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OA/ID Number: 13866
Folder ID Number: 13866-008

Folder Title:
Soviet Union Trip [Research Materials], 1991

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	19	2	5	7

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1991 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times

February 6, 1991, Wednesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: Third priest murdered in Moscow crime wave

BYLINE: From Mary Dejevsky in Moscow

BODY:

THE young dean of a central Moscow church, Father Serafim Shlykov, has been found battered to death in the flat where he was living temporarily. Police say he was bound and gagged and then struck several times on the head with a blunt object. They say the motive was probably robbery. A radio, video recorder, cassettes and money were missing.

An official report of Father Shlykov's murder, distributed by Tass, said the priest, who was 32, had fallen victim to the Moscow crime wave in which flat burglaries figure prominently.

Unofficial church sources cast doubt on this account, however. Father Shlykov is the third priest to meet a violent death in the Moscow area in the past five months. In the autumn, Father Aleksandr Men was found murdered in woods near Moscow after he had set out to conduct an early morning service. The investigation into the killing is still in progress, but police said that they believed robbery to be the motive.

Many of the priest's followers, however, suspect a political motive. Father Men, whose parish was close to the town of Zagorsk 50 miles from Moscow, had a large and devoted following among the Moscow intelligentsia who travelled miles to talk to him and receive his blessing.

Last month, a second priest, Father Lazar Solnyshko, was killed in his flat in central Moscow. He was another popular priest who devoted himself to charitable work in orphanages and hospitals. Again, police said that the motive was robbery, although some suspected a political aspect because he was a member of the church commission investigating Father Men's death.

A report published last week in Izvestia, the government newspaper, claimed that Father Solnyshko was a homosexual and alleged he was "not too particular about the men he invited back to his flat". On the night he was murdered, he was seen returning to his flat with two men, neither of whose identity has yet been established.

So far, police have said only that the motive for Father Shlykov's death was also robbery. They reported the missing goods and money and noted that he had recently spent a year at the Russian Orthodox monastery in Jerusalem, suggesting that he would have had access to foreign goods.

Priests may be especially vulnerable to violent robbery in Russia at present because they would be expected to have icons and other religious art, which

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commands large sums on the black market. Even so, Moscow's crime rate, while rising, still bears no comparison with that of big cities in the United States, and the suspicion of a political motive has not been convincingly excluded.

The latest murder will only fuel speculation. The combination of robbery, moral weakness (as in the case of Father Solnyshko) and politics is familiar terrain to the KGB. The enhanced status of the organisation in recent months, in connection with the campaign against crime and corruption, may have given some sections the boldness to revert to methods and objectives familiar from the pre-perestroika age.

TERMS:

Soviet Union



United States Department of State

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

OFFICE OF SOVIET UNION AFFAIRS (EUR/SOV)

FAX COVER SHEET

RETURN FAX NO. (202) 647-3506

DATE: 7/25/91

TO: Carol Blymire

FAX NO. 456-6218

FROM: EUR/SOV - Dan Sainz

SUBJECT: Glasnost articles, Matlock Bi

REMARKS: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

Carol,

Attached is copy of Matlock's bio.

Sidney Gloss (tel. 647-9186) in our Intelligence and Research Bureau (INR) had already received an inquiry from George Washington University about the subject of your inquiry. He says that although some people recall Gorbachev saying something like "our history books are full of lies," he may not actually have said that. Gloss believes Gorbachev left it to others to criticize textbook inaccuracies and to withdraw the books.

Gloss thinks the closest Gorbachev came to those kinds of comments was in his October, 1987 speech on the 70th anniversary of the revolution, in which he praises Khrushchev. The speech is available through the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), Tel. 338-6735. *Carroll Hamilton, Publications officer*

You may be hearing from INR; Gloss and some colleagues are looking for articles which will help. They also believe Nexus would be a fast way to locate relevant articles. You could also call a system called "Access" at 785-6630.

Hope this helps.

Sam

Мир будує а війна руйнує

Myr buduie a viina ruїnuie.

Peace is constructive and war dīstructive

Квітам потрібне сонце а людям мир.

Kvitam potribne sontse a liudiam myr.

Flowers need sun and peaple peace

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A53
1989
WH

THE CONCISE COLUMBIA DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

Robert Andrews

Columbia University Press New York

19.95

Cults

60

Women's weapons, water-drops.

William Shakespeare (1564-1616)

Oh! too convincing – dangerously dear –
In woman's eye the unanswerable tear!

Lord Byron (1788-1824)

Crying is the refuge of plain women, but the
ruin of pretty ones.

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

'It opens the lungs, washes the countenance,
exercises the eyes, and softens down the
temper', said Mr Bumble. 'So cry away'.

Oliver Twist

Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

Whatever tears one may shed, in the end one
always blows one's nose.

Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)

German poet, journalist

Cults

What is a cult? It just means not enough
people to make a minority.

Robert Altman (b. 1922)

American film director

A cult is a religion with no political power.

Tom Wolfe (b. 1931)

American journalist, author

Culture

Culture, the acquainting ourselves with the
best that has been known and said in the
world, and thus with the history of the human
spirit.

Matthew Arnold (1822-1888)

English poet, critic

Instead of dirt and poison, we have rather
chosen to fill our hives with honey and wax;
thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest
of things, which are sweetness and light.

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745)

Culture is the bed-rock, the final wall, against
which one leans one's back in a god-forsaken
chaos.

John Cowper Powys (1872-1963)

British author, poet

One ought, every day at least, to hear a little
song, read a good poem, see a fine picture,
and, if it were possible, to speak a few
reasonable words.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)

The poor have no business with culture and
should beware of it. They cannot eat it; they
cannot sell it; they can only pass it on to
others and that is why the world is full of
hungry people ready to teach us anything
under the sun.

Aubrey Menen (b. 1912)

British novelist, essayist

Culture is an instrument wielded by professors
to manufacture professors, who, when their
turn comes, will manufacture professors.

Simone Weil (1909-1943)

French mystic, philosopher

Mrs Ballinger is one of the ladies who pursue
Culture in bands, as though it were dangerous
to meet it alone.

Edith Wharton (1862-1937)

American novelist

One of the surest signs of the Philistine is his
reverence for the superior tastes of those who
put him down.

Pauline Kael (b. 1919)

American critic

SEE McCarthy on STATUS

Cunning

'Frank and explicit' – that is the right line to
take when you wish to conceal your own mind
and to confuse the minds of others.

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881)

With foxes we must play the fox.

Thomas Fuller (1654-1734)

English physician

The greatest cunning is to have none at all.

Carl Sandburg (1878-1967)

American poet

And all your future lies beneath your hat.

John Oldham (1653-1683)

English poet

SEE DISCRETION

Curiosity

Curiosity is one of the most permanent and
certain characteristics of a vigorous intellect.

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

Disinterested intellectual curiosity is the life
blood of real civilization.

G. M. Trevelyan (1876-1962)

British historian

We never stop investigating. We are never
satisfied that we know enough to get by. Every
question we answer leads on to another
question. This has become the greatest sur-
vival trick of our species.

Desmond Morris (b. 1928)

British anthropologist

The thirst to know and understand,
A large and liberal discontent.

Sir William Watson (1858-1935)

British poet

Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for
more things are shewed unto thee than men
understand.

Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus

He that breaks a thing to find out what it is
has left the path of wisdom.

61

Cynics

What is the use of straining after an amiable
view of things, when a cynical view is most
likely to be the true one?

George Bernard Shaw (1956-1950)

Cynicism is intellectual dandyism.

George Meredith (1828-1909)

English author

A cynic is just a man who found out when he
was about ten that there wasn't any Santa
Claus, and he's still upset.

James Gould Cozzens (1903-1978)

American author

A cynic is not merely one who reads bitter
lessons from the past, he is one who is
prematurely disappointed in the future.

Sydney J. Harris (b. 1917)

American journalist

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J. R. R. Tolkien (1892-1973)

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It takes a clever man to turn cynic, and a wise
man to be clever enough not to.

Fannie Hurst (1889-1968)
American novelist, playwright

What is a cynic? A man who knows the price
of everything and the value of nothing.

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

Cynics are only happy in making the world as
barren for others as they have made it for
themselves.

George Meredith (1828-1909)
English author

Cynic. A blackguard whose faulty vision sees
things as they are, not as they ought to be.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914)
American author

SEE Berkeley on HONESTY

Sir, you are making a monarchy of what should be a republic.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774)
reproving Boswell's
idolisation of Johnson's work

Hero-worship is strongest where there is least regard for human freedom.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903)
English philosopher

Historians

Events in the past may be roughly divided into those which probably never happened and those which do not matter. That is what makes the trade of historian so attractive.

W. R. Inge (1860-1954)
Dean of St Paul's, London

Very few things happen at the right time, and the rest do not happen at all; the conscientious historian will correct these defects.

Herodotus (484-425 BC)

History repeats itself; historians repeat each other.

Philip Guedalla (1889-1944)
British author

Historians are like deaf people who go on answering questions that no one has asked them.

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)

God cannot alter the past; that is why he is obliged to connive at the existence of historians.

Samuel Butler (1835-1902)
English author

A historian is a prophet in reverse.

Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829)
German historian, literary critic

Historian: an unsuccessful novelist.

H. L. Mencken (1880-1956)
American journalist

The first duty of an historian is to be on his guard against his own sympathies.

J. A. Froude (1818-1894)
British author

The middle sort of historians (of which the most part are) spoil all; they will chew our meat for us.

Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592)
French essayist

To give an accurate and exhaustive account of that period would need a far less brilliant pen than mine.

Sir Max Beerbohm (1872-1956)
British author

Another damned, thick, square book! Always scribble, scribble, scribble! Eh! Mr Gibbon?

William Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1743-1805)
brother of George III

Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer.

Lord Byron (1788-1824)
of Gibbon

In analysing history do not be too profound, for often the causes are quite superficial.

R. W. Emerson (1803-1882)
American essayist, poet, philosopher

History

The principal office of history I take to be this: to prevent virtuous actions from being forgotten, and that evil words and deeds should fear an infamous reputation with posterity.

Tacitus (c. 55-c. 120)
Roman historian

Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.

George Santayana (1863-1952)
American philosopher, poet

History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Every time history repeats itself the price goes up.

anonymous

History is Philosophy teaching by examples.

Henry St John (Viscount Bolingbroke) (1678-1751)
English politician, intriguer

But what experience and history teach is this – that peoples and governments have never learned anything from history, or acted on the principles deduced from it.

Georg Hegel (1770-1831)

History is bunk.

Henry Ford (1863-1947)

There is nothing new in the world except the history you do not know.

Harry S. Truman (1884-1972)

Only the history of free peoples is worth our attention; the history of men under a despotism is merely a collection of anecdotes.

Nicolas-Sébastien Chamfort (1741-1794)
French writer, wit

The essential matter of history is not what happened but what people thought or said about it.

Frederic W. Maitland (1850-1906)
English writer on law

History, a distillation of Rumour.

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)
Scottish author

Ancient histories are but fables that have been agreed upon.

Voltaire (1694-1778)

History is the crystallisation of popular beliefs.

Donn Piatt (1819-1891)
American journalist

Gossip is none the less gossip because it comes from venerable antiquity.

Mandell Creighton (1843-1928)
English prelate, his

If a man could say nothing against a character but what he can prove, history could not be written.

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1795)

History is better written from letters. . . public character has ever stood the revelation of private utterance and correspondence.

Lord Acton (1834-1906)
English hist

The so-called lessons of history are for the most part the rationalisation of the victor. History is written by the survivors.

Max Lerner (b. 1902)
American acad

History. An account, mostly false, of events, mostly unimportant, which are brought about by rulers, mostly knaves, and soldiers, mostly fools.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-1933)
American au

History, which is, indeed, little more than a register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794)

The history of the world is the record of a man in quest of his daily bread and butter.

Hendrik Van Loon (1882-1954)
American journalist, hist

Who has fully realised that history is contained in thick books but lives in our blood?

Carl Jung (1875-1961)

English history is all about men liking their fathers, and American history is all about hating their fathers and trying to burn everything they ever did.

Malcolm Bradbury (b. 1932)
British au

That great dust-heap called 'history'.

Augustine Birrell (1850-1935)
British Liberal poli

SEE Emerson on MINORITIES; ELIOT on WOMEN

Holland

Where the broad ocean leans against the land.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1794)

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product of the country is advocaat, a drink
made from lawyers.

Alan Coren (b. 1938)
British editor, humorist

Hollywood

Strip away the phony tinsel of Hollywood and
you find the real tinsel underneath.

Oscar Levant (1906-1972)
American pianist, composer

Hollywood is a place where people from Iowa
mistake each other for a star.

Fred Allen (1894-1957)
American comic

How much talent, initiative, genius and creat-
ive ability have been destroyed by the film
industry in its ruthlessly efficient sausage
machine?

Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918)
Swedish film and
theatre director

You can't call Hollywood 'The Industry' any
more. Today we have a chance to put our
personal fantasies on film.

John Frankenheimer (b. 1930)
American director

In a mere half-century, films have gone from
silent to unspeakable.

Doug Larson

Hollywood is like being nowhere and talking
to nobody about nothing.

Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912)
Italian film director

To survive there, you need the ambition of a
Latin-American revolutionary, the ego of a
grand opera tenor, and the physical stamina of
a cow pony.

Billie Burke (1885-1970)
American actress

In Europe an actor is an artist. In Hollywood,
if he isn't working, he's a bum.

Anthony Quinn (b. 1915)

To be an Englishman in the film business is to
know what it's like to be colonised.

Tony Garnett (b. 1936)
British film producer

You can seduce a man's wife there, attack his
daughter and wipe your hands on his canary,
but if you don't like his movie you're dead.

Joseph von Sternberg (1894-1969)
American director

Working for Warner Brothers is like fucking a
porcupine. It's a hundred pricks against one.

Wilson Mizner (1876-1933)
American dramatist, wit

An associate producer is the only guy in
Hollywood who will associate with a
producer.

Fred Allen (1894-1957)
American comic

Hollywood's a place where they'll pay you a

Ret.
PN6081
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WHRC

A New
DICTIONARY OF
QUOTATIONS
ON *HISTORICAL* PRINCIPLES
FROM
ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES

Selected and Edited by

H. L. MENCKEN



NEW YORK : ALFRED A. KNOPF : 1976

What happened before one was
s to be a child.

IBID.

ography teaching by examples.
OF HALICARNASSUS: *Antiquities*
of Rome, c. 20 B.C.

etry are of little value unless
e highest perfection; but his-
ver way it may be executed, is
asure.

HE YOUNGER: *Letters*, v, c. 110

histories are those written by
l command in the events they

IE MONTAIGNE: *Essays*, II, 1580

ce of history to represent the
lives, together with the coun-
ive the observations and con-
pon to the liberty and faculty
judgment.

S BACON: *The Advancement of*
Learning, II, 1605

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write what men do, and not
ht to do.

IBID.

out of history a policy no less
rnal, by the comparison and
other men's forepassed mis-
own like errors and ill de-

ALEIGH: *Historie of the World*,
pref., 1614

in sense he supplies in history.
MS: *Diseases of the Soul*, 1616

th the irregular effects of the
prices of men.

D DE FONTENELLE: *Histoire du*
ouvellement de l'Académie des
Sciences, pref., 1708

ory, for history must be false.
ALPOLE: On his deathbed, on
asked what should be read to
him, 1715

er it runs, contracts the more
ns in it the additional ordure
rough which it passes.

BURTON (BISHOP OF GLOUCES-
The Causes of Prodiges and
Miracles, I, 1727

well written only in a free

Letter to Frederick the Great,
May 27, 1737

confused heap of facts.
STERFIELD: *Letter to his son*,
Feb. 5, 1750

great events of this world is
n the history of crimes.
E: *Essai sur les mœurs*, 1754

History is only a picture of crimes and mis-
fortunes.
VOLTAIRE: *L'Ingénu*, x, 1757

My dear Smollett . . . disgraces his talent by
writing those stupid romances commonly
called history.

MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU: *Letter to the*
Countess of Bute, Oct. 3, 1758 (SMOL-
LETT'S *History of England* appeared in
1756)

On whatever side we regard the history of Eu-
rope, we shall perceive it to be a tissue of
crimes, follies, and misfortunes.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH: *The Citizen of the*
World, XLII, 1762

Happy is the nation that has no history.
C. B. BECCARIA: *Trattato dei delitti e delle*
pene, intro., 1764

How much charlatany has been put into his-
tory, either by astonishing the reader with
prodigies, by titillating human malignity with
satire, or by flattering the families of tyrants
with infamous praise!

VOLTAIRE: *Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764

We are very uncorrupt and tolerably enlight-
ened judges of the transactions of past ages;
where no passions deceive and where the
whole train of circumstances, from the trif-
ling cause to the tragical event, is set in an
orderly series before us. Few are the partisans
of departed tyranny; and to be a Whig on the
business of an hundred years ago is very
consistent with every advantage of present
servility.

EDMUND BURKE: *Thoughts on the Cause of*
the Present Discontents, 1770

There is but a shallow stream of thought in
history.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: *Boswell's Life*, April 19,
1772

All history, so far as it is not supported by con-
temporary evidence, is romance.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: *Boswell's Tour to the*
Hebrides, Nov. 20, 1773

That certain kings reigned and certain battles
were fought we can depend upon as true,
but all the coloring, all the philosophy of
history is conjecture.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: *Boswell's Life*, April 11,
1775

History . . . is little more than the register of
the crimes, follies and misfortunes of man-
kind.

EDWARD GIBBON: *The Decline and Fall of*
the Roman Empire, I, 1776 (Cf. VOL-
TAIRE, ante, 1754 and 1757)

This is my history; like all other histories, a
narrative of misery.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: *Letter to Bennet Lang-*
ton, Aug. 25, 1784

Some write a narrative of wars and feats,
Of heroes little known, and call the rant

A history. Describe the man, of whom
His own coevals took but little note,
And paint his person, character and views,
As they had known him from his mother's
womb.

WILLIAM COWPER: *The Task*, III, 1785

History makes one shudder and laugh by turns.
HORACE WALPOLE: *Letter to Lord Straf-*
ford, 1786

The histories of mankind that we possess are
histories only of the higher classes.

T. R. MALTHUS: *The Principle of Popula-*
tion, II, 1798

The important events in the world are not de-
liberately brought about; they simply occur.

G. C. LICHTENBERG: *Reflections*, 1799

History, in general, only informs us what bad
government is.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to John Nar-*
vell, 1807

I am determined to apply myself to a study
that is hateful and disgusting to my very
soul, but which is, above all studies, neces-
sary for him who would be listened to as a
mender of antiquated abuses. I mean that
record of crimes and miseries — history.

P. B. SHELLEY: *Letter to Thomas Hook-*
ham, Dec. 17, 1812

History's pen its praise or blame supplies,
And lies like truth, and still most truly lies.

BYRON: *Lara*, I, 1814

A morsel of genuine history is a thing so rare
as to be always valuable.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to John Adams*,
1817

There is the moral of all human tales;
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
First freedom, and then glory — when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, — barbarism at last.

BYRON: *Childe Harold*, IV, 1818

History fades into fable; fact becomes clouded
with doubt and controversy; the inscription
molders from the tablet: the statue falls from
the pedestal. Columns, arches, pyramids,
what are they but heaps of sand; and their
epitaphs, but characters written in the dust?

WASHINGTON IRVING: *The Sketch-Book*,
1820

The public history of all countries, and all ages,
is but a sort of mask, richly colored. The in-
terior working of the machinery must be foul.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: *Diary*, Nov. 9, 1822

Man is fed with fables through life, and leaves
it in the belief he knows something of what
has been passing, when in truth he has known
nothing but what has passed under his own
eye.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to Thomas*
Cooper, 1823

The historic muse, from age to age,
Through many a waste heart-sickening page
Hath traced the works of man.
JOHN KEBLE: *The Christian Year*, 1827

I should like much to tell the truth; but if I did,
I should be torn to pieces, here or abroad.
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON: Quoted in
SAMUEL ROGERS: *Recollections*,
c. 1827

History, at least in its state of ideal perfection,
is a compound of poetry and philosophy. It
impresses general truths on the mind by a
vivid representation of particular characters
and incidents.
T. B. MACAULAY: *Hallam*, 1828 (Edin-
burgh Review, Sept.)

To come to the true history of a country you
must read its laws; you must read books
treating of its usages and customs in former
times; and you must particularly inform
yourself as to prices of labor and of food.
WILLIAM COBBETT: *Advice to Young Men*,
II, 1829

Peoples and government have never learned
anything from history, or acted on principles
deducible from it.
G. W. F. HEGEL: *The Philosophy of History*,
1832

It is part of my creed that the only poetry is
history, could we tell it right.
THOMAS CARLYLE: *Letter to R. W. Emers-
on*, Aug. 12, 1834

Universal history, the history of what man has
accomplished in this world, is at bottom the
history of the great men who have worked
here.
THOMAS CARLYLE: *Heroes and Hero-
Worship*, I, 1840 (Lecture in
London, May 5)

Histories are a kind of distilled newspapers.
THOMAS CARLYLE: *Heroes and Hero-
Worship*, III (Lecture in London,
May 12)

The two parties which divide the state, the
party of conservatism and that of innovation,
are very old, and have disputed the posses-
sion of the world ever since it was made.
This quarrel is the subject of civil history.
R. W. EMERSON: *The Conservative*, 1841

I am ashamed to see what a shallow village tale
our so-called history is.
R. W. EMERSON: *History*, 1841

There is less intention in history than we ascribe
to it. We impute deep-laid, far-sighted plans
to Cæsar and Napoleon; but the best of their
power was in nature, not in them.
R. W. EMERSON: *Spiritual Laws*, 1841

The last phase of a world historical figure is
generally comical. History takes this course

in order that mankind may break away from
its past in good spirits.
KARL MARX: *A Criticism of the Hegelian
Philosophy of Right*, 1844

History, showing us the life of nations, has
nothing to record save wars and revolutions;
the peaceful years appear only as brief pauses
or interludes, scattered here and there.
ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER: *Parerga und
Paralipomena*, II, 1851

The study of history is said to enlarge and en-
lighten the mind. Why? Because, as I con-
ceive, it gives it a power of judging of pass-
ing events, and of all events, and a con-
scious superiority over them, which before it
did not possess.
J. H. NEWMAN: *On the Scope and Nature of
University Education*, v, 1852

The only history worth reading is that written
at the time of which it treats, the history of
what was done and seen, heard out of the
mouths of the men who did and saw.
JOHN RUSKIN: *Stones of Venice*, III, 1853

He that would know what shall be, must con-
sider what hath been.
H. C. BOHN: *Handbook of Proverbs*, 1855

History is all party pamphlets.
R. W. EMERSON: *Journal*, Feb. 18, 1855

Not that which men do worthily, but that which
they do successfully, is what history makes
haste to record.
H. W. BEECHER: *Life Thoughts*, 1858

History has the great virtue of soothing.
VICTOR DURUY: *Instruction ministérielle*,
Sept. 4, 1863

There is no law of history any more than of a
kaleidoscope.
JOHN RUSKIN: *Letter to J. A. Froude*, Jan.,
1864

History is a voice forever sounding across the
centuries the laws of right and wrong.
J. A. FROUDE: *The Science of History*, 1864
(Lecture in London, Feb. 5)

Happy the people whose annals are blank in
history-books.
THOMAS CARLYLE: *Frederick the Great*,
XVI, 1865 (Cf. BECCARIA, *ante*, 1764)

The march of Providence is so slow and our de-
sires so impatient; the work of progress is so
immense and our means of aiding it so feeble;
the life of humanity is so long, that of the
individual so brief, that we often see only the
ebb of the advancing ways, and are thus dis-
couraged. It is history that teaches us to hope.
ROBERT E. LEE: *Letter to Charles Marshall*,
c. 1866

The time is not come for impartial history. If
the truth were told just now it would not be
credited.
ROBERT E. LEE: To David Macrae (quoted
in MACRAE: *The Americans at Home*, I),
c. 1868

that mankind may break away from god spirits.

ARX: *A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right*, 1844

giving us the life of nations, has record save wars and revolutions: years appear only as brief pauses scattered here and there.

SCHOPENHAUER: *Parerga und Paralipomena*, II, 1851

History is said to enlarge and enkindle the mind. Why? Because, as I consider it a power of judging of past and of all events, and a superiority over them, which before it was not.

AN: *On the Scope and Nature of University Education*, v, 1852

The worth reading is that written which it treats, the history of the men who did and saw.

SKIN: *Stones of Venice*, III, 1853

to know what shall be, must content with what has been.

CRAMER: *Handbook of Proverbs*, 1855

fourty pamphlets.

PERSON: *Journal*, Feb. 18, 1855

men do worthily, but that which is successful, is what history makes of.

BEECHER: *Life Thoughts*, 1858

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BRUY: *Instruction ministérielle*, Sept. 4, 1863

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humanity is so long, that of the chief, that we often see only the

advancing ways, and are thus discouraged by history that teaches us to hope.

MAN: *Letter to Charles Marshall*, c. 1866

some for impartial history. If it were old just now it would not be

MAN: To David Macrae (quoted in *The Americans at Home*, I), c. 1868

The whole history of civilization is strewn with creeds and institutions which were invaluable at first, and deadly afterward.

WALTER BAGEHOT: *Physics and Politics*, 1869

History is a record of the gradual negation of man's original bestiality by the evolution of his humanity.

M. A. BAKUNIN: *Dieu et l'état*, 1871

I don't believe the truth will ever be known, and I have a great contempt for history.

GEORGE C. MEADE: On being asked to write his memoirs of the Civil War, 1871 (Cf. WELLINGTON, ante, c. 1827; LEE, 1868)

The masses of worthless gossip furnished us by historians.

HERBERT SPENCER: *The Data of Ethics*, IV, 1879

When a history book contains no lies it is always tedious.

JACQUES THIBAUT (ANATOLE FRANCE): *Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, 1881

All history is only one long story to this effect: men have struggled for power over their fellow-men in order that they might win the joys of earth at the expense of others, and might shift the burdens of life from their own shoulders upon those of others.

W. G. SUMNER: *The Forgotten Man*, 1883

History is a pageant and not a philosopher.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL: *Obiter Dicta*, II, 1887

Anybody can make history. Only a great man can write it.

OSCAR WILDE: *The Critic as Artist*, 1891

History is merely gossip.

OSCAR WILDE: *Lady Windermere's Fan*, II, 1892

The memorable events of history are the visible effects of invisible changes in human thought.

GUSTAVE LEBON: *Psychologie des foules*, intro., 1895

History is simply a piece of paper covered with print; the main thing is still to make history, not to write it.

OTTO VON BISMARCK (1815-98)

A boy who hears a lesson in history ended by the beauty of peace, and how Napoleon brought ruin upon the world and that he should be forever cursed, will not long have much confidence in his teacher. He wants to hear more about the fighting and less about the peace negotiations.

WILLIAM LEE HOWARD: *Peace, Dolls and Pugnacity*, 1903

An account mostly false, of events unimportant, which are brought about by rulers mostly knaves, and soldiers mostly fools.

AMBROSE BIERCE: *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906

Every student during his academic period ought to get up one bit of history thoroughly from the ultimate sources, in order to convince himself what history is not.

W. G. SUMNER: *Folkways*, 1907

History is bunk.

Ascribed to HENRY FORD, c. 1915 (On the stand during the trial of his suit against the *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1919, Mr. Ford denied the use of the word *bunk*, but was somewhat vague about what he did say. The following is from the record: Q. You said in 1915 and 1916, didn't you, that you did not take any stock in history; it was tradition? A. Yes. Q. You think so more now than then? A. I do, yes. Q. Did you mean to support your argument by a reference to history, the thing that you said was bunk? A. I say Mr. Delavigne added that. I don't remember ever reading it. Q. Those are not your sentiments? A. Well, I don't know about that. Q. You don't believe in history? A. I don't say I don't believe in it)

History is a fairy tale whose end is death.

Author unidentified (Quoted in J. A. CRAMER: *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain*, I, 1915)

People think too historically. They are always living half in a cemetery.

ARISTIDE BRIAND (1862-1932)

It is not the neutrals or the lukewarms who make history.

ADOLF HITLER: Speech in Berlin, April 23, 1933

The history of the world is the judge of the world.

HERMANN ULLMANN: Article in *Geist der Zeit* (Berlin), 1938

History is a tired old man with a long beard.

Author unidentified

History is something that never happened, written by a man who wasn't there. *IBID.*

Of all history the most instructive to a man is his own. *IBID.*

The history of the world is only the opinion of the world. GERMAN PROVERB

Human history is similar to the heroic tales pigs relate of swine. WELSH PROVERB

[See also Historian, Pedagogue, Poetry, Progress, Sin.]

History, Materialistic Conception of

The method of production of the material things of life generally determines the social, political, and spiritual currents of life. It is not the consciousness of men which determines their mode of existence; rather, it is

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• **THE MACMILLAN
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MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY New York



CRITICS

- 1 I will try to account for the degree of my aesthetic emotion. That, I conceive, is the function of the critic.
Clive Bell (1881-1964) British art critic. *Art*, Pt. II, Ch. 3
- 2 A man must serve his time to every trade
Save censure - critics all are ready made.
Lord Byron (1788-1824) British poet. *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*
- 3 Reviewers are usually people who would have been poets, historians, biographers, . . . if they could; they have tried their talents at one or at the other, and have failed; therefore they turn critics.
Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) British poet. *Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton*, I
- 4 A good critic is one who narrates the adventures of his mind among masterpieces.
Anatole France (Jacques Anatole François Thibault; 1844-1924) French writer. *The Literary Life*, Preface
- 5 I sometimes think
His critical judgement is so exquisite
It leaves us nothing to admire except his opinion.
Christopher Fry (1907-) British dramatist. *The Dark is Light Enough*, II
- 6 Asking a working writer what he thinks about critics is like asking a lamp-post how it feels about dogs.
Christopher Hampton (1946-) British writer and dramatist. *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 16 Oct 1977
- 7 What is a modern poet's fate?
To write his thoughts upon a slate;
The critic spits on what is done,
Gives it a wipe - and all is gone.
Thomas Hood (1799-1845) British poet. *Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir* (Hallam Tennyson), Vol. II, Ch. 3
- 8 There is a certain race of men that either imagine it their duty, or make it their amusement, to hinder the reception of every work of learning or genius, who stand as sentinels in the avenues of fame, and value themselves upon giving Ignorance and Envy the first notice of a prey.
Samuel Johnson (1709-84) British lexicographer. *The Rambler*
- 9 A fly, Sir, may sting a stately horse and make him wince; but one is but

an insect, and the other is a horse still.
Samuel Johnson *Life of Johnson* (J. Boswell), Vol. I

- 10 Dear Roger Fry whom I love as a man but detest as a movement.
Edward Howard Marsh (1872-1953) British civil servant and writer. Roger Fry (1866-1934) was an artist and art critic, who championed the postimpressionists. *Edward Marsh* (Christopher Hassall), Ch. 11
- 11 Insects sting, not from malice, but because they want to live. It is the same with critics - they desire our blood, not our pain.
Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) German philosopher. *Miscellaneous Maxims and Reflections*
- 12 Nor in the critic let the man be lost.
Alexander Pope (1688-1744) British poet. *An Essay on Criticism*
- 13 They will review a book by a writer much older than themselves as if it were an over-ambitious essay by a second-year student . . . It is the little dons I complain about, like so many corgis trotting up, hoping to nip your ankles.
J. B. Priestley (1894-1984) British novelist. *Outcries and Asides*
- 14 The greater part of critics are parasites, who, if nothing had been written, would find nothing to write.
J. B. Priestley *Outcries and Asides*
- 15 Pay no attention to what the critics say. No statue has ever been put up to a critic.
Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) Finnish composer. *Attrib.*
- 16 Unless the bastards have the courage to give you unqualified praise, I say ignore them.
John Steinbeck (1902-68) US novelist. *A Life in Our Times* (J. K. Galbraith)
- 17 I doubt that art needed Ruskin any more than a moving train needs one of its passengers to shove it.
Tom Stoppard (1937-) Czech-born British dramatist. *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 June 1977
- 18 I had another dream the other day about music critics. They were small and rodent-like with padlocked ears, as if they had stepped out of a painting by Goya.
Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) Russian-born US composer. *The Evening Standard*, 29 Oct 1969
- 19 A whipper-snapper of criticism who

quoted dead languages to hide his ignorance of life.

Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1853-1917) British actor and theater manager. Referring to A. B. Walkley. *Beerbohm Tree* (Hesketh Pearson)

- 20 A critic is a man who knows the way but can't drive the car.
Kenneth Tynan (1927-80) British theater critic. *New York Times Magazine*, 9 Jan 1966
- 21 A good drama critic is one who perceives what is happening in the theatre of his time. A great drama critic also perceives what is not happening.
Kenneth Tynan *Tynan Right and Left*, Foreword

CRUELTY

See also hurt, nastiness, violence

- 1 The wish to hurt, the momentary intoxication with pain, is the loophole through which the pervert climbs into the minds of ordinary men.
Jacob Bronowski (1908-74) British scientist and writer. *The Face of Violence*, Ch. 5
- 2 Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!
Robert Burns (1759-96) Scottish poet. *Man was Made to Mourn*
- 3 Fear is the parent of cruelty.
J. A. Froude (1818-94) British historian. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 'Party Politics'
- 4 A cruel story runs on wheels, and every hand oils the wheels as they run.
Ouida (Marie Louise de la Ramée; 1839-1908) British novelist. *Wisdom, Wit and Pathos*, 'Moths'
- 5 I must be cruel only to be kind.
William Shakespeare (1564-1616) English dramatist. *Hamlet*, III:4
- 6 Whipping and abuse are like laudanum: You have to double the dose as the sensibilities decline.
Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96) US novelist. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Ch. 20

CULTURE

See also civilization, philistinism

- 1 Culture, the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world, and thus with the history of the human spirit.
Matthew Arnold (1822-88) British poet and critic. *Literature and Dogma*, Preface
- 2 Culture is the passion for

CUSTOM

See also habit

- 1 *O tempora! O mores!*
What times! What customs!
Cicero (106–43 BC) Roman orator and statesman. *In Catilinam*, I
- 2 Custom, then, is the great guide of human life.
David Hume (1711–76) Scottish philosopher. *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*
- 3 Custom calls me to't.
What custom wills, in all things should we do't,
The dust on antique time would lie unswept,
And mountainous error be too highly heap'd
For truth to o'erpeer.
William Shakespeare (1564–1616) English dramatist. *Coriolanus*, II:3
- 4 But to my mind, though I am native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honour'd in the breach than the observance.
William Shakespeare *Hamlet*, I:4

CYNICISM

- 1 One is not superior merely because one sees the world in an odious light.
Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) French diplomat and writer. *Atrrib*.
- 2 Cynicism is an unpleasant way of saying the truth.
Lillian Hellman (1905–84) US dramatist. *The Little Foxes*, I
- 3 Cynicism is humour in ill-health.
H. G. Wells (1866–1946) British writer. *Short Stories*, 'The Last Trump'
- 4 A man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.
Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) Irish-born British dramatist. Referring to a cynic. *Lady Windermere's Fan*, III

sweetness and light, and (what is more) the passion for making them prevail.

Matthew Arnold *Literature and Dogma*, Preface

- 3 Culture is an instrument wielded by professors to manufacture professors, who when their turn comes will manufacture professors.
Simone Weil (1909–43) French philosopher. *The Need for Roots*

- 4 Mrs Ballinger is one of the ladies who pursue Culture in bands, as though it were dangerous to meet it alone.

Edith Wharton (1862–1937) US novelist. *Xingu*, Ch. 1

CURIOSITY

See also interfering, wonder

- 1 Ask no questions and hear no lies.
Proverb
- 2 Curiosity killed the cat.
Proverb
- 3 Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for more things are shewed unto thee than men understand.
Bible: Ecclesiasticus 3:23
- 4 There is no such thing on earth as an uninteresting subject; the only thing that can exist is an uninterested person.
G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) British writer. *Heretics*, Ch. 1
- 5 The world is but a school of inquiry.
Michel de Montaigne (1533–92) French essayist. *Essais*, III
- 6 I often looked up at the sky and asked myself the question – what is the stars, what is the stars?
Sean O'Casey (1884–1964) Irish dramatist. *Juno and the Paycock*, I
- 7 Curiosity will conquer fear even more than bravery will.
James Stephens (1882–1950) Irish novelist. *The Crock of Gold*
- 8 Disinterested intellectual curiosity is the life blood of real civilisation.
George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962) British historian. *English Social History*, Preface

CURSES

- 1 Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? curse God, and die.
Bible: Job 2:9
- 2 Curse the blasted, jelly-boned swines, the slimy, the belly-wriggling invertebrates, the miserable sodding rotters, the flaming sods, the snivelling, dribbling, dithering, palsied, pulseless lot that make up England today.
D. H. Lawrence (1885–1930) British novelist. On a publisher's rejection of *Sons and Lovers*. Letter to Edward Garnett, 3 July 1912
- 3 Down, down to hell; and say I sent thee thither.
William Shakespeare (1564–1616) English dramatist. *Henry VI*, Pt. 3, V:6
- 4 A plague o' both your houses!
They have made worms' meat of me.
William Shakespeare *Romeo and Juliet*, III:1
- 5 Curses are like young chickens, they always come home to roost.
Robert Southey (1774–1843) British poet. *The Curse of Kehama*, Motto
- 6 'The curse is come upon me,' cried The Lady of Shalott.
Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–92) British poet. *The Lady of Shalott*, Pt. III
- 7 She has heard a whisper say,
A curse is on her if she stay
To look down to Camelot.
Alfred, Lord Tennyson *The Lady of Shalott*, Pt. II

D

DAMNATION

See also devil, hell

- 1 Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more devils'-triumph and sorrow for angels,

One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!

Robert Browning (1812–89) British poet. *The Lost Leader*

- 2 You will be damned if you do –

And you will be damned if you don't.

Lorenzo Dow (1777–1834) British churchman. Speaking of Calvinism. *Reflections on the Love of God*

- 3 Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,
And then thou must be damn'd perpetually!

- 4 But did thee feel the earth move?
For Whom the Bell Tolls, Ch. 13
- 5 If you are lucky enough to have lived in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast.
A Moveable Feast, Epigraph

- 6 A man can be destroyed but not defeated.
The Old Man and the Sea
- 7 Because I am a bastard.
When asked why he had deserted his wife for another woman. *Americans in Paris* (B. Morton)

- 8 Poor Faulkner. Does he really think big emotions come from big words? He thinks I don't know the ten-dollar words. I know them all right. But there are older and simpler and better words, and those are the ones I use.
In response to a jibe by William FAULKNER. Attrib.

HEREDITY

- 1 What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?
Bible: Ezekiel 18:2

HEROISM

- See also* courage, endurance, patriotism, war
- 1 Some talk of Alexander, and some of Hercules, Of Hector and Lysander, and such great names as these; But of all the world's brave heroes there's none that can compare With a tow, row, row, row, row, row for the British Grenadier.
Anonymous *The British Grenadiers*
 - 2 Superman, disguised as Clark Kent, mild-mannered reporter for a great metropolitan newspaper, fights a never-ending battle for truth, justice, and the American way.
Anonymous Hence the description 'Mild-mannered Clark Kent'. Introduction to radio series
 - 3 They died to save their country and they only saved the world.
Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953) French-born British poet. *The English Graves*
 - 4 ANDREA. Unhappy the land that has no heroes.

GALILEO. No, unhappy the land that needs heroes.
Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) German dramatist. *Galileo*, 13

- 5 In short, he was a perfect cavaliero, And to his very valet seem'd a hero.
Lord Byron (1788-1824) British poet. *Beppo*

6 Every hero becomes a bore at last.
Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) US poet and essayist. *Representative Men*, 'Uses of Great Men'

- 7 I'm a hero with coward's legs. I'm a hero from the waist up.
Spike Milligan (1918-) British comic actor and author. *Puckoon*

8 Being a hero is about the shortest-lived profession on earth.
Will Rogers (1879-1935) US actor and humorist. *Saturday Review*, 'A Rogers Thesaurus', 25 Aug 1962

- 9 I think continually of those who were truly great - The names of those who in their lives fought for life, Who wore at their hearts the fire's centre.
Stephen Spender (1909-) British poet. *I Think Continually of Those Who Were Truly Great*

HISTORIANS

See also history

- 1 A good historian is timeless; although he is a patriot, he will never flatter his country in any respect.
François Fénelon (1651-1715) French writer and prelate. Letter to M. Dacier
- 2 The historian must have . . . some conception of how men who are not historians behave. Otherwise he will move in a world of the dead.
E. M. Forster (1879-1970) British novelist. *Abinger Harvest*, 'Captain Edward Gibbon'
- 3 History repeats itself; historians repeat each other.
Philip Guedalla (1889-1944) British writer. Attrib.
- 4 Great abilities are not requisite for an Historian . . . Imagination is not required in any high degree.
Samuel Johnson (1709-84) British lexicographer. *Life of Johnson* (J. Boswell), Vol. I
- 5 History is too serious to be left to historians.
Iain Macleod (1913-70) British politician. *The Observer*, 'Sayings of the Week', 16 July 1961

6 And even I can remember A day when the historians left blanks in their writings, I mean for things they didn't know.
Ezra Pound (1885-1972) US poet. *Cantos*, XIII

7 A historian is a prophet in reverse.
Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829) German diplomat, writer, and critic. *Das Athenäum*

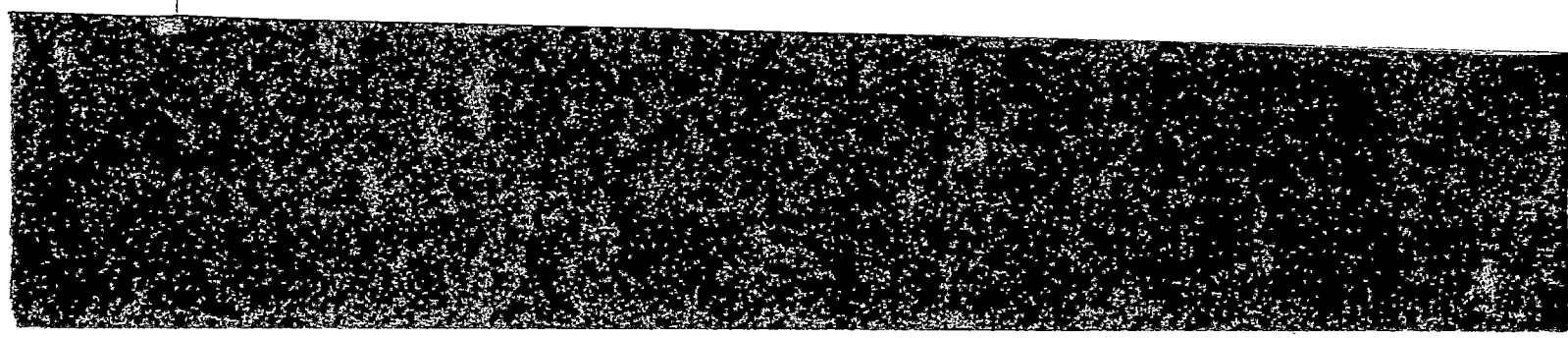
8 Historians are like deaf people who go on answering questions that no one has asked them.
Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) Russian writer. *A Discovery of Australia*, 'Being an Historian' (Manning Clark)

HISTORY

See also experience, historians, past

- 1 History repeats itself.
Proverb
- 2 Political history is far too criminal and pathological to be a fit subject of study for the young. Children should acquire their heroes and villains from fiction.
W. H. Auden (1907-73) British poet. *A Certain World*
- 3 Man is a history-making creature who can neither repeat his past nor leave it behind.
W. H. Auden *The Dyer's Hand*, 'D. H. Lawrence'
- 4 All things from eternity are of like forms and come round in a circle.
Marcus Aurelius (121-180 AD) Roman emperor. *Meditations*, Bk. II, Ch. 14
- 5 History does not repeat itself. Historians repeat each other.
Arthur Balfour (1848-1930) British Conservative prime minister. Attrib.
- 6 History is the essence of innumerable biographies.
Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) Scottish historian and essayist. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 'History'
- 7 No great man lives in vain. The history of the world is but the biography of great men.
Thomas Carlyle *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 'The Hero as Divinity'
- 8 The history of every country begins in the heart of a man or woman.
Willa Cather (1873-1947) US writer and poet. *O Pioneers!*, Pt. II, Ch. 4
- 9 History is philosophy teaching by examples.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (40-8 BC) Greek historian. *Ars rhetorica*, XI:2

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- 10 History is an endless repetition of the wrong way of living.
Lawrence Durrell (1912-) British novelist. *The Listener*, 1978
- 11 History teaches us that men and nations behave wisely once they have exhausted all other alternatives.
Abba Eban (1915-) Israeli politician. *The Observer*, 'Sayings of the Week', 20 Dec 1970
- 12 There is properly no history; only biography.
Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) US poet and essayist. *Essays*, 'History'
- 13 History is more or less bunk. It's tradition. We don't want tradition. We want to live in the present and the only history that is worth a tinker's damn is the history we make today.
Henry Ford (1863-1947) US car manufacturer. *Chicago Tribune*, 25 May 1916
- 14 There are moments in history when brooding tragedy and its dark shadows can be lightened by recalling great moments of the past.
Indira Gandhi (1917-84) Indian stateswoman. Letter to Richard Nixon, 16 Dec 1971
- 15 History never looks like history when you are living through it. It always looks confusing and messy, and it always feels uncomfortable.
John W. Gardner (1912-) US writer. *No Easy Victories*
- 16 His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.
Edward Gibbon (1737-94) British historian. Referring to the reign of Antoninus Pius. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 3
- 17 A history of humanity to the present time in which Shakespeare is not mentioned and Jesus is dismissed in a page carelessly, as if not worth contempt, shocks me.
Frank Harris (1856-1931) British editor and writer. Referring to H. G. Wells' writing. *My Life*
- 18 It is not the neutrals or the lukewarm who make history.
Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) German dictator. Speech, Berlin, 23 Apr 1933
- 19 What we know of the past is mostly not worth knowing. What is worth knowing is mostly uncertain. Events in the past may roughly be divided into those which probably never happened and those which do not matter.
Dean Inge (1860-1954) British churchman. *Assessments and Anticipations*, 'Prognostications'
- 20 It takes a great deal of history to produce a little literature.
Henry James (1843-1916) US novelist. *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Ch. 1
- 21 'History', Stephen said, 'is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake'.
James Joyce (1882-1941) Irish novelist. *Ulysses*
- 22 If the science of medicine is not to be lowered to the rank of a mere mechanical profession it must preoccupy itself with its history. The pursuit of the development of the human mind, this is the role of the historian.
Maximilien-Paul-Émile Littré (1801-81) French lexicographer and philosopher.
- 23 Hegel says somewhere that all great events and personalities in world history reappear in one fashion or another. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.
Karl Marx (1818-83) German philosopher and revolutionary. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*
- 24 The history of medicine does not depart from the history of the people.
James G. Mumford (1863-1914)
- 25 Think of it, soldiers; from the summit of these pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you.
Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte; 1769-1821) French emperor. Speech before the Battle of the Pyramids, 21 July 1798.
- 26 It is impossible to write ancient history because we do not have enough sources, and impossible to write modern history because we have far too many.
Charles Pierre Péguy (1873-1914) French writer. *Clio*
- 27 There is no history of mankind, there are only many histories of all kinds of aspects of human life. And one of these is the history of political power. This is elevated into the history of the world.
Karl Popper (1902-) Austrian-born British philosopher. *The Open Society and Its Enemies*
- 28 . . . we mutually agreed to call it *The First World War* in order to prevent the millennium folk from forgetting that the history of the world was the history of war.
Lieut.-Col. Charles A'Court Repington (1858-1925) British soldier and journalist. *Diary*, 10 Sept 1918
- 29 Progress, far from consisting in change, depends on retentiveness. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.
George Santayana (1863-1952) US philosopher. *The Life of Reason*
- 30 The history of the World is the World's court of justice.
Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) German dramatist. Lecture, Jena, 26 May 1789
- 31 I have looked upon the face of Agamemnon.
Heinrich Schliemann (1822-90) German archaeologist. On discovering a gold death mask at an excavation in Mycenae. *The Story of Civilization* (W. Durant), Vol. 2
- 32 History is past politics, and politics present history.
John Robert Seeley (1834-95) British historian. Quoting the historian E. A. Freeman. *The Growth of British Policy*
- 33 The Cavaliers (Wrong but Wromantic) and the Roundheads (Right but Repulsive).
W. C. Sellar (1898-1951) British humorous writer. *1066 And All That*
- 34 1066 And All That.
W. C. Sellar Book title
- 35 The Roman Conquest was, however, a *Good Thing*, since the Britons were only natives at the time.
W. C. Sellar *1066 And All That*
- 36 Napoleon's armies used to march on their stomachs, shouting: 'Vive l'intérieur!'
W. C. Sellar *1066 And All That*
- 37 America became top nation and history came to a full stop.
W. C. Sellar *1066 And All That*
- 38 When in the chronicle of wasted time I see descriptions of the fairest wights.
William Shakespeare (1564-1616) English dramatist. *Sonnet 106*
- 39 History gets thicker as it approaches recent times.
A. J. P. Taylor (1906-) British historian. *English History, 1914-1945*, Bibliography
- 40 All our ancient history, as one of

our wits remarked, is no more than accepted fiction.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet; 1694–1778) French writer. *Jeannot et Colin*

41 Indeed, history is nothing more than a tableau of crimes and misfortunes.

Voltaire *L'Ingénu*, Ch. 10

42 Anything but history, for history must be false.

Robert Walpole (1676–1745) British statesman. *Walpoliana*

43 The greater part of what passes for diplomatic history is little more than the record of what one clerk said to another clerk.

George Malcolm Young (1882–1959) British historian. *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*

**HITLER,
Adolf**

(1889–1945) German dictator, who became president of the Nazi party in 1921 and chancellor of Germany in 1933. His campaign of world conquest led to World War II, defeat and disgrace for Germany, and his own suicide.

Quotations about Hitler

1 The people Hitler never understood, and whose actions continued to exasperate him to the end of his life, were the British.

Alan Bullock (1914–) British academic and historian. *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny*, Ch. 8

2 Hitler showed surprising loyalty to Mussolini, but it never extended to trusting him.

Alan Bullock *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny*, Ch. 11

3 I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons.

Winston Churchill (1874–1965) British statesman. *The Grand Alliance*

4 The Italians will laugh at me; every time Hitler occupies a country he sends me a message.

Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) Italian dictator. *Hitler* (Alan Bullock), Ch. 8

5 That garrulous monk

Benito Mussolini Referring to Hitler. *The Second World War* (W. Churchill)

6 I wouldn't believe Hitler was dead, even if he told me so himself.

Hjalmar Schacht (1877–1970) German banker. Attrib.

7 A racing tipster who only reached Hitler's level of accuracy would not do well for his clients.

A. J. P. Taylor (1906–) British historian. *The Origins of the Second World War*, Ch. 7

8 Germany was the cause of Hitler just as much as Chicago is responsible for the *Chicago Tribune*.

Alexander Woollcott (1887–1943) US writer and critic. Woollcott died after the broadcast. Radio broadcast, 1943

Quotations by Hitler

9 All those who are not racially pure are mere chaff.

Mein Kampf, Ch. 2

10 Only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea on the memory of the crowd.

Mein Kampf, Ch. 6

11 The broad mass of a nation . . . will more easily fall victim to a big lie than to a small one.

Mein Kampf, Ch. 10

12 Germany will be either a world power or will not be at all.

Mein Kampf, Ch. 14

13 In starting and waging a war it is not right that matters, but victory.

The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (W. L. Shirer), Ch. 16

14 The essential thing is the formation of the political will of the nation: that is the starting point for political action.

Speech, Düsseldorf, 27 Jan 1932

15 I go the way that Providence dictates with the assurance of a sleepwalker.

Referring to his successful re-occupation of the Rhineland, despite advice against the attempt. Speech, Munich, 15 Mar 1936

16 When Barbarossa commences, the world will hold its breath and make no comment.

Referring to the planned invasion of the USSR, Operation Barbarossa, which began on 22 June 1941. Attrib.

17 Is Paris burning?

Referring to the liberation of Paris, 1944

HOLINESS

1 'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
The children walking two and two, in red and blue and green.

William Blake (1757–1827) British poet. *Songs of Innocence*, 'Holy Thursday'

2 For everything that lives is holy,
life delights in life.

William Blake *America*

3 I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of imagination – what the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth – whether it existed before or not.

John Keats (1795–1821) British poet. Letter to Benjamin Bailey, 22 Nov 1817

HOLISTIC MEDICINE

1 A careful physician . . . , before he attempts to administer a remedy to his patient, must investigate not only the malady of the man he wishes to cure, but also his habits when in health, and his physical constitution.

Cicero (106 BC–43 BC) Roman orator and statesman. *On the Orator*, II

2 A bodily disease, which we look upon as whole and entire within itself, may, after all, but but a symptom of some ailment in the spiritual part.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64) US novelist and writer. *The Scarlet Letter*, Ch. 10

3 Natural forces are the healers of disease.

Hippocrates (c. 460 BC–c. 377 BC) Greek physician. *Epidemics*, VI

4 When the minds of the people are closed and wisdom is locked out they remain tied to disease. Yet their feelings and desires should be investigated and made known, their wishes and ideas should be followed; and then it becomes apparent that those who have attained spirit and energy are flourishing and prosperous, while those perish who lose their spirit and energy.

Huang Ti (2697 BC–2597 BC) Chinese emperor, known as 'The Yellow Emperor'. *Nei Ching Su Wen*, Bk. 4, Sect. 13

5 Knowledge indeed is a desirable, a lovely possession, but I do not scruple to say that health is more so. It is of little consequence to store the mind with science if the body be permitted to become debilitated. If the body be feeble, the mind will not be strong.

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) US statesman. Letter to Thomas M. Randolph, Jr., 27 Aug 1786



5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 29, 1987, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TEMPO; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1657 words

HEADLINE: GORBACHEV SEEKS SUGAR FOR A LEMON

BYLINE: By Jim Gallagher. Jim Gallagher was The Tribune's Moscow correspondent for five years. He recently spent a week in the Soviet capital

BODY:

Earlier this fall, a young Soviet worker was entertaining a foreign friend in his small Moscow apartment. His wife had spent most of the afternoon preparing the various tasty dishes that crowded one another on the narrow kitchen table.

A few mouthfuls, at most, had been eaten before the light bulb in the ceiling suddenly exploded, showering the dinner with shards of glass. Stunned at first, and then embarrassed, the young man shook his head resignedly as his wife cleared the table and threw away the food.

"This country is a lemon," he complained quietly.

That, in essence, is the main point made by the charismatic Kremlin leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, in his new book, "Perestroika," a blueprint for improving Soviet life by revamping and reenergizing the country's sagging economy.

"This society is ripe for change. It has long been yearning for it," Gorbachev asserts on the very first page of "Perestroika" (Harper and Row, \$19.95).

It's a point he has been stressing almost incessantly since becoming general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party almost three years ago. And one might expect that the young Mosow worker-bright and ambitious, but deeply disgruntled-would have lined up behind the Soviet leader by now.

In fact, he has not. He fears that the reforms advocated by Gorbachev - especially the call to let market forces play a greater role in production and pricing-will leave ordinary people like himself even worse off in the immediate future, paying higher prices for basic goods that will be harder to find.

Unhappy with his present lot but fearful that change-any change, really-will bring new hardship, the young man personifies one of the biggest problems Gorbachev must overcome to have any prospect of permanently reshaping his country's economy-and forestalling, as he puts it, a Soviet future "fraught with serious social, economic and political crises."

The ultimate success or failure of perestroika-the term, which literally means restructuring, has come to be the catchword for all of the reforms envisioned by the Soviet leader-will depend largely on the degree to which Gorbachev is able to ignite a new idealism and patriotic fervor in that

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instinctively wary and long-jaded creature, the common Soviet man.

He concedes as much in his book. "In the final account," the Soviet leader writes, "the most important thing for the success of perestroika is the people's attitude to it."

Although there is clearly a propoganda aspect to the 254-page book- especially when the Soviet leader presents his views on a variety of international issues, including arms control and super-power relations- it nevertheless should make interesting reading for those intrigued by, or seeking to make some sense of, developments in the Kremlin.

The book's style is clear and generally uncluttered; that's the best that can be said for it. But Gorbachev lays out his strategy for change quite neatly, and the hurdles in his path can be surmised by reading between the lines.

Without the enthusiastic backing of a large part of the Soviet population, it seems unlikely that Gorbachev can build up enough steam to offset the powerful forces resisting change that are firmly entrenched in the political and economic bureaucracies.

"The only people to resent the changes are those who believe that they already have what they need," he notes. Unfortunately for him, and for his hopes for the future, these are also the very same people who can ultimately undermine his program of reforms-unless ordinary citizens clamor for them loudly and throw themselves into the decision-making process on even its lowest levels.

"Perestroika means mass initiative," Grobachev writes, but he puts the cart before the horse. In truth, the success-and even the survival-of his program in the difficult days ahead will depend very much on the right sort of mass initiative.

" . . . the initial task of restructuring-an indispensable condition necessary if it is to be successful-is to 'wake up' those people who have 'fallen asleep' and make them truly active and concerned, to ensure that everyone feels as if he is the master of the country, of his enterprise, office or institute," he explains.

"This is the main thing. To get the individual involved in all processes is the most important aspect of what we are doing."

Of course, when you wake up those who have been sleeping, you cannot always anticipate how they will behave. Gorbachev's reform drive is fast approaching a critical juncture. Barring a change of plans, or a loss of heart, prices for basic consumer items-which have been heavily subsidized for decades-will soon begin to reflect more accurately the real costs of production, distribution and handling. Prices will increase, and that will surely wake up people.

The Soviet leader has been working hard all fall to get them to wake up on his side of the issue. During a recent visit to Murmansk, for example, he appealed to the peasant values many of his people share. The low price of bread-some loaves cost only pennies-has caused people to lose respect for this most basic of foodstuffs, he said; you even see children playing soccer in the street not with a ball but with a bread loaf.



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He's right, of course. Bread prices are such that it is cheaper for farmers to feed store-bought bread to their livestock rather than newly harvested grains—which are sold to the state and, some at least, used to bake more bread.

This is just a small part of what Gorbachev means when he decries in his book "an absurd situation" that has developed in his country.

"The Soviet Union, the world's biggest producer of steel, raw materials, fuel and energy, has shortfalls in them due to wasteful or inefficient use," he scolds. "One of the biggest producers of grain for food, it nevertheless has to buy millions of tons of grain a year for fodder. We have the largest number of doctors and hospital beds per thousand of the population and, at the same time, there are glaring shortcomings in our health services. Our rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but side by side with these scientific and technological triumphs is an obvious lack of efficiency in using scientific achievements for economic needs, and many Soviet household appliances are of poor quality."

In the long run, Gorbachev contends, his reforms will solve these problems and make life better for most people. But the short run comes first, and there's a real risk that the masses will bridle when prices rise. If Gorbachev needs popular support to build momentum for his program, opponents of reform will try to exploit public discontent at the expense of perestroika.

A lot will depend on whether enough people trust Gorbachev to follow through on his program, to keep it from getting bogged down in the burdensome early stages, to achieve some real gains after the pain. That's a lot to expect from a people whose past has taught them to be skeptical about leaders who promise reforms.

They remember what came of most of the reforms advocated by Nikita Khrushchev, and those later pushed by Alexei Kosygin, the former premier who eventually presided over the downward economic spiral that produced today's problems. And they remember what became of some of those who embraced these earlier reform efforts.

Then there is the fate of Boris Yeltsin, recently removed from the ruling Politburo for criticizing the slow pace of reform under Gorbachev, which must throw a least of few drops of new cold water on public expectations.

Given Gorbachev's political skill and charisma, he may yet overcome the widespread cynicism. To this end, he is banking heavily on glasnost—loosely translated as openness, a stated commitment to deal frankly and honestly with current problems and past errors.

Sounds good, but what does it mean in practice? A lot less than some have suggested, judging by Gorbachev's book.

For example, one searches in vain for any mention of Stalin. The rigidly centralized economic system that Gorbachev wants to reform was put in place by Stalin and maintained by his heirs. The lack of individual initiative that Gorbachev decries is largely a legacy of the cruel dictator, who caused the death of millions of people in prison camps and imposed famine.



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Yet Stalin's role in Soviet history is completely glossed over in "Perestroika." Vladimir Lenin, who masterminded the Bolshevik revolution and served as first head of the Soviet state, laid down the basic tenets for successful socialism, Gorbachev writes. But his ideas, including self-management by workers, "were not always adhered to after his death.

"The specific situation in the country made us accept forms and methods of socialist construction corresponding to the historical conditions. But those forms were canonized, idealized and turned into dogma. Hence the emasculated image of socialism, the exaggerated centralism in management, the neglect in the rich varieties of human interests, the underestimation of the active part people play in public life, and the pronounced egalitarian tendencies."

If you look hard, you can find Stalin lurking somewhere in that verbal thicket. But is this the best we can expect from glasnost? And if so, how effective can glasnost be in inspiring the masses to rally behind Gorbachev's program?

As have all his predecessors, Gorbachev also seeks to bolster his policies by adorning them in the legacy of Lenin, the one former leader whose reputation has survived unsullied, if embroidered. Perestroika is nothing more, or less, than a return to the true spirit of Leninism, he argues in his book.

After all this time, it will be interesting to see whether the Lenin mystique-nakedly manipulated and constantly recast in the decades since his passing-still has the power to make the medicine taste better.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. Michail Gorbachev discusses what he describes as outmoded policies with townspeople of Zelenograd.

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; BOOK; OFFICIAL; CHANGE; ISSUE



6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 29, 1987, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: BOOK WORLD; PAGE X1

LENGTH: 1538 words

HEADLINE: Mikhail Gorbachev's Manifesto

BYLINE: John Lewis Gaddis

BODY:

PERESTROIKA New Thinking for Our Country and the World By Mikhail Gorbachev
Cornelia & Michael Bessie/Harper & Row

GEORGE KENNAN and Paul Nitze have not often agreed on policy toward the Soviet Union since, between the two of them, they largely shaped the intellectual foundations of "containment" four decades ago. But they were in accord on one point: neither regarded "containment" as a permanent strategy; both acknowledged the possibility that the Soviet Union might evolve in time from a state seeking to challenge the existing international system to one capable of living peacefully within it.

How, though, would one know when the Soviet Union had reached that stage? Are we today sure, after so many years of hostility, that we would even recognize it? General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's book, Perestroika (the word literally means "restructuring"), provides an important opportunity for Americans to think about how far the Soviet Union has come since Stalin's day, and what those changes might imply for the future. The fact that the book appears on the eve of the third Reagan-Gorbachev summit makes careful consideration of it all the more vital.

Perestroika results from an invitation the American publishers Cornelia and Michael Bessie extended to Gorbachev shortly after he took power. They asked him to write a "real book," not simply a collection of speeches or propaganda. To their surprise, the general secretary agreed, delivering the manuscript early in September after having presumably worked on it during his conspicuous absence from the public spotlight this summer. The volume is intended as a personal statement of Gorbachev's program: it is not just aimed at an American audience, but has already been published in the Soviet Union and is to appear throughout much of the rest of the world as well.

The book differs in several respects from comparable literary efforts by earlier Soviet leaders. Although often repetitious, it is informal, almost conversational in tone. It is also, in places, very candid: the general secretary quotes with irreverent approval a description of his predecessors as "stone-faced sphinxes"; they were, he tells us, too much given to "grandiloquent twaddle. . . unwarranted splendor, abstract slogans, and recurrences of pompous ostentation." The first chapter contains what must be the most withering public criticism of the Soviet system ever made by an incumbent Kremlin official: "We only thought that we were in the saddle," Gorbachev concludes, writing of the late 1970s, "while the actual situation was one that Lenin warned against: the automobile was not going where the one at the steering wheel thought it was going."



