sure any threatened target is either well hidden or mobile enough for an attacker not to know where it is. Mobility is the defensive concept behind mobile ICBMs. For the Decide step, deterrence is the most effective and most commonly used defensive tactic. Here a defender makes sure that an attacker realizes any nuclear attack is not worth the retaliation that would rain down as result. Defeating the penetration step is the defensive idea behind President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or Star War's proposal. The idea is to intercept the ICBM and/or nuclear warhead while in flight before it can reach its target(s). It is a real technological challenge to find, track, reach, hit, and kill an ICBM or its warhead considering the available time (the 30 minute ICBM flight time), the distance (thousands of miles of area and 80,000 feet of altitude), and the target size (a moving 2-300 ft ICBM and its 6 ft warhead). While technically difficult, this still makes a great deal of tactical sense should deterrence fail to influence the decide step of an attacker. Because of a nuclear explosion's destructive area, it is hard to negate the hit side of an ICBMs targeting cycle; since a near miss is as good as a hit; though Cheyenne Mountain makes a stab at it. The only possible defense is to get out of the destructive radius of the explosion. The United States does this when it flushes the bomber force upon warning of inbound ICBMs. Shielding and hardening have also been used extensively, but this is really a defense against the collateral damage from a near miss.

Missile
speed

Other examples of applying the targeting cycle are provided in the below matrix:					
ATTACKER	FIND	DECIDE	REACH	HIT	KILL
Nuclear ICBM	National Intelligence	National Command Authorities	Sub-orbital, supersonic intercontinental flight (speed - 1000s Ft/Sec)	Warhead detonation w/in kill zone	Satellite or visual recce of crater
Medieval Archer	His Eyesight	- Archer - His Lord	Direct flight of the arrow (Speed - @60 MPH)	arrow impacting its aim point	Seeing target fall
WW1 Artillery	- Preset target grids - Forward observers	- Fwd Observer - Battery commander	Ballistic delivery	Round(s) impact in target area	- Enough explosive force to destroy target area - Visual recce
WW2 B-17	- Photo recce - Bombsight	- Target staff - Bombardier	- High altitude, high speed - Fighter escort (Speed - 300 mph)	X number of bombs on target	- Visual recce - Photo recce
Stealth Bomber	- Satellite imagery - Intelligence	- Target staff - Pilot	- Stealth - C ³ CM - Terrain Mapping	- PGM - GPS	- Press reports - Impact Video Satellite Recce
PGM Precision Guided Munitions	- Loaded target - Electronic, optical or IR sensor	- Shooter - Programmed instructions	- Direct flight - Small size (Speed - <1 Mach)	- Impact on aim point	- Press reports - Impact Video Satellite Recce
Targeting an Aircraft	- Air/Ground radar - Pilot's eyesight	- Trigger puller - Radar controller	Maneuver into effective weapon's range (Speed - Up to Mach)	Weapon detonation on the aircraft	- Critical airframe failure - Target aircraft flees
Targeting a Missile Sub	- Active sonar - Acoustical detection	Attacking commander	Torpedo or depth charges	Detonation on or near the sub hull	Sound of ship breaking up and/or surface debris

TARGETING CYCLE AND A COMPLEX ATTACK ENGAGEMENTS

The above sighted examples may be stating the obvious; it does provide one with a framework to analyze or breakdown any attack's tactical process and/or a defense against it. This model is a tool to

analyze warfare's tactical side, but it can be used to dissect more complex situations or engagement. One can string a sequence of individual targeting cycles to analyze the layers of a complex engagement. Here, the overall targeting cycle is first executed by the attacker, then by the attacker's weapon system, and finally by the attacker's actual weapon. All the steps in all three targeting cycles must be successfully completed for overall success. For example, the engagement between two warships can involve several targeting cycles running in sequence - the attacking fleet's targeting cycle, the attacking ship's targeting cycle, the attacking weapon system's targeting cycle, and finally, the missile's targeting cycle used to reach out and hit the enemy ship.

An analyst can also use this tactical model to analyze the tactical aspects of operational and strategic levels of warfare. The only difference between two individuals fighting hand to hand and a clash between two nations or armies is the amount of resources and the engagement's complexity. For both, each has to find their target(s), decide to commit forces, reach their targets, then hit them with sufficient force to kill or neutralize them. Below is a simple matrix applying the targeting model on current and past operational and strategic engagements.

ERA	FIND	DECIDE	REACH	HIT	DESTROY
Pre-Feudal Warfare	- Scouts eyesight - Human eyeball - Stumble into each other - Agreed to meet for battle	- Commander - Events	- Mass to overcome enemy mass or fort - Hack your way through (Speed - walking)	- Get one or more soldiers to kill or capture the enemy leader	- Killing or capturing the enemy leader - Routing the enemy forces
Roman Army's Defense of the empire	- Scouts eyesight - Human eyeball - Stumble into each other - Agreed to meet for battle	- Emperor - Commander - Events	- Marching over well built road system - Well trained soldiers hacking their way through with spears and short swords	- Attack in systematic and well coordinate formations to get to the enemy leader	- Killing or capturing the enemy leader - Killing or selling enemy forces into slavery
Napoleon	- Wide area, multi route troop advances - Integrated spy network	- General with the big picture	- Cannonade followed with massed conscript troops charges (Speed - fast horse)	- Bullet or cannon shot - Bayoneting	- Demoralize the enemy army - Possession of the capitol
Nelson and the British fleet	- Fast picket ships covering enemy ports and sea routes	- Nelson & his captains - The weather	- Integrated fleet action (Speed - 5-10 Knots)	- Targeted cannonade on the ships	- Enemy lowering of their colors - Sinking enemy ships
World War I Trench Warfare	- Recce Planes - Artillery observers - Telegraph	- General staff planning	- Mass artillery - Mass infantry (Speed - 30 MPH)	- Wide area bombardments	- Grinding down of opposition forces
1940 German Blitzkrieg	- Aerial reconnaissance	- General Staff - Commanding General	- Rapid advancing armor with air support - Bypass strong points	- Penetrate weak point and getting into enemy rear area	- Disruption of enemy rear - destruction of coordinate resistance

World War II Strategic Bombing and Armor Warfare	ULTRA code breakers, Signal intel, Radar, Photo recon	- Operational research - Targeting staffs - General staff	- Mass formations - Coordinated fast moving armor and tactical air units (Speed - 50-350 MPH)	- X number of weapons on target - Depth of armor penetration	- Visual recce - Signal intercepts
Electronic Warfare	Identify enemy frequency	- EW officer - Preset response	Sufficient wattage to cover the ether space to the targeted receiver(s)	Delivery of electronic energy on right freq at the right moment	Disruption or blockage of signal reception

CONCLUSION

For any attacking weapon or weapon system to succeed it must complete five basic steps - Find, Decide, Reach, Hit, and Kill. Any attacking system, be it man, beast, or machine, has to successfully step through these steps or actions to neutralize a target. First, it has to know if there is anything out there and where it is. Then a decision must be made to attack. Once decided, the selected weapon or force has to successfully cover the physical space to reach the target, overcoming all natural and enemy obstacles. Once there, the force or weapon has to hit or impact the target. This force or weapon must have sufficient force to kill or neutralize the target. For overall success, the attacker must successfully complete each action step, if not the attack will fail. Thus any successful defense is predicated on defeating one or all the steps of an attacking force's targeting cycle.

In the end, I figure that I am not the helpless fighter jock's "target," as would first appear. That is because any attacker has to know when and where I'll be. Then he/she must decide it is worth the effort and/or the negative consequences of targeting my aircraft. Once decided that attacker must transverse time and space to touch my aircraft. After all that, an attacker must somehow hit my aircraft with enough force to bring it down. If I can throw a wrench into any of those five steps, I will live to deliver my load.

Now I realize that this simple tactical model can be used by more than an aircraft commander in accessing his/her defensive options. It can readily be used to assess operational and strategic offensive/defensive options. It can also be to analyze the potential of any offensive or defensive weapon systems or strategies. I have found it very useful and hope the reader can use it in assessing any tactical engagement from both sides of the action.

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Annapolis, MD

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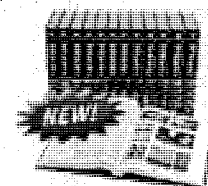
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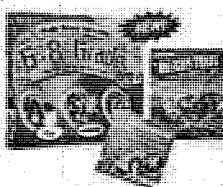
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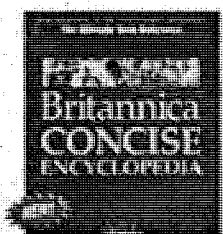
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THE West Point Story.

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 American Enterprise
 by Kauffman, Bill

THE WEST POINT STORY

"This is a very sentimental place," says Colonel Charles F. Brower, IV (Class of 1969), professor and head of the Behavioral Sciences and Leadership Department at West Point. "It's hard to figure that out, but things have profound meaning when they're built upon so much experience and tradition."

Over six months I asked dozens of West Pointers, "What is your favorite spot?" on these 16,000 acres. The largest number answered "the cemetery," and most of them did so with a halt, a swallow, a dab at the eyes. No matter if our chat had been starchy or informal, acronym-clotted or fluid: mere mention of the West Point Cemetery carried an emotional charge like a bolt off nearby Storm King Mountain.

The dead (7,000) outnumber the cadets (4,000) at West Point. Pennies and pebbles rest on the grave markers: tokens of remembrance, many left by strangers, for the families of the departed are often far away. As if sent by central casting, deer lope past the white headstones at dusk. Some of the inhumed died in war (George Armstrong Custer, tourist favorite), others in peace (Army coach Red Blaik, whose football-shaped stone bears the legend, "On Brave Old Army Team"), one on the launching pad (Ed White, who was incinerated aboard Apollo 1). But just as all lie under West Point, in the end their loyalties lie with West Point.

What is it about the U.S. Military Academy that inspires fealty unto the grave? Its business, after all, is death. It can be "a place of bleak emotions, a great orphanage, chill in its appearance, rigid in



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its demands. There was occasional kindness but little love" as writer James Salter (W.P. 1945) recalls. Yet he adds, "In its place was comradeship and a standard that seemed as high as anyone could know. It included self-reliance and death if need be. West Point did not make character, it extolled it. It taught one to believe in difficulty, the hard way, and to sleep, as it were, on bare ground"

I came to West Point not with starry eyes but with a suspicious mind, as the song goes. I expected a grey, unrelievedly martial world. That is not what I found. (Indeed, at my first stop, the West Point Club restaurant, I was serenaded in the men's room by the piped-in sounds not of Wagner or Sousa but of Michael Bolton and James Taylor--which made me, at least, want to kill kill kill.)

There is, inevitably, a Potemkin-village quality to any tour of what is, after all, a military installation and government operation. The Public Affairs Office was exceptionally cooperative over the many months of this story's gestation, but even our heroically indefatigable guide, Deb DeGraw, could not comply with a request to meet with "disgruntled cadets." We saw, for the most part, the best West Point has to offer. But one need not be a worshiper at the Church of the Pentagon to appreciate the Academy's virtues, notably an honor code that demands truthfulness in our age of Big Lies.

Philosophy professor Louis Pojman is, at first glance, an unlikely defender of West Point. He is no Sergeant Stryker or military wannabe who gets weak-kneed at the sight of a man in a uniform. "You might say I've been a convert to West Point" he says. Pojman has led the peripatetic life typical of an academic (or a soldier) and has found amidst the Gothic Gray "a kind of idealistic commitment that reminds me of Notre Dame. I've seen so much debauchery and decadence at American colleges; this is really an oasis. There are few academic settings where character and moral values are taken so seriously, where discipline and integrity are valued as highly, where young people are learning to accept stress in their youth. If our nation is to survive its shallow hedonism, it will be because of training like that of West Point." (This, mind you, from the green-ish author of the standard text *Environmental Ethics*.)

For its first century of existence, the U.S. Military

Academy at West Point was an institution both revered and reviled. It produced Robert E. Lee, who never collected a single demerit during his four years and went on to serve as its superintendent, and Ulysses S. Grant, who said the happiest day of his life was "the day I left West Point" The Academy is credited with preserving the Union and with destroying the Founders' ideal of a citizen-army. Abolition of the Academy was a live issue in Congress until the twentieth century, when world wars made heroes and celebrities of West Pointers like Douglas MacArthur (1903), Dwight Eisenhower ('15), and Omar Bradley ('15).

Grant's
happiest
day

Gradually, West Point became enveloped in a romantic haze: It was a place of dashing cadets, of smart parades across the Plain, of Saturday football games along a resplendent Hudson River. Young boys devoured Red Reeder's novels of cadet life; reverential movies were made, from *The Long Gray Line* to the ineffable *West Point Story* (1950), in which James Cagney and Virginia Mayo dance and wisecrack their way into the hearts of some really swell cadets.

Then came Vietnam. Linebacker-halfback Sam Bartholomew ('66) remembers the war's first obvious impact on the Academy as comical: "The football team had the 'Chinese bandits'--defensive specialists. Whenever the bandits would go in the cadets would put on coolie hats," until the Secretaries of the Army and Defense banished the coolies and their Commie imagery.

But as the war expanded, West Point grew grimmer. Graduates were coming home as corpses. Thirty of Bartholomew's classmates died in Southeast Asia; more than 100 were wounded.

The cadet buzz-cut became the symbol of a myrmidon who was willing to kill and die for Robert McNamara and Lyndon Johnson. Current Commandant John Abizaid ('73) bitterly recalls going to Boston College for a football game and "being saluted with 'Sieg Heil.'" West Point lost its allure; the once-choosy Academy had to admit every single qualified applicant to fill the entering class in 1968.

The Academy has recovered nicely. Once more it is among the nation's best math and engineering schools. The cadets are top-notch, their leaders are impressive men, hazing is verboten, no one ever skips class, and the cadets call you "sir" whether they mean it or not. Yet in some

respects, this is not the West Point of MacArthur and Eisenhower, let alone Lee. Although all graduates receive a B.S., English majors roam the grounds. Women parade across the Plain--and live in the co-ed barracks. For \$300 million a year, West Point graduates 900 second lieutenants every May, and as the USMA approaches its bicentennial in 2002, we ought to ask again the most fundamental questions: What is West Point? And why is West Point?

"SOMETHING LARGER THAN MYSELF"

"Of the river scenery of America, the Hudson, at Wests Point, is doubtless the boldest and most beautiful," said nineteenth-century poet Nathaniel Parker Willis. The British coveted this strategically vital bend in the Hudson; had they captured the batteries at West Point they could have severed the link between New York City and the interior of the country--a severance that might have pleased some later Americans, but that would have disrupted communications and supplies during the Revolution, perhaps dooming the cause of independence.

As early as 1776 the Continental Congress debated the creation of a "Military Academy for the Army" so that we would not have to rely on foreign engineers in the unlikely event of future wars. In 1782 a "Corps of Invalids"--surely a name to frighten off potential aggressors!--was established at West Point whereby lame veterans would teach mathematics to younger officers.

Henry Knox and Alexander Hamilton convinced George Washington of the necessity for a national military academy; two days before his death at Mount Vernon, the ex-President took quill in hand and endorsed "a Military Academy" as being "of primary importance to this country."

Hamilton's arch-foe, Thomas Jefferson, had opposed such an academy on the grounds that it was "unauthorized by the Constitution." As was so often the case, President Jefferson disagreed with citizen Jefferson, and in March 1802, he signed into law the legislation creating the United States Military Academy. The institution was a ramshackle affair for 15 years. In 1812, the corps consisted of a single cadet, for Jeffersonians led by Secretary of War William Eustis stunted the Academy on grounds of parsimony in government and a belief in the citizen militia as opposed to the dreaded standing army.

A humorless New England autocrat named Sylvanus Thayer, the thirty-third cadet to be graduated from West Point, saved the Academy when he was appointed Superintendent in 1817. Thayer instituted summer encampments, which persist to this day, as well as daily grading, the ranking of cadets, and rules so strict as to invite disbelief, if not open rebellion: Cadets were not permitted to read novels, play musical instruments, possess cooking utensils, or send unauthorized letters to loved ones. Thayer also turned West Point into the best engineering and science school in the country--and, in ways not much acknowledged anymore, fundamentally altered the Academy's mission.

For as Stephen Ambrose wrote in his standard history, *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point*, "Graduates of the Academy would not even be expected to remain in the Army, where there probably would be no room for them in any case, but they were expected upon their return to civil life to join the local militia company and direct its training and, in war, its fighting." Thus the Academy was intended to reinforce the militia system and not become the heart and mind of a permanent army. Yet by 1838 Congress had imposed an obligation of four years' service on graduating cadets, and it has fluctuated thereabouts ever since.

Abolition of the Academy was hotly debated in the 1830s and 1840s. (Congressman Davy Crockett called it "not only aristocratic, but a downright invasion of the rights of the citizen, and a violation of the civil compact called 'the Constitution.'") But the Mexican War saved its bacon, as several graduates performed with distinction.

Although three-quarters of the West Point grads who fought in the Civil War wore the Union blue, Confederate President Jefferson Davis was of the class of 1828, and the Confederate generalship was dominated by USMA products. Senate Republicans took up where Crockett had left off: Senator Chandler of Michigan demanded abolition of this viper's nest that had produced more traitors "within the last 50 years than all the institutions of learning and education that have existed since Judas Iscariot's time." Moreover, Northern West Point generals like George McClellan (1846) seemed shy of carnage; one Republican politician charged that the Union army was riddled with "scores of luke warm, half secession [West Point] officers in command who

cannot bear to strike a vigorous blow lest it hurt their rebel friends or jeopardize the precious protectors of slavery."

William Faulkner once said that in, the South, the past not only isn't forgotten--it isn't even past. At no If American school is the past so present as at West Point. (Faulkner's visit to the Academy in 1962 was one of his last public appearances. "I had the layman's notion that this was a stiff, regimented place where robots move to numbers" he said, "and I've found it's a little different.") Cadets are made to understand that they are part of the Long Gray Line, which stretches back into a misty past and ahead to an unknowable future; from the halls of Sylvanus Thayer to the shores of West Africa. "Much of the history we teach was made by people we taught," is a point of pride at the Academy; West Pointers commanded both sides in 55 of the 60 major battles of the Civil War and supplied 89 of 155 U.S. ground commanders during the Second World War.

It would be a dull cadet indeed who could walk these grounds for four days, let alone four years, and not get the message: We Produce Great Men. West Point's baseball team plays at Doubleday Field, named for Abner Doubleday (1842), who in legend if not fact invented baseball. The grounds are dotted with cannon, festooned with regimental flags, decorated with statuary reminders of wars past. George S. Patton faces the library--an in-joke, for legend has it he scarcely visited the place during his five years as a cadet. ("Pa I am stupid there is no use talking I am stupid," he wrote his father.)

Baseball

Most of the buildings were constructed at the dawn of the twentieth century; they are gray and forbidding, neo-Gothic monuments with a gargoyle here and there, perhaps as homage to the Hudson's venerable reputation as host of goblins and headless Hessians. Though the design has been called "grimly purposeful," there is a spooky, eldritch quality, and it is no surprise that Ralph Adams Cram, namesake of the architecture firm responsible for most of the structures, was a master of the ghost story.

Ritual and tradition animate (critics say "deadens") every aspect of West Point, from R-Day, when parents transfer more than 1,100 sons and daughters to the USMA and watch them--heads shorn, posture erect--parade at sunset, to graduation day, when the 900 or so survivors will toss their white hats into the sky at Michie

Stadium, and hundreds of children scramble after the prizes (cadets often hide pictures, dollar bills, and charms inside). The sight of a cadet pushing a child in a wheelchair in pursuit of a hat--and the child's delight at its possession--could make the curmudgeon H. L. Mencken bawl. Proud parents beam, yet there is a hint of sadness in the air, for their children are gone now for five more years, scattered around the globe, in their new family, the U.S. Army, and "home" will be a series of temporary bases.

It is ceremony, plus the shared tribulations that grow harsher with each retelling at alumni gatherings, that imbues cadets with a lifelong attachment to a place of gray walls and bitter Februaries. The Saturday morning parades in the fall, three hours before kickoff time, stir the hearts of visitors and annoy the sleep-deprived cadets, who respond by cracking jokes in the ranks and passing along the coordinates of comely spectators. But the stiff dignity of a march serves a purpose. Novelist Ed Ruggero (1980) told me, "I was in the fourth regiment, the last to leave the parade field.... By the time we passed in front of the Superintendent's reviewing stand the band was playing, 'The Army Song.' Looking through the files of bayonets and rifles ahead of me, I could see the Supe's house, the dark trees in the garden, the hills beyond. It was always on that stretch that I felt most distinctly that I was part of something larger than myself, something worth belonging to"

A note on West Point argot and hierarchy is in order. Freshmen are plebes, sophomores are yearlings, juniors are cows, and seniors are firsties. The Superintendent, or Supe (currently Lieutenant General Daniel W. Christman) runs the place; the Commandant of Cadets (Brigadier General John P. Abizaid) is in charge of the student-soldiers, particularly their military training. The Dean of the Academic Board (Brigadier General Fletcher M. Lamkin, Jr.) rules the academic roost.

Superintendent Christman, who graduated first in the class of 1965, lives in the 1820 federal-style home of Sylvanus Thayer, a football's throw from the cadet barracks. ("It's like living in a two-room apartment attached to a museum," he says, with the papers and furniture and bric-a-brac of former occupants like Robert E. Lee and Douglas MacArthur.) Superintendent has become a "career job"--next stop, Retirement Village--for three-star generals who serve here for five years, on the theory that this positioning elevates them

above petty service politics.

Superintendent Christman is popular with the cadets; despite expanding military training, he is regarded as something of a liberalizer, though nowhere near as thoroughgoing as the greatest liberalizer in the Academy's history, Douglas MacArthur, who, with memories of the merciless hazing he took in his plebe year, became Superintendent in 1919 and proceeded to broaden course offerings, bring in civilian professors, codify the honor system, greatly expand the sports program, and break down the utter isolation of the cadets, who were permitted more leaves and more mail.

The Superintendent's office is lined with portraits of his predecessors, including MacArthur, who delivered his "Duty, Honor, Country" valediction in May 1962 to a mess hall assemblage that included a plebe from Ohio named Daniel Christman. ("Today marks my final roll call with you," MacArthur told the hushed cadets. "But I want you to know that when I cross the river, my last conscious thoughts will be of the corps, and the corps, and the corps." MacArthur's wife, almost alone among auditors, was unmoved, but as she explained, "This is the twenty-ninth time I've heard it.")

