

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90549
Folder ID Number: 90549-004

Folder Title:
Friday, June 1, 1990

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	12	12	1	1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Log	White House Telephone Log [President Bush] [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	06/01/90	(b)(6)	
01b. Log	White House Telephone Log [Signal Switchboard] [redaction of personal information] (1 pp.)	06/01/90	(b)(6)	
02. Note	Handwritten notes Re; A.M. meeting w/Scowcroft, Sununu, et al [double-sided] (1 pp.)	06/01/90	(b)(1)	
03. Memo	From Brent Scowcroft to President Bush (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
04. Q&A	Trade Agreement w/handwritten notes [double-sided] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
05. Talking Points	Points to be made for Telephone Call to Chancellor Kohl [one page double-sided] (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	✓

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, June 1, 1990

Pinksheet Number: dw1711

OA/ID Number: 90549-004

Date Closed: 5/20/2010

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

980-7326 Agnew
980-7292 Rumsfeld



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Friday, June 1, 1990

8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft/Sununu)	Oval Office
8:15 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft/Sununu)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Governor Sununu</u>	Oval Office
9:15 am (40 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
9:55 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Jim Wray and Family</u> (Card)	Oval Office
10:00 am (60 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (2 hrs)	<u>Third Meeting with President Gorbachev</u> (Scowcroft)	Cabinet Room
1:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
2:15 pm (2 hr 30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
4:45 pm	B <u>Greet President and Mrs. Gorbachev</u> (Scowcroft)	Diplomatic Reception Room
5:00 pm (30 min)	B <u>Signing Ceremony for Soviet/ U. S. Documents</u> (Scowcroft)	East Room
5:30 pm (60 min)	<u>Concluding Meeting with President Gorbachev</u> (Scowcroft)	Cabinet Room
7:35 pm	<u>The President and Mrs. Bush depart for Dinner hosted by the President and Mrs. Gorbachev at the Soviet Embassy</u>	South Lawn

(TAB A)
(TAB B)
UNP 05/31/90
5:00 pm

South Lawn

5:49 add back Blackmail + Read

5:59 am Red Room

6:13 ^{at Gully} Potters' announcement in E. Room 6:14 Potters' remarks

6:28 Potters' conclude remarks. 6:29 Barber's remarks. 6:42 Potters' conclude remarks

6:42 Begin organizing 6:57 ~~Potters~~ Conclude organizing. Potters + Barber
am Red Room w/ Mr. Bush + Raines

6:59 all to S. Room - by Est. 7:02 Barber's departure

7:04 Potters + Mr. Bush to 2nd fl. Rm. 7:35 apt W.H. at
Service Bureau

(Leaving see Tab "B")

10:41 Potters + Mr. Bush am B.W.

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Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

JUNE 1st

90
19

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	7:35	AM	7:36	MRS. BARBARA BUSH RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 551	TLKD-OK
INC OUT		PM AM			
INC OUT	7:36	AM	7:38	MRS. BARBARA BUSH RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 542.	TLKD-OK
INC OUT		PM AM			
INC OUT	8:15	AM	8:24	SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD-OK 8:16 A.M.
INC OUT		PM AM			
INC OUT	10:00	AM		CONGRESSMAN ROBERT H. MICHEL OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 225-0600	AT SOVIET EMBASSY TOLD MRS. PATRICIA (PATTY) PRESOCK. LW.
INC OUT		PM AM			TLKD-OK WITH GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUN. UNU 11:24 A.M.
INC OUT	2:52	PM		SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD TO PATRICIA (PATTY) PRESOCK 2:53 P.M.
INC OUT		PM AM			
INC OUT	2:55	PM	3:00	SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD-OK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

JUNE 1st

, 19 90

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT xxx		AM		MRS. PATRICIA (PATTY) PRESOCK OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 456-6508	TLKD-OK
INC	3:55	PM	3:56		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT xxx		AM		SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD-OK 3:57 P.M.
INC	3:56	PM	4:02		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT xxx		AM		SECRETARY JAMES A. BAKER III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 420	TLKD-OK
INC	4:27	PM	4:33		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		AM		MS. LAURIE FIRESTONE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN. EXT. 672	ON STATE FLOOR TOLD PRESUS MR. TIMOTHY MCBRIDE TLKD TO MS. LAURIE FIRESTONE.
INC	4:35	PM			PER MRS. PATRICIA (PATTY) PRESOCK
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		AM		MRS. MARGARET BUSH (b)(6)	OUT FOR THE EVENING TOLD PRESUS. TLKD-OK TO BABYSITER JOLEE
INC	7:10	PM	7:11		
OUT		AM			HIRCH.
INC		PM			
OUT		AM		MS. JOLEE HIRCH (b)(6)	
INC	7:21	PM	7:22		TLKD-OK

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

June 1, 1990

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		Mrs. Barbara Bush En route Washington, D.C. Executive One Foxtrot	Tlkd-ok 2:45 PM via Autovon
~~INC~~	2:30 PM	2:48		
~~OUT~~	AM		Mrs. Patty Presock Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 2-2199	Tlkd-ok 3:35 PM
INC	3:35 PM	3:35		
~~OUT~~	AM		Conference Call: Chancellor Helmut Kohl	Tlkd-ok 4:03 PM
INC	4:00 PM	4:24		
OUT	AM		(b)(6)	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mr. Robert Hutchings White House Situation Room White House Signal 2-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mrs. Giesla Marcuse White House Situation Room White House Signal 2-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 1 June 1990

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0719	Oval Office
1106	South Grounds
1107	Oval Office
1149	Cabinet Room
1259	Oval Office
1302	South Grounds
1309	Oval Office
1507	South Grounds
1627	Oval Office
1743	South Grounds
1801	State Floor
1901	South Grounds
1903	Doctor's Office
1904	Residence
1934	South Grounds
1935	Depart South Grounds via Motorcade
1940	Arrive Soviet Embassy
2237	Depart Soviet Embassy
2241	Arrive South Grounds
2251	Residence



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990 -- 6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

TODAY'S HEADLINES

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH, GORBACHEV FAIL TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES OVER GERMANY ON THE FIRST DAY OF SUMMIT -- President Bush and President Gorbachev failed to settle deep differences over Germany on the opening day of their summit meeting, and a new superpower dispute emerged that threatens to torpedo a lucrative U.S.-Soviet grain deal.

(Wall Street Journal)

U.S. GIVES IN ON KEY SS-18 START PROVISION -- The U.S. has yielded to Moscow the right to continue upgrading its most powerful nuclear missile, a U.S. official said Thursday, removing a major hurdle to a strategic arms agreement cutting long-range nuclear weapons.

(Washington Times)

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MOVES TO REPEAL KEY APARTHEID LAW -- The South African government, toppling one of the four remaining pillars of apartheid, published a bill Friday to end 37 years of racial segregation in public amenities.

(Reuter)

U.N. COUNCIL MISSION TO ISRAEL FAILS BECAUSE OF U.S. VETO -- The U.S. Thursday vetoed a Security Council resolution, thereby effectively blocking a proposal to send a three-member council investigative commission to the Israeli-occupied territories.

(Reuter)

NETWORK NEWS (Thursday Evening)

SUMMIT -- Outwardly, at least, there was little sign of disagreements on the first day.

PALESTINIAN ATTACK -- PLO leader Arafat denied his organization was responsible for Wednesday's guerrilla raid on Israeli beaches.

LIBERIA -- CBS News has been told the U.S. is planning to evacuate Americans and other civilians from Liberia.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-1

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-17

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BUSH, GORBACHEV FAIL TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES OVER GERMANY ON THE FIRST DAY OF SUMMIT

President Bush and President Gorbachev failed to settle deep differences over Germany on the opening day of their summit meeting, and a new superpower dispute emerged that threatens to torpedo a lucrative U.S.-Soviet grain deal.

As the summit opened Thursday, Soviet negotiators hinted they might not sign the five-year pact to buy American grain, apparently in an effort to get President Bush to sign a new U.S.-Soviet trade treaty. Bush said he is reluctant to sign the new trade treaty because of Moscow's continuing resistance to Lithuanian independence....

Late Thursday, U.S. officials said the chances of signing either treaty were poor -- unless Bush and Gorbachev themselves can break the logjam by this afternoon. The President said trade would be on the agenda today.

(Walter Mossberg & Gerald Seib, Wall Street Journal, A16)

SOVIETS LACK FACILITIES TO CARRY OUT CHEMICAL WEAPON TREATY

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev may not have the means to carry out a treaty he is expected to sign to destroy Soviet stocks of chemical weapons.

Western officials say that the Kremlin last year closed its only facility able to carry out the task, and has disclosed no plans to build another.

"There has been no public announcement and the Soviets have made no communication to the United States on their plans to destroy the weapons," said a Western official involved in the negotiations.

"We still have no idea how they plan to do it," the official said, speaking on condition he not be further identified.

(Bryan Brumley, AP)

U.S. GIVES IN ON KEY SS-18 START PROVISION

The U.S. has yielded to Moscow the right to continue upgrading its most powerful nuclear missile, a U.S. official said Thursday, removing a major hurdle to a strategic arms agreement cutting long-range nuclear weapons.

The U.S. concession was made during negotiations this week at the State Department. President Bush and President Gorbachev are expected to sign an agreement on basic provisions of START, clearing the way for the treaty to be signed later this year....

"We have no intention of pushing the Soviets on SS-18 modernization," said the official, speaking on condition of anonymity. (Bill Gertz & Warren Strobel, Washington Times, A13)

BUSH UPBEAT ABOUT SUMMIT TONE

President Bush said Thursday his first round of talks with Mikhail Gorbachev left him with the impression that he was dealing with a leader imbued with "strength and confidence."

"I don't feel a weakened presence or anything of that nature," Bush told reporters in the White House Rose Garden after the first day of talks ended. "I feel a man determined to do his job."

Bush said the overall tone of his first two sessions with Gorbachev was "positive," with the two leaders working amicably, but, he added, "there have been times when people banged their shoes." ...

"He's not trying to hide anything, nor is he wringing his hands," Bush said. "To me, there's a certain...strength and confidence that was there in Malta and is certainly still there now." "You could feel that," Bush said. "This wasn't just a casual observation. I felt strongly about that."

(Helen Thomas, UPI)

BUSH SAYS LACK OF 'SHOE-BANGING' IS GOOD OMEN FOR SUMMIT

President Bush said Thursday the absence of the shoe-banging theatrics practiced by former Soviet leader Khrushchev is one sign of better U.S.-Soviet relations.

"There have been times when people banged their shoes when they didn't agree. And we don't -- that's not the mood or the tone of this meeting," Bush told reporters after his second two-hour meeting with Soviet leader Gorbachev....

Bush conceded that he and his Soviet counterpart...sometimes get "a little more passionate than the rest of the time in presenting our views."

But he said there were no hard feelings and that Gorbachev did not seem to take offense at anything that was said.

"I can talk very frankly with him. And when he talks, I listen; and when I talk, he listens. We're not shouting at each other. There's not a rancor in there," he added.

(Michael Gelb, Reuter)

GORBACHEV PREDICTS 'MAJOR RESULTS' AT THE SUMMIT

President Bush paid glowing tribute to President Gorbachev at a state dinner in his honor Thursday night, toasting the "growing friendship" between the superpowers and "the prospect of progress and lasting peace."

In his response, Gorbachev predicted his meetings with Bush may conclude with "major results...maybe even the biggest," compared to previous summits.

"I cannot say yet how we are going to conclude these meetings," the Soviet leader said, adding a mischievous caveat that won laughter from the White House gathering. "That would be premature.... Maybe I'm too optimistic. But let's wait and see."

(Helen Thomas, UPI)

BUSH, GORBACHEV SEEK 'IRREVERSIBLE PERIOD OF PEACE' AT SUMMIT

George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev sought a meeting of the minds on German unification Thursday in a dynamic start to a four-day superpower summit dedicated to pursuit of "an irreversible period of peace."

The first day of talks intended to mark the end of the Cold War produced a glimmer of possible accommodation on Germany and friction over Lithuania....

It was a day dominated by personal chemistry and closer ties, the tone set by Bush when at the outset of their talks he invited Gorbachev to join in "an open and honest search for common ground" on the differences between them

"Over the next four days, we're not going to solve all of the world's problems," Bush said. "We won't resolve all of the outstanding issues that divide us, but we can and will take significant steps toward a new relationship." ...

The summit started out smoothly but stumbled late in the day as Gorbachev, followed by Bush, raised hopes of progress toward resolving a dispute over NATO membership by a unified Germany that U.S. officials later had to lower. A decision to toss the Germany-in-NATO issue to Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze for more study seemed little more than a practical way to remove it from the main summit agenda.

(Norman Sandler, UPI)

Summiteers Tiptoe Around An Impasse On German Question

The decision by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev to order new talks by their foreign ministers on the issue of German unification appears to be an ingenious way to defuse the issue that divides the two countries most sharply -- by tiptoeing around an impasse that could have turned this week's summit into an embarrassing failure.

Such talks would renew the pressure on Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to come up with a workable compromise -- but they won't have to do it by the summit's completion this weekend, officials said.

Instead, a State Department official said, Baker and Shevardnadze will continue talking "the way they have been already," meeting every few weeks to seek a solution.

The two presidents' actin was a way "to kick the can down the road," the official said.

(Doyle McManus & Robert Toth, Los Angeles Times, A13)

Bush, Gorbachev Report Progress On Germany

President Bush and President Gorbachev, meeting Thursday at their second summit in six months, claimed that they had made progress on the overriding question of whether a reunified Germany should belong to the NATO military alliance.

But it was unclear if they actually had narrowed their basic differences over the issue. Other U.S. officials, speaking not for attribution, said that the leaders had merely hit upon a way to shove the explosive problem into the future so that it would not spoil their four-day summit here.

(Jack Nelson & James Gerstenzang, Los Angeles Times, A1)

Bush, Gorbachev Discuss German Unification; Soviet Suggests Creating Europe Security Council

President Bush and President Gorbachev Thursday opened a summit to come to grips with a world they described as radically changed, and began to grapple immediately with the problem of a united Germany in a post-Cold War Europe.

Gorbachev, following four hours of White House meetings with Bush, said they had assigned their foreign ministers to begin more "in-depth discussions" of ideas about Germany offered by both sides during the meetings.

A U.S. official said Gorbachev offered a plan to base future European security on the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which would replace the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances. The Soviet idea is to restructure this organization to safeguard European peace under a "Greater European Council" of all 35 heads of state, including those of the U.S. and Soviet Union, that would meet once a year....

Shortly before the summit began, a senior adviser to Bush expressed skepticism about such a proposal, saying the 35-nation organization would be too unwieldy to guarantee the security of major nations. However, the official said Bush would propose an expanded political role for the group.

From the U.S. side, officials said limitations on German military forces and others in the central zone of Europe, as part of future East-West negotiations, are among the ideas that have been under discussion.... A Soviet Foreign Ministry official said that such limits on Western forces "are welcome" because they "show some movement" on the U.S. side, but that this is "clearly not enough" to convince Moscow that the unified Germany should be part of the NATO alliance.

(David Hoffman & Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A1)

Stalemate On Germany Broken

President Bush and President Gorbachev broke a stalemate on German reunification Thursday and told their foreign ministers to discuss a surprise Soviet proposal on the issue, which had threatened to stymie the summit.

"I took some heart from that. I was encouraged by that. Let's see where we go," Bush said of Gorbachev's proposal. In later remarks, he said it had been a momentous day.

Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will meet to "narrow differences" on German reunification, and Bush and Gorbachev reportedly will discuss the issue further at private meetings Saturday at Camp David.

Gorbachev put the secret proposal on the table during three hours and 55 minutes of talks. Bush said they discussed every issue dividing the two nations except arms control.

"The tone was positive. The differences remain," he said. "I'm very pleased with the mood."

Gorbachev agreed overwhelmingly in remarks at a White House state dinner Thursday night. "The enemy image is becoming a thing of the past," he said.

(Paul Bedard & Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

Bush, Gorbachev Deadlock On German Unity In Summit Talks

President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev stood deadlocked over terms of German unity after an opening round of summitry Thursday that set the stage for major agreements on chemical and nuclear weapons. "The mood is very positive," Bush declared.

After nearly five hours of discussions, Bush and Gorbachev acknowledged they could not resolve their differences over Germany this week. "It is not here that the German question will be resolved," the Soviet president told reporters as he left the White House. Separately, Bush said, "Certainly we're not going to solve the whole issue at this summit."

Despite the differences, both leaders painted an upbeat picture of their talks. "I'd just say at the end of a very interesting day that the talks have gone reasonably well," Bush said.
(Terence Hunt, AP)

Bush, Gorbachev Tell Aides To Find Compromise On Germany

After a day of candid, friendly talks, President Bush and President Gorbachev directed aides Thursday to explore ways to keep a unified Germany under a NATO umbrella without posing a military threat to the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev said during the second half of four hours of meetings that Bush and he had narrowed their differences on the presence of a reunified Germany in NATO but had not resolved the issue. Bush would not say they had narrowed their differences, but said he was encouraged. He noted that the issue cannot be settled without the participation of Germany and NATO allies....

Bush and Gorbachev told their foreign ministers....to work over the next 48 hours to see if they can agree on language on Germany, presumably voluntary constraints on German forces guaranteed by the U.S....

Bush said, "At the end of a very interesting day, the talks have gone reasonably well. The mood is very positive...genuinely, not in the diplomatic sense."
(Ann McFeatters, Scripps Howard)

Tensions Over Germany Surface On Gorbachev's First Day In Capital

President Bush and President Gorbachev on Thursday directed their top diplomatic aides to meet next week to seek a post-summit agreement on the military face of a united Germany.

A meeting between Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was set for Tuesday in Copenhagen, after Bush and Gorbachev reached an impasse on whether a new Germany would be a member of NATO. A second June session, in Berlin, was tentatively scheduled for the two aides....

"Both the U.S. side and the Soviet side put forth certain ideas and suggestions" on Thursday, Gorbachev said. He gave no details, but a Soviet official told the AP the Soviets wanted Germany's future taken up by the 35-nation European Security Conference. "I hope that we understand each other's concerns better," Gorbachev said as he left the White House. "This exchange of views now requires that our foreign ministers have a more in-depth discussion," he told reporters outside the White House. "I think it is not here that the German question will be resolved."

(Barry Schweid, AP)

Germany's Military Status Key Soviet Summit Issue

German reunification virtually pushed arms control aside as the central issue of the Soviet-American summit at its outset Thursday because Moscow fears a united and powerful Germany as a greater, more immediate threat than all the missiles in the U.S. nuclear arsenal....

Gorbachev, speaking candidly with Bush in their first one-on-one meeting Thursday, made clear that, in Moscow's perception, Soviet security would be diminished, not increased, by the prospective arms agreements if they are not accompanied by understandings on the future military status of Germany, according to well-informed Soviet sources....

"What do we gain by cutting our nuclear arsenals 35% or even 50% if we open our heartland to attack?" a Gorbachev adviser asked. "We have fought no war with the United States, but we have fought two in this century with Germany, losing more than 26 or 27 million people in the last war alone." ...

And Soviet officials made it plain that U.S. willingness to respond to these Soviet concerns will be taken as a test of the new relationship that both Moscow and Washington hope will emerge from this summit.

(Michael Parks, Los Angeles Times, A1)

Leaders Take Up Difficult Question Of United German Military Strength

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev Thursday began struggling with a major challenge now emerging in post-Cold War Europe: how to constrain a united Germany's military capability without admitting the underlying worry that Germany otherwise could start another European war.

U.S. allied and diplomatic officials say that the issue does not concern the size of future German forces as much as it involves the formula for their reduction and how the agreement is presented, according to U.S., Soviet and other diplomatic officials.

One aspect of the struggle, the official said, is whether the German forces should be limited under a new CFE agreement between 23 nations or under an arrangement developed in special negotiations involving just the four victorious World War II powers and the governments of East and West Germany.

Another question is how rapidly the limitations should be imposed.... But whatever course is chosen, there is broad agreement that the result will likely be the same.

(R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, A24)

GERMAN: NATO TO CHANGE SOON

BONN -- Foreign Minister Genscher declared Thursday that full NATO membership for a reunified Germany should not worry the Soviet Union because the Western alliance will soon "appear in a new light" on the rapidly shifting European landscape....

Genscher in effect urged Gorbachev to be patient long enough for the U.S. and its European allies to bring NATO into line with the dramatic changes that have altered Europe's strategic map since last year.... This is the goal of a special July NATO summit conference in London, a Foreign Ministry official said.

(Edward Cody, Washington Post, A22)

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'I FEEL REALLY AT HOME HERE'

Mikhail Gorbachev stepped out of his limousine Thursday near the U.S. Treasury building, pushed past his frantic security detail and shook hands with some of the hundreds of office workers on their way home and tourists out for a late afternoon walk.

"I feel really at home here. I feel that people everywhere want the good life," Gorbachev told the crowd through an interpreter. "People want to be confident of their tomorrow. They want peace everywhere, and the rest is not too important."

On that block of 15th street, his up-close smile and greeting instantly unraveled the blahs that had taken over Washington for the Soviet president's second visit to the city.

(Dana Priest & Brooke Masters, Washington Post, A1)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Crowd Wowed By Walk And Talk," by Enrique Gonzales, appears in The Washington Times, page A1.

EMBASSY GUESTS SEE A NEW GORBACHEV: TIRED, DEFENSIVE

For months now, Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev has been taking to the Soviet airwaves in a series of rambling speeches, sounding like a man exhausted by the job of trying to build a new society in a landscape of collapse. Thursday, American audiences got a chance to see Gorbachev in this new and tired incarnation.

Although Gorbachev was his old energetic self at times, jumping out of his limousine to work the crowds on New York Avenue, he was also defensive, elusive and disjointed, especially in a lunchtime speech at the Soviet Embassy. He seemed particularly perturbed that Soviet and American commentators are talking freely now about the Soviet Union's increasingly weak position in the world. He warned against anyone trying to apply pressure on him or on the Soviet Union because they think it's "enfeebled."

"All the instability, all the changes, are just an indication of the fundamental nature of reform," Gorbachev said. Talk of weakness, he said, "is just not serious."

(David Remnick, Washington Post, A21)

A CAUTIOUS GORBACHEV SAYS CHANGE CAN'T HAPPEN OVERNIGHT

Mikhail Gorbachev captured the world's imagination with his bold-stroke style, but Thursday he displayed a more studied, cautious side at a luncheon with well-known Americans.

Gorbachev counseled patience, with both the pace of improving U.S.-Soviet relations and efforts to overhaul his country's staggering economy.

"Let's not hurry, because such changes do not happen overnight," Gorbachev said. He cited the actions of Lithuania...as an example of the wrong approach.

"Only in Lithuania they can overnight decide a question about seceding from the Soviet Union, and after that they are at a loss what to do, and we are at a loss what to do," Gorbachev said.

"That is one approach. But there is another which is more right, it is more humane. That is to be very cautious, to consider a matter seven times, or even 100 times before one takes a decision."

(Mark Barabak, Copley)

**BUSH DRAWS CONSERVATIVE'S THUMBS UP
WITH BRIEF, MILD MENTION OF LITHUANIA**

When President Bush welcomed President Gorbachev in a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House on Thursday, he could not refrain from including one brief passage on Lithuania.

It was not clear what Gorbachev thought about the mildly worded statement. He remained impassive when Bush's remarks were translated. But Bush, in any case, obviously had another audience in mind -- domestic conservatives who have criticized him for not being tough enough on the Soviets.

For this audience, Bush's remarks worked perfectly. At the mention of Lithuania, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, who was in the audience on the White House South Lawn, tapped an aide on the shoulder, smiled and flashed a thumbs-up sign.

(Stanley Meisler's Reporter's Notebook, Los Angeles Times, A14)

SENATE LEADER SAYS START TREATY APPROVAL HINGES ON LITHUANIA

A Democratic leader in the Senate said Thursday he will tell President Gorbachev the Senate would approve a strategic arms reduction treaty unless the Soviet confrontation with Lithuania turned violent....

Assistant Democratic leader Sen. Cranston, who joins a congressional group meeting Gorbachev Friday, told reporters, "One message I want to give to President Gorbachev is that...I see no difficulty in that treaty being ratified in the U.S. Senate despite opposition being voiced by some Republican hardliners."

But he said that if there were an act of violence by the Soviet Union toward Lithuania..., "that could torpedo hopes for the START treaty" in the Senate.

(Reuter)

LITHUANIA RECOGNIZED BY MOLDAVIA

MOSCOW -- The legislature of Soviet Moldavia recognized Lithuania's independence Thursday, the Tass news agency reported, making it the first Soviet republic outside the Baltics to do so....

According to Tass, the Moldavian Supreme Soviet legislature favored the establishment of direct diplomatic, economic, political and cultural relations with Lithuania. (AP, Washington Post, A31)

Gorbachev Faces Spreading Rebellion Over Lithuania

MOSCOW -- Defiance of Kremlin authority spread to the Soviet Union's southern rim, as the Moldavian republic formally recognized rebel Lithuania's right to independence.

The nationalist Moldavian People's Front said the Moldavian parliament voted 194-29 Thursday for an end to Moscow's economic sanctions that are crippling Lithuania and the establishment of direct trade links between the two republics, bypassing Moscow....

But the Tass news agency said a large number of Russian-speaking deputies, committed to strong ties with Moscow, had stayed away from the vote.... They had complained during recent weeks of harassment and physical attacks by Moldavian nationalists.

(Ralph Boulton, Reuter)

MRS. GORBACHEV TO MEET LITHUANIAN STUDENT

BOSTON -- Raisa Gorbachev has agreed to meet with a Lithuanian exchange student at Wellesley College before she and Barbara Bush deliver commencement addresses at the elite women's school Friday, a human rights group said.

A spokeswoman for the Boston-based Lithuanian Independence Alliance said the Soviet first lady had agreed to hold a private meeting with Yolanta Maceviciute, a member of the graduating Wellesley class, about the situation in the embattled Soviet republic. Maceviciute is expected to press Gorbachev on the plight of women and children in Lithuania whom the rights group said have been particularly hard hit by an economic embargo that has cut off supplies of baby's formula and medicines. (Reuter)

FIRST SPOUSES HAVE FRIENDLY VISIT

Raisa Gorbachev had what was described as a "wonderful" visit with Barbara Bush at the White House Thursday, contrasting sharply with her last visit there when she irritated Nancy Reagan.

...While President Bush and President Gorbachev opened their summit talks, their spouses spent about 45 minutes together over tea in the West sitting room upstairs in the Bushes' private living quarters of the White House.

"Mrs. Bush said it was a wonderful visit," said Anna Perez, the First Lady's press secretary. "They renewed old friendships. They talked about the other times they met."

Then, Mrs. Bush apparently unveiled her secret diplomatic weapon -- Millie the First Dog.

"Mrs. Bush said Millie and Mrs. Gorbachev bonded," Perez said. (Dori Meinert, Copley)

2 First Ladies Hit It Off Like Old Friends

The only clash between the American and Soviet First Ladies on Thursday was in the color of their jackets.

Barbara Bush, in lime green, and Raisa Gorbachev, in berry red, greeted each other like longtime friends at a White House ceremony opening the superpower summit meeting. Later, at a tea in the White House family quarters, Mrs. Gorbachev further endeared herself by warming up to an important member of the Bush clan.

Millie, the Bushes' much-beloved, black-and-white English Springer spaniel, apparently rested comfortably on the Soviet First Lady's foot as she and Barbara Bush had tea and a 35-minute talk.

(Geraldine Baum, Los Angeles Times, A13)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Raisa's Day: Tea, Treasures, And A Wagging Tail," appears in The Washington Post, page B1.

"Raisa, Barbara Tour Exhibit, Have Tea And Tell Wives' Tales," by Judith Colp, appears in The Washington Times, page A14.

"Raisa Gorbachev's Thaw In Relations," by Felicity Barringer, appears in The New York Times, page A6.

"'Friendship' Bridges Cultures," by Marilyn Greene, appears in USA Today, page 1A.

SOVIETS UNHAPPY ABOUT LIFE, BELIEVE REVOLT POSSIBLE

LOS ANGELES -- An overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens feel there are major problems with perestroika and nearly half believe there may be a public revolt against their government, according to a poll released Thursday.

The Los Angeles Times poll of 1,485 Soviet citizens found that although they think highly of President Gorbachev -- 68 percent approved of the way he is handling his job -- 49 percent said they have a worse opinion of their leader than they did a year ago.

The results of the poll, to be published in the newspaper's Friday editions, also found that six out of seven Soviets, 86 percent, have a favorable impression of Americans. In a companion poll asking the same question of Americans, 74 percent had a favorable impression of Soviet citizens.

A whopping 90 percent of the Soviets surveyed said they were unhappy about consumer goods, 85 percent were dissatisfied with services, and 76 percent were unhappy about health care and life in general. Nearly half, 49 percent, said they believed the odds are high for a "public revolt against the government," the poll found.

(UPI)

YELTSIN PLANS TO MAKE UP WITH GORBACHEV

MOSCOW -- Boris Yeltsin, the new president of the Russian republic, said Thursday he will try to make peace with President Gorbachev, whom he has frequently criticized for the slow pace of reform in the Soviet Union.

Yeltsin was quoted by Tass as saying he would put aside personal differences with Gorbachev when the president returns from the Washington summit....

Deputies speaking Thursday at the Russian Congress "expressed concern over the exchange of statements about each other" by Yeltsin and Gorbachev, Tass reported.

Yeltsin answered that after Gorbachev returns Monday, "I think we'll have an appropriate conversation, and we'll resolve most issues without damaging the sovereignty and aims of Russia," Tass reported.

(From combined dispatches, Washington Times, A7)**CODDLING WRONG COMRADE?**

After dismissing Communist Party maverick Boris Yeltsin as a demagogue and an opportunist, the Bush Administration now finds its Soviet strategy scrambled by Yeltsin's election as president of the Russian republic.