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The reference to Lenin is not casual. Gorbachev invokes the Founder's spirit with an almost religious fervor: he sees his own program as both a return to Leninist principles and an extension of them. Even Lenin acknowledged, he pointedly notes, that a single revolution would be insufficient to transform society: perestroika for Gorbachev is nothing less than a second Russian Revolution, aimed this time at reinvigorating socialism by linking it to democracy. If "democratic processes had developed normally in our country," he admits, "we would have been able to avoid many . . . difficulties. . . . We have learned this lesson of our history well and will never forget it."

But perestroika extends to the realm of world affairs as well. Nuclear weapons, Gorbachev insists, have placed inescapable constraints on the feasibility of class struggle: even "peaceful coexistence" must now be separated -- as Brezhnev was unwilling to do -- from the ultimate determination of one class to prevail over the other. It follows from this that "security" must become multilateral: no single nation can any longer obtain it by making others insecure. Capitalism and socialism will have to exist "within a framework of peaceful competition which necessarily envisages cooperation." History, not class struggle, will decide who wins. WHAT IS one to make of all this? There are, to be sure, ambiguities, evasions and contradictions. Since Marxists have traditionally equated "history" with "class struggle," the distinction Gorbachev makes between the two is not all that clear. Historians can easily show that Lenin's own enthusiasm for democracy was, at best, inconstant.

Gorbachev's one-sided explanation of how the Cold War began adds nothing to our understanding of that event: glasnost, it appears, has yet to extend to recent diplomatic history. The difficulty of reconciling democratic principles with what Gorbachev acknowledges will continue to be the absence of an official opposition is an obvious problem. And if nuclear weapons have in fact constrained the class struggle -- and if that is a good thing -- then it is not immediately apparent why the general secretary is so keen to abolish them.

There will also be competing explanations in the West of Gorbachev's motives. "Kremlin-bashers" will treat perestroika as a Subtle Ploy: the crafty Russians are simply pulling the wool over our eyes, they will argue, with the intention of waiting -- for years if necessary -- until complacency has wrecked the defense budget and NATO has gone neutral, at which point they will pop out like some Halloween goblin and frighten us all into abject subservience. Subtle Ploys, after all, can go on for quite a long time: there are still a few people left who think that the Sino-Soviet split is one.

The more serious objection to perestroika will be that its roots are shallow: it represents so thorough a long-term restructuring of Soviet society -- with so few visible short-term benefits -- that it cannot possibly last. The recent Yeltsin affair has emboldened Muscovites themselves publicly to question perestroika's durability; the frequency with which Gorbachev reassures his readers that the Russian people have demonstrated "unreserved and passionate support" for it suggests that he himself may lack complete assurance on that score.

There will also be those in the West who fear that perestroika might actually succeed, and hence make the Soviet Union a more formidable adversary than it is today: from their standpoint, the United States should be doing everything it can to force heavy military expenditures upon the Russians, so that they will be too exhausted to become more efficient.



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Gorbachev anticipates and attempts to deal with each of these objections; in doing so he proves himself a keen observer of what Western critics say. But his response in each case boils down to an untestable set of assurances, in essence: "We will make perestroika work. It will pose no threat to you. Trust us." SHOULD WE? Clearly not, at least not on the basis of these assurances alone. But neither should we write off this book as repackaged propoganda. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Gorbachev really is serious; that perestroika is in fact the long-awaited "mellowing" of Soviet society. Certainly if one had set out at almost any point in the history of the Cold War to describe the kind of Soviet leader we would like to see come to power, the characteristics we would have listed -- intelligence, emotional stability, imagination, accessibility, openness to the outside world, determination to stress domestic reform -- would not have been all that far removed from what we know of Gorbachev himself.

But are we ourselves ready for a Soviet "mellowing," should that prove to be what is taking place? It was only five years ago that President Reagan characterized the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world": many took that outburst as evidence that our own domestic system requires the permanent image of an implacable external adversary. The Russians have surprised us now more than once by accepting our own proposals on arms control -- the "double-zero option" on intermediate-range nuclear forces, intrusive on-site verification, the idea of "deep-cuts" in strategic missles -- only to find us agonizing over whether "we really want to do that." Republican presidential candidates rush to disassociate themselves, well in advance, from an I.N.F. treaty their own president has negotiated, one that removes more than three Soviet warheads for every American warhead dismantled. And most recently it has become clear that the Congress of the United States, like an unruly child, lacks confidence in its own capacity to behave politely if the general secretary should come before it.

Not the least value of this important book could be the way it might force us to look more critically at ourselves: to ask whether we would be prepared to recognize and respond to the changes in the Soviet Union we have claimed to want for so many years, if in fact they are occurring. The Russians, after all, have no monopoly on intellectual rigidity, bureaucratic ossification, and lack of imagination in high places: "old thinking" has afflicted both sides quite impartially in the Cold War. A little perestroika of our own may be required.? John Lewis Gaddis teaches history at Ohio University and is the author of the recently-published "The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War."


GRAPHIC: PHOTO, SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN GENEVA, NOVEMBER 1985. REUTER/UPI

TYPE: REVIEW

NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
MARY KATE GRANT
BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON 
SUBJECT: TARAS SHEVCHENKO QUOTES

At the end of his poem "My Bequest," Shevchenko writes:

Oh bury me and rise ye up
And smash your heavy chains...
And in the great new family,
The kinship of the free,
With kindly and a gentle word
Remember also me.

From "My Friendly Epistle"

And that glory will revive,
The glory of Ukraine,
And a clear light, not a twilight,
Will shine forth anew.

*Please use his numbers -
They are the most reliable.*

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**THE
DESTRUCTION
OF THE
EUROPEAN
JEWS**

REVISED AND DEFINITIVE EDITION

RAUL HILBERG

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KILLING OPERATIONS

1. an incomplete total of 45,000 victims.²² Einsatzgruppe C reported on November 3, 1941, that it had shot 75,000 Jews.²³ Einsatzgruppe D reported on December 12, 1941, the killing of 55,000 people.²⁴

Although over a million Jews had fled and additional hundreds of thousands had been killed, it became apparent that many Jewish communities had hardly been touched. They had been bypassed in the rapid advance. To strike at these Jews while they were still stunned and helpless, a second wave of mobile killing units moved up quickly and the Einsatzgruppen.

From Tilsit, in East Prussia, the local Gestapo sent a Kommando to Lithuania. These Gestapo men shot thousands of Jews on the east side of the Memel River.²⁵ In Kraków the *Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (BdS) of the Generalgouvernement, SS-Führer Schöngarth, organized three small Kommandos. In the middle of July these Kommandos moved into the eastern Polish areas with headquarters in Lwów, Brest-Litovsk, and Białystok, respectively, killed tens of thousands of Jews.²⁶ In addition to the Tilsit Gestapo and the Generalgouvernement Kommandos, improvised killing units were thrown into action by the Higher SS and Police Leaders. In the newly occupied Soviet territories, Himmler had installed three separate regional commanders:²⁷

HSSPf Nord (North):
OGruf. Prützmann (Jeckeln)

2. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 133 (60 copies), November 14, 1941, NO-2825.

3. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 128 (55 copies), November 3, 1941, NO-3157. In addition, the Einsatzgruppe had shot 5,000 non-Jews.

4. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 145 (65 copies), December 12, 1941, NO-2828.

5. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 19 (32 copies), July 11, 1941, NO-2941.

6. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 26, July 18, 1941, NO-2941. The report mentions that the Tilsit unit had killed 5,500 persons. Stahlecker Report to Himmler, October 15, 1941, L-180.

7. Order by Commander, Rear Army Group Area South, Ic (signed von Roques), October 14, 1941, NOKW-2597. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 43 (47 copies), August 5, 1941, NO-2949. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 56 (48 copies), August 18, 1941, NO-2848. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 58, August 29, 1941, NO-2846. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 66, August 28, 1941, NO-2839. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 67, August 29, 1941, NO-2839. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 78 (48 copies), September 9, 1941, NO-2839.

8. These reports, which do not cover all the operations of the three Kommandos, account for 17,887 victims.

9. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 129 (55 copies), November 4, 1941, NO-3159. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 141 (66 copies), December 12, 1941, NO-4425. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 149 (65 copies), December 22, 1941, NO-2833.

HSSPf Mitte (Center):

OGruf. von dem Bach-Zelewski

HSSPf Süd (South):

OGruf. Jeckeln (Prützmann)

Each Higher SS and Police Leader was in charge of a regiment of Order Police and some Waffen-SS units.²⁸ These forces helped out considerably.

In the northern sector the Higher SS and Police Leader (Prützmann), assisted by twenty-one men of Einsatzkommando 2 (Einsatzgruppe A), killed 10,600 people in Riga.²⁹ In the center the Order Police of Higher SS and Police Leader von dem Bach helped kill 2,278 Jews in Minsk³⁰ and 3,726 in Mogilev.³¹ (The beneficiary of this cooperation was Einsatzgruppe B.) In the south Higher SS and Police Leader Jeckeln was especially active. When Einsatzkommando 4a (Einsatzgruppe C) moved into Kiev, two detachments of Order Police Regiment South helped kill over 33,000 Jews.³² The role of the regiment in the Kiev massacre was so conspicuous that Einsatzkommando 4a felt obliged to report that, apart from the Kiev action, it had killed 14,000 Jews "without any outside help [*ohne jede fremde Hilfe erledigt*]."³³

But Jeckeln did not confine himself to helping the Einsatzgruppen. His mobile killing units were responsible for some of the greatest massacres in the Ukraine. Thus when Feldmarschall Reichenau, commander of the Sixth Army, ordered the 1st SS Brigade to destroy remnants of the Soviet 124th Division, partisans, and "supporters of the Bolshevik system" in his rear, Jeckeln led the brigade on a three-day rampage, killing 73 Red Army men, 165 Communist party functionaries, and 1,658 Jews.³⁴ A few weeks later, the same brigade shot 300 Jewish men and 139 Jewish women in Starokonstantinov "as a

28. Report by Major Schmidt von Altenstadt, May 19, 1941, NOKW-486.

29. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 156, January 16, 1942, NO-3405. The action took place on November 30, 1941.

30. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 92, September 23, 1941, NO-3143. The army's Feldgendarmarie also participated in this action.

31. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 133 (60 copies), November 14, 1941, NO-2825.

32. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 101 (48 copies), October 2, 1941, NO-3137.

33. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 111 (50 copies), October 12, 1941, NO-3155. Einsatzkommando 4a had a total of 51,000 victims by that time.

34. OGruF. Jeckeln to 6th Army, copies to Himmler, Army Group Rear Area South (General von Roques), Commander of 6th Army Rear Area (Generalleutnant von Puttkammer), and Chief of Order Police Daluge, August 1, 1941, NOKW-1165.

MOBILE KILLING OPERATIONS

reprisal measure for the uncooperative attitude of the Jews working for the Wehrmacht.³⁵

Next Jeckeln struck at Kamenets-Podolsky, shooting there a total of 23,600 Jews.³⁶ Another action followed in Berdichev, where Jeckeln killed 1,303 Jews, "among them 875 Jewesses over twelve years of age."³⁷ In Dnepropetrovsk, where Jeckeln slaughtered 15,000 Jews, the local army command reported that to its regret it had not received prior notification of the action, with the result that its preparations to create a ghetto in the city, and its regulation (already issued) to exact a "contribution" from the Jews for the benefit of the municipality, had come to naught.³⁸ Yet another massacre took place in Rovno, where the toll was also 15,000.³⁹ In its report about Rovno, Einsatzgruppe C stated that, whereas the action had been organized by the Higher SS and Police Leader and had been carried out by the Order Police, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 had participated to a significant extent in the shooting (*an der Durchführung massgeblich beteiligt*).⁴⁰

Although the total number of Jews shot by the Higher SS and Police Leaders cannot be stated exactly, we know that the figure is high. Thus in the single month of August the Higher SS and Police Leader South alone killed 44,125 persons, "mostly Jews."⁴¹

The mobile killing strategy was an attempt to trap the Jews in a wave of Einsatzgruppen, immediately followed up by a support wave of Gestapo men from Tilsit, Einsatzkommandos from the Generalgouvernement, and formations of the Higher SS and Police Leaders. Together, these units killed about five hundred thousand Jews in five months. (The locations of the mobile killing units in July and November 1941 are shown on Maps 2 & 3.⁴²)

35. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 59 (48 copies), August 21, 1941, NO-2847. For other killings by the 1st SS Brigade, see its activity reports for July-September 1941, compiled by Europa Verlag, *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue* (Vienna-Frankfurt-Zurich, 1965).

36. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 80 (48 copies), September 11, 1941, NO-3154.

37. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 88 (48 copies), September 19, 1941, NO-3149.

38. Report by Feldkommandantur 240/VII for period of September 15, 1941, to October 15, 1941, Yad Vashem document 0-53/6. Sonderkommando 4a reported 10,000 killed in the city by Jeckeln on October 13, 1941. See RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 135 (60 copies), November 19, 1941, NO-2832.

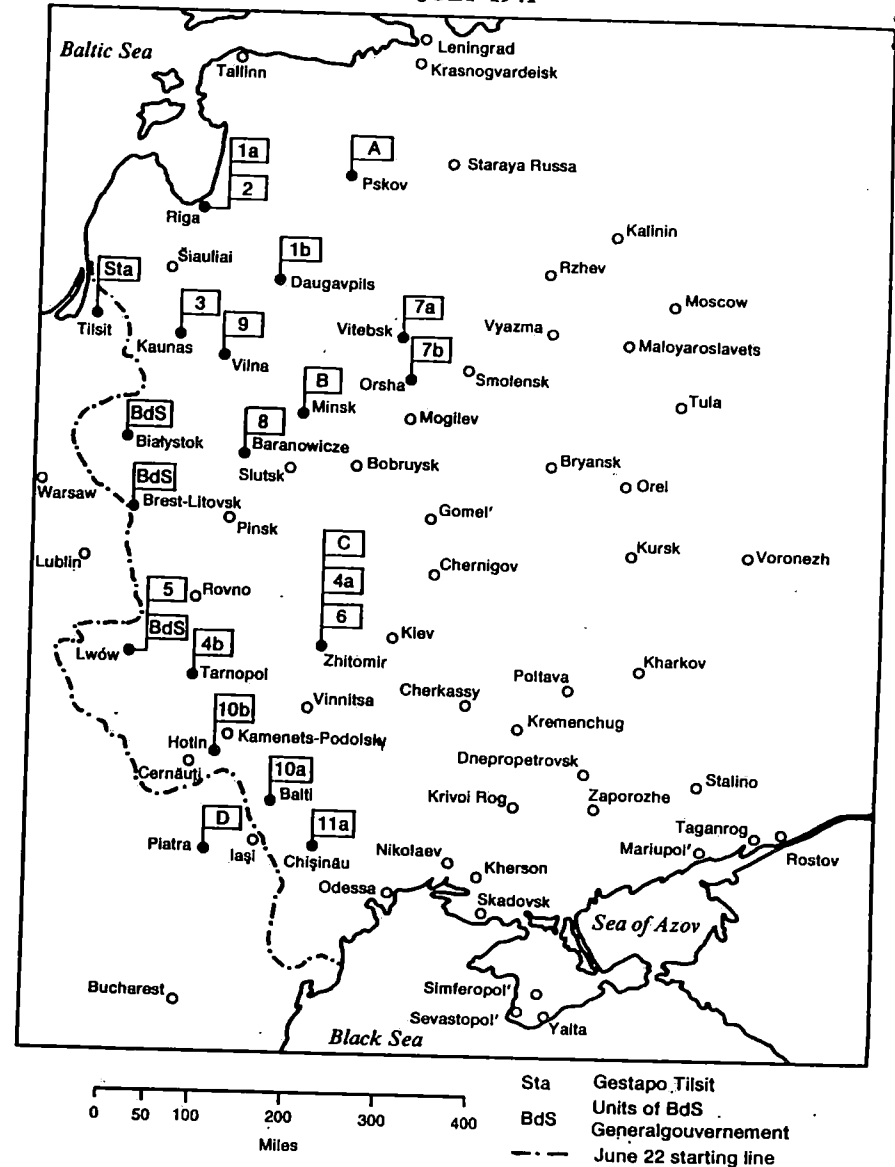
39. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 143 (65 copies), December 8, 1941, NO-2827. The action took place on November 7-8, 1941.

40. *Ibid.*

41. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 94 (48 copies), September 25, 1941, NO-3146.

42. Locations are cited in almost every RSHA IV-A-1 operational report.

MAP 2
POSITIONS OF THE MOBILE KILLING UNITS
JULY 1941



COOPERATION WITH THE MOBILE KILLING UNITS

Movement was the basic problem of the mobile killing units during the first sweep. Once the killing units had arrived at a desired spot, however, they had to deal with a host of problems. The success of the

212-935-5454 ("Chocolaterie")
Kashia
boyfriend
Dad's
(coo-steeya)

tomorrow → 3pm
7/25

← future

Rabbi Cooper →

9/29 50th anniversary

Babi Yar - opening of massacres
Started on 9/29

Soviet & Ukrainian

1st day - 20-30,000 were killed.

Current memorial isn't
located anywhere near where
massacres took place.

Jewish leaders are looking
to build a study center/
monument.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

Handwritten text in the upper right section of the page.

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Handwritten text in the middle left section of the page.

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Babi Yar

holocaust
~ 200,000 jews killed
monument

Rabbi Hier
Bobbie Kilberg

Normandy spch. - Reagan gave
try to get pics of Babi Yar
ency.

tales of survival
stones; moving, inspiring

call ~~XXXXXX~~ @ NSC
Nick Burns

2008
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2008

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2008

2008
2008
2008

2008
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2008

2008
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2008

2008
2008
2008

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Kiev
Poets: Taras Shevchenko, the
Ukrainian national
writer

anything from
Nestor the chronicler
"Tale of Bygone Years"?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

"Area Specialists"

~~① Harry Like - Ukraine Expert
707-2224~~

① Mr. Yashinsky
707-8483 } Area
Specialist

Rabbi
Cooper — 5
coming people
next week
to visit
WW tour?



Date: 91 JUL 24 PJ: 13 7.24.91

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO

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Messages (if any): Russian proverbs. Per our conversation we are faxing original source documents with arrows indicating appropriate proverbs/sayings. Please contact us if you need translations/phonetic rendition

Верному другу цены нет.

Друг дороже денег.

Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей.

→ Доброе братство дороже богатства.

→ Птица сильна крыльями, а человек дружбой.

Человек без друзей, что дерево без корней.

Глуп совсем, кто не знает ни с кем.

Без друзей, без связи — что телеса без мази.

Дерево держится корнями, а человек — друзьями.

Хорошую дружбу и топором по разрубить.

Хорошая дружба крепче каменных стен.

Кусок хлеба не съедят друг без друга.

Последний кусок разделит пополам.

У них даже лещ не делит.

Души не чают.

Стоять горой.

Ручаться головой.

Лечь костью.

Сложить голову.

Идти в огонь и воду.

Идти хоть на край света.

Волоску не даст упасть с его головы.

Положиться, как на каменную стену.

Идти рука об руку.

Для хорошего друга не жаль ни хлеба, ни досуга.

Был бы друг, будет и досуг.

Хороший друг всегда приходит вовремя.

Где мило, семь верст не криво.

У друга вышень и воду слаще меду.

У друга вода лучше, чем мед у врага.

Не тот друг, кто медом манит, а тот, кто правду скажет.

Хлеб-соль кушай, а правду-матку слушай.

За правду-матку не гневись, а скни шапку и поклонись.

Не тот друг, кто в беде не оставит, а тот, кто на ум настаивит.

Верная утка — не кулик, а ляска.

Без хорошего друга не узнаешь своих ошибок.

Друг спорит — недруг поддлинивает.

Не тот друг, кто потакает, а тот, кто на ум настаивает.

Критики боятся трус.

Всем правду трубят, но не всяк ее любит.

Правда глаза колет.

Гори рушит ветер, а дружбу — слова.

→ Нет друга — нищ, нашел — береги.

→ Нет друг — береги, потерял — нищ.

Нищ друзей, а враги и сами найдутся.

Разбирать друзей — остаться без друга.

→ Новых друзей набирай и старых не забывай.

Одежда лучше новая, а друг — старый.

Старый друг лучше новых двух.

Старая хлеб-соль не забывается.

Не падежит друг — друг, падежит — дья.

Не испытанный друг, что не расколотый орех.

Не хвались другом в три дня, а хвались в три года.

Друзья познаются в беде.

Храбрый узнается на войне, мудрый в глосе, друг в беде.

Конь узнается в езде, а друг в беде.

В радости друзья сиютятся, а в горести забудут.

Светляк не стало — и друзей мало.

Друзья — до черного дня.

Плохой друг — до черного дня.

С таким другом в разведку не ходи.

Мы с тобой — как рыба с подои: ты на дно, а я на берег.

В кармане пусто — и друзей не густо.

Денег не стало — и друзей не бывало.

Поестучит беда в окошко — подружится собака с кошкой.

Но шире друзей много.

Дружба — дружбой, а доллар — счет.

Дружба — дружбой, а табачок прозь.

Хлеб-соль вместе, а табачок каждый свой курит.

Счет дружбы не портит.

Счет дружба не помяка.

Скажи мне, кто твой друг, и я скажу, кто ты.

С кем поподеешься, от того и наберешься.

С кем познаешься, от того и нахвататься.

Дружба от недружбы близко жипет.

Замысленный друг — что надломленный лук.

Бывиный друг — злейший враг.

Друг до норы — тот же недруг.

Неверный друг опаснее врага.

Лучше честный враг, чем коварный друг.

Не бойся врага умного, бойся друга глупого.

На службе нет дружбы.

Дружба дружбой, а служба службой.

Не в службу, а в дружбу.

Прителей много, а друга нет.

Своих друзей набирай и отцовых не забывай.

ОБЩЕСТВО

Мир за себя постоят.
Мир на цепь не посадишь.
Мирскую силу не перешибешь.
Мирскую волю не переупрямишь.
Мирская шея жилится.
Один всех не переспоришь.
Соломинку и муха сломит, а сноп и лошадь не раздавит.
Веник не переломить, а по одному прутику все переломашь.
Один за всех и все за одного.
Дружней табун волков не боится.
Согласному стаду волк не страшен.
У народа глава верен, а ум догадлив.
Сто голов — сто умов.
От мира отстал — сиротою стал.
Лес по дереву не тужит.
Полководец без армии — сирота.
→ В мире жить — с миром жить.
С миром не спорь.
С миром не судись.
В миру виноватого не найдешь.
Пусть будет так, как народ решит.
Что миром положено, так тому и быть.
Как мир, так и мы.
Мы против мира не пойдём.
На весь мир не угодишь.
Одному на всех не угодить.
На мир пирога не испечешь.
На весь мир пива не сварить.
На весь мир пива не сварить.
На солнце светит для всех.
У каждого есть свое место под солнцем.

С миром и беда не в убыток.
Пропадать, так вместе.
На миру и смерть красна (не страшна).
В лесу деревья не равны, а в миру люди.
И лес шумит дружнее, когда деревьев много.
Каждая сосна своему лесу шумит.
Где сосна выросла, там она и красна.
Народ разом дует — поднимаются бура.
От грозы — либо в лучу, либо врозь.
Где грозно, там и розно.
В лесу — сушки, и суде — крошки.
Не хвались на суд идучи, хвались возвращающись.
Нужда закон помнит.
Не всякий прут по закону гнут.
Хоть бы все законы пропали, только б люди правдой жили.
Перед законом все равны.
Законы задним числом не пишутся.
Обычай крепче закона.
У каждого своя обычай.
Что ни город — свой нрав, что ни село — свой обычай.
В каком народе живешь, того и обычай держись.
В какой народ придеши, ту шапку надеши.
В чужой монастырь со своим уставом не ходят.
Как жила наша отцы и деды, так и нам пелени.
Не нами свет начался, не нами и кончится.
Что у людей ведется, то и у нас не минется.
Прищипка — не рукавичка, не повесишь на епичку.

* * *

Без пастуха не стадо.
Сноп без перевясла — солома.
Без матки ичелки — пропащье детки.
Без матки рой не держится.
Без заветалы и песня не поется.
Без столбов и забор не стоит.
И мир без начальника не бывает.
Мир без старости — что сноп без перевясла.
Мир без старости — ватага.
Артель без повака, что топор без держакта.
Рать крепка поводою.
Ни вожжах и лошадь умна.

Счастливого не обойдешь.
И не красная, да счастливая.
Счастливые часов не наблюдают, а несчастные их заглядывают.
Счастливы к обеду, несчастный к обуку.
Счастливы к обеду, несчастный к обуку.
Счастливому и на воде сметана.
Счастлив бывал, да бесчестие в руки поймал.
Счастливому ничего не делается: живет да греется.
Счастливым скачет, несчастный плачет.

СЧАСТЬЕ. Наше счастье в наших руках.

Счастье не делают, а делают.
Каждый человек кузнец своего счастья.
Всякому свое счастье.
Счастья немногим служит.
Где правда, там и счастье.
Кто за счастье, борется к тому оно и клонится.
Счастье тому бывает, кто в труде да в ученье ума набирает.
Счастье в воздухе не вьется, а руками берется.
От счастья не бегут, счастье догоняют.
Раньше жили — слезы дили, теперь живем — счастье куем.
Там счастье не диво, где трудятся не лениво.
Нет счастья — не жди и радости.
Счастье в руки не поймаешь.
Правда хорошо, а счастье лучше.
Счастье без ума — дырявая сума.
Горя бояться — и счастья не видать.
Счастья на деньги не купишь.
Легче счастье найти, чем удержать его.
Счастье не коня: хомута не маденешь.
Счастье не рыба, удочкой не поймаешь.
За счастьем человек бежит, а оно у его ног лежит.
Тот жизнь ругает, кто счастья не знает.
Прежде счастье на одночасье, а теперь на век.
Кому счастье, кому два, а кому и нет ничего.
Счастье в оглобли не впряжешь.
Счастье не корова: не выдоишь.
Счастье не палка, в руки не возьмешь.
Нового счастья ищи, а старого не теряй.
Кто горя не видал, тот и счастья не знает.

СЧЕТ. Счет да мера, то и верь.
Короткий счет — длинная дружба.
Никому не верь, только счету верь.
В счете дружба не терлется.
Чаще счет — дольше дружба.
Дружба дружбой, а денежкам счет.
Для счета и у нас голова на плечах.
Счет не обманет.
Без счета и денег нету.

СЫН. Всегда отец веселится, когда хороший сын родится.
Глохой сын имя хорошего отца позорит.
Послушному сыну отца приказ не ломит спину.

Слава сына — отцу отрад
Из-за плохого сына бран
Умный сын слова боится
Не хвались отцом, хвали
Засоженное яйцо — бол
Один сын — не сын (т
на — сын.

От плохого сына отец с
Сын мой, а ум у него с
Сын запоет — и отец не
Корми сына до поры: п
Глупому сыну и родной
Сынами славы, дочери
Сын хорошим не роди
Умный сын — отцу зам
Добрый сын — отцу ра
Чужой сын дурак — с
Невелик возрастом, а
Толковый сын — прав
Один сын и тот с
Мамынькин сынок.
Сын дураков уж срод
Плачет сын по отцу, "

СЫТЫЙ. Будь жи
Сытый да обутый не
Сытого не кормят.
Сытый голодному не
Сыт — весел, а голо
Медведь по корове
нышку клочет и
У сытого не уме гу
Сытому еда на ум
Тяжкою добычею сы
Большая сыть брю
Сытого гостя легче
Чужим ртом сыту
Сыт стал, так и ст
Когда сыт, знай ст
Сытый конь воду
Сыт конь — добр

няется.
крутся.
и подражаться.
петух голенаст живет.
тура в изьяне.
олки съели.
дров — где печь, там и жечь.
ечи замерзешь.
учина.
без керосина.
ба.
едом мажет, а тот, кто правду в глаза
анется без друга.
человек — друзьями.
отерян, но плохо и с другом, который
тазляя в горести.
нет, а тот, кто в беде помогает.
друг.
лица.
а честный человек не без друга.
ных на утрачивай.
т.
ка.
твенников.
ь — береги.
бу.
дной.
ух.
не прискутит хороший дружок.
руг и брат.
и.
уг.
ить.
жизни не жалей.
ся, на него поглядись.
ю сохранить.
ной.

Друга в зёрности без бады не узнаешь.
С другом и воду выпьешь лучше меду.
Друга узнать — вместе куль соли съесть.
Без друга на сердце выюга.
Друзья на дороге не заляются.
Для друга все не туго.
Ради милого дружка и сережка из ушка.
Друг другу всякая помога.
Для хорошего друга не жаль потерять и многого.
Человек без друзей, что дерево без корней.
С другом знаться — не радьку есть.
У нашего свата нет ни друга, ни брата.
Вешний лед обманчив, а новый друг ненадежен.
На что с тем дружить, кто любит судиться.
Будь друг, да не задруг.
Кто старых друзей забывает, тот новых не вдруг начекает.

В дружбе правда.
Народная дружба и братство дороже всякого богатства.
Потому нам хорошо живется, что дружба народов у нас водится.
Нелобедимая наша страна дружбой народов скреплена.
Не тот силен, кто дюжит, а тот, кто дружит.
Кто не испытал дружбы, тот не жил.
Крепкую дружбу и топором не разрубишь.
Птицы сильны крыльями, а люди — дружбой.
Дружба крепка не лестью, а правдой и честью.
Жить в дружбе можно, когда она не ложна.
Дружбой друг друга не обидишь, а защитишь.
Не дорога гостыба, дорога дружба.
Дружба дружбой, а табачок врозь.
Дружба как стекло: разобьешь — не сложишь.
Дружбу храни паче всего.
Гору разрушает ветер, людскую дружбу — слова.
Легко подружиться, тяжело разлучиться.
Дружба от недружбы близко живет.
Для дружбы нет расстояний.
Хочешь дружбы, будь другом.
Дружбу водить, так себя не шадить.
Не та дружба сильна, что в словах завадена.
На пятак дружбы не купишь.
Ближний счет — дальняя дружба.
Дружба дружбе рознь — иную хоть брось.
Все за одного, а один за всех, тогда и в деле будет успех.

ДУМАТЬ. Домашняя дума в дорогу не годится.
Нетрудно сделать, трудно выдумать.
Подумали и отдумали.
Думают думу без шуму.
Сначала задумай, потом сделай.
Не подумавши, ничего не начинай.
Думай и о других, не только о себе.
И птичка летает подумавши.
Долгая дума — лишняя скорбь.

Друга узнать — вместе пуд (куль) соли съесть.
Изведан друг, куль соли вместе съешин.
Не спожив (Не пожизни), друга не узнаешь.
Не узнавай друга в три дня, узнай в три года.
Друг не испытанный, что орех не расколотый.
И собака к собаке не подойдет, не обнякан се.
Не окрикнув, и к лошади не подходит.
Не изведан — друг; а изведан — див.
Не люби друга потаковника (попорошника), люби встреч-

ника.
Недруг подкакивает, а друг спорит.
Шуту в дружбе не верят. В дружбе правда.
Оставайся здорово, найживай друга много!
Лучше найдешь — забудешь; хуже найдешь — непомп-

нешь.
Старый друг лучше новых двух.
Лучше не связаться, коли (чем) расставаться.
Своих друзей найживай, а отцовых не теряй.
Новых друзей найживай, а старых не утрачивай.
На бога уповай, а от добрых людей не отставай.
Добрый друг не по копец рук.
Не держи его рублей, держи его друзей.
Жив друг — не убыток. Друга держать не убыточно.
В поле шеница годом родится, а добрый человек всегда пригодится.