There's an old gag that says, "West Point enjoys two centuries of tradition untouched by progress," but that's a lie. The Academy is sensitive to changes in U.S. foreign policy. MacArthur told the cadets, "Your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable-it is to win our wars." Yet Christman now explains that "We define wars much more broadly than MacArthur ever envisioned. Our mission is to win at any operation: restoring power in Dade County, Florida, if we're asked to do that, or killing Iraq's Republican Guard, if necessary." The curriculum has mutated in response to Kuwait, Somalia, Serbia, et al. "We've moved away from an emphasis on Western European Judeo-Christian history" says the Superintendent. "We're teaching a lot more about Islamic history, Arabic and Chinese, understanding Africa and South Asia" For one never knows where next the armed forces of peacekeeping will alight. (Professor Pojman is dedicating his next book to his cadets--"who will give new significance to the green uniform"--the implication being that West Point is training tomorrows officers for a military of pollution-fighters.)

No one better personifies the changes at West Point than Lucian Truscott IV, enfant terrible of the Class of 1969. His first novel, *Dress Gray*, in which a maverick cadet, Ry Slaight, takes on a villainous commandant in trying to discover the murderer of a gay cadet, was banned at West Point; 20 years later, he does book signings here.

Truscott is the son of a West Pointer, grandson of the man who commanded the Allied landing at Anzio, and a descendant of Thomas Jefferson. (He'll be buried with his family at Monticello.) He was a refractory cadet who accumulated demerits the way kids collect baseball cards. His writing career began as a sophomore, with a letter to the *Village Voice* that read, "Abbie Hoffman's an idiot." He graduated 658th in his class and was drummed out of the Army after one year.

In *Dress Gray*, a character tells Ry Slaight, "Some day, this place is going to change. It won't happen while you and I are here, but we'll see it in our lifetime. You can count on that"

Well, change did come, and it is reflected in Truscott's sequel, *Full Dress Gray* (1998). Ry Slaight, who quit the Academy at the end of *Dress Gray*, is back as Superintendent of a multicultural West Point at which he is "charged with defending that which he had once challenged with such vehemence." The novel succeeds as a page-turner, despite its cartoon villains--the two bad guys are scions of a "tobacco-farming family" and "the Nassau County Republican machine" But what is fascinating about *Full Dress Gray* is the extent to which Truscott has now fully embraced an institution at which he was about as persona non grata as you can get.

Dress Gray reads as if written by a radical democrat of the early nineteenth century--a Davy Crockett who questions the very need for West Point. *Full Dress Gray*, despite the sinister machinations of an evil commandant and his cadet henchmen, is a virtual valentine to the Long Gray Line. "One of the great ironies of my life is that... I end up being a defender" of West Point, says Truscott. Asked what he would reform about the place, he replies, "I wouldn't do anything different than what Superintendent Christman is doing right now."

Truscott returned last summer to a welcome fit for a prodigal son, supping on the fatted calf at the Supe's house. General Christman says, "I

devoured Full Dress Gray. And having read his cybertraffic on the West Point Forum, I found myself agreeing an awful lot with what he said." Dean Lamkin says of Truscott that, "In his heart of hearts he's a patriot and believes in this institution." As, indeed, he does. Truscott doubts he'd have graduated from any other school: "If I'd gone to Berkeley I'd have flunked out in six months for chasing hippie chicks. West Point probably is the only place I could have graduated from, because it made you have discipline--and in those days I was rather lacking in the discipline category."

"YOU BROUGHT NOTHING INSIDE EXCEPT YOURSELF"

Before a contumacious teenager can be turned into a disciplined, tradition-minded cadet, he or she must be admitted to West Point, which since 1843 has operated an official quota system, through which appointments to the Academy are primarily allotted by states and congressional districts. About three-fourths of the 1,200 new cadets each year have been nominated by a member of the House or Senate; the other places are reserved for soldiers from the regular Army, sons and daughters of career soldiers, and other military-connected candidates. "Most people think your mom or dad has to make a contribution to your member of Congress, and that's absolutely not true" assures Director of Admissions Colonel Michael L. Jones (1970).

The cadet profile is a guidance counselor's dream. For the class of 2001, the mean SAT scores are 620 verbal and 644 math; 90 percent earned varsity letters, and almost two-thirds, remarkably, were team captains. Ruggero the novelist writes, "While West Point attracted some of the brightest students in America, they were not the same kids who would have gone to Harvard or MIT. They were the kind of students who did well at Penn State and the University of Texas."

A knack for trigonometry is not enough. The admissions department rank orders candidates by a "whole candidate score" which also takes into account "leadership skills" and performance on a physical aptitude exam, which includes pull-ups, a standing long jump, a basketball throw, and other feats beyond the ability of your typical MIT geek. Physical standards are lower for female applicants.

In May 1998, the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Equal Opportunity released a study showing "a substantial academic qualifications gap between black and white applicants who have been accepted for future enrollment" at West Point. Using data from the incoming plebe class in the fall of 1995, the CEO found that white admittees outscored black admittees by an average of 40 points on verbal SATs and 60 points on math SATs.

Academy officials replied with the usual boilerplate about "diversity" and the ever-useful "problems with methodology" but they need not have been defensive: After all, West Point is based on a quota system, albeit one with a geographical base.

Whatever leg up affirmative action gives blacks today at West Point is dwarfed by the preferences granted to southern and western whites in antebellum days, when young men from the interior of the country simply did not have access to the kind of education enjoyed by the sons of prosperous East Coast families. Throughout the nineteenth century, Superintendents begged Congress to tighten admission standards, to no avail, for the ingenious congressional appointment system was a rich source of patronage.

Besides, some of the unlettered turned out rather well: For instance, a Virginia country boy named Thomas J. Jackson, dressed in homespun, gained admission despite making it painfully clear that "he could add up a column of figures, but as to vulgar or decimal fractions, it is doubtful if he had ever heard of them," as a classmate said. The examining board admitted him, in an obvious case of affirmative action for hard-working crackers, and his diligence and native smarts soon made him one of the class of 1846's better students. (In the war that followed Thomas J. Jackson picked up the nickname "Stonewall," and now you know the rest of the story.)

The first black graduate of West Point, Henry Ossian Flipper (1877), declared, "If my manhood cannot stand without a governmental prop, then let it fall. If I am to stand on any other ground than the one white cadets stand upon, then I don't want the cadetship" Today, says Louis Pojman, the green-ish philosophy professor, "there's a little bit of affirmative action and the cadets hate it. When they see someone get pushed up because of her gender or because they need a black

person, they talk. That's a demoralizer, but it doesn't happen much."

If nineteenth-century West Point had an aristocratic tincture, the current corps of cadets is largely middle class. "In this century our nobles have not encouraged their sons to go to West Point" notes Gore Vidal, who was born in the cadet hospital, son of West Point's star quarterback Gene Vidal (1918). The almost comically genteel nature of the haughty nineteenth-century cadet is illustrated by a story told of the painter James McNeill Whistler, who arrived in 1851 and left two years later, done in by his "unfortunate opinion that silicon was a gas." An instructor once reproved Whistler: "what! You do not know the date of the battle of Buena Vista? Suppose you were to go out to dinner and the company began to talk of the Mexican War, and you, a West Point man, were asked the date of the battle. What would you do Do?" replied Whistler coolly. "Why, I should refuse to associate with people who could talk of such things at dinner!"

The Academy acts as a leveller. As a general explains in John P. Marquand's novel *Melville Goodwin, USA*, "you brought nothing inside there with you except yourself. Pocket money, family, and chauffeurs did not matter at the Point." In his critical *Ivory Fortress: A Psychiatrist Looks at West Point* (1974), former West Point shrink Richard U'Ren wrote of a gathering of cadets and parents: "One cadet's father, from Virginia, came dressed in a Brooks Brothers suit, while another's, from Louisiana, wore a blue bowling shirt: yet it was impossible to determine which cadet belonged to which father." Whether this is a refreshing obliteration of class distinctions or an appalling triumph of enforced sameness and dull uniformity is for each reader to decide.

THE BURDEN OF BEAST

New cadets arrive in late June, and if they are not fêted at frat mixers and juice-bar receptions, they don't expect to be. "When I first came here, I had this idea that upperclassmen were going to be hitting me," laughs firstie Thurman McKenzie, a varsity track athlete.

They don't hit you anymore; instead, the teenaged newcomers are thrown into "Beast Barracks" the decidedly feral nickname for Cadet Basic Training. As Commandant of Cadets, Brigadier General John Abizaid is the

commanding officer of the corps. Sturdily built and witty, Abizaid is described as a "soldier's soldier" by subordinates. "It's really funny to watch these guys come in here with their hats on backwards, and next thing you know we turn them into soldiers," Abizaid says as he shows me a video of Beast Barracks. (West Point is big on promotional videos set to incongruous rock music. In this one, new cadets are soldierized to the tune of "Takin' Care of Business," that classic '70s ode to idleness. Another video shows Pointers peacekeeping in Somalia to the strains of U2's "Where the Streets Have No Name.")

For six weeks, more than a thousand 18-year-olds will wake at 5:20 a.m. and spend their days running, rappelling, shining shoes, and studying their M-16s as though they were geometric theorems. When addressed by an upperclassman, they can say one of four things: Yes, sir; No, sir; Sir, I do not understand; or No excuse, sir. (Cadet Mattox of Los Angeles says that after plebe year, "I even began my prayers, 'Sir'") New cadets are permitted one 10-minute call home each week. Televisions and other mass culture entertainment are not permitted. Between 4 and 9 percent will quit during Beast Barracks, and it's a long ride home, especially for dropouts from small towns, who are typically given a hero's sendoff when leaving for the Point.

Beast Barracks is largely cadet-run. New arrivals are divided into squads of ten; upperclassmen act as squad leaders in what is seen as a manufactory of leadership. Some are bullies, others want to be everybody's pal; some inspire, others berate. But the grant of responsibility usually does its job: junior Bryce Bowman of suburban Buffalo, New York, says that being a squad leader was the experience that made him feel finally, fully, part of the Long Gray Line.

The new cadets do almost everything, right down to shoeshining, as a team. "Cooperate and graduate" goes one adage, for as former English professor Pat C. Hoy says, "Few believe they can make it alone. Those who try usually fail. A lone rifleman does not wage war and win." (Hoy, who went on to teach at Harvard, lamented, "at Harvard, where I see so few signs of restraint, I'm yearning for the gifts of community. At West Point I had yearned for freedom and solitude.")

Those who have endured Beast Barracks describe it best. "It's an initiation far harder than Army basic training" according to General

Norman Schwarzkopf (1956), "designed to drive out those plebes who can't handle physical and psychological stress, and teach the survivors the discipline and basic skills they need to get along at West Point."

Separated from family, friends, and hometown, the fledgling passes through this summer crucible and emerges a West Point cadet. Something has been gained--and lost, as well. As critic U'Ren writes, "Since cooperation and discipline are esteemed so highly in the military, individualism and self-reliance--the old civilian virtues--must be ruthlessly expunged." Colonel Kerry Pierce, director of the Office of Policy Planning and Analysis, stresses that cadets must learn that "the group is more important than the individual," and as this is at odds with the dominant American ethos, it belies the hackneyed claim that West Point is "quintessentially American." It is not--for better and/or for worse.

Beast Barracks is prominent in West Point lore not only for the ingenuity of the hazing--forcing the newcomers to drink Tabasco sauce and toothpaste, stand at attention on their heads, warm toilet seats for upperclassmen, and other wholesome hijinks now largely banished--but for its "West Pointicization": Memorizing old football scores, Academy facts, and, most colorfully, bizarre definitions. "How's the cow?" upperclassmen ask the lowly plebe, to which he responds, "Sir, she walks, she talks, she's full of chalk, the lacteal fluid extracted from the female of the bovine species is highly prolific to the nth degree."

Irreverence is not among the qualities contributing to an applicant's whole candidate score, but it ought to be. A longstanding joke (updated every few years for inflation) has it that West Point is a "\$250,000 education, shoved up your anatomy a nickel at a time." Upperclassmen are high unanimous in proclaiming a sense of humor as the sine qua non of a successful plebe year. The healthiest way to deal with a picayune regulation--besides quitting--is to obey and have a good laugh later. "I remember making it back to my room, dosing the door, and laughing so hard" at the absurdity of it all, says one junior. Then he fell asleep, woke up before sunrise the next morning, and did it all over again.

Non-sadistic hazing has a purpose beyond cruelty. "There's a tendency, when you're 18 years old, in a new environment, and people are

yelling at you, to just want to give up" notes Lucian Truscott. "My experience was you didn't get guys to not give up by being nice to them. They learn they can endure pretty much anything--that's why they don't give up." Nonetheless, the cruder forms of hazing have largely vanished--one of the Academy's ubiquitous "mission statements" declares that instilling "sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others" is a purpose of Beast Barracks. Today's regimen, however, is perhaps more demanding than in Tabasco-guzzling days. That old spoilsport Commandant Abizaid has de-emphasized fraternity froth and rededicated Beast Barracks to "rifle marksmanship, road marches, tactical training" and other military skills, for as he says bluntly--his manner of speech is so forthright, so unadorned, that he probably speaks to his mother bluntly--"West Point is not going to school to be a physics major; it's learning to drive a tank."

"Yeah, I know the definition of leather [one of the ritual memory tests], but this summer the things we were asked to memorize were much more military--the soldiers' creed and everything about our assault rifle and grenades" says plebe Andrew Scott, a descendant of General Winfield Scott, old Fuss 'n' Feathers of Mexican War fame, whose remains repose in the West Point Cemetery. Andy's sister, Katherine, is a firstie, a batallion commander: She lives in Scott Hall, named after her preening ancestor. Sibling relations are strange, though not necessarily strained, at West Point. "We can talk to each other" says Kate. "No plebes can interact with upperclassmen, that's fraternization. But it's my brother, so I'm allowed to recognize him. If I was walking across the area and saw him, he wouldn't just come up and say, 'Hey, Kate.' He would stand at attention. But he can come over to my room. I can give him advice, but I try to stay away from giving him unfair advantages. That's not what a brother or sister is for; we can be there for moral support."

The generals who run West Point today are products of the Vietnam years--the Academy's nadir. A poll of firsties in 1971 found that more than half regretted coming to West Point. (It wasn't all bleakness, though. The highlight of Vietnam-era protest along the Hudson came on Moratorium Day 1969, when 200 Vassar girls presented flowers to the cadets. The soldiers-to-be greeted them with wry cordiality. One football player, offered a daffodil, promptly ate it; another cadet announced that he had to leave, as he was

late for "poison-gas class.")

After the war, a West Point captain said, "Vietnam taught us something about leadership. You can't be out of touch with the people you are going to lead. In Vietnam, if you gave an order that the troops didn't understand, they might say, 'F*** you, Jack. I'm not going. See you around.' Someone who comes out of this place has to know how to deal with that kind of thing."

Thus the emphasis by Christman & Co. on "ridding this institution of vestiges of sophomoric behavior." The Supe contends "there was for far too long a feeling that we could hector and berate a plebe and that was okay, that somehow we'd go out into the Army and not be affected by that. Well, I saw too many junior officers deal with their platoon or company the way an upperclassman dealt with a plebe--and you don't do that."

"SIR, THE DESSERT TODAY IS OREOS..."

Much as Commandant Abizaid may be loath to admit it, West Point is a school; each cadet's room contains a personal computer but not a gun. (The computer's cost is deducted from their pay, which totals about \$7,000 a year.) Typically, a cadet rises at 6:00 and spends the bulk of the day in class, until mandatory athletics in late afternoon. Leisure time--or study time, as it were--is reserved for evenings. Taps is played over the barracks intercom at 11:30; lights must be out by midnight, except for firsties (a recent liberalization). Televisions are not permitted for a cadet's first two years; plebes may have stereos after their first Christmas, but the noise mustn't travel down the hall. Drinking and drug use are forbidden.

In some respects these are typical college kids--Gary Conway, director of cadet radio station WKDT, tells me that the corps prefers alternative rock and country to John Philip Sousa. But in other ways--well, as Bryce Bowman asks, "In how many colleges do you wake up and say to your roommate, 'How do we clean our room today?'" Nor are there many schools in which fatigued students who start to nod off in class are encouraged to stand in order to stay awake. Unnerving to the instructor, one might think, but they seem not to mind.

In his retirement at Gettysburg, where he could walk around Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top and all those other lyrically named

bloodbaths he had studied half a century before, Dwight Eisenhower wrote, "The pleasures of a cadet's life were the same in my day as they were in Grant's and probably are today--the forbidden food tidbits smuggled in from the outside and enjoyed in barracks after taps, the long winter evenings spent in unauthorized meetings discussing graduation prospects, the practical jokes on each other or on the lowly plebe." The homely pleasures of cadet life remain constant. They are bonded through common trials; these friendships, which will last past a lifetime, give their lives shape and ballast.

"This is not a monastery" insists Supe Christman, despite the T-shirt that reads, "Sex Kills...Go to West Point and Live Forever." Whereas once the plebe was forbidden to go home from R-Day until the next summer--an obvious attempt to sever him from family and home--today he gets two weekend passes before his first Christmas, and in subsequent years "weekend opportunities grow exponentially," says Christman.

Ed Ruggero worries about this. "West Pointers are often criticized for being socially immature, probably as a result of being locked up for four years. They get out to their first assignments and many of them act like high school sophomores (I was one of those). In recent years cadets have been given more privileges--leaves, passes, etc.--with the idea that they'll know how to act. I don't think this will make them soft, but I am concerned that it will dilute those bonds that come from shared experiences. I believe this is one of the problems the Naval Academy faces; midshipmen are a lot closer to being college students than are West Point cadets. They also have many of the same problems other college students have (cheating, drugs, sex scandals)."

Ruggero may be playing the part of Old Grad--each class is convinced, says Christman, that theirs was the "last time when Beast Barracks was still Beast Barracks"--but he is asking the question that West Point has asked and answered differently every few years--since 1802: What is the proper balance between regimentation and liberty? A restive cadet in the 1970s asserted, "The central, ironic paradox of Academy life is that the institution attempts to build leaders by denying them room for individual choice, thought, and initiative." Or as a critic of the academies puts it, "Compare this to the lifestyle of an ROTC cadet who attends a civilian university. Those cadets, generally, hold jobs to help pay for their education and some even have

families to support. They must decide on their own whether or not to stay up late, go to class, stay in shape, etc. It is incumbent upon them to discipline themselves," whereas "Academy cadets have most of their decisions made for them.... The Academy may produce a more regimented officer, but not necessarily a more self-disciplined one."

At 12:05 p.m., the 4,000 members of the corps of cadets eat lunch in cavernous Washington Hall, underneath an assortment of early American and state flags. I am guided to the table of Company C-4 by Joanna Pietrantonio, a firstie from Southern New Jersey, a platoon leader who looks as though she could be cast as the pretty and wholesome cadet--the anti-Heather Locklear--in a weekly West Point TV series. (See nearby sidebar.) She is an English major who likes T. S. Eliot, Emily Dickinson, Ezra Pound, and opera. There are ten of us, including three plebes who sit, ramrod straight, at the end of the table opposite "Table Commandant" Iker, a friendly firstie from Oklahoma. The table commandant sets the tone for the table, which is conversational but not raucous. Among those at our repast is Ben Cerver, a wrestler from Auburn, Washington, who took last year off and did volunteer work in Nepal, Bangladesh, and India to "escape the concrete, materialist society I'm in here sometimes." Cerver is an engaging fellow: a real self-improver, the sort who "if I'm reading a book and I don't understand a word I look it up." Imagine Jack Kerouac at West Point--athlete, Christian, a boy with wanderlust whose post-Army dream is "to go to a little high school, teach English lit., and coach wrestling, just like my father."

Lunch today is sloppy joes and scalloped potatoes (dietician Dawn Roper tells me that the cadets prefer "pizza and wings, like all teenagers"); the entire corps is served simultaneously in a herculean feat of scullery. In 20 minutes, our plates will be cleaned.

One of the plebes reports, "Sir, the dessert today is Oreo cookies." This news is digested, and I reflect on the self-discipline it takes to announce, without smiling and with a sense of gravity, the presence of black and white cookies. We eat and chat, all but the plebes, who are quiet. They are permitted to eat unmolested, however, unlike in days of yore. (Sam Bartholomew recalls, "I'll never forget July 4, 1962. I had a big steak, strawberry shortcake, and french fries dumped in

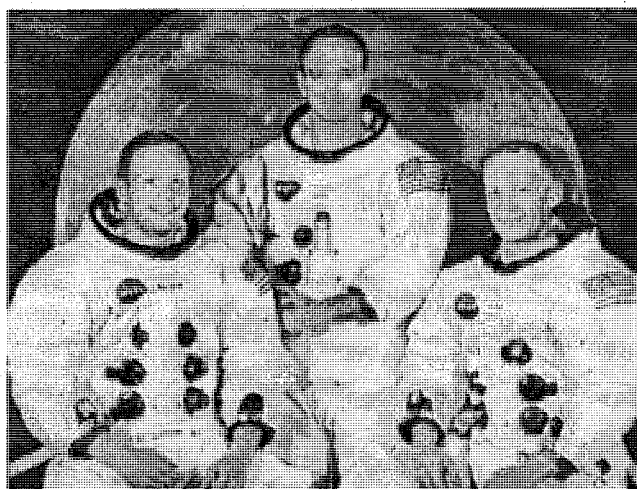
APOLLO 11



CREW INFORMATION



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Last revised 21 October 2001.



Apollo 11 Official Crew Portrait

Mission Commander

Neil A. Armstrong, civilian



Personal: Born August 5, 1930, Wapakoneta, Ohio. Married, two children.

Education: B.S. in aeronautical engineering, Purdue University, 1955.
M.S. in aerospace engineering, University of Southern California, 1970.

Spaceflights: Command pilot, Gemini 8 (1966). Commander, Apollo 11 (1969).

Was an aviator in the Navy and was chosen with the second group of astronauts in 1962. Made seven flights in the X-15 program (1960 photo), reaching an altitude of 207,500 feet. Was backup command pilot for Gemini 5, command pilot for Gemini 8, backup command pilot for Gemini 11, backup commander for Apollo 8, and commander for

Apollo 11 (first man to walk on the Moon). Was Deputy Associate Administrator for Aeronautics at NASA from July 1970 until August 1971, when he resigned to become Professor of Aeronautical Engineering at the University of Cincinnati. Served on the National Commission on Space from 1985 to

1986 and on the Presidential Commission on the Space Shuttle Challenger Accident in 1986.

NASA photo A11-37-5528 shows Neil in the LM after the successful completion of the first moonwalk.

Command Module Pilot

Michael Collins, Lt. Col., USAF.

Personal: Born October 31, 1930, Rome, Italy. Married, three children.

Education. B.S., U.S. Military Academy, 1952.

Spaceflights: Pilot, Gemini 10 (1966). Command module pilot, Apollo 11 (1969).

Chosen in the third group of astronauts in 1963. Served as backup pilot for Gemini 7, pilot for Gemini 10, and command module pilot for Apollo 11. Had been assigned to Apollo 8 but was removed to undergo surgery. Resigned from NASA in January 1970 and was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Became Director of the National Air and Space Museum at the Smithsonian Institution in April 1971 and was promoted to Under Secretary of the Smithsonian in April 1978. Retired from the Air Force with the rank of Major General.