The Administration, according to several analysts, has tied its policy too closely to the survival of President Gorbachev, underestimating Yeltsin and the democratic opposition he leads.

"Since taking office, Bush has not met a single Soviet democratic opposition leader; not one," said Martin Coleman, executive director of the American Foundation for Resistance International. "He doesn't understand them and he doesn't like them."

Douglas Seay of the Heritage Foundation said he feared the White House "doesn't believe in the power of the democratic movements." "They [the Administration] have no plans to deal with these people, and therefore we have no influence with them," Seay said.

(Martin Sieff, Washington Times, A1)

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PYONGYANG ANGRY OVER GORBACHEV-ROH MEETING

TOKYO -- North Korea reacted with anger Friday to news that Soviet leader Gorbachev would meet Roh Tae-woo, president of its hated rival state.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, quoted by the official North Korean news agency, said the meeting in the U.S. early next week would have "a serious political consequence" for the future of divided Korea. "We consider that the president of the Soviet Union, an ally of ours, is quite able to analyze and judge what a serious political consequence will be entailed by his meeting with Roh Tae-woo, who is seeking only the split of Korea," the spokesman said.

(Roger Crabb, Reuter)

U.S. GOES OUT OF ITS WAY TO MAKE GORBACHEV LOOK GOOD

The sun shone on Mikhail Gorbachev on the first day of the Washington summit and his American hosts seemed anxious to make him look good. Diplomats and analysts said the day was full of images calculated to please an avid Soviet television audience and give the embattled Kremlin leader a much-needed domestic boost, however short-lived it might prove to be.

"The Soviet people probably are very proud of their leader being received in this fashion and I cannot help but feel that this is enhancing his stature in the Soviet Union," said Walter Roberts, a retired senior U.S. diplomat, now a communications professor at George Washington University....

Under beautiful blue skies, the day began on the manicured lawn of the White House, a telegenic fountain bubbling gently away in the background. In an opening speech marked by genuine warmth, President Bush hailed Gorbachev as an architect of a new Europe....

"Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you as well for the process of change you've brought to your own country."

Raymond Garthoff, a Soviet expert with the Brookings Institute, said Bush had gone out of his way to boost Gorbachev personally in the statement, but said imagery alone would not help the Soviet leader if he failed to come away from the summit with real, substantive achievements.

(Alan Elsner, Reuter)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Seoul And Tokyo See Major Shift In Coming Roh-Gorbachev Talks," by David Sanger, appears in The New York Times, page A10.

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Bush, Guests Lose Contact," by Margaret Rankin, appears in The Washington Times, page A14.

"The Summit In The Sunshine," four articles by Henry Allen, Phil McCombs, Lois Romano, and Tom Shales, appears in The Washington Post, page B1.

"Two Spokesmen Can't Get It Together," by Frank Murray, appears in The Washington Times, page 13.

"Gorbachev's New Flack Arrives Late But With Predecessor's Humor," by Robert Greenberger, appears in The Wall Street Journal, page A16.

E. GERMANY TO SEIZE OLD REGIME'S ASSETS

EAST BERLIN -- East German lawmakers Thursday gave the government broad powers to seize land, houses and businesses controlled by the privileged elite of the old Communist regime.

The action freezes the party's vast holdings...just four weeks before the nation merges its economy with West Germany's and begins shifting state property to the private sector.

Lawmakers also voted to remove the old Communist Party insignia...from state buildings. (AP, Washington Post, A31)

U.N. COUNCIL MISSION TO ISRAEL FAILS BECAUSE OF U.S. VETO

U.N. -- The U.S. Thursday vetoed a Security Council resolution, thereby effectively blocking a proposal to send a three-member council investigative commission to the Israeli-occupied territories.

All other 14 members of the council supported the draft....

A host of nations expressed their disappointment, with the Soviet Union saying it was "incomprehensible" why the council was deprived of the opportunity to study the state of affairs in the territories.

"If it was not possible to find a practical solution to this question today, nevertheless we will have to take it up tomorrow," Ambassador Yuli Vorontsov warned.

In explanation of his vote, U.S. Ambassador Pickering drew attention to Wednesday's unsuccessful raid on Israeli beaches by Palestinians, saying the U.S. was "horrified" by the attack. Pickering said the U.S. would support practical steps that responded "to the spiral of troubling events" such as a sending to the occupied territories a special envoy from the Secretary-General rather than a Security Council group.

But he said the resolution did not "focus attention of the real needs of moving the peace process forward" and instead would become a vehicle that could be "misused to generate needless controversy and dispute in the area." (Evelyn Leopold, Reuter)

Arab States Plan Quick Response To U.S. Veto In U.N.

U.N. -- Responding to the U.S. veto of a U.N. Security Council resolution to send a mission to Israeli-occupied territories, Arab diplomats said they would return to the council again and again until some action was taken.

...Arab League representative Clovis Maksoud and Yemeni deputy ambassador Hussein Saeed Al-Alfi both promised prompt new requests to the Security Council as well as the General Assembly for U.N. emissaries to investigate Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the territories.

"We are giving thought to future measures, and we still expect a radical change in the attitude of the United States," Al-Alfi said. (Evelyn Leopold, Reuter)

EX-INTELLIGENCE CHIEF SAYS ISRAEL MAY STRIKE AT LIBYA

JERUSALEM -- A former head of Israeli military intelligence said Friday Israel might strike at Libya after this week's abortive Palestinian sea raid on the Israeli coast.

Yehoshua Saguy, now a parliamentarian in Prime Minister Shamir's Likud Party, told Israel Radio, "Libya needs to know that just as Libya was reached in the past, it can be reached again."

The army said Wednesday's two-pronged attack on crowded beaches by the Palestinian Liberation Front...was launched from the Libyan port of Benghazi.

"Libya needs to know that for every warning we get that an attack is being prepared in Benghazi, Tripoli or anywhere else in Libya, Israel needs to act to stop the attack at their staging bases," Saguy said. (Steve Weizman, Reuter)

PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT DENIES ATTACK AIMED AT CIVILIANS

AMMAN, Jordan -- The Baghdad-based Palestine Liberation Front said Friday that its sea-borne attack on Israel was not aimed at civilian targets.

"Civilian targets were not the goal of our attacks and the 'Jerusalem naval operation' affirmed that practically because our fighters avoided approaching or touching civilian positions," the PLF said in a statement dated June 1. (Reuter)

**ARAFAT DENIES PLO WAS INVOLVED IN RAID
U.S. Delays Decision On Ending Dialogue**

BAGHDAD -- Chairman Arafat said Thursday night that the PLO's "institution and official forces" had no connection with Wednesday's attempted terrorist attack on a crowded Israeli beach resort. Therefore, he said, he saw "no reason" for the U.S. to halt its dialogue with the PLO but he refused, under questioning, to condemn the raid.

The U.S. continued Thursday to turn aside calls to end the dialogue, but U.S. officials said President Bush almost certainly will be forced to halt the contacts if Arafat does not issue a condemnation and discipline those responsible.

The U.S. officials, who asked not to be identified, said Arafat's remarks at a press conference in Baghdad were what one called "totally unsatisfactory" in light of Bush's own condemnation of the raid as a "cowardly attempt to target innocent people."

In Jerusalem, Avi Pazner, spokesman for Prime Minister Shamir, called Arafat's statement that the PLO was not responsible for the raid "an outrageous lie," Reuter reported. "It's not his first nor his last," Pazner said. (Caryle Murphy, Washington Post, A27)

U.S. SENDS SHIPS TO LIBERIA FOR POSSIBLE EVACUATION

As a Liberian rebel army bent on toppling the government of President Samuel Doe pressed to within 25 miles of the capital of Monrovia, the Defense Department Thursday dispatched a six-ship Marine amphibious group to the Liberian coast to stand by to evacuate U.S. citizens and other non-combatants, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said.

Thursday night, the State Department ordered the departure of all non-essential personnel and their dependents from Liberia and strongly advised the approximately 1,100 private U.S. citizens there to leave the country immediately "due to deteriorating conditions," according to spokeswoman Sondra McCarty.

(Patrick Tyler, Washington Post, A32)

100,000 DEMONSTRATE IN KASHMIR**Peaceful Service Mourns Slain Leader; Solarz Visits New Delhi**

NEW DELHI -- Hooded separatist guerrillas delivered speeches and fired shots over the graves of slain Moslem demonstrators in Kashmir's summer capital of Srinagar Thursday as more than 100,000 mourned a slain religious leader....

Here in New Delhi, a visiting congressman with oversight responsibility for South Asian affairs, Rep. Solarz, said he believed the chances were about 50-50 that the continuing separatist uprising in Kashmir would lead India and Pakistan into war within six months.

(Steve Coll, Washington Post, A29)

Removal Of Indian Troops May Ease Tension With Pakistan, Diplomats Say

Heightened tension between India and Pakistan, caused by turmoil in the Indian province of Kashmir, may be easing somewhat after India withdrew an armored division from a key area along the border between the two nations, diplomatic sources here said Thursday.

India Embassy spokesman R.R. Dayakara said India this week withdrew the division from an area south of the Punjab -- a likely staging area for any military move against Pakistan.

He called the move "a very substantial gesture, and a unilateral one initiated by India to lessen tensions."

A Pakistani official here, speaking on the condition he not be identified, said there is "unofficial confirmation on our side that there is [military] movement" in that area. "Once it is absolutely confirmed, then it would be certainly reciprocated. It is very welcome news, if confirmed," he said.

(Al Kamen, Washington Post, A29)

NICARAGUA GETS FIRST INSTALLMENT OF U.S. AID

MANAGUA -- The first \$60 million of a long-stalled \$300 million U.S. aid package arrived in Nicaragua Thursday, a desperately needed cash infusion for a battered economy that saw 130 percent inflation in May alone.

"This country has in the past 10 years received billions of dollars, principally for military uses," Central Bank President Francisco Mayorga said. "Now we have to try to continue receiving money like this for industry, transport, construction, for us, for our jobs, to raise the economy of the country."

U.S. Charge d'Affaires John Leonard signed the \$60 million check Thursday afternoon at a news conference with President Chamorro. "This initial installment will mainly be used for urgently needed imports like oil and raw materials and machinery that are necessary for the agricultural sector," Leonard said.

(Michael Molinski, UPI)

CUBA BACKS U.N. PEACE EFFORTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

HAVANA -- Cuba supports the efforts of U.N. Secretary-General Perez to achieve peace in Central America, particularly in El Salvador, a Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman said Thursday.

He told Reuters this message was delivered to U.N. special envoy Alvaro de Soto by Cuban vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodriguez during talks in Havana Thursday. No further details were given of the outcome....

President Bush was expected to raise the subject of Cuban aid to the Salvadoran guerrillas during his summit meeting with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Washington.

(Reuter)

**3 PROMINENT DISSIDENTS DISAPPEAR IN BEIJING
Activists Had Planned News Conference**

BEIJING -- Three young political activists who have been the Communist government's only open critics since the student-led democracy movement was crushed by Chinese troops last year dropped out of sight Thursday, and the news conference they had planned with foreign journalists was canceled.

It was not clear if the three men were voluntarily lying low or had been taken into custody by authorities as a cautionary move before Sunday's first anniversary of the military attack on democracy demonstrators in Beijing that left hundreds dead. The three men had planned to issue an open letter to Chinese leaders calling for the release of political prisoners.

Police in Beijing and other cities have tightened security in the weeks leading up to the anniversary, and the official media have reported stepped-up arrests of vagrants and petty criminals, apparently to help ensure order.

(Kathy Wilhelm, Washington Post, A27)

**TRADE SURPLUS IS NOT NEGATIVE FACTOR,
PANEL SUGGESTS TO JAPAN'S GOVERNMENT**

TOKYO -- An influential government advisory council said Thursday that Japan's trade surplus, long an irritant to Washington, is not a negative factor in the world economy and may in fact be a good thing.

The chairman of the council, former vice minister of finance Tomomitsu Ohba, said he believes that Japan's current level of surplus is appropriate because it allows Japan to help finance the U.S. debt and the needs of developing nations....

Japan's Finance Ministry provided the staff for the advisory council and drafted its report. (Fred Hiatt, Washington Post, A32)

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MOVES TO REPEAL KEY APARTHEID LAW

CAPE TOWN -- The South African government, toppling one of the four remaining pillars of apartheid, published a bill Friday to end 37 years of racial segregation in public amenities.

(Reuter)

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NATIONAL NEWS

SOME HOUSING PROGRAMS STILL TROUBLED, HUD SAYS Reports To Congress Note Significant Problems, With Losses In The Millions Of Dollars

Several federal housing programs that were targeted for reform after scandals exposed long-term management problems are still poorly monitored and will continue to lose millions of dollars in the future, according to two new internal reports.

The reports sent to Congress this week suggest that the Department of Housing and Urban Development, though making strides in curtailing or restructuring some troubled programs, still faces significant problems.

In Secretary Kemp's semi-annual report to Congress, HUD states that the 304 audits of individual programs and housing authorities that remain unresolved represent a potential loss to the government of \$222.2 million....

"I knew that reforming HUD would be a marathon, not a sprint," Kemp said in a statement. "This report show that we're making great progress, and that while HUD is stronger, there is need for further reform."

(Gwen Ifill, Washington Post, A4)

CONGRESS FORCES HUD TO EAT PORK

Congress, which has made much of its investigation of influence-peddling at the HUD Department, has forced HUD to fund 40 projects earmarked for lawmakers' home districts.

Over the objections of Secretary Kemp and without debate, the lawmakers wrote into law language that requires Kemp to pay for the grants out of the same HUD discretionary fund that got his predecessor, Samuel Pierce, into trouble....

Some congressmen criticized the practice. "It was a sad day for country and the lowest point for congressional pork barreling in my eight years in Congress," said Rep. Bartlett.

(Ralph Hallow, Washington Times, A3)

COMMISSION TO RECOMMEND EXPANDED SERVICE FOR UNWANTED CHILDREN

LOS ANGELES -- The National Commission on Children will deliver a report to President Bush and Congress next year recommending an expansion of services to address the needs of unwanted children, the panel's chairman said Thursday.

"We just have to get our act together on kids," Sen. Rockefeller said at a news conference during the commission's one-day tour of Los Angeles. "If we don't do something for them now, tomorrow is going to be a dismal day in this country."

According to a fact sheet distributed by the commission, there were 2.4 million reports of abused and neglected children nationwide in 1989.

(Aurelio Rojas, UPI)

GROUP SAYS REAGAN PARTLY TO BLAME FOR RISE IN COLLEGE RACISM

Former President Reagan is at least partly to blame for ethnic attacks on as many as 1 million college students each year, a group that examines such trends said Thursday.

The attacks, ranging from verbal slurs to physical assaults, are directed at one in five minority students, officials of the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence said. Attacks on gay students appear to be even more frequent, the organization said....

Howard Ehrlich, research director for the 5-year-old group, said during a news conference that most college students came of "political age" during the Reagan presidency when "civil rights were being devalued in this society." ...

"There was absolutely no leadership during the Reagan Administration to show this nation how it could be better," said former Sen. Birch Bayh, chairman of the institute's board of directors.... Bayh said President Bush already has taken some "very positive steps" to deal with the problem.... He did say, however, that while Bush has spoken against racial insensitivity, "we'd like to see more than words."
(Robert Naylor, AP)

RULES EYED FOR LOAN AGENCIES

Stung by the costly savings and loan crisis, the Treasury Department and GAO are recommending far-reaching changes in the regulation of the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. and five other private corporations that have been created by the government to finance housing, agriculture and education.

The Treasury Thursday called on Congress to give a government agency the power to regulate the organizations.... The Treasury also said that the government-backed companies should be required to bolster their financial structures so they can qualify for the safest possible credit ratings without any government support.

Similar but less specific recommendations are made, according to well-informed sources, in a GAO analysis scheduled to be released next month of what are classified as "government-sponsored enterprises" or GSEs.
(Jerry Knight, Washington Post, F1)

RNC LAUNDERING OF \$50,000 ALLEGED

Coal Operator Says Gov. Moore Solicited Funds, Promised Pardon

A West Virginia coal operator who was awaiting trial on murder charges in 1988 claims that then-West Virginia Gov. Arch Moore solicited a \$50,000 campaign contribution from him in return for a promise of a pardon and that the funds were laundered through a Republican National Committee account to conceal the donation.

H. Paul Kinzer, who was acquitted of the murder charge, made the allegation in an interview published Sunday in the Charleston Gazette-Mail.

RNC spokeswoman Leslie Goodman said Kinzer's \$50,000 corporate check was made out to the Republican Governors Association, an arm of the RNC, and deposited in its state elections' corporate account.
(Charles Babcock, Washington Post, A14)

U.S. INDICTS UTAH FIRM ON POLLUTION CHARGES

SALT LAKE CITY -- Attorney General Thornburgh announced the first federal felony environmental prosecution in Utah Thursday, charging a defunct petroleum disposal company with illegally burning, dumping and storing hazardous waste, including surplus napalm bombs....

"An environmental crime is like a robbery or assault against all of us," Thornburgh said. The indictment provides a clear signal "to environmental profiteers seeking to improperly cash in on the growing waste-handling business," he said.

(AP, Washington Post, A20)

CALL HER 'GENERALISSIMO' OF WAR ON SMOKE

Some days, new Surgeon General Antonia Novello must get the feeling that her predecessor was not C. Everett Koop, but basketball star Wilt Chamberlain.

"You have awfully big shoes to fill," Dr. Novello was told Thursday -- and probably not for the first time -- at her premiere meeting with the Interagency Committee on Smoking and Health, which advises the federal government on health policies related to tobacco....

When one speaker said that the group is involved in fighting a war on tobacco and that she is "our general," Dr. Novello was ready to agree.

"You can just call me 'generalissimo,'" joked the uniformed Dr. Novello.

(Jay Malin, Washington Times, A4)

THE PENTAGON-HILL 'POLICY SHOOTOUT'**Aspin, Cheney Test Muscles On Personnel Pay, Benefits Funding**

Superpower leaders may be reaching historic arms control accords in Washington this week, but congressional and Pentagon leaders cannot seem to resolve a bitter fight over pay and benefits affecting thousands of military enlisted and officers.

One congressional aide calls it a "policy shootout." A member of Congress involved in the dispute says it is more down and dirty: "We can't believe this fight is taking place between two former colleagues."

The two former colleagues are Rep. Aspin and Secretary Cheney.

"Cheney's being stubborn," Aspin groused Thursday. "He's the holdout -- not us," said Cheney's chief spokesman, Pete Williams.

(Molly Moore, Washington Post, A17)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Abortion Splitting GOP Ranks," by Bob Minzesheimer, appears in USA Today, page 3A.

"California Redistricting Heats Up," by Jay Mathews, appears in The Washington Post, page A12.

"North Carolina Runoff Comes Alive In Final Days," by Paul Taylor, appears in The Washington Post, page A12.

"Chief Of U.S. Science Education Program Ousted," by William Booth, appears in The Washington Post, page A17.

NETWORK NEWS

Thursday evening, May 31

SUMMIT

ABC's Peter Jennings: We begin, of course, with day one of the Soviet-American summit here in Washington. The lofty diplomacy of good intentions in public; the real opportunity to get things done in private. On the South Lawn of the White House Thursday, Mr. Bush spoke of an open and honest search for common ground. Mr. Gorbachev spoke of a new relationship which might lead to a period of irreversible peace. And with those thoughts, shimmering in the bright sunshine, they went inside to negotiate some issues on which they have very different opinions.

ABC's Brit Hume: This summit is likely to be judged by the progress, or the lack of it, on the hitches that have developed in U.S.-Soviet relations since these two men first met at Malta in December. But outwardly at least, there was little sign of their disagreements on this first day.

(TV coverage: Presidents Bush and Gorbachev standing on dais during playing of Soviet national anthem.)

As they stood for their countries' anthems at this morning's welcoming ceremonies, the two leaders looked as they tried to sound: like strong allies in the cause of world peace. President Bush, eager to add Gorbachev to his list of personal friends among foreign leaders, made sure to praise the Soviet president's role in the tumultuous changes in Europe.

(President Bush: "Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you, as well, for the process of change you brought to your own country.")

The audience liked that, and so did Gorbachev.

(TV coverage: Gorbachev nodding his head.)

There was some mention of the major disagreements that are the main business of this summit, but not much. Mr. Bush, for example, brought up the tricky matter of Lithuanian independence as he touched briefly on the questions that divide the two leaders.

(President Bush: "Lithuania is one such issue. We believe that good faith dialogue between the Soviet leaders and representatives of the Baltic peoples is the proper approach and we hope to see that process go forward.")

For his part, Gorbachev managed to work in a mention of Nazi Germany, whose specter the Soviets cite as a basis for misgivings about a new, united Germany.

(President Gorbachev: "I have come to the United States with the impressions still fresh in my mind of how our people celebrated the 45th anniversary of the victory over Naziism and of my meetings with war veterans.")

The two leaders were scheduled to meet for an hour-and-a-half, but once they got into the Oval Office they stayed there for two hours and fifteen minutes, joined only by translators and note-takers - except, of course, for the obligatory photo opportunity.

(TV coverage: Presidents Bush and Gorbachev walking into Oval Office, then sitting in Oval Office.)

-more-

Hume continues:

(Marlin Fitzwater: "The meeting was friendly with both presidents being upbeat and at times animated.")

Fitzwater did say that the German and Lithuanian controversies had come up only in passing. But after this afternoon's meeting, Gorbachev told reporters at the White House that ideas about the German question had been raised that required further discussion.

(Gorbachev: "This exchange of views now requires that our foreign ministers now have a more in-depth discussion of these issues.")

Mr. Gorbachev made those remarks just a short time ago. We've been trying to find out exactly what he was talking about and the best information we have from senior administration officials is this: that at this afternoon's session when nearly all of the officials in the two parties were involved, Germany dominated. And that there was enough of a meeting of the minds that the two leaders decided to refer the matter to some kind of a subcommittee composed or lead by the secretary of state and foreign minister, and that will begin Friday. Exactly what the substance of those discussions was we do not yet know, but we should find out a little later this evening.

Jennings asks Hume: One of the things is that Germany is so complicated that nobody over there really expects it to be agreed on wholly at this summit meeting, right?

Hume: That's right. Both Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush have indicated more than once as this was getting under way that while it would be a major agenda item, nobody expected it to be settled here. And of course it couldn't because obviously the critical factor in all of this is what the new Germany will want to do; the new Germany will be sovereign. And the United States obviously cannot speak for the new Germany.

Jennings reports that shortly after Mr. Gorbachev left the White House this afternoon, he took one of his now-familiar strolls through the crowd. He was just about two blocks from the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue when he got out and worked both sides of the street. There was quite a change of scenery for Mr. Gorbachev at lunch Thursday. From heavy-duty diplomacy at the White House with Mr. Bush and Secretary Baker to some off the cuff diplomacy at the Soviet Embassy with the likes of Jane Fonda, Dizzy Gillespie and John Kenneth Galbraith.

ABC's Jim Laurie reports that Gorbachev sounded a repeated theme at the luncheon: that his policies were still on course. All that was needed was caution and patience. On Germany and conventional arms control the message was: slow down. He again ridiculed Lithuania for moving too fast on independence.

(Gorbachev: "Let's not hurry, because such changes do not happen overnight, because only in Lithuania they can overnight decide to question about seceding from the Soviet Union.")

He pleaded for time, citing an old Russian proverb: measure seven times but cut once.

(Gorbachev: "Be very cautious to consider a matter seven times, or even one hundred times, before one takes a decision.")

-more-

Laurie continues: Gorbachev rejected the idea that the Soviet Union was enfeebled by its economic crisis and ethnic turmoil. Perestroika, he said, by its very nature involved instability. If he had to do it over again, he would choose the same path.

(Gorbachev: "We have no other way to proceed and there is no turning back.")

Gorbachev, the man who a few years ago seemed such a visionary, such an advocate of change, now seems an opponent of change -- changes he cannot control.

Robert Legvold of Columbia University comments that the subtext of this meeting is that the U.S. has to be responsive to the current struggle within the Soviet Union to affect these changes and help. It's not yet put in direct terms -- that is, we need your economic assistance, although I think they're beginning to tiptoe up to that issue. If the West isn't responsive and doesn't cooperate, I think Gorbachev's saying that the world will get nasty for all of us because we'll have problems in the Soviet Union.

Jennings asks Legvold how weak he thinks Gorbachev is politically.

Legvold comments that there is a paradox: he is stronger politically in a formal, institutional sense because of these new arrangements around this powerful presidency that he now occupies. That means that he's stronger in his ability to remain where he is, but on the other hand he's much weaker in terms of his ability to do things. His authority within the country has weakened enormously in the last six months.

Jennings reports that the Soviet republic of Moldavia has recognized the independence of Lithuania. Boris Yeltsin Thursday, however, said that he is willing to put aside his personal differences with Mr. Gorbachev and will try to work with the Soviet leader when Mr. Gorbachev returns from the summit. The question is, will Mr. Gorbachev put aside his differences with Mr. Yeltsin?

ABC's John McWethy reports on the outline of the START treaty the two leaders will sign Friday. Contained in that outline is the pledge for the first time to make huge cuts in long-range nuclear weapons that can be launched from land, from sea and from aircraft. Though details of the treaty will still take months to finalize, the push to get this far is already controversial.

(Richard Perle, former Assistant Secretary of Defense: "We're in an extraordinarily strong position and I think we are squandering that strength in haste to get an agreement.")

Others put the arms control agreement in a different context.

(Michael Mandelbaum, Council on Foreign Relations: "The liberal democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe are very much in our interest and those developments are far more important to us than any of the details of the arms negotiations.")

There is very little controversy on chemical weapons. The two leaders will sign an agreement to cut by at least 80% each sides' stockpiles of poison gas and to stop producing chemical weapons immediately. On conventional weapons, U.S. officials say Gorbachev now appears ready to move again after some foot-dragging.

Jennings asks if McWethy has the sense that we're getting real progress even on conventional weapons on this first day.

-more-

McWethy: That is the first glimpse that we are getting on it....
(ABC-Lead)

ABC's John Martin reports on the celebrities at Thursday's luncheon at the Soviet Embassy and on the guest list for Thursday night's White House dinner.
(ABC-11)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: Presidents Bush and Gorbachev are winding up their first day at the summit with a state dinner at the White House. For that, the guest list and the menu are fixed; we know what to expect. As for Gorbachev, he remains his unpredictable self. This is what happened Thursday night when he left the White House en route back to the Soviet Embassy. A little walk-about in the crowd, conveniently enough just in front of the United States Treasury on Pennsylvania Avenue. We trust he wasn't going to look for a withdrawal. The summit itself is a good deal more uncertain, of course. Some issues have been worked out but many major problems remain to be resolved.

NBC's John Cochran: The American side gave Gorbachev the full treatment.

(TV coverage: Arrival ceremony on South Lawn.)

President Bush clearly regards Gorbachev, even a weakened Gorbachev, as the man who makes the decisions in the Kremlin.

(TV coverage: President Bush and Gorbachev reviewing color guard.)

The weather was perfect, but the opening remarks reflected the outlook for the summit itself: only partly sunny.

(President Bush: "Mr. President, I firmly believe as you have said, that there is no turning back from the path you have chosen. Since our meeting in Malta we've reached agreements in important areas, each one proof that when mutual respect prevails, progress is possible. But the agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of some of the differences that remain.")

The President then warmed the hearts of his own party's conservatives by specifically mentioning the 'L' word.

(President Bush: "Lithuania is one such issue. We believe that good faith dialogue between the Soviet leaders and representatives of the Baltic peoples is the proper approach.")

For his part, Gorbachev ignored the Lithuanian stand-off, but deftly and subtly brought up one of his concerns; without mentioning Germany by name, the Soviet leader explained why his countrymen fear a reunited Germany.

(Gorbachev: "I have come to the United States with the impressions still fresh in my mind of how our people celebrated the 45th anniversary of the victory over Naziism and of my meetings with war veterans.")

Gorbachev said the Soviet people believe an improved relationship with the U.S. can prevent a repetition of the two world wars, both fought against Germany. The two leaders met for two hours and 15 minutes. Spokesmen said they were upbeat and energetic. They talked of their hopes for continuing to improve relations but they skirted the tough issues, saving them for later sessions.

(TV coverage: Presidents Bush and Gorbachev sitting in Oval Office.)

Gorbachev then returned to the Soviet Embassy for lunch with 40 Americans described as intellectuals, although some are better known for other qualities.

-more-

Cochran continues: They heard Gorbachev say the Soviet Union will not try to be a carbon copy of Western countries. But don't worry, he said, our reforms will continue.

(Gorbachev: "We have no other way to proceed and there is no turning back.")

Friday, Bush and Gorbachev will sign specific and important agreements on chemical weapons, nuclear testing and an understanding to finish work on a START nuclear weapons treaty by the end of the year. As Gorbachev returned for a second meeting with Bush, White House aides said they do not expect agreement on NATO membership for a united Germany. Gorbachev later said Bush defended his viewpoint and the Soviet leader seemed irritated about it.

(Gorbachev: "I think that dictating is unacceptable.")

Irritated or not, Gorbachev agreed with President Bush that the German problem is so important that it deserves extra attention. So both leaders have ordered Secretary of State Baker and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, to start work right away on this problem. Gorbachev did say he heard one or two things that might be encouraging about Germany. So things are starting to happen at this summit.

NBC's John Dancy reports on the re-emergence of the German question. Even though modern Germany is thoroughly peaceful and democratic, Soviet officials worry about the future.

(Valentin Falin: Central Committee member: "We have to take care together with the Germans about the idea that the shadow of the past, it never reach back.")

Helmut Schaefer [phonetic], Germany's deputy foreign minister, says troop cuts are already under discussion.

(Schaefer: "We spoke about, let's say 150 thousand people less than now from 500 to 350 thousand. These are ideas we are discussing; it depends on the Russians, of course.")

Even if Germany and the Soviets and the Americans can all agree on Germany remaining in NATO, it is likely to be a far different NATO, more of a political than a military alliance.