→ Доброе братство милее богатства.
Друг денег дороже. Друга на деньги не купишь.
Кто друг прямой, тот брат родной.
Друзья прямые — братья родные.
Душа на Великой (реке), сердце на Волжове (реке же, по поводу братства Новгорода и Пскова в XIV веке).
Деньги найдут друга; денежка найдет дружка.
Жалеть мешка — не видать (не звесть) дружка.
Потя дружба, пока нужда. Нужда сдружает.
Нужда сдружила, приволье раздружило.
Кому счастье дружит, тому и люди.
С другом знаться — не редьку есть (ш. е. потчевать).
При пире (поре), при бражке — все дружки; при горе, кру-
чине — нет никого.
На обеде все соседи; а пришла беда, они прочь, как вода.

Как при пире, при беседе — много друзей; как при горе, при кручине — нет никого.

Скаторть со стола — а дружба слышла.

Есть брата да широкки, так есть и други (и дружки).

Много друзей, коли денежка есть.

На пире много друзей. У пива, у бражки все дружки.

Все дружки, толконнички: толконце съев, да розно все.

Пили, ели — кудряшником звали: попили, поели — прощай, шелудяк!

Горевал, пока брату слывал; а брату слыл, так всем стал мил.
Хлеба нет — друзей и не бывало.

Черный день придет — приятели откинутся.

Была бы охота, а то найдем доброхота.

Называется другом, а обирает кругом.

Брат Кондрат, пойдем кошек драть: мне шкура, тебе мясо.

Кто кому надобен, тот тому и памятен.

Люби Ивана, а береги кармана.

Дружбу водить — так себя не падить (себя надеждать).

Другу спорошгсь — себе (всем) досадить.

Дружба не служба; а кому дружить, на того служить.

Говорить правду — потерять дружбу.

Правду говорить — друга не лаянить.

Встретил с радостью, а проводил с жалостью.

Его милее нет, когда он уйдет.

Старый знакомец впервые видится.

Мы с тобой, как рыба с водою: ты ко дну, а я на берег.

Мы с тобой, что рыба с подош: я на лед, а ты под лед.

Такие друзья, что схватятся, так колом не разворотить.

Дружба дружбе рознь, а пную хоть брось.

И ты мне друг, а я тебе друг, да не оба вдруг.

Так друга любит, что для него последний кусок хлеба сам съест.

Богач друга не узнает. Богатому ни правды, ни дружбы не знавать.

Бедный знает и друга и недруга.

Раздружится друг — хуже недруга.

Живет на Кромах, в разных домах (не со времен ли Само-
званца?).

Шаночное знакомство не в потомство.

Счет дружбы не портит. Счет дружбе не помеха.
 Чаше счет, долгие (крепче) дружба.
 Стал бы кормить и волка, коли б траву ел.
 Враг хочет голову снять, а бог и блоха не даст.
 Друг другу терем ставит, а недруг недругу гроб ядлит.
 Подлюбили его, как собака палку. Люблю, что собаки редьку.
 Как конка с собакой (друзья).
 Враг силен, и горами качает.
 Враг силен, палает и в сипем (кафиане, т. е. богиного).
 Грозен враг за горами, а грозней за плечами.
 Не ставь недруга овцою, а ставь его волком.
 Не давай денег, не теряй дружбы.
 Кабы волк заодно с собакой, так бы человеку и житья не было.
 Волка на собак в помощь не зови.
 Не сжилыйся порог с ворогом; коли дело заодно.
 Их сам черт лычком связал.
 Слово их черт перевочкой связал.
 Эка дружба! Топором не разрубилъ.
 Он с шим — лей, перелей. Сливочки, переливочки.
 Собака собаку знает (или: не ест).
 Иже ни како не солгут (буквы и, к).
 Ворон ворону глаза не выключет. Блоха блоху не ест.
 С собакой ляжешь — с блохами встанешь.
 И от доброй собачки блох избежишь.
 Свизись с дураком — сам дурик будешь.
 Водитесь с палачами — не торговать калачами (палач поган).
 На прикасайтесь жида к самарянам, а мужики к дворянам.
 Общайся гордому, точен ему будешь.
 Каков в путь, таков ему и встречу.
 Каков Анясья, такова у него и Маланья.
 Был бы сам хорош, так бы люди не испортили.
 Бес беса хвалит, а людям беды ладит.
 Мил черт одному сатане. Черт дьяволу родимый.
 Сбирайтесь, бесы, сатана-то здесь!
 Мостился черт с сатаной вперелерт.
 Бес пришел, сатану привел, чертенят наплодил, дьявола
 в кумовья зовет.
 Подлю чертенка не выкормишь теленка.

Двое — не то, что один: подумаем, да и лошадь продадим
 (наменика над требованиями посоветоваться с друзьями).
 Один ум — пол-ума; три ума — полтора ума; два ума — ум.
 Патрикей сам-третей (о дурном товариществе, помощи).
 Галчане в кучу, костромичи в кучу, ярославцы прочь
 (или: прозвиз; от междоусобий Шелюки с Шубокии).
 Будь знаком, а ходи дальше (ходи кругом).
 Это все знает, ровню чубарого мерина в околотке.
 Всюду вхож, как медный грош (к кому ни попал в руки, все
 своз).
 Всех чертей знаю, одного сатану (дьявола) не знаю.
 Черт попу не товарищ (поп его обманет).
 Овце с волками худо житье. Не житье с волком и собаке.
 Не житье и собаке с волком, а теленку так и продуху. нет.
 Конь до коня, а молодец до молодца (звладн.).
 Пеший конному не товарищ. Иноходец в пути не товарищ.
 Стоячему с сидячим трудно говорить (младшиму перед стар-
 шим).
 Емель быстра — не коню сестра.
 Мне гусь не брат, свинья не сестра, утка не тетка, а мне
 своя — нестра перепелочка.
 Гусь свиные не товарищ. Гусь козлу не товарищ (не брат).
 Волк коню не товарищ. Медведь корове не брат.
 Горюк чугулу (котлу) не товарищ (расшибется об него).
 Свиные приятель угор (она с ним чешется).
 Клип плотнику товарищ (брат).
 Лычко с ремешком не связывался.
 Сяног лантю не брат (не дружка, не четя, не ровня).
 Вяжись лычко с лычком, ремешок с ремешком.
 Это не тебе (не ему) четя. Не пашему брату четя.
 Волк волком не травится, поп попом не судится.
 Мил — добре, да мне не ровня (да невровие).
 Не сошлись обычаем, не бывать дружбе.
 Глухой умного, а пьяница трезвого не любят.
 С пыльным не бранись (не дерись), с богатым не тянись.
 Козел и овцам, а приказный к купцам не приставай.
 Чешися конь с конем, вол с волком, а свинья с угором.
 Чешися конь с конем, вол с волком, а свинья в вол, коли не
 с кем.
 Скотина чешется бок о бок, а люди врознь.

Одрань с одранью и чешется.
Сапог с сапогом, лашоть с лаптем.
Для котя в одном мешке не улежатся.
Две копки в мешке дружбы не заведут.
Для медведя в одной берлоге не улягутся.
Две бараньи головы в один котел не лезут (что-нибудь да торчит).

Двум шагам в одних ножках не ужиться.
Знаючи недруга, не пошто в пар.
Услужливый дурак опаснее врага (с басни Крылова).
Подсидел у друга муху (с басни Крылова).
Либо друг, либо недруг. Скажись другом либо недругом.
Больше друзей — больше и врагов. Бойся друга, как врага.
Как друг по конец рук, Этот друг и сам без рук.
На частую дружбу часом (часто, чаще) раздружься.
С другом дружись, а сам не плюнься (а за саблю держись).
Дружатся дружись, а пож (а камень) за пазухой держи.

С другом дружись, а как недруга берегись.
С медведем дружись, а за топор держись.
X Дружба от недружбы близко живет.
Не пейю, не вскармя, порога не увидишь (не купишь).
Надсаженный конь, надломленный лук, да замуренный друг.

Не видишь — душа мрет; увидишь — с души прет.
В недруге стрела, что во пне, а в друге, что во мпе.
С чужим не бранись, а со своим не вапись.
Другу дружи, а другому (а недругу) не груби.
Другу не дружи (не потворствуй), недругу не груби.
За что того любить, кто хочет сгубить?
Черт на черта нашел в рогозном ряду.
Кони дома не пекут, так и в людях не дадут.
Пиво не пиво, и мед не хвала; а всему голова, что любовь дорога.

Не дорог подарок, дорога любовь.
Не дорога гостья, дорога дружба.
Был я у друга, пил я воду слаще меду.
Пьешь у друга воду слаще меду.
У друга пить воду лучше неприятельского меду.
Без Иванки не выпьешь бражки.
Одному и льяно, да не мило; с другом и хмельно, да умно.

Кума не мила, и гостинцы постылы.
Для милого дружка и сережку из ушка.
Жить заодно, делаться пополам.
У нас с тобой и леп поделил (свй влесеи).
Для друга нет круга. Для друга семь верст не околица.
Буде меня любишь, так и собаку мою не бей (люби).
Для друга все не туго (не плясало и не скудно).
Два гори вместе, третье пополам.
Для друга и поет разрешается.
Друг сердечный, таракан запечный!
Мы с тобой, как рыба с водой.
Свой люди, согтемся. Что за счеты между друзьями?
Что есть вместе, чего нет, пополам.
Дорожка вместе, табачок пополам (сод.).
Не в службу, а в дружбу. Для друга выпрягать из плуга.
За компанию (Для дружбы) и жид удавился (и мопах женился).
И худой Ермыл, да боготыл; а и хороший Влас, да подлыные нас.

Больше той любви не бывает, как друг за друга умирает.
Свой своего знает (видит) издалека.
Свой своему поневоле друг. Душа душу и знает.
Рыбак рыбака далеко по плесу падат.
Рыбак рыбака видит издалека.
Пон пона, дурак дурака и знают.
В дороге и отец сыну товарищ.
Стрелец стрелыца видит издалека.
Барану пара — овца. Флор Флорихе набитый брат.
Друг до поры — тот же недруг.
Без друга — сирота; с другом — семьянин.
Друзей-то (приятелей) много, да друга нет.
Друг и брат великое дело: не скоро добудешь.
И всяк тебе друг, да не вдруг.
Будь друг, да не вдруг. Будь друг, да без убытку.
Всяк добр, да не до всякого. Все собры добры до своих бобрыт.

Нет друга, так ищи; а нашел, так береги.
Друга ищи, а найдешь — береги.
Без беды друга не узнаешь. Друг познается в беда.
Друг познается на рати да пра беде.
Коня в рати узнаешь, а друга в беде.

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
July 24, 1991 2 p.m.
LUNCH Draft One

OUTLINE FOR KIEV LUNCHEON (5 minutes)

- I. INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- glad to be in city that's home of "Mother Russia"
 - thanks to Chairman Kravchuk and Ukranian people for welcoming me through your "Golden Gate"
 - delight to visit region which is ancestral home of millions of my countrymen
 - this ancient city of Prince Vladimir; dazzling beauty of a city of faith and peace 1,000 years ago: "glistening with the light of holy icons, fragrant with incense, ringing with praise and ... songs."
- II. JOKES
- not true I've come to your country to be a contestant on "Field of Miracles -- Capital Show"
 - just came from Moscow -- McDonald's joke
- III. DEMOCRATIZATION
- 1000 years ago, Vladimir brought Christianity; his perestroika, turning from war to peace and faith. Exciting to be here now, when undergoing most important and fundamental change since then
 - unequivocal US support for democratization and political pluralism
 - To give you heart, remember Tolstoy: "The strongest of all warriors are these two: Time and Patience."
- IV. U.S.-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
- FDR: "...the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace."
 - celebrate partnership (NWO, Gulf, etc.)
 - also friendship among peoples:
 - in aftermath of Chernobyl, Americans shared the pain and responded with generosity
 - important to us to keep that spirit of friendship
- V. FUTURE
- here after two days of work, signing treaty
 - here in this lovely, historic city, to expand ties with republic leaders -- and to restate support for Gorbachev's attempt to promote reform
 - here to remind of goals and challenges for future:
 - US support for creation of free market economy
 - here to highlight advantage of evolving, positive US-Soviet

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
July 24, 1991 2 p.m.
TOAST Draft One

OUTLINE FOR MOSCOW STATE DINNER (5 minutes)

- I. INTRODUCTIONS/ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- II. JOKES/ANECDOTES (examples follow)
 - heard when people told most important man in America coming to visit, they said -- "Arnold Schwarzenegger is coming to Moscow?"
 - McDonald's food and State Dinner
- III. THANKS
 - to Soviet people and leaders
 - to Kremlin hosts (refer to afternoon speech)
 - to Gorbachevs
- IV. TRIBUTE TO GORBACHEV
 - personal (anecdotes from May 1990 visit to D.C.)
 - U.S. support for his attempt to promote economic and political reform
 - and Raisa: mention Am-Sov Youth Orchestra (Raisa and Barbara B. are honorary chairmen)
- V. CELEBRATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
 - tribute to U.S.-Soviet partnership (old Soviet proverb: "There is no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship")
 - in new world order; --in Gulf
 - currently in Middle East
 - Soviet beginning of economic reforms
- VI. LOOK FORWARD TO ACCOMPLISHMENTS (CHALLENGES)
 - support for market economy reforms and entrepreneurs
 - recap package of initiatives
 - support for democratization and political pluralism
 - looking forward to evolution of strong U.S.-Soviet relationship (economic and political)
- VII. CONCLUSION
 - challenge for strong future and continuation of reforms (Chekhov: "Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he's been given.")
 - old Russian custom: when getting ready for long journey, sit down for quiet moment. Long journey of change ahead.
 - end: thanks, then traditional Soviet toast: "To the future of our countries!"

#

NEXIS
Eleanor Randolph
weekend Post
article

contemporary ~~paran~~ religions devel.

shared values

capitalism

build on basic sensibilities

The most important thing to do is be yourself.

Call mom - Peace play that came thru York & went to Moscow "PeaceChild"?

People to People?

Zagorsk - monestary, seminary
tourist trap

Leonid Murog (717) 266-3147

1. The first important thing to do is to

write down the main points

of the lecture.

2. It is also important to

ask questions if you do not understand

3. You should also try to

relate the new information

to what you already know.

4. Finally, it is important to

review your notes

regularly to make sure you

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Grant Harris 707-5858 (a)

~~10-10~~
European Division

→ Soviet TV, Emony College
Dr. Ellen Mickiewicz (mitz-kev-itsh)
~~(404) 727-6583 (w)~~
~~420-5151 (w)~~
~~(404) 633-1759 (h)~~

asst. dir of Sov. media
Alfredo Duarte
(Doo-war-tay)

out of
country
4/1 August

→ Films, ^{Dr.} Anna Lawton (also actors & actresses)
out of country Georgetown
~~202-687-6061 (w)~~
~~202-462-2179 (h)~~

Jane Fonda
is big per
there
per G Harris



→ music, ~~Mr.~~ Mr. S. Frederick Starr Oberlin College
~~(216) 775-8400 (w)~~
wrote book called Red and Hot @ 1983
the fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union

w/ back

music, Laura Souders, knows about Soviet rock 'n' roll.
~~(202) 462-1947 (h)~~
~~The Am. Meteorology (w) 202-~~
~~Rock Society 234-2717~~

→ culture, Hedrick Smith wrote The Russians © 1974 or 1975
NY Times The New Russians © 1990
(212) 556-1234

culture, Eric Johnson (at Lib. of Cong.) in exchange & gift
just spent a month there. ^{division}
~~707-9490~~ ↓ (28 yrs. old)
~~came back 10 days ago.~~

culture, VP of travel company (head of Soviet section)
Karen Sherman
~~202-655-~~ 328-6578 (h)

1992

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Alfred Bruck

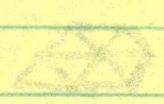
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"DD" batteries are in big demand, so are windshield wipers
↑ they get stolen all the time.

Eleanor Randolph - read piece on lightbulbs
Sunday Post 7/21/91

will do a quote search for us...

Dr. Lawton's former student (G-town)

very active in study of films

Moyra Ratchford

202-544-3687 (w)

333-3335 (h)

Electron Transport - 1000 hours
1000 hours

Will be a great source of law

The University of Michigan (Law)

1000 hours

1000 hours

GW ~~Board of Trustees~~, Elliott School Int Aff.

Sino-Soviet Institute

994-6340

Director → James Millar (Millar)

Sino-Sov. Information Center 994-7105

→ Dept. of Slavic Lang. & Lit. 994-6335

Irene Thompson^{prof.} or Charles Moser (prof.)

↓
994-7086

↓
994-7082

will call by 5pm

out of office
Irene will tell.

1. The first part of the book is a history of the world from the beginning of time to the present day.

2. The second part of the book is a history of the United States from the time of the first settlers to the present day.

3. The third part of the book is a history of the world from the beginning of time to the present day.

July 22, 1991

RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR USSR TRIP:

Exchanges

status of US-Soviet exchange programs -- how much increase since 1985, 1988 to now? (students, professionals, artists/academics, etc.)

////////////////////

American culture in the USSR

What American movies are playing in Moscow? Are there movie houses specializing in American films?

What American TV shows appear on Soviet TV? Which is most popular (Dallas??)?

Which American magazines/newspapers are most popular? Where are they most widely available?

Favorite American actors/actresses, bands, etc.

Evidence of American consumer culture -- McDonald's, Mickey Mouse, etc. -- and Soviet reaction towards it....

////////////////////

How many independent radio stations are there in Moscow (-- in the Republic, in the USSR...)? Is Moscow Echo the best known??

Names of most popular independent news programs/newspapers -- trusted reporters, journalists....

What is the biggest story in the Pop Culture there -- the equivalent of making the cover of People Mag. here....?

////////////////////

Proverbs/folk legends, Sayings --

Related to:

-- journey/travels.

-- visitors/guests.

-- friends.

-- challenges/great tasks.

-- the future....

Lottenes?

4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 U.S. News & World Report

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Washington Whispers; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 62 words

BODY:

What did Vice President Bush talk about with world leaders during his visit to Moscow or Chernenko's funeral? With Britain's Thatcher, it was her impression of Gorbachev; with Japan's Nakasone, trade problems; with West Germany's Kohl, the renewed arms talks; with India's Gandhi, his trip to the United States in June, and with Pakistan's Zia, the war in Afghanistan.

6TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 U.S. News & World Report

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Pg. 27

LENGTH: 574 words

HEADLINE: Prospects for a Thaw: Process Will Be Slow

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

The United States and the Soviet Union both regard the changeover in Kremlin leadership as a chance for a fresh start in superpower relations.

But the hopes are tempered by the sober realization that differences between the two nations are profound and intractable -- regardless of who is on top in Moscow.

First cautious contact came here at a minisummit after the funeral of Konstantin Chernenko. Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz got a chance to size up Mikhail Gorbachev, and the new Soviet leader had an opportunity to assess the Americans.

Said Bush after the 85-minute session: "If there ever was a time when we can move forward with progress in the last few years, then I would say this is a good time for that."

Shultz also was upbeat upon his return to Washington. "The President," he told reporters on March 15, "firmly intends to work toward a more constructive relationship across the board."

For his part, Gorbachev promised to "work in practice to improve" relations with the United States. But he did not immediately accept President Reagan's bid to hold the first U.S.-Soviet summit since 1979.

No one in Moscow or Washington expected, however, that a polite exchange of words would clear the air after decades of mutual suspicion. "We are not euphoric," Bush cautioned. "There are big problems, major problems that we have had, that we'll have to face."

American officials realize that, even if Gorbachev favored significant change, the realities of Soviet politics rule out any bold overtures while he consolidates his position in the Politburo.

Any expectations of substantive progress in easing tensions are further dampened by opposing positions at the nuclear-arms talks at Geneva, where negotiators are so far apart that it could take years to reach an agreement.

"It's not imminent." Faced with a spate of optimistic press reports on the prospects of a Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, Washington tried to dampen all the talk of an early summit session. A senior White House aide warned: "I wouldn't play it up because it's not imminent, and it's not something that's going to take place overnight." All but ruled out was a summit session in May when the

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(c) 1985 U.S. News & World Report, March 25, 1985

President visits Europe for the Western economic summit and V-E Day ceremonies.

Some analysts predict, nevertheless, that there could be such a meeting before the end of the year, perhaps in Helsinki in August on the 10th anniversary of the East-West human-rights accords or in New York when the United Nations General Assembly convenes in September.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union may need a summit.

Gorbachev requires cooperation abroad to obtain essential goods and technology that he requires if he is to revitalize sagging Soviet industry and agriculture.

Thoughts about legacy. Reagan's Western European allies and the U.S. Congress both want reductions in the deficits brought on in part by heavy arms spending.

In addition, aides observe that, as the President moves into his second and last term in the White House, he is beginning to think about what he will leave behind, "his legacy."

With a robust leader now in the Kremlin and an American President who wants to go down in history as a peacemaker, many observers believe circumstances are favorable for a sustained U.S.-Soviet dialogue -- with no assurance, however, that superpower detente or an arms agreement are in the cards.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Vice President Bush meets Gorbachev at U.S.-Soviet minisummit in Moscow. DAVID VALDEZ -- THE WHITE HOUSE

8TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

March 21, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part 5; Page 2; Column 1; View Desk

LENGTH: 588 words

HEADLINE: ART BUCHWALD: IS CAMELOT COMING TO THE KREMLIN?

BYLINE: By ART BUCHWALD

BODY:

The Soviet Watchers of Washington met last week in the Darkness at Noon Russian Tea Room to be briefed on Mikhail Sergeyeovich Gorbachev's rise to the top of the Soviet Union.

Prof. Nicholai Dubokowsky, one of the leading Kremlinologists in this country, gave us the word. "Gorbachev may be around for at least 30 years, so you have to watch him very closely."

"What should we watch for?"

"Since he is only 54 years old you should watch the way he stands when he's on the top of Lenin's Tomb. Remember, he is the first Soviet leader in 10 years who can watch a parade without a Politburo member on each side holding on to his arms so he won't fall down. This has its good and bad implications. The fact that he can stand on his own two feet makes Gorbachev dangerous. At the same time we can expect more credibility from the Kremlin on their leader's health. Now when they announce he has a bad cold, we can all assume he does have a bad cold."

"Why is Gorbachev getting such a good press?"

"Because he speaks English and wears nice suits. One of the reasons Americans never trusted the Soviet leaders in the past was that they dressed so tacky. How could you discuss ways of avoiding World War III with people who wore baggy pants and white socks? Gorbachev is a new breed of Russian. His suit coat fits, and his choice of shirts and ties is impeccable. He's the type of person you're not ashamed to be photographed with at a summit conference."

"Does the fact that he's a snappy dresser mean he's a more formidable adversary?"

"He could go either way. Khrushchev almost brought us to nuclear destruction by hammering his shoe on the podium at the United Nations. Gorbachev would never do this because he's afraid it would ruin his shine. But you still have to watch him very carefully. The fact that he doesn't drool all over the medals on his chest could be to NATO's disadvantage. With the others you knew they weren't going to be around very long, so the West was willing to put up with their peccadilloes for a year or two. With Gorbachev it will be at least three decades before he winds up in the Kremlin Wall."

(c) 1985 Los Angeles Times, March 21, 1985

"Do you think he will flaunt the fact he is only 54 years old in Reagan's face?"

"He has already. In a hand-delivered letter to President Reagan, Gorbachev started by addressing it 'Dear Uncle Ronnie.' That threw the President for a loop. He doesn't even like his grandchildren to call him Grandpa."

"Vice President George Bush watched Gorbachev all during Chernenko's funeral. What was his impression of the man?"

"As you know, Mr. Bush has become an expert at watching Soviet leaders at Moscow funerals. He came back quite impressed. Mr. Bush thinks Gorbachev has the potential to become the first Soviet yuppie premier. The leader seems to enjoy the good things in life, and one of his priorities is to provide more of the same for his people. The vice president believes if we can get Gorbachev to import more Perrier and buy more BMWs with stereo tape decks in them, the Soviets will lose their appetite for world conquest."

"What about Mrs. Gorbachev? Should we spend much time watching her?"

"You have no choice. The press is now referring to her as another Jackie Kennedy. Mrs. Gorbachev could be a big help to the Soviet leader when he travels around the world. The thing to watch is his first trip to France. If he pulls a John Kennedy and says, 'I am the man who accompanied Raisa Gorbachev to Paris,' and it gets a big hand, we're in a lot more trouble than most people think."

TYPE:
Column; Wire



16TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 The Washington Post

March 15, 1985, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; World News; A29

LENGTH: 758 words

HEADLINE: Gorbachev Impresses Dignitaries in Talks;
Choice of Callers, Change in Style Noted

BYLINE: By Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, March 14, 1985

BODY:

New Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev completed another day of back-to-back diplomatic meetings today, impressing a stream of foreign dignitaries with his energy and self-confidence.

In his first days in office, Gorbachev already has met twice as many visiting delegations as his predecessor, the late Konstantin Chernenko.

Gorbachev's meetings with foreign visitors here to attend Chernenko's funeral yesterday revealed more about the style of the new Kremlin leadership than about any change in policy, diplomats said.

But Gorbachev's selection of visitors was also revealing. Today he received a delegation from China, a sign that he intends to follow up on his call Monday for "serious improvement" in relations between the two Communist giants. Last year, at the funeral of former president Yuri Andropov, the Chinese delegation met not with Chernenko, the incoming leader, but with another member of the Politburo.

Gorbachev also met today with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, the first time that the two countries' top leaders have met since 1973 and only the third time in Soviet history.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand, after their meetings with Gorbachev this week, reported that he had accepted their invitations to visit their countries, although no dates were set.

But officials in Washington said Gorbachev did not commit himself in response to a letter from President Reagan, delivered by Vice President Bush, that reportedly invited him to a summit meeting there.

Bush said before leaving Moscow late last night, however, that he found "nothing discouraging" in Gorbachev's reaction, and added that their 85-minute meeting in the Kremlin gave him "high hope" for improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

Some western diplomats noted that Gorbachev met on the first day with President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua and with Ethiopian leader Haile Mariam Mengistu. Last year, Ortega was given less favorable treatment and the Ethiopians were not received at all.



(c) 1985 The Washington Post , March 15, 1985

However, the absence of Cuban President Fidel Castro was taken by some here as a sign of Cuban dissatisfaction with Soviet aid to Nicaragua.

Western leaders emerging from their meetings with Gorbachev described him as "firm," "frank," "calm" and possessing a "keen historical awareness."

"He talks very openly. He is a commanding, well-informed, strong man, with a natural authority," Kohl said after their meeting today. "He has an easy charm but, at the same time, can stand up for his interests firmly and coldly."

Few specifics about the meetings were revealed, but, according to western diplomats, Gorbachev stuck closely to recent Soviet policy on international issues. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was present at all the encounters.

Western diplomats said today that Gorbachev, in a joint meeting with leaders of Eastern European countries, rescheduled a Warsaw Pact summit for April in Sofia, Bulgaria. Such a summit was postponed earlier this year because of Chernenko's poor health.

A plenum of the Central Committee is also still expected in April, which will give the new Soviet leader a chance to exert his authority.

"It could be a busy April, but he has already shown he can handle a killing schedule," one western diplomat said.

Among western-allied leaders, Gorbachev met today with Prime Ministers Felipe Gonzalez of Spain and Brian Mulroney of Canada as well as Kohl and Nakasone.

At a short briefing after their meeting, Nakasone said the two had discussed the continuing dispute over the Kurile Islands, which Moscow annexed from Japan after World War II. According to Nakasone, Gorbachev said the Soviet stance on the issue "is not to be changed." But Gorbachev raised hopes for a long-awaited visit to Japan by Gromyko.

The U.S.-Soviet arms talks begun in Geneva this week were a recurrent theme in Gorbachev's meetings with Western European leaders. Gorbachev apparently reiterated the Soviet position that the top priority at the talks is to prevent the spread of weaponry to space.

Gorbachev also met with Mohammed Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan, Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Truong Chinh of Vietnam, Ali Nasser Hasani of South Yemen and Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The Chernenko funeral also provided opportunities for bilateral meetings between other government leaders. West Germany's Kohl met Tuesday night with Erich Honecker of East Germany, and later with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland and President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia.



17TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 861 words

HEADLINE: DEATH THINS RANKS OF SOVIET OLD GUARD

BYLINE: By Howard A. Tyner, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

The strains of Chopin's "Funeral March" drifted across Red Square yet again Wednesday as the Soviet Union buried another of its leaders, this time President Konstantin Chernenko.

It was the fifth major funeral here in slightly more than three years, and it underscored how old age and death are imposing pivotal changes on the face of Soviet politics.

Communist Party theorist Mikhail Suslov, Presidents Leonid Brezhnev and Yuri Andropov, and Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, all 70 or older, have preceded Chernenko to the grave since January, 1982. The five deaths left a deep gap in the ranks of senior Kremlin veterans, whose careers date from the prewar Stalinist era.

Only a few of the Old Guard remain, most notably Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 75; Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, 79; and party secretary Boris Ponomarev, 80.

On Wednesday the new generation was in charge on Red Square in the person of Mikhail Gorbachev, 54, named the party's general secretary within hours after Monday's announcement of Chernenko's death at 73. Perhaps as a sign of the new realities, the 55-minute "funeral meeting" was a brisker, less sentimental affair than ceremonies for Andropov last year or for Brezhnev in 1982.

Delivering his eulogy under a leaden late-winter sky, Gorbachev paid proper respect to his predecessor, who was serving with Red Army frontier troops in Soviet Central Asia when the new general secretary was born.

Chernenko, he said, was "a true son of our party and people, a steadfast fighter for noble communist ideals, a prominent party and state figure."

That ritual done, Gorbachev spelled out what he apparently intends to be the hallmarks of his reign: "strict observance of law and order, consolidation of labor, state and party discipline."

"We will support, encourage and elevate in all ways those who by deeds and practical results rather than by words show their honest and conscientious attitude towards civic duty," he told a radio and television audience and the



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several thousand people gathered on the cobblestones of the huge square.

"We shall fight any manifestation of showiness and idle talk, swagger and irresponsibility--everything that contradicts the socialist norms of life."

Few Muscovites could have missed the similarities between the tone of Gorbachev's message and the no-nonsense style of the 15 months in which Andropov, the veteran chief of the KGB security police, held power. Andropov was Gorbachev's patron, and many observers, Soviet and Western, believe the younger man will pursue a course similar to that of his mentor.

As Gorbachev spoke in a clear, confident voice, it was easy to recall Andropov's funeral 13 months ago and the gasping, halting delivery of the eulogy read by Chernenko. That was the first clear signal to the public that the longtime Brezhnev protege could serve only a short time before giving way to the younger generation.

The ceremonies Wednesday began shortly before 1 p.m., when the body of Chernenko, who died Sunday of heart failure complicated by chronic heart and liver ailments, was brought into Red Square in a coffin draped in red and black crepe aboard a gun carriage.

Already assembled in the square were world leaders from East and West, among them Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, French President Francois Mitterrand, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

In keeping with the practice here, Chernenko's casket was placed at the foot of the Lenin mausoleum and then opened so that the body, clad in a dark suit, faced the squat red-granite bunker holding the mummified remains of the man who founded the Soviet Union 67 years ago.

Looking down at him from atop the mausoleum was Gorbachev, flanked by Tikhonov, Moscow party leader Viktor Grishin and other Kremlin officials. Each wore a band of red and black on his left upper arm.

Once Gorbachev had finished his address, Grishin spoke, followed by a worker from the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia, where Chernenko was born into a peasant family Sept. 11, 1924.

Chernenko's grave is at one end of a row containing the final resting places of 11 other heroes of Soviet history, including Josef Stalin, Suslov, Andropov, Brezhnev and Felix Dzhherzhinsky, founder of the secret police. Chernenko lies next to Marshal Semen Budenny, a veteran of the 1917-20 civil war.

Once the body had reached the grave, Chernenko's widow, Anna, in keeping with Russian Orthodox tradition, bent over her husband's body, touched his brow and kissed him on the forehead.

As at the funerals of Brezhnev and Andropov, the leaders made the same farewell gesture, but they broke tradition when none stepped forward to follow the dead president's wife.

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An artillery salute boomed and factory sirens blared across the nation precisely at 1:40 p.m., when the casket was lowered into the ground. Then came the playing of the national anthem.

