Mr. Chairman, I am going to have to go to another

meeting also. But let me try to incorporate what Senator

Wellstone has said, because the testimony that we will hear from

Elena Bonner and Mr. Goble is very important in establishing, in

their judgment, that there was terrorism in the incidents in Moscow.

Many of us have visited with Russians for many years and indicated

that some of their policies might create terror around the

world. We even accused them, insofar as non-proliferation is involved,

of aiding and abetting this. Now it has come home to roost

in Moscow, and the reaction of the Russians to this is obviously

very adverse, really extraordinary.

But it seems to me that Ms. Bonner and Mr. Goble are saying

that the military in Russia and perhaps even the Prime Minister,

Mr. Putin, have found this situation to be to their advantage, that

they have extended the authority of the military, suspended some

civil liberties for people in Russia, and have used the Chechnya situation

in this way.

It has all the ramifications you pointed out, Mr. Secretary, with

regard to the neighboring states and the general instability in the

Caucasus area. But more importantly, this is clearly a setback with

regard to democracy in Russia and the hopes that all of us have

of a normal country there, a normal relationship.

Now, what Mr. Goble says, and he references Ms. Bonner’s testimony,

is that our failure to protest this may have suggested that,

not that we are encouraging it, but that we felt President Yeltsin

might take hold and push back. And he has not done that. As a

matter of fact, from polls that we all read in the papers, Prime

Minister Putin is gaining ground the longer this goes on, from a

very low, single digit approval to something more substantial,

maybe more so than any other political figure now in Russia, with

the Presidential election proceeding and the Duma election next month.

Should the United States—the administration, the Congress, all

of us—weigh in in ways that indicate stronger disapproval, because

of our fears about the evolution toward democracy and, given these

elections, which we are deeply interested? Can you answer in advance

what we are about to hear on the next panel, which are really

substantial charges that we are not doing enough in terms of our

protest? Thank you.