Brokaw asks William Hyland of Foreign Affairs if there's a lot to worry about in a reunified Germany with a military presence in the heart of Europe.

Hyland replies that there's a lot to be worried about Germany, but their scheme for solving it -- putting it in a large amorphous European security organization, is probably dangerous because then Germany floats more or less free. This doesn't reassure the Western countries, including the U.S., that would like to see Germany embedded in a clear alliance structure over which we would have some influence and so would Britain and France. In the Gorbachev system, Germany is free to maneuver and also can be an object for the other countries to try and solicit their alignment.

Brokaw asks Vitaly Churkin of the Soviet Foreign Ministry: Based on what we heard Thursday night, it sounds like Mr. Gorbachev may be willing to accept this new formulation, or at least he wants to take a harder look at it?

Churkin: No. I think what we have seen is that, as we had predicted, the conversation was not deadlocked. Some new ideas have been expressed and the foreign ministers did get their instructions to continue talking about it together with experts.... No matter if we want it or not, Europe is outgrowing NATO and the sooner we address this problem or face it, the better it is, because otherwise we might be behind times.

Brokaw: Hyland makes a good point, doesn't he, that it's better to have Germany under some kind of disciplined control than to have it out there by himself based on the experiences of the 20th century?

Churkin: I think there is a contradiction in it. They are saying you should not discriminate Germany, single it out in a negative way, at the same time they are talking about containing it. The whole European security system should contain any movement towards aggression on anybody's part and this is exactly one of the objectives of our idea of a European security system for everybody.

Brokaw asks if **Mr. Hyland** was struck by the statement of Gorbachev at the luncheon in which he asked for patience on the part of the U.S.

Hyland replies that it was almost an appeal for compassion from some major figures like Henry Kissinger. I think Gorbachev understands that if he gets support here that it helps him back home and that's in part why he's here.

Churkin: I don't think Mr. Gorbachev is very sentimental and Kissinger's compassion cannot help him much. But understanding in the United States of the fact that major reform does take time is important.
(NBC-Lead)

NBC's Andrea Mitchell: For Raisa Gorbachev, the White House welcome was as sunny as the weather.

(President Bush: "Mr. President, you've brought us a beautiful day and you brought back Mrs. Gorbachev that brings joy to all of our hearts. A hearty welcome to her as well.")

The Cold War was indeed over, and the new detente included the first ladies. They left for a private tea, purposely held upstairs in the more intimate family quarters. Mrs. Bush described Mrs. Gorbachev as knowledgeable, warm and very beautiful. Perhaps most endearing to Barbara Bush: her Russian visitor had bonded with First Dog Millie. None of the not-very-diplomatic arm-wrestling of the Reagan years.... Mrs. Gorbachev has strong political views and expresses them freely. It is something many people admire.

(Pamela Harriman: "I would like to drink to Raisa...and what she is doing to bring women in her country into perestroika and the new world of the '90's.")

Later, Mrs. Gorbachev was not shy about inspecting an historic photograph presented to her by Marilyn Quayle.

(Raisa Gorbachev: "May I have a look?

Mrs. Quayle: "Of course you can [laughter], so you can see what you got.")

In another sign of a warmer relationship, Mrs. Gorbachev will spend all day Friday with Mrs. Bush, who has invited her to share the commencement platform at Wellesley College.
(NBC-5)

NBC's John Chancellor comments on the internal strife in the Soviet Union. Independence is breaking out all over. Almost anything is possible at a summit conference, especially when Mikhail Gorbachev is in attendance, but it's not likely that he'll change his position on Lithuania. (NBC-7)

CBS's Dan Rather: President Gorbachev came to this summit looking for help on trade, on massive cuts in military spending, on fears about German unification. The outlook tonight is that he may get much of what he needs on all three counts. There are especially indications of progress on settling the tough German question. Gorbachev emerged from the White House just a short while ago and spoke of what he called new ideas to address Soviet concerns over a possible German superpower politically and militarily allied with the West. Word of this came after Gorbachev and President Bush talked one-on-one, talked overtime and said it went well.

(TV coverage: Arrival ceremony on South Lawn.)

Never has a U.S. president laid out a redder carpet for a Soviet leader. Never has a Soviet leader needed one so badly. It showed in almost every gesture, with almost every word.

(President Bush: "I firmly believe, as you have said, that there is no turning back from the path you have chosen.")

There was added meaning to all this pomp and ceremony. The summit scene was being beamed live and direct in prime time to Soviets watching in sub-standard apartments, coming home from jobs they don't like or stand to lose. What they saw here in Washington was a sight for sore eyes, a morale boost. For his part, Gorbachev was more smile than steal today, no tough talk in public at least about a superpower Germany in NATO. Most of Gorbachev's talk aimed at crowd pleasing at home.

(President Gorbachev: "The tensions of the Cold War are disappearing. The fog of prejudice...and animosity is vanishing.")

CBS's Lesley Stahl: Both sides brought new proposals to the summit table to resolve that one major area of disagreement, the issue of a united Germany inside NATO. Late today, after their second meeting, Gorbachev signaled progress on Germany.

(Gorbachev: "I think since we have decided our ministers and experts should have a more in-depth discussion of what was discussed today, I think that means that something has emerged that requires such -- ")

There's a sense that the two leaders are trying hard, both of them, to reach a compromise on Germany and blow away the clouds of contention that led up to the summit. And yet while the tone here was one of conciliation, areas of disagreement do persist.

(President Bush: "Lithuania is one such issue. We believe that good-faith dialogue between the Soviet leaders and representatives of the Baltic peoples is the proper approach.")

And in veiled terms Gorbachev explained his countrymen's fear of a reunited Germany.

(Gorbachev: "With hope that the tragedies of the 20th century, those horrible wars, will forever remain a thing of the past.") The first Bush-Gorbachev meeting was to have included their advisors, but the two men decided to meet alone all morning.

Stahl continues: Avoiding the unwavering tone of Wednesday on the issue of Germany and NATO, President Bush assured Gorbachev that he is sympathetic to Moscow's concerns.

(Gen. Scowcroft: "For Gorbachev and for the Russians, a unified Germany inside NATO is sort of a humiliation. And I think it's important that we be cognizant of their sensitivity on the point.") Still, Secretary Baker and other officials continued to insist that any compromise must involve a united Germany inside NATO.

(Marlin Fitzwater: "We point to the Helsinki Final Act, which offers the countries the opportunity to choose their alliance.") Officials say the summit is going so well that it's likely that Presidents Bush and Gorbachev will meet two more times this year, one to sign a START Treaty -- they're going to initial that Friday -- and a second time, possibly to sign a treaty on reducing conventional forces in Europe.

Rather reports Gorbachev is playing it with gusto.

(TV coverage: Gorbachev getting out of his limousine, drawing a crowd just blocks from the White House.)

CBS's Barry Petersen reports that this is the best Gorbachev has looked since this North American summit began. He seemed to be enjoying himself and have a lot more confidence. High on Gorbachev's agenda today was some pretty aggressive damage control, starting with those first private moments with George Bush.

(TV coverage: The two leaders walking.)

(Gorbachev at lunch: "I said to the President that some people say we could apply some pressure on the Soviet Union because it's enfeebled now, but how can you say someone is weak when perestroika is underway? All the instability, all the changes are but an indication of its fundamental nature.")

The message at his lunch with prominent Americans from Jane Fonda to Henry Kissinger: Don't believe everything you read about me in the papers; I'm not on the ropes. As for those troubles back home, those are part of the growing pains as Communism gives way to Capitalism.

(Gorbachev: "In order to have a healthy child, one has to wait nine months. Americans know pretty well about what a market is. But we are innocents, so to say, as far as the market is concerned. We have to start from scratch.")

Once again, he dragged out his big gun: charisma. And one after another of his American guests stood to sing his praises. And if change is his favorite melody in Moscow, cooperation was the song he was humming in this capital.

CBS's Peter Van Sant reports from Soviet farms on the inefficient farm economy. While Gorbachev plays to adoring crowds in North America, in the Soviet countryside few people are cheering.

CBS's Bruce Morton reports on Raisa Gorbachev. This trip, she has been a model diplomat. Mrs. Bush, through a spokeswoman, called Mrs. Gorbachev very warm. And so far she has done everything a good soldier of a first lady would do. It's a lot different from last time.

(CBS-Lead)

Rather: Late tonight, President Bush spoke to reporters and indicated he was buoyed by Gorbachev's optimism stated just a bit earlier that the German question perhaps can be worked out.... On the first day of the summit, President Bush embracing Gorbachev, with movement now indicated on the German question, with photo opportunities being beamed live and direct prime time to the Soviet folks back home, all of this aimed at boosting Gorbachev -- pictures in line with what is apparently is going on behind the scenes. Perhaps one of the most telling moments of the day: Early in his opening remarks, Gorbachev spoke of the U.S.-Soviet relationship using three words: stability, clarity and predictability. Three words that could not be used to describe what's going on right now inside his own country. (CBS-6)

SOVIET FARM ECONOMY

CBS's Anthony Mason reports on backward, inefficient Soviet farming. (CBS-4)

SOVIET MILITARY

CBS's David Martin reports on the problems of the Soviet military. To hear junior officers tell it, scarce resources are being squandered on a bloated and corrupt military that is not prepared to fight. There has been an eight-fold increase in the number of young men refusing to report for military duty, and officers are quitting. (CBS-5)

PALESTINIAN ATTACK/PLO INVOLVEMENT

Jennings reports that PLO leader Arafat denied that his organization was responsible for Wednesday's guerrilla raid on Israeli beaches. Arafat said he has no personal authority to act against Abul Abbas. (ABC-2)

Brokaw reports the State Department has issued a Middle East travel alert Thursday night because of recent terrorist incidents. PLO chairman Arafat denied that his group had any role in Wednesday's amphibious assault, but at the same time he refused to condemn it. (NBC-5)

LIBERIA

RATHER reports CBS has been told the U.S. is planning to evacuate Americans and other civilians from Liberia, where a rebel army is nearing the capital. CBS's David Martin reports an amphibious force carrying 2,000 U.S. marines will reach Liberia early next week. Martin says the U.S. is also considering evacuation by military or charter planes. Liberian President Doe refused to resign. (CBS-2, NBC-2)

MARCOS TRIAL

Jennings reports that Imelda Marcos, coughing up blood, collapsed at her trial on racketeering charges. She was carried from the courtroom on a stretcher and Thursday night is listed in stable condition. (ABC-8, NBC-2, CBS-3)

FLOODING

NBC's Kenley Jones reports on flooding in Texas and Louisiana. Some places received up to six inches of rain, but disaster seems to have been narrowly avoided. (NBC-3)

NAVEL ACADEMY

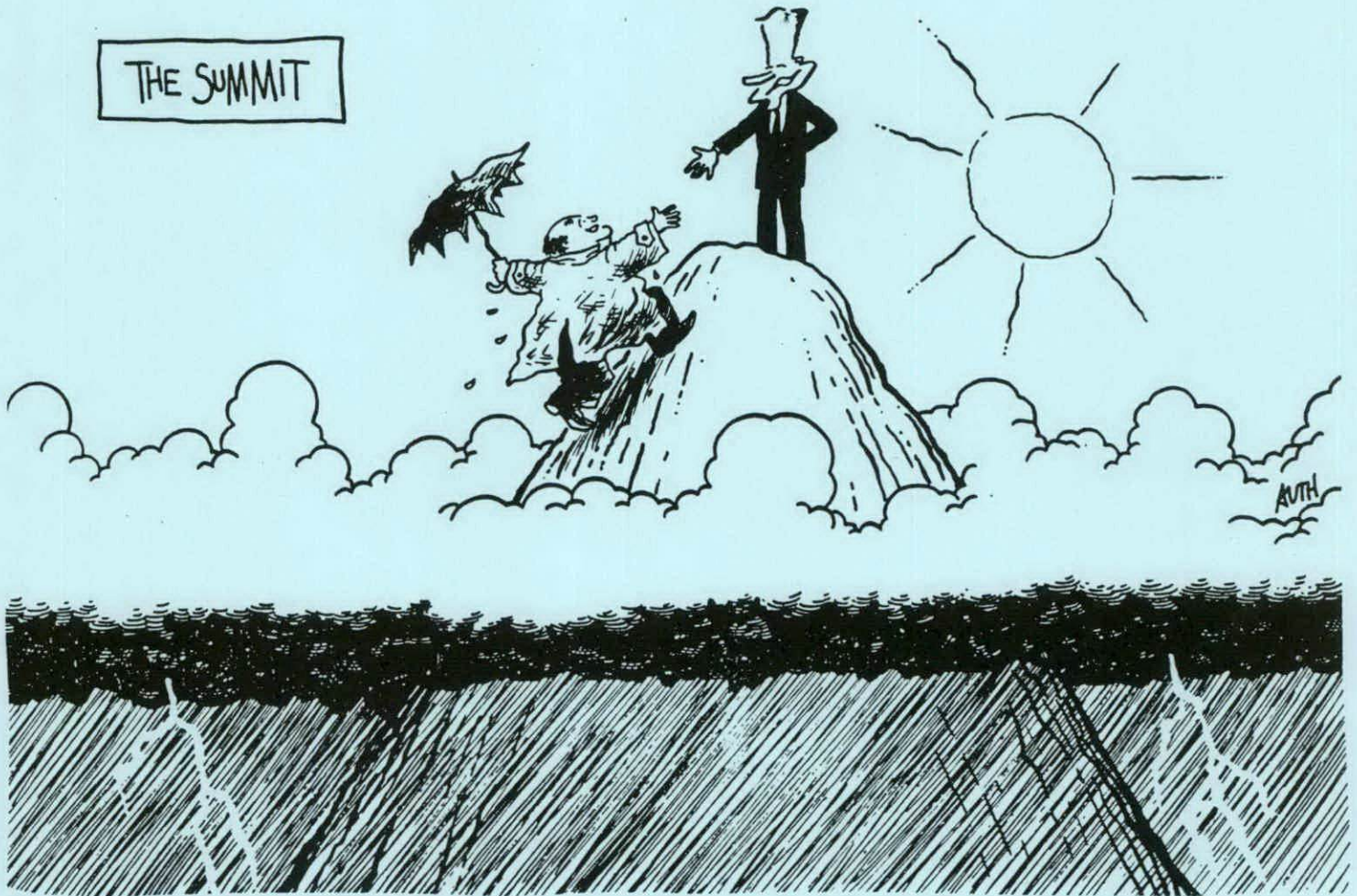
Jennings reports that graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy were surprised to find that their diplomas stated that they had graduated from the U.S. "Navel" Academy. (ABC-7, NBC-9)

NBC's Stan Bernard reports on Thursday's West Point graduation ceremonies and the identity crisis facing the Academy. (Gen. Colin Powell: "The language of my generation: Cold War, confrontation, containment -- is disappearing in the wake of revolutionary change. We must identify what threats have receded and which have not.") (NBC-10)

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Friday Follies

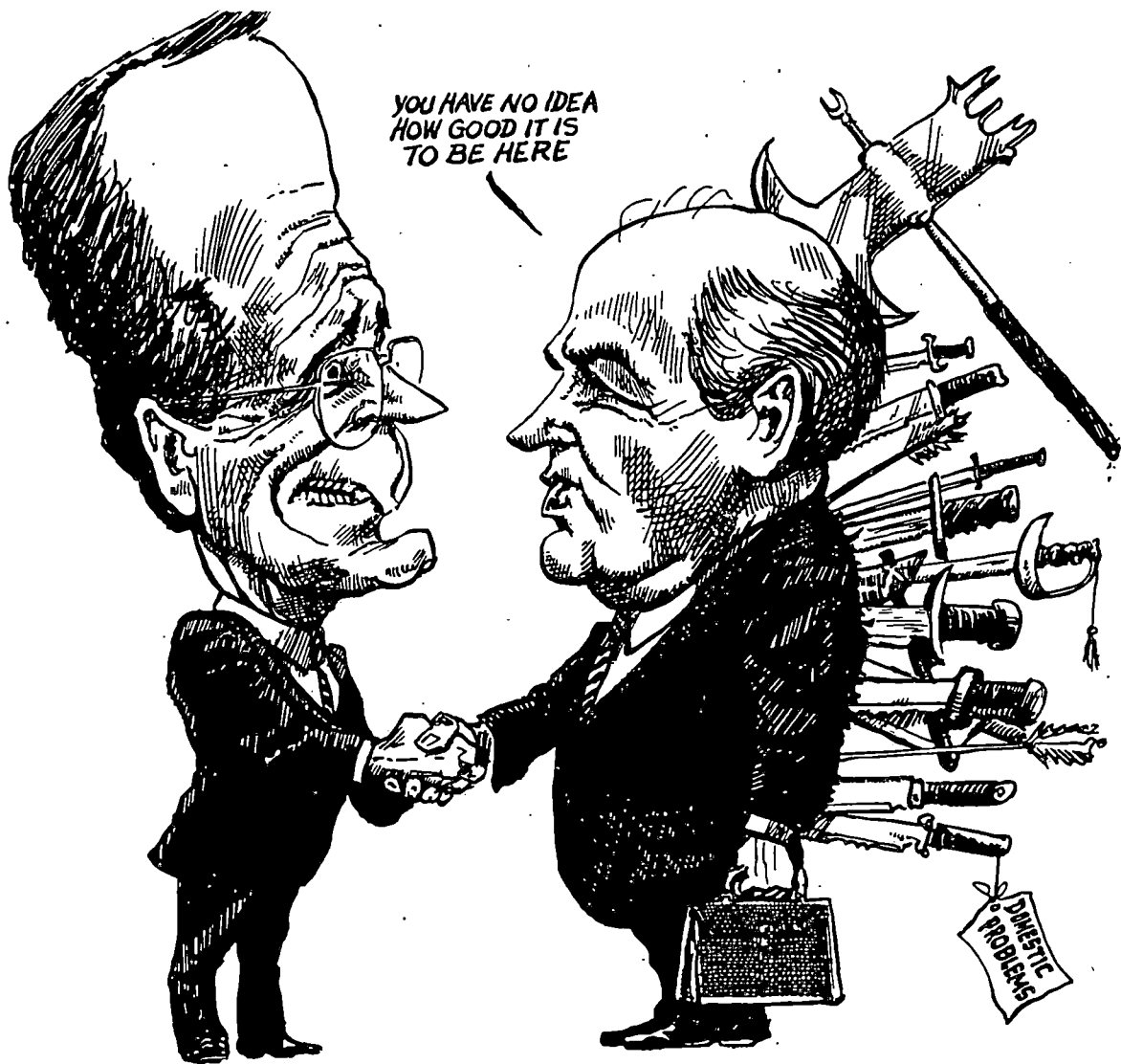
THE SUMMIT



- a look at politics through the eyes of the political cartoonist -

"I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles. My constituents don't know how to read. But they can't help seeing them damned pictures."
(William Marcy Tweed speaking of Thomas Nast, 1871)

WHITE HOUSE NEWS SUMMARY SPECIAL EDITION
VOLUME II ISSUE 22 -- June 1, 1990



Now, remember... a lot has happened to Gorbachev since our last summit, and there may be some noticeable changes in him. Gee, it sure is taking him a long time to come out.





YELTSIN, YOU'RE STILL NOT HELPING ANY.



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SUMMER 1998
THE ATLANTIC CENTINEL



INFORMER The Miami Herald

GORBACHEV IS PUTTING HIS PERESTROIKA TO A PUBLIC REFERENDUM. HE'S TELLING THE PEOPLE THAT HUGE PRICE INCREASES AND MASSIVE JOB LAYOFFS ARE INEVITABLE SACRIFICES FOR FREE-MARKET REFORMS. IN OTHER WORDS, HE'S BEING COMPLETELY HONEST WITH THE VOTERS !!!

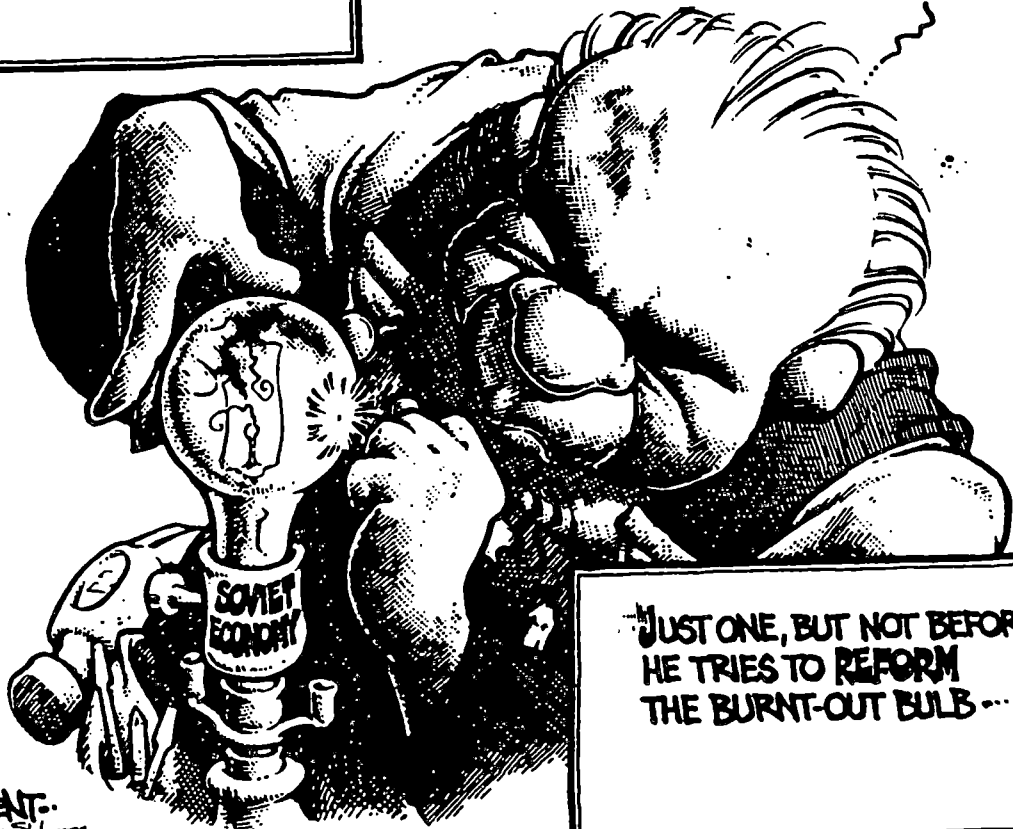
...IS HE CRAZY!!





HOW MANY SOVIET PRESIDENTS
DOES IT TAKE TO CHANGE
A LIGHT BULB?

C'MON...
C'MON...



JUST ONE, BUT NOT BEFORE
HE TRIES TO REFORM
THE BURNT-OUT BULB....

BEN SARGENT.
© 1990 The New York Times
Universal Press Syndicate.

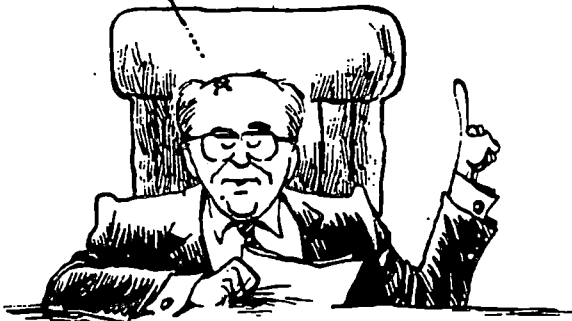
DESPITE MY REFORM ATTEMPTS,
THE ECONOMY IS IN SHAMBLES.



OUR SYSTEM ISN'T WORKING, SO WE
MUST TAKE STEPS TO RESHAPE IT AND
MAKE IT MORE LIKE THE WEST'S.



THEREFORE, YOUR FOOD PRICES
WILL DOUBLE AND I WILL GET
A 160% PAY RAISE.



GOD, I LOVE
CAPITALISM!





ROGER
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UNITED FEATURE SYNDICATE



IMAGINE...WITH GORBACHEV'S
PLAN WE COULD ACTUALLY
BECOME HOME OWNERS.

YEAH...AND WITH
A SECOND MORTGAGE
WE COULD ACTUALLY
BUY GROCERIES.



WELLESLEY COLLEGE

WE HERE FEEL MRS. GORBACHEV
IS A MUCH BETTER ROLE MODEL
FOR THE WORLD THAN MRS. BUSH!



LITHUANIA

HUH?

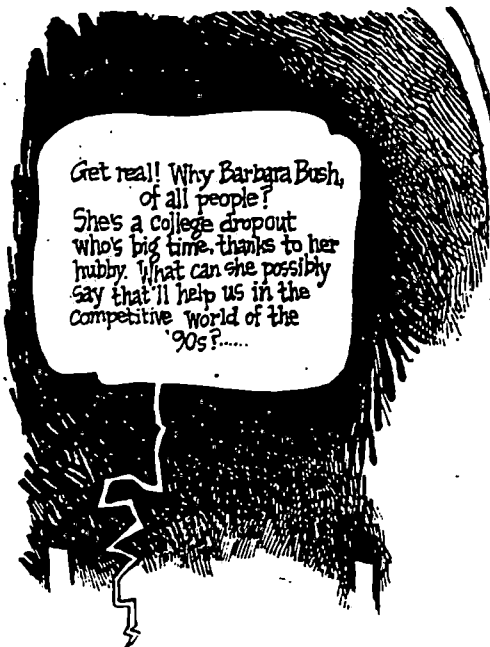


1990. PHILADELPHIA TIMES-TRIBUNE
NORTHAMERICA SYND. 5/16

PROOFING



"COULD YOU HOLD IT DOWN A MINUTE?"" I'M TRYING TO TELL
DADDY HE NEEDS TO SEND ME MONEY!"



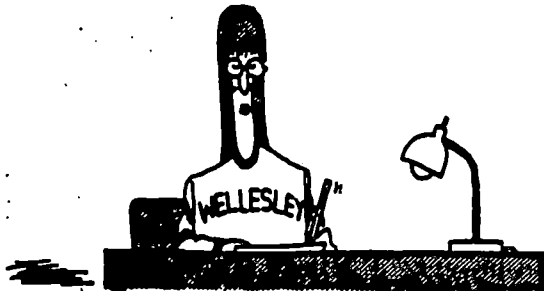
Get real! Why Barbara Bush,
of all people?
She's a college dropout
who's big time, thanks to her
hubby. What can she possibly
say that'll help us in the
competitive world of the
'90s?.....



SIT UP AND
SPIT OUT
YOUR GUM!



Dear Dad,
Well, it looks as though
Barbara Bush will be our
commencement speaker after all.



I, for one, am outraged.
Let's face it, the woman owes
practically everything to her
husband.

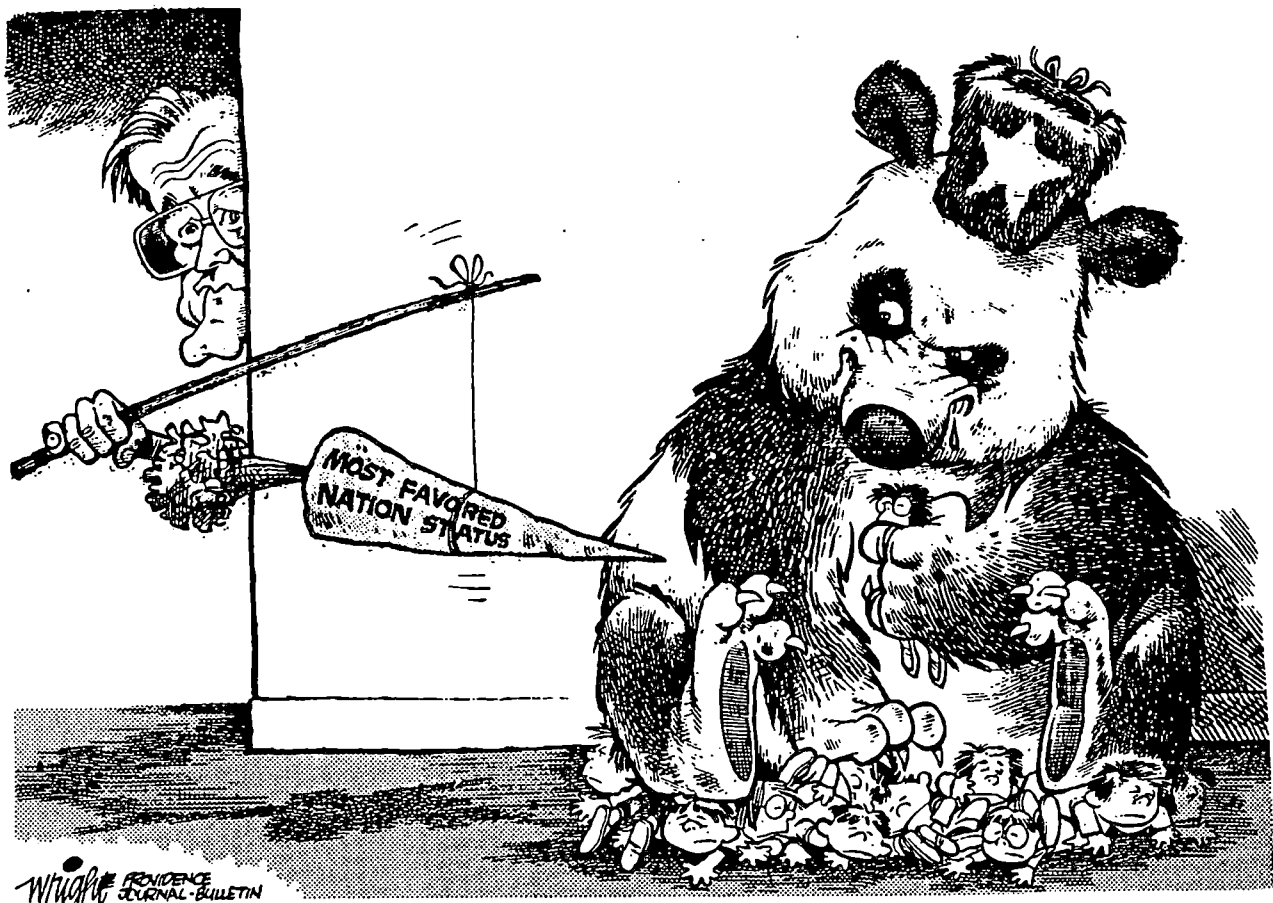


How could any woman who
is so completely dependant on
a man be a good role-model
for us at Wellesley?