Became Vice President, Field Operations, Vought Corporation, Arlington, Virginia, in February 1980. Currently heads Michael Collins Associates, a Washington, D.C. consulting firm. Has written numerous articles and two books, *Carrying the Fire* and *Liftoff*, as well as a children's book, *Flying to the Moon and Other Strange Places*.



The picture is Mike's Apollo 11 portrait

Lunar Module Pilot

Buzz Aldrin, Col., USAF



Personal: Born Edwin Eugene Aldrin, Jr., January 20, 1930, Montclair, New Jersey. Later, legally changed his name to "Buzz Aldrin". Married, three children (from a previous marriage).

Education: B.S., U.S. Military Academy, 1951. Ph.D. in astronautics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1963.

Spaceflights: Pilot, Gemini 12 (1966). Lunar module pilot, Apollo 11 (1969).

Chosen with the third group of astronauts in 1963. Was backup pilot for Gemini 9, pilot on Gemini 12, backup command module pilot for Apollo 8, and lunar module pilot for Apollo 11 (second man to walk on the Moon). Resigned from NASA in July 1971 to become Commandant of the Aerospace Research Pilot's School at Edwards AFB, California. Retired from the Air Force in 1972 and became a consultant for the Comprehensive Care Corporation, Newport Beach, California. Currently resides in southern California and lectures and consults on space sciences with Starcraft Enterprises. Has authored two books, *Return to Earth* and *Men From Earth*.

NASA photo A11-36-5390 shows Buzz in the LM during the initial spacecraft inspection.

Landing CapCom

Charles Moss Duke, Lt. Col., USAF

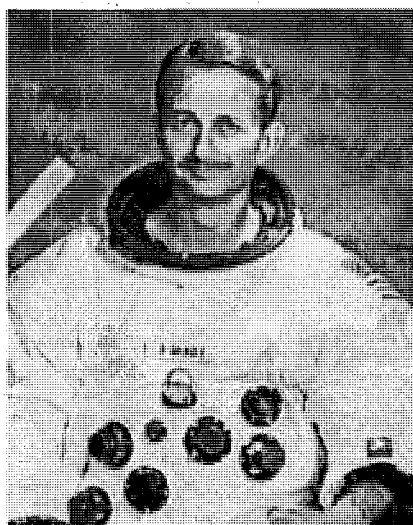
Duke was born in Charlotte, North Carolina on October 3, 1935. He graduated from the US. Naval Academy in 1957 and then joined the U.S. Air Force which had not yet graduated a class of young officers from its own Academy. After completion of flight training, he served as a fighter interceptor pilot in Germany, and, then, attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receiving a Master's Degree in Aeronautics in 1964. The following year he graduated from the Air Force Aerospace Research Pilot School and was serving as an instructor when, in April 1966, he was one of 19 pilots selected in the fifth group of astronauts. He served as CapCom during the Apollo 11 landing and as Lunar Module Pilot with Young on the backup crews for Apollo 13 and 17 and on the Apollo 16 prime crew. Duke retired from the Astronaut Corps in 1975 and is active in private business and as a Christian lay witness and has achieved the rank of Brig. Gen. in the USAF Reserves.



The picture is Charlie's Apollo 16 portrait

Post-landing and Goodnight CapCom

Dr. Owen K. Garriott, civilian



Personal: Born November 22, 1930, Enid, Oklahoma. Married, four children.

Education: B.S. in electrical engineering, University of Oklahoma, 1953. M.S., 1957, and Ph.D., 1960, both in electrical engineering from Stanford University.

Spaceflights: Science pilot, Skylab 3 (1973). Mission specialist, STS-9 (1983).

Chosen with the fourth group of astronauts in 1965. Served and Post-landing and Goodnight CapCom on Apollo 11. Served as the Program Scientist for the Space Station Program Office at Johnson Space Center prior to his retirement from NASA. Was Vice President of Space Programs at Teledyne Brown Engineering, Huntsville, Alabama, but left in 1993 to form Immutherapeutics Inc., also in Huntsville.

The picture is Owen's Skylab 3 portrait

EVA CapCom

Capt. Bruce McCandless, II, USN (Retired)

Personal: Born June 8, 1937, Boston, Massachusetts. Married, two children.

Education: B.S., U.S. Naval Academy, 1958. M.S. in electrical engineering, Stanford University, 1965. M.B.A., University of Houston at Clear Lake, 1987.

Spaceflights: Mission specialist, STS 41-B (1984) and STS-31 (1990).

Chosen with the fifth group of astronauts in 1966. Served as EVA CapCom on Apollo 11 and EVA-1 and LM Launch CapCom on Apollo 14. Was backup pilot for Skylab 2 and a mission specialist on STS 41-B and on STS-31, which deployed the Hubble Space Telescope. Has since resigned from NASA and retired from the Navy and works at Martin Marietta Astronautics Co., Denver, Colorado.



The picture is a portrait of Bruce in his MMU, before his Historic STS 41-B Mission in 1984

LM Launch CapCom**Ronald Ellwin Evans, Commander, USN**

Evans was born November 10, 1933 in St. Francis, Kansas. He was trained as an engineer at the University of Kansas and received a Master's Degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in 1964. Evans was selected as a member of the fourth group of pilot-astronauts in April 1966. At the time of his selection, he was flying combat operations in the South China Sea - from the aircraft carrier USS Ticonderoga - having previously served as a combat flight instructor. He served on the support crew for Apollo 7 and as the Apollo 11 LM Launch CapCom before his assignment to the Apollo 14 backup crew and, then, Apollo 17 as Command Module Pilot. After his lunar flight, Evans served as backup Command Module Pilot for the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz joint flight and then transferred to the Shuttle program prior to his retirement from NASA in 1977. He retired from the Navy with the rank of Captain. He worked as Executive

Vice-President of Western America Energy Corporation in Scottsdale, Arizona until 1978, then as Manager, Space Systems Marketing for Sperry Flight Systems, Phoenix, Arizona, and later as a marketing consultant. He died of a heart attack in Scottsdale, Arizona, April 7, 1990.

NASA photo S71-51273 is Ron's Apollo 17 portrait

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WALL STREET JOURNAL

May 15, 2002, Wednesday

SECTION: Section B; Page 4, Column 5**LENGTH:** 33 words**HEADLINE:** SEPT. 11 ATTACKS COST \$303,672, BUT FEW DETAILS OF PLOT SURFACE**BYLINE:** BY PAUL BECKETT**JOURNAL-CODE:** WSJ**ABSTRACT:**

The FBI releases new details of the financial profiles of the September 11 hijackers showing that the money they deposited in banks and then spent totaled about \$303,000 for the whole operation (M)

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Cost of
to put
together
Sept 11
attacks

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11/13/2001 - Updated 08:00 AM ET

THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

Residents celebrate as alliance enters Kabul

KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) — Residents of the Afghan capital peered through the open doors of abandoned Taliban military bases today and whispered to each other: "Are they gone?" They were. The bodies of two Arabs lay near the United Nations guesthouse, outside a military compound in a city that was taken over by opposition Northern Alliance with virtually no resistance. The remainder of Taliban forces were largely gone, having fled southward during the night.

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It's time to put all of
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Company creates easy
solution for hard water
problems

Power and cyclonic
action create one
incredible stick vac

Scientists adapt NASA
technology to create
"smart bed" sleep
surface

Digital camera, video
camera and webcam in
your shirt pocket?

How to make your car
invisible to radar and
laser

Kabul
celebrates
freedom



Audio
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- [Video: Coalition declares Taliban finished](#)
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- [Audio: Taliban leader calls for destruction of USA](#)

After weeks of waiting out U.S. airstrikes, the Northern Alliance swept through several cities over the weekend. Its forces faced off against the Taliban in Kabul, and moved in Monday morning as the Taliban fled south.

Bundles of burned clothes and blankets were piled on top of the corpses, and a charred rocket launcher lay beside one of them. People gathered to look.

Sporadic gunfire pierced the crisp morning air as Northern Alliance soldiers celebrated their victory over the Islamic militia that ousted them from the capital in 1996. U.S. bombing cleared the way for their rapid advances, which began with the fall of the northern city of Mazar-e Sharif on Friday.

Opposition fighters moved quickly through Kabul neighborhoods, conducting house-to-house searches and seizing abandoned bases. Rifle fire was heard at some outposts on the city's edges.

"I think there were some Taliban who were asleep when everyone else left," Abdul Jan said. "They have woken up and they are thinking 'Oh my God, what can I do?' "

In some areas of Kabul, residents gathered on street corners to talk about what they had seen, and pointed out houses of former Taliban commanders. Opposition soldiers said they were collecting arms as they moved door-to-door.

Groups of five to 10 men huddled in the streets, wrapped in woolen shawls. Northern Alliance fighters sped through the streets in vehicles camouflaged with mud that had been left behind by Taliban troops.

In northern Khair Khana district, inhabited largely by ethnic Tajiks who fled the earlier fighting north of the city, some people shouted:

"Congratulations. Oh my God, they are here."

"We leave everything to God. we don't know what will happen. We pray only for peace," said Sheer Agha, an elderly man wrapped in a striped shawl, his gray beard reaching almost to his chest.

"We are happy. Now I have to go to the barber to shave my beard," said Zabiullah, an ethnic Tajik. "Today is a happy day."

Two men on a bicycle looked at each other. "Do you think I can shave now?" one asked.

The Taliban required men to grow long beards, and failure to do so invited harsh punishment.

Houses used by Taliban leaders in the neighborhood of Wazir Akbar Khan were abandoned. The large steel doors of the home of former health minister Mullah Abbas Akhund were wide open.

Homes were also abandoned on Street 15 of Wazir Akbar Khan, famous in this area as "the street of guests," a reference to the Arab, Chechen and Uzbek volunteers who were allied with the Taliban.

Many were affiliated with Osama bin Laden, the chief suspect in the terrorist attacks in the United States in September that killed about 4,500 people.

The United States launched the bombing campaign in October against the Taliban regime after they refused to surrender bin Laden for trial.

In the money market in the old city, businessmen said departing Taliban soldiers emptied the stores of goods and money.

One money changer, who gave his name as Dr. Wali, said Taliban soldiers on tanks stopped in front of the shops, demanded the money and then rumbled out of the city.

Sudden changes of fortune are not unusual in Afghan military history. "It's happened before," said Tanvir Ahmed Khan, a political analyst and Pakistan's former foreign secretary. "One side falters, commanders shift loyalties, and large pieces of territory change hands overnight."

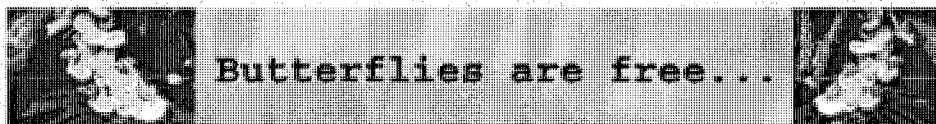
The Afghans are legendary guerrilla fighters. But in more conventional, face-to-face military battles, Afghans conduct warfare in their own unique way. Rival factions routinely chat with each other across the front line on their military radios, exchanging jokes and insults as often as artillery rounds.

The Taliban said its decision to cede territory is a strategic move to regroup and then mount a counteroffensive.

"The Islamic army of the Taliban withdrew from these provinces in an organized way to avoid civilian casualties," said the Taliban's ambassador in Pakistan, Abdul Salam Zaeef.

War in Afghanistan

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United States Military Academy Commencement
June 1, 2002
Draft #14

General Lennox, Mr. Secretary, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, families, and graduates: Thank you for your welcome. I am especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you follow in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years; some of you follow in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest event of his life was "the day I left West Point." When I graduated from college, I guess you'd have to say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, and Bradley – the commanders who saved a civilization – and of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this Academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal ... the mind behind the Manhattan Project ... and the first man to walk in space.

This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men who over the years perfected the game of football. General George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I have a secret and dangerous mission. Send me a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there is one thing you will never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I'm told that plebes, when

asked whom they outrank, are required to answer: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat ... and all the Admirals in the whole damn Navy." I don't think I'm going to share that one with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As Commander-in-Chief, I hereby direct the Secretary of the Army and the superintendent of West Point to remit all existing confinements and cadet punishments.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Army. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country.

Speaking here to the class of 1942 – six months after Pearl Harbor – General Marshall said: "We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other." Officers graduating that year helped to fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge – the challenge of imperial communism – and opposed it from Korea, to Berlin, to Vietnam, in the Cold War from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of these West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is honorable and powerful. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it is well begun. I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom – and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This Nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident of your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our

Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace – a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well – and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence ... the rewards of liberty ... and the hope of a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our friends. The attacks of September 11th required a little over 300,000 dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at the cost of less than a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, because we know the terrorists have more money, more men, and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. With the spread of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, even weak states and small groups could gain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught in the attempt to carry it out. They seek the capability to blackmail us, or to harm our friends, or to strike our people – and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence – the promise of massive retaliation against nations – means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles, or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who

solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they are prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute – to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terror cells in sixty or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence, and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we will provide it. Other nations oppose terror, but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror – and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you are needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life. America confronted imperial communism in many different ways – diplomatic, economic, and military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War.

When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners, and dissidents, and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem – and we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

The history of the last century in particular was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the earth. Germany fought France, and Axis fought Allies, and East fought West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict, in our world, is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has – and intends to keep – military advantages beyond challenge, making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations. Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia. I have just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward

democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together – better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong, great power relationships when times are good, to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

Finally, we have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with the hope of a better day.

Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we have seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions out of despair and want. There is no mystery to this achievement. The twentieth century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law ... limits on the power of the state ... respect for women ... private property ... free speech ... equal justice ... and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision – yet we can encourage and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation, tolerance, and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply in full to Africa, and Latin America, and the entire Islamic world. Islamic culture has a great history of learning, tolerance, and achievement. Its people

today – mothers, fathers, and children across many countries – share the fears and aspirations of all humanity. In poverty, they struggle. In tyranny, they suffer. And as we saw in Afghanistan, in liberation they celebrate.

The peoples of the Islamic world want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities of people throughout the world. And their governments should listen to their hopes. A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of Islamic peoples. A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.

America has a greater objective than controlling threats and containing resentment. We will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army, you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm, and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared – because you are the men and women of West Point. You leave here marked by the character of this academy, carrying with you the highest ideals of our Nation.

Toward the end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower recalled the first day he stood on the plain at West Point. “The feeling came over me,” he said, “that the expression ‘The United States of America’ would now and henceforth mean something different than it had ever before. From here on, it would be the Nation I would be serving, not myself.”

Today, your last day at West Point, you begin a life of service, in a career unlike any other. You have answered a calling to hardship and purpose, to risk and honor. At the end of every day you will know that you have faithfully done your duty. May you always bring to that duty the high standards of this great American institution. May you always be worthy of the long gray line that stretches two centuries behind you. On behalf of the Nation, I congratulate each one of you for the commission you have earned and the credit you bring to the United States of America.

problem of the dismembered Hungarian nation which had been the focus of Danubian instability in the past, could be solved by Communist fiat. Whether or not friendship among the rival nations of yore was actually growing under Communist tyranny was debatable. At any rate, two views, both maintaining that reconciliation was making headway, gave opposing interpretations of the causes of growing friendship: the Communists attributed it to the Marxist- Leninist nationality policy, the anti-Communists ascribed it to the bitter experience of common servitude. Finally, my Epilogue offered this broad view:

The national conflicts affecting the Middle Zone always were and still are of two kinds: one category consisting of the antagonism between Middle Zone nations and their two powerful neighbors, Russia and Germany; the other consisting of the disputes among the Middle Zone nations themselves.

Russia's relationship to the Middle Zone is of course the paramount issue today. Without the withdrawal of Russian military power from Europe no real peace is conceivable either in the Middle Zone or in the global conflict between East and West. Unfortunately, even if Russia withdrew within her present national frontiers, not all the conflicts between Russia and her western neighbors would be solved. Russia's immense territorial gains in the Second World War from the Baltic to the Carpathians would remain intact. But disputes over Russia's frontiers or over the status of entire nations annexed by Russia (as in the case of the three Baltic states) are of such a nature that no peaceful agreement, however desirable, could conceivably solve them; for only the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. itself (a very unlikely event), or a miracle of unheard- of wisdom and magnanimity, could change the boundary line between Russia and Europe.

Russia's relationship to her western neighbors is not, as the Russians claim, a matter of partnership among "Communist" or "Socialist" nations. The so- called East European problem of today is a matter of Soviet colonialism, Russian imperialism, Moscow's interference in the internal affairs of those nations which as a result of the Second World War came within the sphere of influence of Soviet military power. No nation in the Middle Zone, if free to choose, would ask the Russians for help to protect its so- called "socialist achievements." These achievements, as far as they served the cause of social justice, have been endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the people; to uphold them against domestic foes, the people need no outside help.

On the other hand, quite a number of nations in the Middle Zone would turn to Russia for protection if they felt Germany endangered their national security. To allay these fears, and to avoid a situation in which Russia could pose as the defender of nations threatened by German revenge, is certainly one of the great tests of statesmanship. If and when the time is ripe for East- West agreement on German reunification within the framework of a European federation, two issues in particular will call for simultaneous consideration: the Polish- German conflict over frontiers, and the Czech- German conflict over the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans. Unless both issues can be permanently settled, even fully independent Poland and Czechoslovakia may clamor for Russian protection.

There is a no less delicate situation regarding the conflicts among the Middle Zone nations themselves, conflicts which would most certainly come to the fore if Russia's military power were withdrawn from Europe. Here again only the West's supreme statesmanship could prevent Russia (or, for that matter Germany) from fishing in the muddy waters of national jealousies. If the Middle Zone nations were freed of Russia's domination, the intra- zone rivalries would be centered, as in the past, primarily in the Danube Valley. The conditions of peace among these nations (rather than the future of their social and economic institutions) should be very much a matter of international concern. These peoples, or at any rate their leaders, cannot compose their differences in a spirit of objectivity and fairness. They need the mediation of an impartial tribunal.

The Great Powers, who took a decisive part in the political settlement of this area, after both world wars supported exaggerated local nationalist aspirations, in accordance with their own power interests. If the Middle Zone could be removed from power rivalry by means of a European solution of the German problem, then the Great Powers might abandon power politics in the Danube Valley as

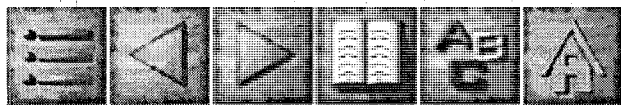
well, and promote the cause of true peace among the nations there. In particular, the punitive peace which twice partitioned Hungary in flagrant violation of the principle of ethnic equality, ought to be superseded by a peace of reconciliation to make the Danube Valley safe against cut-throat nationalist competition. And no other device but a Danubian federation could end these rivalries which, though petty in themselves, have aggravated for so long the insecurity of the European continent as a whole, through being intertwined with the rivalry of the Great Powers.

Essentially, the solution of the problem of Danubian Europe is no different in the twentieth century from what it was throughout the nineteenth century when, following the French Revolution, modern ideas of nationalism and democracy began in great force to penetrate the antiquated structure of the multinational Habsburg Empire. The great Czech historian Frantisek Palacky urged the Habsburgs in 1848 to federalize the Austrian Empire so as to forestall the great catastrophes (German and Russian domination of Central Europe included) which since then have all come true. He saw federalized Austria's mission as being to serve as "the bulwark and guardian of Europe against Asiatic elements of every kind." Of course, if a peaceful federalist solution of the present East-West conflict in Central Europe ever proved possible, no Danubian federation, or any kind of federation in the Middle Zone, could be anti-Russian in the sense of Palacky's "bulwark." Apart from the obsolescence of a "bulwark" in the Atomic Age, Benes's favorite idea of the role of a "bridge" between East and West would be a much more desirable one for the Middle Zone nations to play. But how can they ever play such an imposing role for the benefit of their own as well as the world's peace, if they fail, as they have failed in the past, in building the small bridges of peace among themselves? Indeed, "close and firm ties" among these nations are always needed, much as in Palacky's time, so that strife-torn Central Europe may enjoy freedom and welfare in "complete equality of rights."¹² Since Palacky's time, the catalogue of failures to reconcile national rivalries has grown alarmingly. Meanwhile, the key to ending these rivalries has remained the same. As Oscar Jászi wrote, after his last visit to the Danubian countries in 1948: "Neither the hereditary conception of the Habsburg Empire, nor the principle of self-determination after the First World War, nor the homogeneous nation-states idea after the Second World War [can be the solution]. . . . Federalism is the only possible means of reconciling states and nations."^[13] Or, as a writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* observed, in discussing one of the many books on the Habsburgs' failure, a topic still of lively interest on account of the failures of the Habsburgs' successors to remain free: "In 1918, after the First World War, the national states seemed to be the pattern for the future. Now we are not so sure. Even the old-established national states of western Europe are drawing together in terms of incipient federalism; how much less likely is it that the national states of eastern Europe will survive in undiminished sovereignty."^[14]

The survival of these states in "undiminished sovereignty" is certainly most unlikely. The question is whether sovereignty is to be diminished by consent, so that freedom may be safeguarded through union; or whether it will be diminished by conquest, in which case freedom will be lost to the domination of alien powers. The peoples of the Middle Zone have no free choice between the two alternatives; nevertheless the part they may be called upon to play in the showdown between the Western and the Soviet types of federalism in Central Europe will not be negligible.

The two basic problems of the Middle Zone, the attainment of national freedom and of social justice, remain unsolved. If and when they are solved, the danger zone of Central Europe, which has triggered off two world wars in the twentieth century, may become a zone of peace and stability. For the time being, however, Central Europe continues to be a cockpit of conflict, a threat to the world's peace. The revolution of Central Europe which began with a vision of freedom over a hundred years ago is still unfinished. The struggle for a new order still goes on.

Certainly the triumph of tyranny is not the last word of history.



The New Central Europe

Address at Commencement Exercises at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado

May 30, 1984

Secretary Orr, General Gabriel, General Scott, Senator Goldwater, Congressman Kramer, and distinguished guests, officers, cadets, and friends of the Air Force:

It's an honor and a real pleasure to come to Colorado Springs and to the Pike's Peak region. I just hope all Americans have the opportunity to visit Colorado and this breathtaking campus. Like me, they'll feel a deep pride in you, the men and women of our Air Force Academy.

On the flight from Washington, I asked our Air Force pilot for a few tips on Academy tradition. Well, he talked about Cadet Nino Baldacci -- [laughter] -- and then he offered to demonstrate an Immelman and a wingover. [Laughter] And my Air Force aide turned pale and said, "Mr. President, it would be better if you just remember the Air Force Academy is 7,250 feet above sea level, and that's far above West Point and Annapolis." [Laughter]

The greatest privilege of my office has been to lead the people who defend our freedom and whose dedication, valor, and skill increase so much our chance to live in a world of peace. I believe that we've made great progress in our efforts to rebuild the morale and the readiness of our Armed Forces. Once again, young Americans wear their uniforms and serve their flag with pride, and our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall.