A 10-minute march in review by elite troops ended the funeral of Konstantin Chernenko.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: (color) AP Laserphoto. The coffin of Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko is borne through Red Square Wednesday.

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; GROUP; OFFICIAL; END

18TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 Chicago Tribune Company;
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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1026 words

HEADLINE: BUSH, GORBACHEV TALK

BYLINE: By Howard A. Tyner, Chicago Tribune. (Tribune correspondent George de Lama contributed to this story from Washington.)

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

Vice President George Bush had what he called a "constructive, nonpolemical" meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev late Wednesday, but the new Soviet leader apparently did not commit himself to a summit meeting with President Reagan.

But Bush said that Reagan was willing to sit down with Gorbachev and that "he'd be ready as soon as the Soviet leadership would be."

The vice president made his report after spending 1 hour and 25 minutes in the Kremlin with Gorbachev. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko also sat in on the session, which followed the funeral of Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko.

White House officials had said Bush would deliver a message from Reagan inviting Gorbachev to a summit meeting and that Washington was suggesting it be held in the United States.

Bush refused to confirm that, although he said he had brought a letter. "I believe that the President does feel a meeting would be useful," he said. Asked what Gorbachev said about a summit, Bush replied: "I really honestly can't answer that. . . . I just couldn't tell you anything about that."

A senior U.S. official in Washington said any summit meeting should be in the United States or in a "neutral" country. There has not been such a meeting in the U.S. since Presidents Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev met in 1974. Since then there have been two summits in the Soviet Union and one each in Finland and Austria.

"The President would prefer not to go to Moscow," the official said. "But in general, we would not be very hung up on where the meeting is held."

Reagan's invitation came about in part because of his growing sensitivity to being the first president since Herbert Hoover not to meet with his Soviet counterpart, White House officials said.

"The President is thinking about his legacy, about how his presidency will go down in the history books," one official said. "He sincerely wants to reach

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an arms-control accord with the Russians."

Gorbachev, 54, was named general secretary of Soviet Communist Party on Monday, the day after Chernenko's death. Reagan had not met with Chernenko or his predecessor, Yuri Andropov, in part because they were ill during much of their time in office.

In addition, during Reagan's first term the U.S. insisted a summit had to offer the prospect of positive results before it could be held. That condition seems to have been dropped in the recent White House comments, which apparently were provoked by the conciliatory attitude toward the U.S. in Gorbachev's acceptance speech after becoming general secretary. On Monday, Reagan said he was looking forward to meeting "whenever we can" with Gorbachev.

This was the third time since November, 1982, that Bush has come to Moscow to represent the U.S. at the funeral of a Soviet leader. Each time he has been received by the new man in charge.

He spoke Wednesday night with cautious optimism about the possibility of an improvement in Soviet-American relations, saying, "If there ever was a time when we can move forward with progress in the last few years, I'd say this was a good time."

Bush said he was not "euphoric" but rather realistic about the state of affairs. "We encountered nothing there to discourage us in any way from these feelings that I think . . . are high: high on hope, high that we can make progress" in nuclear-arms negotiations in Geneva and "high for an overall reduction of tensions."

Bush acknowledged "big problems, major differences" that would remain between Moscow and Washington. But he said the climate of the session with Gorbachev was such "that we feel this is a good time to move forward. I hope that we adequately conveyed our President's views on that."

Reagan had lunch Wednesday with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who was in Nixon's Cabinet and who is an unofficial adviser to the current administration. Kissinger said afterward that Reagan and Gorbachev should meet "in due course" but that the U.S. should be cautious in weighing the meaning of the change in Soviet leadership.

Kissinger warned that Gorbachev's relative youth and vigor, which have been seen as hopeful factors in the West, do not necessarily bode well for East-West relations.

"We have a tendency to look at these Soviet leaders as if this were a personality contest," Kissinger told reporters. "The first thing one has to remember is that you don't get to the head of the Politburo by being a choirboy."

Kissinger urged that Reagan not rush into a summit unless Moscow showed a firm commitment to improve its relations with the U.S., such as demonstrable progress on arms reductions.

"A summit is not an end of itself," he said. "What is an end is the result of a summit. I don't think foreign policy is a psychiatric exercise. I don't

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think it's so important to meet each other as it is important to have an agenda to talk about."

Kissinger, who played an important role in the Nixon-Brezhnev summits, said he agreed with the assessment that Reagan wants to go down in history as a peacemaker.

"My impression is that (Reagan) is above all concerned about bringing about a fundamental change in international tensions," Kissinger said, "and that will determine the speed of a summit, the prospects for success."

The U.S. delegation was one of dozens Gorbachev met with after Chernenko's funeral in Red Square early Wednesday afternoon. The schedule fell so far behind that when the Americans first drove to the Kremlin at the appointed hour they were told to leave. So Bush and Shultz returned to the U.S. ambassador's residence and waited more than 1 1/2 hours before being told to make the trip again.

Bush said Gorbachev made "a very strong impression" and conducted their long session "with great confidence and assurance." Gromyko participated in the talks, he said, but left the lead to the new party leader. Chernenko often had relied heavily on Gromyko in meetings with foreign dignitaries.

Bush left Moscow to attend the inauguration of Brazil's new president Friday. Shultz headed back to Washington to brief Reagan.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. Vice President George Bush offers his condolences to the Soviet Union's new leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, following funeral services Wednesday in Moscow for Konstantin Chernenko.

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; RELATION; UNITED STATES



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Los Angeles Times

March 14, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 1; Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1005 words

HEADLINE: SOVIETS: BUSH ENCOURAGED BY GORBACHEV TALK

BYLINE: By WILLIAM J. EATON, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

Vice President George Bush met for 85 minutes Wednesday with new Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev and said afterward, "I think we have reason to be encouraged."

He also indicated that he had told Gorbachev that President Reagan is ready for a superpower summit conference whenever the Kremlin wants one. The vice president strongly implied that he had delivered an invitation from Reagan to Gorbachev during the discussion, which was held late Wednesday night after the funeral of Soviet President Konstantin U. Chernenko.

"The President does feel a (summit) meeting would be useful," Bush said at a news conference when asked if Reagan had invited Gorbachev to Washington. He declined to give a direct answer to the question, although White House officials had said late Tuesday that the message Bush was to deliver would suggest a summit in the United States.

Bush also said he could not report anything about whether Gorbachev is ready for a face-to-face encounter with the American President.

'Good Time to Move'

"The climate is such that we feel this is a good time to move forward," Bush said. "I cannot speak for him (Reagan), but I think he would be ready (for a summit meeting) as soon as the Soviet leadership will be."

The vice president, who was joined by Secretary of State George P. Shultz for the meeting with Gorbachev and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, gave an upbeat appraisal of the discussion.

"We're not euphoric," Bush said, noting that major problems and differences exist between Washington and Moscow. "But we encountered nothing (at the meeting) to discourage us in any way."

As a result, he added, U.S. officials have high hopes for progress at nuclear arms control talks in Geneva and for an overall reduction in Soviet-American tensions.

Kissinger Cautions



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In Washington, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, after having a private lunch with Reagan at the White House, told reporters that Americans make a mistake by viewing a Soviet leadership change as "a personality contest."

"The first thing one has to remember is that you don't get to the head of the Politburo necessarily by being a choirboy," he said. "You have to be a pretty strong and tough individual."

Kissinger said he opposes the concept of a "get-acquainted" summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev, and indicated that the President agrees with him. "I don't think foreign policy is a psychiatric exercise," he said.

However, the former secretary of state predicted that there will be a Reagan-Gorbachev summit "in due course."

"We have an unusual opportunity," Kissinger said, "if the Soviets realize that the way things have been going they can't continue, as the President has made emphatically clear." He said Reagan "above all is interested in bringing about a fundamental change in international tensions."

Bush, who previously attended the Red Square funerals of Presidents Yuri V. Andropov and Leonid I. Brezhnev, spoke along much the same lines, saying he believes that there is more opportunity now to make progress in Soviet-American relations than there has been in the last few years.

"The frankness and the content of the meeting (with Gorbachev) were such that I think we have reason to be encouraged," he said.

Bush was asked if Reagan's advocacy of research on space-based defenses against nuclear missiles, nicknamed "Star Wars," would block progress because of the Kremlin's strong condemnation of it. "We don't feel from the overall conversation that anything is an insuperable barrier," he replied.

'Strong Impression'

As for Gorbachev himself, Bush described him as a man of confident self-assurance, adding, "He made a very strong impression."

Gorbachev has moved quickly to establish himself as an active leader following months of inactivity by his ailing predecessor.

Gorbachev, the 54-year-old successor to the Kremlin leadership, presided over the Red Square funeral for Chernenko, whose 13-month tenure was plagued by illness before he died last Sunday at the age of 73.

"We reaffirm once again our readiness to maintain good neighborly relations with all countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, on the basis of equality and mutually advantageous cooperation," Gorbachev said in his funeral oration.

"The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone," he said. "But no one will ever be able to dictate his will to us."

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"Socialism, as Lenin thought, will prove its advantages, but it will prove them not by force of arms but by force of example in all fields of society's life -- economic, political and moral."

Thatcher Optimistic

Gorbachev also met with dozens of other foreign leaders who flew to Moscow for the funeral and a first-hand look at the new leader, who is the ruling Politburo's youngest member.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who spent 55 minutes with him, said afterward, "I believe from my talks with him that the Geneva negotiations should result in success."

French President Francois Mitterrand described Gorbachev as "audacious" and added: "He's a calm man who has an open mind and showed the will to tackle problems firmly." However, the French leader cautioned that it would be a mistake to believe that the coming to power of Gorbachev alone could produce major changes in Soviet policies.

Armored Vehicle

Chernenko, the seventh leader of the Soviet Union, was buried near the Kremlin wall after his coffin was towed by an armored vehicle through Red Square.

Scores of portraits of Chernenko, each trimmed with red-and-black mourning bands, were held aloft by spectators. His widow, Anna, other family members and friends walked behind the gun carriage bearing his body while a military band played Chopin's funeral march.

As the coffin was lowered into the grave, artillery boomed and factory whistles sounded in a final salute to Chernenko, the third Kremlin leader to die in the last 28 months.

Times reporter George Skelton in Washington contributed to this story.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev greets Vice President Bush at start of their 85-minute meeting. UPI/Reuters; Photo, Dignataries -- Foreign leaders, including British Prime Minister Thatcher and French President Mitterrand, far right, observe funeral for Konstantin Chernenko. Associated Press

24TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 1, Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: NEWS SUMMARY;

BODY:

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1985 International

A Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Moscow that lasted 85 minutes prompted the Vice President to say he believed "we can move forward with progress." The official Soviet press agency Tass said that Mr. Gorbachev, the new Soviet leader, had affirmed his readiness "to work in practice" to improve relations with the United States. (Page A1, Col. 6.)

Chopin's funeral march echoed across Red Square as Konstantin U. Chernenko was buried in the Kremlin. The ceremony was rich in pomp and Russian circumstance. (A1:4-5.)

The President conveyed two views on Soviet-American relations to his senior aides early Monday. The first was that Mr. Reagan was reluctant to fly to Moscow for the funeral of Mr. Chernenko, partly because of the White House schedule and partly because the quick trip might be construed, according to an aide, as "grandstanding" and "gimmicky." Mr. Reagan's second opinion, an official said, was that he "wanted something other than a bland letter" to be presented to Mr. Gorbachev. (A1:3.)

Christian militia leaders rebelled against Lebanon's President, a Maronite Catholic who is their ostensible leader. The uprising against President Amin Gemayel posed a new threat to the stability of the Government and added another element to the spiral of violent disintegration in the war-ravaged country. (A1:2.) National

Senate budget makers approved, on a party-line vote, a deficit-reduction package that would sharply reduce military spending, eliminate for one year the cost-of-living increases for Social Security recipients and cut or eliminate many of the domestic programs targeted by President Reagan. The package, which includes no tax increases, would cut \$55.1 billion from the deficit in 1986 and \$296.7 billion over three years. (A1:1.)

Many women with breast cancer in its early stages can be treated just as well by small-scale surgery that does little to disfigure the breast rather than by removal of the breast, a major new study indicates. The researchers, who cautioned that the results were not conclusive, called the small-scale surgery appropriate to treating tumors an inch and a half or less in diameter. (A1:4-6.)

An 1885 letter by Mark Twain details his offer to provide financial aid to one of the first black students at Yale Law School and contains language suggesting that Twain was vigorously opposed to racism. The recently authenticated letter, written in the year that "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" was published,

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is almost certain to become part of the long debate over whether the book or its author were racist. (A1:1-3.)

A cleanup of Bikini Atoll, which is contaminated by radioactivity from 23 American nuclear bomb tests, won support from the Administration. The accord was part of a settlement of a lawsuit brought by the people of Bikini, who were evacuated from the islands in 1946 for the tests. (A12:1-2.)

Rice University chose a theologian as its new president. He is George Erik Rupp, dean of the Harvard Divinity School, and he is the first nonscientist to lead Rice, which is widely regarded as the most academically select college in the Southwest. (A17:1.)

A plan to halt airline subsidies for service to scores of small municipalities is opposed by civic and business leaders across the nation's rural center. They say the Reagan Administration's proposal to eliminate \$50 million a year in the subsidies would further isolate them. (D27:1-2.) Metropolitan

The new evidence that prompted a new grand jury inquiry into the Bernhard H. Goetz case is based on information provided by a new witness, according to Robert M. Morgenthau, the Manhattan District Attorney. Investigators said the witness had been a subway passenger who did not testify before the first panel that investigated Mr. Goetz's Dec. 22 shooting of four teen-agers. (B3:5-6.)

Lilco is responsible for \$1.2 billion of the cost overrun on the \$4.2 billion Shoreham nuclear power plant, according to two administrative law judges of the New York State Public Service Commission. Therefore, they ruled, the \$1.2 billion should be paid by the utility's stockholders, not its customers. (B2:1-4.)

Higher levels of PCB contaminants than are regarded as safe for eating under Federal standards have been found in striped bass in New York Harbor and off Long Island, according to a state survey. (B2:5-6.)

Board of Election employees charged with supervising the printing of ballots last fall showed an "almost embarrassing lack of understanding" of their jobs, a New York City investigation concluded. (B4:4.)

Stiff curbs on smoking on the job are being imposed by many companies. They are spurred by a growing number of local laws requiring nonsmoking sections at work and in restaurants. Many employers are also seeking to trim health insurance and labor costs while increasing productivity and avoiding costly lawsuits by nonsmokers. (B1:5-6.)

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse died in a Long Island nursing home at the age of 83. Dr. Gideonse was an educator, economist and the president of Brooklyn College from 1939 to 1966. (D27:1-2.) Page D1

TYPE: Summary

SUBJECT: Terms not available

33RD STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1985 The New York Times Company;
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March 12, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 865 words

HEADLINE: CHERNENKO IS DEAD IN MOSCOW AT 73; GORBACHEV SUCCEEDS HIM AND URGES
ARMS CONTROL AND ECONOMIC VIGOR;
BUSH SENT TO RITES

BYLINE: By BERNARD WEINRAUB, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 11

BODY:

President Reagan decided today against attending the funeral of Konstantin U. Chernenko, but he said he was "more than ready" to meet the new Soviet leadership.

White House officials said Vice President Bush, who is in Geneva after a visit to drought-stricken African nations, would lead the American delegation to Mr. Chernenko's funeral in Moscow on Wednesday.

Mr. Bush also represented the United States at the funerals of Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1982 and Yuri V. Andropov in 1984. He is to be joined by Secretary of State George P. Shultz and the United States Ambassador to Moscow, Arthur A. Hartman.

'Looking Forward' to Meeting

Mr. Reagan, in his first public comments after Mr. Chernenko's death, said he was "looking forward" to meeting the new Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev. But the President voiced doubt that Soviet policies would change in any substantive way as a result of the selection of Mr. Gorbachev.

White House officials indicated that Mr. Reagan had seriously considered flying to Moscow for the funeral to underscore American resolve to improve relations. But after a morning meeting with leading aides, Mr. Reagan decided against the trip, largely because he felt little would be accomplished by a brief visit.

'I Started Thinking About It'

"As of 4 A.M. this morning I started thinking about it after the first call came," Mr. Reagan told a group of editors and broadcasters at the White House this afternoon. He had been awakened by his national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, with a report indicating that the Soviet leader had died.

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"I had a feeling there's - first of all, there's an awful lot on my plate right now that would have to be set aside," Mr. Reagan said. "I didn't think that anything could be achieved by going."

'An Open Mind'

"I've sent my condolences to the Soviet leadership and people," Mr. Reagan told the group. "I want them to know that we will deal with Chairman Chernenko's successor with an open mind and will continue our efforts to improve relations between our two nations, to settle our differences fairly, and particularly, to lower the levels of nuclear arms."

Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said Mr. Bush would carry a private letter from Mr. Reagan to Mr. Gorbachev. Earlier today Mr. Reagan sent a condolence message to the acting head of state, Vasily V. Kuznetsov, urging the United States and the Soviet Union to "seize the opportunities for peace" as they start arms negotiations Tuesday in Geneva.

"At this solemn time," Mr. Reagan said in his message, "I wish to reiterate the strong desire of the American people for world peace. Although the problems which divide our countries are many and complex, we can and must resolve our differences through dialogue and negotiation."

Other Commitments Cited

Mr. Reagan, explaining how other business would have had to be set aside if he had decided to go to Moscow, cited the visit Tuesday of the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, as well as his meeting next Sunday and Monday with the Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, in Quebec City.

Mr. Reagan also noted that Mr. Bush was already in Geneva delivering a speech, so "it would seem very logical for him to do it."

White House officials also cited the the Soviet Union's desire for small delegations at the funeral, as well as the logistical problems in arranging a trip on short notice.

Beyond this, one White House official said Mr. Reagan was reluctant "to make a quick hit" in Moscow and then depart in a visit that would be viewed as more symbolic than substantive.

"Reagan has always said that he wanted to have a meeting with them that was planned, where there were people in place and an agenda to talk about," the official said. "This wasn't it."

Nonetheless Mr. Reagan, as well as his staff, went to some lengths today to emphasize the President's strong interest in meeting the new Soviet leadership, especially at a time when both nations are about to engage in talks aimed at limiting nuclear weapons.

'Legitimate Agenda' Sought



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Asked if he was "anxious" to meet the new Soviet leader, Mr. Reagan responded: "Very much so. And I was with the previous three also." Mr. Reagan said he wanted a summit to include "a legitimate agenda and not just have a meeting to get acquainted."

"You have to wait for a new man now to get in place and establish his regime, and then I'll be more than ready," said Mr. Reagan.

"I'd like to have a talk and see if some way we can't some day have a meeting of minds," he added.

Mr. Reagan, in his comments to the editors and broadcasters after a luncheon in the State Dining Room, said he foresaw little shift in Soviet policy.

That policy, he said, "is really determined by a dozen or so individuals in the Politburo."

"They are the ones who chose him," he added. "It is a collective Government. And while an individual, once chosen by them, can undoubtedly influence or persuade them certain things that might be particular theories or policies of his, the Government basically remains the same group of individuals."

GRAPHIC: photo of President Reagan (page A17)

SUBJECT: DEATHS; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NAME: REAGAN, RONALD WILSON (PRES); CHERNENKO, KONSTANTIN U; BUSH, GEORGE (VICE PRES); HARTMAN, ARTHUR A (AMB); SHULTZ, GEORGE PRATT (SEC); WEINRAUB, BERNARD

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Week Ending Friday, August 2, 1991

Remarks and an Exchange With Soviet Journalists on the Upcoming Moscow Summit

July 25, 1991

The President. Well, we have, I think, about 30 minutes, and I don't know any better way to start other than to say I'm looking forward to this visit very much indeed. A lot of things to talk about, and I have every anticipation that the visit will go well.

A lot of the issues were addressed at this G-7 meeting, but we've got a lot of bilateral things to discuss and, as far as we're concerned, every issue is open for discussion. So, I think it will be positive. And I hope that the outcome of the visit will be a strengthening of this relationship. It's very important to the United States, and I like to think it's important to the Soviet Union.

So, with no further ado, why don't we just keep going around the circle here until we run out of questions or time. Who wants to start?

Q. Mr. President, you've met with Mr. Gorbachev several times, and every meeting was kind of a step toward some new situation. Can you—maybe it's a little bit premature to ask you such a question—but can you explain to us, what could it be from your point of view, this visit of yours—from a qualitative point of view, qualitative for Soviet-American relations?

The President. Well, of course, on the qualitative sense, I think the signing of an arms control agreement speaks for itself. And I hope that we'll have the agreement ready to sign on every detail. But even if we don't, we've got so much—I mean, the deal is done, and whatever we sign will be viewed as a significant step forward and one that—this one isn't just U.S.-Soviet, it just has—a lot of people around the world have been hoping to see this for a long time.

So, that will probably dominate it. We've got a lot of—I don't know what you mean

“qualitative.” I guess I would put that in the terms of just improving a bilateral relation. I think there's been some doubts in the Soviet Union about the United States intentions. There are different voices in the United States saying different things, just as there are in the Soviet Union. But as the President, I think it will be helpful to convey a message of respect, wanting to work with the Soviet Union, discussing all issues including the regional issues where Soviet participation—very important on the Middle East—discussing what we call a new world order where a changing Soviet Union, changed Soviet Union, are an integral part of it.

So, that's the way I'd answer the qualitative aspect of it.

Q. Mr. President, how do you view motivations in the triangle—Washington, Soviet central government, and the Republics? Your first steps on this way meeting with Mr. Yeltsin and the trip to Kiev—

The President. Well, I don't think we've got a triangle. In other words, I view that the President of the United States primarily deals with the President of the Soviet Union. Having said that, contacts with the Republics is a very important thing. And I think any Soviet leader has many contacts with our Federation, with our Governors, and with our Representatives of these different States.

So, to me it's—but I don't want to suggest that we've got a three-sided triangle. We're not in that. But we will deal—I thought Mr. Yeltsin, when he came here, conducted himself very well. He came here in a manner that is understood by Americans—and that is, backed by a very large vote. And this made quite a difference to Americans. Here's a man who took his case to the Russian Republic and won a big victory.

But I don't think that that means we have a triangle where I deal with Yeltsin on the same basis as I deal with Gorbachev, and Yeltsin deals with us the same way he deals with Gorbachev. I mean, you can't

conduct foreign policy that way. You have to have an ordered approach. And people in the Soviet Union, whole Union, are entitled to know that the President of the United States will deal with respect with the President of the Soviet Union.

Having said that, that doesn't preclude good relations with Yeltsin or anybody else there. But I just don't want to equate the two.

Did I get that question? Okay. I just wanted to be sure that was the question.

Q. Mr. President, the START treaty, to some extent, signifies a shift from the cold war agenda centered around arms control, to a new agenda, so to say, agenda with more emphasis on economic preparation—trade. What is your perspective on that?

The President. I think that's true. I don't say this is the end of the arms control road, but—because there will be other objectives down the road, I think. But we're dealing with such dynamic change in the Soviet Union that, as we said out at the G-7, in terms of technical assistance and all, we want to be a part of it. And so, I think that the economic questions that will be—were discussed—will be a part of it. The system questions will be a part of it.

The Soviet Union has not had a market economy. They've not had convertibility of currency. They've not had private ownership. And now there seems to be—and elections. So, we have all these subjects that will soon dominate the agenda without driving arms control totally away from the agenda. But these are the critical things. These are the things that—successful acceptance of the technical assistance and moving the Soviet economy and markets forward and all—we think is in the best interests of all the citizens there. And clearly, we think it's in our interests, or we wouldn't be pursuing this.

I mean, I think if you want to visualize a bright future, you look at the continuations of the Gorbachev reforms; you look at the continuations of much of what Mr. Yeltsin stands for; and you see enormous opportunity for investment and for participating and working closely in political matters. The very changes that Gorbachev has brought about really was, I think, largely responsible for the utility of the United Nations, for example. We talk about a new

world order, but this couldn't have taken place unless there had been a dramatic change in the thinking in the Soviet Union. Thinking, incidentally, that both Gorbachev and—since we mentioned Yeltsin—seem to share.

So, I think that arms control, defense, all of these things will continue to be important—and sometimes sticking; there will be some sticking points. But if we do our jobs properly, I think they will be overshadowed by this common desire to work together for the change—to facilitate and enhance the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. President, my question may be kind of a follow-up on what my colleague just asked. I am interested in the arms control issue. My impression is that, now, when START is done, the arms control issue is going to the background. I mean, in the first place, we're having these economic and social problems—

The President. Yes.

Q. —between the United States and the Soviet Union. So, the question, number one, to which extent would you agree that arms control is not as important as it used to be, say, a year ago? And secondly, if we talk about START II, which you're going to discuss in the Soviet Union, what do you think would be the ultimate goals of the START II process? Do you have any numerical figures?

The President. I don't. On the second part, I just don't. Can't help you with what we will be proposing or even a broad dimension of what might follow-on.

There will be other arms control areas where we've got to work together—chemical weapons is a good example. We like this open skies approach that we've talked about before, and I've got to convince Soviet leaders that this is not detrimental to their interests at all, particularly in a new and open society. So, there will be arms control items that will follow-on.

Having said that, the achievements in CFE, INF, and START have taken the major intractable issues off the table. And those are the ones that the world looks to and says, my God, isn't this great? We're moving in the same direction with the Soviet Union. Our children might grow up without the fear of nuclear weapons. And

so, those three have been very, very important in my view. But I think we've still got an arms control agenda. And there could be some START follow-on, there could be some of these other areas we're talking about. But I think the reason the economic issues and all will come to the forefront is that so much has already been done in arms control—or will have been done by the time we get this START deal done.

Q. If I understood you correctly, Mr. President, you will be taking some specific proposals for a START II to—

The President. I don't know how specific they will be in this short of time, but there will be a broad discussion of issues. I haven't really seen the briefing paper to know how interested the leaders over there will be in all of this, but I have found Mr. Gorbachev always interested in discussing that kind of thing. But I can't help you with any specifics at this point. We may be fleshing out some before we get there, but there won't be any bold, new proposal on the part of the United States for a dramatic next step. We'll be talking more, how do we achieve a next step; what areas are of interest here?

Q. Mr. President, until the last years there was a huge and very intensive ideological war between East and West. As I find it today it's nearing to the end, but it's centered and moved to the Soviet Union. And being here in Washington, I heard that there was a new thesis which was put in use in the Soviet Union that results—and meeting of Mr. Gorbachev with you and with other leaders from Western countries—they are estimated now by some circles, some political circles of our country, as a third world war which was lost by Mr. Gorbachev. Would you comment on such a—

The President. I think that is a very cynical and very unfair observation. You mean the results of the summit would be—yes. I don't agree with that at all, because what I detected there in the G-7 was an anxious desire to try—to facilitate the change that is already taking place there, to help in the change.

And maybe somebody is saying, well, he didn't get money. Maybe that's what the criticism is. But he didn't ask. I mean, he wasn't there with his hat in his hand in a beggar's uniform, coming there trying to

beg for money. We talked very openly about the needs to continue the reform. Obviously, we made clear to him something that he already knew: that finalization of the treaty, union treaty, formalization of the 9 plus 1, is very important. It's very hard to make investments if you don't know who you're contracting with or how the taxes are going to be divided up.

But to suggest that this was a cold war victory just misinterprets the climate of the meeting. The climate wasn't staring at each other across the table with animosity. It was really quite constructive: How do we work together? And therein lies the biggest difference on cold war ideology. Hell, I remember from the U.N. with Yakov Malik, who became a friend of mine; but, God, there'd be times when we'd just sit glaring at each other with opposite positions. And that was cold war, maybe not the coldest days of the cold war, but that was cold war. And now that's changed and there isn't any kind of "grind the other guy into the dirt" on either side as far as I'm concerned. So, it's not—the analogy, the charge that people make, that say, that simply is unfounded in my view.

Q. Mr. Bush, the G-7 decided that the West would give the Soviet Union only advice, not money, not much credit. However, we hear another viewpoint in the West. Aid will increase the chances that reform start—area and will work. What do you think about this position, and where is a fine line when the West can realize that the Soviet Union's reforms are going successfully?

The President. Well, one of the reasons we proposed this associate membership in the IMF and the World Bank, is that I think that membership, that associate membership, will lead to greater understanding all across the economic hierarchy in the Soviet Union. And so, I think that it will end when the treaty's been finalized; when reforms are irreversible; and where the commitment that Gorbachev has made and Yeltsin has made to market, to privatization is more demonstrable, where there's more—and technical assistance that came out in this G-7 is important to facilitating all that.

It wasn't a question of just finding some way not to do something with the Soviet

Union. Everybody there really felt that technical assistance, be it in energy, or food distribution, or nuclear safety, consultation on environment—all of this kind of thing is essential to make subsequent investments worthwhile. Without them the private investments wouldn't come, as a matter of fact. And that's where the big change is.

One of the summit participants made the comment that we've got a company in our country that wants to invest \$1 billion in the Soviet Union. They can't quite do it yet until you finalize the union treaty, until some of the internals are worked out—how we get our money out. But when that happens, all you need is 100 of those and you have \$100 billion that can make a tremendous difference in the lives, the standard of living of the people inside the Soviet Union.

So, this technical assistance approach was not some kind of stumbling fallback position—let's do that and then we won't have to do something else. I think President Gorbachev knows not only that that makes sense, but I also think he knows that financial constraints under which some countries—I'll start right with the United States—are operating. You guys know it. You're here, you read the debate every day. And I think he handled that—getting all that in perspective very well.

Q. Sir, this is kind of a follow-up. If we could get back to the London summit. I want to make sure one thing. So, eventually you think that the West will commit its prestige, I mean itself, its prestige, some of its resources to making the U.S.S.R. part of what Gorbachev called one civilization?

The President. No question. And the emphasis should be, to really help the lives of the people, on private-sector investment. I mean, that's where the big bucks lie; that's where the major change lies; that's where employment of people lie; where increase of standard of living lies. However, the preliminary—what the hell am I thinking of—associate membership in the World Bank, in the IMF, yes, would lead to membership, which in turn would lead to the kinds of specialized funding requirements that some of these projects or some of the central government or some of the governments there will require.

I do think that this approach will lead to irreversibility at home because once—in the

Soviet Union, I mean—because once that starts big, I think it will so benefit the people's lives that there won't be any going back. It's happening in other countries. It's happening in Eastern Europe, although it's a little slower than they'd like to see. But they're beginning to get the feel of what private investment can do and what market economies can do and what private ownership can do.

Having said that, the Soviet Union has some big problems. And it's not for me to go over there and get all involved in their internal affairs, but I'm told they've got problems with housing for returning soldiers. Well, those are tough problems to work out. But I still believe that the broad emphasis on markets and private investment and all of that is a way to solve even those intractable problems.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to raise an issue which is very much in the headlines these days.

The President. Which country, yours or mine?

Q. Both.

The President. Both—okay.

Q. The application for the full membership with IMF and the World Bank for the Soviet Union—so what are you going to do about that?

The President. Well, the G-7 has already taken a position on that; it should be an associate membership. The application came in a letter that was dated prior to the G-7 meeting, so I will try to get some clarification on this. But there was a lot of consideration given to it, and what I've said here is the position of the United States.

Q. So, in other words, it's premature you think?

The President. That's what we decided and that's what—the position that was taken at the G-7. The IMF and the World Bank have certain requirements. We've touched generally on what some of these requirements are. And the Soviet Union, like any other country, is going to have to meet the requirements. And the requirements can't be met yet. But they will be met when this associate membership brings to fruition—helps bring about the changes in the strengthening, in the different economic—the economy in the Soviet Union.

You know, I was a little surprised to see the application, but on the other hand, I don't get all out of shape on it because I know what the G-7—how they deliberated. I know the spirit of cooperation—not negativism—that existed in terms of helping there. And it's our strongly-held conviction that this has to happen. The rules of these big IFIs, we call them—international financial institutions—would not at this juncture permit them to go forward with loans or with grants or whatever it is. But if the program that we outlined, the associate membership—if experts get the feeling of how it works and the assistance that we talked about here goes forward, who knows? I mean, that may happen sooner rather than later.