P.S. Please send money.





WINGARD PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN



THE POOR SOUL

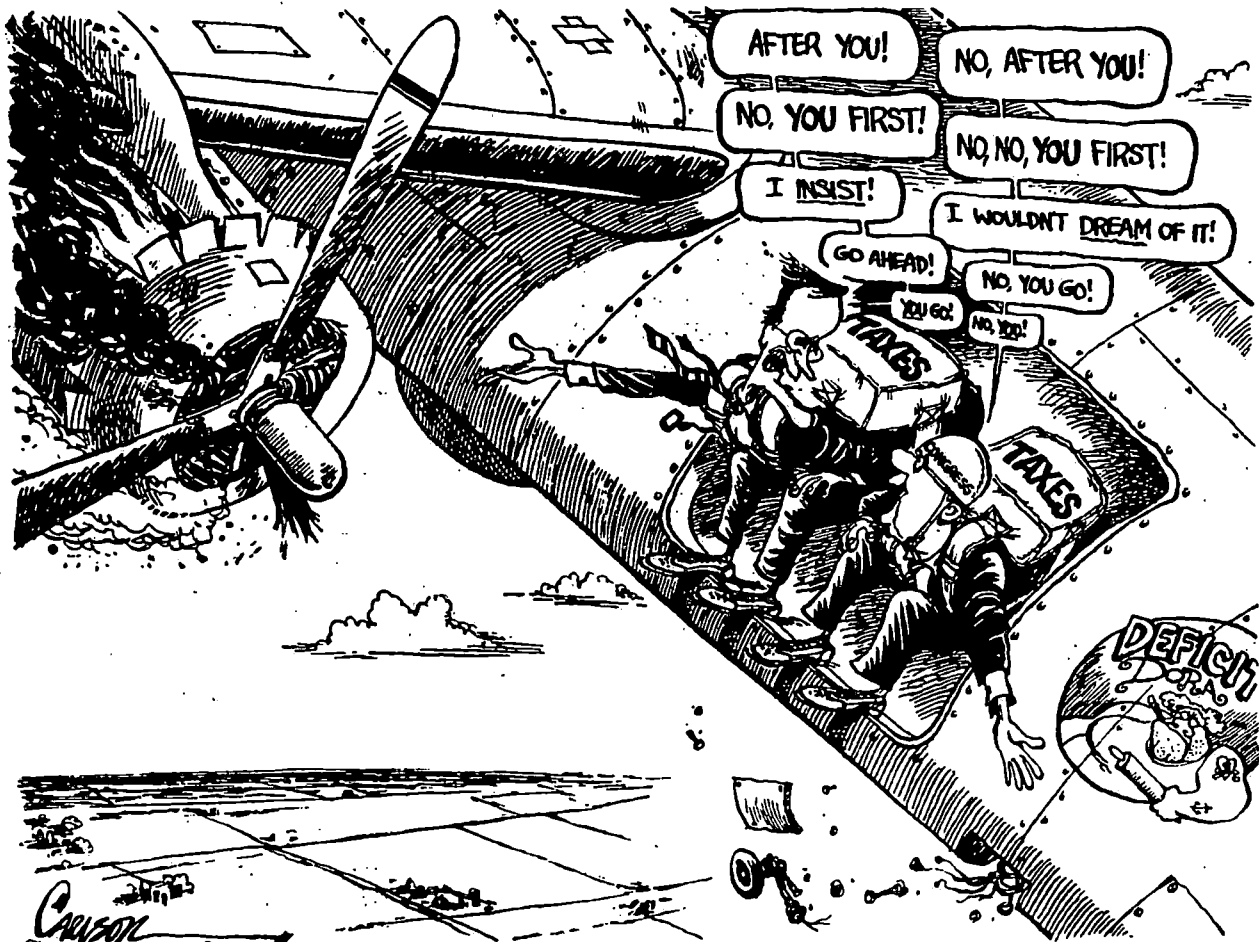
SRING

OH GREAT AND WISE GURU, I'M BEING TRAPPED INTO RAISING TAXES — WHAT SHOULD I DO?

I'LL CALL NANCY — WHAT'S YOUR SIGN?



G. K. Fisher



AFTER YOU!

NO, AFTER YOU!

NO, YOU FIRST!

NO, NO, YOU FIRST!

I INSIST!

I WOULDN'T DREAM OF IT!

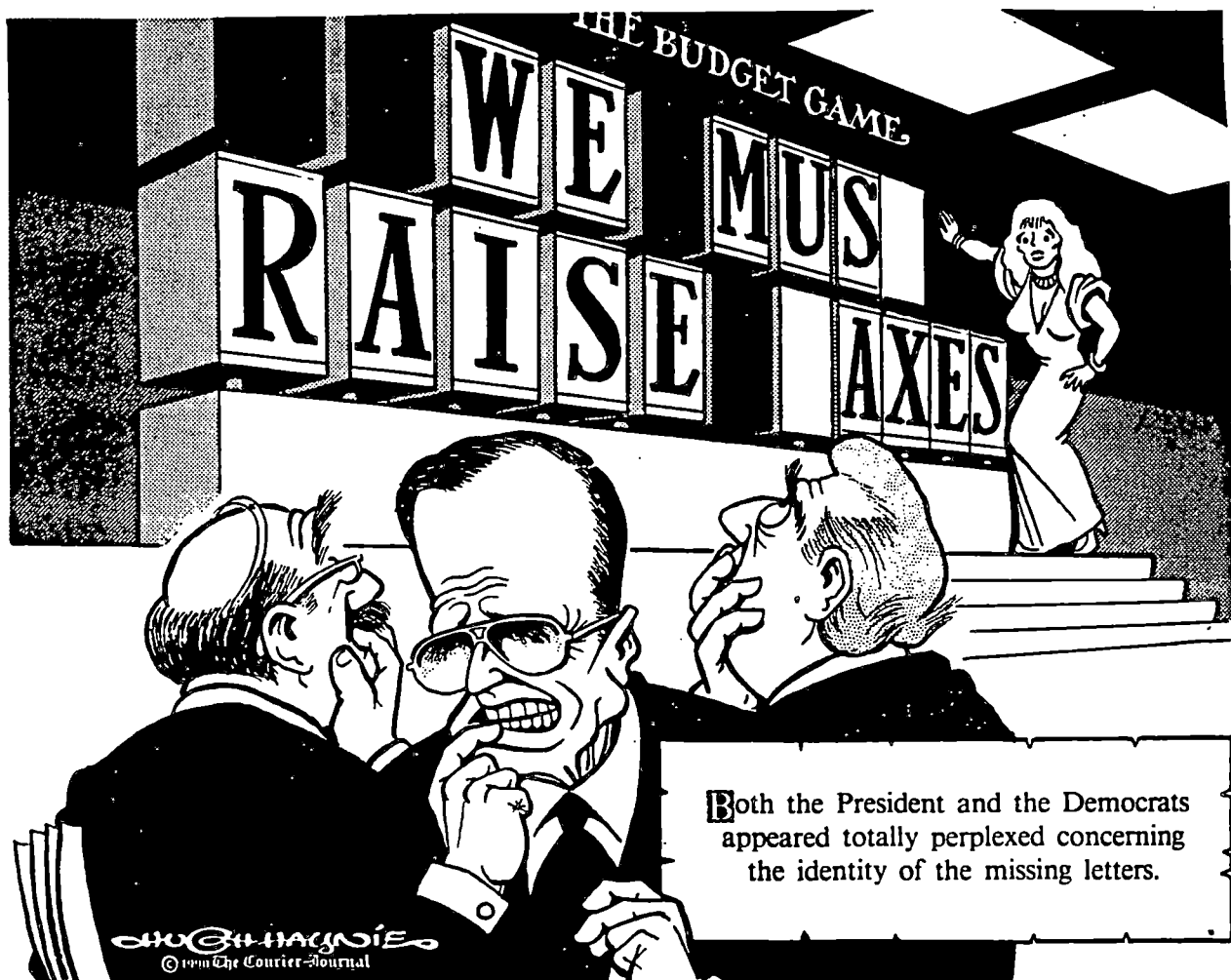
GO AHEAD!

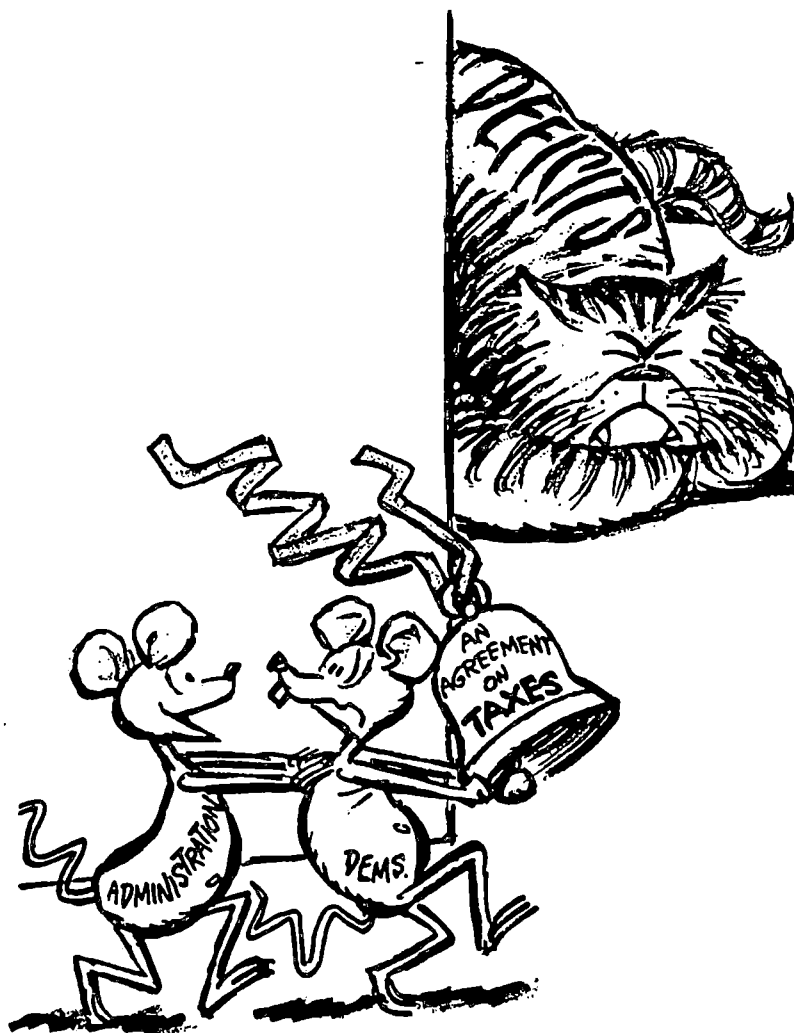
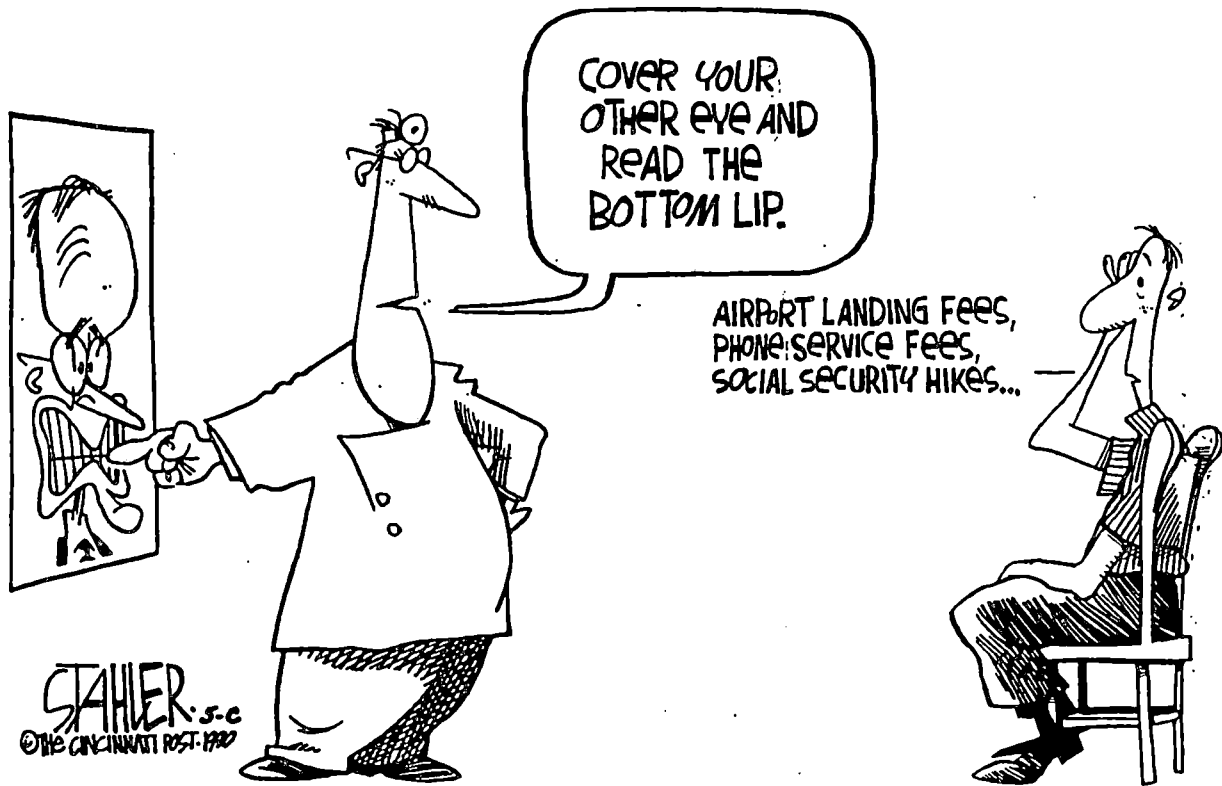
NO, YOU GO!

YOU GO!

NO, YOU!

CARLSON
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"You can be sure I'll be right behind you"

GLUB GLUB
GLUB GLUB
GLUB

ALL RIGHT... DOUBLESPEED!!

BOOM! BOOM!
BOOM! BOOM!
BOOM!

HUFF PUFF
PANT PANT

TAXPAYERS

SAVINGS
AND
LOAN
BANK
CORP.
INCORPORATED
1900-1910

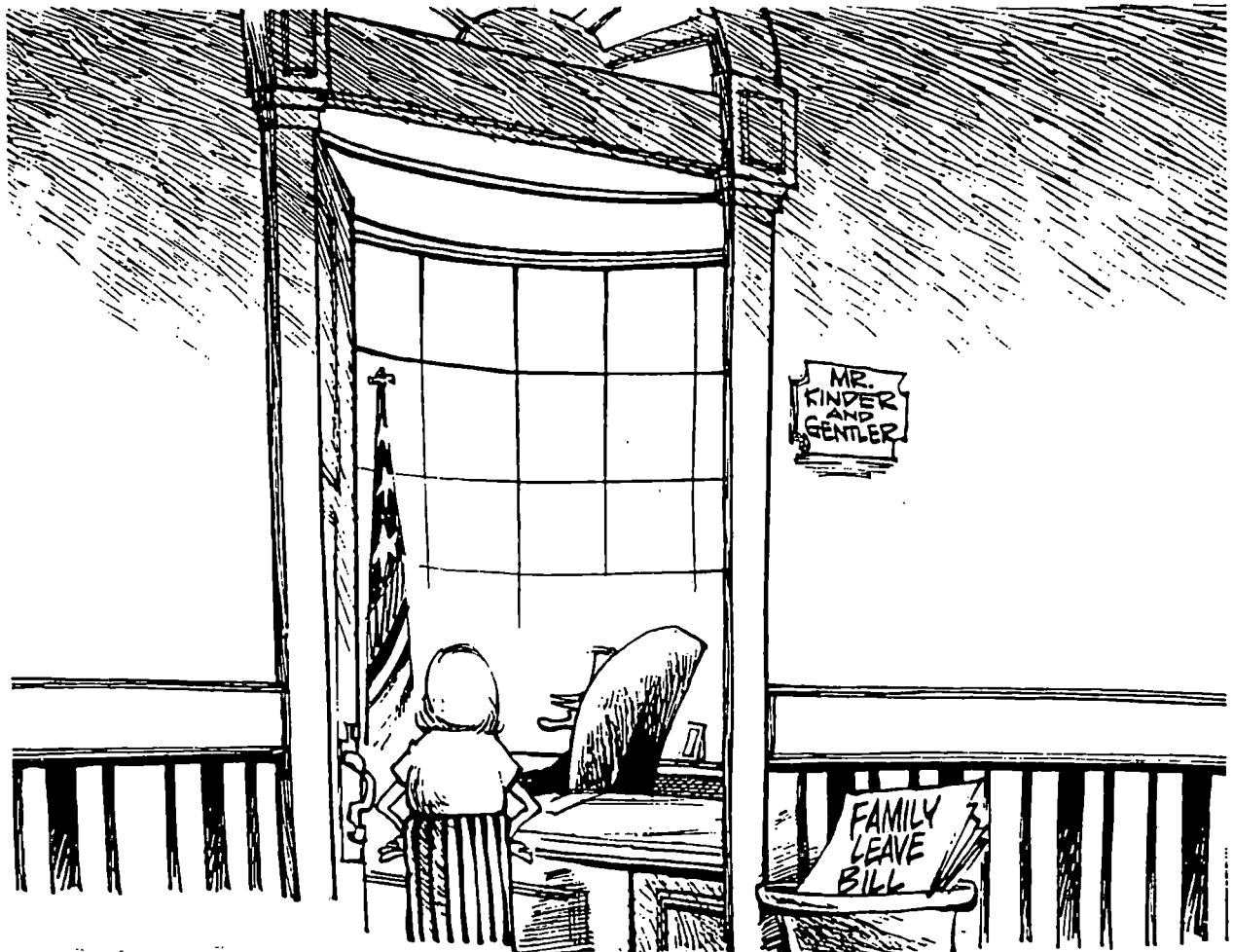
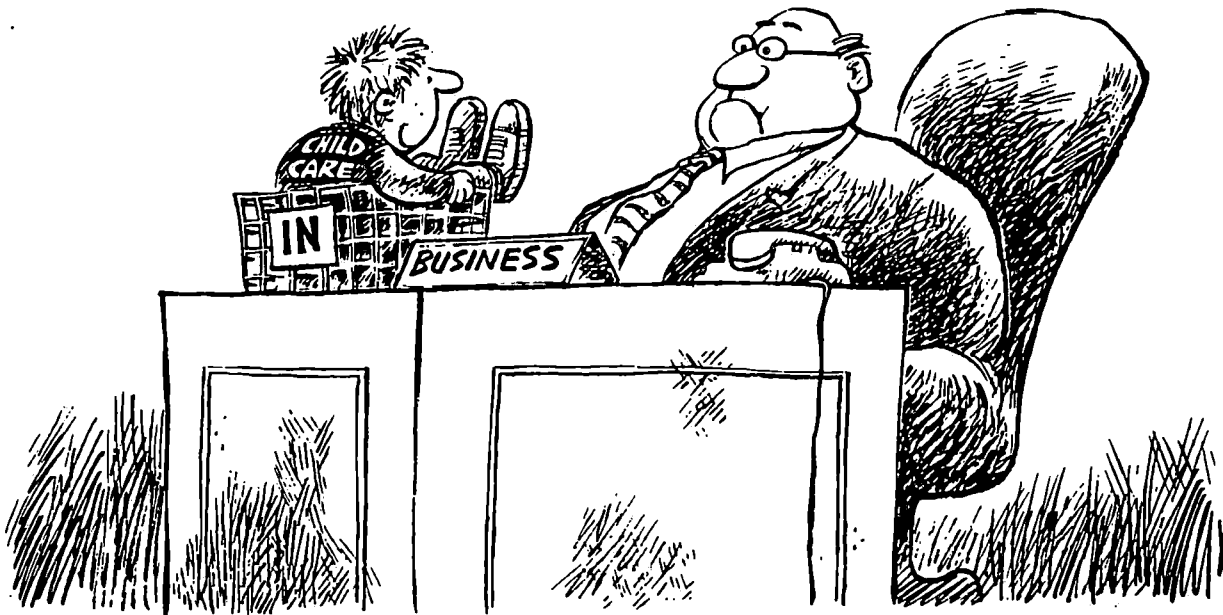
HERBERT
BOSTON HERALD 1990

GOLLY, I WOULD HAVE
MENTIONED IT TO YOU
WHEN I SAW IT COMING,
BUT I DIDN'T WANT TO
ALARM YOU...
GOSH, ARE YOU OK?

THE
SPECTACULAR

JUST A LITTLE
CRUSHED

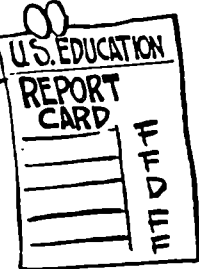
CHITTY



SMITH/From the Las Vegas Sun

'Look, Barbara, being the first lady is a full-time job. So if you want time off to care for sick children, grandchildren or whatever, you'll have to get a job somewhere else!'

UNDERACHIEVER...
AND PROUD OF
IT, MAN.



DEF 5413
THE DES MOINES REGISTER
(WITH APPOLES TO MATT GREENING)

BUSH SIMPSON
"UNDERACHIEVER"



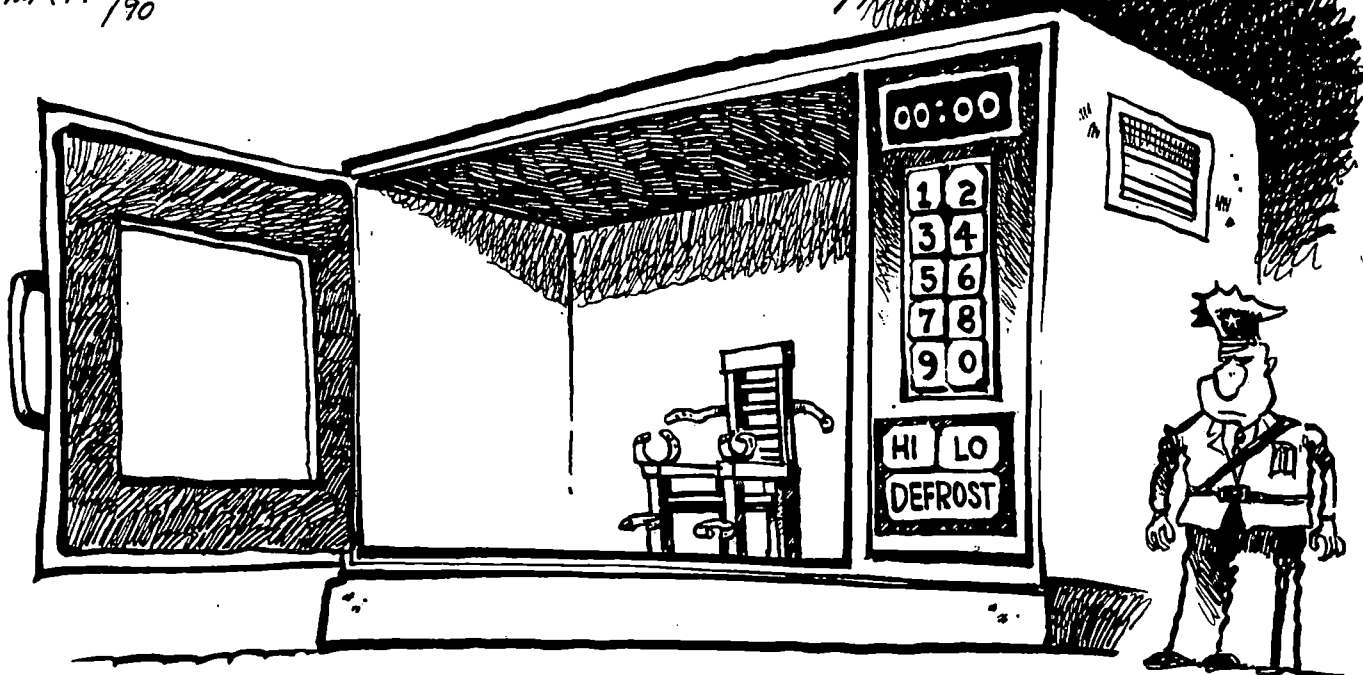
AND PROUD
OF IT,
MAN!

W/POLOSIS TO
MATT GREENING

CONRAD
THE IOWA JOURNALIST • 1990



Mike Keefe 90 THE DENVER POST



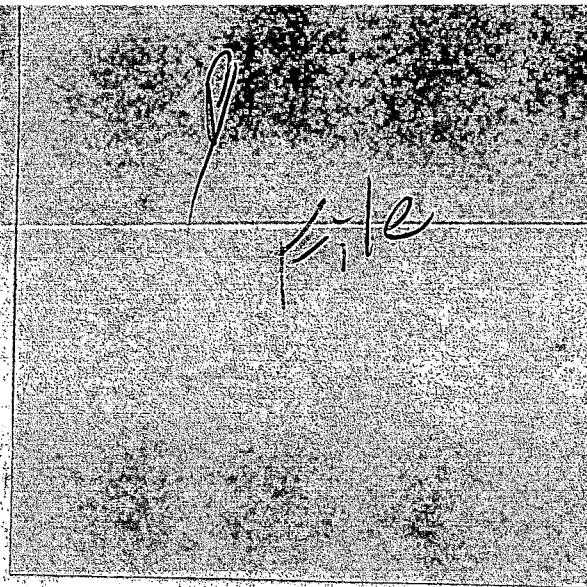
BEING ONE OF THE MOST HUMANITARIAN OF NATIONS, THE UNITED STATES
CONSTANTLY IMPROVES ON ITS METHODS OF EXECUTION





JIM BREMAN
CARTOONIST





Document Originally
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Following Page

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fil

1

Unofficial translation
Remarks at Soviet embassy dinner
June 1, 1990, 7:30 p.m.

Mr. President,

Mrs. Bush,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Friends,

We have completed the second full day of talks. However I would refrain from summing up. This meeting is only a stage, though a major one, in the grand and forward-looking project of perestroika, or restructuring, in Soviet-American relations.

We are to have at least two more meetings with President Bush this year alone -- one at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where, hopefully, a treaty reducing conventional arms in Europe will be signed, and the other to sign a treaty reducing strategic offensive arms.

I assume that the agenda we approved on Malta for the year 1990 can be implemented. We may reach greater heights in building a new Soviet-American relationship only by setting our sights still higher and by leaving behind everything that the ideology and geopolitics of the cold war era have been nurturing for so long.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

In assessing the outcome of our talks I believe I may say that they have demonstrated growing understanding between the USSR and the United States, which means progress in the crucial area of profound and positive changes underway in the world.

In this connection, our in-depth discussion of the problems and prospects of the European process was, no doubt, a useful one. It served to clarify views and positions, and offered new arguments for consideration and finding acceptable solutions. Therefore, it was only natural that we focused on the external aspects of German unification. As we see it, two processes should be completed: a final settlement of the outcome of the war and a resolution of internal issues relating to the transformation of the two parts of Germany into one state. This would constitute a transitional period, which, when completed, will result in the cancellation of the four victorious Powers' rights that, incidentally, stemmed straight from the outcome of the war, rather than from the division of Germany, and that a new sovereign state will appear. It will be for a unified German people to decide whether that state will join any alliance, or whether it will keep its obligations vis-a-vis the two former alliances, or whether it will stay outside any alliance seeking to ensure its national security within the new structures being created by the CSCE process.

At the same time, we assume that the discussion is not over yet, that it goes on and there may be several

options, not one. All of those will have to be jointly considered, together with the allies as well. In the final analysis, we would accept only such a jointly developed option that will not prejudice anybody's interests and will not erode the overall positive changes sweeping across Europe and the world. Those changes are the major gains scored in recent years and the main result and asset of growing trust and awareness that our civilization is one.

The crucial outcome of the present summit is the host of agreements we have signed today and the official statements we have made. They demonstrate that our joint policy of moving from constructive understanding toward constructive interaction bears fruit. There is no denying that this has been made possible only in the environment produced by our meeting with President George Bush on Malta.

What the USSR and the United States needed to do was to make a substantial, and I would even say, a courageous reevaluation of how we viewed each other and the world at large and to realize that our isolation from one another was unnatural and to recognize that we shoulder common responsibility before the world.

Therefore it comes as no surprise that the agreements reflect our common willingness to attain a greater interdependence -- communication, mutual recognition and cooperation in the crucial areas will lead us

toward an expanded contractual and legal basis for Soviet-American relations.

The package of our new agreements reflects the specific role the USSR and the USA play in building bridges of understanding and trust between East and West.

I would like to draw your attention to the agreement on trade, in particular. This agreement takes on a special relevance for it is concluded at a time of drastic change in the Soviet economy, a change that will shape the future of perestroika. And I am convinced that the Soviet people will appreciate the fact that the United States has agreed to normalize our trade relations at this moment of crucial importance to our country.

It follows that the progress we made has been recorded and the guidelines for future action have been charted. I would like to express hope that the ship of Soviet-American relations will continue to sail along this course.

It is obvious that there still remain differences between us on what an optimal structure should be. But this area of disagreement is diminishing while the area of agreement and cooperation is expanding.

What demonstrates our countries' candid and serious intentions is that we have started reviewing, though not without difficulty, what appeared to be eternal views on the role military power plays in safeguarding one's national security.