And now, the class of 1984 has its turn. After 4 years of hard work and dedication, you've earned the right to be saluted. It will now be your responsibility to guard the flame of peace and freedom and to keep that flame burning brightly.

Your jobs will never be easy. But I believe you're ready to meet the challenges before you and to turn them into opportunities for America. Your experience at this magnificent institution, guided by honesty, integrity, and an abiding loyalty to our nation will serve you well.

Dedicated instructors have increased your knowledge and understanding. You've been trained to deal in facts, not wishful thinking. And in doing many things together in classrooms, squadrons, and on the playing fields, you've learned the value of leadership and discipline and the need for both.

You've lived with the traditions and pioneering spirit of Rickenbacker, Billy Mitchell, Spaatz, Yeager, Lance Sijan, and the Mercury 7. You know that without the yeast of pioneering, we cannot rise above the status quo.

Personal honor, courage, and professional competence will guide your thoughts and actions. You understand the horrors of war, and you know that peace with freedom is the highest aspiration of our time. As a matter of fact, these past 4 years have prepared you to take your place in the best darn air force in the world.

So, now that I've paid your superiors a compliment, I hope they won't mind if their Commander in Chief pulls rank just this once. I hereby direct that the Secretary of the Air Force and the Superintendent of the Air Force Academy remit all existing confinements and other cadet punishments for minor offenses, and that this order be carried out today.

By the calendar, 52 years separate my college class from yours. Yet by the changes mine has seen, it might as easily have been 520. The world which the class of '32 had grown to know would soon

remit
punishment

disappear. True, America was in the midst of a great worldwide depression which all of us desperately wanted to escape. Our immediate concern was work, but our class, like every college class, also thought about the future -- and what a future it has been.

The pace of change, once orderly and evolutionary, became frantic and revolutionary. A series of scientific and technological revolutions flashed past us, touching Americans everywhere and every day. A new future was discovered and then quickly rediscovered. Technological progress was a cataclysmic rush.

The armies of Napoleon had not moved across Europe any faster than Caesar's legions eighteen centuries earlier -- and neither army worried about air cover. But from my college days to yours, we went from open cockpits to lunar landings, from space fiction to space shuttles. Plotted on a graph, the lines representing technological progress would leap vertically off the page, and it wouldn't matter whether you plotted breakthroughs in agriculture or medicine, communications or engineering, genetics or military capability.

During the past few decades, the way we look and think about our world has changed in fundamental and startling ways. In 1932 "splitting the atom" was a contradiction in terms. We knew the word "atom" came from the Greek "atomos," meaning indivisible and, by definition, you couldn't split anything that was indivisible. But Albert Einstein wouldn't arrive in the States until the following year, and the Manhattan Project had not yet begun. The nuclear age was more than a decade away.

So many of the things that we take for granted today didn't exist on my commencement day: transistors, computers, supersonic flight, fiber optics, organ transplants, microelectronic chips, and xerography. Yes, even the venerable Xerox machine is only 25 years old.

Our progress results from human creativity and the opportunity to put our knowledge to use to make life better. We have yet to rid the world of disease and sickness, but today more people are living longer than ever before in human history. In many ways the good old days never were. In fact, I've already lived some two decades longer than my life expectancy when I was born. That's a source of annoyance to a number of people -- [laughter] --

But the greatest of all resources is the human mind; all other resources are discovered only through creative human intelligence. God has given us the ability to make something from nothing. And in a vibrant, open political economy, the human mind is free to dream, create, and perfect. Technology, plus freedom, equals opportunity and progress.

Now, what about your generation? Where do you go from here? The quickening pace shouldn't generate the belief that the tide of events is beyond your control. No, you should be confident that with wisdom, responsibility, and care you can harness change to shape your future.

We've only seen the beginning of what a free and courageous people can do. The bold, not the naysayers, will point the way, because history has shown that progress often takes its greatest strides where brave people transform an idea which is scoffed at by skeptics into a tangible and important part of everyday life.

Your generation stands on the verge of greater advances than humankind has ever known. America's future will be determined by your dreams and your visions. And nowhere is this more true than America's next frontier -- the vast frontier of space.

The space age is barely a quarter of a century old, but already we've pushed civilization forward with our advances in science and technology. Our work on the space shuttle gives us routine access to the landscape above us, dropping off payloads, performing experiments, and fixing satellites. And I believe we've only touched the edge of possibilities in space. It's time to quicken our pace and reach out to new opportunities.

This past January, in my State of the Union Address, I challenged our nation to develop a permanently manned space station and to do so within a decade. And now we're moving forward with a strategy that will chart the future course of the U.S. space program.

The strategy establishes priorities, provides specific direction for our future efforts, and assigns responsibilities to various government agencies. Above all, America's space strategy offers a balanced program that will best serve the down-to-earth needs of our own people and people everywhere.

Our goals are ambitious and yet achievable. They include a permanently manned presence in space for scientific, commercial, and industrial purposes; increased international cooperation in civil space activities; expanded private investment and involvement; cost-effective access to space with the shuttle; and strengthened security and capability to maintain the peace.

The benefits to be reaped from our work in space literally dazzle the imagination. Together, we can produce rare, life-saving medicines, saving thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars. We can manufacture superchips that improve our competitive position in the world computer market. We can rapidly and efficiently repair defective satellites. We can build space observatories enabling scientists to see out to the edge of the universe. And we can produce special alloys and biological materials that benefit greatly from a zero-gravity environment.

Let me give you just one exciting glimpse that illustrates the great potential of how working in space can improve life on Earth. There is a medicine called -- and I'm not quite sure of my pronunciation -- it is either "urokinase" or "urokenase", but whichever name, it is used to treat victims of pulmonary embolism and heart attacks caused by blood clots. On Earth, this medicine is very difficult and expensive to produce. About 500,000 doses are needed annually at a cost of \$500 million. Dr. Robert Jastrow, chairman of the first NASA Lunar-Exploration Committee, notes that tests in our shuttle have shown that production of urokinase in zero gravity could reduce that cost by a factor of ten or more. We could make this medicine available to thousands of people who cannot afford it at today's price.

Our willingness to accept the challenge of space will reflect whether America's men and women today have the same bold vision, the same courage and indomitable spirit that made us a great nation. Where would we be if the brave men and women who built the West let the unknowns and dangers overwhelm them? Where would we be if our aviation pioneers let the difficulties and uncertainties sway them?

The only limits we have are those of your own courage and imagination. And our freedom and well-being will be tied to new achievements and pushing back new frontiers. That's the challenge to the class of '84.

If I could leave you with one final thought, it would be to remind you again: The measure of America's future safety, progress, and greatness depends on how well you hold fast to our most precious values -- values that embody the culmination of 5,000 years of Western civilization. Let your determination to make this world better and safer override all other considerations.

This Academy was not built just to produce air warriors; it was also built to produce leaders who understand the great stakes involved in the defense of this country, leaders who can be entrusted with the responsibility to protect peace and freedom. You are those leaders. And while you must know better than those before you how to fight a war, you must also know better than those before you how to deter a war, how to preserve peace.

As you look to the future, always remember the treasures of our past. Every generation stands on the shoulders of the generation that came before. Jealously guard the values and principles of our

heritage; they didn't come easy.

Inspiration springs from great tradition. As military officers, guard the traditions of your service built here in the foothills of the Rockies and in the air over Ploesti, Mig Alley, the Red River Valley, and a thousand other places. The traditions you hold will serve you well.

Good luck, Godspeed, and God bless you all.

[At the conclusion of his formal address, the President presented the Medal of Honor to William J. Crawford.]

Now, there's something I want to do that means a lot to me and, I'm sure, will mean a lot to you. We're graced with the company of a man who believed so much in the values of our nation that he went above and beyond the call of duty in defending them.

In July 1944 a grateful nation bestowed the Medal of Honor on a soldier, a private, for extraordinary heroism on Hill 424 near Altavilla, Italy. The soldier could not accept the award that day. He was a prisoner of war, and his father accepted in his behalf.

Since early in this century, it has been customary for the President to present the Medal of Honor. Well, nearly 40 years have gone by, and it's time to do it right. A native son of Colorado and certainly a good friend of the Air Force Academy will forever be in the select company where the heroes of our country stand.

It gives me great pleasure to ask Mr. William J. "Bill" Crawford, formerly of the 36th Infantry Division, to come forward.

Colonel Wallisch. Please rise. Attention to orders: The President of the United States takes pleasure in awarding the Medal of Honor to William J. Crawford for service as set forth in the following citation.

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at risk of life above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Altavilla, Italy, 13 September 1943. When Company I attacked an enemy-held position on Hill 424, the Third Platoon, in which Private Crawford was a squad scout, attacked as base platoon for the company. After reaching the crest of the hill, the platoon was pinned down by intense enemy machine gun and small-arms fire.

Locating one of these guns, which was dug in on a terrace on his immediate front, Private Crawford, without orders and on his own initiative, moved over the hill under the enemy fire to a point within a few yards of the gun emplacement and single-handedly destroyed the machine gun and killed three of the crew with a hand grenade, thus enabling his platoon to continue its advance.

When the platoon, after reaching the crest, was once more delayed by enemy fire, Private Crawford, again in the face of intense fire, advanced directly to the front, midway between two hostile machine gun nests, located on a higher terrace and emplaced in a small ravine.

Moving first to the left, with a hand grenade, he destroyed one gun emplacement and killed the crew. He then worked his way, under continuous fire, to the other, and with one grenade and the use of his rifle, killed one enemy and forced the remainder to flee. Seizing the enemy machine gun, he fired on the withdrawing Germans and facilitated his company's advance.

The President. Thank you. I think everyone could sit down, couldn't they?

Colonel Wallisch. Oh, yes, sir.

The President. Yes, please be seated. [Laughter] Sometimes I don't know my own power. [Laughter]

For the past 12 years, the Commander in Chief's trophy has symbolized football supremacy among the Air Force Academy, West Point, and Annapolis. I understand that it's a rotating trophy, but from the performance of the Falcon football team these last 2 years, it looks like you have other ideas. [Laughter]

Last year, the scores weren't even close. When I think back to my playing days at a place called Eureka College, I must tell you, I can sympathize, however, with West Point and Annapolis. [Laughter] I remember some rough afternoons on the gridiron, in which we were winning too many "moral victories." [Laughter]

But as all athletes know, character is built on the playing fields through hard work, fair play, and gritty determination to rise to the highest challenge. The Duke of Wellington once remembered that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing field of Eaton.

It gives me great pleasure to ask Cadets First Class Marty Louthan, Michael Kirby, and John Kershner to come forward to accept the Commander in Chief's trophy.

[After presenting the trophy, the President was made an honorary member of the football team and was given a Falcon jersey.]

Note: The President spoke at 9:38 a.m. at Falcon Stadium on the Academy grounds. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of the Air Force Verne Orr, Gen. Charles A. Gabriel, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and Gen. Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent of the U.S. Air Force Academy.

Following his remarks, the President was made an honorary member of the class of 1984 and was awarded the Distinguished American Award by William Thayer Tutt, chairman of the board, U.S. Air Force Academy Foundation. The President then participated in the awarding of the diplomas to the graduating cadets.

Following the ceremonies at the Academy, the President returned to Washington, DC.

WEST POINT



**DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF POLICY, PLANNING, AND ANALYSIS
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK 10996-5000**

FACSIMILE HEADER SHEET

FROM Dr. Stephen B. Grove USMA Historian Office of Policy, Planning, and Analysis TELEPHONE: DSN: 688-4820/7408 COMM: (845) 938-4820/7408 FAX: DSN: 688-7568 COMM: (845) 938-7568 TOTAL PAGES: Header + 1	TO White House Attn: Jen Reilly Speech Writer's Office TELEPHONE: DSN: COMM: FAX: DSN: COMM: (202) 456-5709
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ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

The two quotes are marked on this page. If you have any further questions, feel free to ask."

Stephen B. Grove

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

May 29, 2002 DATE

"To provide the nation with leaders of character who serve the common defense."

HERITAGE

How many lights in Cullum Hall?
 "340 lights."

How many gallons in Lusk Reservoir?
 "78 million gallons when the water is flowing over the spillway."

How many names on Battle Monument?
 "2,230 names."

How is the cow?
 "She walks, she talks, she's full of chalk, the lacteal fluid extracted from the female of the bovine species is highly prolific to the nth degree."

What is the definition of leather?
 "If the fresh skin of an animal, cleaned and divested of all hair, fat, and other extraneous matter, be immersed in a dilute solution of tannic acid, a chemical combination ensues; the gelatinous tissue of the skin is converted into a non-putrescible substance, impervious to and insoluble in water; this is leather."

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What do plebes rank?

"The Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat, the waiters in the Mess Hall, the Hell Cats, the Generals in the Air Force, and all the Admirals in the whole damned Navy."

LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS OF THE CORPS

...some anecdotes concerning the Long Gray Line...

Q. What is the significance of Cadet Colors?

A. The components of gun powder are charcoal, saltpeter, (potassium nitrate) and sulphur, which are black, gray, and gold in color.

Q. When was a Fourth Classman presented the Medal of Honor?

A. Cadet Calvin P. Titus, a Fourth Classman, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry at Peking, China, 14 August 1900, while a soldier of the 14th United States Infantry. The medal was presented by President Theodore Roosevelt, 11 June 1902

Q. Who used artillery fire on his former Artillery instructor?

A. General Beauregard fired upon Major Anderson, who was stationed at Fort Sumter.

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no substitute for victory!

"A man with far more eloquence than I will ever have stood outside Washington Hall a few years ago and told the Corps of Cadets that ours is the profession of arms. And told us that our mission would never change. Our mission was to fight our nation's wars. And he also told us that we could not fail in that mission."

"I would tell you that there were many, many hours during the planning for Desert Storm that those words gave me great strength because they are basic truth about the United States Military Academy, West Point and The Long Gray Line."

— General H. Norman Schwarzkopf,
 speaking to the Corps of Cadets,
 May 15, 1991

"I want an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

— General George C. Marshall,
 Chief of Staff, U.S. Army,
 World War II

"From the Far East I send you one single thought, one sole idea, written in red on every beachhead from Australia to Tokyo. There is no substitute for victory!"

— General of the Army Douglas MacArthur,
 in a telegram to the Corps of Cadets
 the week of the 1949 Army-Navy game

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- there were approximately 22.9 million small businesses in the U.S. in 2002.
- there were an estimated 550,100 new employer businesses in 2002 -- a 0.9 percent increase over the previous year.
- small businesses hire a larger proportion of employees who are younger workers, and workers work part-time.
- business bankruptcies were 38,155 in 2002, about half of the level reached in the

Small businesses...

- provide approximately 75 percent of the net new jobs added to the economy.
- represent 99.7 percent of all employers.
- employ 50.1 percent of the private work force.
- provide 40.9 percent of private sales in the country.
- account for 39.1 percent of jobs in high technology sectors in 2001.
- account for 52 percent of private sector output in 1999.
- represent 97 percent of all U.S. exporters.

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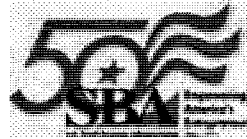
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Overview & History of the SBA



**50 YEARS OF SERVICE
To
AMERICA'S SMALL BUSINESS**

THE U.S. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, 1953-2003

Since its' founding on July 30, 1953, the U.S. Small Business Administration has d 20 million loans, loan guarantees, contracts, counseling sessions and other forms to small businesses.

The SBA was officially established in 1953, but its philosophy and mission began to take earlier in a number of predecessor agencies, largely as a response to the pressures of th Depression and World War II.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), created by President Herbert Ho alleviate the financial crisis of the Great Depression, was SBA's grandparent. The RFC v federal lending program for all businesses hurt by the Depression, large and small. It wa personal project of Hoover's successor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and was staffed Roosevelt's most capable and dedicated workers.

Concern for small business intensified during World War II, when large industries production to accommodate wartime defense contracts and smaller businesses were left compete. To help small business participate in war production and give them financial vi created the ~~Smaller War Plants Corporation~~ (SWPC) in 1942. The SWPC provided direc entrepreneurs, encouraged large financial institutions to make credit available to small er advocated small business interests to federal procurement agencies and big businesses.

The SWPC was dissolved after the war, and its lending and contract powers were the RFC. At this time, the Office of Small Business (OSB) in the Department of Commer some responsibilities that would later become characteristic duties of the SBA. Its servic educational. Believing that a lack of information and expertise was the main cause of sm failure, the OSB produced brochures and conducted management counseling for individu entrepreneurs.

Congress created another wartime organization to handle small business concern Korean War, this time called the Small Defense Plants Administration (SDPA). Its functio to those of the SWPC, except that ultimate lending authority was retained by the RFC. T certified small businesses to the RFC when it had determined the businesses to be comp the work of government contracts.

By 1952, a move was on to abolish the RFC. To continue the important functions agencies, President Dwight Eisenhower proposed creation of a new small business agen Business Administration (SBA).

In the Small Business Act of July 30, 1953, Congress created the Small Business whose function was to "aid, counsel, assist and protect, insofar as is possible, the interes business concerns." The charter also stipulated that the SBA would ensure small busine proportion" of government contracts and sales of surplus property.

By 1954, SBA already was making direct business loans and guaranteeing bank loans to small businesses, as well as making loans to victims of natural disasters, working to get government procurement contracts for small businesses and helping business owners with management technical assistance and business training.

The Investment Company Act of 1958 established the Small Business Investment (SBIC) Program, under which SBA licensed, regulated and helped provide funds for privately operated venture capital investment firms. They specialized in providing long-term debt and equity investments to high-risk small businesses. Its creation was the result of a Federal Reserve discovery, in the simplest terms, that small businesses could not get the credit they needed to keep pace with technological advancement.

In 1964, SBA began to attack poverty through the Equal Opportunity Loan (EOL) Program. The EOL Program relaxed the credit and collateral requirements for applicants living below the poverty line in an effort to encourage new businesses that had been unable to attract financial backing, and to support nevertheless sound commercial initiatives.

Over the past 47 years, SBA has grown in terms of total assistance provided and programs tailored to encourage small enterprises in all areas. SBA's programs now include federal contract procurement assistance, management assistance, and specialized outreach to minorities and armed forces veterans. The SBA also provides loans to victims of natural disasters and specialized advice and assistance in international trade.

Nearly 20 million small businesses have received direct or indirect help from one of those SBA programs since 1953, as the agency has become the government's most cost-effective instrument for economic development. In fact, SBA's current business loan portfolio of more than \$45 billion makes it the largest single financial backer of U.S. business. *roughly 20m*

Over the past 10 years, (FY 1991-2000), the SBA has helped almost 435,000 small businesses and made more than \$94.6 billion in loans, more than in the entire history of the agency before 1991. No other lender in this country – perhaps no other lender in the world – has been responsible for as much business financing as the SBA has during that time.

Since 1958, SBA's venture capital program has put more than \$30 billion into the hands of small business owners to finance their growth.

Last year alone, the SBA backed more than \$12.3 billion in loans to small businesses and made more than \$40 billion in federal contract awards available for disaster loans and more than \$40 billion in federal contract awards by small businesses with SBA's help.

SBA continues to branch out to increase business participation by women and minorities and to create new avenues such as the minority small business program, microloans and the public availability of language informational materials.

There are those who argue that big businesses, profiting from "economies of scale," can do things far more efficiently than small businesses. But small business is where the innovations take place. Swifter, more flexible and often more daring than big businesses, small firms produce the goods and services that line the shelves of America's museums, shops and homes. They keep intact the heritage of the American enterprise and they help keep the "American Dream" within the reach of millions of Americans. At every step of the way, SBA is there to help them.

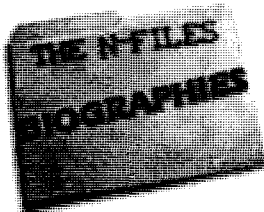
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Leslie Groves

Leslie Groves was born on August 17, 1896 in Albany, New York. He attended the University of Washington for one year and the Massachusetts Institutes of Technology for two years before entering West Point Military Academy. In the years following his graduation from West Point in 1918, Groves attended an engineer's school and served in the military.

In 1934, Groves was promoted to Captain in the Army. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1936 and from the Army War College in 1939. Groves was promoted again to Major and Temporary Colonel in 1940. In the same year, he oversaw construction of the Pentagon.

Groves was a key figure and leader in building the atomic bomb and also in deciding where and when it would be used. In 1942, Groves became the director of the Manhattan Project. He appointed J. Robert Oppenheimer to be the director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory. He also appointed the committee to recommend targets for the use of the bomb. Groves wrote the order given to General Carl Spaatz, who was in charge of Air Force operations in the Pacific, to "deliver its first special bomb as soon as weather will permit visual bombing after about 3 August 1945."

In crediting President Truman with the decision to use the atom bomb, Groves added, "As far as I was concerned, his decision was one of noninterference - basically, a decision not to upset the existing plans." In 1944, Groves was promoted to Major General. He continued to play a leading role in the atomic establishment until 1947 as Chief of Army's Special Weapons Project. Groves was named Lieutenant General in 1948 and retired soon after. He died of heart disease on July 13, 1970.