But it's not an anti-Soviet position. It's just a very realistic position. So, when this application was made, we say, hey, what's happening here? I mean, maybe they decided to go in for some technical reason at this point. But I don't think anybody can be under any illusion as to what's going to happen on that because that was discussed a little over a week ago. And the decision taken by at least seven of the countries that are members of these IFIs, these international financial institutions.

Mr. Fitzwater. One more round—

The President. All right—four to go.

Q. Mr. President, I hope that during your visit to the Soviet Union you wouldn't hear such an accusation such as we hear. But, anyway, they exist and we must talk—

The President. Yes, I understand.

Q. —and one of them, it's again from an ideological point of view that if there would be a profound and comprehensive market reentered, reforms in the Soviet Union, everything, every little bit of Soviet industry will be bought out or sold to the so-called Western capitalists. Is there, from your point of view and from your experience, any foundation?

The President. I don't think there's a foundation for that. I'm all for encouraging foreign investment in the Soviet Union. I think that would be the quickest way, the quickest way to encourage—to raise the level of—standard of living of people at home. But that doesn't mean all foreign investment.

The dynamism of the U.S. economy when it was more dynamic, and as it recovers, will come from small business. It's not going to be the General Electrics and these gigantic corporations. It comes from small business. And once this thing takes hold, in some little business in some corner of the Soviet Union that was owned by the state or by a city or by some bureaucracy, moves into ownership by Igor so-and-so on the corner down here—it has nothing to do with foreign investment. It has to do with system. And that's what's going to make this economy more dynamic.

Foreign investment can help. And as I say, I think it's important. But the concept, the exciting concept, has to lie with individual people over there or people coming together to start businesses or take over a state-owned business and make it more efficient. I'm absolutely certain that it will just open up tremendous opportunities, in addition to what may be foreign investment coming, but for the guy next door owning a small shop, a restaurant, whatever it is—a manufacturing company—and doing it quicker and doing it better and making a better product because of competition.

And so, to those that say, hey, we don't want the foreign investors to own everything in the Soviet Union, I'd say, you make these changes that the whole world is looking for and you'll find that it is—this is all a cash and is generated by what I'm talking about. You'll find there's a lot of innovation in people once they don't have to comply with a lot of state regulation.

Now, how do I know this? Because we've been down this; we still have publicly-owned utilities or publicly-owned projects that are much less efficient than those that are owned by the American people.

Now, you hear the same charge made, incidentally, about Japanese investment in this country. Some have rather cynically said, well, Japan's going to own all of the United States. My view is, I support Japanese investment in our country. It results in competitiveness. It results in productivity increasing in our country. If they can come in and show a better way to run a hotel, the guy next door is going to have to do a better job, or his hotel is going to go down.

So, I would say to those that might be concerned about this at home, no, private investment will help. It will make a big difference. But what you're going to do here is unleash the dynamism of private ownership at home of people in the Soviet Union. And people say, well, they don't have the money to do that. Watch how it generates. Watch how a small business can mushroom, create jobs for people, and create opportunity. So, I would say to those who might worry about that: don't worry. That's not the history of how it works in other countries.

One more?

Q. And in this connection, what are your personal expectations of achievements—political and economic achievements—in the Soviet Union between now and the year 2000?

The President. Oh, well, there I'm optimistic about all that because I think you'll see a Soviet Union that has sorted out its internal relations with the Republics. I'm not saying you have to do it the way we do—50 States and a central government. But there may be some pattern, how we sort these relationships on taxation or power to regulate between States and Federal. But that will be sorted out on a Soviet Union scale, Soviet Union model; Not a U.S. model; not a French model.

And once that's done, I would say that—and that will be done far sooner than the year 2000—then I'd say, looking over the horizon to the year 2000, you're going to find a dynamic situation with better transportation, a better distribution for agricultural products, a smoother working political relationship between the Republics and the center, and a standard of living that has gone up for the individual worker or the individual housewife in the Soviet Union. That's what I visualize. And, of course, that's what we'd like to see happen.

And some might say, well, you see a big economically strong Soviet Union beginning to emerge in the year 2000—isn't that competition for the United States? No. Competition stems from the differences in ideology—I mean, to be very candid about it, the approach that the Soviet Union took for many years in terms of what we would view as totalitarianism or centrally-controlled industry. Marxism, whatever you

want to call it. But as that gives way to the same kind of change that's taken place elsewhere, this idea that we have to be enemies or that we have to be in competition all the time is crazy. We compete with Europe. And I get mad at them when they've got protection practices that we don't like. And they get mad at us when we do.

But nobody views it as an enemy kind of thing. So, I would say that the final answer to your question is, looking at the year 2000, there wouldn't be this talk of enmity. And, of course, I'd like to see that we'd look at our defense requirements and have a little more trust and take some of the great assets that are involved in defense and turn them into private productive uses—beat the swords into ploughshares.

We've trying that, as you know. We're bringing down—we're closing bases, bringing down defense. We've still got a very strong defense. The Soviet Union has a strong defense. But as we trust each other more, and as this economic model works, why I think the happy thing about 2000 is that kids growing up in the Soviet schools and the kids growing up in the American schools—little 10-year-olds—9 years from now won't be looking with a kind of question—hey, we trust these people. I mean, I'd like to think that more mutual trust would emerge because of what we're talking about.

Mr. Fitzwater. This is the final question.

The President. Yes, we've been around. Keep going, I'll keep the answers shorter. Marlin.

Q. Sir, can we expect a joint statement emerging from the Moscow summit on the Middle East probably, or Iraq?

The President. I don't know whether there will be a joint statement. My position has been the Soviet Union already has demonstrated a very helpful attitude in terms of—cooperative attitude, working towards bringing about peace talks in the Middle East. And we're grateful. But whether there will be a statement emerging on that, I don't know.

And Iraq, we may have some differences is how we look at it. But the main thing is we came together at the U.N. on the major common goal: this aggression will not stand. And the Soviet Union at the last minute

had a couple of ideas of a peace conference or peace talk just before military force was used. But that's fine. I mean, so did a lot of other people have those ideas. But once the battle was joined, the Soviet Union stayed with the U.N. position and the U.N. resolutions. And so, I will be looking at that and thanking people there for that support.

But whether there will be anything in the future on it or not, I just don't know. I have to see what we talk about when we get there.

Last one.

Q. Mr. President, since this is the last question, could I make it two-part?

The President. Yes.

Q. Those will be very short parts.

The President. Two parts with no follow-on—how's that for an idea. [Laughter] I hope you guys don't get into the American system just because you've lived here a long time, with a follow-on. The insidious follow-on question.

Q. From Helen Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

The President. Yes, exactly. Exactly.

Q. Mr. President, you said that you wouldn't like to interfere into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

The President. That I don't want to interfere in it?

Q. Yes, right.

The President. Yes.

Q. But still I don't think we would come out of this room without you making your comment on what happened yesterday in the Soviet Union when President Gorbachev managed to strike a deal with the leaders of the Republics.

The President. I see what you mean. No, I don't feel I'm interfering in the Soviet Union when I say it's very good that a deal appears to have been worked out. Don't ask me to give you the details on the deal. Don't ask me to fine-tune any paragraph on it. But the idea of the Soviet Union working out a deal with the Republics is very, very important to these economic objectives that I talked about here. So, I would view a comment by me as simply being supportive. But I hope it wouldn't be interpreted as intervening in the internal economic affairs or political affairs of the Soviet Union.

Q. And the second part, which would be drastically varying from what we used to

ask you before. And so, should we expect any news today; which is the final day for the United Nations deadline on Iraqi supplying all the information about nuclear—

The President. I don't know what's happening up there. Brent, do you know what's happening today up there?

General Scowcroft. No—

The President. There's been a kind of heightened view that after—almost got it back to the January 15th deadline in terms of using force. And I think that's gotten a little out of hand. I mean, the United States is not going to go off like some cowboy, six-guns shooting in the air because the 25th of July has gone by. But we are going to do it be damned sure one way or another that Saddam Hussein does not continue to lie and does not continue to go against the U.N. resolutions.

And he has not restituted the gold from Kuwait. He has not fully accounted for the people from Kuwait. He continues to do bad things in terms of pursuing nuclear objectives. And there is a whole other list of things that he—he diverts food away from the people into certain hierarchies. And that's not any good.

But I think there's been a heightened kind of feeling—well, on the 25th, we'd better batten down the hatches over there because this man is going to be punished. He may get punished someday. And we have got to enforce these United Nations sanctions and resolutions. But I'm just trying to put that 25th of July into a proper perspective. We have expected full disclosure. And I'll be interested to see on the 26th of July what my experts tell me about whether there's been full disclosure. But I wouldn't read too much into it as a day that we—that military action is taken.

I think the very fact that there was some rather strong feeling from a lot of countries that military action might be taken if he doesn't comply resulted in his coming forward and say, oh, all the things I told you I wasn't doing yesterday, yes, I am doing them. But here's the answer, here's the disclosure. The problem is the disclosure is not full and he's got to comply.

And so, all we want to do is have him keep his word and stop brutalizing his own people by diverting food away from them

and medicines. But I think—I'm still hopeful that he will do that, very candidly—still hopeful. But I can't guarantee it from what I've seen so far.

Q. Mr. President, this interview will appear on Saturday. What you just said, it still will be valid by that time?

The President. Saturday? What time Saturday? No, I'm just teasing you. [Laughter] No, it will be valid.

Q. Thank you very much, sir.

The President. No, it will be valid. Yes, it will be valid. This thing is—any action, you've got to have other people with out. We're not going to be off on some Lone Ranger wicket, as I say.

Good to see you all. Thanks for coming.

Note: The exchange began at 2:30 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants included Yuri Bandoura, Moscow News; Edgar Cheporov, Literaturnaya Gazeta; Vitaliy Gan, Pravda; and Alexander Shalnev, Izvestia.

The following persons were referred to: President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union; President Boris N. Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia; Yakov Malik, former Soviet representative to the United Nations; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Marlin Fitzwater is Press Secretary to the President. Brent Scowcroft is Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 29. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Moscow

July 30, 1991

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, I would like to extend a warm and sincere welcome to you on Soviet soil within the walls of our ancient Kremlin.

It has been little more than a year since I visited the United States. This year has seen events of tremendous importance, both in our two countries and in the world. For us in the U.S.S.R., it was a year that put to a daily test our capacity to act constructively

at a critical time in the process of transition in our progress along the path of democratic transformation and reform.

It was also a challenging year for the international community. It too, is going through a period of transition to a new unprecedented system of international relations. The beginning of a new era in history has been a tough test, indeed, for leaders of states, requiring enormous effort, a sense of high responsibility, strictest realism, and vision.

A great deal in world politics will continue to depend on how the Soviet Union and the United States interact with each other. For the first time ever, our two countries have a chance to build their relations on the natural basis of universal human values and national interest. We are beginning to realize that we need each other, that the security, internal stability, and dynamic development of each of our two countries benefits both of them. Not only our two nations but the entire world needs this kind of U.S.-Soviet relationship. The world has realized this and has given us support in our joint efforts. Today and tomorrow we will be discussing with you, Mr. President, these and many other matters. The Soviet people welcome you as the leader of a great power, as a statesman who is making a great contribution to the shaping of new world politics.

Mr. President, in recent months and weeks, the Kremlin, a symbol of our nation's centuries-old history, has been the scene of events that will shape this country's future. Tomorrow it will witness another such event, the signing of the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. It is more than just a major step in the process of disarmament. It is a sign of a growing irreversibility of the fundamental change for the better in world development.

The results of the G-7 meeting in London further solidified this irreversibility. It was the beginning of a new type of international economic relations, which will form the material foundation for world politics in the 21st century.

All this, I hope, will allow our peoples to benefit more directly from the improving Soviet-U.S. relationship.

Allow me, Mr. President, to assure everyone who will be following our work with you in the coming days that we shall try to live up to the hopes of our fellow citizens, the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Once again, Mr. President and Mrs. Bush, welcome to the Soviet Union.

President Bush. Thank you very much, sir.

Well, first, let me thank President Gorbachev, leaders that met us last night, people along the way for their warm welcome here. We've been looking forward to this visit. And I'm honored to be in Moscow to meet with President Gorbachev for this historic summit at a time when tension gives way to a new season of hope. We need only compare the words of the cold war with our historic accomplishments in recent years to realize that a new age of promise has dawned. No visitor to this country can fail to see the signs of change.

Since my last visit in 1985, we've witnessed the opening of Europe and the end of a world polarized by suspicion. That year, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed leadership of the Soviet Union, put many monumental changes into motion. He began instituting reforms that basically changed the world. And in the United States, everyone now knows at least two Russian words: *glasnost* and *perestroika*. And here everyone appreciates the English word: democracy.

Our nations have moved forward in every sphere: political, military, and economic. And we stood together for the first time in 50 years to face down aggression in the Gulf—the Persian Gulf. And this week we take, as the President just said, another historic step away from the cold war with the signing of the START treaty.

In the next 2 days, President Gorbachev and I hope to build upon this beginning, to forge a U.S.-Soviet agenda, built not upon military confrontation but upon economic and security cooperation. In the economic sphere, we hope to build upon the agreements we made in Malta—to normalize economic relations and work toward helping the Soviet Union integrate itself into the international economy. In the Middle East, we see new prospects for peace where once there was only contention. And together, we will work toward building a lasting

peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. And we'll also work together to resolve difficulties and conflicts in Afghanistan and Cambodia, just as we worked to build peace and democracy in Angola, Namibia, and Nicaragua.

No longer must all the world serve as a stage for superpower standoffs. Instead, let everyplace from Central America to Angola to Afghanistan offer new hopes, new opportunities. And let us pursue shared goals: a stable world no longer polarized, mutually beneficial economic ties, cooperation on everything from weapons proliferation to environmental problems.

President Gorbachev has earned our respect and admiration for his uncommon vision and courage in replacing old orthodoxy with *glasnost* and *perestroika*. But more fundamental than the relations of leaders are the shared values of their people, and here our common humanity offers the greatest hope for mankind.

And yes, we have differences, but this hope can enable us to address our differences—differences over Cuba or the future of the Baltic States or what Japan calls the Northern Territory. But let's conduct all our affairs in the spirit of enduring partnership, based on politics—peaceful and democratic, on economies—productive and free. You see, Americans want to work with all levels of Soviet society. Beyond our central Governments, we look for greater interaction between the citizens of our States and your Republics. And beyond government, we seek greater understanding throughout the broad spectrum of society—among businessmen, students, artists, and scientists.

So, I come here on a state visit to the Soviet Union, but I also come to discover a rapidly changing country. For the sake of peace and new prosperity, on behalf of all Americans I come here today to assure President Gorbachev, the leaders, the great people of this land in each of its Republics, that we stand with you in your historic struggle for democracy and reform.

Fifty years ago, we united as allies to fight a horrible war, a war that cost the Soviet Union hundreds of thousands of lives. So this week, let us come together to seek a newer world—more stable, more just, more peaceful.

July 30 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

Thank you. And may God bless the Soviet people, the sovereign people of this Soviet Union. We are delighted to be here, Mr. President.

Note: The remarks began at 10:23 a.m. in St. George's Hall at the Kremlin. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks at the Moscow State Institute
for International Relations
July 30, 1991**

First, may I salute the Acting Director Tyulin, and of course, the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bessmertnykh.

It is a great privilege to meet with you at this critical moment in the history of your nation—at this time of great hope for all the world.

For 4 long decades, our two nations stood locked in conflict as the cold war cast its shadow across an armed and uneasy peace. This summit marks a new beginning: the prospect that we can put an end to a long era as adversaries, write a new chapter in the history of our two nations, forge a new partnership and a sturdy peace.

We have reason to hope. Indeed, we have good reason to hope. One by one, the cruel realities of the cold war flicker and fade and a new world of opportunities calls us forward. In Europe, for 40 years the fault line of East-West conflict, the nations of Central Europe now find a common home in democracy. Far beyond the confines of this continent—from Afghanistan to the Horn of Africa, from Angola to Central America—regional conflicts no longer threaten to become flashpoints for super-power confrontation. Worldwide, the risk of global war stands lower now than at any point in the postwar era.

The challenge we face at this summit—the challenge you face as present and future leaders of this great nation—is simply this: Together, our two nations must over-

come a half-century of mistrust to seize this moment and build a lasting peace.

During the past 2 years, President Gorbachev and I have made substantial progress in building this new relationship. Together, the Soviet side and the United States side, we've created new opportunities for arms control. Last fall, in Paris, we agreed on landmark reductions in conventional forces stationed in Europe. And tomorrow, in the Kremlin, we will sign the historic START treaty—the first treaty that significantly reduces the most dangerous and destabilizing nuclear forces.

Lower tensions have also made it possible for our two nations to normalize economic relations. President Gorbachev and I made this a priority at the Malta summit, and I am pleased to report today that this process of normalization is now nearly complete. In May, the Supreme Soviet removed the key impediment to increased trade: Soviet restrictions on free emigration. The new Soviet emigration law stands as a major step forward—a victory for all who value human rights.

As a consequence of this progress, when I return to Washington, I will submit to the United States Congress the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement that we signed 1 year ago. And then we can grant the Soviet Union most-favored-nation trade status.

I will urge the Congress to repeal the Byrd and Stevenson amendments—restrictions that limit credits and impede trade. In addition, we will accelerate our effort to conclude a tax agreement and a bilateral investment agreement.

For most of this century, the Soviet Union stood apart from the world market—stood aside as free market forces spawned unprecedented prosperity across the West. The results of that self-imposed isolation from the world economy proved very costly.

But now that's begun to change. At this month's London summit, President Gorbachev spoke about the Soviet Union's interest in becoming fully integrated into the world economy.

The Soviet Union should become a full participant in the global economy, and the United States will support you in that effort. Beyond two-way trade, the United States is

working to open doors to Soviet entry into the economic mainstream. And that's why the United States supported Soviet-observer status at the GATT—and full membership when the U.S.S.R. has completed the necessary reforms upon which it has embarked. And that's why I proposed last December—and the G-7 has just agreed—that the U.S.S.R. should enter a "special association" with the IMF and the World Bank. Though the Soviet Union has recently embarked on its massive reconstruction program of economic reform, its importance and its sheer size entitle it to this special status, which will speed the day to full qualification for benefits from the international financial institutions.

These measures will make available to the Soviet Union assistance and expertise that can help ease the difficult transition to a market economy and improve the standard of living for the Soviet people.

But the crowning proof that we are overcoming the old cold war animosities remains our cooperation in the Persian Gulf. In the depths of the cold war era, Iraq's aggression against its tiny neighbor might well have brought our two nations—even the entire world—to the brink of conflict. Instead, our cooperation ensured the international isolation of Saddam Hussein. And if Saddam Hussein thought he could exploit our differences to his own advantage—he was dead wrong. At every key point in the crisis, the United States and the Soviet Union worked together to send a strong and steady signal to Saddam that his aggression would not stand.

And today, our cooperation in the Gulf holds out hope that we can work together towards a just and lasting peace in regions of the world now driven by conflict—in the Middle East, Cambodia, and Afghanistan—just as we've worked together to bring peace and free elections to Namibia, Angola, and yes, Nicaragua.

In every aspect of our relations—military, political, economic—we see positive signs of a new partnership. But for all the progress we've made, let's face it, obstacles do remain. Our ability to overcome them will be a key test of the strength of this new relationship I'm talking about.

In many cases, we face conflicts and quarrels rooted in the World War fought 50

years ago, frozen in place by the long cold war that followed: Disputes like Japan's claim—which we support—for the return of the Northern Territories. This dispute could hamper your integration into the world economy, and we want to do whatever we can to help both sides resolve it.

Difficult, as well, are questions regarding the future of the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Today, a new generation of Baltic leaders—democratically elected and reflecting the will of the Baltic peoples—asks a new generation of Soviet leaders to repudiate one of the darkest legacies of the Stalin era. Surely, men and women of reason and goodwill can find a way to extend freedom to the Baltic peoples.

Only good-faith negotiations with the Baltic governments can address the yearnings of their people to be free. We must not see the positive progress that we have made threatened or thrown in doubt. Above all, there needs to be a clear and unqualified commitment to peaceful change.

Another obstacle lies close to home for the United States—I'm sure you know what I'm going to say it is. Ninety miles off the Florida coast, in Cuba, this obstacle remains. The United States poses no threat to Cuba. Therefore, there is no need for the Soviet Union to funnel millions of dollars in military aid to Cuba—especially since a defiant Castro—isolated by his own obsolete totalitarianism—denies his people any move toward democracy. Castro does not share your faith in *glasnost*; Castro does not share your faith in *perestroika*.

Then finally, it's time for your military establishment to move to a peacetime footing. It's time to reduce military spending. We're doing that in the United States. The world has changed. As you struggle to join the international economy, we will offer our help in converting your military-industrial might to productive, peaceful purposes. Now, we appreciate the difficulties of military reform—the competing demands of people displaced when a cold war makes way for a new world order. But we also know this: The demilitarization of your economy is key to economic transformation. It will enable you to devote more resources

to economic growth, and will help you fill the shelves of your stores.

But the key challenge—the single most important factor in forging a new partnership between our nations—remains the outcome of the experiment now reshaping Soviet economy—Soviet society. Consider the Soviet Union we see today. Gone are the days when a small cadre hidden behind the high walls of the Kremlin worked the levers of power. Gone is a rubberstamp legislature—the one-party monopoly, enforcing one point of view.

In its place we see unmistakable signs of the new Soviet Union. Dissidents who once languished in internal exile now serve as deputies in the People's Congress. *Samizdat* has given way to streetcorner critics. A new Soviet revolution has begun—a revolution marked by the emergence of many voices, inside and outside government, in the proliferation of political parties, here in Moscow, and across every part of the vast reaches of this great and wonderful land.

The forces of reaction and resistance still retain great power. But each day brings new alliances, a new manifesto for change, a new call to action. Some ask: Amid this shifting scene, what is our policy toward all these groups? Who and what do we support? My answer is clear: America stands with the forces of freedom and reform wherever they are found.

My country stands ready to assist in this new Soviet revolution. In the economic sphere, the transformation must come from within. A shortage of foreign capital is not what plunged your economy into crisis, nor can your economic ills be cured by a simple infusion of cash. Only through real reform can the Soviet Union abolish the counterproductive command economy. Only through real reform can the Soviet Union unleash the ingenuity, the energy, and the entrepreneurial potential of its people.

As market reform moves forward, the U.S. stands ready to support your efforts. Right now, the next step, it seems to me, is to devise an economic strategy with the IMF and the World Bank—a strategy that wins the support of the international investment community. It should be a program that sets out priorities—one that makes great use of your enormous natural wealth. But even more, it must be a plan that un-

locks the great human potential of the people, of the Soviet people. Progress rests on the pace of your reforms—on the speed with which you move from a system based on command and control to one based on supply and demand. As in Eastern Europe, our assistance will keep pace with your reform.

But our new partnership must go far beyond the halls of government in Washington and Moscow and the capitals of Western Europe. Western governments—with their own strapped resources—are limited in what they can do. So, we must bring together the businessmen from Europe and America, and their partners from all across the Soviet Union.

Our new partnership must bridge the thousands of miles between smalltown America and Soviet cities. It means expanded exchanges of scientists and scholars, artists and engineers. And from the great cities of Moscow and Kiev, from the plains of Central Asia and the villages of Siberia, to the port of Vladivostok and all points in between—it means students coming to study in American schools and live with American families. It means thousands more American students coming to the Soviet Union to explore your past and experience firsthand the future you are working to create.

For four long decades, cooperation of this kind was the casualty of the cold war. So, let this Moscow summit definitively mark the end of what all of us would agree has been an era of mistrust, and let it mark a new beginning for our two nations—an era of progress toward a new world of peace and partnership.

Once again, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak to this Institute. And let me just tell you that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are good and are getting better. And it is my goal as President of the United States to see that they get even better still. Thank you. And may God bless the people of the Soviet Union. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:04 p.m. in the Conference Hall at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. In his remarks, he referred to Ivan G. Tyulin.

acting director of the Moscow State Institute for International Relations; Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union; President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and President Fidel Castro Ruz of Cuba. The President also referred to the Stevenson amendment to the Export-Import Bank Act and the Byrd amendment to the 1974 Trade Act.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia

July 30, 1991

President Yeltsin. Of course, this is a short meeting. I met President Bush and his party. The main issues that we have covered and discussed were questions of the situation in the Russian Federation and in the country—the matters of the union compact, and why there has been a delay in the signing of the union compact. I spoke about the decision, which subject was only yesterday agreed upon. And then we continued our dialog, which we launched in Washington, on the implementation of a number of programs in the Russian Federation. The four principal: storage and processing of agricultural produce, conversion of military industries, training and education of our management personnel, and the setting up of joint transportation ventures.

We have already made some movement while only 28 days have elapsed since our meeting in Washington. In some fields we have already prepared a draft agreement. And I am grateful too, Mr. President, for giving such an impulse, in such a speedy way, to promote our understanding. Besides, we agreed that after the signing of the union treaty, of the union compact, we shall maintain our links and contacts with the Department of Commerce and Department of the Treasury and Agriculture so that after the union compact is signed we would start formalizing our relations either through a memorandum or an understanding between Russia and the United States of America.

I am satisfied.

President Bush. So am I. [Laughter]

The President has given you a very good and thorough description of the agenda. The only point I would add is, one, it was a good meeting from the U.S. standpoint; and, two, President Yeltsin's visit to the United States was a big hit and furthered not only relations and understanding between the Russian Republic and the States, but also the Soviet Union and the States. So, we view this visit as a very positive step in the overall relationship between the United States and Russia and the United States and the Soviet Union.

I want to congratulate him on a job well done in the States.

Q. President Yeltsin, why didn't you attend the meeting with President Gorbachev?

President Bush. We've got to go. I'm late.

Note: The remarks began at 4:40 p.m. in the Ceremonial Room at the Kremlin. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Toast at the State Dinner in Moscow

July 30, 1991

President Bush. May I first thank you, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev, and all the Soviet people who have welcomed Barbara and me so warmly to this great city and this great country in this historic time.

And I want to pay a special tribute to our host and friend—a man that my country greatly admires, and a man that I greatly admire. When he came to Washington last year, I took him up to Camp David, and while there, we played a game called horseshoes—a game in which you throw a horseshoe as close as possible to a stake far away. And on his very first try, he hit the stake. And I gave him that horseshoe as a symbol of good luck. But, as with everything he's accomplished, I think his success was due more to his unique mixture of determination, courage, and skill.

Dramatic changes have reshaped our world since we first met 6 years ago, Mr.

President. The relationship between our great nations has moved from confrontation to friendship. Our growing ties remind me of an old proverb from your land: There's no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship. Our nations friendship, built on mutual respect and personal trust, is changing the world.

For almost a decade, the START negotiators sought to achieve real and stabilizing reductions in our strategic arsenals. And tomorrow, we will sign a START agreement—a treaty that bolsters the promise of peace and advances the security of both of our nations—the first agreement ever to reduce the number of strategic nuclear arms. START and CFE both testify to our new spirit of cooperation and to its potential for building world peace.

But arms control is only one element of our new relationship. We will spend much of our 2 days together discussing the issues that will shape our future: democracy, free markets, prosperity, and peace.

A peaceful revolution has unfolded in the Soviet Union, and we wholeheartedly support your progress towards a society based upon the rule of law, democratic institutions, and a system of free enterprise.

We stand ready to work with you in transforming your economic system by normalizing bilateral ties, deepening our trade relations, and taking concrete steps to support market reforms in many sectors—food and energy and defense conversion.

Today, we spoke of ways to follow up on President Gorbachev's successful visit to London. The United States supports your integration into the global economy, but a successful integration will ultimately depend on your democratic and market reforms.

Internationally, our growing partnership as peacemakers and peacekeepers continues to deepen. In the past year, we've worked together to deter aggression and to encourage nations to resolve their differences peacefully.

And now, our common efforts may help bring peace to the Middle East. In this region where dangerous confrontations once divided our nations, we may consolidate our partnership as peacemakers.

Our people will face tough challenges in the days ahead. And I understand that it's

an ancient custom in your land that when you prepare for a long journey, you sit for a moment of quiet reflection. Perhaps that is what we need to do now, at least in the silence of our hearts. Individually and together, you see, we face a long, exciting journey of change.

We can gain strength from the words of Chekhov, who once wrote of our responsibility to our world: Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he has been given.

And let us add then, to the relationship we have developed in recent years. And let us build a better future. And as we begin, may I echo your traditional toast: To the future of our countries. And may I add, the health and happiness of President and Mrs. Gorbachev.

Note: The President spoke at 7:37 p.m. in the Hall of Facets at the Grand Kremlin Palace. In his remarks, he referred to President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa of the Soviet Union.

Message to the Senate on the Extension of AM Broadcasting Service in the Western Hemisphere

July 30, 1991

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Regional Agreement for the Use of the Band 1605-1705 kHz in Region 2, with annexes, and two U.S. statements as contained in the Final Protocol, signed on behalf of the United States at Rio de Janeiro on June 8, 1988. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Agreement.

The Agreement establishes a frequency allotment plan and associated procedures designed to enable the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) member countries in Region 2 (Western Hemisphere) to implement the AM broadcasting service in the 100 kHz band (1605-1705 kHz) adjacent to the upper end of the existing AM broadcasting band. It is the result of two

sessions of a Regional Administrative Radio Conference held in 1986 in Geneva, and in 1988 in Rio de Janeiro, under the auspices of the ITU. The Agreement is consistent with the proposals of and the positions taken by the United States at the 1988 conference. Given the history of harmful interference to U.S. AM broadcasting stations in the existing AM radio band from various countries in the Region (particularly Cuba), the United States, at the time of signature, submitted statements on this subject that were included in a Final Protocol to the Agreement. The specific statements, with reasons, are given in the report of the Department of State.

I believe that the United States should become a party to this Agreement, which provides for the expansion in an orderly manner of the AM broadcasting service in the Western Hemisphere into the band 1605-1705 kHz. It is my hope that the Senate will take early action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George Bush

The White House,
July 30, 1991.

**Remarks to Soviet and United States
Businessmen in Moscow**
July 31, 1991

Good morning. May I pay my respects and thanks to our able Ambassador, Ambassador Matlock. This gives me a good opportunity to thank him for the fantastic job he has done for the United States of America, and I think also that he's done an awful lot to further understanding between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

May I say good morning to Mr. Bunich, Mr. Vladislavlev, Mr. Tikhonov, and say that I've been looking forward to this meeting.

As Jack said, I was a businessman once myself. That was first in the oil drilling equipment business and then as a drilling contractor. And the risks were high. But I enjoyed that phase of my life. As entrepreneurs and businessmen and risk-takers, you

really do hold a key to the future prosperity of the Soviet Union. You possess the power to create a better life for yourselves and your countrymen. There's an old Russian proverb: The one who leads makes a bridge for the others. Businessmen, such as yourselves, are building that bridge to a new and prosperous Soviet Union.

All around the world we see that a free society rests upon the twin pillars of political and economic liberty. For only when free markets and free people work together can we build a better life for all people. You understand that opportunity arises when people act freely, relying on their own talents. Call it what you want—ingenuity, resourcefulness, a can-do attitude—but it all comes down to this: People must be free to work, save, to own their own homes, to take risks, to invest in each other; in essence, to control their own lives.

No conclave of government experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Government does have legitimate responsibilities such as enforcing contracts and protecting private property rights, providing the boundaries of acceptable business behavior. Government must establish rules of fairplay—what we call a level playing field—that builds trust and stability. Once established in the Soviet Union, the rule of law will further attract foreign know-how and investment. There is no question about that.

The United States stands ready to help. We're going beyond loans and subsidies. We're offering our best expertise. We endorsed last year's Soviet observership in the GATT, to help establish normal relations with the trading nations of the world. And to accelerate market reforms and your integration into the global economy, at the recently concluded G-7 meeting in London, special association for the Soviet Union in the IMF—International Monetary Fund—and the World Bank was proposed.

When I return to Washington I will be submitting the United States-Soviet trade agreement to Congress for approval which will generate trade between our countries.