In revising drastically our interpretation of security we should not forget the people who have run ahead of their time. Andrei Sakharov is one of those people. One of the fathers of nuclear superweapons, Sakharov plucked up enough courage to arrive at his conviction he upheld to the end -- that force had no more role to play in relations among states. Sakharov taught us this other lesson too -- one should not be intimidated by the dogma and one should not be afraid of appearing naive. The political decisions that do meet the best interests of people should be based on realities of life, not on contrived schemes.

Our society today undergoes a complicated and occasionally dramatic but extraordinarily fruitful and highly promising process of perestroika that rests on the democratic and humane basis with full respect for human rights and freedoms.

Perestroika is also a contribution to building a new world. The point is that we are searching for answers to the questions that confront all nations and the entire human race, in one way or another and with greater or lesser urgency. After wading through the thorns on the path we have embarked upon, we shall reach new frontiers in our country's history and help build a new civilization of peace. And we are prepared to do that together with the United States.

I would like to propose this toast to a future of
peace for the Soviet and American nations and for all
nations on earth,

To idealism and the idealists,

To the health and prosperity of all those present,

To the happiness of our children and grandchildren.

* * *

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nations on earth,

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To the health and prosperity of all those present,

To the happiness of our children and grandchildren.

* * *

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Note	Handwritten notes Re; A.M. meeting w/Scowcroft, Sununu, et al [double-sided] (1 pp.)	06/01/90	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, June 1, 1990

Date Closed: 5/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 90549-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

6/1/90

Sir:

Mrs. Bush hit a home-run --

she was FABULOUS!

P.
patty

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓
so

*Handed to me
by F.S. Gorb.
div. direct.
are Cabinet
room*

The reviews

in

Mrs. Bush grade
at Wellesly

A+ - 1

*as
1-9-21
12:21*

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

June 1, 1990

8:10 a.m.

Sir:

Secretary Baker just called
He would like you and the General
to call AFTER the CIA briefers leave
this morning. (He knows Sununu/Gates
will be present when you return the
call.)

P.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

RETURN DINNER TOAST TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV
EMBASSY OF THE SOVIET UNION
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990 \ 7:00 P.M.

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. GORBACHEV -- BARBARA AND I
WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR THIS SPLENDID DINNER, FOR
YOUR WONDERFUL HOSPITALITY, AND FOR YOUR GRACIOUS
REMARKS. \\\

(YESTERDAY WE WELCOMED THE GORBACHEVS BACK TO
WASHINGTON, STILL FILLED WITH MEMORIES OF THE THINGS WE
SHARED IN MALTA: FRIENDSHIP. CO-OPERATION. SEASICK
PILLS...) \\\

THIS HISTORIC WEEK BEGAN WITH OUR OBSERVANCE OF MEMORIAL DAY, A DAY FOR NOT ONLY REMEMBRANCE OF THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR "LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION," BUT ALSO FOR RECOMMITMENT TO THE IDEAL THAT THEY "SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN." AND THE WEEK HAS NOW ENDED WITH A NEW MEMORIAL -- A LIVING MEMORIAL -- MARKED BY HISTORIC AGREEMENTS ON BOTH NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL ARMS. THEY HAVE BEEN SHAPED BY A REMEMBRANCE OF SHARED INTERESTS -- AND A RECOMMITMENT TO FORGING A "JUST AND LASTING PEACE."

AND THEY STAND AS A MEMORIAL NOT TO THE PAST, BUT TO THE FUTURE, A MEMORIAL TO WARS THAT NEED NEVER BE FOUGHT, TO THE HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING THAT NEED NEVER BE ENDURED.

THIS AFTERNOON WE SIGNED A LANDMARK AGREEMENT TO DESTROY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF OUR CHEMICAL WEAPONS STOCKPILES, AND WE ^{ISSUED} ~~ISSUED~~ A JOINT STATEMENT RECORDING ^{MAJOR AGREED PROVISIONS OF} ~~OUR AGREEMENT ON MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES~~

~~GOVERNING~~ A STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY. President Gorbachev and I also signed a commercial agreement; ~~agreed on a Long Term Grains~~ ~~agreed on a Long Term Grains~~; and are looking forward to passage of a Soviet emigration law. We also agreed on a Long Term Grains Agreement.

BUT TRUE PEACE TAKES MORE THAN JUST THE LAYING DOWN OF ARMS. IT ALSO REQUIRES THE REACHING OUT OF HANDS. YOU KNOW, AMERICANS AND SOVIETS HAVE OFTEN TENDED TO THINK OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AS BEING ON OPPOSITE SIDES OF ALMOST EVERYTHING -- INCLUDING OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE WORLD. BUT WE SHARE AN IMPORTANT NORTHERN BORDER -- WE ARE, IN FACT, NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBORS ACROSS THE BERING SEA.

AND TODAY, WE HAVE ALSO SIGNED AN AGREEMENT FIXING OUR MARITIME BOUNDARY IN THE BERING SEA AREA, AND ANNOUNCED OUR AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A U.S.-SOVIET PARK ACROSS THE BERING STRAIT -- A NEW GATEWAY TO THE ARCTIC, AND A NEW GATEWAY TO THE FUTURE. AND IN THIS SAME SPIRIT OF NEIGHBORS, WE ALSO AGREED TO NEW ACCORDS FOR EXPANDED COLLEGE EXCHANGES, AND NEW CULTURAL CENTERS IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW.

MR. PRESIDENT, I LEARNED THAT THE NAME OF YOUR HOMETOWN, OUT IN THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS [CAW-CUS-US] -- PRIVOLNOYE [PRE-VOLE-NOY-EH] -- CAN MEAN "SPACIOUS" OR "FREE." AND IT REMINDED ME OF THE NEW BREEZE, THE NEW SPIRIT OF FREEDOM, WE HAVE SEEN SWEEP ACROSS EUROPE AND AROUND THE GLOBE. I SENSED IT LAST SUMMER, SPEAKING IN FRONT OF THE SHIPYARD GATES TO THE PEOPLE OF GDANSK.

SIGNING CEREMONY \ EAST ROOM
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990 \ 5 P.M.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, AGAIN, WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE.\\ MISTER PRESIDENT -- YOU AND I SET A COURSE SIX MONTHS AGO OFF THE ISLAND-NATION OF MALTA. AT THAT TIME, WE AGREED ON AN AGENDA, MUCH OF WHICH WAS COMPLETED FOR THIS WEEK'S SUMMIT. OF COURSE, OUR MALTA AGENDA REMAINS UNFINISHED; BUT WE'VE MADE GREAT PROGRESS IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS\\ -- AND IN THE LAST TWO DAYS.

WE ARE ABOUT TO SIGN AGREEMENTS CONCERNING MANY AREAS OF VITAL INTEREST TO OUR COUNTRIES AND TO THE WORLD, AND TO RECORD SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS IN JOINT STATEMENTS THAT ARE BEING PUBLISHED TODAY.

*** FIRST, WE WILL SIGN A BILATERAL AGREEMENT THAT WILL, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ELIMINATE THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS OUR COUNTRIES HAVE STOCKPILED OVER THE YEARS. LET THIS LANDMARK AGREEMENT QUICKLY LEAD TO A GLOBAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.\\\

***** SECOND, I WILL JOIN PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN SIGNING PROTOCOLS ON LIMITING NUCLEAR TESTING. AFTER LONG, SOMETIMES ARDUOUS, NEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE BOTH AGREED ON UNPRECEDENTED IMPROVEMENTS FOR ON-SITE VERIFICATION OF THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS TREATY.**

***** THIRD, WE WILL SIGN A MAJOR NEW AGREEMENT THAT UPDATES AND EXPANDS OUR 1973 AGREEMENT ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY.**

THIS NEW AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR SUBSTANTIAL U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION IN ATOMIC ENERGY RESEARCH AND CIVILIAN NUCLEAR SAFETY.

IN ADDITION, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I ^{ARE ISSUING} ~~WILL INITIAL~~ A JOINT STATEMENT RECORDING MAJOR AGREED PROVISIONS OF A STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY, (AS WELL AS A JOINT STATEMENT IN WHICH WE AGREE TO FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS, DESIGNED TO ENHANCE STABILITY AND REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR.)

WE ARE ALSO ISSUING A STATEMENT ON CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE, COMMITTING US TO INTENSIFY THE PACE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AND TO REACH RAPID AGREEMENT ON ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

WE AGREE THAT A CFE TREATY IS AN INDISPENSABLE FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER AGREEMENTS THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE SIGNING OR ANNOUNCING DURING THIS SUMMIT -- AGREEMENTS THAT REPRESENT HARD WORK AND LASTING ACHIEVEMENT -- NOT JUST BY OUR GOVERNMENTS, BUT ALSO FOR OUR PEOPLES.

FOR EXAMPLE, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I TODAY ANNOUNCE OUR AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A U.S.-SOVIET PARK ACROSS THE BERING STRAIT. THIS PARK WILL PRESERVE THE UNIQUE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE BERING SEA REGION OF ALASKA AND SIBERIA. JUST AS A BRIDGE OF LAND ONCE JOINED OUR TWO CONTINENTS; SO LET A BRIDGE OF HOPE NOW REACH ACROSS THE WATER TO JOIN OUR TWO PEOPLES IN THE SPIRIT OF PEACEFUL COOPERATION.

IN THIS SAME SPIRIT, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I WILL ALSO SIGN AN AGREEMENT THAT REALIZES OUR MALTA OBJECTIVE OF EXPANDING UNDERGRADUATE EXCHANGES BY 1,000 STUDENTS ON BOTH SIDES. THIS WILL ALLOW MORE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TO EXPERIENCE FIRST-HAND EACH OTHER'S CULTURE AND POLITICS\\ . . . TO LIVE AS FRIENDS. AND OUT OF SIMPLE ACTS OF FRIENDSHIP A PROFOUND REVELATION EVENTUALLY ARISES: THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE MORE IN COMMON THAN THEY HAVE IN CONFLICT.

IN JUST A FEW MOMENTS, SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER AND
FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE WILL ALSO SIGN ^{FOUR}~~THREE~~
IMPORTANT NEW AGREEMENTS CONCERNING MARITIME
BOUNDARIES, OCEAN STUDIES, ~~AND~~ CIVIL AVIATION, ^{and a Long Term Grains Agreement.} MINISTER
SHEVARDNADZE AND TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY SKINNER WILL
SIGN A ^{FIFTH}~~FOURTH~~ AGREEMENT ON MARITIME TRANSPORTATION.
~~((AND MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND AMBASSADOR CARLA HILLS
WILL SIGN A LONG-TERM GRAINS AGREEMENT.))~~ ^{Pres. Gorbachev and I}
~~are~~ are also signing today a commercial agreement, and are
looking forward to the passage of a Soviet ~~for~~ emigration law.

- 8A -

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, I AM VERY GRATIFIED BY WHAT WE
HAVE ACCOMPLISHED OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS -- AND
DETERMINED TO BUILD ON THIS SOLID FOUNDATION.

THE AGREEMENTS WE RECORD TODAY, AND THOSE YET TO COME, WILL ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE; AGREEMENTS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS, AND ALL NATIONS.

NOT SO LONG AGO, SOME BELIEVED THAT THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY CONDEMNED OUR TWO COUNTRIES -- OUR TWO GREAT PEOPLES -- TO PERMANENT CONFRONTATION.

WELL, YOU AND I MUST CHALLENGE HISTORY. WE MUST MAKE NEW STRIDES, BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP OF ENDURING COOPERATION.

WE MAY NOT AGREE ON EVERYTHING; BUT WE BELIEVE IN ONE GREAT TRUTH -- THE WORLD HAS WAITED LONG ENOUGH -- THE COLD WAR MUST END.\\ TODAY, LET US RENEW OUR PLEDGE. LET US BUILD A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.\\ ((AFTER TRANSLATION, TURN TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND SHAKE HIS HAND.))\\\\\\

#

#

#

The President
and Mrs. Bush



Президент
Союза Советских Социалистических Республик
и Раиса Максимовна Горбачева
просят

пожаловать на обед в пятницу, 1 июня 1990 года, в 19 час. 30 мин.

Посольство СССР

The President
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
and Mrs. Gorbachev

request the pleasure of the company of

*The President
and Mrs. Bush*

at dinner on Friday, June 1, 1990 at 7.30 p.m.

USSR Embassy
1125 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Not transferable
Please present this card at door

ПРОГРАММА
концерта в Посольстве СССР
1 июня 1990 года

PROGRAM
of the Concert at the USSR Embassy
June 1, 1990

М.В.Плетнев

1. Чайковский "Размышления"
2. Глюк "Сцена из карнавала"
3. Скрябин "Пьеса-этюд"

Э.Л.Соткилава

1. Рахманинов. Романс "Не пой красавица"
2. Чайковский "Флорентийская песня"
3. Народная песня "Ах, красавица"
4. Шереметьев "Я вас любил"
5. Тиринделли "Весна"

Mr. Pletnev

1. Tchaikovskiyy "Meditation"
2. Gluk "Carnival Scenes"
3. Scriabin "Study"

Mr. Sotkilava

1. Rakhmaninov. Romance "The Beauty, don't sing"
2. Tchaikovskiyy "Florentine Song"
3. Folk song "Oh, Nastasia"
4. Scheremetiev "I was in love with you"
5. Tirindelly "Spring"

CLASSIFIED

6/11/96

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

Dw 5/20/10

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Memo	From Brent Scowcroft to President Bush (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, June 1, 1990

Date Closed: 5/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 90549-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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COMMENTS OF JUNE 1, 1990

RE: MRS. BUSH AT WELLESLEY

LADY CALLER WAS IN TEARS. SAID IT WAS THE MOST MAGNIFICENT SPEECH SHE HEARD IN HER LIFE TIME.

RIGHT ON TARGET. SHE WAS WONDERFUL.

SHE IS A WONDERFUL WOMAN.

FROM A MOTHER WITH YOUNG CHILDREN AT HOME. ADMIRE AND LOVE MRS. BUSH EVEN MORE. HER SPEECH WAS INSPIRING. THIS WHAT AMERICA IS ABOUT.

SHE AND HER SPEECH WERE MAGNIFICENT.

SHE HAD TOTAL COMMAND.

MOST IMPRESSED.

BEAUTIFUL AND BRILLIANT FROM TEXAS.

TREMENDOUS SPEECH FROM OKLAHOMA.

PROUD OF HER FROM HOUSTON.

VERY GRACIOUS LADY.

HER SPEECH BROUGHT TEARS TO MY EYES.

FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH - I AM A DEMOCRAT, BUT I THINK MRS. BUSH IS A CREDIT TO WOMEN AND TO HUMANITY. MRS. DAPHNE MILLER, 910, ENDERBY DRIVE, ALEXANDRIA, 22302 PHONE 548-0408.

I HEARD MY OWN COMMENCEMENT GRADUATION SPEECH FOR THE FIRST TIME. MOST MARVELOUS SPEECH I'VE EVER HEARD IN MY LIFE. FROM KATHERINE BRAALMAN, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 301-849-8833.

TOP NOTCH SPEECH. PLEASE GIVE SPEECHES MORE OFTEN. WHAT SHE IS DOING NEEDS MORE PUBLICITY. WE NEED MORE ENCOURAGEMENT AND MRS. BUSH CAN GIVE US WHAT WE NEED TO HEAR. FROM DEE HADORN, P.O. BOX 507, TIGERAS, NEW MEXICO 87059 - PHONE 505-281-1282.

FROM A SCHOOL TEACHER FROM OAKTON, VA. JUST A LADY. SHE REALLY GAVE IT TO THEM.

PERFECT, SIMPLE TO THE POINT.

I'M 46 AND NOT MARRIED. I CHOSE TO BE SINGLE. I DON'T LIKE MARRIAGE BEING PUSHED BY MRS. BUSH AND OTHERS. REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION SEEM TO BE PUSHING MARRIAGE ETC.

I DO NOT REGRET THAT I'M NOT MARRIED. I DO NOT REGRET NOT HAVING CHILDREN. I AM EDUCATED AND I AM HAPPY WITH MY LIFE.

MRS. BUSH'S SPEECH WAS EXCELLENT AND SHE IS A LOVELY WOMAN.

I'M AGE 40, CALLING FROM CALIFORNIA. MOTHER OF CHILDREN AGES 1, 2 AND 3. I GAVE UP A CAREER TO GET MARRIED AND HAVE CHILDREN. WHEN THE WELLESLEY GRADUATES GROW UP AND HAVE MORE MATURITY, I THINK THEY WILL APPRECIATE MRS. BUSH'S SPEECH EVEN MORE.

MRS. BUSH IS MAGNIFICENT.

I CRIED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE SPEECH.

I HAVE VERY LIBERAL VIEWS AND I'M A DEMOCRAT, BUT SHE TRANSCENDS POLITICS. FROM MRS. JAYNE DUNN, 15622 BERNARDO CENTER DRIVE, APT. 2701, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA 92127 - 619-672-3424.

I'M REALLY PROUD OF HOW MRS. BUSH TREATED MRS. GORBACHEV. SHE AND PRES. BUSH ARE SO POLITE AND COURTEOUS. THEIR CHILDREN ARE SO LUCKY TO HAVE A MOTHER LIKE MRS. BUSH. ALEXANDRIA WILSON, AMISSVILLE, VA. 22002 703-937-4074

INCREDIBLE, BEAUTIFUL, PHENOMENAL, WONDERFUL SPEECH.

2 SMITH ALUMNI PROUD TO HAVE ATTENDED THE SAME COLLEGE.

A REAL LADY, BEST SPEECH THEY HAVE EVERY HEARD.

PROUD OF THE WAY SHE HAS CONDUCTED HERSELF WITH MRS. GORBACHEV.

GREAT PRIDE IN HER - EXUDES PRIDE FOR THE WHOLE NATION.

SHE'S DYNAMITE, EXTREMELY WONDERFUL.

SEVERAL CALLERS WOULD LIKE A VIDEO OF HER SPEECH.

HOW BEAUTIFUL AND GRACIOUS SHE IS WITH MRS. GORBACHEV.

HOW GENEROUS TO HAVE SHARED WELLSLEY AND MRS. GORBACHEV.

MAN SAID HE WAS REDUCED TO TEARS LISTENING TO THAT WONDERFUL WOMAN. SHE NEVER GAVE IN TO THE CRITICS OF BEING JUST A WIFE AND MOTHER.

CALLER SAID SHE WAS BORN A DEMOCRAT AND WILL PROBABLY DIE A DEMOCRAT BUT MRS. BUSH CERTAINLY MOVED HER AND SHE IS JUST WONDERFUL - TERRIFIC.

MRS. BUSH SHOULD SPEAK MORE ON T.V. SHE IS WONDERFUL.

WONDERFUL, SHE SHOULD NOT CHANGE A THING.

WONDERFUL - HOW PROUD SHE IS OUR FIRST LADY.

MANY CALLERS SAID THEY WERE IN TEARS LISTENING TO HER SPEECH.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Q&A	Trade Agreement w/handwritten notes [double-sided] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, June 1, 1990

Date Closed: 5/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 90549-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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AGREEMENTS SIGNING CEREMONY

Friday, June 1, 1990

5:00 - 5:45 p.m.

PIN 4
file

Agreements You Will Sign or Initial With President Gorbachev

Chemical Weapons Destruction Agreement
Threshold Test Ban Treaty Protocol
Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty Protocol
University Student Exchange Initiative
Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy Agreement
START Framework Agreement
START Follow-on Agreement (if ready)

Joint Statements to be Issued by You and Gorbachev

Joint Statement on CFE
Joint Statement on Beringian International Park

Agreements to be Signed by Ministers at the Ceremony

Maritime Boundary Agreement (Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze)
Ocean Studies Agreement (Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze)
Civil Aviation Agreement (Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze)
Maritime Transportation Agreement (Secretary Skinner and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze)
Long-Term Grains Agreement (If Soviets agree to Sign)

Joint Statements to be Issued (non-Presidential)

Environment
International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor
Nonproliferation
Bering Sea Fisheries
Technical Economic Cooperation
Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

Other Agreements to be signed during Summit (at a separate ceremony)

Cultural Centers Agreement
Customs Cooperation Agreement
Memorandum on Increasing Circulation of Amerika-Soviet Life Magazines

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

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George Bush Handwriting

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTES
OF
FRIDAY 6-1-
call!

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

- I want to fill you in on my first day of talks with Gorbachev. We talked about German unification for about two hours yesterday afternoon. He was very personable -- animated, but not confrontational.
- I stressed that a united Germany is no threat to anyone, including the Soviet Union. I told him that Germany has earned its place in the new Europe, that it will work for the collective good, and that Germany wanted good and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.
- I of course supported your position that a united Germany should remain a full member of NATO. But I also said that Germany is a democracy and it will be up to Germany to choose what alliance arrangements it wanted.
- I told him that German sovereignty must be complete at the time of unification. I stressed that Germany should not be singled out for special status after unification.
- Gorbachev proposed that Germany belong to both alliances -- have two anchors, as he put it. He returned to this several times, referring to a long transition period.

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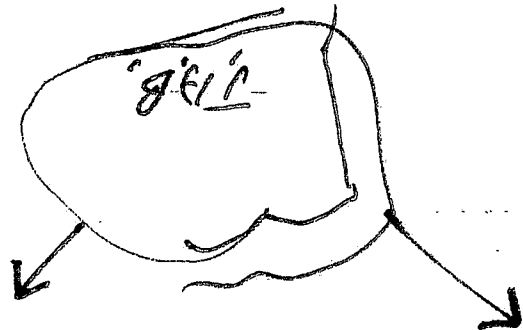
2

- He started off by saying that a united Germany in NATO would upset the balance. But his comments seemed directed at NATO itself as much as Germany's membership in it. So he came back to the idea of a transition period as "new European security structures" are developed. He wasn't clear on what these structures might look like -- he was more focused on getting through the transition.
- I get the sense that he is still feeling his way and that his position is not fixed. He seemed at least to accept my argument that Germany should not be singled out.
- Curiously enough, toward the end of our discussion he seemed to agree with my position that I support Germany's full membership in NATO but that it was up to Germany to decide. But then he returned to the idea of a transition period.
- He also took a strong interest in how NATO might change its doctrine, how it might evolve to become more a political alliance, and how NATO and the Warsaw Pact might cooperate.
- It will be vitally important that we take steps at the NATO Summit to convince him that NATO is changing in ways that don't threaten Soviet security.

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1. Tr. signed "look forward to legislation"

2. They agree -
a) promptly pass legis
b) shortly after dial. with
suspense soon

3. only after that send
to LTH



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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3

-- I will call you on Sunday to let you know what else comes up today and at Camp David on Saturday.

-- Let me just mention one final point. East German Prime Minister de Maiziere will be coming here on June 11. We'll have a meeting and a working lunch. He will bring Foreign Minister Meckel with him. I think it will be a good opportunity to push our case with them.

I look forward to seeing you on June 8

⑤ close coop in other areas
will not play any price singularization
⑥ Econ on his mind
care

① firmly stand by position
isolate G
if not in NATO - disaster -
leave Eur come no more NATO
② Then 2 mths more closer deal
smaller (benches) - 50 Post study
Destroy NATO
give more thought to EC
I meet with Gorb soon -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 31, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

ED ROGERS *ER*

SUBJECT:

TRUMAN CAMPAIGN - 1948

Attached please find a quick analysis that Jim Pinkerton put together. You will also find a copy of Truman's acceptance speech as well as relevant pages from Plain Speaking and The Lonliest Campaign.

Please let me know if you need anything further.

Pink / 6ed
Excellent research
Thanks
on
6-1

5/30/90

RE: 1992 AND THE TRUMAN STRATEGY

THE TRUMAN STRATEGY: RUNNING AGAINST CONGRESS

Harry Truman's 1948 victory is often emulated without much thought as to the underlying ingredients of his triumph. After all, Truman is the patron saint of presidential underdogs. Goldwater, Ford and Dukakis all styled themselves after Truman to some extent. However, all of them lost. The essence of Truman's 1948 success is two-fold:

- One, it was extremely negative. He lambasted Republicans with strident rhetoric, comparing them to the "money-changers in the Temple." In a typical appeal, in this case, to farmers, he charged that Republican farm policies would "drive a pitchfork into the backs of farmers."
- Two, it was directed against an opposition-controlled Congress. He belittled the 80th "do-nothing" Congress for failing to pass his initiatives and sought to exploit class warfare by charging that the Republicans wanted to repeal the New Deal.

One difference between Truman and Gerald Ford, for example, was that Truman's personality and speaking style was much better suited for a credible negative campaign. More importantly, Truman was extremely persistent. He had a message and he constantly hammered it home. By contrast, Ford and moderate Republicans in '76 had no strong message or agenda.

Truman did not have the typical advantages of an incumbent President. He was widely viewed as inadequate for the job, unwanted as the nominee by many in his party, and after his nomination, widely expected to lose. Truman realized that to win, he needed to energize the latent New Deal coalition -- a realignment in American politics that had not died with FDR. His fiery "give 'em hell" rhetoric was not just his style, but part of a deliberate call to arms to the union members, Social Security pensioners, and farmers who stood to lose the most. Fear was his ally, hence the famous slogan: "Don't let them take it away."

Truman came out swinging not against his opponent, but against the Republican Party. In this pre-television straight-ticket era, the images and ideals of political parties were much more important than the personalities of the candidates.

Truman deliberately provoked the GOP by challenging them to pass legislation to help key members of his coalition: farmers, labor, blacks, and ethnics. When he got no action, he blasted

Congress as "do-nothing." He also castigated them for their alleged obsession with repealing the New Deal -- Taft-Hartley being the most notable example. To prove how out of touch the Republican Congressmen were with the electorate, Truman called them into special session during the '48 campaign and dared them to pass the portions of the GOP platform that would roll back FDR's legacy.

CONSENSUS POLITICS VOIDS THE TRUMAN STRATEGY

Despite the fact that the current Congress is thwarting many Bush Administration initiatives, there are two reasons a strategy of "running against Congress" will not work in 1992:

- ✓ The Bush Administration is not viewed as engaged in an ideological battle with Congress.
- ✓ Congress is not engaged in a public day-to-day battle to repeal the Reagan/Bush Revolution.

George Bush's fights with Congress have occurred in back rooms, not on the front pages. Our modus operandi has been to launch reasonable-sounding initiatives, attempt to work out a compromise, and fall back on the veto if the Democrats go too far. Our fights with Congress have been on consensus issues, i.e. clean air, child care -- issues on which both parties are so concerned with getting credit for "action," they are only fighting over what the public perceives as "minor details." (These "details" can in fact be very important, but nobody is outlining their importance to the public.)

Furthermore, for a strategy of Congress-bashing to work, Congress itself must "cooperate." The GOP-controlled 80th Congress -- many of whom had won their seats the year before on the anti-New Deal slogan "Had Enough?" -- foolishly rose to Truman's bait, like a bull charging at a red flag. Bereft of sophisticated opinion polling, they thought the New Deal philosophy was spent, where in fact the majority of the electorate supported the idea of a big government to solve their problems.

Today's Democratic congressmen, with their high pay and perks, are unwilling risk their cushy seats to campaign for what's in their heart of hearts: higher taxes, more entitlements, less defense, and more regulation. Their high reelection rates are a testament to their ability to avoid national issues and position themselves as moderate "problem-solvers." Instead they tell their constituents, "I support the President when he's right and oppose him when he's wrong." As "paragons" of moderation, they are able to ride out Republican landslides, as they did in '72, '80, '84 and '88. Democrats will use the power of incumbency to cling to their seats rather than attempt to convince the electorate that liberalism is worthy of

their votes. They will not provide a fat target in 1992 as the Republicans did in 1948.

DEFENDING YOUR RECORD VS. PASSING THE BUCK

As a semi-incumbent in 1988, the President used a modified Truman Strategy to some extent. That campaign had a large negative component, with Bush running against liberalism in general, and Dukakis' liberalism in particular. However, the Truman Strategy will not work well for the President in 1992.

First, his personality is not well suited for a negative campaign. He lacks the feistiness of a Truman or a Bob Dole. Furthermore, reporters will be waiting to pounce on the first appearance of a highly negative campaign.

Second, elected incumbent presidents are expected to defend their records. This demands a positive, optimistic campaign, i.e. "Look at all I've done; give me four more years to finish the job." Every successful incumbent since '48 has used this basic approach: Eisenhower in '56, Nixon in '72, Reagan in '84. The electorate holds presidents, not Congress, responsible for peace and prosperity. Each of these president had by and large delivered, and were reelected in landslides. Only Carter ran a negative re-election campaign, in effect claiming that "America's problems weren't his fault, and besides, Reagan will be worse." Nonetheless, the voters held him responsible, and he lost.

CONCLUSION

In 1992, the President will have to run on his record to win a new four-year lease on the White House. While we believe that his accomplishments in foreign, economic, and domestic policy will win him a large mandate, we should take comfort in the knowledge that 8 of the 11 elected incumbent presidents seeking re-election in this century were successful.* An incumbent President only loses if he is "fired" by the voters, and people are reluctant to fire anyone. Furthermore, if the incumbent and his challenger are indistinguishable, the voters will opt to stick with the president.

#

* The 3 losers: Taft in 1912 (with TR as a 3rd party candidate), Hoover in 1932, and Carter in 1980.

LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

Harry S Truman. Acceptance Speech, July 15, 1948.

"The people know the Democratic Party is the people's party and the Republican Party is the party of special interests and it always has been and always will be."

Merle Miller. Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman, 1973, pp. 256-7.

Irwin Ross. The Loneliest Campaign, 1968, pp. 20-27.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Acceptance Speech

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

July 15, 1948

I am sorry that the microphones are in your way, but they have to be where they are because I've got to be able to see what I'm doing, as I always am able to see what I am doing.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the honor which you've just conferred upon me. I shall continue to try to deserve it. I accept the nomination, and I want to thank this convention for its unanimous nomination of my good friend and colleague, Senator Barkley, of Kentucky.

He's a great man and a great public servant. Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it, don't you forget that. We'll do that because they're wrong and we're right, and I'll prove it to you in just a few minutes.