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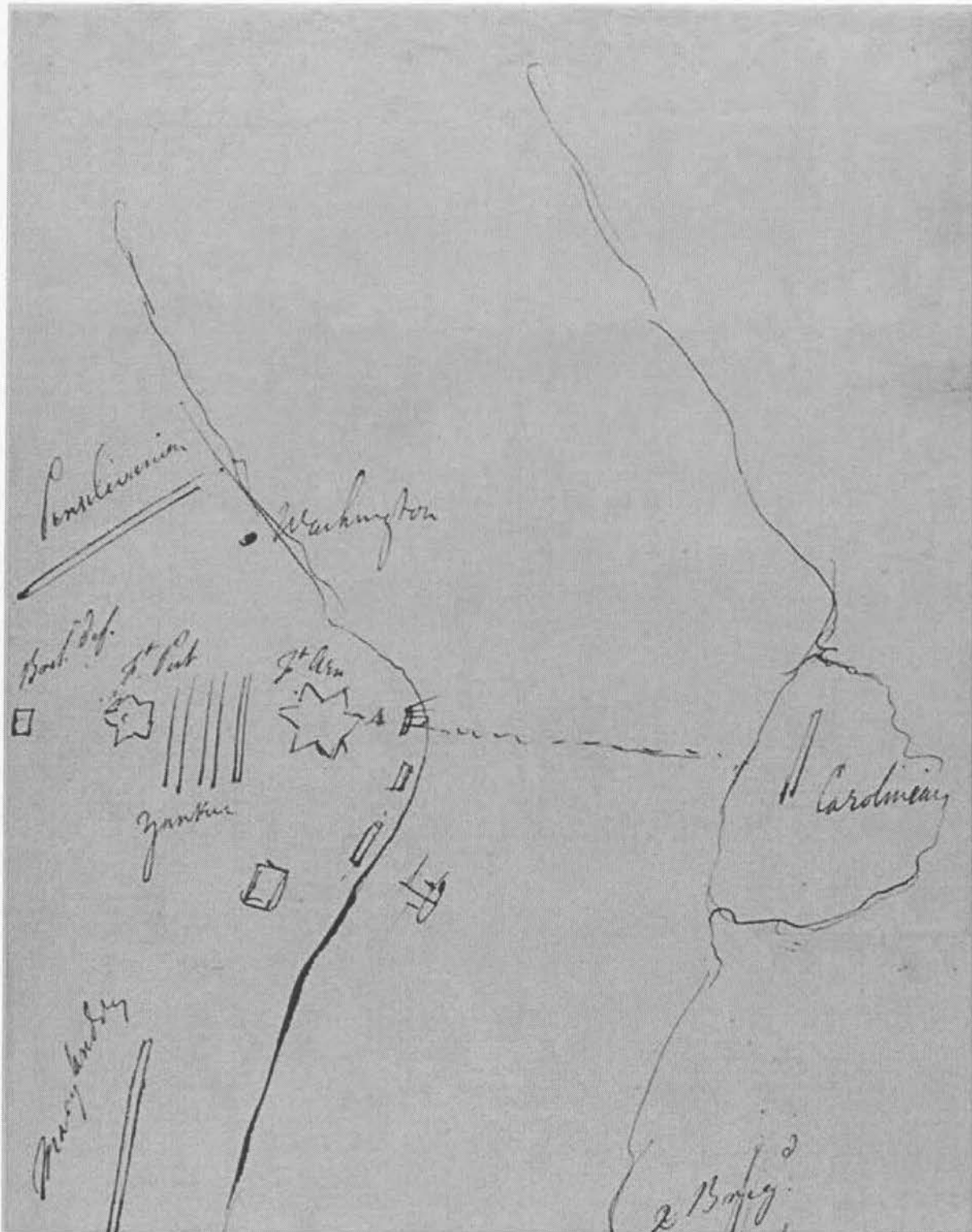
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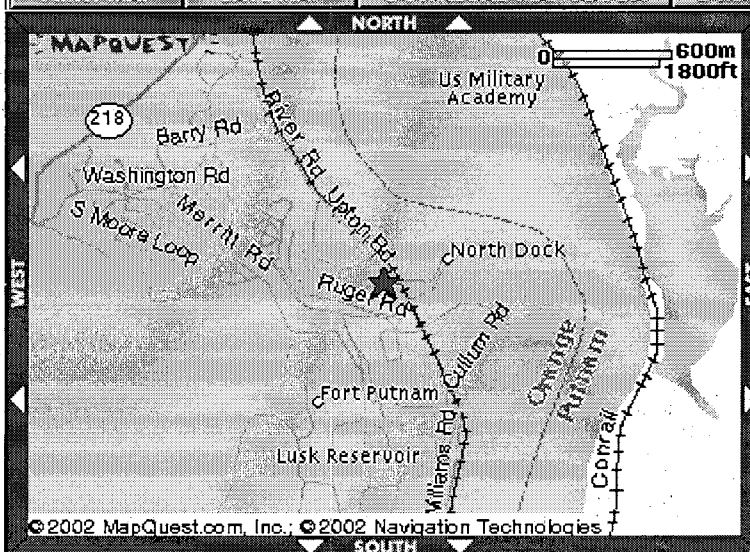
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The delegates.

The chief representative of the Holy Roman emperor was Count Maximilian von Trautmansdorff, to whose sagacity the conclusion of peace was largely due. The French envoys were nominally under Henri d'Orléans, Duke de Longueville, but the Marquis de Sablé and the Count d'Avaux were the real agents of France. Sweden was represented by John Oxenstierna, son of the chancellor of that name, and by John Adler Salvius, who had previously acted for Sweden at Hamburg. The papal nuncio was Fabio Chigi, later Pope Alexander VII. Brandenburg, represented by Count Johann von Sayn-Wittgenstein, played the foremost part among the Protestant states of the empire. On June 1, 1645, France and Sweden brought forward propositions of peace, which were discussed by the estates of the empire from October 1645 to April 1646. The settlement of religious matters was effected between February 1646 and March 1648. The war continued during the deliberations.

The decisions.

Under the terms of the peace settlement, a number of countries received territories or were confirmed in their sovereignty over territories. The territorial clauses all favoured Sweden, France, and their allies. Sweden obtained western Pomerania (with the city of Stettin), the port of Wismar, the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden. These gains gave Sweden control of the Baltic Sea and the estuaries of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers. France obtained sovereignty over Alsace and was confirmed in its possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which it had seized a century before; France thus gained a firm frontier west of the Rhine River. Brandenburg obtained eastern Pomerania and several other smaller territories. Bavaria was able to keep the Upper Palatinate, while the Rhenish Palatinate was restored to Charles Louis, the son of the elector palatine Frederick V. Two other important results of the territorial settlement were the confirmation of the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the Swiss Confederation as independent republics, thus formally recognizing a status which those two states had actually held for many decades. Apart from these territorial changes, a universal and unconditional amnesty to all those who had been deprived of their possessions was declared, and it was decreed that all secular lands (with specified exceptions) should be restored to those who had held them in 1618.

Even more important than the territorial redistribution was the ecclesiastical settlement. The Peace of **Westphalia** confirmed the **Peace of Augsburg** (1555), which had granted Lutherans religious tolerance in the empire and which had been rescinded by the Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand II in his **Edict of Restitution** (1629). Moreover, the peace settlement extended the Peace of Augsburg's provisions for **religious toleration** to the Reformed (Calvinist) church, thus securing toleration for the three great religious communities of the empire—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist. Within these limits the member states of the empire were bound to allow at least private worship, liberty of conscience, and the right of emigration to all religious minorities and dissidents within their domains. These measures of toleration did not extend to non-Catholics in the hereditary lands of the house of Habsburg, however.

The difficult question of the ownership of spiritual lands was decided by a compromise. The year 1624 was declared the "standard year" according to which territories should be deemed to be in Roman Catholic or Protestant possession. By the important provision that a prince should forfeit his lands if he changed his religion, an obstacle was placed in the way of a further spread both of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The declaration that all protests or vetoes of the Peace of **Westphalia** by whomsoever pronounced should be null and void dealt a blow at the intervention of the Roman Curia in German affairs.

The constitutional changes made by the treaty had far-reaching effects. For Germany, the settlement ended the century-long struggle between the monarchical tendencies of the **Holy Roman** emperors and the federalistic aspirations of the empire's German princes. The Peace of **Westphalia** recognized the full territorial sovereignty of the member states of the empire. They were empowered to contract treaties with one another and with foreign powers, provided that the emperor and the empire suffered no prejudice. By this and other changes the princes of the empire became absolute sovereigns in their own dominions. The Holy Roman emperor and the Diet were left with a mere shadow of their former power.

Not only was the central authority of the empire replaced almost entirely by the sovereignty of about 300 princes but the power of the empire was materially weakened in other ways. It lost about 40,000 square miles (100,000 square km) of territory and obtained a frontier against France that was incapable of defense. Sweden and France as guarantors of the peace acquired the right of interference in the affairs of the empire, and Sweden also gained a voice in its councils (as a member of the Diet). For many years Germany thus became the principal theatre of European diplomacy and war, and the natural development of German national unity was delayed. But if the Treaty of **Westphalia** pronounced the dissolution of the old order in the empire, it facilitated the growth of new powers in its component parts, especially Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. The treaty was recognized as a fundamental law of the German constitution and formed the basis of all subsequent treaties until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

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Islam

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Education

Muslim educational activity began in the 8th century, primarily in order to disseminate the teaching of the Qur'an and the *sunnah* of the Prophet. The first task in this endeavor was to record the oral traditions and collect the written manuscripts. This information was systematically organized in the 2nd century AH, and in the following century a sound corpus was agreed upon. This vast activity of "seeking knowledge" (*talab al-'ilm*) resulted in the creation of specifically Arab sciences of tradition, history, and literature.

When the introduction of the Greek sciences—philosophy, medicine, and mathematics—created a formidable body of lay knowledge, a creative reaction on the traditional religious base resulted in the rationalist theological movement of the Mu'tazilah. Based on that Greek legacy, from the 9th to the 12th century AD a brilliant philosophical movement flowered and presented a challenge to orthodoxy on the issues of the eternity of the world, the doctrine of revelation, and the status of the Shari'ah.

Muslim
culture
good

The orthodox met the challenges positively by formulating the religious dogma. At the same time, however, for fear of heresies, they began to draw a sharp distinction between religious and secular sciences. The custodians of the Shari'ah developed an unsympathetic attitude toward the secular disciplines and excluded them from the curriculum of the *madrasah* (college) system.

Their exclusion from the Sunni system of education proved fatal, not only for those disciplines but, in the long run, for religious thought in general because of the lack of intellectual challenge and stimulation. A typical *madrasah* curriculum included logic (which was considered necessary as an "instrumental" science for the formal correctness of thinking procedure), Arabic literature, law, Hadith, Qur'an commentary, and theology. Despite sporadic criticism from certain quarters, the *madrasah* system remained impervious to change.

One important feature of Muslim education was that primary education (which consisted of Qur'an reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic) did not feed candidates to institutions of higher education, and the two remained separate. In higher education, emphasis was on books rather than on subjects and on commentaries rather than on original works. This, coupled with the habit of learning by rote (which was developed from the basically traditional character of knowledge that encouraged learning more than thinking), impoverished intellectual creativity still further.

Despite these grave shortcomings, however, the *madrasah* produced one important advantage. Through the uniformity of its religio-legal content, it gave the '*ulama*' the opportunity to effect that overall cohesiveness and unity of thought and purpose that, despite great variations in local Muslim cultures, has become a palpable feature of the world Muslim community. This uniformity has withstood even the serious tension created against the seats of formal learning by Sufism through its peculiar discipline and its own centres.

In contrast to the Sunni attitude toward it, philosophy continued to be seriously cultivated among the Shi'ah, even though it developed a strong religious character. Indeed, philosophy has enjoyed an unbroken tradition in Persia down to the present and has produced some highly original thinkers. Both the Sunni and the Shi'ah medieval systems of learning, however, have come face to face with the greatest challenge of all—the impact of modern education and thought.

Organization of education developed naturally in the course of time. Evidence exists of small schools already established in the first century of Islam that were devoted

to reading, writing, and instruction in the Qur'an. These schools of "primary" education were called kuttabs. The well-known governor of Iraq at the beginning of the 8th century, the ruthless al-Hajjaj, had been a schoolteacher in his early career. When higher learning in the form of tradition grew in the 8th and 9th centuries, it was centred around learned men to whom students travelled from far and near and from whom they obtained a certificate (*ijazah*) to teach what they had learned. Through the munificence of rulers and princes, large private and public libraries were built, and schools and colleges arose. In the early 9th century a significant incentive to learning came from the translations made of scientific and philosophical works from the Greek (and partly Sanskrit) at the famous bayt al-hikmah ("house of wisdom") at Baghdad, which was officially sponsored by the caliph al-Ma'mun. The Fatimid caliph al-Hakim set up a dar al-hikmah ("hall of wisdom") in Cairo in the 10th-11th centuries. With the advent of the Seljuk Turks, the famous vizier Nizam al-Mulk created an important college at Baghdad, devoted to Sunni learning, in the latter half of the 11th century. One of the world's oldest surviving universities, al-Azhar at Cairo, was originally established by the Fatimids, but Saladin (Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi), after ousting the Fatimids, consecrated it to Sunni learning in the 12th century. Throughout subsequent centuries, colleges and quasi-universities (called *madrasah* or dar al-'ulum) arose throughout the Muslim world from Spain (whence philosophy and science were transmitted to the Latin West) across Central Asia to India.

In Turkey a new style of *madrasah* came into existence; it had four wings, for the teaching of the four schools of Sunni law. Professorial chairs were endowed in large colleges by princes and governments, and residential students were supported by college endowment funds. A myriad of smaller centres of learning were endowed by private donations.

Cultural diversity

Underneath the legal and creedal unity, the world of Islam harbours a tremendous diversity of cultures, particularly in the outlying regions. The expansion of Islam can be divided into two broad periods. In the first period of the Arab conquests, the assimilative activity of the conquering religion was far-reaching. Although Persia resurrected its own language and a measure of its national culture after the first three centuries of Islam, its culture and language had come under heavy Arab influence. Only after Safavid rule installed Shi'ism as a distinctive creed in the 16th century did Persia regain a kind of religious autonomy. The language of religion and thought, however, continued to be Arabic.

In the second period, the spread of Islam was not conducted by the state with '*ulama*' influence but was largely the work of *Sufi* missionaries. The *Sufis*, because of their latitudinarianism, compromised with local customs and beliefs and left a great deal of the pre-Islamic legacy in every region intact. Thus, among the Central Asian Turks, shamanistic practices were absorbed, while in Africa the holy man and his *barakah* (an influence supposedly causing material and spiritual well-being) are survivors from the older cults. In India there are large areas geographically distant from the Muslim religio-political centre of power in which customs are still *Hindu* and even pre-Hindu and in which people worship a motley of saints and deities in common with the Hindus. The custom of *sati*, under which a widow burned herself alive along with her dead husband, persisted in India even among some Muslims until late into the Mughal period. The 18th- and 19th-century reform movements exerted themselves to "purify" Islam of these accretions and superstitions.

Indonesia affords a striking example of this phenomenon. Because Islam reached there late and soon thereafter came under European colonialism, the Indonesian society has retained its pre-Islamic world view beneath an overlay of Islamic practices. It keeps its customary law (called *adat*) at the expense of the Shari'ah; many of its tribes are still matriarchal; and culturally the Hindu epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* hold a high position in national life. Since the 19th century, however, orthodox Islam has gained steadily in strength because of fresh contacts with the Middle East.

Apart from regional diversity, the main internal division within Islamic society is brought about by urban and village life. Islam originally grew up in the two cities of Mecca and Medina, and as it expanded, its peculiar ethos appears to have developed in urban areas. Culturally, it came under a heavy Persian influence in Iraq, where the Arabs learned the ways and style of life of their conquered people, who were culturally superior to them. The custom of veiling women (which originally arose as a sign of aristocracy but later served the purpose of segregating women from men—the *pardah*), for example, was acquired in Iraq.

Another social trait derived from outside cultures was the disdain for agriculture and manual labour in general. Because the people of the town of Medina were mainly agriculturists, this disdain could not have been initially present. In general, Islam came to appropriate a strong feudal ethic from the peoples it conquered. Also, because the Muslims generally represented the administrative and military aristocracy and because the learned class (the '*ulama*') was an essential arm of the state, the higher culture of Islam became urban based.

This city orientation explains and also underlines the traditional cleavage between the orthodox Islam of the '*ulama*' and the folk Islam espoused by the *Sufi* orders of the countryside. In the modern period, the advent of education and rapid industrialization threatened to make this cleavage still wider. With the rise of a strong and widespread fundamentalist movement in the second half of the 20th century, this dichotomy has decreased.

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LIBERTARIANISM

Chapter 1

Basic Political Choices

For centuries people have argued about the basic issues of politics and government. According to Aristotle, the possible political systems were tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy. In the middle of the 20th century it seemed to many that the choices were communism, fascism, and democratic capitalism. Today, all those choices have fallen from favor except democratic capitalism, and many intellectuals have embraced Francis Fukuyama's proclamation of "the end of history," meaning that the great battles over ideology have ended with the triumph of mixed-economy democracy. Even as his book appeared, however, Islamic fundamentalism was rising in one part of the world, and some Asian political leaders and intellectuals were beginning to develop a positive argument for a form of authoritarian capitalism they dubbed "Asian values."

In any case, the supposed triumph of democracy still leaves much room for contending ideologies. Even the identification of "democracy" as the Western alternative to fascism and socialism is problematic. Libertarians, as the name implies, believe that the most important political value is liberty, not democracy. Many modern readers may wonder, what's the difference? Aren't liberty and democracy the same thing? Certainly one could get that idea from the standard teaching of American history. But consider: India is the world's largest democracy, yet its commitment to free speech and pluralism is weak and its citizens are enmeshed in a web of protectionist regulations that limit their liberty at every turn. For the past several decades, Hong Kong has not been a democracy--its citizens have had no right to vote for their rulers--yet it has afforded more scope for individual choice and freedom than any other place in the world. There is a connection between liberty and democracy, but they are not identical.

Much of the confusion stems from two different senses of the word liberty, a distinction notably explored by the 19th-century French libertarian Benjamin Constant in an essay titled "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with That of the Moderns." Constant noted that to the ancient Greek writers the idea of liberty meant the right to participate in public life, in making decisions for the entire community. Thus Athens was a free polity because all the citizens--that is, all the free, adult, Athenian men--could go to the arena and participate in the decision-making process. Socrates, indeed, was free because he could participate in the collective decision to execute him for his heretical opinions. The modern concept of liberty, however, emphasizes the right of individuals to live as they choose, to speak and worship freely, to own property, to engage in commerce, to be free from arbitrary arrest or detention, in Constant's words, "to come and go without

Market
Economy

permission, and without having to account for their motives and undertakings." A government based on the participation of the governed is a valuable safeguard for individual rights, but liberty itself is the right to make choices and to pursue projects of one's own choosing.

For libertarians, the basic political issue is the relationship of the individual to the state. What rights do individuals have (if any)? What form of government (if any) will best protect those rights? What powers should government have? What demands may individuals make on one another through the mechanism of government?

As Edward H. Crane of the Cato Institute puts it, there are only two basic ways to organize society: coercively, through government dictates, or voluntarily, through the myriad interactions among individuals and private associations. All the various political "isms"--monarchy, oligarchy, fascism, communism, conservatism, liberalism, libertarianism--boil down to a single question: "Who is going to make the decision about this particular aspect of your life, you or somebody else?"

Do you spend the money you earn, or does Congress?

Do you pick the school your child goes to, or does the school board?

Do you decide what books you will read, or will a bureaucracy make that decision?

Do you decide what drugs to take when you're sick, or does the Food and Drug Administration in Washington?

In a civil society you make the choices about your life. In a political society someone else makes those choices. And because people naturally resist letting others make important choices for them, the political society is of necessity based on coercion. Throughout this book we'll explore the implications of this analysis.

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Market
Economy**What Is a
Market Economy?****INTRODUCTION**

Throughout history every society has faced the fundamental economic problem of deciding what to produce, and for whom, in a world of limited resources. In the 20th century, two competing economic systems, broadly speaking, have provided very different answers: command economies directed by a centralized government, and market economies based on private enterprise. At the end of the 20th century, it is clear that, for people throughout the world, the central, command economy model has failed to sustain economic growth, to achieve a measure of prosperity, or even to provide economic security for its citizens.

Yet for many, the fundamental principles and mechanisms of the alternative, a market economy, remain unfamiliar or misunderstood -- despite its demonstrable successes in diverse societies from Western Europe to North America and Asia. In part, this is because the market economy is not an ideology but a set of time-tested practices and institutions about how individuals and societies can live and prosper economically. Market economies are, by their very nature, decentralized, flexible, practical and changeable. The central fact about market economies is that there is no center. Indeed, one of the founding metaphors for the private marketplace is that of the "invisible hand."

Market economies may be practical, but they also rest upon the fundamental principle of individual freedom: freedom as a consumer to choose among competing products and services; freedom as a producer to start or expand a business and share its risks and rewards; freedom as a worker to choose a job or career, join a labor union, or change employers.

It is this assertion of freedom, of risk and opportunity, that joins together modern market economies and political democracy.

Market economies are not without their inequities and abuses -- many of them serious -- but it is also undeniable that modern private enterprise and entrepreneurial spirit, coupled with political democracy, offers the best prospect for preserving freedom and providing the widest avenues for economic growth and prosperity for all.

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Report No. 22037-CH

Chile

Poverty and Income Distribution in a High Growth Economy

The Case of Chile 1987-98

(In Two Volumes) Volume I: Main Report

August 30, 2001

Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit
Latin America and the Caribbean Region



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MAIN ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADI	Indigenous Development Areas
CASEN	<i>Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional</i>
CENABAST	<i>Central de Abastecimientos</i>
CEPAL	UN Economic Comision for Latin America
CONADI	National Corporation for Indigenous Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
FGT	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke
FONASA	<i>Fondo Nacional de Salud</i>
JUNAEB	<i>Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas</i>
INTEGRA	<i>Fundación Nacional para el Desarrollo Integral del Menor</i>
JUNJI	<i>Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles</i>
MIDEPLAN	Ministry of Planning
MINEDUCT	Ministry of Education
MINSAL	Ministry of Health
MINVU	Ministry of Housing
PMJH	<i>Capacitación para Mujeres Jefas de Hogar</i>

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**Poverty and Income Distribution
in a High Growth Economy:
The Case of Chile 1987-98**

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This report was prepared by a team led by Alberto Valdes and Norman Hicks (Task Manager), and consisting of Julie Litchfield (University of Sussex, U.K.), Osvaldo Larrañaga, Dante Contreras, Isabel Millan and David Bravo (all from Universidad de Chile, Santiago), and Rodrigo Castro-Fernandez, Carine Clert, Estanislao Gracitua-Mario, and Quentin Wodon (all from the World Bank). The valuable comments of Aristides Torche, Marcelo Tokman and Paul Levy are gratefully acknowledged. A preliminary version of the report was discussed at a seminar in Santiago, Chile in June, 2000 as part of the Bank's work on preparing its report "Policy Notes", and the report incorporates some of the comments made at that seminar.

Executive Summary

The Fall of Poverty

1. Chile remains one of the outstanding countries in Latin America in terms of its record in reducing poverty. A combination of strong growth and well directed social programs have combined to reduce the poverty rate in half during a period of just eleven years. This study shows that previously noted trends in falling poverty, in terms of incidence, depth and severity, continued into 1998. As a result, only 17% of the population now lives in poverty (compared to 40% in 1987), while those living in extreme poverty are barely 4% of the population.

2. This report focuses on updating the situation between 1994 (the previous Bank report) and 1998. The analysis shows that there was unambiguously less poverty between 1994 and 1998 than in all earlier years, whether poverty is measured by the headcount, the poverty deficit or by any of the most sensitive poverty indices. The reductions in poverty observed between 1994 and 1998 are observed at all levels of income, including those in the very extreme tail of the distribution.