We will also seek most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union. And I'll ask that certain restrictions, technically known as the Stevenson and Byrd amendments, be lifted so that American businesses can better compete for export sales here.

We're also negotiating bilateral tax and investment treaties, and I'd like to see them completed by year's end. They will create a better investment climate between us, help expand our economic partnership as much as possible. In sum, we want to do everything to ensure that our economic relationship expands as quickly as your reforms permit. Freedom brings the opportunity to succeed and, yes, the risk of failure.

The government can act as referee perhaps, but it cannot guarantee success. Free markets are based on the impulsive energy of man's imagination and creativity. And of course, there are risks. I know that from firsthand experience years ago. But there are also rewards for success. Who would have predicted that 15 years ago a group of college students—university students in the United States—working in a garage, would redefine the computer industry in America? Or that a trash collector—a garbage collector from Philadelphia 30 years ago—would today be the head of a \$6-billion waste management firm in the United States?

When opportunity is at work, you can be a mechanic or a millionaire, and in my country some mechanics are millionaires. Pursuing one's destiny means building a better life. Russian values and traditions are compatible with free enterprise, and they should be preserved. Look at the members of the G-7—Western European nations. Each an industrialized democracy; each with its own values and traditions. The culture and climate of American business may be different than other places, but the power of the idea is universal. It's been applied in thousands of ways by millions of people all over the world.

Those who succeed here should not be insulted and labeled as speculators and exploiters, because they're not. They are the people who will fill the shelves in your stores, put your people to work. We understand now why socialism's attempt to create the new Soviet man simply didn't work, because human nature cannot be destroyed and created anew. We seek instead to build

upon the strengths of human nature, to allow men and women to control their own destinies in whatever way works best for them.

This notion of free markets and free people—opportunity for all—this joint venture between political and economic liberty, this is the spirit of democratic capitalism. Everywhere we hear the voices of men and women yearning for freedom, for the chance to control their own destiny, for a stronger link between effort and reward. Some call it the American dream, but it's more than that. It's a universal dream. And it's a dream that the Soviet people are now striving to make real for themselves.

And after talks here, I believe the leaders are grasping this concept. Each of you can bring that dream alive. The creation of small- and medium-sized businesses means meeting payrolls, hiring good men and women, producing goods and services that are most needed by consumers, and improving technologies and methods so as to stay competitive.

Free market principles don't just mean that one or two people go out and get rich quick. It is so much more than that. As our President Woodrow Wilson said: Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him. For you and your employees, it means the dignity and self-respect that come with the job. It means making a difference in your community. And as more and more businesses evolve—business opportunity evolve—it means bringing back hope to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your task will be difficult, but let me risk some advice. The story goes that a young man became the manager of a company. And his predecessor handed him three envelopes and said that if he was ever in trouble to open the envelopes. So, one day when the business was not going well, the man decided it was time to open up envelope number one. The message inside said: Blame your predecessor. So he did, and things improved for a while. But then they got worse again. So he decided to open up envelope number two. It read: Blame the accounting department. So he did that. But sales continued to go downhill. And finally, with much hesitation, he opened envelope

number three. And it said: Prepare three envelopes. [Laughter]

The moral of that story, I think, is that there are no right or wrong answers. I wouldn't be bold enough to try to tell you in three envelopes how to transform this economy from "command and control" to "buy and sell." You must find what works best for each of you and for your customers. You must make the dreams of your own people, in whatever way you can, come alive for them. You must define your own brand of democratic capitalism, one that is consistent with Russian cultures and values.

Remember the words of Tolstoy: The strongest of all warriors are these two, time and patience. Bringing free markets to life will of course take time and patience. But it can be done, because everyone in this room today possesses something that simply cannot be bought or sold. You possess the power of an idea. And I salute you as pioneers for your vision and for your drive.

It's been a great pleasure for me to meet with this very special group today. And I wish you well in the tasks that lie ahead. May God bless you. And thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:46 a.m. in the Composer's Hall of the Radisson Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack F. Matlock; Pavel G. Bunich, president of the Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurship of the U.S.S.R.; Aleksander P. Vladislavlev, Deputy Chairman of the League of Scientific and Industrial Associations of the U.S.S.R.; and Aleksander A. Tikhanov, president of the Agricultural Academy of the U.S.S.R. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks by President Gorbachev and President Bush at the Signing Ceremony for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty in Moscow
July 31, 1991**

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. In a few moments the President of the United States

and I will put our signatures under the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. This completes many years of efforts that required hard work and patience on the part of government leaders, diplomats, and military officials. They required will, courage, and the rejection of outdated perceptions of each other. They required trust.

This is also a beginning—the beginning of voluntary reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, a process with unprecedented scope and objectives. It is an event of global significance, for we are imparting to the dismantling of the infrastructure of fear that has ruled the world, a momentum which is so powerful that it will be hard to stop.

In both countries we face the complex process of the ratification of the new treaty. There will be critics. Here in Moscow some will point to our unilateral concessions, while in Washington there will be talk about concessions made to the Soviet Union. Some will say the new treaty does not really fulfill the promise of a peace dividend since considerable resources will be required to destroy the missiles. And if the missiles are not destroyed, critics will say they're obsolete and must be replaced with new ones, and that will be even more expensive.

Sharp criticism is to be expected also from those who want to see faster and more ambitious steps toward abolishing nuclear weapons. In other words, the treaty will have to be defended. I'm sure we have achieved the best that is now possible and that is required to continue progress.

Tremendous work has been done and unique experience has been gained of cooperating in this enormously complex area. It is important that there is a growing realization of the absurdity of overarmament now that the world has started to move toward an era of economic interdependence, and that the information revolution is making the indivisibility of the world ever more evident.

But the policymakers have to bear in mind that as we move toward that era we will have to make new, immense efforts to remove the dangers inherited from the past and newly emerging dangers, to overcome

various physical, intellectual, and psychological obstacles. Normal human thinking will have to replace the kind of militarized political thinking that has taken root in the minds of men. That will take time. A new conceptual foundation of security will be a great help. Doctrines of war fighting must be abandoned in favor of concepts of preventing war. Plans calling for a crushing defeat of the perceived enemy must be replaced with joint projects of mutual stability and defense sufficiency.

The document before us marks a moral achievement major breakthrough in our country's thinking and behavior. Our next goal is to make full use of this breakthrough to make disarmament an irreversible process. So, as we give credit to what has been achieved, let us express our appreciation to those who have contributed to this treaty—their talent and their intellectual and numerous resources—and let us get down to work again for the sake of our own and global security.

Mr. President, we can congratulate each other. We can congratulate the Soviet and American people and the world community on the conclusion of this agreement.

Thank you.

President Bush. Thank you, Mr. President. To President Gorbachev and members of the Soviet Government, and all the honored guests here: May I salute you.

The treaty that we sign today is a most complicated one—the most complicated of contracts governing the most serious of concerns. Its 700 pages stand as a monument to several generations of U.S. and Soviet negotiators, to their tireless efforts to carve out common ground from a thicket of contentious issues—and it represents a major step forward for our mutual security and the cause of world peace.

And may I, too, thank everybody who worked on this treaty—the military, State Department arms control negotiators—really on both sides. And I would like to say that many are here today; some, like my predecessor, President Reagan, is not here. But I think all of us recognize that there are many who are not in this room that deserve an awful lot of credit on both the Soviet side and the United States side.

The START treaty vindicates an approach to arms control that guided us for almost a

decade: the belief that we could do more than merely halt the growth of our nuclear arsenals. We could seek more than limits on the number of arms. In our talks we sought stabilizing reductions in our strategic arsenals.

START makes that a reality. In a historic first for arms control, we will actually reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals. But reductions alone are not enough. So, START requires even deeper cuts of the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons.

The agreement itself is exceedingly complex, but the central idea at the heart of this treaty can be put simply: Stabilizing reductions in our strategic nuclear forces reduce the risk of war.

But these promises to reduce arms levels cannot automatically guarantee success. Just as important are the treaty's monitoring mechanisms so we know that the commitments made are being translated into real security. In this area, START builds on the experience of earlier agreements—but goes far beyond them in provisions to ensure that we can verify this treaty effectively.

Mr. President, in the warming relations between our nations, this treaty stands as both cause and consequence. Many times during the START talks, reaching agreement seemed all but impossible. In the end, the progress that we made in the past year's time—progress in easing tensions and ending the cold war—changed the atmosphere at the negotiating table, and paved the way for START's success.

Neither side won unilateral advantage over the other. Both sides committed themselves instead to achieving a strong, effective treaty—and securing the mutual stability that a good agreement would provide.

Mr. President, by reducing arms, we reverse a half-century of steadily growing strategic arsenals. But more than that, we take a significant step forward in dispelling a half-century of mistrust. By building trust, we pave a path to peace.

We sign the START treaty as testament to the new relationship emerging between our two countries—in the promise of further progress toward lasting peace.

Thank you very much.

Note: The remarks began at 3:42 p.m. in St. Vladimir's Hall in the Kremlin. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Toasts at a Dinner Hosted by President Bush in Moscow
July 31, 1991

President Bush. Welcome, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbayev, President Ter-Petrozian, Mayor Popov—so many distinguished guests. I just want to welcome you here to Spaso House, and I am delighted to have you to this American home in Moscow in the hope of repaying, at least in some very small way, the warmth of the hospitality that's been shown to us by the Soviet people and by many of you in this room since our arrival.

I believe in these meetings we've launched a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we've seen that despite political differences, we can move forward together. I would particularly thank those who worked on the START agreement—so many in this room having committed so much of their time, of their lives, to achieve the end that I was privileged to sign on behalf of our country today.

And I believe the signing of that treaty offers hope beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, beyond the borders of the United States of America, all across the world. I really believe that from the bottom of my heart. And let me say to our friends from the Soviet Union, Americans, more and more, look upon this country with profound curiosity and hope. And they want to work with all levels of Soviet society.

We live in an exciting time, when we all seek understanding in the larger society—among businessmen, students, artists, scientists, people engaged in every imaginable profession and endeavor. As we leave, let me just simply assure you that we are ready to work with the people, to establish a partnership in the new world order based on the rule of law and the promise of freedom and the consent of the governed.

This relationship is built on respect. And you've brought incredible transformation in just a few years. And once again, we are very honored to host such a distinguished group of guests, men and women who will lead the Soviet Union to a new era of democracy; a new hope of a better life for all.

May I particularly salute the three Presidents of the Republics that are with us tonight: significant, important, and I am delighted that they are here. May I salute the mayor, Mayor Popov of Moscow. If his problems are anything like the problems of the cities in the United States, he's going to need our best wishes. *[Laughter]*

May I salute the human rights activists such as Yelena Bonner and artist Anatoly Rybakov, whose works fill in the blank pages of Soviet history under Stalin's rule.

And finally, there is my host on this whole visit, a man that I respect and admire, a man whose deeds during the past 6 years have given hope to those who believe, as I do, that one individual can change the world for the better. I salute President Gorbachev, then, and I say that we leave confident, more confident than when I came here, that we can, together, build a lasting peace and, with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

I'm told that there's an old Russian proverb: You can't tie a knot with one hand. Well, tonight, the United States offers our hand as we tie the knot of friendship and peace together. And may I propose a toast to the health and happiness and prosperity of the Soviet people, with heartfelt thanks to our host and hostess, President and Mrs. Gorbachev.

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. Today has been a busy day. A considerable amount of work has been accomplished. We have had meaningful discussions with the President in an atmosphere of openness and trust. We have reviewed a large gamut of problems pertaining to our bilateral relations. We discussed the role that our two countries play on the world scene, as well as their relations with other countries.

Today we signed a landmark agreement that will reduce the strategic arsenals of our two countries. And although I have already had a chance to describe what I believe is

the purport and purpose of that treaty, let me now share with you some thoughts regarding this important document.

An important work that had covered almost a decade culminated in this landmark treaty, which has been the witness of many days of difficult and tense relations between our two countries during the cold war and in the postwar period. We have managed to fulfill the task that world history had assigned to our two countries.

I want now to pay particular tribute to our partners for the immense contribution that they made to the signing, the preparation, and negotiation of this important treaty. And most of all, I want to pay tribute to the President of the United States, Mr. George Bush.

While perhaps this is not really the most appropriate audience to say this, but nevertheless, let me break a secret that today, as we were putting the final touches on the treaty that we signed today, we discovered, much to our consternation, that we had approached a number of subjects which even the most sophisticated of our negotiators could not find their way through. You can imagine the tasks, the challenges, and the problems that our experts had to address if I simply tell you that assistants to President Bush had to bring over two volumes of documents just to explain one small point that he wanted to have cleared up.

This is a fact, and we all know this for a fact. And therefore, let me, here in your presence, pay tribute to our scientists who have managed to find the key that opened this ultimate and final vault which really led us through to the final stage of this treaty.

A recurrent theme in our discussions today was the fact that our signatures that we put under the treaty marked only a point of departure in our future endeavors in order to maintain and preserve and bolster the momentum that our negotiations have already gathered. Today we are asking ourselves whether our perception of the world today and of the future of the civilization is correct, and how accurate our forecasts for the future are, and whether or not we will be able to meet the challenges of the future. Let me explain why I believe those questions should be answered in the positive.

Never in its history has humankind been faced with such risks and dangers engendered by its own progress. And if we are to meet this challenge, what we need is bringing together the intellectual and moral resources of our civilization. It is no accident that the idea of a new world order has struck an important chord in the heart of the people of the world. And very important political and spiritual leaders of our countries have pitched into this effort.

Our two countries possess a tremendous potential for future cooperation and development of our relations for their joint participation in this important endeavor. And it gives me particular pleasure to say that during our discussions at Novo Ogaryevo today, the recurring theme of our talks was just how we can cooperate in the future in order to move our relationship and our cooperation ahead. And it is not a play of ambitions; it is an important statement of an important fact. And that fact is the role and responsibility of our countries, both to our nations and to the world at large.

Perhaps it is just a lucky historical coincidence, but who knows, maybe it is not. At this crucial moment in our history, when we are faced with very important challenges, our countries are headed by people who can meet those challenges.

Mr. President, today at this house, we had a chance to shake hands with many of those who shared this responsibility and who made an important and active contribution toward building a new relationship between our countries. Mr. President, I want to raise this glass to your health, sir, to the health of Mrs. Barbara Bush, to the peoples of the United States who are our partners. And we are looking forward to developing cooperation and friendship with you. And this is our choice.

Note: President Bush spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the ballroom of Spaso House, the residence of U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack F. Matlock. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa of the Soviet Union; President Boris N. Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia; President Nursultan A. Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan; President Levon Ter-Petrozian of the Republic

of Armenia; and Gavrill K. Popov, mayor of Moscow. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater
on the Completion of the Strategic
Arms Reduction Talks Treaty**
July 31, 1991

The completion of START, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, marked by today's signing ceremony, fulfills the challenge undertaken 9 years ago by Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev. That challenge was to find a way not only to limit, but actually to reduce, the number of nuclear weapons deployed by our two nations, and to do so in a way that improves stability and reduces the risk of war.

During the nearly 50 years since the first nuclear weapon was developed, the world has witnessed the creation and deployment of ever increasing numbers of strategic nuclear weapons. Today marks the beginning of a process that reverses that trend.

For the first time in the history of arms control, this treaty will achieve substantial reductions in the strategic nuclear forces deployed by both sides. Even more important, the START treaty will strengthen strategic stability in three key ways:

—First, it concentrates reductions on the most threatening and destabilizing systems. The reductions will amount to 40 to 50 percent of the total number of strategic missile warheads deployed today, and fully one-half of all Soviet heavy ICBM's.

—Second, START encourages each side to restructure its strategic forces in ways that make them less threatening and more survivable. The treaty will ban new types of heavy ICBM's and encourage greater reliance on heavy bombers, and on SLBM's and ICBM's with fewer warheads per missile.

—Third, START includes a wide variety of unprecedented and demanding verification measures designed to help

ensure compliance with the treaty. These measures also help build mutual confidence and reduce uncertainty. They include a ban on the encryption of data transmitted during ballistic missile flight tests, an extensive exchange of information on the size and composition of each side's strategic forces, 12 different types of onsite inspections, and specialized monitoring of mobile ICBM production.

As we work toward lowering the risk of nuclear war between our nations, we must ensure that our strategic forces continue to enhance deterrence. For that reason, START allows the modernization of strategic forces within very well defined limits.

We have taken many bold steps in arms control in the past few years. The INF Treaty has eliminated a whole class of nuclear weapons. The CFE Treaty will establish a conventional balance at lower levels and erase the threat of a short-warning war in Europe. Now, START will produce stabilizing reductions in strategic nuclear weapons and reduce the danger of nuclear war.

While some may seek to judge this treaty in terms of who won or who lost on this or that issue, the right answer is that both our nations, and indeed all the nations of the world, have won in terms of greater security and stability.

**The President's News Conference With
Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in
Moscow**

July 31, 1991

President Gorbachev. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The basic part of the visit, the official visit of the President of the United States of America to the Soviet Union, is behind us. And there are many things that are important which are still ahead within the framework of this big political international event.

These days were full of very substantial dialog over a wide spectrum of issues. And I must say that it's kind of difficult for me—

[At this point, President Bush's earphones for translation failed.]

I guess I'll have to repeat from the very beginning what I said in that case. [Laughter]

Q. Number two, Mr. President. [Laughter]

President Gorbachev. Now—do you hear me now? Is everything okay? It's tolerable?

I already said, addressing the international press, that we see the official visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union as a big event in our relations—really a global event. And I want to say that these days we have done a great deal of work which I think will create difficulties for me and the President in order to present it in condensed form. And nevertheless, this visit, to some extent, sums up the last stage of our cooperation at a very fundamental, dramatic time of development, of events in the world, when both the President of the United States of America and the Soviet Union were placed in very difficult circumstances, unusual ones, which demanded from them a great feeling of responsibility in taking very important decisions which have had consequences, and will have consequences in the further development of our cooperation and events in the world.

And so, with the President, he and I did not lose time, and immediately at our first meeting we summarized the overall situation in a fast-changing world and tried from these positions to look upon our cooperation, evaluate our joint efforts, and trying to map out some contours, directions of development of this cooperation which would correspond to these changing conditions within which we have to act.

The President showed great interest in the events taking place in our country, our domestic processes. I tried to satisfy his interest and did this on my part with a great deal of satisfaction, since in his interest, I felt a desire to understand even more what is going on in our country, and moreover, I felt also a feeling of solidarity in this.

We had an interesting, substantive discussion, and perhaps for the first time it covered the following in our bilateral cooperation. For the first time over the past period, we probably accented rather strongly what our economic relationship should be like,

how we have to work together in this importance here so that—or so that relationship in this area would be appropriate to the international dialog which we have reached in other areas.

And here we have noted on the basis of mutual understanding—if not, President Bush will say so—that there must be movements in accommodation as well. Obviously, one can do a lot in the area of reform so that we can include ourselves in international economic ties. To play by the rules of the game—I like this expression. I haven't invented any other one for the time being. That's why I use the term I'm familiar with. We have to do a great deal, and we have made our choice to continue reforms, democratic changes, and especially now, to move decisively forward towards a market relationship, a relationship of property, and so on.

It's clear that our success in these internal affairs is tied to a great extent to the process of reform in the Federation. And I hope that I have satisfied the interest of the President about the state of this as of today. We both understand that this is very important for the success of our work, and thus, we must change, we must understand, and will understand here in the Soviet Union, that the basic responsibility for the fate of this country for reforms, for the making of decisions which are very important: is our prerogative, our responsibility.

And obviously, we are very interested in the more fruitful cooperation with the countries of the West. And in the light of continuing the discussion which we had in London, within the framework of my meeting at the G-7, we spoke also about this subject as well. And I tried to develop a thesis, which I expressed in London, that we hope to see accommodating movement of the Western countries because they, too, in their approaches in the sphere of economic cooperation, must accommodate us.

We are talking about removing barriers which are connected with decisions taken during the cold war, during the arms race. This is a different time; different winds are blowing. And we must reevaluate all these decisions. I don't think they need to be preserved when our relationship is different now, and we want them not only to be

preserved but to be more dynamic, to be based more firmly on trust.

Obviously, the question arose about the participation of the Soviet Union in international economic organizations, and I must say, for the first time we talked substantially about specific spheres of cooperation in implementing certain projects on the basis of bilateral cooperation. To speak about this briefly, we spoke about cooperating in the field of energy, especially in the area of conversion. We have great possibilities here, and specifically in the sphere in which we are very interested: that is the agricultural sphere, especially food distribution.

In this regard, I transmitted certain materials to the President as in a memoir; the same was done by the Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh—gave it to the Secretary of State, Mr. Baker, in a memoir about those projects in which we could cooperate fruitfully. This is a very interesting and substantive project. We would want to act in such a way that in implementing these projects—all of them—to give a possibility to each other to earn money. In other words, the process goes forward, and there's benefit from it.

But there are spheres of cooperation where movement forward will not give us a chance because of additional production to make these calculations, like in the area of food production, for example. In the food area, here there could be interesting accomplishments, an interesting project, but what we get as the result we need—we have problems in the food area, very acute ones. But we can't offer this to the United States. They have no interest now in buying food from us. So, we must implement other projects where we could earn hard currency and use this. And I've named such spheres, many such spheres.

We talked in general about continuing such works. Soon we will have competent groups of specialists, headed by important representatives of business circles, to realize these projects. And thus, I expanded this part, and the other parts will be shorter. For the first time, we discussed very substantially the sphere of bilateral relations, and not only with regard to disarmament, political dialog, and a resolution of world problems but had such a businesslike discussion and I greet this. I welcome it, and I

hope that it will have positive consequences.

Then the President and I thought about the following, and what do we do next? We've signed the treaty and what's next? We've congratulated each other and our peoples and the world with the fact that such great progress has been accomplished as a result of almost a decade of work. And what's next?

And we did not want simply to be pragmatists here. We wanted to look at the problem of security, stability from the point of view of the present-day realities. Or should we simply continue the negotiations which already are taking place? And there are many problems which still need to be discussed. Or should we also look at the world from a somewhat different position from today's heights with the new reality which exists?

And I think that was the main item of our exchange because without understanding each other in this, it's hard to find the keys to resolution of specific issues. We agreed to continue discussion on this issue and even set up the mechanisms which must be implemented in order to do this.

Nevertheless, we also examined very many specific issues of disarmament without our—we did not leave unattended problems of the Middle East. And I must say, and if the President considers it appropriate, he could name certain things. And if you have questions, we could discuss this. We have worked out a joint document on this. I have in mind our common position with regard to the Middle East. I think that this is a very important result of our joint work, and I think that the fact that this position will be publicly announced will have serious influence on this process. And we consider that it is in a decisive stage and we should not—and here I want to use what our ministers use—to have a window of opportunity in order to really achieve progress in this very sensitive area of international politics.

The President and I talked about the situation in Europe in the context of implementing the agreement—the Helsinki Agreement, the Paris Charter, and especially with regard to the processes taking place in that region, and specifically noted the

situation in Yugoslavia, and expressed our position, our understanding, our approach to the resolution of this issue—a very serious one which worries many of us. Also in a joint statement we expressed this.

I must say that we also moved forward and discussed other things. We tried to also look at many global processes, and in this regard, did not pass by many issues of international politics—compared our points of view. In some issues we reserved the opportunity to come back to this. We put off discussing this. In some cases, we required consultations on the U.S. side. In other cases, we needed time to study the issue. But that means that the process will continue. And in this case as well, we noted the necessity of cooperation and interaction in resolving those many international issues which exist and which must be resolved.

The atmosphere was a very warm one—sincere, frank, open. And today we sense the representatives of the press—said that the press didn't want to interfere with us somewhere out in a village to talk one-on-one and in an uninhibited manner. We did all of this. This is also important. It's very good.

One of the members of the delegation—I asked the question: How do you feel?—a very important person. And the answer was: Like at home. And that's the kind of atmosphere which we worked in.

I am satisfied with the fact that political dialog is developing in this way once in this hall. And there are many witnesses here; I want to repeat this—I talked about this to the President, he knows this as well—that I am convinced that without what we have today in our relationship, such a character of Soviet-American relations, we could hardly count on everything that has happened in the past year. And we could hardly have interacted in such a way when the world placed before us very serious problems.

If this had been in another time, if we had faced such problems in another time, it would be difficult to say what would have happened. But today we even understand better the value of our cooperation, the fact that this is necessary. So, perhaps this is not a question of a platonic love but a deep understanding of the fact that, as countries and states, we need each other today and

tomorrow. And I feel and I know that our peoples welcome this direction of development of our relations between our countries.

And from this point of view, it moves ahead—far ahead—our cooperation. And thus, I want to ask the pardon of the President and the press. I am the host and I maybe, misused it, but perhaps I could listen to your comments as well that I'm speaking so much.

I understood that you almost agree with everything I have said. *[Laughter]*

President Bush. What I heard I liked. *[Laughter]*

Once again, this might be an appropriate time for Barbara and me to thank the President and Mrs. Gorbachev for this fantastic hospitality. And yes, I couldn't agree more about the productive nature of the talks, the enhancement of mutual understanding. This is not diplomatic language, in my view, this is fact.

You know my views on the START agreement. Indeed, it's the culmination of a long and historic negotiation. And I happen to believe that the winners on this are the young people, not just in the Soviet Union, not just in the United States but all around the world. And we are taking major steps in transforming our economic relations. President Gorbachev touched on some of this.

But we're going to send up the trade agreement to the U.S. Congress. We're going to grant most-favored-nation status now that the technicalities have been worked out. We have fulfilled thus our Malta goal, Mr. President, of normalizing our economic relationship. We agreed here to tackle the next challenge—President Gorbachev talked about that—furthering economic reform in the U.S.S.R., and seeking to integrate the Soviet economy into the international system. We're going forward with space cooperation, cooperation in the environment. And we have several joint projects in mind there.

Building on our historic cooperation during the Gulf crisis, we discussed—the President and I discussed our partnership in resolving longstanding regional problems. As you mentioned, we're putting out statements on Yugoslavia, Central America. And, indeed, I want to comment now just briefly

on the Middle East before taking your questions.

We did reaffirm our mutual commitment to promote peace and genuine reconciliation between the Arab States, Israel, and the Palestinians. And we believe there is an historic opportunity right now to launch a process that can lead to a just and enduring peace and to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. We share the strong conviction that this historic opportunity must not be lost. And while recognizing that peace cannot be imposed, it can only result from direct negotiations between the parties, the United States and the Soviet Union pledge to do their utmost to promote and sustain the peacemaking process.

And to that end, the United States and the Soviet Union, acting as cosponsors, are going to work to convene an October peace conference designed to launch bilateral and multilateral negotiations. Invitations to the conference will be issued at least 10 days prior to the date the conference is to convene. And in the interim, Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh will continue to work with the parties to prepare for this conference. And I am today asking Secretary of State Jim Baker to return to the Middle East to obtain Israel's answer to our proposal for peace.

And again, my thanks to you, and I'd be prepared to take questions along with you, sir.

Yugoslavia

Q. One question to Comrade Gorbachev. You said that you talked with Mr. Bush about Yugoslavia. What is the essence of that conversation about Yugoslavia?

And, Mr. Bush, when you received me several years ago in the White House in your capacity at that time as Vice President of the United States of America, you said to me that the relations between our two countries—there's a special relationship between Yugoslavia and the United States. Is that definition still valid? And whether the United States is still supporting Yugoslavian territorial integrity? Thank you.

President Gorbachev. You asked about the essence of the conversation. I will then make use of the fact that I will relate the content of the U.S.-Soviet statement on Yugoslavia. This is the result of our conver-

sation on this subject. We, both countries, with a deep concern, have noted the dramatic development of events in Yugoslavia. And we have been against the use of force and call upon all sides to abide by the agreements on the cease-fire. We, the Soviet Union and the U.S., proceed from the premise that the resolution of issues must be found by the peoples of Yugoslavia, themselves, on the basis of democratic principles through peaceful negotiations and a constructive approach.

We emphasized the necessity of having all sides respect the basic principles indicated in the Helsinki Act and the Paris Charter. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. support the efforts undertaken by the CSCE countries—specifically the European Community steps to resolve the problem. This is the essence of the statement.

President Bush. I would only add, sir, that inasmuch as that was a joint statement, that expresses our continued position as well.

Middle East Peace Talks

Q. Mr. President, can I ask you, the fact that you're going ahead with this peace conference, does that mean that you have Israel's acceptance of the outlines of your conditions for a peace conference, or is there still a hangup, or have you got a commitment from Mr. Shamir?

President Bush. Well, I would wait and let Secretary Baker answer that question after this next meeting. And if I had to express a degree of optimism or pessimism, I'd say I'm a little more optimistic today. But the visit of Jim Baker now is for what we said here, to obtain Israel's answer to our proposal for peace. And if I had the answer in my pocket—or he did—I'd expect that we would say so.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. I have a question to both Presidents: You discussed many questions of international issues, bilateral issues. You signed a unique agreement today. What did you leave for the next meeting? And can we say when you're planning to have it?

President Gorbachev. I think that what we discussed today and what we have set in motion, both with regard to a political dialog and a continuation of the disarm-

ment process and new subjects in the area of economic cooperation and trade, interaction in the resolution of important issues including regional conflicts, which, unfortunately, still take place, and especially since we have begun a significant discussion about the concept of future strategic stability, that means that we have many issues to discuss and many meetings ahead. So, I think that our contacts will continue.

But I would express myself in favor of the following: Perhaps not always can we go—and this makes the positions of Presidents very specific—but it's harder for them than for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to travel and discuss issues of foreign affairs. But nevertheless, the President and I have developed a method of conversation. We exchange opinions by telephone. As soon as we have a need, concerns, or simply to exchange opinions about something important, we do this by telephone, and this takes place on a regular basis.

And secondly, we regularly exchange letters. And this exchange of opinions has not ceased even in recent days when we have already reached agreement with the President. We were expecting him here. So, we have many channels in order to support this very high level of cooperation which we have. And I think a great role will be given to our Departments—the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, but other Departments as well because we have new areas of cooperation.

President Bush. I would only add to that, that though no date is set, it is my view—and I haven't always held this view—that a meeting without an agenda is a good idea from time to time between the Soviet President and the President of the United States. And with this—President Gorbachev talked about arms control and regional problems and other problems—but as this dynamic autonomy begins to move, a chance for a dynamic economy here, there's going to be much more to talk about on the economic side than we've ever had before—cooperation, partnerships, joint ventures. The whole approach to economics that he has endorsed that is going to benefit. I believe, the Soviet Union, and I think there's enormous potential for the United States.

So, it is my view that we've got plenty to talk about. And I, for one, would be prepared to, as I've stated before, to have a

meeting where there's not a crisis out there to be managed; rather we can be sure that we're not two ships passing in the night—the analogy I used, I believe, in Malta—appropriately. [Laughter] And I look forward to future meetings because you get a lot done where you can't put out—sign a 3-point program or a 20-point protocol. But a lot is done just by the kinds of conversations we've had today.

Lithuania

Q. President Gorbachev, there was an ugly border incident in Lithuania last night in which a number of Lithuanian border guards were killed. I wonder if we could have your reaction and any explanation you might have of it?

Also, President Bush, any reaction from you, in light particularly of your call yesterday afternoon for freedom for the Baltic States?

President Gorbachev. You know, we received this information when we were talking outside the city. The first information was such that the incident was on the border between Lithuania and Byelorussia, and when one of the citizens of Byelorussia went in the direction of Lithuania and at the customs point where he was approaching, he saw two wounded people and four that died. He quickly related this information, and now the state security agency of Lithuania and Byelorussia—the chairman of the state committee on security offered also to help in the cooperation. So, now we are investigating this.

I must say that, in addition to regret, we must simply sympathize with the families of the people that died. And I myself must say that we are doing everything in order not only to take actions but also to avoid such excesses, such conflicts on the basis of resolution of basic issues. And we have taken such basic mutual decisions with regard to issues—concerning Armenia and Azerbaijan there's a dialog. And the faster and more productive the dialog is, the more efforts there are to break it down. Not everyone likes this process that is developed in such a direction. And it's hard for us to say what happened. We heard versions, the President and I, but these are versions. This is not important at any rate. I will be monitoring

this, and we will tell you what it was that happened in reality.