This convention met to express the will and reaffirm the beliefs of the Democratic party. There have been differences of opinion. These differences have been settled by a majority vote, as they should be, and now it's time for us to get together and beat the common enemy and it's up to you.

We'll be working together for victory and a great cause. Victory has become a habit of our party. It's been elected four times in succession and I'm convinced it will be elected a fifth time next November.

The reason is that the people know the Democratic party is the people's party and the Republican party is the party of special interests and it always has been and always will be.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

5

The record of the Democratic party is written in the accomplishments of the last sixteen years. I don't need to repeat them. They have been very ably placed before this convention by the keynote speaker, the candidate for Vice-President, and by the permanent chairman.

Confidence and security have been brought to the American people by the Democratic party. Farm income has increased from less than \$2,500,000,000 in 1933 to more than \$18,000,000,000 in 1947. Never in the world were the farmers of any republic or any kingdom or any other country, as prosperous as the farmers of the United States, and if they don't do their duty by the Democratic party they're the most ungrateful people in the world.

The wages and salaries in this country have increased from \$29,000,000,000 in 1933 to more than \$128,000,000,000 in 1947. That's labor, and labor never had but one friend in politics, and that was the Democratic party and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

And I'll say to labor just what I've said to the farmers. They are the most ungrateful people in the world if they pass the Democratic party by this year.

The total national income has increased from less than \$40,000,000,000 in 1933 to \$203,000,000,000 in 1947, the greatest in all the history of the world. These benefits have been spread to all the people because it's the business of the Democratic party to see that the people get a fair share of these things.

This last Eightieth Congress proved just the opposite for the Republicans. The record on foreign policy of the Democratic party is that the United States has been turned away permanently from isolationism, and we've converted the greatest and best of the Republicans to our viewpoint on that subject.

The United States has to accept its full responsibility for leadership in international affairs. We have been the backers and the people who organized and started the United Nations, first started under that great Democratic President Woodrow Wilson in the League of Nations. The League was sabotaged by the Republicans in 1920, and we must see that the United Nations continues a strong and going body, so we can have everlasting peace in the world.

We've removed the trade barriers in the world, which is the best asset we can have for peace. Those trade barriers must not be put back into operation again. We have started a foreign-aid program which means the recovery of Europe and China and the Far East. We instituted the program for Greece and Turkey, and I'll say to you that all these things were done in a co-operative bi-partisan manner.

The foreign-relations committees of the Senate and the House were taken into the full confidence of the President in every one of these moves.

As I've said time and time again, foreign policy should be the policy of the whole nation, and not a policy of one party or the other. Partisanship should stop at the water's edge, and I shall continue to preach that through this whole campaign.

I'd like to say a word or two now about what I think the Republican philosophy is, and I'll speak from actions and from history and from experience. The situation in 1932 was due to the policy of the Republican party control of the government of the United States.

The Republican party favors the privileged few and not the common, every-day man. Ever since its inception, that party has been under the control of special privilege, and they concretely proved it in the Eightieth Congress. They proved it by the things they did to the people and not for them. They proved it by the things they failed to do.

Now let's look at some of them, just a few. Time and time again I recommended the extension of price control before it expired on June 30, 1946. I asked for that extension in September, 1945. In November, 1945, in a message on the State of the Union in 1946. That price control legislation didn't come to my desk until June 30, 1946, on the day on which it was supposed to expire, and it was such a rotten bill that I couldn't sign it.

Then thirty days after that they sent me one that was just as bad and I had to sign it, because they quit and went home.

It was said when O. P. A. died that prices would adjust themselves, for the benefit of the country. They've adjusted themselves all right. They've gone all the way off the chart in adjusting themselves at the expense of the consumer and for the benefit of the people who hold the goods.

I called a special session of Congress in November, 1947—Nov. 17, 1947—and I set out a ten-point program for the welfare and benefit of this country; among other things, stand-by price controls. I got nothing. The Congress has still done nothing.

Way back, four and a half years ago while I was in the Senate we passed the housing bill in the Senate known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. It was a bill to clear the slums in the big cities, and to help erect low-rent housing. That bill, as I said, passed the Senate four years ago, but it died in the House. That bill was reintroduced in the Eightieth Congress as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—the name was slightly changed.

But it was practically the same bill and it passed the Senate, but was allowed to die in the House of Representatives. The Banking and Currency Committee sat on that bill, and it was finally forced out of the committee when the Rules Committee took charge, and it's still in the Rules Committee.

But desperate pleas from Philadelphia, in that convention that met

here three weeks ago, didn't get that housing bill passed. They passed a bill that's called a housing bill, which isn't worth the paper it's written on.

In the field of labor, we needed moderate legislation to promote labor-management relations. But Congress instead passed the so-called Taft-Hartley act, which has disrupted labor-management relations and will cause strife and bitterness for years to come if it's not repealed, and the Democratic platform says it's got to be repealed.

I tried to strengthen the Labor Department. The Republican platform in 1944 said if they were in power they'd build up a strong Labor Department. Do you know what they've done to the Labor Department? They've simply torn it up. There's only one bureau left that's functioning and they've cut the appropriation on that so it can hardly function.

I recommended an increase in the minimum wage. What did they do? Nothing, absolutely nothing. I suggested that the schools in this country are crowded, teachers underpaid, and that there is a shortage of teachers. One of the greatest national needs is more and better schools.

I urged the Congress to provide \$300,000,000 to aid the states in meeting the present educational crisis. The Congress did nothing about it. Time and again I have recommended improvements in the social security law, including extending protection to those not now covered, to increase the amount of the benefits, reduce the eligibility age of women from sixty-five to sixty years. Congress studied the matter for two years but couldn't find time to extend increased benefits, but it did find time to take social security benefits away from 750,000 people.

And they passed that over my veto.

I repeatedly asked the Congress to pass a health program. The nation suffers from lack of medical care. That situation can be remedied any time the Congress wants to act upon it. Everybody knows that I recommended to the Congress a civil-rights program. I did so because I believe it to be my duty under the Constitution. Some of the members of my own party disagreed with me violently on this matter, but they stand up and do it openly. People can tell where they stand. But the Republicans all profess to be for these measures, but the Eightieth Congress didn't act and they had enough men there to do it, and they could have had cloture, and they didn't have to have a filibuster. There were enough people in that Congress to vote for cloture.

Now everybody likes to have a little surplus. But we must reduce the national debt in times of prosperity, and when tax relief can be given without regard to those who need it most, and not go to those who need it least, as this Republican rich-man's tax bill did when they passed it over my veto, on the third try.

The first one of these tax bills they sent me was so rotten that they couldn't even stomach it themselves. They finally did send one that was somewhat improved, but it still helps the rich and sticks the knife into the back of the poor.

Now the Republicans came here a few weeks ago and they wrote up a platform. I hope you've all read that platform. They adopted a platform, and that platform had a lot of promises and statements of what the Republican party is for and what they would do if they were in power.

They promised to do in that platform a lot of things I've been asking them to do, and that they've refused to do when they had the power. The Republican platform cries about cruelly high prices. I have been trying to get them to do something about high prices ever since they met the first time.

Now listen to this one. This one is equally as bad and as cynical. The Republican platform comes out for slum clearance and low rental housing. I've been trying to get them to pass that housing bill ever since they met the first time, and it's still resting in the Rules Committee today.

The Republican platform pledges equality of educational opportunity. I've been trying to get them to do something about that ever since they came there, and that bill is at rest in the House of Representatives.

The Republican platform urges extending and increasing social security benefits. Think of that—increasing social security benefits, and yet when they had the opportunity they took 750,000 people off the social security roles.

I wonder if they think they can fool the people of the United States with such poppycock as that?

There's a long list of these promises in that Republican platform and if it weren't so late I'd tell you about all of them.

I discussed a number of these failures of the Republican Eightieth Congress, and everyone of them is important. Two of them are of major concern to every American family; the failure to do anything about high prices, and the failure to do anything about housing.

My duty as President requires that I use every means within my power to get the laws the people need on matters of such importance and urgency. I am therefore calling this Congress back into session on the 26th of July.

On the twenty-sixth day of July, which out in Missouri they call Turnip Day, I'm going to call that Congress back and I'm going to ask them to pass laws halting rising prices and to meet the housing crisis which they say they're for in their platform. At the same time I shall ask them to act on other vitally needed measures such as aid to education, which they say they're for; a national health program, civil-rights legislation, which they say they're for; an increase in the minimum wage—which I doubt very

much they're for; an extension of social security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they're for; funds for projects needed in our program to provide public power and cheap electricity.

By indirection, this Eightieth Congress has tried to sabotage the power policy which the United States has pursued for fourteen years. That power lobby is just as bad as the real estate lobby, which is sitting on the housing bill. I shall ask for adequate and decent law for displaced persons in place of the anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic law which this Eightieth Congress passed.

Now my friends, if there is any reality behind that Republican platform, we ought to get some action out of the short session of the Eightieth Congress. They could do this job in fifteen days if they wanted to do it. They'll still have time to go out and run for office. They're going to try and dodge their responsibility, they're going to drag all the red herrings they can across this campaign. But I'm here to say to you that Senator Barkley and I are not going to let them get away with it.

Now what that worst Eightieth Congress does in its special session will be the test. The American people will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading a mere platform. They will decide on the record. The record as it has been written. And in the record is the stark truth that the battle lines for 1948 are the same as they were back in 1932 when the nation lay prostrate and helpless as the result of Republican misrule and inaction.

In 1932 we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed; we were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple. Today in 1948 we are the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity. The haven of the ordinary people of this land and not of the favored classes or of the powerful few.

The battle cry is just the same now as it was in 1932 and I paraphrase the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt as he issued the challenge in accepting his nomination at Chicago: This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help. Not to win votes alone, but to win in this new crusade and keep America secure and safe for its own people.

Now my friends, with the help of God, and the wholehearted push which you can put behind this campaign, we can save this country from a continuation of the Eightieth Congress and from misrule from now on. I must have your help! You must get in and push and win this election. The country can't afford another Republican Congress.

"No. Most of them are smart enough. It's just—this is only my opinion, of course—it's just that they don't seem to know or care anything about people. Not all of them but a lot of them don't.

"The fella they nominated to run against me was a good example of that. People could tell he wasn't open and above board, and the more he talked, the more he showed that he didn't have any program at all in mind if he got elected. Except to set things back a few dozen years or more. So he didn't get elected. It was as simple as that."

Mr. President, you said the other day you hadn't given much or any thought to what you were going to say at the convention, but it says in the Memoirs that I believe you had made some informal notes.

"Yes, I'd written down some notes when Margaret and the Boss and I were coming from Washington to Philadelphia, and they were in a big black notebook that I carried to the podium with me when I made my acceptance speech. There were two things I was sure of that I was going to say. I was going to tell them that Alben Barkley [Truman's Vice Presidential running mate] and I were going to win the election, and I'd made up my mind that after I lambasted into the do-nothing Eightieth Congress that I was going to call them back into a special session, which is what I did do.*

"That really stirred things up. It was in the middle of my speech,

*"On the twenty-sixth of July, which out in Missouri we call 'Turnip Day,' I am going to call Congress back and ask them to pass laws to halt rising prices, to meet the housing crisis—which they are saying they are for in their platform.

"At the same time I shall ask them to act upon other vitally needed measures, such as aid to education, which they say they are for; a national health program; civil rights legislation, which they say they are for; an increase in the minimum wage, which I doubt very much they are for; extension of the Social Security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they are for; funds for projects needed in our program to provide public power and cheap electricity. By indirection, the Eightieth Congress has tried to sabotage the power policies the United States has pursued for fourteen years. The power lobby is as bad as the real-estate lobby, which is sitting on the housing bill.

"I shall ask for adequate and decent laws for displaced persons in place of this anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic law which the Eightieth Congress passed.

"Now, my friends, if there is any reality behind the Republican platform we ought to get some action from a short session of the Eightieth Congress. They can do this job in fifteen days, if they want to do it. They will still have time to go out and run for office.

"They are going to try to dodge their responsibility. They are going to drag all the red herrings they can across this campaign, but I am here to say that Senator Barkley and I are not going to let them get away with it."

and I said, 'The Republicans have agreed on a platform. Now I'm gonna call a special session of the Congress and give them a chance to put their platform into effect.

"And of course they didn't do a damn thing. If they had been smart and even passed one measure along the lines they'd promised in their platform, I'd have been up a creek, but I knew damn well they wouldn't do it, and of course, they didn't."

Mr. President, you said you were calling that special session for Turnip Day. What's Turnip Day?

"The twenty-sixth of July, wet or dry, always sow turnips. Along in September they'll be four, five, maybe six inches in diameter, and they're good to eat—raw. I don't like them cooked."

Turnip greens are pretty good.

"Well, yes, but the only way to get turnip greens is in the spring. You take out the turnips that you've kept in the cellar all winter and set them out in the garden, and then they come up. You grow them, and the greens that have come up when they're both, oh, about four or five inches long you mix them with dandelions and mustard, and they make the finest greens in the world. Spinach isn't in it. c

"That's what the country people used to have in the spring. Turnip greens with dandelions and mustard and things of that kind.

"But you have to know which is which with plants like that. Plenty of those things are violent poison. You take poke berries, pokeroots. When they're so long, they're good to go into greens, but you wait a little longer, and you might as well order your coffin. Because you're done. They're as poisonous as cyanide."

How do you find out when to pick them?

"Your grandmother has to tell you."

Mr. President, during the campaign, how did you decide where to go, where to speak? For instance, you spoke at a plowing contest I think it was in Dexter, Iowa. I'm from Iowa, and I don't even know where Dexter is. How did you happen to decide to go there?

"Well, there were ninety-six thousand farmers at Dexter, Iowa [I-uh-way], and somebody had to go there and talk to 'em, and I went."

How do you know there were ninety-six thousand?

"There was a lot of disagreement in the papers and the news maga-

almost his entire life in St. Louis, Missouri, where he had graduated from the Washington University School of Law at the age of twenty-one, and thereafter developed a successful law practice. A Democrat by inheritance, he had once helped manage a congressional campaign, but had never been prominently involved in politics. In his quiet way, however, he was a committed New Dealer, the greatest influence on his political thinking having been the liberal views of his uncle, Clark McAdams, who had been in charge of the editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

The war unexpectedly led to Clifford's political career. Joining the Navy as a lieutenant junior grade in 1944, he had a desk job and would have slipped back unnoticed into civilian life, a year or so later, had not a former law client of his, James K. Vardaman, Jr., been appointed naval aide to President Truman. Soon afterward Truman decided to include old friend Vardaman in the entourage which he was taking to the July conference in Potsdam, Germany, where he was to meet with Churchill and Stalin. Vardaman decided he needed someone to mind his shop in Washington and so he had Clifford appointed assistant naval aide.

Clifford, then thirty-nine, arrived at the White House to discover that an assistant naval aide had little to do; to fill in his time he took to helping the President's Special Counsel, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman. Early in 1946, Rosenman left the White House and Truman appointed Vardaman a member of the Federal Reserve Board; Clifford succeeded Vardaman as naval aide and for several months also handled the duties of the Special Counsel's office. In June Truman suggested that it was time Clifford got out of uniform and formally named him Special Counsel.

From the outset, Clifford had hit it off well with Truman; they came from the same part of the country and spoke the same language, though in manner the elegant Clifford and the homespun President seemed miles apart. As Special Counsel, Clifford was responsible for preparing Truman's state papers, public speeches, and a good many private memoranda. It was a job which put him at the fulcrum of power, for the man who writes a President's words inevitably has much to do with determining policy. Clifford was also a master of the art of personal ingratiation and, though an amateur, he was a shrewd political strategist. He, more than any-

one else, had persuaded Truman to take on John L. Lewis.¹⁷ By mid-1947, he had become Truman's most influential adviser.¹⁸

It was one of the ironies—perhaps one of the public relations triumphs—of the 1948 Democratic campaign that it generally gave the impression of being an improvised, desperate effort of an embattled President fighting single-handedly against overwhelming odds. There was no doubt about the desperation of the Democratic campaign, but it was not improvised. Careful planning preceded every step, with the general lines of strategy being articulated as early as the autumn of 1947.

The basic blueprint was contained in a lengthy memorandum on "the politics of 1948," for which Clifford began to gather intelligence and sift ideas in the summer of 1947. The President was all for the project and suggested a variety of individuals to be consulted.¹⁹ When Clifford began his soundings, Truman was hardly the underdog that he became the following year. As already mentioned, his popularity had begun to rise; no one had any reason to predict a revolt in the South and Henry Wallace had not yet declared his candidacy. On the other hand, none of the people around Truman suffered from an excess of optimism. The 1946 debacle was too fresh in memory, the Republicans had many able candidates—Dewey, Stassen, Taft, and Warren being the most prominent—and Henry Wallace, while not an avowed candidate, was certainly a threat.

During 1947, Wallace had been traveling around the country, collecting large audiences for his denunciations of Truman's foreign and domestic policies; many disaffected Democrats had rallied to his cause and he had behind him the not inconsiderable apparatus of the Communist party and the support of those unions in the CIO which the Communists controlled. Many of Wallace's followers were urging him to run for President in 1948 and he freely scattered hints that he might lead the first major third-party effort since Robert La Follette ran in 1924. A Wallace candidacy was understandably a nightmare to the Truman strategists; many of them refused to believe that in the end he would take the leap.

In mid-November, Clifford presented Truman with a 43-page

double-spaced memorandum on legal-size paper.²⁰ It was a remarkable political document—bold and unambiguous in its analysis of present trends, surprisingly accurate in treating of the future, courageous and not a little cynical in proposing a vigorous course of action for the President in the twelve months leading up to the election.

The memorandum predicted that Thomas E. Dewey would be the Republican candidate, though the contest for the nomination had barely gotten under way; that Henry Wallace would run on a third-party ticket; that President Truman could win even with the loss of the populous states of the East, so long as he held the support of the South and of the West and recaptured the labor vote which F.D.R. had always commanded. Events eventually confirmed each of these judgments.

Clifford was wrong in one prediction: that there would be no break in the South, no matter what program the President presented. "As always, the South can be considered safely Democratic," he wrote. "And in formulating national policy, it can be safely ignored."

He argued that "If the Democrats carry the solid South and also those Western states carried in 1944, they will have 216 of the required 266 electoral votes. And if the Democratic party is powerful enough to capture the West, it will almost certainly pick up enough of the doubtful Middlewestern and Eastern states to get 50 more votes . . . We could lose New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Massachusetts—all the 'big' states and still win." While Clifford was mistaken in assuming no southern break-away—the Dixiecrat rebellion in the end lost Truman 39 electoral votes—he was quite correct in stressing the importance of winning the West and in arguing that a victory there presupposed sufficient strength to win some Midwestern states; in the end Truman took Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Wisconsin—as well as Ohio and Illinois.

Clifford went on to provide a shrewd analysis of the various special interest groups which the Democrats had to attract. Only the farmer "was presently favorably inclined towards the Truman administration"—a judgment which continued to be correct throughout 1948, but which the Republicans somehow failed to appreci-

ate. The farmer's crops were good, Clifford pointed out; he was protected by parity and would be aided by the Marshall Plan. Should he be inclined to defect in 1948, nothing more could be done by way of "political or economic favors" to win back his support. The implication was that only rhetoric could be employed—an exercise in which Truman was never deficient throughout the campaign.

The labor vote was a great imponderable. Clifford flatly asserted that Truman "cannot win without the *active* support of organized labor. It is dangerous to assume that labor now has nowhere else to go in 1948. *Labor can stay home.*" Labor had been "inspired" to vote for Roosevelt, but had largely abstained in the 1946 congressional elections. "The labor group has always been politically inactive during prosperity," Clifford wrote. "The effort to get out the labor vote will thus have to be even more strenuous than in 1944." Much would also have to be done to attract independent liberals, who were not important numerically but exerted a considerable leavening effect on public opinion. "The liberal and progressive leaders are not overly enthusiastic about the administration," Clifford commented with tolerable understatement.

He warned that the Republicans would make a strong appeal for the Negro vote, which had been Democratic since 1932, and foresaw that the Negroes might hold the balance of power in states like New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. "The Negro voter has become a cynical, hard-boiled trader," Clifford suggested, and the Republicans were likely to appeal to his self-interest by offering an anti-poll-tax bill and Fair Employment Practices legislation in the next Congress. Clearly, the Democrats would have to outbid the Republicans in order to hold the Negroes. Truman's civil rights message in February 1948 followed logically from this premise.

Clifford's appraisal of the Catholic vote, which had begun to defect from the Democrats in 1944, turned out to be prophetic: "The controlling element in this group . . . is the distrust and fear of communism. . . . The attitude of the President and the administration toward communism should exert a definite appeal . . ."

Turning to the issues in the campaign, Clifford saw "considerable political advantage to the administration in the battle with the

Kremlin." Relations with Russia would probably continue to deteriorate and, as in all times of crisis, the average citizen would tend to rally to his President. As for Republican attacks on the administration's foreign policy, "President Truman is comparatively invulnerable to attack because of his brilliant appointment of General Marshall who has convinced the public that as Secretary of State he is nonpartisan and above politics." On the other hand, the Republicans would probably intensify their efforts to make an issue of Communist infiltration in government. In this area, however, "The President adroitly stole their thunder by initiating his own government employee loyalty investigation procedure."

In the domestic field, Clifford saw high prices and the housing shortage as the most pressing issues to the average citizen. He urged that the President call upon the next session of Congress to enact a maximum anti-inflation program, including mandatory price controls, an ambitious housing program, and tax revisions favoring lower-income groups. The President would offer his program in full awareness that the Republicans would reject it and thus be politically vulnerable. Clifford's strategy could hardly have been more forthright or candidly phrased (this was, after all, a private memorandum): "... the Administration should select the issues upon which there will be conflict with the majority in Congress. It can assume it will get no major part of its own program approved. Its tactics must, therefore, be entirely different than if there were any real point to bargaining and compromise. Its recommendations—in the State of the Union message and elsewhere—must be tailored for the voter, not the Congressman; they must display a label which reads 'no compromises.'"

This strategy was designed not only to embarrass the Republicans but to steal Henry Wallace's thunder, for if Wallace drew enough votes, especially in the West, he would defeat Truman. Clifford pointed out that in 1924 the third-party candidate, Robert La Follette, polled more votes than the Democratic candidate in eleven western states. To undercut Wallace's appeal, Clifford urged that at the psychologically correct moment the Communist inspiration behind Wallace's campaign should be denounced by "prominent liberals and progressives—and no one else." But denunciation

would not be enough; Truman had to move to the left in order to attract Wallace's followers. An ambitious program of economic measures and civil rights reforms was only part of the strategy which Clifford proposed, for he was worried by Wallace's calling the roll of the many Wall Street figures in the Truman administration—such men as Averell Harriman, Robert Lovett, James Forrestal and William Draper. Clifford saw Wallace appealing "to the atavistic fears of all progressives—the fear of 'Wall Street.'" Clifford urged the President to make "some top level appointments from the ranks of the progressives—in foreign as well as domestic affairs." It was important to make the effort, he argued, even if some of the appointees should not be confirmed by the Senate.

The memorandum deplored the decay of the Democratic party organization, urged that a new chairman be soon appointed to rebuild the party, and that a small working committee be established to coordinate the political program of the administration, provide monthly estimates of the political situation, and begin the drafting of memoranda for the 1948 platform and major campaign speeches. Clifford also stressed the need for close liaison with the labor movement and with independent liberals. In these sections Clifford's memorandum became a fascinating manual on the practical arts of politics at the Presidential level. He urged President Truman personally to cultivate labor leaders, who of late had rarely been seen in the White House. "It is easy for the incumbent of the White House to forget the 'magic' of his office," Clifford explained. But he cautioned that in such private colloquies the President ask advice on "matters in general," for "it is dangerous to ask a labor leader for advice on a *specific* matter and then ignore that advice."

Clifford spent a good deal of space on the problem of refurbishing what he called the President's "portrait" ("image," as a public relations term, had not yet come into general use). He pointed out that most people get their impressions of a President from his activities as Chief of State, but that Truman had been notably reticent in this area, with the consequence that he was largely thought of as a politician. Clifford made a number of proposals whereby the President might correct this distorted view. One of them was to exploit the social resources of the White House, by inviting one or two

"nonpolitical personages" for lunch each week; the newspapers would inevitably give these encounters great publicity. Henry Ford II, who was receiving an excellent press as the young head of the Ford Motor Company, was an obvious candidate; Clifford saw considerable popular appeal in "this picture of the American President and the Young Business Man together."

Equally impressive would be a lunch with Albert Einstein, with the President explaining at his next press conference "that they talked, in general, about the *peacetime* uses of atomic energy and its potentialities for our civilization. He can then casually mention that he has been spending some of his leisure time getting caught up with atomic energy"—which would doubtless have acted as a corrective to the common impression that Truman spent much of his leisure time at the poker table. Another way to display his more reflective side to the public would be for the President to suggest to the newsmen "that it would do them no harm at all to read such and such a book (as long as he picks the right one) which he has just read." His staff would have presumably provided the President with an appropriate list.

Clifford also suggested that Truman repeat the nonpolitical "inspection tours" which Roosevelt employed in the 1940 campaign. The problem was that a President could not campaign openly until after the party conventions, yet there was urgent need for him to carry his case to the voters long before the late summer of 1948. F.D.R.'s inspection tours had been marvelously effective. "No matter how much the opposition and the press pointed out the political overtones of those trips," Clifford wrote, "the people paid little attention because what they saw was the Head of State performing his duties." The people were to show a similarly tolerant attitude toward President Truman on his "nonpolitical" coast-to-coast train tour the following June.

Truman read the document carefully and discussed it at length with Clifford. He was in general agreement with the analysis and proposed strategy, although he had little sympathy for the public relations gimmickry to sell the President to the American people. He was not about to turn the White House over to labor leaders with whom he felt little personal rapport or to invite Albert Einstein or Henry Ford to lunch or to nominate prominent liberals to high

office in the knowledge that the Senate would knock them down. He found these gestures too obviously synthetic and out of character. On the other hand, the concept of a bold, uncompromising political offensive appealed to him.²¹ He subsequently agreed that it would start with the State of the Union message on January 7.

THE WHITE HOUSE

MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE
(Wellesley, MA)

Embargoed for release
until 10:30 a.m. E.D.T.
Friday, June 1, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS OF MRS. BUSH AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

Severance Green
Wellesley College
Wellesley, Massachusetts

THANK YOU PRESIDENT KEOHANE, MRS. GORBACHEV, TRUSTEES,
FACULTY, PARENTS, JULIE PORTER, CHRISTINE BICKNELL AND THE CLASS
OF 1990. I AM THRILLED TO BE WITH YOU TODAY, AND VERY EXCITED,
AS I KNOW YOU MUST ALL BE, THAT MRS. GORBACHEV COULD JOIN US.

MORE THAN TEN YEARS AGO WHEN I WAS INVITED HERE TO TALK
ABOUT OUR EXPERIENCES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, I WAS
STRUCK BY BOTH THE NATURAL BEAUTY OF YOUR CAMPUS ... AND THE
SPIRIT OF THIS PLACE.

WELLESLEY, YOU SEE, IS NOT JUST A PLACE ... BUT AN IDEA ...
AN EXPERIMENT IN EXCELLENCE IN WHICH DIVERSITY IS NOT JUST
TOLERATED, BUT IS EMBRACED.

- more -

THE ESSENCE OF THIS SPIRIT WAS CAPTURED IN A MOVING SPEECH ABOUT TOLERANCE GIVEN LAST YEAR BY THE STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT OF ONE OF YOUR SISTER COLLEGES. SHE RELATED THE STORY BY ROBERT FULGHUM ABOUT A YOUNG PASTOR WHO, FINDING HIMSELF IN CHARGE OF SOME VERY ENERGETIC CHILDREN, HIT UPON A GAME CALLED "GIANTS, WIZARDS AND DWARFS." "YOU HAVE TO DECIDE NOW," THE PASTOR INSTRUCTED THE CHILDREN, "WHICH YOU ARE ... A GIANT, A WIZARD OR A DWARF?" AT THAT, A SMALL GIRL TUGGING ON HIS PANTS LEG, ASKED, "BUT WHERE DO THE MERMAIDS STAND?"

THE PASTOR TOLD HER THERE ARE NO MERMAIDS. "OH YES THERE ARE," SHE SAID. "I AM A MERMAID."

THIS LITTLE GIRL KNEW WHAT SHE WAS AND SHE WAS NOT ABOUT TO GIVE UP ON EITHER HER IDENTITY OR THE GAME. SHE INTENDED TO TAKE HER PLACE WHEREVER MERMAIDS FIT INTO THE SCHEME OF THINGS. WHERE DO THE MERMAIDS STAND ... ALL THOSE WHO ARE DIFFERENT, THOSE WHO DO NOT FIT THE BOXES AND THE PIGEONHOLES? "ANSWER THAT QUESTION," WROTE FULGHUM, "AND YOU CAN BUILD A SCHOOL, A NATION, OR A WHOLE WORLD ON IT."

AS THAT VERY WISE YOUNG WOMAN SAID ... "DIVERSITY ... LIKE ANYTHING WORTH HAVING ... REQUIRES EFFORT." EFFORT TO LEARN ABOUT AND RESPECT DIFFERENCE, TO BE COMPASSIONATE WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO CHERISH OUR OWN IDENTITY ... AND TO ACCEPT UNCONDITIONALLY THE SAME IN ALL OTHERS.

YOU SHOULD ALL BE VERY PROUD THAT THIS IS THE WELLESLEY SPIRIT. NOW I KNOW YOUR FIRST CHOICE FOR TODAY WAS ALICE WALKER, KNOWN FOR THE COLOR PURPLE. INSTEAD YOU GOT ME - KNOWN FOR ... THE COLOR OF MY HAIR! OF COURSE, ALICE WALKER'S BOOK HAS A SPECIAL RESONANCE HERE. AT WELLESLEY, EACH CLASS IS KNOWN BY A SPECIAL COLOR ... AND FOR FOUR YEARS THE CLASS OF '90 HAS WORN THE COLOR PURPLE. TODAY YOU MEET ON SEVERANCE GREEN TO SAY GOODBYE TO ALL THAT ... TO BEGIN A NEW AND VERY PERSONAL JOURNEY .. A SEARCH FOR YOUR OWN TRUE COLORS.