3. Income poverty is clearly related to a number of important factors. Some of these correlates relate to the demographic make-up of the family. In general, large families tend to be poorer, as do families headed by women. Households whose head or spouse of head has substantial education, will have less poverty. Completing secondary school brings a 70% gain in income, over a household whose head has no education at all. Primary education produces a 30 to 40 percent income gain. Returns to education at all levels are higher for people living in urban, as opposed to rural, areas. Employment patterns are also important. In urban areas, being unemployed reduces household per capita income on average by about 20%; in rural areas by as much as 70%. Lower income is also associated with self employment and unpaid family work.

Social Indicators and Access to Social Services

4. Poverty is a multi-dimensional concept, including both income and access to social services, as well as such intangibles as empowerment and social capital. As a compliment to the income poverty measures, social indicators can provide other direct measures of welfare for the poorest segments of society, focusing on such aspects as health, nutrition and educational status. The evidence shows that Chile has achieved considerable improvements in key social indicators such as infant mortality, life expectancy, coverage of primary and secondary education, and in housing during the past decade. Mean labor income and labor force participation has increased, particularly for women. However, the rate of unemployment has also increased reaching 10% in 1998 after having been at half that rate for several years, a situation that is associated with the economic slowdown related to the Asian crisis and events in Brazil and other countries.

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• East Asia and Pacific

Poverty and Korea

Sector Background

Korea has enjoyed high and equitable economic growth over the past four decades. Real per capita income grew at an average rate of 7.5 percent between 1965 and 1995, one of the highest rates in East Asia. Most Koreans benefited from the high growth rates; by one measure, there was virtually no change in inequality in twenty years of growth starting in 1970. The combination of high growth and full employment permitted a reduction in the poverty rate among urban households, from 20.4 percent in 1975 to 7.4 percent in 1995.

The widespread access to education and the constant upgrading of skills which anticipated changes in the economy made an enormous contribution to Korea's success. Recently, Korea moved to provide a more complete set of social programs, including nearly universal health coverage, a national pension, and income and medical support for the poor known as Livelihood Protection and Medical Aid. These programs offer cash and in-kind benefits for food, fuel, fee exemption for junior high school, and free medical care for those that cannot work.

The move to create a modern safety net was not complete before the crisis hit, however. Livelihood Protection and Medical Aid covers only a fraction of the poor. In 1996, Livelihood Protection covered 3.3 percent of the population, and Medical Aid reached 3.8 percent. The health care system, while nearly universal, has high out-of-pocket costs, which places an added burden on lower income families and suffers from a poor allocation of resources between rural and urban areas.

Impact of the Crisis

The economic crisis is expected to hurt the poor by reducing income, and by increasing prices, unemployment and underemployment. Unemployment is expected to rise from 3 percent before the crisis (7.6 percent in July 1998) to about 8 percent next year. As the number of poor increase, it will place pressure on the government to, at a minimum, improved the current fractional coverage of the Livelihood Protection and Medical Aid

[Sector Background](#)[Impact of the Crisis](#)[The Response](#)[The Bank's Role](#)

Korea

• East Asia and Pacific
 Region, World Bank
 • PovertyNet, World
 Bank
 • Social Monitoring Early
 Response Unit, World
 Bank/Indonesia
 • UNAIDS, Joint United
 Nations Programme on
 HIV/AIDS

improved the current fractional coverage of the Livelihood Protection and Medical Aid programs. Between October and December 1997, the Korean won depreciated by over 50 percent, increasing the relative price of medical care. This price increase occurs at a time when Koreans, and especially poor and unemployed Koreans, are least able to afford the high out-of-pocket costs of health care.



The Response

As an immediate response, the Government of Korea moved to protect the unemployed and the poor by increasing budget allocations for social safety net and unemployment-related expenditures by 1.1 percent of GDP. As the recession deepened, the Government revised upward its fiscal deficit target to 5% of GDP, to stimulate the economy and protect social programs. To restore long-term growth and minimize the impact of future downturns, the Government is making major reforms to corporate and labor market incentives and institutional frameworks. The Government is moving to make social programs more financially sustainable by assessing their cost-effectiveness and their efficiency in helping the poor.

The Bank's Role

Since the crisis, the World Bank has made two loans to Korea totaling \$5 billion, and is committed to making another \$5 billion in loans. These are the first loans the World Bank has made to Korea since 1994, when Korea 'graduated' from the World Bank. A key goal of these loans will be to ensure that the government protects its antipoverty programs and maintains the real benefit level per beneficiary.

The loans will also help improve poverty monitoring by updating the official poverty line used for targeting the poor and developing a multipurpose national household survey system to assess changes in the numbers and distribution of the poor. The improved information will permit better assessments of the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of antipoverty programs.

The Bank will also support analysis of the trends in financial risk and medical expenditures using these data, and examine the financial sustainability of the national health insurance system in light of the changing conditions.

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White Paper--The Progress of Human Rights in China Information Office of the State Council of the P. R. of China (December 1995, Beijing)

Foreword

In November 1991 the Chinese government published the white book Human Rights in China, which made clear to the international community China's basic position and practice on human rights. In the last four years the cause of human rights in China has seen new progress.

The four years since 1991 marked an important historical period for the overall implementation of the Eighth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development. National economic and social development in China has advanced by leaps and bounds. The plan to quadruple the 1980 GNP by 2000 was realized ahead of schedule in 1995. The Chinese people's life has improved greatly, and they are working hard to achieve a comfortable life. Today political stability, economic development and social progress are characteristics of China's new social order, along with ethnic unity, domestic harmony and a continually rising standard of living, thereby demonstrating the overall improvement in human rights. Practice has proved that it suits China's conditions and the basic interests of all the Chinese people to give priority to the people's right to existence and development and improve the situation of human rights in an all-round way under circumstances of reform, development and stability. This has won worldwide recognition.

In the last four years China has actively safeguarded the aim and principle of promoting human right and basic freedoms set forth in the United Nations Charter and firmly opposed some countries' hegemonic acts of using a double standard for the human rights of other countries, especially developing countries, and imposing their own pattern on others, or interfering in the internal affairs of other countries by using "human rights" as a pretext. China's principled stand on human rights has won support from many countries of the world. China has made effective efforts in maintaining world peace and promoting the healthy development of international human rights.

Though great achievements have been made in the last four years in promoting the development of human rights in China, some human rights situations are not so satisfactory because of the limitations of history and level of development. It is still a long-term task for the Chinese people and government to safeguard and promote the development of human rights and improve the human rights situation for all the people.

China a human freedom success

I. People's Right to Existence and Development

China is a developing country with a population of 1.2 billion and relatively poor per-capita resources. It suffered foreign invasion, exploitation and oppression for a long time. The right to exist and develop thus historically became the urgent demand of the Chinese people. Since 1991, by firmly upholding economic construction as the central task, the Chinese government has pursued the basic policy of continually improving the people's right to existence and development on the basis of economic development. Its achievements in this respect have attracted worldwide attention.

From 1991 to 1994 China's economy increased at an average annual rate of 12.2 percent, much higher than the world's average annual rate of 1.9 percent. The sustained, quick and healthy growth of China's economy has raised the level of China's overall social development and conspicuously improved the right to existence and development of the Chinese people.

The incomes of both rural and urban residents have increased steadily. The per-capita income for living expenses of urban households increased to 3,179 yuan in 1994 from 1,387 yuan in 1990; after deducting the price-rise factor the actual increase was 38.3 percent, an average annual increase rate of

8.4 percent. The per-capita income for living expenses of rural households increased to 1,221 yuan from 686, and after deducting the price-rise factor the actual increase was 18.2 percent, an average annual increase rate of 4.3 percent. The balance of deposits of rural and urban residents increased to 2,151.9 billion yuan at the end of 1994 from 703.4 billion yuan at the end of 1990, a more than three-fold increase in four years.

China's urban residents are close to living a comfortable life according to their level of consumption. The proportion of food expenses in consumption outlay (the Engel coefficient) dropped to 50.0 percent in 1994 from 54.2 percent in 1990. The proportion of meat, poultry, eggs and milk increased greatly in the food structure. The purchase of durable goods by urban residents showed an obvious increase--86 color TV sets per 100 households (an increase of 27 sets over 1990), 30 black-and-white TV sets per 100 households (22 sets less than 1990), and 62 refrigerators per 100 households (an increase of 20 refrigerators over 1990). The per-capita living area reached 7.8 square meters in urban households and 61.7 percent of the households were using gas. Clothes bought by each person in 1994 increased 2.6 times on the average over 1990.

The majority of rural residents have enough food and clothing and their consumption patterns have tended to optimize. Food expenses dropped to 58.8 percent of the consumption expenditure (the Engel coefficient) in 1994. At the same time, the consumption of durable goods increased greatly in the countryside. The average number of TV sets was 75.3 per 100 households, tape recorders 26, and washing machines 15 in rural areas in 1994; the average per-capita living area was 20.2 square meters in the countryside.

Owing to improvement in the quality of life, the mortality rate of the Chinese people dropped to 6.49 per 1,000 in 1994 from 6.67 per 1,000 in 1990, two or more per thousand points lower than some developed Western countries.

Though China's economy has developed rapidly and the people's living standard has improved markedly, the overall level of China's economic development still has a long way to go compared with some developed Western countries. According to data issued by the World Bank on September 17, 1995, China was, in terms of wealth, the 31st from the bottom in a list of 192 countries and regions in the world. The estimated average per-capita wealth was only US\$ 6,600. There is also unequal economic development between China's eastern coastal areas and its central and western areas because of natural conditions and historical reasons.

China's basic principle for developing a socialist economy is that consideration be given to both efficiency and fairness. While some areas and some people become rich first, they are encouraged to help poor areas and people get rich, so that all the people in the country will ultimately become rich and prosperous. Therefore, the Chinese government has always attached great importance to helping the central and western areas develop their economy, raise the living standard of the people, and actively help the poor people get rid of poverty.

Since 1991 the Chinese government and people have exerted unremitting effort to solve the problem of food and clothing for poor people. By the end of 1994 another 15 million people were lifted out of poverty, reducing the number of poor people from 85 million in 1990 to 70 million, and the proportion of poor people in the rural population was reduced from 10.1 percent to 8.2 percent. In the last few years, production and the living conditions and infrastructure in the still poor areas have improved greatly.

In order to support the work of aiding the poor, the Central Government allocated a total of 30.58 billion yuan from 1991 to 1994 to help poor areas. The state helped poor areas build an infrastructure of water, electricity and roads, improve the ecological environment and basic production and living conditions, and build stable and high-yield farmland despite drought or excessive rain. Statistics show that in 1994, 9.96 million mu of farmland and 13.71 million mu of cash crop land had been added in 592 poor counties where major help had been provided. At the same time, drinking water for 7.18 million people had been provided, 20,285 kilometers of highway had been built, 32,596 kilometers of new transmission lines had been installed, and 2,166 primary schools and 617 clinics had been built in these counties. Various circles and people's organizations in China have played an active part in aiding the poor in different ways.

Even so, the work of aiding the poor in China is still a long-term and arduous task. At present, 70 million people do not have enough food and clothing. Most of them are living deep in the mountains, in karst, desolate, high and cold areas, and in loess plateau regions in central and western China, and

in areas where endemic diseases rage. To get rid of poverty, more than 5 million of them have to move to other places. More must be done to help these people get away from poverty. More arduous tasks confront us. To tackle this question, the Chinese government drew up a plan in March 1994 and decided from that year to concentrate manpower and material and financial resources and to mobilize people from various circles in the society to solve the food and clothing problems for the 70 million people by the end of this century, thereby improving their basic human rights.

At present, China is drawing up the Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and a long-range objective for 2010. It plans to-quadruple the 1980 per capita GNP and ensure that people have enough food and clothing and live a comparatively comfortable life by 2000, even though China's population will by then have increased by about 300 million over that of 1980. By 2010 the GNP will have doubled that of 2000 and -the people will be well off. Implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the 2010 long-range objective will enable the Chinese people to realize their right to existence and development on a higher level and broader scope than before.

II. Civil and Political Rights

While paying great attention to the people's right to existence and development, China has also laid stress on ensuring that its citizens enjoy various civil and political rights according to law and that socialist democratic politics be practised and developed. That is an important reason why China's economy has developed rapidly.

All power in China belongs to the people. This is the nucleus and basic principle of China's state system and also the essence of socialist democracy in China. The National People's Congress and people's congresses at various levels are the organs whereby the people exercise state power. Deputies to people's congresses at various levels total 3.65 million and are all democratically elected. China's Constitution stipulates that all citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and stand for election, regardless of nationality, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence, except persons deprived of their political rights according to law. In line with China's conditions, deputies to the people's congresses of counties and townships are elected directly by the people, and deputies to the NPC and people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government are elected by people's congresses at a lower level. By the end of 1993, elections for the new session had taken place in accordance with the law in 2,897 counties (including cities without districts and districts directly under the cities) and 48,172 townships, ethnic-group townships and towns. According to statistics, people having the right to vote and to stand for election accounted for 99.97 percent of the number of citizens 18 years old or above, and the number of registered voters accounted for 99.3 percent of the total population aged 18 or above. Elections in China are not controlled by money, and candidates trusted by the people are elected after free consultation and discussion and by secret ballot. Multicandidate elections are practised in China. Voters showed high political enthusiasm and the voting rate reached 93.58 percent throughout the country.

Deputies to the National People's Congress and people's congresses at various levels are persons who have made contributions to the state and society or have served the people in an outstanding way. As they come from various ethnic groups and circles in the country, they are representatives of the broad masses of people. Of the 2,978 deputies elected in 1993 to the Eighth National People's Congress, 11.15 percent were workers, 9.4 percent peasants, 21.8 percent intellectuals, and 19.21 percent personages from democratic parties and non-party personages. Women accounted for 21.03 percent of the total deputies, and ethnic minority deputies accounted for 14.7 percent. Thus, all 56 ethnic groups in the country have their own representatives.

Deputies to the people's congresses, representing people of every profession and social stratum, exercise state power and are responsible to the people and supervised by the people. Voters or electoral units have the right to recall their deputies. Any citizen or unit may demand the recall of deputies who break the law, violate discipline or seriously neglect their duty. This is totally different from some Western countries, where elected parliament members are not supervised by the people and voters do not have the right to recall them. In February 1995 the NPC Standing Committee amended the Electoral Law for National People's Congress and People's Congresses at Local Levels and the Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Governments, thereby further perfecting the electoral and recall systems for people's deputies. This is an important guarantee for the people and deputies to the people's congresses to earnestly exercise democratic power, be masters of the country and run the state.

As the supreme organ of state power, the National People's Congress has the power to make

decisions on state policies and principles, enact basic statutes and elect and supervise state administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs. The National People's Congress meets once a year to listen to and examine the work reports submitted by the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate and to examine and approve plans for the national economy and social development as well as the yearly state budget. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meets once every two months, supervises the enforcement of the Constitution, enacts and amends statutes, listens to and examines the work reports from various departments, and appoints and removes state functionaries. Three yearly sessions of the Eighth NPC have been held, and the state principles, policies and plans decided and statutes adopted by the sessions have embodied the people's will and interests, thus arousing their enthusiasm and ensuring the sustained fast development of the national economy and social progress.

People's congresses at various levels and their standing committees have paid great attention to ensuring the rights of the deputies. State organs and relevant departments at various levels have to make direct replies within a prescribed time to the deputies with regard to their opinions and suggestions formally put forward at the sessions. During the Second Session of the Eighth National People's Congress, held in 1994, 2,401 suggestions and opinions were put forward, and about 17.9 percent of the problems raised by the deputies have been solved completely or basically, and 48.2 percent are being solved or under consideration. The National People's Congress hears opinions and receives demands directly from visiting people or through letters. During the Third Session of the Eighth National People's Congress, held in 1995, 41,630 letters from the masses and 202 visitors were received. The NPC Secretariat handled the letters and received the visitors, and urged relevant departments and local governments to solve urgent problems, and address cases in which people had been wronged, misjudged or framed. Thus the rights and interests of the people have been safeguarded and close relations have been established between the people and state organs.

Multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is an important component of China's people's democratic system with the people as masters of the country. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is a united front organization, made up of delegates from the Communist Party and the democratic parties and personages from non-party and mass organizations. At present, China has 480,000 members of political consultative conferences at various levels, among whom 2,099 are CPPCC National Committee members. Among the Eighth CPPCC National Committee members, 839 are Communist Party members, accounting for 39.97 percent, 642 are members of democratic parties, accounting for 30.59 percent, and 618 are non-party democrats, accounting for 29.44 percent. There are 293 women members, accounting for 13.96 percent, and 243 members are from ethnic groups, accounting for 11.58 percent. The CPPCC members come from all walks of life, including experienced political activists, well-known figures from various walks of life, and experts and scholars in various fields. Using their rich experience, knowledge and influence, they join CPPCC organizations on behalf of various circles, take part in state and social affairs, and participate in the consultation, discussion and democratic supervision of important state decisions. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council set great store by the opinions and suggestions made by these members and many of these have been accepted. After investigation and research they made many important proposals during the Eighth CPPCC National Conference. In particular, the Suggestions on Strengthening Macro Regulation and Bringing Down Inflation, which was accepted by the State Council, has played an active part in strengthening macro-regulation with effective measures and ensuring the sustained, rapid and healthy development of the national economy.

During the first and second sessions of the Eighth CPPCC National Conference, 4,032 proposals were offered on state policies and principles and people's life; 3,940, or more than 97 percent, of the problems have been settled.

There are eight democratic parties in China. They are not parties in power, but they participate in government and political affairs. The Chinese Communist Party upholds the principle of long-term coexistence, mutual supervision, sincere treatment with each other and the sharing of weal or woe in its relations with China's other democratic parties. Consultations and exchanges of views precede important decisions made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Many members of the democratic parties hold leading posts in state organs, administrative and judicial departments. The present vice-president of the state and eight out of the nineteen vice-chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee are members of democratic parties. In 1994 the democratic parties submitted 28 important proposals which received the close attention of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Some of the proposals were accepted and others are under consideration.

In recent years China's democratic construction at the grass-roots level has achieved remarkable results. By the end of 1994 more than 100,000 urban neighborhood committees had been set up, and more than one million village committees had been elected by secret ballot in the countryside. These urban neighborhood committees and village committees are grass-roots mass self-government organizations. They handle public affairs and public welfare, mediate disputes among people, help safeguard the social order and transmit opinions, demands and suggestions to the people's governments. A system of village meetings, where important things are decided by the villagers, has been set up in half the village committees. The masses of urban and rural people are organized in line with democratic principles, and they practise self-management, self-education, self-service and direct democracy. This is an important progress in China's socialist democratic political system.

The Administrative Procedural Law, put into effect on October 1, 1990, is an important law ensuring people's civil rights. It stipulates that citizens, legal persons, and other organizations may start legal proceedings against administrative organs and their staff when their legal rights and interests are infringed upon by specific administrative actions of these organs and persons. People consider the Administrative Procedural Law as a "law for people to lodge a complaint against officials."

To ensure implementation of the Administrative Procedural Law, the State Council issued a Notice on Implementing the Administrative Procedural Law and required that all departments under the State Council and local people's governments at different levels actively cooperate with people's courts to strictly enforce laws. The State Council also promulgated the Administrative Reconsideration Regulations as a complementary law and regulations for the implementation of the Administrative Procedural Law. Study classes for the Administrative Procedural Law have been organized by many administrative organs.

In accordance with the stipulations of this law, the system of social organizations supporting citizens to file suit and ensuring that citizens can lodge appeals have been established. The social organizations are legal representatives when they are entrusted, and citizens can exercise their right to lodge appeals with the support of the social organizations.

For the convenience of citizens, the Supreme People's Court has stipulated that if litigants have financial difficulties, their litigation costs may be paid later or partially, or be exempted.

According to statistics, from January 1990 to December 1994 people's courts at various levels accepted 167,882 cases, including first and second trials as well as trials and supervision of administrative cases, involving more than 40 administrative realms, such as public security and the reallocation of land. The majority of these cases were related to basic civil rights and some of them involved rights of the person and property rights. Among the plaintiffs were peasants, workers, and intellectuals, and the defendants included departments of county and city governments and central and state organs. Since the implementation of the Administrative Procedural Law two-thirds of the cases have ended in a change of the original decision made by the administrative organs.

In order to help the citizens understand the law, gain knowledge of how to protect their legal rights and interests through legal procedure, and strengthen their concept of the legal system, various kinds of activities, such as performances, knowledge competitions and consultations by specialists, have been organized by relevant departments through TV, radio, newspapers and magazines.

In May 1994 the State Compensation Law was worked out. This law stipulates that if the legal rights and interests of citizens are infringed upon by state organs and their staff in exercising their functions and powers, the aggrieved persons have the right to get state compensation in accordance with the law. At present, compensation committees have been established in the intermediate people's courts and above, and they have started to accept compensation cases.

Freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, association, marching and demonstration is guaranteed. The development of the press and publishing has provided favorable conditions for ensuring citizens' freedom of speech and the press. Newspapers have increased in number, from 1,444 in 1990 to 2,202 in 1995 in China, and magazines have increased to 8,135 from 5,751. At the same time, radio stations have increased to 1,210 in 1995 from 635 in 1990, and TV stations to 980 from 509. At present, the number of cable TV stations has reached 1,200 and there are 54,084 ground satellite stations. People own 250 million TV sets and the population covered by television has risen to 88.3 percent today from 79.4 percent in 1990. Publishing houses increased to 514 in 1994 in China, an increase of 11 percent over 1990, and 103,836 book titles were published, an increase of 29.4 percent over 1990. China's media have over the years maintained close ties with the people and are geared to practical

life, bringing their supervisory function into play. Through the media, the people freely express their opinions, put forward criticisms and suggestions, and discuss all kinds of questions related to the state and society. Many newspaper columns and radio and television programs are greatly welcomed by the people. The number of social organizations has also increased. By the end of April 1995, statistics showed that 1,737 national social organizations had been registered and established, an increase of 44.7 percent over 1990, and 200,000 social organizations at and above the county level, registered in departments of civil affairs, had been set up, an increase of 11.1 percent over 1990. These organizations decide on their own activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and law. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions, All-China Women's Federation and All-China Youth Federation are the three largest mass organizations with branches all over the country. They keep close contact with and unite women, youth and workers and staff, participate in state and local political activities, coordinate social and public affairs and safeguard the legal rights and interests of women, youth and workers and staff. They play a great role and enjoy high social prestige in China.

Freedom of religious belief in China is guaranteed by law. Normal activities of different religions can be carried out in China according to their rights prescribed by the Constitution and law. Buddhism and Taoism are comparatively widespread in China, but statistics of the number of their devotees are not available. There are now over 9,500 Buddhist temples and monasteries with about 170,000 monks and nuns in the country. There are over 6,000 Taoist priests and nuns who live in the temples, with more than 600 temples and monasteries open to the public. There are about 17 million Muslims and more than 26,000 mosques, about 4 million Catholics, including 2,700 clergymen, and 4,000 Catholic churches, about 6.5 million Christians or Protestants, including 18,000 missionaries, 8,000 churches and 20,000 simply equipped meeting places in China. China now has 2,000 religious social organizations and 48 religious schools and colleges. Religious scriptures, books and magazines are published by various religions. China's Constitution stipulates that the state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state. In order to ensure that citizens really enjoy the freedom of religious belief, religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination.