Q. I just wanted to get your reaction, sir, to the incident in light of your call yesterday afternoon for freedom for the Baltic States.

President Bush. Well, I don't think there's a connection, but I do regret the violence. I listened to what President Gorbachev said about the discussion. We clearly favor negotiation—he knows that—that would lead to a reduction of cross-border violence from both sides. And obviously, I'd like to join in expressing my regrets to those families whose loved ones are lost.

But the President immediately got on this and said they're conducting an investigation. I think there's hope that the investigation will be cooperative between the Lithuanian side and Byelorussia's side. And so, we can't prejudge the incident, but I had an opportunity to express my views to President Gorbachev on the whole question of the Baltic States. I don't think it's fair to link a border incident before you know what happened to that question, however.

Soviet Economic Integration

Q. Mr. President, how far did you go after London in moving ahead in the integration of the U.S.S.R. into the international economy? Was there progress reached in this area? To both Presidents.

President Gorbachev. Perhaps you can begin.

President Bush. Well, let me say that's a serious objective to start with. Secondly, I believe that active participation in these international financial institutions and the status that was deemed best by the G-7 is the most important thing that the Soviets can do right now. I have freed up, as you heard today, certain trade benefits or normalizing the trade procedures that, in my view, will help. And we've done that since the meeting in London.

But the answer is, full participation—full benefit of these international institutions require full knowledge and steps towards the privatization and toward convertibility, all the things that I believe the Soviet Union wants.

So, work with the international organizations and then bilaterally do what we've done and other countries will be doing, too.

I'm sure, to remove the underbrush, remove the barriers to bilateral economic cooperation. So, quite a bit has happened between us since Paris. And we look forward with our representatives in these international organizations to working very cooperatively with the Soviet leaders.

President Gorbachev. I understand that I'm supposed to comment on this as well since the question was to both Presidents. I will be brief since I have already expressed my opinion about this. London was the beginning of a very important process. This was the meaning of the London meeting, and one must judge about this in that light.

It's very important that after London there's a desire on both parts to work out a mechanism which would permit the shifting of this cooperation, given the political will of the leadership of the Western countries. In the Soviet Union, we think that we should have special structures which would keep tab of the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the G-7 countries, and first of all, in the area of investment, so the process would be easier in the taking of decisions of mutual interest.

And it's good that the mechanism has started to be implemented, which we discussed in London, and the Minister of Finances of England is already here. We first talked about the fact that there would be visits of the Minister of Finance, the Secretary of the Treasury of the U.S., and the representative of the FRG. So, in other words, there would be the mechanism of implementing specific areas of cooperation. And this is very important that there be a mechanism for real interaction.

And finally, the President mentioned that, on the part of the U.S., an important decision will be taken to make trade between our countries easier. I would say that I mention this in passing, but we often discussed this with the President. I asked, and we agreed, to study the question of COCOM restrictions today because many billion-dollar projects which are ready to go and even signed are not being implemented because of the fact that they have elements that come under COCOM restrictions.

And therefore, a very serious process has started and I think that this will continue

and grow stronger, be more specific. It will give results. There is a will and a desire to do this. It's very important.

Nuclear Weapons

Q. I would ask both of you to think back to the 1986 Reykjavik summit when Ronald Reagan horrified quite a few American nuclear experts and almost all of the European leaders by giving serious consideration to your proposal, President Gorbachev, for a ban on all nuclear weapons. In the end, Reagan said no because of the belief that nuclear deterrence has, in fact, kept the peace. At that time, you had a massive conventional edge in Europe, though. Since then, we've had the CFE treaty. Why now are the two of you not saying we will now work towards a total nuclear ban? Do you still believe in the efficacy of nuclear deterrence in keeping the peace? Particularly, sir, I ask you, President Bush, given the fact that some of these breakaway Republics, they have nuclear weapons in there and who knows what would happen if they declare independence.

President Bush. The very fact that—I wouldn't suggest that a breakaway Republic is going to use a nuclear weapon against the United States, but I would suggest that we have every reason in the world to be concerned about renegades—not in these areas, perhaps; I hope not—getting hold of nuclear weapons. And that's one of the reasons I strongly support our GPALS program that is being debated in the Senate right now.

But in my view, other countries do possess nuclear weapons. It's not just the Soviet Union and the United States. And I do believe that we are on the right path by the path that President Gorbachev has outlined today on following on existing agreements. So, rather than try to have a ethereal or a utopian answer, let's follow through practically, as he suggested. And then as far as the U.S. is concerned, I'd like us to go forward with a system that puts nobody at threat, nobody at risk. The only thing at risk is an errant nuclear missile aiming at a country. And that's why I support the defensive approach, and that's why I think one of the lessons out of the Iraq war—and maybe President Gorbachev reads this differently—is that defenses work. And though we're talking about a different concept

now, an expanded concept, a more high-tech concept, I think a lot of lives were saved by defense. So, that's my reply.

President Gorbachev. I will say a few words. I think that the argument which you want to ascribe to me, that in my policy I looked upon nuclear weapons as an element of deterrence, is not true. I have not said this. Yes, we got involved in the arms race in a very serious way. Thank God, as we say in Russian, that we stopped this and turned it back. And this is a great accomplishment since we understood where we were headed.

But it's hard to resolve all these issues which have piled up, and all these weapons that have piled up. And I think that there is still a lot that we have to do. We have mapped out a few things for the future, and then there will probably also be questions put to all members of the nuclear club, and they also have to think about what to do with nuclear weapons in the future.

And finally, we must very carefully act about having the mechanism which we have created and which seems has worked—but apparently not effectively enough—about nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. This was one of the important topics of our conversation with the President during these days. For if certain countries will lower their arms and disarm and head in the direction of a nonnuclear world, and at the same time, others will find ways to develop the process in order to have their own nuclear weapons, then we will have a situation which is absurd.

So, in continuing to support nuclear disarmament and within the framework of the negotiation process, which we have, we have agreed to continue this. We have the question of truly improving the mechanism of nonproliferation nuclear technology in order—missile technology—in order to create an unsurmountable barrier in this area. I think this is one of the most important things we have to do today.

Q. What significance does the process of European integration have in your conversations with the President, for example, the postwar unification of Europe? What image of this is the most acceptable to you from the point of view of the Soviet Union? For example, the image of a General de Gaulle

Europe of fatherlands, countries with decisions being made on a national level, or a united states of Europe, with common decision being made among them? Thank you.

Europe

President Gorbachev. First of all, you can probably guess that everything that happens in Europe—in the world—we have always looked towards Europe for everything that happens in Europe, in our areas—I don't want to list them—has a great importance for the developments in the world. So, undoubtedly, the President and I noted the positive developments which are taking place in Europe and we noted support of the documents aimed at creating a new Europe. And we see that the Soviet Union and the U.S. must participate very actively in building a new Europe. All of this has existed and continues to exist. And we feel a responsibility to do this.

But you asked the question about how. I think perhaps you are a little hasty because when we are creating a certain schematic and then try to impose it, then we get one result. When a process is being developed in a logical way within the Helsinki process, a political process of choice, then we find that new forms of cooperation and new institutes come into being.

Now I would say the following: We must, within the framework of the documents, the general path mapped out in the Helsinki and the Paris agreements, act in such a way that the old institutions be transformed in the interest of a new Europe so that they serve the interest of a single economic territory, a single security of Europe, a legal aspect. And so, this is what we must aim for. That means when the old institutions, when they change, we have to bear this in mind. But apparently, we will also have new institutions which will arise, which will serve this process.

And now if we have, for example, a common energy approach, there will be mechanisms of administering this and will have a great significance in the fate of Europe and the process to realize this. Thus, in going along this path without destroying the old institutions in creating new ones, we probably will find the forms gradually to resolve these issues. But if we

declare a specific course, but will keep the old structures; institutions without changing them at all, then again, there can be a process of simply regrouping of forces in Europe. And there can be new confrontations which would come into being with a different distribution of forces.

I am not in favor of this, so I would more quickly go through the process of creation of new institutions and would stimulate those tendencies which would move us towards a united Europe.

I don't think that here we need to have languages vanish; cultures, traditions vanish. I think this would be a mistake if we set ourselves such a goal. I think we should take into consideration those specific characteristics and traditions—the histories of the people—but also aim for their unification. I think this is compatible, although we see that there is also an explosion of nationalism, separatism, efforts to unravel everything. This is a dangerous process. I think that if we follow a path of chaotic development of such processes, then we'll get into a bad situation.

So, I am for the transformation of all institutions. I am for new institutions which would act in the interest of unification processes in Europe.

Mr. Fitzwater. We used our allotted time. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush's 96th news conference began at 4:33 p.m. in the Press Theater of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union; Raisa Gorbachev, wife of the President of the Soviet Union; Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel; Norman Lamont, Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom; Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady; and Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany. Marlin Fitzwater is Press Secretary to President Bush. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

July 31 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

Nomination of William Caldwell Harrop To Be United States Ambassador to Israel

July 31, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Caldwell Harrop, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Israel. He would succeed William Andreas Brown.

Since 1987 Ambassador Harrop has served as U.S. Ambassador to Zaire. Prior to this Ambassador Harrop served as Inspector General of the Department of State and Foreign Service, 1983-1986, and as U.S. Ambassador to Kenya and concurrently as U.S. Ambassador to the Seychelles, 1980-1983.

Ambassador Harrop graduated from Harvard University (B.A., 1950). He was born February 19, 1929 in Baltimore, MD. Ambassador Harrop served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1951-1952. He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Russell K. Paul To Be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

July 31, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Russell K. Paul, of Georgia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations. He would succeed Timothy J. Coyle.

Currently Mr. Paul serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Grant Programs at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Prior to this he served as an intergovernmental relations officer at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. Paul graduated from Samford University (B.A., 1974). He was born June 23, 1952, in Greenwood, SC. Mr. Paul is married, has five children, and resides in Riva, MD.

Nomination of John J. Easton, Jr., To Be General Counsel of the Department of Energy

July 31, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate John J. Easton, Jr., of Vermont, to be General Counsel of the Department of Energy. He would succeed Stephen A. Wakefield.

Since 1989 Mr. Easton has served as Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Affairs and Energy Emergencies at the Department of Energy. From 1987 to 1989 he served as an attorney with the law firm of Miller, Eggleston and Rosenberg, Ltd., and as attorney general of Vermont, 1981-1985.

Mr. Easton graduated from Georgetown University (J.D., 1970) and the University of Colorado (B.S., 1964). He was born June 16, 1943, in San Francisco, CA. Mr. Easton served in the U.S. Air Force, 1964-1968. He resides in Arlington, VA.

White House Fact Sheet on The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)

July 31, 1991

Today, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. This treaty marks the first agreement between the two countries in which the number of deployed strategic nuclear weapons will actually be reduced. Reductions will take place over a period of 7 years, and will result in parity between the strategic nuclear forces of the two sides at levels approximately 30 percent below currently deployed forces. Deeper cuts are required in the most dangerous and destabilizing systems.

START provisions are designed to strengthen strategic stability at lower levels and to encourage the restructuring of strategic forces in ways that make them more stable and less threatening. The treaty includes a wide variety of very demanding verification measures designed to ensure compliance and build confidence.

Central Limits

The treaty sets equal ceilings on the number of strategic nuclear forces that can be deployed by either side. In addition, the treaty establishes an equal ceiling on ballistic missile throw-weight (a measure of overall capability for ballistic missiles). Each side is limited to no more than:

- 1600 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's], submarine launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's], and heavy bombers), a limit that is 36 percent below the Soviet level declared in September 1990 and 29 percent below the U.S. level.
- 6000 total accountable warheads, about 41 percent below the current Soviet level and 43 percent below the current U.S. level.
- 4900 accountable warheads deployed on ICBM's or SLBM's, about 48 percent below the current Soviet level and 40 percent below the current U.S. level.
- 1540 accountable warheads deployed on 154 heavy ICBM's, a 50-percent reduction in current Soviet forces. The U.S. has no heavy ICBM's.
- 1100 accountable warheads deployed on mobile ICBM's.
- Aggregate throw-weight of deployed ICBM's and SLBM's equal to about 54 percent of the current Soviet aggregate throw-weight.

Ballistic Missile Warhead Accountability

The treaty uses detailed counting rules to ensure the accurate accounting of the number of warheads attributed to each type of ballistic missile.

- Each deployed ballistic missile warhead counts as 1 under the 4900 ceiling and 1 under the 6000 overall warhead ceiling.
- Each side is allowed 10 on-site inspections each year to verify that deployed ballistic missiles contain no more warheads than the number that is attributed to them under the treaty.

Downloading Ballistic Missile Warheads

The treaty also allows for a reduction in the number of warheads on certain ballistic missiles, which will help the sides transition their existing forces to the new regime.

Such downloading is permitted in a carefully structured and limited fashion.

- The U.S. may download its three-warhead Minuteman III ICBM by either one or two warheads. The Soviet Union has already downloaded its seven warhead SS-N-18 SLBM by four warheads.
- In addition, each side may download up to 500 warheads on two other existing types of ballistic missiles, as long as the total number of warheads removed from downloaded missiles does not exceed 1250 at any one time.

New Types

The treaty places constraints on the characteristics of new types of ballistic missiles to ensure the accuracy of counting rules and prevent undercounting of missile warheads.

- The number of warheads attributed to a new type of ballistic missile must be no less than the number determined by dividing 40 percent of the missile's total throw-weight by the weight of the lightest RV tested on that missile.
- The throw-weight attributed to a new type must be no less than the missile's throw-weight capability at specified reference ranges (11,000 km for ICBM's and 9,500 km for SLBM's).

Heavy ICBM's

START places significant restrictions on the Soviet SS-18 heavy ICBM.

- A 50-percent reduction in the number of Soviet SS-18 ICBM's; a total reduction of 154 of these Soviet missiles.
- New types of heavy ICBM's are banned.
- Downloading of heavy ICBM's is banned.
- Heavy SLBM's and heavy mobile ICBM's are banned.
- Heavy ICBM's will be reduced on a more stringent schedule than other strategic arms.

Mobile ICBM's

Because mobile missiles are more difficult to verify than other types of ballistic missiles, START incorporates a number of special restrictions and notifications with regard to these missiles. These measures

will significantly improve our confidence that START will be effectively verifiable.

—Nondeployed mobile missiles and non-deployed mobile launchers are numerically and geographically limited so as to limit the possibility for reload and refire.

—The verification regime includes continuous monitoring of mobile ICBM production, restrictions on movements, on-site inspections, and cooperative measures to improve the effectiveness of national technical means of intelligence collection.

Heavy Bombers

Because heavy bombers are stabilizing strategic systems (e.g., they are less capable of a short-warning attack than ballistic missiles), START counting rules for weapons on bombers are different than those for ballistic missile warheads.

—Each heavy bomber counts as one strategic nuclear delivery vehicle.

—Each heavy bomber equipped to carry only short-range missiles or gravity bombs is counted as one warhead under the 6000 limit.

—Each U.S. heavy bomber equipped to carry long-range nuclear ALCM's (up to a maximum of 150 bombers) is counted as 10 warheads even though it may be equipped to carry up to 20 ALCM's.

—A similar discount applies to Soviet heavy bombers equipped to carry long-range nuclear ALCM's. Each such Soviet heavy bomber (up to a maximum of 180) is counted as 8 warheads even though it may be equipped to carry up to 16 ALCM's.

—Any heavy bomber equipped for long-range nuclear ALCM's deployed in excess of 150 for the U.S. or 180 for the Soviet Union will be accountable by the number of ALCM's the heavy bomber is actually equipped to carry.

Verification Regime

Building on recent arms control agreements, START includes extensive and unprecedented verification provisions. This comprehensive verification regime greatly reduces the likelihood that violations would go undetected.

—START bans the encryption and encapsulation of telemetric information and other forms of information denial on flight tests of ballistic missiles. However, strictly limited exemptions to this ban are granted sufficient to protect the flight-testing of sensitive research projects.

—START allows 12 different types of on-site inspections and requires roughly 60 different types of notifications covering production, testing, movement, deployment, and destruction of strategic offensive arms.

Treaty Duration

START will have a duration of 15 years, unless it is superseded by a subsequent agreement. If the sides agree, the treaty may be extended for successive 5-year periods beyond the 15 years.

Noncircumvention and Third Countries

START prohibits the transfer of strategic offensive arms to third countries, except that the treaty will not interfere with existing patterns of cooperation. In addition, the treaty prohibits the permanent basing of strategic offensive arms outside the national territory of each side.

Air-Launched Cruise Missiles (ALCM's)

START does not directly count or limit ALCM's. ALCM's are limited indirectly through their association with heavy bombers.

—Only nuclear-armed ALCM's with a range in excess of 600 km are covered by START.

—Long-range, conventionally armed ALCM's that are distinguishable from nuclear-armed ALCM's are not affected.

—Long-range nuclear-armed ALCM's may not be located at air bases for heavy bombers not accountable as being equipped for such ALCM's.

—Multiple warhead long-range nuclear ALCM's are banned.

Sea Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCM's)

SLCM's are not constrained by the treaty. However, each side has made a politically binding declaration as to its plans for the deployment of nuclear-armed SLCM's. Con-

ventionally-armed SLCM's are not subject to such a declaration.

—Each side will make an annual declaration of the maximum number of nuclear-armed SLCM's with a range greater than 600 km that it plans to deploy for each of the following 5 years.

—This number will not be greater than 880 long-range nuclear-armed SLCM's.

—In addition, as a confidence building measure, nuclear-armed SLCM's with a range of 300-600 km will be the subject of a confidential annual data exchange.

Backfire Bomber

The Soviet Backfire bomber is not constrained by the treaty. However, the Soviet side has made a politically binding declaration that it will not deploy more than 800 air force and 200 naval Backfire bombers, and that these bombers will not be given intercontinental capability.

Other Background

The START agreement consists of the treaty document itself and a number of associated documents. Together they total more than 700 pages. The treaty was signed in a public ceremony by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev in St. Vladimir's Hall in the Kremlin. The associated documents were signed in a private ceremony at Novo Ogar'yev, President Gorbachev's weekend dacha. Seven of these documents were signed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. Three associated agreements were signed by Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh. In addition, the START negotiators, Ambassadors Brooks and Nazarkin, exchanged seven letters related to START in a separate event at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

Magnitude of START—Accountable Reductions

Following is the aggregate data from the Memorandum of Understanding, based upon agreed counting rules in START. (Because of those counting rules, the number of heavy bomber weapons actually deployed may be higher than the number shown in the aggregate.) This data is effective as of September 1990 and will be updated at entry into force:

	United States	Soviet Union
Delivery Vehicles	2,246	2,500
Warheads.....	10,563	10,271
Ballistic Missile Warheads.	8,210	9,416
Heavy ICBM's/ Warheads.	None	308/3080
Throw-weight (metric tons).	2,361.3	6,626.3
As a result of the treaty, the above values will be reduced by the following percentages:		
Delivery Vehicles.	29 percent	36 percent
Warheads.....	43 percent	41 percent
Ballistic Missile Warheads.	40 percent	48 percent
Heavy ICBM's/ Warheads.	None	50 percent
Throw-weight (metric tons).	None	46 percent

Proclamation 6319—Helsinki Human Rights Day, 1991

July 31, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In 1975, when the United States, Canada, and 33 European states joined in adopting the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we affirmed "the close link between peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole." Signatories to the Helsinki accords also recognized that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is essential not only to achieving lasting peace among nations but also to promoting their social and economic development. During the past 16 years, the CSCE process begun at Helsinki has played a leading role in building mutual confidence, reducing the risk of conflict, and enhancing the growth of democracy and openness in Europe. This

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

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

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

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

fulfill the promise of a Europe that is whole and free, and at peace with itself.

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

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

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

George Bush

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

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

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

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

Mr. President, we attach to your visit to the Ukraine very great importance, and we think it will be another step in improving

relations between our countries. Your visit reflects the changes which have taken place in our countries and in the world as a whole.

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

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

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

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

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

On the international area, the Ukraine is striving to acquire the status of an equal member of the international community, to

integrate its economy into the world economy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aug. 1 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note: The ceremony began at 1:01 p.m. at Borispol Airport, upon the arrival of President Bush. Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme

Soviet, spoke in Russian and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, the President referred to U.S. and Soviet cooperation in dealing with the aftermath of a 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine.

Remarks at a Luncheon in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

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

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

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

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

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

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

tee the sovereign rights of the individual—political, religious, and economic.

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

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

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

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

August 1, 1991

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

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

This beautiful city brings to mind the words of the poet Alexander Dovzhenko:

"The city of Kiev is an orchard. Kiev is a poet. Kiev is an epic. Kiev is history. Kiev is art."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every single day. I set forth a Presidential initiative that is

providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. And this aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering. And it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl. You should know that America's heart—the hearts of all—went out to the people here at the time of Chernobyl.

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

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

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

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

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

Aug. 1 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

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

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

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

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

Remarks at the Babi Yar Memorial in Kiev, Soviet Union

August 1, 1991

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

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

tales of victims and villains, cowards and heroes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit, and many more people had committed suicide

rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rites. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

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

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

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

We vow this sort of murder will never happen again.

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

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

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

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

None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil. And the Nazis fell when good men and women opened their eyes, summoned their courage and faith, and fought for democracy, liberty, and justice and decency. This memorial proves that eventually the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how

bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. It should inspire us to spare future generations from horrors like the one that claimed nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

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

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

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

August 1, 1991

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

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

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

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

Q. Did he ask if—

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

RESEARCH FOR THE SOVIET UNION TRIP by, Carol

Eric Johnson, Library of Congress (202-707-9490)

He just spent a month in the Baltics, and two weeks in Moscow.

McDonald's in Moscow serves 50,000 meals a day; easily the busiest restaurant in the world. The wait in line has been reduced from four hours to 40 minutes. The employees are young teenagers who are polite and responsible. The service is amazingly efficient and friendly. They greet all customers with a hello and a smile. Working at McDonald's teaches them about efficiency, responsibility, and cleanliness. The windows, floors, and counters are constantly being cleaned. It has been said that the hardest job in the Soviet Union is to work at McDonald's. The interior of the restaurant is one of the most beautiful sights in Moscow.

Music big shots include Madonna and Michael Jackson. Madonna is, by far, the most popular. Her records, posters, and videos are found everywhere.

Television news in Estonia consists of Miami Vice and Dallas. CNN airs for free for 2 hours every day in Latvia. There is CNN for free sparingly in Moscow, too, although it is mostly illegal bootleg airings.

Entertainment television in Moscow -- Disney's "Duck Tales" is the hottest thing right now. Disney made an agreement with the Soviet Union to give them 80 free episodes. The show airs every Sunday, and is the most popular show with children and adults alike. Mickey Mouse is not as big. There is a lot of Mickey paraphernalia that is illegally produced; he's just not a very big deal anymore. The European edition of MTV is fairly widespread.

Movie industry favorites include Ah-nold and Sylvester Stallone. That's it. They are the two hottest stars in the Soviet Union. Never before have they had action adventure films with quite the special effects as these movies have. Rambo is a favorite. Citizens buy bootleg posters and videos all the time. Batman is another big movie, as well as any slasher/horror films (e.g. Freddy Krueger, Jason, etc.). The only female movie actress that is a big deal is Marilyn Monroe. There are posters of her to purchase; she's not really popular, but she's really the most-mentioned. They mention Meryl Streep and Michelle Pfeiffer, but not with as much publicity as they have in America.

Gossip does not have the appeal as it does here in the states. Magazines like People do not exist in the public domain, because the Soviets just aren't interested in what's behind the stories of their home-grown stars. They'd rather find out the behind-the-scenes stuff about Arnold and Stallone.

Magazines such as older issues of Time and Newsweek can be found in the kiosks, but not with much regularity. There is a magazine out called Moscow Magazine. It is equivalent to Washingtonian. It is a Dutch-Soviet venture that is staffed by Americans. It is printed in English, and just gives a general gist of what to do, where to go, what's hot/what's not in Moscow.

From Dierdre Solomon, Soviet Studies

Fiance in Soviet Union, roommate just came over a month ago.
(212)262-1501

Soviets are very envious of Americans travelling in Moscow because Americans and other foreigners can carry around hard cash and go into the stores and buy whatever they want. Soviet citizens can barely afford McDonald's and Pizza Hut, unless their income comes from the black market. They sometimes save for months and months just to have one meal in Pizza Hut or McDonald's.

Soviets tend to produce movies of a gentle nature. They enjoy comedies, and don't watch too many sexy movies. When Didi was there a few months ago, "Tango and Cash" was a big hit. All her friends had bootleg videos of that and other movies. The videos of movies and MTV are shown all over clubs in Moscow.

From Alfredo Duarte, Asst. Dir. of Soviet Media, Emery University
(404)420-5151

Program One is the largest Soviet network, covering 90% of Soviet territory. "Vremya" ["Time"] is the most-watched evening newscast. It is produced by State Radio and TV Broadcasting Co. It is watched by 90% of those with televisions in the Soviet Union -- nearly 200 million watch it every night. It airs at 9 p.m. Moscow time. The program is authoritative and influential, as it reflects the views of the executive branch.

American movies, especially the shoot-em-up knock-em-down variety are a big hit in Moscow. Their entertainment broadcasting consists more of American movies than television.

American television has been seen more frequently recently in Moscow. For the Fourth of July, Soviets were treated to an entire week of American television programming. They were shown such shows as Dallas and the Flintstones. FYI -- in Russian, Fred says, "Yee-bee-dee-beep-doop!!!" TBS last year gave them some programming, including commercials, such as the Winn-Dixie commercial with dancing vegetables.

The most popular radio station is Moscow Echo. It is very critical and well-received.

American-style game shows have been attempted. There is a show called "Field of Miracles -- Capital Show" that is a version of "Wheel of Fortune". I wonder if the audience gets to chant in the beginning of it... "Field.... of.... Miracles!!! Look at this showroom full of fabulous prizes...a loaf of bread, a stick of butter..." There is also a big-budget production of a show called "Lucky Chance". It's a combo of Trivial Pursuit and Family Feud. It's basically families on teams for Trivial Pursuit.

President Bush is mentioned in the news nearly every night. Everything he does that is related to American foreign policy, pertaining to the Soviet Union as well as other countries, makes the news. He is treated extremely well by the Soviet press.

As for news shows, the most popular is on Russian TV, by the Russian Network, RTR, called "Vesti" [an old Russian word for "news"]. It is by far the best news program. It is 15 minutes in length, and airs twice a day. It is fast-paced and critical. Its broadcasts are often very opinionated about central government.

There are no magazines as personality-centered as is People. Although Soviets enjoy reading about American celebrities, they've discovered because of glasnost, it's open season on everyone. They're much more interested now in finding out the dirt about their more home-centered issues.

FUN FACT -- When Program One first broadcasted sessions of Parliament, people actually stayed home from work just to watch it. Production went down nearly 20%. Eventually they stopped broadcasting live, taped it, and showed it after work hours.

Since January, 1991, Program One has been changing from a primarily public affairs format, to a more entertainment format. The government sees television as an electronic pacifier.

Fred Starr, author, music expert, Oberlin College President
(on sabbatical until February)
(216)775-8400

In the early years after the war, when the United States and the Soviet Union were at the point of the worst relations (1945-53), it is most interesting that the music from a film called "Sun Valley Serenade" was being played all over the country. The Red Army Band even played the Glen Miller hits from the film. At the same time in the United States, Americans were being treated to the music of Prokofiev and Shostakovich.

The American-Soviet Youth Orchestra is something that everyone at a state dinner would be aware of. It is the first thing that Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev -- both honorary chairmen -- collaborated on. It has been in operation for the past three years.

There is an old Russian custom that when you are getting ready to go on a long journey, you sit down for a quiet moment and pray. The President and Gorbachev have come a long way in their relations, and they have a journey ahead of them. This is a time to be thankful and pray for guidance for the trip ahead.

The Bride's Book of Etiquette
(sorry I couldn't resist)

At Russian weddings, guests give gifts to the couple, and the guests receive gifts in return -- gifts like little trinkets, picture frames, or something representing the family heritage. This handy fact has been provided in case any of you get invited to a Russian wedding.

Chekhov

"We shall find peace. We shall hear the angels, we shall see the sky sparkling with diamonds."

"To Moscow, to Moscow, to Moscow!"

"All Russia is our orchard."

"People don't notice whether it's winter or summer when they're happy. If I lived in Moscow I don't think I'd care what the weather was like."

"Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he's been given."

"Man is what he believes."

Theodore Roosevelt

"Russia's sufferings have been sore, but it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power or endurance." -- 1916

Irene Thompson, Director of Slavic Studies, GWU
202-994-7081

Some sayings and proverbs:

"You can't tie a knot with one hand."

"One who sows peace reaps happiness."

"Faith will keep us strong."

"Faith will move mountains."

"There is no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship."

Toasts:

"Za mir!" -- "To peace!"

"Za budushcheye nashikh narodov!" -- "To the future of our countries!"

Etiquette Hints: (she really did send me a list -- here are some of the better ones)

- Russians talk louder than Americans.
- Russians may switch topics without warning in a conversation.
- Do not put feet up on furniture.
- For the ladies; do not cross your legs. Cross only as high as the ankles.
- Russians are known to be heavy drinkers. Americans are no match. Don't try to keep up!
- Russians do not appreciate being slapped on the back, on the shoulder, or being hugged in public. They don't know how to react.
- If Russians look poker-faced to you, don't think they are unhappy or being unfriendly. Russians simply smile less than Americans, especially when dealing with people they do not know well.

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 10, MADISON

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

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

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

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

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

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

FEDERALIST PAPERS, NUMBER 51, MADISON

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

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

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

QUOTES ON MINORITY RIGHTS, RESPECTING MINORITIES

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

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

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

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

-- John Bartholomew Gough
Sunlight and Shadow
1880

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

-- Thomas Jefferson
First Inaugural Address
March 4, 1801

"Men are respectable only as they respect."

-- Emerson
Lectures and Sketches: Sovereignty of Ethics

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

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Century
January, 1900

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

-- Theodore Roosevelt, 1913

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

-- Theodore Roosevelt
September 2, 1901

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

-- Theodore Roosevelt
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
October 14, 1912

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

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
January 8, 1938

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

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Radio Address
March 2, 1930

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

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

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

-- Abraham Lincoln
Inaugural address
March 4, 1861

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

-- Martin H. Fischer (1879-)

FREE TRADE/ADAM SMITH

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

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 3

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

-- Adam Smith
Wealth of Nations, IV, 1

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

-- FDR
Fourth Inaugural Address
January 20, 1945

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

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

UKRAINE COLOR

- * Ukraine means "frontier".
- * Jaroslav the Wise, son of Vladimir and ruler of Kievan Rus in the 11th century, wrote some of the "Ruska Pravda", the first written code of laws in the Slavic world. It served Russian law-makers as a source and model for years to come.
- * Under Jaroslav, local representatives of the people were elected by free citizens.
- * Jaroslav built dozens of churches, including the gold-domed St. Sophia, the most revered church in Kiev, which still stands.
- * For hundreds of years, monks lived underneath Kiev in a labyrinth of tunnels known as the Monastery of the Caves. Most of the caves are man-made. People could sometimes hear the eerie sound of the monks singing beneath their feet.
- * Ukrainians are known for their singing. There is an old saying, "When two Ukrainians meet, we have the start of another choir."
- * The most famous folk art is Easter Egg painting, which dates back to ancient times. Known as "pysanka", the eggs are painted with intricate geometric patterns."
- * The Pecherskaya Lavra is the most important and the most famous historical site in Kiev. Most of its buildings have been turned into museums, though some still function as churches. The bell tower, the highest in the USSR, was built in 1731-45; it has been completely restored, and the dome regilded. Local legend speaks of the belfry being built by 12 brothers so saintly that heaven aided them -- as they worked, the bell tower sunk deeper and deeper into the earth, needing no scaffolding, and when it was finished, it rose again to its full height in a single night.