IN THE WORLD THAT AWAITS YOU BEYOND THE SHORES OF LAKE WABAN, NO ONE CAN SAY WHAT YOUR TRUE COLORS WILL BE. BUT THIS I KNOW: YOU HAVE A FIRST CLASS EDUCATION FROM A FIRST CLASS SCHOOL. AND SO YOU NEED NOT, PROBABLY CANNOT, LIVE A "PAINT-BY-NUMBERS" LIFE. DECISIONS ARE NOT IRREVOCABLE. CHOICES DO COME BACK. AS YOU SET OFF FROM WELLESLEY, I HOPE THAT MANY OF YOU WILL CONSIDER MAKING THREE VERY SPECIAL CHOICES.

THE FIRST IS TO BELIEVE IN SOMETHING LARGER THAN YOURSELF ... TO GET INVOLVED IN SOME OF THE BIG IDEAS OF YOUR TIME. I CHOSE LITERACY BECAUSE I HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT IF MORE PEOPLE COULD READ, WRITE AND COMPREHEND, WE WOULD BE THAT MUCH CLOSER TO SOLVING SO MANY OF THE PROBLEMS PLAGUING OUR SOCIETY.

EARLY ON I MADE ANOTHER CHOICE WHICH I HOPE YOU WILL MAKE AS WELL. WHETHER YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT EDUCATION, CAREER OR SERVICE, YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT LIFE ... AND LIFE MUST HAVE JOY. IT'S SUPPOSED TO BE FUN!

ONE OF THE REASONS I MADE THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION OF MY LIFE ... TO MARRY GEORGE BUSH ... IS BECAUSE HE MADE ME LAUGH. IT'S TRUE, SOMETIMES WE'VE LAUGHED THROUGH OUR TEARS ... BUT THAT SHARED LAUGHTER HAS BEEN ONE OF OUR STRONGEST BONDS. FIND THE JOY IN LIFE, BECAUSE AS FERRIS BUELLER SAID ON HIS DAY OFF ... "LIFE MOVES PRETTY FAST. YA DON'T STOP AND LOOK AROUND ONCE IN A WHILE, YA GONNA MISS IT!"

THE THIRD CHOICE THAT MUST NOT BE MISSED IS TO CHERISH YOUR HUMAN CONNECTIONS: YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS AND FAMILY. FOR SEVERAL YEARS, YOU'VE HAD IMPRESSED UPON YOU THE IMPORTANCE TO YOUR CAREER OF DEDICATION AND HARD WORK. THIS IS TRUE, BUT AS IMPORTANT AS YOUR OBLIGATIONS AS A DOCTOR, LAWYER OR BUSINESS LEADER WILL BE, YOU ARE A HUMAN BEING FIRST AND THOSE HUMAN CONNECTIONS -- WITH SPOUSES, WITH CHILDREN, WITH FRIENDS -- ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT INVESTMENTS YOU WILL EVER MAKE.

AT THE END OF YOUR LIFE, YOU WILL NEVER REGRET NOT HAVING PASSED ONE MORE TEST, NOT WINNING ONE MORE VERDICT OR NOT CLOSING ONE MORE DEAL. YOU WILL REGRET TIME NOT SPENT WITH A HUSBAND, A FRIEND, A CHILD OR A PARENT.

WE ARE IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD RIGHT NOW ... FASCINATING AND EXHILARATING TIMES ... LEARNING TO ADJUST TO THE CHANGES AND THE CHOICES WE ... MEN AND WOMEN ... ARE FACING. I REMEMBER WHAT A FRIEND SAID, ON HEARING HER HUSBAND LAMENT TO HIS BUDDIES THAT HE HAD TO BABYSIT. QUICKLY SETTING HIM STRAIGHT ... MY FRIEND TOLD HER HUSBAND THAT WHEN IT'S YOUR OWN KIDS ... IT'S NOT CALLED BABYSITTING!

- more -

MAYBE WE SHOULD ADJUST FASTER, MAYBE SLOWER. BUT WHATEVER THE ERA ... WHATEVER THE TIMES, ONE THING WILL NEVER CHANGE: FATHERS AND MOTHERS, IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN ... THEY MUST COME FIRST. YOUR SUCCESS AS A FAMILY ... OUR SUCCESS AS A SOCIETY ... DEPENDS NOT ON WHAT HAPPENS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT ON WHAT HAPPENS INSIDE YOUR HOUSE.

FOR OVER 50 YEARS, IT WAS SAID THAT THE WINNER OF WELLESLEY'S ANNUAL HOOP RACE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO GET MARRIED. NOW THEY SAY THE WINNER WILL BE THE FIRST TO BECOME A C.E.O. BOTH OF THESE STEREOTYPES SHOW TOO LITTLE TOLERANCE FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO KNOW WHERE THE MERMAIDS STAND. SO I OFFER YOU TODAY A NEW LEGEND: THE WINNER OF THE HOOP RACE WILL BE THE FIRST TO REALIZE HER DREAM ... NOT SOCIETY'S DREAM ... HER OWN PERSONAL DREAM. AND WHO KNOWS? SOMEWHERE OUT IN THIS AUDIENCE MAY EVEN BE SOMEONE WHO WILL ONE DAY FOLLOW IN MY FOOTSTEPS, AND PRESIDE OVER THE WHITE HOUSE AS THE PRESIDENT'S SPOUSE. I WISH HIM WELL!

THE CONTROVERSY ENDS HERE. BUT OUR CONVERSATION IS ONLY BEGINNING. AND A WORTHWHILE CONVERSATION IT IS. SO AS YOU LEAVE WELLESLEY TODAY, TAKE WITH YOU DEEP THANKS FOR THE COURTESY AND HONOR YOU HAVE SHARED WITH MRS. GORBACHEV AND ME. THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND MAY YOUR FUTURE BE WORTHY OF YOUR DREAMS.

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11:00 A.M. NEWS UPDATE

SUMMIT (Reuter) -- President Gorbachev said Moscow had no argument with the U.S. retaining a military presence in Europe. Gorbachev told U.S. congressmen that at this time of rapid and dramatic change in Europe it was important that there was stability on the continent.

(Moscow/AP) -- Soviets are being bombarded with pictures of adoring Westerners greeting Mikhail Gorbachev, a painful reminder of the contrast between their president's success abroad and his failure to improve life at home. Images of Gorbachev and his stylishly dressed wife in the land of plenty are flooding newspapers and television screens back home in the land of empty shelves.

(AP) -- Afghans, Koreans and other protesters trying to get messages through to Gorbachev aren't making much headway, and so far have been outnumbered by tourists, office-workers and police at their assembly site across from the White House. For Thursday's opening summit session, the demonstrators in Lafayette Park filled only a tiny portion of the city-block-sized greenery. Police reported no violent incidents or arrests.

(UPI) -- A superpower boundary dispute with roots in the U.S. purchase of Alaska from czarist Russia will be settled under a treaty to be signed at the summit. As part of the accord, which needs Senate ratification, the U.S. will gain jurisdiction over some 13,200 square nautical miles of open sea -- along with its fisheries and undersea mineral rights -- previously claimed by the Soviets. The agreement resolves a conflict that arose from different mapping techniques used by American and Russian cartographers.

YELTSIN/LITHUANIA (Moscow/AP) -- Boris Yeltsin promised that the Russian republic will foster close ties with the secessionist Baltic region, Lithuanian sources said. Yeltsin met with President Landsbergis for "a very friendly talk with full mutual understanding," said Natasha Boganova, secretary of the Lithuanian representation in Moscow, where the two met. Yeltsin's offer of cooperation signaled his willingness to ignore the Kremlin's economic sanctions against Lithuania and represented a direct challenge to President Gorbachev's efforts to isolate Lithuania.

FIRST LADIES' TRIP (Wellesley/UPI) -- With the air of protest tempered, the welcome mat graced the rolling suburban campus of prestigious Wellesley College for commencement speakers Barbara Bush and Soviet counterpart Raisa Gorbachev. Graduates who earlier this spring opposed the choice of Mrs. Bush as the main speaker for the school's 112th commencement redirected their activist energies, saying they will urge the first lady to work harder for women's rights. "We think she should begin to focus on women's issues more publicly," said senior Ruth Potee, who added that students wrote to Mrs. Bush requesting more support for issues such as day care and reproductive rights.

LIBERIA (Monrovia/AP) -- As rebel troops closed in on the capital, a U.S. Navy flotilla stood off the Liberian coast to evacuate Americans if necessary, the Pentagon said. President Doe refused to resign and vowed he would be the last to leave the city.

(Monrovia/AP) -- Doe is appealing to the U.S. and others for help in ending the civil war. At the same news conference, he announced that he will not stand for re-election in 1991. The offer appears to be an attempt to stem the fighting, but analysts give it little chance of having an effect.

SOUTH AFRICA (Cape Town/Reuter) -- The South African government, toppling one of the four remaining pillars of apartheid, published a bill to end 37 years of racial segregation in public amenities. It proposes to end segregation in places like town halls, recreational facilities and holiday resorts on Oct. 15. An official said the bill was likely to win majority support in the separate white, colored and Indian houses of parliament and should be passed into law within three weeks.

EMPLOYMENT (UPI) -- America's jobless rate dipped to 5.3% in May with the hiring of legions of temporary workers to help collect data for the government's 1990 census, the Labor Department said. "Private payrolls, however, were little changed," the report said, as the manufacturing sector continued to eliminate jobs and the construction industry hired fewer people than usual in May.

PALESTINIAN BOYCOTT (Jerusalem/Reuter) -- Palestinian leaders in the Israeli-occupied territories broke off contacts with the U.S. after Washington vetoed a resolution to send a fact finding mission to the occupation zone. "The United States is outside international legitimacy by vetoing the decision," the statement by 50 leading activists said.

PALESTINIAN RAID/ARAFAT (Jerusalem/AP) -- PLO chief Arafat probably did not know beforehand about the seaborne raid by Palestinian guerrillas on Israel, the nation's military intelligence chief said in an interview published today. The comment by Gen. Amnon Shahak contradicted Foreign Ministry officials who claimed that Arafat met last week with the raid's mastermind, Mohammed Abbas, and almost certainly knew of the planned strike. Libya has admitted to helping mount the strike.

(Cairo/Reuter) -- Libya denied Israeli accusations it was involved in the raid. "It is certain that Libya has no link with this operation," Libyan Foreign Minister Jaddalah Azzouz al-Talhi told reporters at Cairo airport, where he was accompanying Libyan leader Gaddafi.

CHINESE SUICIDE (Beijing/UPI) -- A Chinese man set himself on fire outside the U.S. Consulate in Shanghai, suffering severe burns, U.S. officials said. A motive was not immediately apparent. The man, who appeared to be in his 30s, was taken away by police.

-end-

1:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

SUMMIT (Jim Drinkard, AP) -- President Gorbachev told congressional leaders who have been reluctant to grant him trade privileges that he needs their help. But he said he would not beg for concessions. And he said a sound, stable Soviet Union is in America's interests.

(David Espo, AP) -- Gorbachev, en route to summit meetings and an arms control ceremony with President Bush, said his economic reforms require expanded trade with the U.S. but that it would be "humiliating" for him to beg for concessions. "This is a genuine revolution. Please don't be frightened," Gorbachev told congressional leaders.

(Benjamin Shore, Copley) -- Gorbachev said the Bush administration is being "rather rigid" on the question of a reunited Germany's military role as he headed into his second day of summit talks with President Bush. A Germany in NATO "gives us concern," he said, referring to Soviet memories of Nazi Germany's invasion of Russia a half-century ago.

Gorbachev also said Lithuania ignored the Soviet constitution in voting for independence. "They're not politicians, they're musicians," he said, waving his arms in an animated discussion. Asked about the Soviet blockade of Lithuania, Gorbachev asked how it differed from the U.S. invasion of Panama: "It's a double standard." Sen. Mitchell countered that most Panamanians welcomed the Americans, while a vote in Lithuania would reveal overwhelming support for independence. "Fine, fine," Gorbachev replied, "but let them do it within the constitution."

(Gene Gibbons, Reuter) -- Gorbachev said he understands the U.S. insistence on NATO membership for a united Germany and that his main concern is guaranteeing stability for a post-Cold War Europe. In discussions with congressmen he stepped up his campaign of trying to convince Americans that his country does not represent a threat to them. He also reported on his efforts to reform the Soviet Union and said his power had not been weakened and he did not want U.S. assistance.

(Lori Santos, UPI) -- President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev embarked on a second day of superpower talks and, with a major trade agreement hanging in the balance, the Soviet leader turned the focus of the summit to the crisis over Lithuania. The two leaders began their third round of Oval Office talks shortly after 11 a.m., immediately after Gorbachev, in a breakfast meeting with congressional leaders, defended his handling of the Lithuanian situation and insisted he had acted with restraint. Telling lawmakers that he has not taken more firm action against Lithuania because he did not want to jeopardize his economic reform program, Gorbachev said, "We have a lot of good will because this is a test for perestroika."

(Gary Silverman, UPI) ...After leaving the embassy Dole said, "I understand his response [on Lithuania] but I don't think it addresses our concerns," Sen. Dole said.

(Silverman, UPI continued) -- Dole noted there are many Lithuanians living in this country, "and we tried to make him understand we have a political problem too. President Bush has political problems. He (Gorbachev) is not the only one receiving pressure."

In making a pitch for the U.S. to grant his country a more favorable trade status, Gorbachev noted that has been done for China despite last June's crackdown at Tiananmen Square. Mitchell quickly told Gorbachev that many members of Congress "very much opposed" Bush's decision on trade with China and suggested Gorbachev raise the issue with Bush in their next meeting.

GORBACHEV/ARAFAT (Reuter) -- President Gorbachev said his country was ready to be guarantor of Israel's security and independence, but added that PLO leader Arafat was the man to work with to get a Mideast settlement. Although Gorbachev's comments, made to congressional leaders, did not seem to break new ground, they offered an insight into the Soviet Union's thinking on the thorny problem of solving the Mideast crisis. He said of Arafat: "He is the person to whom you work [with] for a settlement. He has the kind of attitude that makes that possible and if you are able to work with him to apply some influence, I think he may evolve even further."

PLO/TERRORISM (Tunis/AP) -- The U.S. officially asked the PLO to denounce a guerrilla raid on Israeli shores and to expel factional leader Mohammed Abu Abbas, sources close to the PLO leaders said. The demand was made in a written note that Ambassador Pelletreau delivered to PLO representative Hakam Balaoui in Tunis yesterday evening, said the sources. The State Department said the Bush administration was "horrified" by the attack and Israeli leaders immediately called for Washington to suspend contacts with the PLO, saying the attack proved the Palestinian group had not renounced terrorism.

WELLESLEY (AP) -- Barbara Bush, in a commencement speech clouded by controversy over women's roles in modern American life, exhorted Wellesley College graduates to put friends and family in their lives, whatever careers they pursue. She was joined by Raisa Gorbachev. Mrs. Bush, in her prepared text, sounded the same themes she usually discusses at commencements, but acknowledged with a joke the controversy over her appearance. "I know your first choice for today was Alice Walker, known for 'The Color Purple,' she said. "Instead you got me, known for the color of my hair," said the woman George Bush affectionately calls the Silver Fox.

CHINA/STUDENT ARRESTS (Beijing/AP) -- Three students were arrested for alleged ties to a secret anti-government group as part of tightened security prior to the anniversary of last year's crackdown on the democracy movement, fellow students said. In another development, Chinese sources said three political activists who dropped out of sight Thursday were believed to be in official custody.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1990

Dear Scott,

Your granddad, my good friend Wells, wrote me about your first year at West Point. Well done! I know you will continue to work hard, and Barbara and I wish you great happiness in your bright future.

Warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

Cadet Scott Painter
Company C, 3d Regiment
United States Corps of Cadets
West Point, New York 10997

Letter requested by Wells
McCurdy (Scott's grandfather)

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Reich
c/o Mrs. Jane Erkenbeck
4362 Rustover Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016



THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1990

Dear Melissa and Bryan,

Barbara and I are delighted to join with your family and friends in extending our warmest wishes on your wedding day. We hope that your years together will be filled with joy and many blessings.

Congratulations on this special day!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George Bush".

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jane".

George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

COLLECTION:

Bush Presidential Records
Office of the President

ACCESSION NUMBER:

1993.0001

FOIA/SYSTEMATIC
PROCESSING CASE
NUMBER (if app.):

☐ Transferred During Accessioning

☒ Transferred During Processing

2009-0166-S

The following material was transferred to:

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☐ **Book Collection**

☐ **Museum Collection**

☐ **Other**

Other (Specify):

DESCRIPTION:

White House Photographs: P13346-12A, P13344-19 [Gorbachev - Third meeting]; P13349-33A [Expanded meeting]; P13356-04 [NSC meeting after-meeting]; P13376-32, P13385-08, P13389-04A (2) [President Bush & President Gorbachev at Signing Ceremony]

When transferring
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museum
collection,
complete the
following.

Donor:

Donor Org.:

Address:

Telephone:

Book Location:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:

Map Case Location:**Series:**

Daily Files

Box Number:

50

Folder Title:

Friday, June 1, 1990

OA/ID Number:

90549-004

Transferred by:

Deborah Wheeler

Date of Transfer:

5/20/2010

Received by:

Mary Finch

Date Received:

5/20/2010

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Go to Withdrawal Sheet

Print Record

George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

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☐ **Other**

Other (Specify):

DESCRIPTION:

White House Photographs: P13407-28 [Reciprocal Dinner at Soviet Embassy]; P13366-08, P013367-24, P013369-34A, P13362-20 [Wellesley]; P13372-09 [Boston Public Gardens]; P13378-06 [Conferring in the Red Room]

When transferring
material to the
museum
collection,
complete the
following.

Donor:

Donor Org.:

Address:

Telephone:

Book Location:

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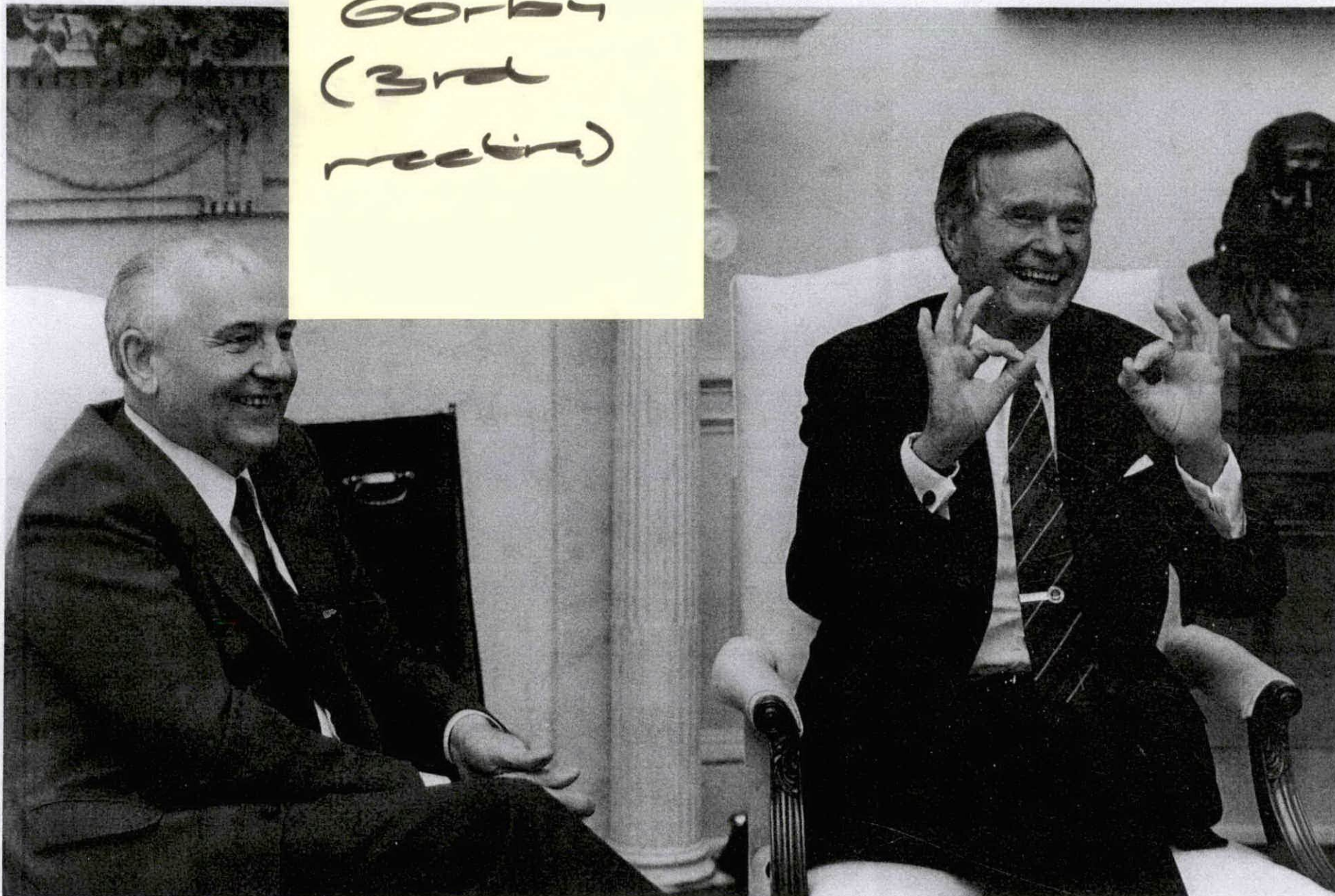
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OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH © JUN 90 P13346-12A SP

Gorbachev
(3rd
meeting)



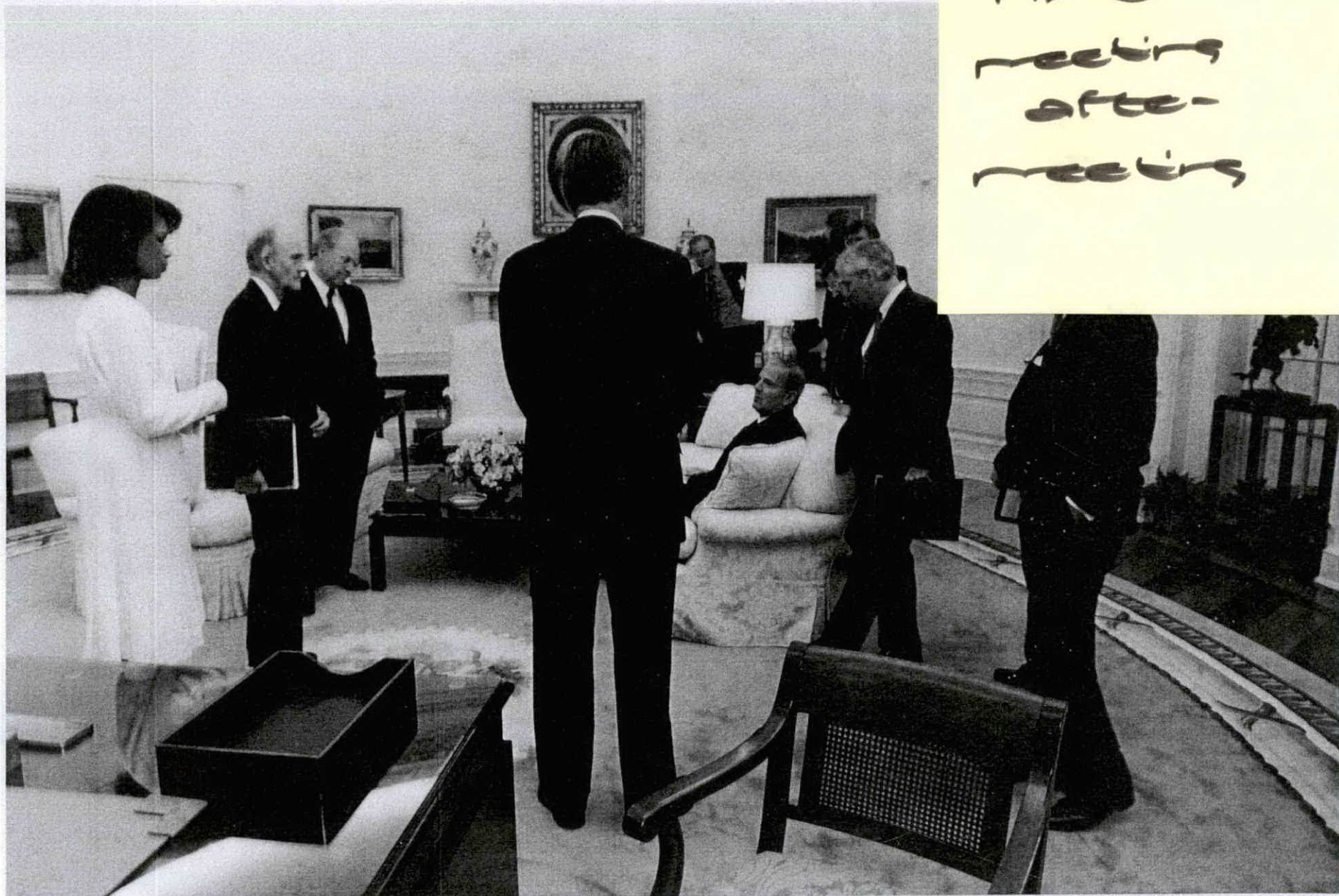
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Expanded meeting



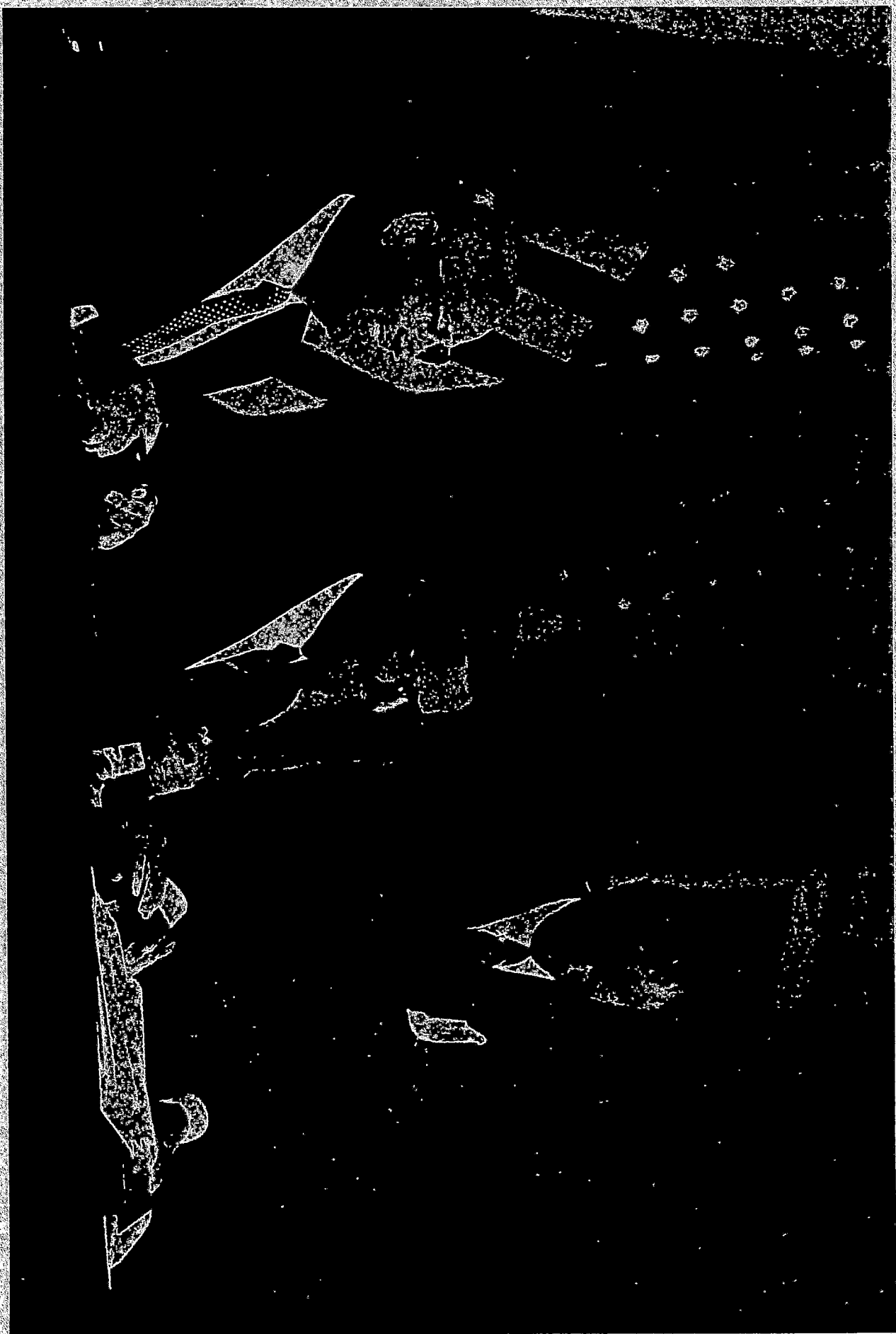
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NSC
meeting
after-
meeting