III. Judicial Work in Safeguarding Human Rights

In recent years China has promulgated and put into effect the Police Law, the Public Procurators Law, the Judges Law, the Prison Law and a series of other laws. In addition, many other measures have been taken to further strengthen judicial work in safeguarding human rights.

"People's police work for the people." This is a popular saying among the Chinese people. In order to standardize the conduct of the people's police in safeguarding human rights, China promulgated and implemented the Police Law in February 1995. It stipulates that the police enforce the law strictly to effectively safeguard the security of the people and give timely help and assistance to citizens whose personal safety and that of their property are infringed upon; it strictly forbids the police to unlawfully deprive citizens of or curtail their freedom of person; the police, while performing their duties, must accept the supervision of society and its citizens; citizens have the right to report to the department concerned and bring a charge against police who have acted against the law and discipline. As a result of implementing the law, relations between the police and the people have become closer and the departments concerned have received fewer accusatory letters and more commendatory letters. China today has 862,752 police, accounting for 7.4 persons per 10,000 of the total population, much lower than the figure of 20 persons per 10,000 in some major Western countries.

The Public Procurators Law and the Judges Law were promulgated in February 1995 and went into force in July of the same year. These two laws stipulate that public procurators and judges have the right, according to law, to independently exercise procuratorial power and judicial authority without interference from any administrative organs, social communities and individuals; they must base themselves on fact, take law as the criterion, handle a case impartially and be honest in performing their official duties in all judicial activities. These principles, set in the past, are now further standardized, specified and implemented more strictly. The law-enforcement level of the court and procuratorate has been raised remarkably.

The rapid development of the ranks of Chinese lawyers in recent years has reinforced the judicial guarantee of human rights. By the end of 1994 there were 83,619 lawyers in the country, almost double the 1990 figure and exceeding the target of 75,000 planned for 1995. There are now 6,419 law offices, an increase of 25 percent over the figure for 1993. Some foreign law firms have been allowed to set up agencies or offices in China. Presently Chinese lawyers are busy providing society with

legal assistance. Legal assistance funds have been established in Beijing and other places, and legal assistance centers have been set up in Shanghai and Guangzhou to answer questions concerning the law from citizens and provide them with other legal services.

China is a country with a relatively low crime rate. At the end of 1994 China's prisons had a total of 1.286 million prisoners, or 10.7 persons per 10,000 of China's total population, which is much lower than the figure of 56.5 persons per 10,000 in some Western developed countries.

China's criminal law has set clear demarcations between crime and non-crime. Only those who have violated state law are dealt with according to law. Included in China's criminal law are crimes of counterrevolution, which refer to crimes that endanger state security and aim at overthrowing the political power of the country, namely, acts with the subjective goal of overthrowing the political power of the country and acts that objectively endanger state security. Those who hold differing political views, but have committed no act endangering state security, have committed no crime.

Following the principle of combining punishment with reform and education with labor, Chinese prisons aim at reforming criminals and turning them into law-abiding citizens. The chief means to achieve this goal is education, including education in law, ethics, culture and technology. Meanwhile prisoners are organized to participate in whatever labor they are capable of.

China protects, according to law, those rights of the prisoners that have not been taken away or curtailed. In December 1994 China promulgated and put into force the Prison Law, 20 of whose 78 articles are related to the protection of prisoners' rights. Article 7 in the General Provisions states clearly: "Prisoners have the right of immunity from insult to their dignity, and from infringement on their personal security and legal property; they have the right of defense and the right of appeal, complaint and accusation as well as other rights that have not been taken away or curtailed by law." The Prison Law, also stipulates specifically that prisoners have the right of immunity from corporal punishment and abuses, the right of appeal, the right of communication, the right of meeting visiting family members and relatives, the right to education, the right to rest, the right to receive remuneration for work, the right to labor protection and labor insurance, and the right to receive medical treatment; they enjoy equal rights with other citizens upon their release after completing their sentence term. In order to safeguard the proper rights of prisoners, the Prison Law sets strict and concrete demands on prison police. Article 14 lists all the offenses against the law that are prohibited while prison police perform their duties. Standardization of the conduct of prison police prevents infringement on the proper rights of prisoners.

China opposes the practice of forcing confessions and giving credence to them and strictly prohibits the use of cruel punishment in every link of the judicial work; it has adopted a series of laws in this regard. In 1988 China formally acceded to the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Chinese procuratorial organs have set up special offices and stationed special personnel in prisons and detention houses to inspect and supervise as to whether prisoners are subject to cruel punishment or other abuses. Once such a case is found, it is investigated and seriously dealt with. In 1994 Chinese procuratorial organs placed 409 cases of extortion of confession on file for investigation and prosecution, and completed the investigation of 398 cases. Public security officers, police and other people involved were punished, including meting out the death sentence.

China has achieved remarkable results in reforming criminals. In 1994 over 210,000 prisoners received graduation and completion of study certificates in culture and techniques from the special schools run by prisons. In the same year 282,000 prisoners were granted reduction of sentence terms and release on provisional parole, accounting for 21.96 percent of the total prisoners. In 1994 the national reconviction rate remained between 6 and 8 percent, a very low rate compared to that of other countries in the world. The reconviction rate in some Western countries stands between 20 and 30 percent, and sometimes as high as over 50 percent.

IV. The Right to Work of Citizens and the Rights and Interests of Workers

China has always attached importance to the protection of the right of citizens to work and the rights and interests of workers, regarding this as an important aspect of its efforts to safeguard human rights. The Labor Law of the People's Republic of China, adopted in July 1994 by the Standing Committee of the Eighth National People's Congress, fully and concretely states the basic rights of laborers granted by the Constitution. According to law, workers enjoy equal rights to employment,

selection of profession, remuneration, rest and vacation, labor security and health protection, professional skill training, social insurance and welfare as well as other rights prescribed by law. The Labor Law stipulates that the state implement a minimum wage guarantee system and a paid annual vacation system, in addition to standards for work hours, labor security and health, with special protection for women workers, and standards for professional training.

When the Labor Law was promulgated, it stipulated that work hours not exceed eight hours a day or 44 hours a week on the average. In March 1995 the State Council issued a circular adopting the five-day work week nationwide, thus shortening the working hours of workers and staff to 40 hours a week. This is an amazing step taken by a developing country like China in protecting the rights and interests of laborers.

In order to implement the Labor Law, a labor contract system, a minimum-wage system and a labor supervision system have basically been established in the whole country. By August 1995 28 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government had officially adopted minimum-wage standards for their respective localities. Governments at all levels have strengthened supervision of labor security and health protection during work, attached great importance to the supervision and examination of implementation of the law in private enterprises and enterprises with foreign investment, and conducted timely investigation and dealt with enterprise and individuals who have violated the stipulations of the Labor Law and encroached upon the legal rights and interests of workers.

Employment is the direct embodiment of the citizens right to work. With the support of people from all walks of life, remarkable results have been achieved in employment in the whole country over the past few years. From 1991 to 1994 arrangements were made for more than 29.21 million people to find jobs in China's cities and towns. The number of urban and rural employees in 1994 showed an increase of 47.3 million over the 1991 figure, with the unemployment rate in cities and towns remaining below 2.8 percent. This is no easy task for China, a country with a population of 1.2 billion and a still very low level of economic development.

Because of China's big population base, the contradiction of the supply of labor force exceeding the demand will exist for a very long time to come. By the end of 1994 China had 4.8 million unemployed in cities and towns. To solve this problem, the government has proposed and carried out the "reemployment project," with the emphasis on helping those who have been unemployed for more than six months to find jobs as soon as possible. At present, this project has been promoted throughout the country, and remarkable results have been achieved in Shanghai, Shenyang and other cities.

By the end of 1994 China had 25,000 employment agencies, which successfully dealt with 13.29 million person-times in helping people find employment or re-employment in 1994 alone. Professional skill training has developed, with 4,433 schools for training technicians and 2,600 employment training centers set up. China has already established an employment service system, with employment agencies, employment training, labor service, and enterprises based on the principle of save-oneself-by-production as its mainstay.

China's social insurance has also achieved outstanding results since 1991. In March 1995 the State Council issued the Circular Concerning the Deepening of Reform of the Endowment Insurance System for Workers and Staff of Enterprises. A basic form of endowment insurance that combines social overall planning with personal accounts has been established, thus further expanding the scale of endowment insurance. At the same time a mechanism has been adopted to adjust the basic pension regularly, so as to guarantee the basic livelihood of retirees from enterprises. In recent years the State Council has issued several documents to raise the retirement pay of retirees. By the end of 1994 China had altogether 29.29 million retirees, whose retirement pay and retirement allowances averaged 82 percent of the average wage of workers and staff on the job. With regard to the unemployment insurance system, the State Council promulgated in 1993 the Insurance Regulations for Workers and Staff of State-Owned Enterprises Waiting for Employment. In China today 26 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government have extended the coverage of the unemployment insurance program. By the end of 1994, the total number of workers and staff participating in the unemployment insurance program had reached 95 million throughout the country. Based on the principle of ensuring basic medical care for all laborers in cities and towns on the one hand, and economizing on medical expenses and lightening the burden of enterprises on the other, reform has been carried out in the medical insurance system. Reform measures have also been enacted in the system of insurance against injury at work and birth insurance.

system so as to better protect the rights and interests of the workers.

With the continuous growth of the national economy and the special attention of the government to protecting the rights and interests of workers, the average annual wage of workers and staff has increased year after year, from the average yearly wage of 2,140 yuan in 1990 to 4,538 yuan in 1994 an average annual increase of 6.4 percent in real wage after deducting price-rise factors.

Since 1991 the Chinese government has further consolidated the social guarantee for the rights and interests of the elderly. Today the governments of 28 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government have enacted local regulations to safeguard the legal rights and interests of the aged. At the end of 1994 ten departments, including the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the China National Committee on Aging, jointly issued the Seven-Year Development Program for China's Old-Age Work, which comprehensively prescribes detailed stipulations for protecting the rights and interests of the elderly.

It has been a tradition for several thousand years in China's rural areas to "raise children to provide for old age." After New China was founded, a five-guarantee system was adopted for childless and helpless old folks, according to which they are provided with food, clothing, medical care, housing and burial expenses. In addition, many places have set up "houses of respect for the aged." Since 1991 the Ministry of Civil Affairs has been carrying out the work of rural endowment insurance on an experimental basis. Today, 1,500 counties (cities) have implemented old-age insurance in the rural areas and nearly 50 million people in the countryside have joined the endowment insurance program. In future the life of old people in China's rural areas will be triple-guaranteed by the support of their children, social insurance and the five guarantee program.

The Regulations for Rural Five-Guarantee Work, adopted by the State Council in 1994, enables the five-guarantee program to become a system. China is now in the process of establishing a five-guarantee system by combining collective support, state relief and the construction of homes of respect for the aged. Presently, 33,584 townships and towns in China have made overall plans for the five-guarantee work, accounting for 69 percent of China's total townships and towns. The number of old people on the five-guarantee programs supported by collectives has reached 2.73 million, accounting for 76.68 percent of the total number actually provided for. China's rural areas have about 40,000 homes of respect for the aged, housing altogether 560,000 old people.

V. The Right of Citizens to Education

China has put forward the principle of invigorating the nation by relying on science and education, making the best use of its limited financial resources to provide Chinese citizens as much as possible with a steadily increased right to education. An educational system based on a basically rational structure and with a quite complete range of subjects has initially taken shape. Under this system, basic education, vocational education, adult education and higher education are interconnected and developing in a coordinated way. By 1994 the country had altogether 683,000 primary schools with 128.2 million pupils, an increase of 4.7 percent over the 1990 figure; 82,000 regular middle schools with 49.817 million students, an 8.6 percent increase over the 1990 figure; 1,080 universities and colleges with 2.799 million students, a 35.7 percent increase over the 1990 figure; 1,172 schools of higher learning for adults with 2.352 million students, an increase of 41.1 percent over the 1990 figure; 18,700 secondary vocational schools of various grades and types with 9.125 million students, a 39.8 percent increase over the 1990 figure.

To better protect citizens' right to receiving an education, China in recent years has formulated and put into effect the Law on Compulsory Education, Regulations for the Work of Eliminating Illiteracy Regulations of Education for the Disabled and other educational regulations. In March 1995 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress adopted the Law of Education of the People's Republic of China. It prescribes in a comprehensive way citizens' right to education and restates the basic principle that "all citizens enjoy an equal right to education according to law, regardless of ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, property status and religious belief." It also stipulates that the state will help develop education in areas inhabited by China's ethnic minorities, assist remote border regions and poor areas to develop education, and support and develop education for the disabled.

The Chinese government has always attached great importance to the development of basic education, which has developed at a comparatively rapid pace since the beginning of China's reform and opening to the outside world. By the end of 1994 China had popularized five-year or six-year primary school education in areas inhabited by over 90 percent of its population. The primary school

enrollment rate among children of school age reached 98.7 percent in 1994, an increase of 0.9 percentage point over the 1990 figure, and 86.6 percent of primary school graduates entered junior middle schools, an increase of 12 percentage points over the 1990 figure. Nine-year compulsory education has basically been popularized in large and medium-sized cities and some economically developed regions.

In order to ensure that all citizens enjoy an equal right to education, regardless of sex, ethnic status and the economic conditions of their respective regions, the Chinese government has since 1990 adopted effective measures to steadily narrow the gap between them in receiving an education. According to the statistics of the State Education Commission, the difference in the enrollment rate between girls and boys dropped from 2.9 percentage points in 1991 to 1.3 percentage points in 1994; the difference in the enrollment rate between rural children and city children dropped from 2.5 percentage points in 1990 to 0.9 percentage point in 1994. With regard to the five ethnic minority autonomous regions of Guangxi, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Ningxia and the three provinces of Qinghai, Yunnan and Guizhou which have a comparatively large number of ethnic minorities, the difference in the average enrollment rate between their children and children of the country as a whole dropped from 2.5 percentage points in 1990 to 1 percentage point in 1994.

Owing to the uneven development of the economy and other historical reasons, China has long had a large number of illiterates. According to statistics, illiterates totalled 320 million in 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded, with the illiteracy rate as high as 80 percent. Since then, the Chinese government has been making great efforts to carry out activities for the elimination of illiteracy, providing illiterates with all kinds of free literacy education. As a result, the total number of illiterates and the illiteracy rate have dropped greatly. By 1990 the number of illiterates among people above the age of 15 came down to 180 million, and the illiteracy rate dropped to 22.2 percent. In 1994 the number of China's total illiterates dropped to 150 million, and the illiteracy rate dropped to 17 percent; the number of young and middle-aged illiterates decreased from 60 million to 35 million. Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai and the provinces of Jilin, Heilongjiang, Liaoning and Guangdong have basically wiped out illiteracy among young and middle-aged people. Currently the Chinese government is taking all possible measures to basically popularize nine-year compulsory education throughout the country and eliminate illiteracy among young and middle-aged people by the end of this century.

The Chinese government has paid great attention to assisting poor areas to develop education. In 1991 the Chinese government established a help-the-poor education foundation, allocating every year since then 200 million yuan from state finances specially for the development of education in poor areas. In addition, 30 to 40 million yuan in education fees paid by enterprises directly under the central government are used exclusively for educational development in poor areas. Also devoted to the development of the nine-year compulsory education in 225 counties (banners) of 12 provinces (autonomous regions) are loans to the tune of US\$ 200 million from the world Bank.

To make up for the insufficiency in state educational appropriations, the Chinese government has called on and organized the whole society to give support to the poor areas in developing their education; this endeavor is generally called the Hope Project. By the end of 1994 donations amounting to 350 million yuan had been collected, a back-to-school fund had been established for children in poor areas who had discontinued schooling, 749 Hope Primary Schools had been set up, and over one million children who had been forced to leave school because their families were too poor to support them had resumed their education. The success of China's Hope Project has won extensive praise from people in all circles both at home and abroad.

Over the past few years, while introducing a university admission charge system, the Chinese government has also taken various measures to provide university students from poor families with financial aid. In 1994 alone the government allocated 217 million yuan to be used exclusively for helping students with financial difficulties receive a higher education.

In order to help peasants in poor areas raise their scientific and cultural level, the Ministry of Culture in 1993 set up a cultural help-the-poor committee, which has initiated a Libraries for Villages Project. Since then 20,000 villages have been helped to build their own little libraries, with books of at least 100 types for each. The committee has also built about 100 satellite television receiving and rebroadcasting stations in the poor areas.

VI. Protecting the Legitimate Rights and Interests of Women and Children

To promote equality between men and women is a basic objective in China's social development. Since 1991, based on the legislative principle of equal rights for men and women and protection of women's special rights and interests, China has worked to reinforce the lawful protection of women's human rights. In 1992 China promulgated and put into effect the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests. It stipulates in concrete terms all aspects of women's rights and interests, including rights and interests in politics, culture and education, labor, property, person, marriage and family. China has now established a legal system with the Constitution as its basis and the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests as its main part; it includes some 10 legislations, more than 40 administrative laws and regulations and over 80 local laws and regulations guaranteeing women's rights and interests.

In August 1995 the Chinese government issued the Program for Chinese Women's Development (1995-2000), which makes clear that the main goal for Chinese women's development is to raise the quality of women in general and make sure that women enjoy all the rights they are entitled to by law. The program also lays down specific goals and related policies and measures.

Chinese women enjoy the same political rights as men. The extent of women's involvement in the management of state and social affairs has further increased in recent years. In 1993, 95.29 percent of women cast their votes during local elections for people's congresses. There are 626 women deputies to the Eighth National People's Congress, accounting for 21.03 percent of the total number of deputies. The ratio is high in the world. There are 19 women on the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, accounting for 12.3 percent of all Standing Committee members and a 2 percentage point rise from last congress. The ratio of women deputies in local people's congresses is higher than the last congress. The number of women holding leading positions in government departments has also risen. The number of women employed by the government has risen from 10.04 million in 1991 to 12.371 million in 1994. The ratio of women employed by the government has risen from 1.2 percent to 32.5 percent. In 1994, among those occupying high government positions were one woman State Councillor of the State Council, 16 women ministers or vice-ministers, 18 women provincial vice-governors, more than 300 women mayors or vice-mayors and 21,012 women judges.

Chinese women's economic, social and cultural rights are being more effectively guaranteed. The number of women employed now accounts for 44 percent of the employed, higher than the world average of 34.5 percent. The number of women working in cities and towns has risen from 52.94 million in 1990 to 56.458 million in 1994. The ratio of women in the whole work force is 38 percent. About half the labor force in the countryside is made up by women. More and more women are taking more sophisticated jobs. According to statistics for 1993, 36.8 percent of all professional and technical personnel working in enterprises and institutions were women. About 35 percent, or 8.097 million, of China's scientists and technicians are women. This ratio is higher than that in many developed countries.

Chinese law stipulates that men and women doing the same job get the same pay, and working women receive special protection. Women receive special care during menstruation, pregnancy, maternity and breast-feeding. Working women who give birth are entitled to three months of maternity leave with pay. These laws have been strictly enforced for the past decades. In recent years women employees in some units have been given six months' paid maternity leave.

Women's right to education is further protected. The ratio of girls between seven and 11 attending school has risen from 80 percent in 1990 to 97.7 percent in 1994. The ratio of female students in middle school and in university rose from 42.2 and 33.7 percent to 44.3 and 34.5 percent respectively.

The state pays special attention to protecting women's rights in marriage and the family and guaranteeing according to law women's independence in marriage and equal rights between husband and wife, men and women in the family. Chinese women enjoy the same right of ownership of property and inheritance as men and equal rights in the management and decision-making of family affairs. According to a survey, in 58 percent of families in China, decisions concerning important family affairs are made by the husband and wife together. A wife abused by her husband or a daughter-in-law abused by her father- or mother-in-law is considered unacceptable offenses in society. The family violence common in some Western countries is relatively rare in China.

The state respects a woman's right to give birth and protects her health when giving birth. In China

women have the right to family planning and the freedom to choose not, to give birth. Relevant departments have the duty to provide couples at the child-bearing age with safe and effective contraceptives and techniques and ensure that women taking birth-control measures are safe and healthy. In recent years, as the economy has developed and society progressed, more and more women are making their own decisions about giving birth. Cases of women being discriminated against by their fathers or mothers-in-law or estranged by their husbands because they are infertile or give birth to girls have declined steadily.

The family planning policy implemented by the state according to the Constitution represents the long-term interests of state and social development. It also meets the demands of women to raise the level of their health and family life. Women all over China have fully supported this policy. The birth-control rate of married women rose from 75 percent in 1990 to 83 percent in 1994, and in some areas it was above 90 percent. The birthrate dropped from 21.06 per 1,000 in 1990 to 17.7 per 1,000 in 1994. The natural population growth rate dropped from 14.39 per 1,000 to 11.21 per 1,000. Women's total birthrate dropped from 2.31 to about 2.0. At the same time, the health level of women giving birth has risen considerably. Around 98 percent of urban women and 70 percent of rural women have prenatal examinations. The death rate of pregnant women or women giving birth dropped from 94.7 per 100,000 in 1989 to 67.3 per 100,000 in 1993.

China's family planning policy is a great contribution to the world's human rights. According to statistics issued by the UN's population foundation, the present world population is 5.7 billion. Without exercising control, it will reach 11.9 billion by the year 2050. The world will face the crisis of "population explosion." The family planning policy enabled China to postpone its ~"1.2 billion day" for nine years.

Children are the future of the country and society. In recent years, through legislative, judicial, administrative and other types of measures, the state has greatly improved children's conditions.

In September 1991 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed the Law on the Protection of Minors of the People's Republic of China. It clearly stipulates that "the state ensures the personal, property and other legitimate rights of minors not be infringed." It also gives provisions on various principles guiding the protection of minors and the responsibilities of family, school, society and judicial institutions in this respect. As a result, the protection of children is now within the scope of law. In 1992 the State Council issued An Outline Program for Chinese Children's Development in the 1990s. It gives concrete stipulations on the main goals and measures for the development of Chinese children in this century.

To counter the criminal activities of kidnapping and selling women and children, which have recurred in some areas in recent years, judicial departments at various levels have dealt out severe punishment according to the Regulations on the Severe Punishment of Criminals Who Kidnap and Sell Women and Children passed in 1991 by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Many criminals were brought to justice. Cases of kidnapping and selling people have declined since 1991, down 35.2 percent in 1992, 9 percent in 1993 and 27.3 percent in 1994.