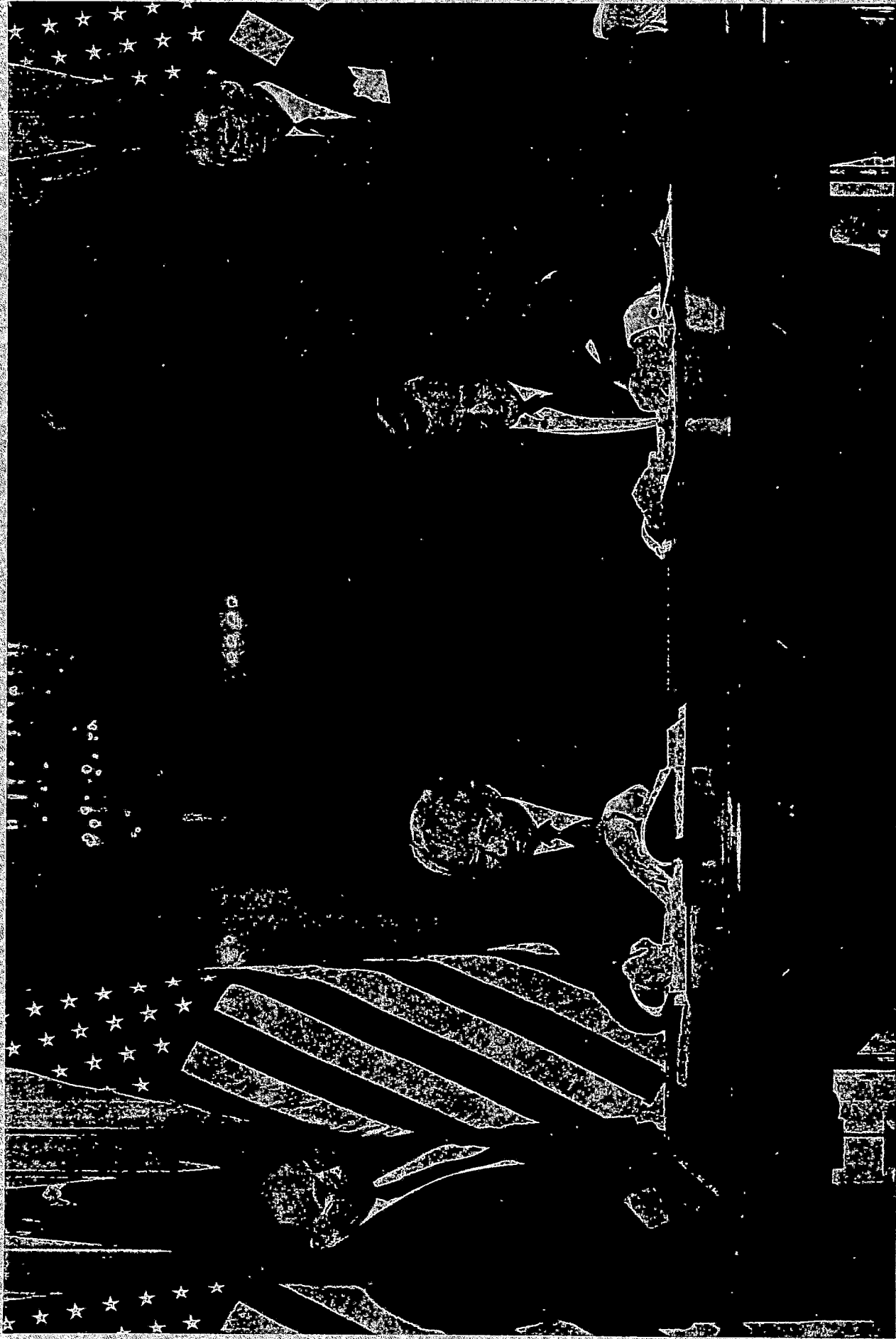
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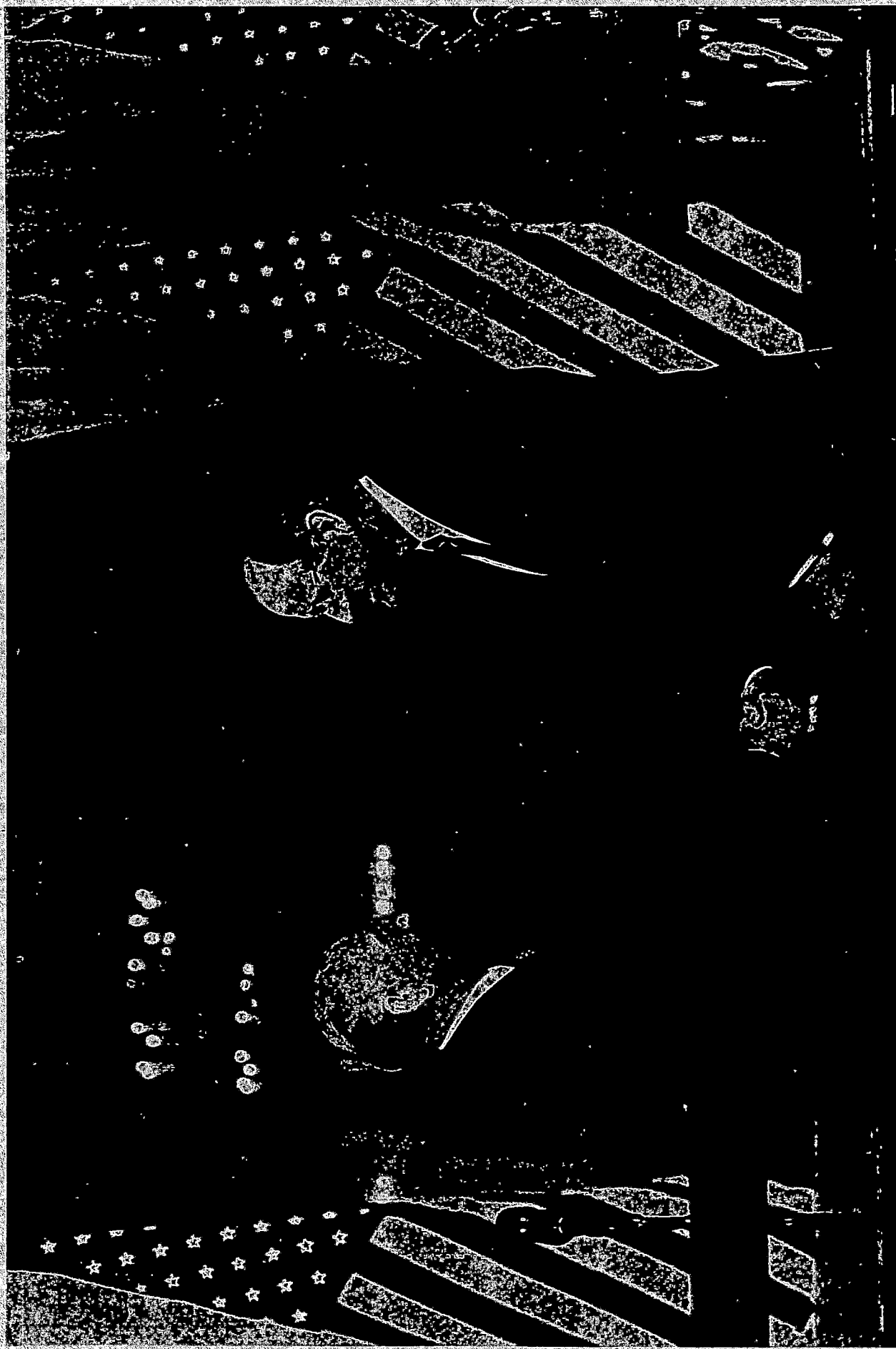
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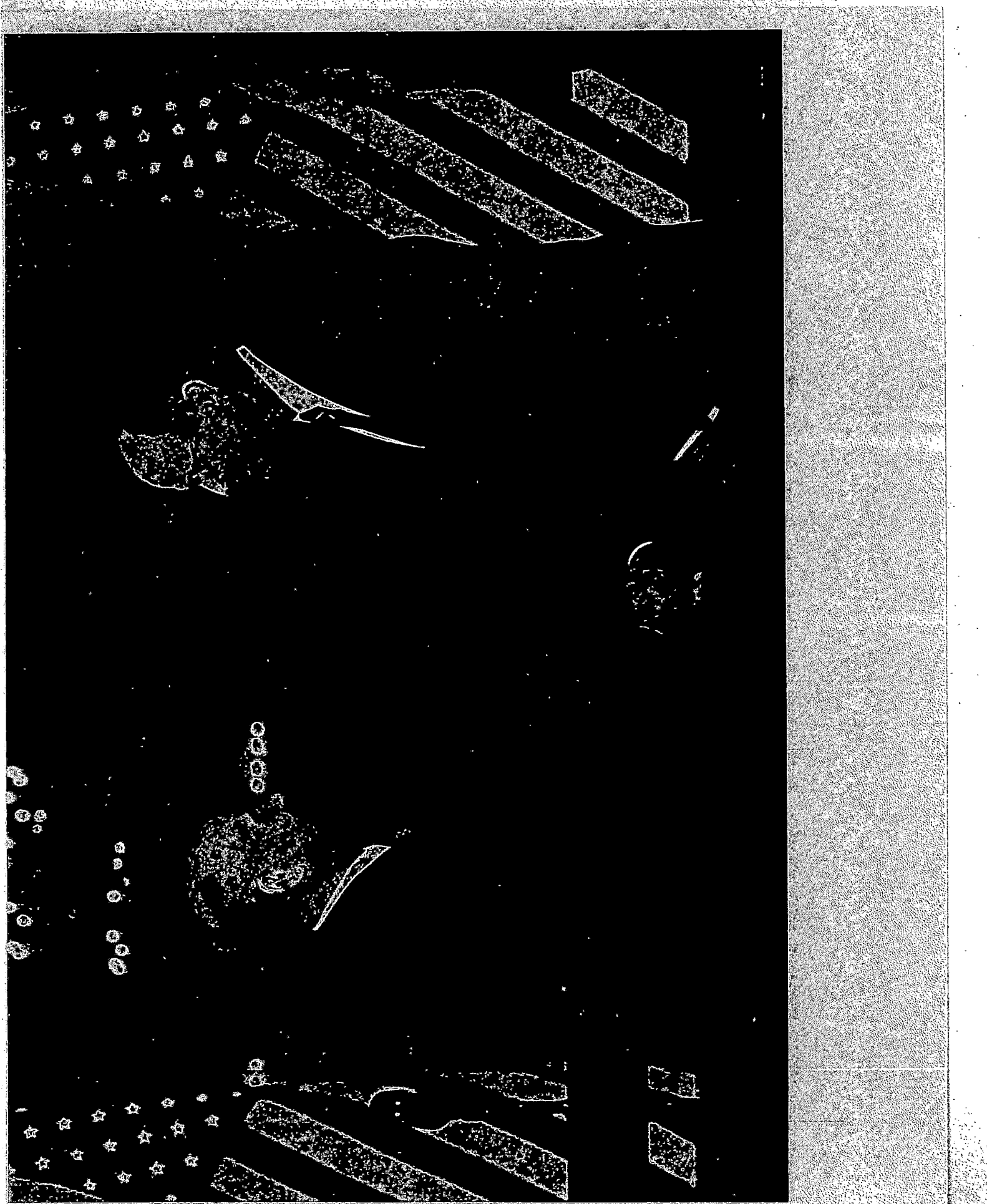


Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

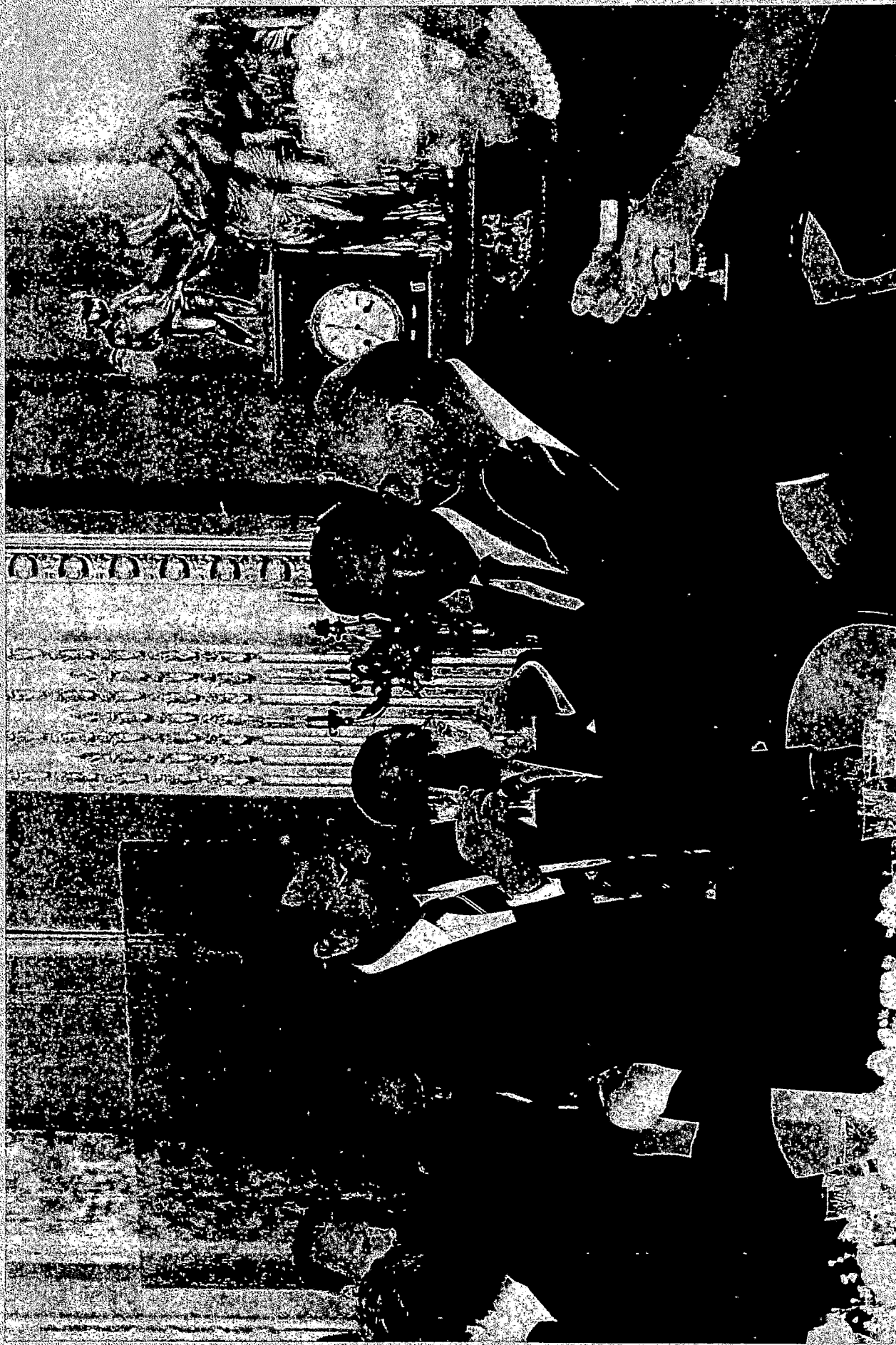
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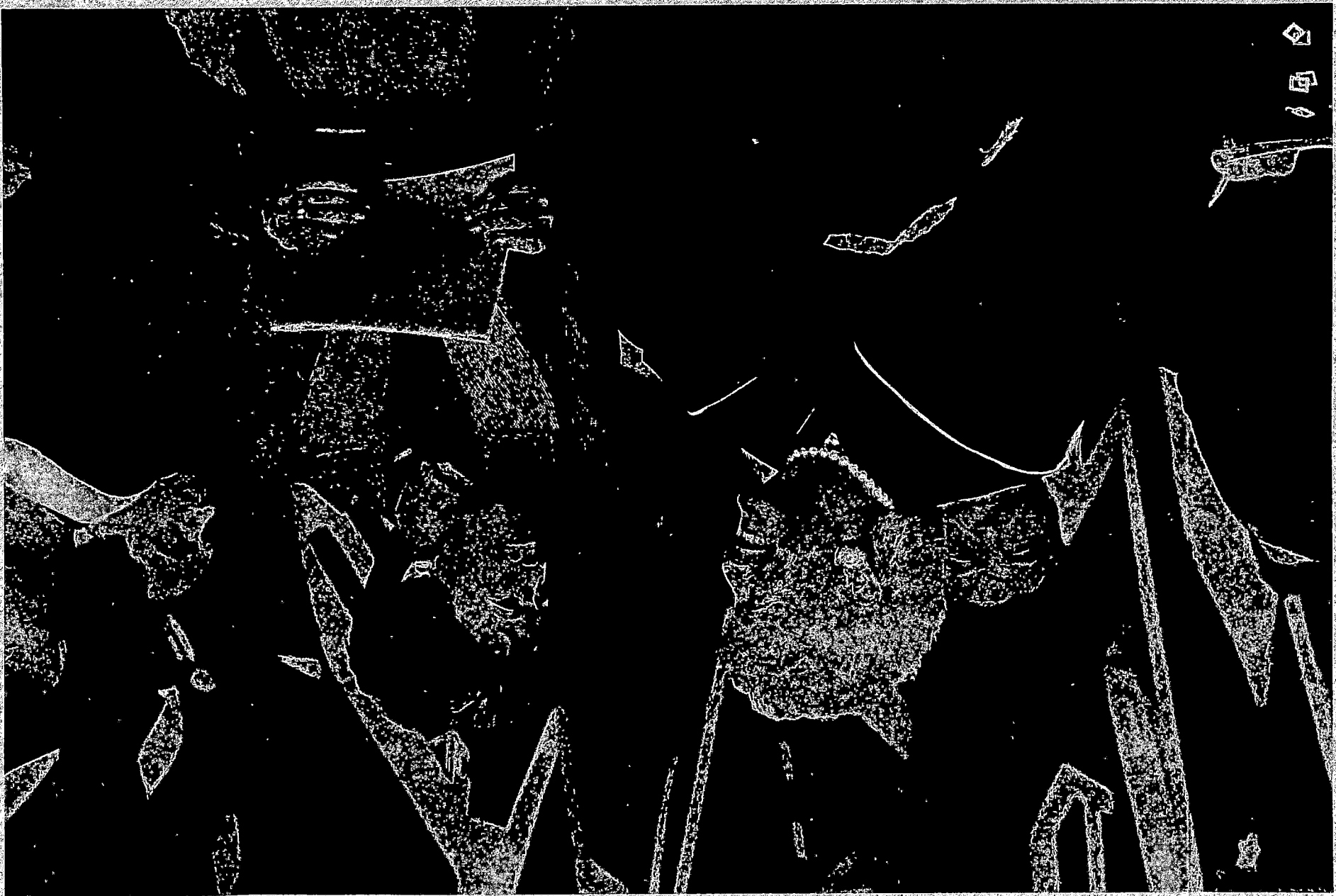
OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM LOEHLER FOR THE BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

Wellesley

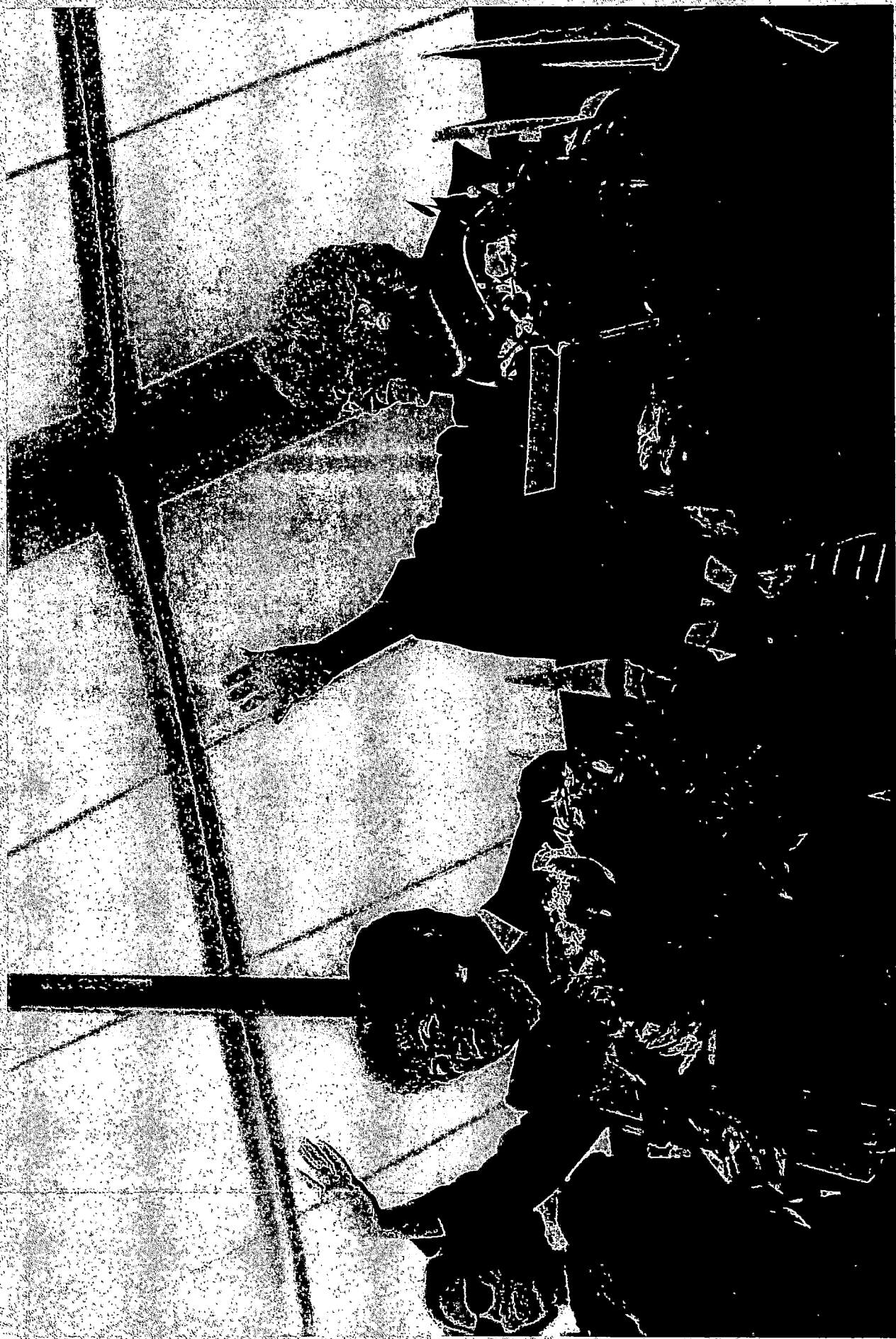


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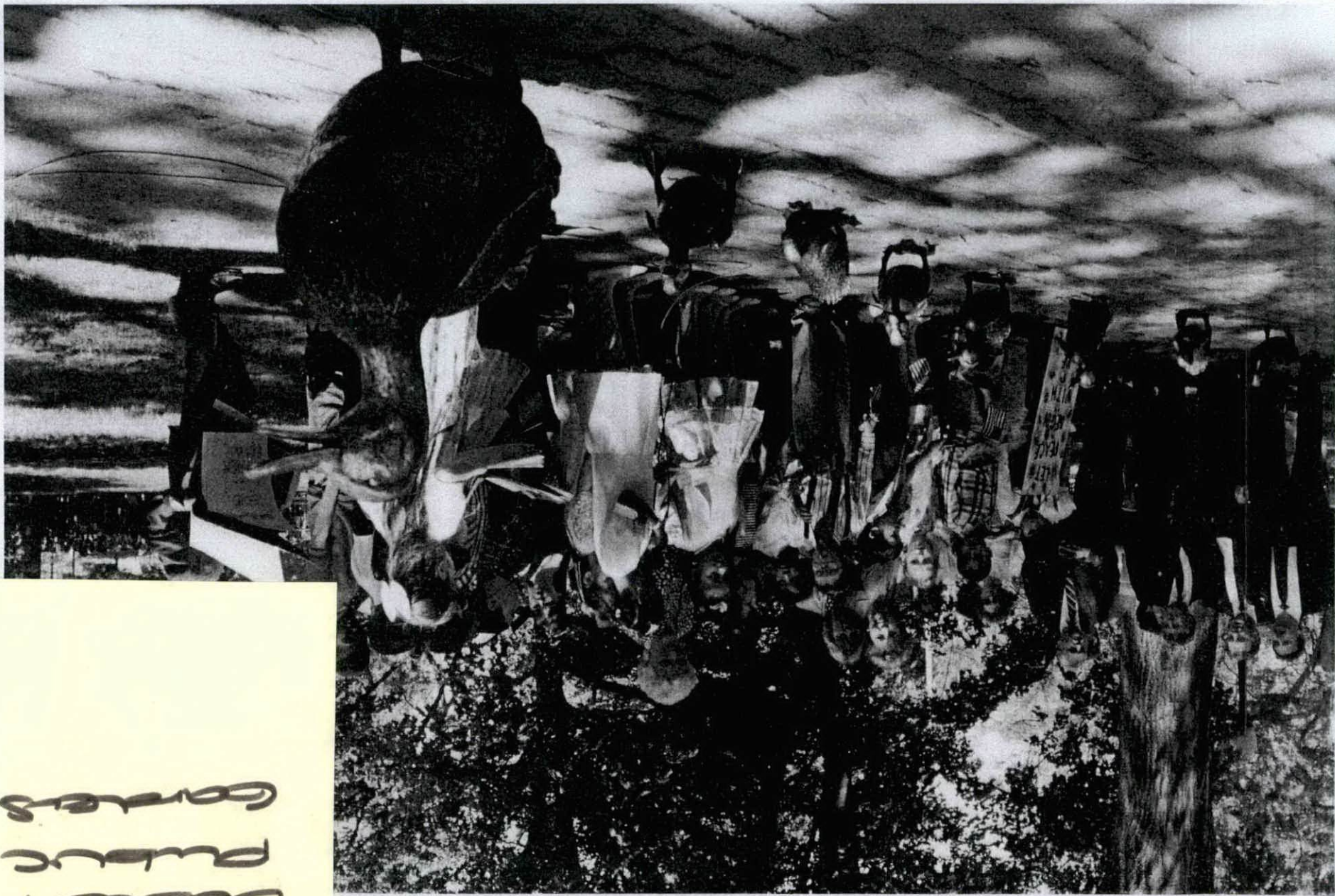
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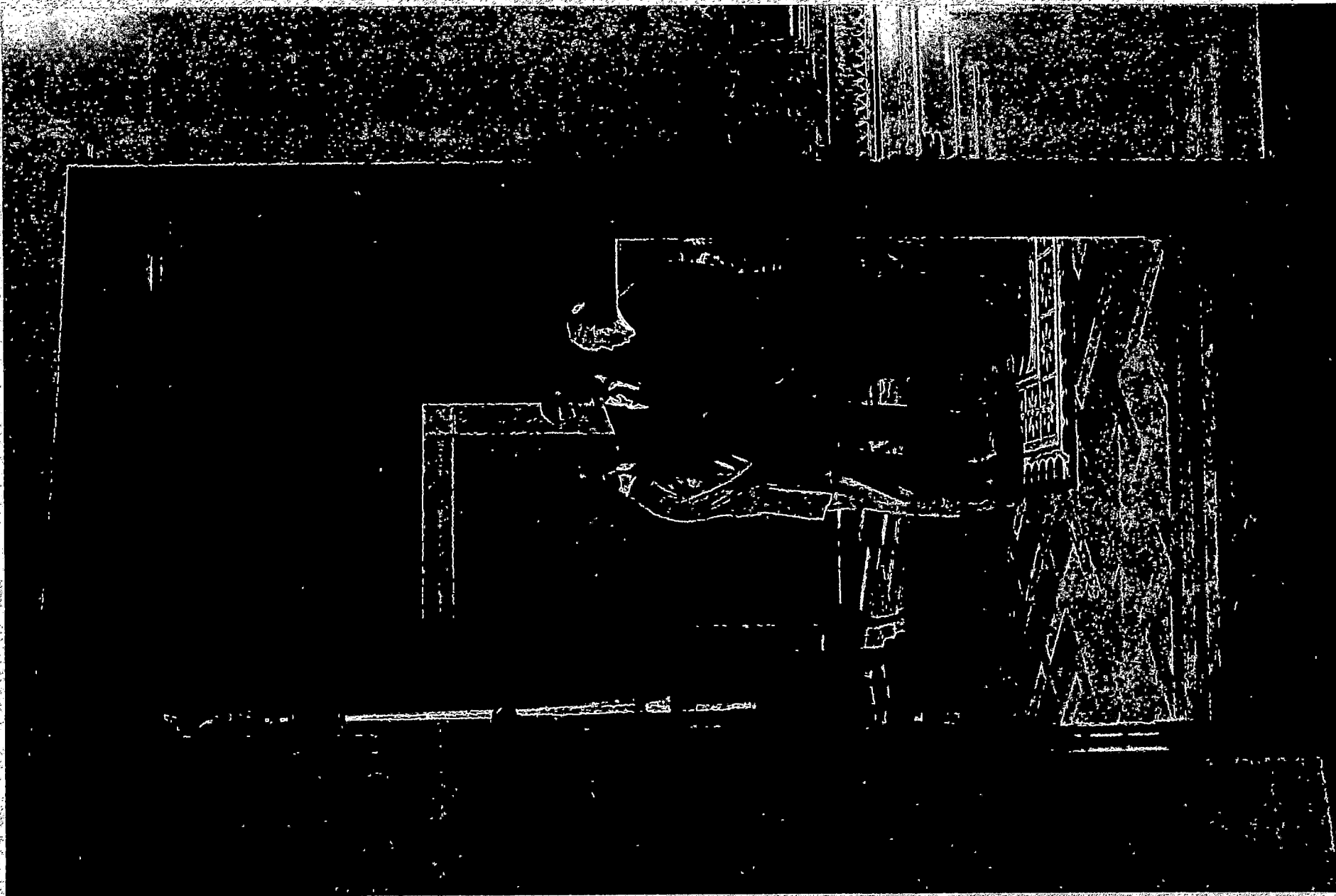


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Boston
Public
Gardens

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Patt

Type me short
review on how
Mrs. Gorb was
received at
McKee

I'd like to pass to
Gorb if good
review is

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

Presidential
Patty