To ensure the health of children, China has taken great steps to develop health care for women and children and improve the health-care level of kindergartens and nurseries. There are now nearly 450,000 kindergartens and nurseries all over the country. In big and medium-sized cities the demand for kindergartens and nurseries is basically met. There are 3,164 health-care institutions for women and children throughout China. To control and prevent infectious diseases, China has an immunity program for all children. In 1994 the rate of children inoculated against pertussis, diphtheria and tetanus was 92.76 percent. The rate of children inoculated with BCG, measles and polio vaccine was 93.96, 89.37 and 93.74 percent respectively. The rate of inoculated children in China is close to the average level of developed countries. The Chinese government has promised to wipe out polio in China. Since 1991 the infant mortality rate and that of children under five years of age have declined at an annual rate of 4.6 percent and 4.9 percent.

VII. Guarantee of Rights and Interests of Ethnic Minorities

There are 55 ethnic minorities in China. To guarantee the legitimate rights of ethnic minorities,

China's Constitution and laws stipulate that all ethnic groups are equal. There are clear stipulations that help is to be extended to ethnic minorities and national autonomous areas for the development of their economy, culture and other undertakings and that the customs and habits of ethnic minorities are to be respected in social life. This is the fundamental reason that all ethnic groups in China have for a long time united closely, lived in harmony and helped one another.

The ethnic minorities' right to be represented in the highest organ of state power as well as in local organs of power at various levels has been continuously and specially guaranteed. Deputies to the Eighth National People's Congress include 439, or 14.7 percent, of ethnic minorities. This percentage is much higher than the percentage (8.04) of population of ethnic minorities in the country's total population. The state pays much attention to training and selecting cadres of ethnic minorities to work in governments at various levels. About 10.5 percent of all cadres at provincial or ministerial level are from ethnic minorities and 7.9 percent of cadres at prefectural or bureau level are from ethnic minorities.

China has instituted a system of regional autonomy in minority areas. In order to implement the Law on Regional National Autonomy, since 1991 China has formulated more than 20 regulations on regional national autonomy and some special regulations. This has further guaranteed autonomy in the national autonomous areas. In China the chairman of an autonomous region and the head of an autonomous prefecture or autonomous county are invariably citizens of the ethnic group that exercises regional autonomy. Other members of the people's government of an autonomous region, autonomous prefecture or autonomous county are also to be made up, as far as conditions permit, by citizens of the ethnic group that exercises regional autonomy or citizens of other ethnic minorities in that area. The law stipulates that autonomous organs can apply for permission from higher state organs to make alterations in or desist from implementing resolutions, decisions, orders and instructions made by higher-level state organs if they are not in accordance with the situation in autonomous areas. The autonomous organs in national autonomous areas guarantee that citizens of all the local ethnic groups have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to maintain or reform their customs and habits, and, according to law, guarantee that citizens of all ethnic groups enjoy freedom in religious belief.

In recent years the state has continued to pay more attention to guaranteeing the rights and interests of ethnic minorities living in scattered communities. In November 1993, with the State Council's approval, the State Nationalities Affairs Commission promulgated Regulations on Administrative Work of Nationality Townships and Regulations on Urban Nationality Work. They give detailed provisions on how to guarantee the political, economic and cultural rights and interests of scattered ethnic minorities.

The state has always implemented a preferential policy for the economic development of areas where people of ethnic minorities live in compact communities, providing funds, technology and personnel aid. In December 1991 the State Council issued a document requesting governments at all levels to increase input to the autonomous areas and to speed up the aid scheme whereby economically developed areas give aid to ethnic minority areas. It required banks at all levels to give appropriate preferential treatment to autonomous areas in terms of loans for projects of investment in fixed assets. More funds and materials allocated for assisting poor areas should be directed to poor ethnic minority areas.

Aid provided by the state and developed areas to national autonomous areas has promoted their economic development. The total output value of industry and agriculture of autonomous areas in 1994 increased 73.8 percent over that of 1990, the agricultural output value increasing 28.1 percent, the industrial output value increasing 109.1 percent and railway lines open to traffic increasing 27.5 percent. The life of ethnic minorities has improved greatly. In 1990 the average yearly salary for workers and employees in autonomous areas was 2,040 yuan. It was 3,970 yuan in 1994. In 1990 the average yearly income for peasants and herders was 546 yuan. It was 944 yuan in 1994.

Because of its high altitude, poor natural conditions and the dark rule of the feudal serf system for an extended period in the past, Tibet is comparatively backward economically and culturally, so the state has given special care to Tibet's development. In July 1994 the Central Government decided that the rest of China should help Tibet with 62 construction projects with an estimated investment of 2.38 billion yuan. The projects include mainly infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity, roads, power, telecommunications, schools and hospitals. The purpose is to lay a good foundation for the full-fledged development of Tibet. More than 40 projects have been completed and handed over for use. Actual investment has risen to over 3 billion yuan. Completion of these projects has vigorously

promoted economic development in Tibet, improved the production and living conditions of Tibetans and raised their standard of living.

Because of historical and geographic reasons, there is still a big gap between the ethnic minority areas and inland and coastal areas in terms of economic and social development. The Chinese government has made great efforts to narrow the gap and has achieved obvious results. It will continue its efforts to bring about a change for the better in backward minority areas.

The Chinese government has always respected and valued the traditional culture of ethnic minorities. It has allocated large sums of money for the protection and maintenance of historical relics and sites of ethnic minorities. Between 1989 and 1994 the government invested 53 million yuan to completely renovate the world-famous Potala Palace in Tibet and finished 111 projects. This is the biggest renovation of the Potala Palace since it was constructed early in the Qing Dynasty in the mid-17th century. In 1991 the government invested more than 30 million yuan and provided manpower and material for the renovation of the Kumbum Monastery, an establishment of Tibetan Buddhism in Qinghai.

The government makes great efforts to nurture and develop the culture and art of ethnic minorities. In March 1992 the third China Art Festival was held in Kunming, Yunnan Province, with 56 ethnic groups participating. In January 1995 a music and dance invitation performance of 56 ethnic groups was held in Shanghai, promoting the development and prosperity of national music and dance. With government support, a number of cultural and artistic troupes of ethnic minorities have visited foreign countries.

The government has always respected and guaranteed ethnic minorities' right to use and develop their own spoken and written languages. In the performance of their functions the autonomous organs in autonomous areas use one or several local languages according to the regulations of autonomy set by the autonomous areas. Broadcasting, television, cinema, books, newspapers and magazines in autonomous areas use one or several local languages. On June 19, 1991, the State Council approved the Circular on the Report Regarding Further Improving Work on the Spoken and Written Languages of Ethnic Minorities submitted by the State Nationalities Affairs Commission and referred it to those concerned. The circular demanded strengthening the formulation of laws governing the use of native languages, standardizing the languages and information processing of the various ethnic groups, and promoting translation, publishing, education, news, broadcasting, television, films, the collating of ancient books, academic research, cooperation and exchanges in native languages and the training of personnel.

Since 1991, with the support of the government, the traditional medical sciences and pharmacies of ethnic minorities have been enriched and developed. More and more people are now engaged in Tibetan, Mongolian, Uygur, Kazak, and Dai medical science and pharmacy-over 6,000 to date. There are over 500 hospitals and folk clinics of medicine of ethnic minorities.

Since the Chinese government respects and guarantees all the rights and interests ethnic minorities are entitled to enjoy under the law, and since it pays much attention to and supports the political, economic and cultural development of autonomous areas, in China's minority areas today the political situation is stable, the economy and culture are developing and the life of ethnic minorities is improving every year. All 56 ethnic groups in China live in harmony, are united and friendly to one another, and support and help one another.

VIII. Guarantee of the Rights and Interests of the Disabled

China has all along attached importance to guaranteeing the various rights and interests of the disabled. On the one hand, China has adopted various measures to ensure that the disabled enjoy equal rights with other citizens and to protect their rights from infringement; on the other hand, China has adopted special support measures to help and promote the disabled to actually and equally participate in social life and share social material and cultural achievements by primarily setting up a guarantee system of human rights for the disabled. In the past few years, along with the sustained, rapid and healthy development of China's economy, China's guarantee system of human rights for the disabled has been perfected step by step.

In December 1990 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress adopted the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Disabled Persons, which came into force in May 1991. Hence China has a special law guaranteeing the disabled's human rights. To strengthen the

work guaranteeing human rights for the disabled, the State Council founded the State Coordination Committee for Work on the Disabled, consisting of 33 commissions and ministries and the China Disabled Persons' Federation. Each province, autonomous region and centrally administered municipality and each prefecture, city and county has also founded a coordination organ for work on the disabled under the leadership of local governments at different level.

To help the disabled recover maximum health is an important prerequisite for them to enjoy extensive human rights. By the end of 1994 China had performed 1.232 million cataract operations, rectified 417,000 people/time of polio sequelae and trained 57,000 deaf children in hearing and speech. Chinese governments at all levels have set up 6,558 community rehabilitation centers. In addition, China has founded 574 poor-eyesight rehabilitation centers, providing more than 20,000 poor-sighted people with sight aids, and established 463 rehabilitation centers for mentally retarded children, which have trained 4,060 mentally retarded children and over 30,000 parents and rehabilitation instructors in grass-roots units.

China pays particular attention to protecting the disabled's rights to labor and employment. The Labor Law of the People's Republic of China, Regulations for State-Owned Enterprises for Changes in Operating Mechanisms, and other laws and regulations all include specific regulations guaranteeing the disabled's rights to labor and employment. Twenty-seven provinces, autonomous regions and centrally administered municipalities in China have formulated local legislation specifying that the proportion of disabled people among total employees of government organs, enterprises and institutions should not be lower than 1.5 percent. By the end of 1994 the number of welfare enterprises mainly employing the disabled had reached 60,000 in China. Over 70 percent of disabled persons with labor abilities in cities and towns above the county level have been employed.

To let disabled persons enjoy the right to receive education is work on which the Chinese government has expended great effort in recent years. The Chinese government has set up special-education schools and classes for blind, deaf and mentally retarded children. By the end of 1994 China had set up 1,241 special-education schools and 5,301 special-education classes for the disabled, and the number of blind, deaf and mentally retarded students had reached 210,000. The number of special schools, special classes and disabled students attending these special schools and classes increased by 224 percent, 99 percent and 416 percent respectively over the 1990 figures. There are 370 vocational education and training centers for disabled persons in China. In 1994 alone 97,000 people/time of handicapped persons were trained. In China thousands of disabled students enter colleges and universities every year.

The spiritual life of the disabled in China has become rich and varied. In recent years all localities in China have held various performances, sports contests, and other cultural activities, such as calligraphy, painting, photography and philately, for the disabled. In September 1994 the Chinese government held the Sixth Far East and South Pacific Games for the Disabled in Beijing. Over 2,000 athletes from 42 countries and regions attended the games. To run the games well, the Chinese government poured huge human, material and financial resources into them and organized more than 30,000 volunteers to serve the handicapped friends from other countries. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the heads of 13 states or governments and the chairman of the International Olympic Committee for the Disabled sent congratulatory telegrams to China, speaking highly of the efforts of the Chinese government and people for the cause of disabled people.

In recent years the Chinese government and various circles in the society have done a great deal of work to create a favorable social environment for people to understand, respect, care for and help disabled persons. On National Helping-the-Disabled Day, legally set in May every year, the broad masses of the people all over the country actively participate in activities to help the disabled, strengthening their understanding of and respect for the disabled. Every year over 30 million children take part in Young Pioneers Helping the Disabled activities, which have been carried out for eight years running. Many moving deeds of helping the aged and disabled have emerged. Many hospitals in large and medium-sized cities have conducted activities to show love to disabled orphans. By performing operations on the disabled, they have helped many disabled orphans recover their health.

To help the disabled participate in social life, China has worked out and implemented Standards for the Design of Urban Roads and Buildings for the Disabled's Convenience, which require all localities to build obstacle-free structures in, accordance with actual conditions and economic development in China when constructing municipal works and various buildings. The past few years have witnessed a great increase in various special installations and obstacle-free structures in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Shenyang, Shenzhen and other large cities.

IX. Developing the Study of Human Rights and Popularizing the Knowledge of Human Rights

In the process of advancing the cause of human rights in an all-round way, China has attached great importance not only to social development and reinforcement of the guarantee of laws, systems and materials on human rights, but also to the theoretical study, publicity and popularization of human rights.

In the past few years Chinese scholars have been very active in the study of human rights theories. A professional research force consisting of scholars and experts from institutions of higher learning and research institutes all over the country has been formed. The Chinese Society for the Study of Human Rights and other national academic bodies have been set up one after another. Some institutions of higher learning and research bodies have set up human rights research centers and human rights teaching and research offices or research offices. Meanwhile, a large number of special human rights bodies for the study of the human rights of women, children and the disabled have emerged. According to incomplete statistics, since 1991 China has held over a dozen large-scale national theoretical symposiums on human rights and over a hundred discussions, forums and reports on human rights. Delegations sent by the Chinese Society for the Study of Human Rights attended the World Human Rights Conference held in Bangkok and Vienna in 1993 and the UN World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, at which the Chinese delegates conducted exchanges with human rights experts and organizations from all over the world.

The Chinese government actively supports and aids financially the study of human rights. The research subjects aided financially by the State Social Science Fund, the China Social Science Fund and the Youth Social Science Fund include a certain number of subjects on human rights. Every year a group of subjects on human rights win financial aid from the State Education Commission, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and local governments and achieve results. In addition, the China Human Rights Research Fund set up by various social circles collects funds and gives financial aids to research activities on human rights.

In light of the current world situation and China's practice, Chinese scholars have made a deep study of the issue of human rights in various aspects and published a large number of books and theses expressing original ideas. In recent years nearly a hundred academic books on human rights have been published. Over a thousand theses on human rights have been published in various newspapers and magazines. The research achievements of academic circles have benefited the formation of state policies on human rights and exerted a favorable influence in strengthening the people's sense of human rights and promoting social development.

Chinese academic circles have also translated and published a large number of foreign books on human rights and compiled systematic, comprehensive and complete research data on human rights. China has published the General List of the World Conventions and Laws on Human Rights, Research Data Series on Human Rights, International Human Rights Documents and International Human Rights Organizations and many other books, totaling more than 10 million words. These books not only collect, sort out and introduce various ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign theories and ideologies on human rights, but also collect the declarations, conventions, agreements, resolutions, and constitutional documents on human rights of all countries in the world and international societies.

China pays great attention to the popularization of knowledge of human rights. In recent years the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China has issued in succession Human Rights in China, Tibet-Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation, Criminal Reform in China, The Situation of Chinese Women and other documents. All circles in the society started extensive discussions on these documents. Publishing circles have published various study information and popular literature to introduce the origin and historical evolution of human rights and expound on the current state of human rights in the international community and China's basic position on the issue of human rights. Broadcasting stations, TV stations, newspapers and magazines have started special programs and columns, which extensively propagate and heatedly discuss the issue of human rights. Some institutions of higher learning, research bodies, social organizations and relevant government departments throughout the country have run study groups to popularize basic knowledge of human rights.

China closely integrates publicity and education on human rights with the state's construction of a legal system. When the Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests, the Law on the Protection of Minors, the Law on the Protection of Disabled Persons, the Labor Law, the Law of Administrative Procedure and the Compensation Law were promulgated and implemented, China started publicity and education activities focused on strengthening citizens' consciousness of rights and laws. At present publicity and education on human rights have been included in national education and vocational training. Almost all institutions of higher learning and training organization hold special lectures on human rights, and some universities have a human rights course to systematically teach theories of human rights. The widespread human rights publicity and education activities have improved all citizens' ability, quality and level in exercising and enjoying human right according to law and strengthened their sense of being masters of their own affairs as well as a sense of responsibility, thus creating a favorable environment of public opinion and social conditions for the cause of human rights.

X. Working Hard to Promote the Healthy Development of International Human Rights Activities
China respects the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations related to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In recent years China has, as always, actively supported -and participated in international activities in the human rights field and has made new efforts to promote the healthy development of international human rights since the cold war.

In April 1994 Qian Qichen, Vice-Premier and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese government, reiterated while meeting with the former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim "China respects the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Proclamation of Teheran, the Declaration on the Right to Development and other international documents related to human rights" and "will, as always, make a joint effort with the international community to further strengthen international cooperation in the sphere of human rights."

China takes an active part in UN activities in the human rights field. In recent years China has consecutively been reelected a member of the UN Human Rights Commission and sends a delegation to the commission's annual session. The human rights experts recommended by China have continually been elected members of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. China sends observers to the annual session held by the subcommission. In addition, China has successively been elected a member of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, and Chinese experts have continually been elected members of the UN Commission on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. China has many times sent delegations or officials to attend various conferences on human rights sponsored by the United Nations. In the aforementioned bodies and sessions China always conscientiously performs its duty, actively participates in the examination and discussion of subjects on human rights, and elaborates its views, making its contributions to constantly enriching the connotation of human rights and promoting universal respect for human rights.

With an active and constructive attitude China took part in the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993. From beginning to end, China participated in the preparatory work of the conference, attended the four preparatory meetings held by the United Nations and the Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting, and served as vice-chairman of the First Preparatory Meeting, the Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting and the World Conference on Human Rights, thus playing an important role in the conference's preparation and success. At the Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting China, along with other Asian countries, made an active effort to reach agreement on the Bangkok Declaration and systematically elaborate the basic position of the Asian countries on human rights. During the World Conference on Human Rights China actively made clear its position and frankly and sincerely exchanged opinions with the countries attending the conference. Together with other countries, China resolutely resisted and opposed the rude and unreasonable attitudes and action of a small number of Western countries that provoked confrontation and forced their views on others trying to hinder the smooth progress of the conference. During consultations over the conference's final documents the Chinese government delegation put forward many constructive plans and suggestions and handled and coordinated the problems and contradictions that occurred during the drafting of documents on the basis of adhering to principle and, with a flexible and cooperative attitude, taking the situation as a whole into account, thus helping all countries to reach unanimity through consultation and achieve the smooth adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action.

China always supports the efforts of the United Nations to improve the status of women and promote

equality between men and women. China successfully held the UN Fourth World Conference on Women and the '95 Non-governmental Organizations Forum in Beijing in September 1995, thus contributing to the progress of the world's women and to the realization of women's human rights. It was the largest international conference since the founding of the United Nations. More than 46,000 people from 197 countries and regions gathered at Beijing and heatedly discussed various subjects concerning women with the theme of "equality, development and peace" as the core. Chen Muhua, head of the Chinese government delegation and Vice-Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was elected chairwoman of the conference. The Chinese delegation took an active part in the discussion of various subjects during the conference and expounded its opinions on the strategy to improve the status of women and promote equality between men and women and on some important international issues, making its own contributions to the adoption at the conference of the Beijing Declaration and the Program for Action, of important historical significance. The Chinese government performed its duties as the host country in great earnest, actively cooperated with the UN organizations, all governments and the non-governmental organizations concerned, put in huge human, material and financial resources, and mobilized people all over the country and women from all walks of life to make tremendous efforts for the preparation and convening of the conference, to guarantee the great success of the conference. Hence China won popular praise from the international community. UN Under-Secretary-General Kitani said that the conference, which laid the foundation for a new era of relations between China and the United Nations, was a milestone in the UN women's history.

Up to now China has ratified and acceded to 15 international human rights conventions, including the four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and their two Additional Protocols, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of Children and the Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value. The Chinese government has earnestly performed its obligations prescribed in the conventions it has acceded to, strictly implemented the stipulations of the conventions through legislative, judicial and administrative measures and submitted reports on implementation of the related conventions on time.

In accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, China has extensively conducted cooperation and exchanges in the international human rights field. The Chinese government actively cooperates with the United Nations. As to various letters and document forwarded to China by the UN Center for Human Rights and special reports, the Chinese government has made serious and responsible investigations and given timely replies by elaborating facts, views and opinions.

It is normal for countries to have a different understanding and practice of human rights owing to varied historical, social, economic and cultural conditions. To strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation among countries in terms of human rights, China actively advocates and holds dialogues and exchanges in the sphere of human rights. In recent years, when meeting heads of foreign states and governments and relevant personages, Chinese leaders have held constructive discussions with them on the issue of human rights. China has conducted multi-round dialogues with many Western countries on the issue of human rights and has invited human rights officials and experts from many countries to visit China. China has also sent delegations to some countries to exchange opinions and views on issues of international human rights.

China has supported the United Nations in actively promoting the healthy development of activities in the international human rights field since the cold war in accordance with the purposes and principles prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations. Since the end of the cold war extensive and profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The people in the world, especially the people in developing countries, eagerly hope that international human rights will break away from the shadow of political confrontations of the cold war and follow the correct road of equal cooperation. However, some large Western countries stubbornly adhere to the modes of thinking of the cold war period to inject politics and ideology into the issue of human rights. On the international stage they take human rights as a means to compel developing countries to submit and a means to pursue hegemony and power politics, encouraging political confrontations in the human rights field. In view of this abnormal phenomenon in the international human rights field, China upholds principle

and makes unremitting efforts to promote human rights, safeguard sovereignty and oppose hegemony, together with vast numbers of developing countries.

In the last few years the United States and some other Western countries have made unwarranted charges against the internal affairs of some developing countries and put various pressures on them at some international conferences. China has spoken out from a sense of justice, resolutely resisted and opposed their acts poisoning the international cooperative atmosphere in the human rights field, and supported the struggles of developing countries to safeguard their own rights and interests.

Since 1990 the United States and some other Western countries, disregarding China's political stability, economic development, social progress, daily perfection of democracy, and the legal system and constant improvement of people's living standards, have concocted five anti-China proposals, wantonly interfering in China's internal affairs by trying to change China's development path and social system through sabotaging its stability and preventing it from going forward. They have gone everywhere to sell their ideas and impose pressure from various aspects, so as to reach their sinister political purposes. However, under the resolute opposition and resistance of China, the vast number of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and other countries that support justice, all five anti-China plots of the West have failed. It is a victory not only for China, but also for the vast number of developing countries and international justice forces in defending the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

China considers that the realization of human rights cannot be separated from world peace and development. Peace and development are two major subjects in the current world, as well as indispensable prerequisites for the universal realization of human rights and basic freedoms. Without a peaceful and safe international environment and without a just and reasonable international economic order, it will be impossible to realize extensive human rights. So long as the international community integrates the promotion of human rights with defense of world peace and the accelerated progress of mankind and advances them in a systematic way, it can make sustained and effective progress.

At present the world is in a historical era when a new century is coming and old world patterns are being replaced by new ones. What kind of world will enter the 21st century is an important issue of great concern to the international community. Since the end of the cold war some positive changes have taken place in international relations; meanwhile, many regional conflicts and complex and profound contradictions have broken out. Hegemony, power politics and unfair economic order still exist, imperiling world peace and development and hindering the realization of human rights and basic freedoms. China is willing, together with the international community, to make continual, unremitting efforts to bring a world of peace, stability, economic development and universally enjoyed human rights into the 21st century.

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